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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Analyses</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text of Books VII–XII</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>641</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANALYSIS OF BOOK VII

788 a 1. This book deals with τροφή and παιδεία. The details of these subjects are so numerous and minute, that it is impossible to give a legal sanction to all our recommendations as to nurture and education, or to attach penalties for their infringement. It is, however, very important for the well-being of the community that the recommendations should be wise, and the general practice uniform.

c 6. It is clear that both body and soul must grow into their most perfect form. To begin with, physical growth, up to five years of age, is three times as rapid as it is afterwards; therefore during that period the need for bodily motion and bodily exercise is far more pressing than at any other time: even before birth the need must be recognized, and pregnant mothers should walk about as much as possible. Even after the children can stand, they should be carried about by nurses till they are three years old. If they walk too soon their legs will suffer. Such directions can, of course, only be observed if the masters and mistresses understand how important they are, both for their families and for the state.

790 b 8. Constant motion is good for the mind as well as for the body—especially for the very young. Witness the experience of nurses of little children, and of those who tend patients who are subject to states of frenzy. Some sort of motion is found to be a cure for the sleeplessness of the former, and of the mental excitement of the latter.

e 5. Fear is the cause of both disorders, i.e. the disturbance is psychical in origin. When you shake such sufferers, you apply an external disturbance, which overshadows, or gets the better of, the internal tremors and frenzies, and induces peace and quiet in the soul.
791 b 4. This (mechanical) suppression of fear in the young will conduce to the growth of the virtue of courage. That is what I meant by saying it was good for the mind.

c 8. In the same way care should be taken to avoid, as much as possible, all occasion of pain and vexation to young children: the fewer the tears, the better the temper. But this does not mean that they are to be indulged with all the delights that we can procure for them. Complete repression, on the one hand, produces a morose and slavish disposition: on the other hand, unlimited indulgence produces irritability and makes children morbidly susceptible to all kinds of emotion. Don't be too anxious to give children "a good time"; a pleasure-loving and pleasure-seeking temperament is a snare. All through life the same principle holds: it is not good for man to make the pursuit of pleasure, or the avoidance of pain, his first object: he should deliberately prefer a middle state of placid content to one of ecstatic enjoyment. (He should fear one extreme as much as the other.) In no case is this more important than in that of the very young: even before their children's birth mothers should avoid either extreme alike.

793 a 9. Let me pause here to insist again on the vital importance of these admonitions and recommendations. We call such practices as we are inculcating "unwritten laws," "tribal tradition," "the custom of the country." It is imperative that these habits should be salutary. If they are, they form a protecting covering to the positive laws; they hold to those laws much the same relation as the clamps that bind masonry together do to the individual blocks. If these bonds are ill fitted, and get out of place, the whole fabric of society falls to pieces, and no further development is possible. Don't despise such trifles: without the trifles the great things cannot exist.

d 7. Such then must be the treatment up to the age of three. From three to six is the age of play; but judicious, and not humiliating punishment should check excessive indulgence of all kinds. Facilities for playing together will be given, to the children of each district, in the sacred enclosures attached to the temples. Children will invent their own games. They must at such times have their nurses with them, and nurses and all must be under the supervision of twelve staid and ancient dames chosen by the women who superintend marriage, and appointed, one to each tribe, by the Guardians of the Laws. These officials may deliver offenders to punishment without appeal, if the
offenders are slaves or aliens: citizens may appeal from their sentence to the ἀντικόμοι.

794 c 3. At six boys and girls are to be separated, and are to begin to learn something: boys to be sent to learn riding, shooting and slinging—not that girls are forbidden to learn these things if they like—and the use of arms in general. Here I stop to criticize a point in our usual practice, and correct a general mistake. I mean the mistake of thinking that nature has given any superior advantage to the right hand as compared with the left (though no one thinks this about the feet). Thanks to the folly of our nurses and mothers, we have grown up as good as lame in one hand. Nature gave both sides the same capacity, and our perverse habits have spoiled one side. When a task takes two hands, and when it does not matter, you may train only the right to one part, and only the left to the other; but don’t do this where it does matter. A Scythian can shoot equally well to right and left, because either hand can do either part of the action. When a man is in battle he may often want his shield on his right side and his weapon on his left. Follow the wrestler’s example, and train both sides both for attack and defence. Suppose a hundred-handed giant practised throwing with only one of them! What a waste of good material! All in authority ought to see to this; nurses must watch the children, at play and at meal-times, and their various instructors later; we must not spoil what nature gives us.

795 d 6. All instruction which concerns the body comes under the head of γυμναστική: all that is to benefit the mind, is μυσική. The former has two divisions: (1) dancing, (2) wrestling or boxing contests. Dancing again aims either (1) at the stately or mimetic, or (2) at pure agility and suppleness. In wrestling and boxing we are not to emulate the skill of the professional—only to try to turn out able-bodied soldiers. Among dances, special attention should be paid to national armed dances, and religious processions. Any competitions in dancing should be for places in these dances or processions.

4. 796 a 4. We thought we had done with μυσική (in Bk. II), but its educational aspect remains to be treated.

797 a 1. To begin with, I must (digress to) make a statement which may surprise you. That is, that the children’s playground calls for the lawgiver’s close attention. If the children go on playing the same games, generation after generation, it is well with the state. New fashions in games, and all that belongs to
them, mean mischief—mean disrespect for, and discontent with, what is old and established, and a restless craving for novelty. Such a temper is a national curse.

8. I call for your very particular attention when I say that I profoundly believe that in all things change is a great evil, unless what is changed is itself bad. You must get used, e.g., to a particular diet, before you assimilate it properly. Another diet may be just as good, but it is not so good for you, as the one to which you are accustomed. It is the same with the mind and character. Among people blessed with laws and customs of immemorial antiquity, mere use and familiarity beget respect for what is established. The lawgiver will greatly help to produce this blessed state of things if, instead of thinking that “child’s-play” does not matter, and that novelties in it may be encouraged, he reflects that, when mercurial children become men and women, they will be discontented with the laws and customs of their state—and where will his laws be then? I don’t mean that all change is equally disastrous. Change in dress and bodily appearance does not matter much. Not so, however, frequent alterations of opinion as to what sort of character is praiseworthy, or the reverse.

7798 d 7. We said, you remember, (at 655 d 5) that musical tune and rhythm are mimetic—sometimes imitating good characters, and sometimes bad. It is therefore of the greatest importance that the young should acquire the taste for the better music to sing and dance to, and that no one should tickle their ears with what is bad. Like the Egyptians, we must give a sacred character and sanction to the good, and rule out every other sort from all public functions. A list of music for all special occasions must be officially prepared, and its adoption enforced by judicial penalties.

7799 c 4. Even a young man, when he sees or hears what is foreign or strange, takes time to make up his mind about the course he should pursue with regard to it. Do not let us then be in a hurry to settle this difficult question, but leave it for the present undecided, and go on with our remaining laws and recommendations. Perhaps we may find light on it by the way.

10. The name νόμος which our ancestors have given to kinds of music, shows that they had an inkling of the truth of our demand that the disregard of official regulations as to music should be reckoned a crime.

800 b 4. It will be best to give examples of the procedure
in cases of such transgression. For instance, suppose one member of a family made a blasphemous interruption in the course of a family sacrifice; would it not be a shock to his relations? Yet something like this is what is being done everywhere. When a public official is performing a public sacrifice, there follow him not one chorus, but many. They approach the altars, and cover the victims with blasphemy, wringing the hearts of the audience with doleful ditties; and the one who draws the most tears gets the prize. If people want that sort of funereal music, they should avoid festal days, import foreign-hired mourners, and dress them accordingly. This example explains the first requisite to be demanded of our music, i.e. 

\[ \text{801 a 5.} \] Secondly, the gods must be addressed in prayer.

\[ \text{801 a 8.} \] Thirdly, what is asked for in prayer must be something good and not bad for us. Of this question poets are not the best judges; for instance, a poet might pray that the state should become wealthy, and we saw above that the less gold and silver the state has, the better. Ceremonial poems must therefore be approved by the proper state authority before they can be published.

\[ \text{802 a 5.} \] The list of approved songs and dances is to be prepared in the following way. Censors are to be chosen to select, revise, and reject, from among all existing compositions; taking poets as their assessors, but not giving them—except in a very few cases—a free hand: All poetry is the better for having to submit to rules, and does not lose thereby in real charm. Charm partly depends on familiarity; men like what they are used to, but they can only get good out of the right sort: the other does them harm.

\[ \text{803 a 1.} \] Such a general regulating ordinance should be accompanied by detailed directions as to methods of instruction. I am not, however, giving such now. My object is like that of the shipwright when he lays the keel of a ship: he wants to fix its general size and shape. I am showing you the main lines of the character which I think will best weather the voyage of life.

\[ \text{803 b 3.} \] After all, what is important? Our relations, I answer, to the Deity, and our appearance in his eyes. I have before
called man God's plaything. If I am right, the way man plays must be important. In other words, Religion and Art, and the occupations of peace, are more important than the grim earnest of war. Do not therefore (like the Spartans) make war the one important thing in life, but study with me the art of peace. I have, as I say, only given you the outlines of this study: your own natural endowment of mind will enable you to supply the details.

You think all this is humiliating for human nature? You cannot think of man as in God's presence without a deep humiliation. I don't mean that I don't care for mankind really.

804 c 2. There should be three separate school-buildings in the city itself; each with its γυμνάσιον attached, and each with a larger exercise- and riding-ground in the suburbs. Spare no money in getting the best teachers from other cities. Make attendance at school compulsory. The state has a right over its children which overrides the right of the parent.

d 6. The training of girls and boys should be identical. Tradition and travellers' accounts alike prove that women can fight. Why diminish the efficiency of the state in every direction by one half? Experience proves that women can do the same work as men. If not the same, we must arrange another life for them. What is it to be? Shall we make them drudges like the Thracian women? Are they to be mewed up at home as house-stewards like our Athenian women? Or are we, like the Spartans, to educate boys and girls together up to a certain point, and then leave the women little or nothing to do when they are grown up?

806 d 7. When, by satisfactory domestic and economic arrangements, leisure has been secured, what are we to do with it? Is there anything which we must do with it? Is a man merely to lead an animal existence, and fatten like a pig? If so, he will be eaten like a pig, by somebody who has kept thin by using his time more strenuously. The institution of the family may somewhat fetter a man's highest activities, but even so there is a task for which he should strive with all his might; and that is so to live as to develop the best that is to be got out of body, mind, and character. This is a stupendous task, and will demand careful ordering of every hour of day and night. Sleep must be curtailed as much as possible. With dawn the children must be off to school, always under due supervision, compulsion, and restraint—even to the extent of corporal punishment—all under the supervision of the Supreme Minister of Education, whom the law must carefully instruct as to his important duties.
Passing from the regions of art and physical training we come to that of the intellect. First come reading and writing; then lyre-playing; then mathematics—which last we saw above to have valuable practical applications in daily life. Another subject of great practical use is Astronomy.

e. The lawgiver must indicate the extent to which all these subjects must be studied, and the time to be spent on them, and the ages when they are to be begun and left off. Reading and writing come from 10 to 13; lyre-playing from 13 to 16. These subjects must be forced on the reluctant, while those who take to them naturally must not be allowed to go too far on the road to virtuosity.

Next comes the question, what literature are the children to read? We are told they ought to be “well read”; but is there not a danger here? The sort of book they may read with advantage is this which I am writing: Plato’s Laws. Teachers who object to this as a type must be dismissed. So much for letters, and literature.

As to Music proper, we must trust to our musical experts of the Dionysiac Choir to say what tunes have a good moral effect, and what a bad one. Learners must be taught to play correctly, but they must not aim at complicated effects, or extraordinary proficiency. Complications will make the subject generally unpopular: besides, we have not time for them. The words and rhythm of the songs, and the means of familiarizing learners with what is good in them, we have dealt with when talking of music in general.

About Dancing too there remains something to be said here. There must be teachers of dancing, and the supervision of these will be one more task for the hard-worked Minister of Education; but he will get help here from capable citizens. He will know how important the subject is. It will be remembered that we have gymnasia, and practice-grounds for military exercises, and riding and shooting; and state teachers for these subjects—which are moreover compulsory for both sexes—for there may be occasions when women, like hen-birds, will have to fight in defence of their offspring.

Wrestling should be taught with the necessities of the battlefield in view, and only such parts of it as are serviceable for that object. So much for the Palaestra.

e 1. Of ὀρχήστας proper there are two kinds: the serious, and the comic. The serious again may be divided into (a) martial—
armed dances, imitating offensive and defensive attitudes, and the test of excellence in these is the degree to which they foster manly and vigorous bearing—and (b) peaceful, and the test of this kind is the question, "are its postures and attitudes those of a worthy man and a good citizen?" As for Bacchic and Satyric dances, which have some strange connexion with expiatory religious rites, they are neither peaceful nor martial; all we can say is that they are unworthy of a respectable citizen.

815 d 5. Of the peaceful dance one kind is prompted by a sense of well-being—either (a) because toils and dangers have been overcome, or (b) past blessings continue. Of these (a) is the more lively. The liveliness indeed varies according (1) to the height of the pleasure felt, and (2) to the power of self-restraint in the dancer. The fact is, no one, when singing or speaking can keep his body still. That is the origin and source of the dance. The character of the dance reveals the character of the man. There is much true significance in the name ἐμπελεία ("gracefulness" or "conceitniness") which is bestowed on the typical peaceful dance of the right kind. The lawgiver then must devote the same care to the choice and nationalization of dances as to those of songs and tunes. The comic and baser dances should be witnessed, as lessons in expression, and as warnings, but not danced by any self-respecting man or woman; they are for slaves and hired aliens, and no uniform kind of them must be allowed to become familiar to the spectator.

817 a 2. Serious dramatists are indeed worthy of honour; but they touch too closely on the great questions and interests which the lawgiver has at heart. They would conceivably be his rivals. He will not admit them unless he is quite sure that they can teach better lessons than he can himself.—Such then are the principles which should guide the education of the young in these artistic matters—I mean the young of the free citizens; slaves are different.

e 5. There remain three subjects of liberal education: (1) Arithmetic, (2) Geometry, and (3) Astronomy. Deep study of these three is not for the multitude. All they want is a grasp of certain necessary truths (for there is a real necessity about these subjects, which, in a sense, is binding even upon the divine nature). Ignorance of such truths on the part of a man is a grievous blot on his character, as well as a serious inconvenience, and a bar to further study. This, however, is not the place for a detailed outline of mathematical study. All I will say is that, if the subject is not rightly studied, it had better be left alone. Children should begin, as they do in Egypt, with questions about the
ANALYSIS OF BOOK VIII

distribution of apples, and wreaths, and the like. When they grow up, they will want to apply these calculations to the necessities of life.

819 c 7. As to geometry, an extraordinary and disgraceful misconception is prevalent—I shared it myself till quite lately—i.e. that all measurements of line, surface, or body, are commensurable. The whole question of commensurability deserves far more attention than it has hitherto obtained, and should be included in school mathematics. All these directions I would submit to a subsequent revision if it were necessary.

820 e 8. In astronomy also false notions are prevalent. I have only lately become convinced that it is a complete misconception to think that the so-called "wanderers" (πλανητα ἀστρα) "wander," or that the sun and moon go sometimes in one course, and sometimes in another. We are also altogether wrong in our notions of the comparative speed with which the heavenly bodies move. I will not demonstrate this now, but I have said enough to show the importance of including astronomy in our curriculum.

822 d 2. There remains the regulation of field-sports. Here the good citizen will attend to the expressed opinion of his guides, as well as to their express commands or prohibitions. The only really healthy form of sport, they will tell him, is the ordinary hunting of wild quadrupeds, with the help of horses and dogs. No night trapping; no bird-catching, except in wild country; fishing to be regulated by proper restrictions as to places and methods.

ANALYSIS OF BOOK VIII

828. The next thing we have to do is to fix the dates for the festivals of the twelve patron deities of the twelve tribes. There must be one in each month, and on these occasions choric and gymnastic competitions must be held. The infernal deities must be thus honoured in Pluto's month, the twelfth. In this connexion we must not forget to ordain monthly military field-days, extending over one or more days in each month in all weathers. In these the whole population must take part, and they should take the form of sham-fights, in which excellence shown by men or women should be honoured by poetical compositions by
duly accredited poets. The lawgiver must remember that he is training his citizens for real combat, and just as all athletes make their training exercises as like as possible to those needed in the actual combat, so these mimic fights must approach as nearly as possible to the conditions of actual warfare. In view of these monthly field-days the citizens must both individually, and in choric groups, train their bodies by constant daily exercises, and drill themselves for all the operations of war. In these contests even danger must not be wholly shunned, for courage as well as skill needs development. Even the sacrifice of a few lives on such an occasion may have to be borne. Better lose a few lives, than lose courage from the state, and lose the chance of discovering who are bold and who are not. The reason why more states do not recognize the need of such elaborate military training is twofold. One reason is that though their citizens are willing to endure any labour or even any disgrace in order to make money and secure the selfish and often sordid enjoyments that money will procure, they will not put themselves out for patriotic motives. So the orderly among them turn into merchants and traders, and the disorderly, poor men! starve their souls and become thieves and robbers and despots, but in such states no brave citizen-soldiers are reared.

832 c. The second cause of this deficiency is the defective constitutions of the states—the democracies, the oligarchies and tyrannies which set class against class, and kill the true patriotic spirit. You will never raise brave citizen-warriors in a state where power depends on fear. In the state for which we are now legislating each man is free and his time is not absorbed by sordid occupations. Our laws secure both these objects. In our state then we shall have military training and mimic warfare.

We will now proceed to detail the kinds of athletic contests necessary to such training. The test of all exercises and contests must be this, do they prepare for the battlefield or not? In the first place we must aim at speed of foot, and dexterity of hand and arm. In all such displays the athlete must be fully armed and equipped as a soldier. There are to be races of various kinds, on courses and across country; single combats, combats between equal numbers, both for heavy-armed, and for all classes of light-armed soldiers, according to fixed rules; and all these are to be open to women just as much as to men, and to be arranged in sections according to age. (Naturally quite young girls could do no more than the races on the course, and they need
not carry arms.) Crete is not the place for chariots, but riders of horses of various ages may contend under the direction of the cavalry authorities—and of course, fully-armed; horse archers too, perhaps, as we have in Crete. In these latter contests the women may take part if they like, but they are not to be compulsory for them.

835. Musical contests also will be features in these holiday festivals, and rules must be framed for these likewise.

c 1. The thought of these festal meetings of young people forces on us the consideration of sexual passion and its dangers. There is a plague-spot here which with God’s help we will try to eradicate. I refer to the unnatural indulgence of men with men. In Crete the repression of this vice will be as hard as it is necessary. Certainly anyone who would legalize such a practice could not possibly defend such a law on the ground that it made any mortal better. On the contrary the practice cannot fail to deteriorate both the characters involved. To the understanding of this question a consideration is necessary of the nature of passion and desire. Attraction may either (1) arise between the equally endowed, or (2) it may be felt by need for affluence. The first is between equals, the second between unequals. When either of these attractions is strongly felt we call it “passion” (ἔρως). The former kind is mild and mutual, the latter violent and generally one-sided. There is, however, a third kind in which both kinds of attraction are at work, but in the case of which we cannot tell which of the two antagonistic motives predominates. The second element in this second or mixed sort contributes a craving for the satisfaction of a bodily appetite, while the first contributes a respect for admirable mental qualities and a desire to enhance them. It is clear that we must encourage the first kind of passion and ban the second and even the third.

838. How is the lawgiver to manage this? A unanimous public opinion is enough to ban certain forms of incestuous intercourse. If one could only increase this number of things not to be done by the addition of, firstly, paederasty, and secondly, all sexual intercourse except that between man and wife, our object would be easily secured. But the riotous opposition of lecherous youth will most likely prove too strong for the lawgiver when he tries to include these two things. It will be the case of the sussitia for women over again; there will be too strong a party against such a law.

840. The example of athletes in training who abstain is
enough to prove that a virtuous life is possible to any man. Can we not bring men to think the victory over self and pleasure as glorious as victory in the Olympic games? If the lawgiver has regretfully to confess, in face of the prevalence of vice, that he cannot, what is the next best thing for him to do?

841. Besides calling in the aid of hard physical exercise for the young, he must foster the feeling of shame in connexion with sexual indulgence, and he must manage to associate disgrace with the discovery of illicit connexion. He will then have to rely on three curbs to lust: the fear of God, the fear of man, and the growth of admiration for spiritual beauty. It is too much to hope that these motives would keep all men perfectly virtuous. We may hope so to stamp out paederasty; and further we may hope to make fornication and adultery less common, by making them disreputable.

842. It having been settled that we are to have some sort of public messes, we have now to consider the production of our food-supply. Our city is to be an inland one, fortunately. To legislate for an agricultural community is a much simpler thing than to regulate the varied and complicated activities of a bustling seaport.

5. Among farmers boundaries must be held sacred, and legal redress be provided for their infringement.

843 b 7. Encroachments made by neighbours or by neighbours' flocks shall be punishable by the full court of the ἀγρονόμοι, the less important cases being dealt with by their leaders the φυλόφοροι alone. The same shall apply to thefts of bee-swarms and injuries caused by fire or by the plantation of trees too close to a neighbour's boundary. Detailed legislation on such subjects, as also on that of irrigation, well-digging and damage by flood (in town as well as country) may well follow old-established precedent. Generally in these cases the fine imposed should be twice the damage done.

844 d 4. Fruit meant for storage or for wine must not be gathered before the rising of Arcturus; picking such fruit even on one's own land is actionable, more so on another's land, and especially on that of a neighbour. The finer or table fruit you may pick (on your own land) when you like. Hospitality enjoins that a foreigner (and one attendant) may pick table fruit unmolested, but he must not be allowed to touch storage fruit. As to the less valuable kinds of fruit, you may take them if nobody sees you; if you are caught and you are a citizen and under
thirty, the owner may use the stick to you with impunity; an older man or a foreigner may pluck them at will, but must not pocket any. Soil, sunlight and air may be left exposed without fear, but water, another necessary to the farmer, may be diverted or abstracted or polluted; against all such acts the law must provide remedy and restitution. Where the benefit is three times the damage done to his neighbour, a man may have a right-of-way through his neighbour's land for the conveyance of his crops. Such arrangements and the assessment of damages for all kinds of evil inflicted on a neighbour up to a value of three minae shall be in the hands of the local magistrates; more important charges must go before the public courts, which shall also grant an appeal from the local official decision. If a fine is then judged to have been unjustly inflicted the magistrate is fined twice the original amount. The details of legal procedure may be left to younger legislators to settle according as their experience may dictate.

846 d 1. So much for farmers. As to handicraft work the rules must be as follows: (1) A citizen will incur disgrace if he does any such work or lets his slave do it. The citizen's craft is statesmanship, and no ordinary man can practise more than one craft with efficiency; hence (2) the handicraftsmen shall confine themselves each to his own craft, nor must one man employ workers of another kind than his own. In the case of these foreigners the punishment shall be fine, imprisonment or banishment. Questions as to their wages or efficiency, or to any complaints of one against another must be settled by the city magistrates, or in more serious cases by the public courts, according to the law.

847 b 7. Inasmuch as nothing beyond strict necessaries is to be imported and nothing that is necessary is to be exported, there will be no tolls or imports. Importation and exportation must be regulated by the twelve junior Nomophylakes, except in the case of munitions of war, as to which the chief military authorities must decide under their superintendence. But neither in this case nor in that of any other commodity must any profit be made out of the transaction.

e 2. Distribution of the food-supply should be arranged more or less as in Crete. The whole produce grown on land must be divided into twelve monthly parts which must not be broken into. Each twelfth must again be divided proportionally into three lots; one for the citizens, the second for their slaves, the third
for the resident foreigners whether handicraftsmen or not. This third portion is the only portion of produce for which money must be paid. The three shares are to be equal in value, not necessarily in quantity. The masters are to decide as to the distribution of lots one and two as between themselves and their slaves. If anything is over after the wants of these three classes have been supplied, divide it by quantity alone according to the number of domestic animals.

848 c 7. The villages, like the city, must be built after a definite plan. Select a place for an ἄγορα and build temples round it, being careful to keep alive the worship of all local deities. In every village there should also be temples of Hestia, Zeus and Athene together with that of the patron deity of the κώμη. These four temples are to be in the fortified citadel—naturally on the higher ground. Each κώμη should be equipped with a settlement of handicraftsmen, as should each twelfth part of the city—where the handicraftsmen are to be dispersed in the suburbs—those in the villages being of the kind needed by the farmers. All these details are to be arranged by the φρούραρχοι of the ἄγοραντίμων and the chief officers of the ἀστυνόμου in the country and city respectively. The city market is to be in charge of ἄγοραντίμων. These officers have to protect the temples, to keep order among the crowd, and to supervise the traffic between citizens and ἕνοι. On the first of every month the foreign middlemen expose for sale the monthly share of corn and the like: the 10th is the market-day for wine and oil, the 20th (?) for beasts, and such implements and manufactured articles as are only produced on the farms. But no citizen or citizen’s slave is to trade in these articles; this must be left to the foreign middlemen who sell in the foreigners’ market—as do also the butchers. Firewood may be bought any day, and in any quantity, from the wholesale buyers. All other manufactured goods must be brought for sale into the common market. Here the authorities assign local limits to each trade, and preside over the traffic; of which it is a rule that no credit is to be given by buyers or sellers. It has before been laid down that no citizen may increase or decrease his property beyond certain fixed limits. The same law applies to foreigners—who like citizens have their property registered, as long as they remain in the country. A foreigner moreover must not stay more than twenty years in the country (counting from his fifteenth year, if born there), unless his worth can gain him special permission. All foreigners must have a craft, and the only tax exacted from them is good behaviour.
ANALYSIS OF BOOK IX

853. Next come the assessing of penalties and the constitution of law-courts. Some of the offences we are going to legislate for are so heinous that it may seem a disgrace to a city to have them mentioned in its laws. But we do not live in a Golden Age; human nature is weak: besides, there are always foreigners and slaves in a city for whose education it is not responsible.

854. Take the case of temple-robbing, and sacrilege generally. The lawgiver must first point out, to those who may conceive the idea of such crimes, that they are possessed, and that they must strive by expiatory religious acts, and by the help of good companions and right thoughts, to free themselves from the possession—if not so, by a voluntary death. For such an offence the penalty, for foreigner or slave, is branding, scourging, and banishment from the country: possibly this may bring the culprit to a better state of mind—and that, of course, is the object of all legal punishment. If the culprit is a citizen his case is hopeless: he must die, and that is not all; he must be made an example of, and his body cast forth from the country, and his name forgotten.

855 b. Where the question is one of damage done, so much of a man's property may be taken to make it good as is not needed for the due equipment of his holding. If this superfluous property is not large enough to pay the damage, and he cannot get his friends to contribute, he must go to prison and suffer dishonour—but not to the extent of complete atimia.

In all cases the legal penalty, great or small, must be exacted.

c6. The death-penalty must only be inflicted by a court consisting of the pick of the last year's magistrates, sitting with nomophólaikes. The correct procedure may be left to younger legislators to determine. The voting must be in open court. Each party must be allowed only one speech, and the court must announce reasoned decisions—any judge, i.e., who has one to give—which must thrice be duly recorded and solemnly attested on three consecutive days, and each judge must then deliver a sworn verdict.

856 b 1. Next to sacrilege come questions of treason to the constitution. Any citizen who fails to prosecute one guilty of such treason is only less guilty than the offender himself. The court in this case must be the same as in that for sacrilege, and the procedure the same.
c 8. Children are not to be implicated in the guilt or shame of their parents, except where three generations share the guilt. In that case the families must be sent out of the colony, with their superfluous property, back to their original state, and suitable new owners must be chosen for their holdings.

5 e. The same court shall try cases of treachery, sacrilege and treason.

857 a 2. Thefts, whether of private or public property, shall be restored twofold out of superfluous property; in default the offender must go to prison at the will of the offended party.

b 4. The question naturally arises, how far does the amount stolen, or the circumstances of the theft, modify the guilt? That reminds me that here again we may learn from the analogy of the educated physician and his educated patient. The lawgiver ought not to be content with the minimum of enactment that is necessary, but must try hard to see what is best. We have time to look well round us and examine all our stores before making a final choice. Incidentally I would here advise that the legislator's work should be seriously regarded as a valuable piece of didactic literature, and a touchstone whereby to try the worth of other literature dealing with the same topics. The Law will then become to us a loving parent to guide us rather than a threatening tyrant to command.

859 b 6. From this wider survey we have evidently something still to learn—e.g. about the nature of crimes of sacrilege and theft, as about all injuries. Take the question of what is admirable and right in general. Everybody admits that what is right is admirable, but it does not follow that every righteous man is handsome. Further, there are two sides to every action: (1) there is the action as done by someone, and (2) the action as submitted to by some person or thing to whom it is done. If the action is right, both its active and passive sides, so to speak, must be right, and therefore admirable.

860. We are thus forbidden to call any rightful visitation or suffering ugly or disgraceful. And yet, just now, we said it was right for the temple-robber or the subverter of good laws to be put to death; but at the same time we saw that, though we might think we had a right to affix this penalty to countless other offences, it would be an ugly thing to do. Here then was something right which was not admirable; and such will often be the verdict of the multitude.

c 4. Possibly we may avoid such a contradiction, if we recon-
ANALYSIS OF BOOK IX

Consider our former contention that all evil-doing is involuntary. It is nonsense to call what is involuntary a voluntary action. "Does that mean," you will ask, "that there is no need for Law to prohibit any action?—or again, that you are not to say that, when a man does a thing on purpose, you are to punish him more severely than if he does it by accident?" Well, you know, we found it hard to be sure about questions of right and wrong sometimes; may there not also be some confusion that needs clearing up in our notions of voluntary and involuntary? I cannot give up my belief that all wrong-doing is involuntary; but perhaps we may find that what the world in general means by the two terms voluntary and involuntary is not what I mean. Let us see then if we can define the difference. It often happens that one citizen hurts another, often on purpose, often not. However serious the hurt may be, I shall not call an unintended injury an ἀδικία (criminal wrong-doing). Even a benefit, on the other hand, may, in some circumstances, be an ἀδικία. The spirit and the principle of the action must in both cases decide as to its legal character. The Law has two duties: (1) it must aim at making good the damage done—and thus abolish enmity; (2) when harm is done with evil intent, and out of an evil heart, the Law must not only make good the damage, but must try to cure the evil heart, and win it to a love of righteousness. If he finds it incurable, the lawgiver must ordain death, in the interests both of the criminal and of the community.

863. A little psychology is needed here in order to grasp the difference between damage and crime, and (so-called) intentional and unintentional hurtfulness. One element or affection of the soul is θυμός (passion), a pugnacious and intractable bit of nature—headstrong and violent. A second element is the susceptibility to the seductions of pleasure, which is an agent that uses persuasion, not force to gain its ends. A third source of wrong-doing is ignorance. When this is simple it does not do much harm; but if folly claims to be wisdom, and is found in a strong nature, or high position, it is shockingly dangerous, though in the weak and lowly it is to be pitied as much as punished.

Passion and pleasure we either master, or are mastered by; ignorance, however, we can not represent in either of these ways; it is not an active principle. All these three motive powers, however, often act at once, and prompt to opposite courses of action.

e5. Now we come to right and wrong. The overpowering
mastery in the soul of passion, fear, the seductions of pleasure, envy, and desire is wrong, and an ἀδίκία, whether it does any harm or not.

Where a man makes it the rule of all his action to ask what the state, and his fellows, think best, and do that, everything done on this principle is right, even if some damage should be done; though damage done by a man who acts from such a motive is generally (and wrongly) pronounced to be an unintentional wrong-doing.

864 b. For memory's sake we will arrange these motives as follows: (1) in the first place the painful motives of passion and fear; (2) in the second pleasure and desire; (3) in the third the influence of self-confident mistaken belief in what is for the best—this last being divided into three—(a) simple ignorance, (b) highly placed and powerful folly which thinks itself wisdom, and (c) a like self-confident folly which is impotent. We have thus five sources of error, which will give occasion for five classes of laws—each class having two divisions, according as the wrongful acts are open and violent, or secret and crafty.

c 10. To return to our law-making: we have dealt with sacrilege, treachery, and treason, but must add that madness, or extreme physical or mental imbecility, must excuse a criminal from all retributive penalty. He must of course make damage good, and if he has killed a man, he must be sent out of the country.

865. We are now in a position to deal with violent deaths brought about unintentionally. If a man has the misfortune accidentally to kill a comrade, either in the gymnasium, or when in military training, or when treating him as a physician, a ritual purification is all that is necessary. If a man under any other circumstances unintentionally causes another's death, directly or indirectly, he must pay damages—if, e.g., he has killed a slave, he must give his master another or pay twice his value—and the purifications must be more elaborate than in the first case. If he thus kills a slave of his own, purification only is required. If a free man is unintentionally slain, the purifications will be the same as in the case of the slave; only the slayer must vacate the country of the slain man for a year: if he does not, the spirit of the dead, with the aid of his own memory, will cause him distress. If this exile be voluntarily submitted to, the nearest of kin to the deceased will, at the end of the year, make his peace with the slayer. If, however, the slayer breaks his
exile, or frequents a holy place without having purified himself from his guilt, the nearest of kin must prosecute him for murder, and a conviction will involve double penalties of all sorts. Should the nearest of kin fail to prosecute in such a case, he will bring on himself the slaughtered man's wrath, the pollution of the crime itself, and, at anybody's suit, is liable to a five years' banishment.—If the unintentional slayer and his victim be both foreigners, he is liable to the same kind of prosecution as the citizen: if he is a resident alien, he must depart for a year from the country: if a passing visitor, whether he kills foreigner or resident foreigner, or citizen, he must never return within the purview of our laws. If he does return, he is liable to death, and the confiscation of any property he has with him to the next of kin of his victim. Should he be shipwrecked on the coast of the country, he must bivouac with his feet in sea-water, ready to take the first boat that serves: should he be brought violently back, the authorities must release him and dismiss him from the land under safe-conduct.

866 d 5. Of murders inflicted in anger there are two kinds: one due to a sudden fit of passion which is repented of afterwards; the other to a steady and implacable passion of revenge. Neither case is quite as serious as deliberate unprovoked murder; but the latter resembles it, while the crime resulting from an ungovernable fit of sudden wrath is of a like character with the involuntary one. We decide on the amount of guiltiness of these crimes of anger by the consideration of the question whether they were intentional or not.—The murder of sudden passion involves a penalty of two years' exile, in which to mend the temper. That of deliberate revenge, one of three years. The circumstances of the crime, and the behaviour of the criminal when in exile will determine the state's reception of him when he returns.

868. If either of these offenders is led by the incitement of his wrath to commit a second murder, he must be exiled for good, and the penalty of a return must be death and confiscation (as in the case of the returning foreign murderer).—If a man kills his own slave in anger he must undergo purification: if another man's slave, he must pay him twice the slave's value.—If a man-slayer shirks the purification, and ventures on places of public resort of a sacred character, it is open to anyone to prosecute not only the criminal, but also the next of kin of his victim, for allowing it; the penalty is to be twice the original one, and the money part of it is to go to the prosecutor.—If a slave kill his master in anger,
the relatives of the dead man may, without incurring any impurity, do anything to the slave except keep him alive; if the slave who kills a man belongs to someone else, his victim's relatives must be allowed, and even compelled to put him to death—in any way they like.—In the rare case of the slaying of a child by its parent the same purification must be undergone, an exile of three years endured, and the relationship between the child's parents must be for ever dissolved. The same penalty awaits the murder of one's wife or husband, and the family must shun the murderer. Disobedience to these injunctions lays a man open to prosecution for impiety. The same penalties attend the wrathful slaying of one's brother or sister, and the same for the infraction of the laws concerning it.

869. If an almost impossibly mad anger leads to the slaughter of a parent, the murderer, if his victim does not forgive him before death—in which case only purification and a year's exile are necessary—lays himself open to several "distinct damnations." For one thing, to break open the parent temple and rob it of life is an impious sacrilege, such as would merit repeated death, were such a thing possible. Such a deed is inadmissible even in self-defence: rather must anything be suffered. There can be no penalty less than death for it.—If a man slays a brother when attacked by him in civil strife, he is no more guilty than a soldier who kills an opponent in battle. So, too, in other cases of self-defence, whether against citizens or foreigners. If a slave, however, kills a free man in self-defence, the law must be the same as for the slayer of one's father: in the case of the victim's forgiveness the penalty is purification and a year's exile.

870. Next come intentional and inexcusable murders. First of motives for such crimes comes the overpowering love of money, which arises in a bad or uneducated nature. Men are even trained to love it by public talk and public opinion all over the world. Instead of putting Soul first, Body next, and Property third, they put the third first, although it is only useful as far as it serves the need of the other two—the second being the servant of the first. If the proper restrictions on the pursuit of wealth were urged and understood, there would be no such murders as these.—Next comes ambition as a motive for murder.—And thirdly guilty fear of exposure.

Besides this "prelude" on the subject, we must, in the case of the refractory, call in the aid of Religious Mythology and its experts, who tell us that it is fated that anyone who commits
such a murder must after death suffer exactly the same fate in another existence. Besides, the law in such cases is as follows: for a deliberate wicked murder of a fellow-citizen, first seclusion from civic life and public places of resort. If a relative of the deceased fails to prosecute, or to proclaim the murderer's seclusion, he will incur the pollution of the murder, and may be sued by anyone who likes, in the interest of the deceased. The court will be that which judges cases of sacrilege. The criminal condemned on such a charge must be put to death, and must not be buried in his native land.

871 d 6. If an accused man avoids prosecution by flight, he must never return: if he does it is to certain death.—The prosecutor must let the accused find bail if he can.

872. The plotter and instigator of a murder, though not polluted by it in body, is polluted in soul. The penalty is the same, except that his body may be buried in his native land—but he cannot claim to be let out on bail, if he is a citizen.

A slave who kills a free man by force or guile is to be flogged to death in sight of his victim's tomb.—If a citizen kills a slave for fear of what he knows, it is as if he had not been a slave, but a free man.

c 7. The legislator hardly likes to contemplate the possibility of a deliberate murder, either at first or second hand, of near relatives; but such murders do occur, even among citizens of reputable communities. As we said above, mythology teaches us that exactly the same fate awaits the murderer of a relative in another life. In one way or another such a crime cries out for the blood of the guilty man; and so, while we are bound to repeat the teachings of mythology, in the hope of preventing such a crime, we must also provide a penalty in this life. We ordain then the same proclamations of seclusion, and the same rules as to admission to bail as in the other cases of murder. If convicted, his dead body—to clear the state of pollution—must be subjected to public and official outrage by stoning, and then cast forth unburied in the outskirts of the land.

873 c 2: A man is even nearer akin to himself than to his relatives. What then if he wilfully takes his own life, and cheats Destiny? His next of kin must seek the advice of religious experts as to purification, and must bury his body, with no outward mark upon his tomb, in some out-of-the-way spot.—If a beast kills a man—supposing the beast is not running in a public race—the relatives must pursue the offending animal in the court of the
\( \delta \gamma \rho \omicron \nu \omicron \mu \omicron \omicron \), and if convicted, it must be banished the country.—

The same fate must await any lifeless object (supposing it is not a thunderbolt from heaven).

874. If a murder appears to have been committed, and the murderer cannot be found, the same public proclamation must be made against the unknown, accompanied by threats of death on discovery.

b 6. A burglar slain by night, or a violent robber slain by day, a violator of a free woman (or free boy), slain by his victim, or his victim's near relatives, entails no guilt and no pollution. The same impunity attends the slaying by a husband of the outrager of his wife, or, by a son, of an unprovoked murderous assailant of his father.

d 2. We have legislated about the necessary nurture and education of the living soul, and the penalties for its extinction by murder. The body's nurture and training we have also dealt with; but we have still to discuss violent injuries to the body and their varying nature, and to assess penalties for them. Manifestly wounds and maimings come next after murders. Wounds, like murders, may be unintentional, due to (the supremacy of) anger or fear, or even deliberately intentional.

875. About all violence we have this "prelude" to deliver. But for laws men would act like the fiercest of wild beasts. Man is not born with the power of (1) discerning the needs of social existence, or (2) of satisfying these needs by his actions. He cannot see that what he personally wants and likes must come second to what is good for the community, and that he cannot secure his own prosperity except through that of the body to which he belongs. \( \text{Td} \ \mu \epsilon \nu \nu \gamma \rho \ \kappa \omicron \iota \omicron \omicron \nu \nu \sigma \nu \nu \delta \epsilon \iota, \text{Td} \ \delta \epsilon \ \iota \delta \iota \omicron \nu \ \delta \iota \omicron \sigma \sigma \pi \omicron \delta \ \tau \alpha \omicron \varsigma \ \pi \omicron \omicron \lambda \epsilon \omicron \varsigma. \)

b. Even supposing a man saw all this, and was in such a position of independent power that there was no external hindrance to his acting on it, his human weakness will forbid him to live up to such a standard for long. And yet it is conceivable that a man endowed by Heaven with keen insight, if he were to attain to such a position of power, might be a law to himself and would need no outward restraint. Such a real insight is of course better than any law, and Mind must rule and not obey if it is true and free as God made it. But where is such a nature to be found? No; we must take the second best, and trust to ordinance and law; it cannot do everything, but it is generally adequate.

d 6. Wounds vary greatly in character. The Court has always to decide questions of fact, and the lawgiver may leave to it a
large amount of discretion as to the comparative seriousness of particular cases. Before we specify the points on which the lawgiver must insist, we must say something on the nature of the law-courts themselves. It is a grave public danger when a law-court is either (1) too private and secretive, or (2) too public, and truckles to the mob. The latter is the worse evil of the two. To neither of such courts can the lawgiver commit the decision of any but the most trivial matters. But if a state has good responsible judges most penalties may be left to them to assess; and we will assume that our judges are above the average. For their guidance on matters of principle we ordain the following law as to wounding.

877. A man who wounds when intending to kill deserves no mercy on account of his accidental failure; but respect must be shown for the Fateful Chance which saved one man from death and another from a worse crime. On this ground we banish him for life to the nearest state, without confiscating his property; damage of course to be made good as the murder-court may reckon it. If the wounded man is the parent, or master, or brother (or sister) of the criminal, the penalty must be death: if the husband or wife, lifelong exile. Infant children (if any) to be under guardians: adult children are to enjoy the family property, but must keep the exiled parent out of it; if there are no children, the relations, in conference with high state and religious officials, must appoint an owner for the derelict holding, and thereby, after due purification, provide the missing holder's ancestors with a fit successor.

878 b. The crime which springs from anger comes midway between "unintentional" and "intentional" crimes. In such cases damages are to be twofold if the wound is curable, fourfold if irremediable. If curable, but involving disfigurement, threefold. If the wounded man is debarred by his wound from military service, the offender must serve in his stead, as well as on his own account, or be liable to prosecution for desertion. Damages for wounds inflicted by children of the same family on one another to be assessed, in family conclave, by the parents; failing a decision from them, by the male relatives; failing them, by the Law-Wards. Of wounds inflicted by children on parents, men over sixty—if unrelated to the offender and having children of their own—are to be judges, with discretion as to penalty, which may be more or less than death. A man wounded by another man's slave must have the slave given over to him bodily, or have the damage
made good by the slave's owner. If the owner suspects that it is "a put-up job" he may prosecute; if he fails to secure a conviction, he must pay three times the damage; if he succeeds, the man who plotted with his slave is thereby convicted of the crime of man-stealing.

879 b. For wounds caused unintentionally simple damages must be paid—"τίχνης γὰρ νομοθέτης οὐδὲς ἰκανὸς ἀρχεῖν"—the court to be the same as for children who wound their parents.

b 6. Another form of violence is outrage (ἀικία). Respect for age is inseparable from a healthy community. A foreigner too must be respected. A blow from an elder (unless he be a childless man) must be borne with; a blow from a foreigner must only be met by legal proceedings. A blow must only be repaid in any case by nature's weapons. For offences against such precepts as these we provide the following law. If a man strikes any man twenty years older than himself, any bystander of an age between those of the combatants will incur disgrace if he does not try to separate them; the blow, moreover, is actionable and punishable by imprisonment for at least a year. If the offender is a foreigner and non-resident, the least sentence will be two years' detention; if a resident foreigner, three years. Bystanders who fail to interfere to prevent any of these assaults are to be fined according to their means, the court being composed of military officers.

880 d 8. Some laws are a guide to the well-disposed; others are meant as a terror to the depraved. For the self-confident impiety of the man who can go so far as to outrage his parents or grand-parents, death is too light a penalty, and as he makes light of tortures promised him in another world, he must be threatened with something worse than death in this. In such a case exceptional honours will attend the bystander who interferes, and exceptional penalties and disgrace the one who fails to do so; moreover, the guilty man himself must be a perpetual outlaw, with whom any communion will entail a dangerous pollution.

882. If a slave is seen striking a free man, bystanders must help to secure his person, and he must be handed over for chastisement to the man whom he assaulted. All these laws apply equally to both sexes.
884. The next concern of the lawgiver must be the fostering of respect for the sanctity of other persons' property, of other people's rights, and, above all, of religion. For the religious sanctity is the foundation of all sanctities, and the man who believes that the Gods of the Laws are real gods will never intentionally do an impious or unlawful thing.

885 b 6. The three causes of impiety are (1) disbelief in the existence of gods; (2) the belief that they exist but do not concern themselves with mankind; (3) the belief that by entreaties and sacrifices the gods may be prevailed on to overlook crime.

Objectors say: "though authority tells us that there are gods, and that they care for the laws, we want something more than authority to make us believe it. Most of us break laws either because we don't believe there are any gods, or because we hope to appease them afterwards."

This disbelief in any gods, or in such gods as our lawgiver believes in, does not spring solely from the desire for licentious indulgence. In Athens, at any rate, atheism has the support not only of the reaction against a foolish mythology, but also of a false philosophy.

887. If we cannot claim divine sanction for human justice, we shall be poorly off as lawgivers. We will therefore spare no pains or time in the endeavour to prove (1) that gods exist; (2) that they take an even greater interest in mankind's good than mankind do themselves; and (3) that they are incorruptible—not to be diverted from just judging and dealing by entreaties or sacrifices.

We must repress the exasperation which naturally arises against those who would rob us of long familiar and cherished beliefs, and argue calmly with atheists as man to man. For it is as important for them as for us.

888 e 1. On their side the sceptics state that the only creative forces they recognize are φύσις, design, and chance. Of these three they regard design as the least important—as merely aping the activity of φύσις. The primary productions of φύσις—substances of various kinds—they say, are all ἀδυνάτα, and their constitution is due to the chance clashing of opposite characters and motion, without the help of any god or mind or design whatever.
889 c 6. Design, they say, amuses itself at a later stage with mimicking these results of φύσις and τύχη, and among its sham products are the lawgiver's morality and theology. From this it would result that, as religion and morality are man-made, they lose their old sanction. A strong man who can impose his will on his fellows can make a morality and a religion to suit him. And so the κατὰ φύσιν ὄρθως βίος is to grow strong enough to do as one likes.

890 b. It is not enough for the lawgiver to threaten such men with penalties if they break his laws; it is his duty to try to convince them of their error,—and restore to Mind and Design their proper dignity—however much time and trouble it may cost him.

891 c. The important thing to notice is that these views make Nature the producer, and even the essence of primary substances or bodies: these, they say, are of the first order in creation; ψυχή springs from them, and is of the second order. This is the source of all their error, and this vitiates all their arguments. What our philosophy teaches us to be the cause of all coming into being, the lawbreakers' philosophy turns into a subsequent product of something else.

892. Like most men, they fail to recognize the nature and powers of ψυχή—how, above all, it stands first in the order of creation—prior to body of every kind—and has supreme power over any change or rearrangement whatsoever. This consideration at once puts ψυχή and all belonging to it in a class before and above body and all that belongs to it. In fact ψυχή is more φύσις than body—for the sceptics mean by φύσις to denote primary production, and that, as we say, is the work of ψυχή.

As being more used than you are to the subtleties of abstruse philosophy, I will for the present undertake the duty of answering the questions which the argument suggests. The first thing then we have to prove is that Soul is anterior to Body.

893 b. In the universe there is both motion and rest. Motion sometimes takes place without changing the moved body's area, sometimes takes place in many areas—in the latter case, sometimes by gliding, sometimes by rolling. (By the by, the motion of the wheel whose axle is fixed, is very interesting mathematically.)

e. Again, the clashings of moving with unmoving bodies produce disruption, and of two oppositely moving bodies agglomeration. By agglomeration bodies suffer increase, by disruption decrease, provided their principle of composition (ζεύς) remains unaltered. If however the ζεύς changes, bodies suffer destruction by both
kinds of clashing. Πέρασις, which is the opposite of destruction, is a process of the following kind. A beginning grows, reaches the first motion, then the second, and finally becomes perceptible to the senses by reaching the third. These changes and motions accompany all γένεσις.

894 b. Another classification of motions remains to be described: (1) motion may be imparted and passed on, or (2) original. The first comes from outside itself: the second sets itself in motion.

The first eight kinds of motion then are: (1) motion in one area, (2) motion in many areas, (3) agglomeration, (4) disruption, (5) increase, (6) decrease, (7) γένεσις, (8) destruction. It does not seem right to add the two kinds last mentioned—imparted, and original—to these as numbers 9 and 10. Rather ought the "original" to come first of all, and the imparted to rank as number 2. For supposing the universe were brought to a standstill together, the self-originated motion is the only kind that could help it to movement again. Being ἀρχή κινήσεως therefore the self-moving motion is προσβυτάτη καὶ κρατιστή. (It will be remembered that we started at 892 a to prove (1) that ψυχή was σωμάτων πάντων ἐμπροσθεν γενομένη, and (2) that it holds supreme command over change of every kind.)

When we see this self-moving motion, we call the thing in which it is manifested alive. And that is the very thing we say when we discern ψυχή in anything; we say it lives.

896. The name of a thing and the definition of that thing are identical: ψυχή therefore being the name of independent activity, the two things are one and the same. And as nothing can originally happen without independent activity, ψυχή must be both prior in existence, and superior in power to everything else—and so prior to and superior to body. Therefore mental processes of every kind come before bodily extension of every kind.

897. All processes then and results throughout the universe, good and bad alike, must be the work of ψυχή or ψυχαί. When a body moves, a ψυχή has moved before it. The good things in the world are the work of a ψυχή acting under the (divine) guidance of νοῦς, bad things of a ψυχή bereft of that guidance (ἀνοίᾳ συγγενομένη). Inasmuch as the regular movement of the heavenly bodies tells of mind and calculation, it is clear that the ψυχή which set them going must be of the good kind. If their movement had been irregular and mad, we should have said it was of the bad kind.

Further, I suggest that we may see an image that tells us some
thing of the nature of the movement of mind in that interesting kind of motion which we described above as movement in one and the same place, i.e. the revolution of a circular body about its centre. Both that motion, and that of the mind are in the same place, about the same point, in the same direction, and distributed, and arranged in a uniform ratio. The motions with which ψυχή has nothing to do show characteristics the opposite of all of these. The soul therefore, which is the cause of the heavenly revolution, having ψυχή for its guide, must be supremely good.

Soul is indiscernible by the bodily senses, and its action on bodies is mysterious. Probably, however, we are right in judging that each of the heavenly bodies is animated by a divine soul. Be this as it may, we have demonstrated, I think, that the ψυχή which is the cause of everything, and animates all existence is divine. That being so, we call upon our friends the atheists, if they cannot show our argument to be false, to believe in gods for the rest of their life.

899 d 4. We must next admonish the second class of sceptics, those, i.e., who believe in the gods, but think that they do not concern themselves with men and their affairs. To this view men are tempted by the sight of prosperous villainy.

900 c 8. I think I can show that the gods do take care for small things as well as for great ones. You acknowledge that they are perfectly virtuous—that they are, e.g., clear-headed and high-minded, and incapable of mean or disgraceful conduct of any kind. What would you think of a man who attended to the big parts of any task, and neglected the small ones? If he did, it would be either (1) because he thought the small parts did not matter, or (2) because he was too lazy to attend to them. The knowledge and power of the gods you admit to be unlimited; also their virtue. It cannot therefore be from timidity or laziness that they neglect small things (if they do so) nor from self-indulgence of any kind. On the other hand if there is no need for them to care for small things they must know it to be so. But is there no need?

902 b 4. Man is a creature with a living soul, and he is moreover god-fearing above all other creatures, and, like them, he is the property of the gods. Even the least important piece of property claims some care on the part of the owner. Moreover, smallness in itself has a claim to dignity; small things are harder to see and understand and manipulate than big ones. What would you think of a physician who paid no attention to a part of the body because
it was small? Or of any functionary who acted on this principle? A "waller" could teach you that big stones won't lie well without small ones to fill the gaps. Can not an all-seeing and all-powerful and perfectly virtuous god see this as well as a human workman?

903 a 10. This argument is, I think, unanswerable, but we must try not only to defeat our sceptic in argument, but to win him heartily to our side, by presenting a great view of divine providence.

"You yourself," we say to him, "are a part of a great whole, which is organized to its last fraction, and is all under perfect control. But you do not realize, notwithstanding your insignificance, that the raison d'être of every created creature or thing is the felicitious condition of the whole organism. The act of creation does not take place on your account, it is you who have been created to play your part in the whole. No human workman would elevate the part to the position and dignity of the whole: without the latter the former is nothing at all. The reason why you are out of temper is because you are too blind to see that your true interest is bound up with that of the whole universe. Without it you are nothing."

The work of the Great Disposer is this: to put souls which fill their place well into a better place (i.e. a more favourable bodily existence), and to degrade those which fill them ill. The rest of the organism is arranged on fixed lines, and body and soul are indestructible, but not indissoluble. In deciding thus a soul's place the Ruler of all has only to determine which position for each will work the most good in the world, and obviate the most evil. Do not forget that it is left to each soul by its actions or rather by the desires which prompt them, to fit itself for a better or a worse position. If you change much in this process, your lot, for good or evil, either in this world or in another, will change greatly too; for the soul must inevitably submit to the influence of its new surroundings.

905. That is how the Great Tribunal works. Do not flatter yourself that you can escape its verdict, however small or great you are. Prosperous villainy will in the Day of Judgement be found to be the reverse of prosperous.

d. It may be unnecessary, but listen further to the proof that there is no possibility of bribing the gods to connive at wrong. The gods are ex hypothesi in authority: can you imagine any man in any position of authority—say a ship's pilot, or a charioteer, or a physician, a farmer, or a stock-master—who would allow anyone
to do mischief to his charge "for a consideration"? Would you make the gods worse even than shepherds?

907 b 10. So much for the three classes of sceptics. You may think I show over-much hostility to them. It is because their opinions lead to disastrous results for the community. I can only hope that this my prelude to the laws against impiety may turn their hearts.

For the impenitent the law must run thus: Bystanders must inform the authorities of impious acts or words, and these authorities must prosecute the offenders in the proper court, or be liable themselves to such a prosecution. Imprisonment must in all cases follow conviction—either in the σωφρονιστήριον of the Nightly Assembly, or in a remote prison in the wilds, according to the heinousness of the offence, and the character of the offender. The worst are those clever hypocrites who trade on the superstitions of the vulgar. For these and any others in whom a vicious nature is discernible, imprisonment in the last-named prison for life, and burial beyond the frontier is the penalty. Their children are to be given to the care of their legal guardians. Prisoners in the σωφρονιστήριον are such as give hope of reform.

909 d 3. A further law must forbid shrines (even to national deities) in private houses. They afford opportunities for hysterical and nefarious rites. A fine is enough penalty in this case if no evil design is there; but any criminal purpose pursued under cover of either private or public worship, must be punished by death.

ANALYSIS OF BOOK XI

913. The sacredness of other people's property is the foundation of mutual trust. If I care for my soul's health and my children's welfare, I shall keep my hands and my thoughts even off treasure trove. Ἀ μὴ κατέθου μὴ ἀνέλη. Of the appropriation of such a find the proper officials must be informed, and advice sought about it by them from the Delphic oracle. The informer, if a slave, will have his freedom purchased by the state; but death is the penalty for the slave who knows and does not inform. If the informer is a citizen, he will win honour by his deed. The sacredness of
treasure trove—even of trifles—is guaranteed by law and religion. If a slave appropriates such a trifle, any man over thirty may give him a good beating: if a citizen, there follows disgrace, outlawry, and a tenfold indemnity to the possessor. If the ownership of a find be disputed, it must be produced in court and the proper magistrates must decide the dispute with the help of the state register of property, in case it is registered: if the owner be not in court, a sworn representative of him must take the find. If the object is unregistered, the case must be settled within three days, all costs to fall upon the loser.

914 c 2. A runaway slave may be recovered and punished by his master, and held in custody by any of his master's friends. If the slave be claimed as free, the claimer may take him away if he can produce three good sureties. Violent seizure without sureties is actionable. Want of due respect on the part of a freedman may justify seizure by his late master. The freedman must relinquish to his late master any surplus property he may acquire over that of his master. He may not stay in the state more than twenty years after his enfranchisement except by special permission. Without any exception he must quit the state within thirty days of his acquiring property larger than that of the third citizen class, under pain of death, and the confiscation of all his belongings.

915 c 7. If A claims as his own any kind of property which B has, by any process of sale or gift, obtained from C, B must restore it to C within thirty days—if C is a foreigner, within five months.

d 6. Purchases must be delivered and paid for in the ἀγορά, no credit being allowed on either side. There can be no recovery at law on any other terms.

e 6. Voluntary contributions are no subject for legal proceedings of any kind.

916. Sellers must give their address, and remain in the city for ten days after the purchase, in case the buyer wants to return the goods. Permission is given so to return a slave discovered to be seriously diseased within six months, or, if epileptic, within twelve, unless the purchaser be a doctor or trainer, or was notified of the disease. If the seller is an expert, and the defect is proved before arbitrators, he must pay twice the price, if a layman, the simple price. Similar regulations hold for the sale of a homicide. The court is to be the five youngest Nomophylakes, and if the seller is proved to have known of the crime, he must pay thrice the price, and duly purify the buyer's house.
2. The law demands that all money or other article, alive or dead, given in exchange shall be genuine. The dictum that spuriousness, like any other kind of lie or deceit, is occasionally permissible is a dangerous one. Such a permission must be rigidly limited by the lawgiver. (1) Heaven's curse falls on the man who calls the gods to witness to any lie. (2) Accursed too is one who tells any lie to his or her superiors, whether in station, age, or sex. A man then who, in heaven's name, sells a spurious article in the market, and in the face of the Agoranomoi, sins against both god and man. To obviate such disgraceful conduct the Law says: A seller in the market must not change during the day the price he first asks; nor must he praise his wares, or swear to their realness. A bystander of thirty or more years who sees a breach of this law and does not chastise the offender must be disgraced. Anyone who is aware of the sale of a spurious article must prosecute the offender. If the successful prosecutor is a slave or resident alien, the article becomes his: if a citizen, he is to dedicate it to the gods of the market-place: if a possible citizen informer fails to prosecute, he must be disgraced. A convicted offender, besides forfeiting the spurious article, must be publicly beaten—a stroke for every drachma in the price. The officials must, on information received from specialists, post in the market-place a list of common offences against this law, for the enlightenment of the public. A similar public notice, if necessary, as to the duties of the Astynomoi in connexion with market transactions, shall be posted at their official seat.

918. Retail trade and inn-keeping are both very useful in a community: why then is κατηλεία (which includes both) in disrepute? Moderation in the pursuit of money and other advantages is rare, and is the result of careful training of picked natures. It is this defect of human nature, and not any default in trade itself, that has damaged trade's reputation. Take the case of an inn-keeper: what might, in really good men's hands, become a gracious and welcome hospitality, looks, in its now degenerate state, more like organized brigandage.

919b. The lawgiver finds society threatened on two sides: if he abolishes trade, the result is a wearing and degrading poverty; if he lets trade become supreme, luxury corrupts the nation's soul. His efforts then must be directed (1) to confirming mutual service among citizens, and (2) to endeavouring to keep good elements in the state from trade's corrupting influence, and (3) to trying to
purge trade of mischievous tendencies. To this end he will make the following laws.

(1) None of the 5040 burghers of our resurrected Magnesia must engage in any commercial or industrial activity except on terms of mutual service among themselves, or in the service of the elders of their own family or acquaintance, and such service must be of a "gentlemanly" kind. Only a court of perfect gentlemen can define in each case what is gentlemanly and what not: it is beyond the lawgiver's logic. The penalty which such a court must inflict upon a citizen for engaging in a degrading occupation is a year's imprisonment—the period to be doubled on each renewal of the offence.

920 a. (2) \( \kappa \pi \gamma \lambda \varepsilon \iota \alpha \) is to be confined to metoecs or foreigners.
(3) Trade is to be reduced to the absolutely necessary minimum, and kept under strict supervision by the Nomophylakes. As in the case of the kindred \( \kappa \iota \beta \delta \eta \lambda \varepsilon \iota \alpha \), the officials shall post lists about it—stating limitations of price.

d. Actions for avoidable breach of contract shall be tried in the tribal courts, when friendly arbitration fails. He who fails by his own fault to complete work he has undertaken, or who fails to pay for work he has ordered, in the first place incurs the enmity of his patron deities—Hephaestus and Athena for ordinary artisans, Ares and Athena for the "artisans of safety," i.e. soldiers—Zeus and Athena for citizens; in the second place, he must produce (or pay) double value; for such failure loosens the mighty bonds of society. Not only must payment withheld be doubled, but for each month it is deferred interest on it must be paid.

921 d 4. A soldier's wages are honour, and those who refuse it are themselves dishonoured; but honoured soldiers come only second in repute to perfect keepers of perfect law.

922 a 6. The only important remaining human contract or engagement concerns the position of orphans and their relation to their guardians. These matters cannot be left unregulated. The two facts which are at the root of the question are (1) the prevailing desire of settling what is to become of one's property after one's death; and (2) intestacy. Both present difficult problems. Death-bed testaments are likely to conflict with the moral sense of the community, if not with its laws. The leading idea in a dying man's mind is the desire to retain his hold on his possessions. Hitherto Law has been too indulgent to this desire. Law ought to say to men in such a case: "Poor creature of a day, in your present state you do not know what you have
THE LAWS OF PLATO

got or what you are: you and yours belong not to yourself so much as to your family past and present, and both you and they belong to the state. So I will not suffer you to be cajoled by flattery, or reduced by sickness, into making a bad will: the state's interest must count before that of any individual. Depart from life in peace and charity: leave the rest to us lawgivers.” Following on this prelude of exhortation comes the law. If the testator leaves children, he must in the first place fix on the son who is to inherit his lot; must notify any adoption that has been settled for any other son; and, if any children are left unadopted and intend to emigrate, to them he may assign as much of his property as he likes out of his superfluity—and in what proportion he likes—but must not touch his lot, or its equipment, always provided that such son or daughter has not a house and lot already. If any children so dowered become subsequently possessed of a lot of their own, their dowry must revert to the son first favoured. If a man leave daughters only, the lot goes to the husband whom the man selects for the daughter of his choice. In case a real or adopted son should die before coming of age, the testator should name a second heir. A childless testator may only dispose of a tenth of his superfluity; the rest must follow the lot, and go to the adopted son.

924 a 6. A man may in his will name guardians for his children if they need them. If he fails to do so the Nomophylakes must appoint such from among relatives and friends—two on the father’s side, and two on the mother’s, and one from friends. Moreover, the fifteen oldest Nomophylakes shall look after all guardians and orphans, three each year.

c 6. If an intestate leave daughters only, he must expect the Law to consider, in selecting husbands for them, nearness of kin, and the interest of the lot, rather than personal eligibility. It will ordain in such a case the following order: first, the deceased’s brother on the father’s side (δομοπάτωρ), next that on the mother’s (δομομητρος)—if ἀκλήρος—next a son of either of the former, next a sister’s son, next it goes to his father’s brother, fifthly his father’s brother’s son, sixthly his father’s sister’s son. Suitability of age shall be settled by the court after personal inspection. If the family provides no possible husband within the three generations, the girl and her guardians will have free choice. They may even choose a man who has emigrated, whether related or not.

925 c 3. If an intestate leave no children, the nearest unmarried woman in the family must take a husband from the
family and occupy the "lot." There will, however, be cases where public interests must give way before strong and natural private disinclination. For such cases arbitrators must be provided. In case the family press the marriage on a reluctant bride or bridegroom, the above-named fifteen shall decide whether the objection is to be upheld or not, appeal being allowed from them to the "select judges." The loser in the suit will be made to suffer in public reputation, a more serious thing than loss of money.

926 d 8. For the general welfare of orphans we trust to their second fathers, the fifteen, and to them and to guardians we would address the following exhortation: "It will be well to acquiesce with the lawgiver in the general belief that the dead exercise influence over the living. So that besides the gods there are the spirits of the departed parents, whose wrath must be shunned and whose favour must be courted by all who have to deal with orphans. The aged too among the living are, in a well ordered state, to be reckoned with by those who misuse orphans. In the face of all these, guardians and others should count that kindness to orphans is really kindness to themselves, and that ill-treatment of them will bring on themselves twice as heavy a penalty as would ill-treatment of others." Guardians, then, and officials who have orphans in charge must treat them in all respects as they would their own children. The court of "select judges" shall try cases of ill-treatment or neglect on the part of guardians or officials, even within five years after the lapse of official connexion—inflicting double penalties on the officials and quadruple on the guardians, and superseding the official guardian if necessary.

928 d 5. The conflicting interests of parents and sons may lead to serious antagonism, ending in either (1) repudiation, and so ultimate expatriation of sons (if not adopted within ten years by someone), or (2) legal incapacitation of incompetent parents. The former process must have the support of a full family council; the latter can only be attempted with the approval of the oldest Nomophylakes.

930 a. For quarrels between husbands and wives the middle-aged Nomophylakes are the arbiters. If they fail to restore peace, they are to dissolve the union and find each side a fresh and suitable partner.

A widower with children (of both sexes) had better not re-marry; but if without, he must. A widow, with a sufficiency of children (one at least of each sex) should stay and keep house
for them. If she is young enough to make re-marriage advisable, the case must be referred to the women overseers of marriages, and especially where there are not children.

No child of a slave (man or woman) must have a chance of being established in the family, whatever the position of the other parent: it must be rigidly excluded from it.

931 a. Aged relatives in a household are quite as worshipful as statues of the gods. Legend tells of the power of their blessing or their curse. Dishonour to them is resented by the gods, and honour to them secures divine favour. Moreover, statues which we worship cannot pray for us, but aged relatives can. No honour is too great for such. The three oldest Nomophylakes, along with the three oldest of the women supervisors of marriage, are a court to which dishonoured age can appeal. Delinquents under thirty (women under forty) may be punished by the court with stripes and imprisonment. If over these ages, they must be taken before the 101 oldest citizens, who may inflict any sentence they like. It is everybody's duty to aid dishonoured age in getting the culprits punished. A slave may gain his freedom by so doing, and a free man who could do it and fails may be prosecuted.

933 a. Injuries to the person by means of so-called "pharmacy" are of two kinds, (1) the natural effect of noxious drugs, and (2) the effects of magic charms or philtres. We may disbelieve in the reality of the latter effects, but it is no good for the lawgiver to tell the mutually ill-disposed, who practise it or are its victims, that there is probably nothing in it. What he must do is, first argue with and warn all such intending transgressors of either kind, and next threaten (a) a physician, and (b) a soothsayer or magician with death for attempting such damage to person, or any damage to live stock; further, to threaten laymen who pursue either course with the punishment of the tribunal which assesses the damage.

934 a. Thefts and acts of violence must be made good, and the culprit must be made to smart for his own moral good. If the felony be of his own devising, and he is prompted by desire or by coward fear, so much the worse: if he is the tool of others, he is not so culpable, and a lighter punishment will be necessary for his moral restitution. In all these matters the judge's acumen must supplement the law, and the lawgiver must do his best to give a lead to the judge, by picturing to him typical cases beforehand. This is a duty which we as lawgivers, Megillus and Cleinias, must not forget.
c 7. The mad, whether slave or free, must be kept out of public view. Those responsible for them must be fined (in proportion to their wealth) for failure to do so.

Akin to madness is an angry temper freely indulged, and liable to be a public scandal. Personal disagreement must not proceed to personal abuse. It breeds deadly quarrels, and that sort of gratification of angry impulses turns men to brutes—a poor gratification that! Further, Ridicule, a favourite weapon of anger, must be held in check. No one must be allowed by the presiding authority to make fun of another on any public occasion. If he does it elsewhere, any older man than himself may rebuke him with blows for his evil propensity.

But though universally accompanying personal abuse, the attempt to raise a laugh at another's expense is not criminal, if not associated with ill-feeling, especially when the joker is himself a man of high character (cp. 829 d). No public literature, on the comic stage or off it, must make a butt of an individual citizen, whether in anger or not. The decision as to what literature of the kind is allowable must be left to the Director of Education.

936 b 3. In a well ordered state it will be safe absolutely to prohibit begging.

c 8. Injury done by a slave must be made good by his master, except, of course, in case of culpable negligence on the part of the injured man, or of collusion with the slave—which is possible in such cases as are punishable by the delivery of the slave. If A accuses B of collusion with his (A's) slave, and proves it at law, B must pay A twice the value of the slave: if he fails to prove it, he must give up the slave to B and make good the damage.

937 a. A summons to attend a trial as witness must be obeyed. A judge called as witness must not act as judge in the case. A woman may bear witness, if over forty, and may bring a suit, if over forty and without a husband. In a murder trial slaves and children may bear witness, but must furnish bail that they will stand a trial for perjury. Such a trial of any witness must be applied for during the original trial. After two convictions for perjury a man cannot be summoned to give witness; after three he will not be allowed to, under penalty of death. If witness which has been pronounced false is found to have decided a trial, a fresh trial must take place.

d. There is a curse which attends the boon of judicial proceedings, and that is (the art of) professional advocacy. The man who undertakes to defend anyone who will pay him for it must be

37
THE LAWS OF PLATO

reduced to silence, and, if necessary, banished. Any man who attempts to follow in his steps for fame’s sake must be excluded from taking part in any trial, or urging a suit of his own: if a man does so for money’s sake, for a foreigner the penalty is perpetual banishment; for a citizen death.

ANALYSIS OF BOOK XII

941 a. Treachery in an envoy to a foreign state is punishable both as impiety and as treason. Theft of state property—no matter whether of a small or great amount—whether by guile or force—must be punished by death in the case of a citizen, less severely in the case of a foreigner or a slave. Let no thief think to gain any countenance from the wicked and idle tales of the poets who represent sons of Zeus as guilty of all kinds of theft.

942 a 5. The military habit of doing everything by order and nothing on one’s own initiative is a most valuable asset to the state. Anarchy is not good for either man or beast. The trained soldier’s physical suppleness and skill, his powers of bodily endurance, last, but not least, the soundness of his feet, and ability to dispense with artificial covering for the head are all necessary to bodily efficiency.

943 a. Military service then must be compulsory. Failure to serve, or desertion, or other failure of duty, is punishable by a court of fellow-soldiers with forfeiture of the chance of distinction and the power of prosecuting or defending his fellows, in addition to any special penalty that may be inflicted. The same court of fellow-soldiers, when on a campaign, can confer various ranks of distinction for good service. False testimony before such a court, or failure to distinguish between necessary and unnecessary lapses, are both impious. As to the latter point Homer teaches us, by the example of Patrochus’s fate, that the loss of a shield may not involve disgrace. The coward must be punished to make him brave, but not the victim of a hard fortune. A real coward should be visited with a punishment as nearly as possible approximated to the opposite of the change which overtook the Thessalian Caineus, when he was changed from a woman to a man. He must never be admitted again to the ranks of martial men. Any general who is responsible for his re-admission, as well as the original culprit, must be fined according to his property qualification.
ANALYSIS OF BOOK XII

945 b 3. Magistrates are chosen, some by lot, some by election; some for a year, some for a longer period. For fear that any of these may "talk crooked talk" or be "bowed down" in his weakness by the weight of his official responsibility, a "straightening" process must follow at the end of his term. How are we to find the virtue for such "straighteners" or correctors? If we can find it, it will contribute more than anything to the stability and coherence of the political fabric. For the rule of right is essential to political unity, and that is why we cannot do without the scrutiny of correctors who are above suspicion, and of transcendent ability. Their election shall proceed as follows. All citizens shall assemble every year immediately after the summer solstice in the precinct of Helios and Apollo, and each man shall in that presence produce the names (of which none shall be his own) of the three men he thinks the best from among those of fifty years or over. Arrange these names in order of votes received and take the upper half of such a list. In cases of equality of votes the younger (if necessary for an equal division) must be excluded. This process must be repeated till three are left. In case of equality of votes in their case, the lot must decide their order, but these three shall solemnly be proclaimed as Correctors in the face of the two deities, and, as it were, consecrated to the precinct which is to be their official residence. In the first year the number elected must be twelve, not, as in future, three, and all are to serve until they reach the age of seventy-five. These Correctors shall divide the magistracies into twelve groups, and apply all kinds of honourable tests in judging of the official acts and life of each magistrate. Sometimes they are to judge singly; at others all together, publishing in all cases their judgement in writing in the agora. Appeal is allowed from the Correctors to the Select Judges court (see p. 767 c 2 ff.), but at the risk of the penalty—if short of death—being doubled, if the appeal fails. These Correctors are to enjoy the highest honours and distinctions. They are all priests of Helios and Apollo; the first of the three elected in the year being the High Priest, and giving his name to the year. They have the chief seats in all public assemblies, and preside over all special embassies to foreign states. When they die their burial (in a special underground vault) is a public ceremony of such dignity and holiness that the usual taint of impurity attaching to a corpse is in their cases non-existent, if the Pythia makes no objection. Still they themselves are not above correction. There is a court before which even they can be summoned. This
consists of Guardians of the Law, all the surviving members of the Corrector's own order, with the addition of the Select Judges. Any citizen may impeach a Corrector, before such a court, of being unworthy of his office, and conviction involves loss of all rank and station while alive, and of the state funeral when dead. If the prosecutor of the suit fail to obtain a fifth of the votes of the court, he must pay a fine according to his station, the highest being 12 minae.

948 b. Rhadamanthus, at a time when he and all around him were children of the gods, was doubtless right in thinking that an oath taken in court in a god's name was to be implicitly trusted. This made judicial proceedings simple and speedy. But in these days, when some men think gods do not exist, others that, though existing, they take no part in human affairs, others, who are the worst of the three classes, believe that the gods can be bribed to join them in wrongdoing their fellow-men—manifestly in such a society, Rhadamanthus's device is of no use. No litigant must be sworn. It would be distressing to think that we were every day associating familiarly with perjurers; and, if both sides in a suit take oaths, one side must be perjured; and there are a lot of suits. No: the judge's verdict and the elector's vote shall still be given upon oath, or given in a sacred place; so shall that of the judges in all kinds of contests, whether artistic or gymnastic—on all occasions, in short, on which there is no thought of personal gain: but all suits involving such gain must be decided without an oath. Judicial authority shall further absolutely discourage all kinds of “calling gods to witness” in litigants' speeches, as also all whining appeals to pity. Let them state their case like gentlemen and stick closely to the subject. Foreigners in our courts may swear if they like: they are casual residents who do not take root and have progeny here, and so it does not matter if they are spoilt—and the courts are open to all alike.

949 c 6. Citizens guilty of ceremonial and other minor offences, such as being behind-hand with due contributions in peace or war, must first of all make good the deficiency or find bail. The security is to be forfeit to the state in case of non-compliance. If the case is serious, the proper official must bring the culprit to judgement to obtain full satisfaction.

e 3. As our citizens make no money except by agriculture, and do not engage in trade, the question arises how far is intercourse with foreigners to be encouraged, or even allowed them, whether at home or abroad. Indiscriminate intercourse of state with state weakens and confuses the customs and laws of each; and, though
the state with inferior institutions may gain, that with good ones is sure to lose. At the same time, even if it were possible—which it is not—to avoid all such intercourse altogether, such a course would bear a churlish and uncivilized look to foreign eyes; and a good name abroad, if really deserved, as I hope our state's will be, is by no means to be despised. Foreigners who have not our advantages have yet sharp enough eyes to detect our failures. No citizen under forty must go abroad at all; none without state authority, whether as envoy, ambassador, or spectator at a ceremony. (Warlike expeditions do not count in this respect.) To all public Hellenic meetings and centres of religious influence we must send numbers of such representatives as will do us credit. These men will be able to speak with authority when they tell us, on their return, of the superiority of our home arrangements. Interest in foreign ways and manners, however, may sometimes lead to discoveries of improvements on our own institutions, while the added experience of good and evil will at once refine the mind and manners of the traveller, and give a rational confirmation to his patriotism. Among the multitudes he meets he will very possibly encounter one or two divinely endowed natures who will be invaluable as associates: such men are to be sought diligently, even in the desert of a low civilization, for the lessons they can teach us; and no state, however perfect, can dispense with such search. Such a traveller must be over fifty but not over sixty, and of a reputation for prowess and general capacity which will do credit to his order of Guardians of the Laws. On his return homie he must enter the Nocturnal Council, that mixture of old and young which will meet each day at dawn, consisting of men on whom the highest state and religious distinctions have been conferred, along with the ten oldest Guardians of the Law, the Minister of Education and all surviving previous holders of that office. Each of these "Privy Councillors" is to bring with him a chosen younger man of between thirty and forty. This assembly will discuss the laws of its own state, and keep its eyes on any possible improvements to be learnt from the experience of other states. They shall also undergo the training most likely to make their younger members politically wise. Each of these younger men's proficiency, or the reverse, will bring credit, or the reverse, upon the elder who chooses him, and upon himself, in the eyes of the whole state. They are marked men, and must expect greater blame, as well as greater praise, than others.

952 b 5. Immediately after his return the traveller must present
THE LAWS OF PLATO

himself before this Council to communicate any fresh notions he may have gathered in his travels on laws, education, or nurture. If he be judged not to have suffered in character during his intercourse with foreigners, he is to be praised for his enterprise, even though he may be thought to have nothing valuable to communicate: if his foreign experience has been of service, he is to be highly honoured both in life and after death. If on the other hand it has done him harm, let him not presume on his claim to experience and wisdom to influence young or old. If such a man is convicted in a law court of having meddled with laws or education, he must die, and it shall be a disgrace to any magistrate who knew him to be guilty, and failed to prosecute him, when that magistrate’s turn comes to have his conduct officially judged.

5. Foreign visitors to our state, for whose treatment we must provide, will be of four kinds: (1) those summer birds of passage, the foreign traders, who mostly come by sea. For these and for their ships accommodation must be found near the city, but outside it, and intercourse with them must be limited as much as possible, and confined to magistrates with judicial functions elected for the purpose: (2) visitors at public games and other national ceremonies. Special arrangements must be made for their hospitable entertainment during their stay, by religious officials, who will also have judicial functions as far as minor offences go—more important cases being referred to the Agoranomoi: (3) thirdly come foreign embassies or envoys. These are state-guests, and should be entertained by the military authorities; and the Prytaneis must help each private entertainer of such a guest: (4) fourthly come the rare travellers in search of foreign experience and political information. These must not be admitted if under fifty, and must show good cause for their journey. Being themselves, by implication, wise and rich, they should be the guests of their like, e.g. of the Minister of Education, or some other distinguished “Right Honourable.” In all these dealings with foreigners, at home or abroad, we must not be churlishly exclusive, but must respect and invoke the protection of the Zeus of Hospitality.

5. In cases of bail security should be given clearly in writing, before three or five witnesses, according to the amount. An agent acting in a sale for a wrongful or fraudulent owner is to be held responsible at law.

5. A seeker for stolen goods must come with no outer clothing, and ungirt, and the man under suspicion must abandon all the contents of his house to inspection, sealed and unsealed.
In case of refusal, if a law court supports the claim to search, double the value of the stolen article must be paid. In the absence of the owner the seeker must himself put his own seal and set guard on all sealed property, and wait five days. After that time he may conduct the search into sealed property himself, in the presence of the Astynomoi, and afterwards must re-seal in their presence and that of the owner's people.

3. A year of open and unchallenged holding, in town, of any movable property—the possession of houses and lands can never be disputed among us—is enough to establish possession: if in the country it must be a five years' open and unchallenged holding: if the object is never seen out of the town house, three years: if kept indoors in the country, ten years must elapse: if kept abroad the claim may be made after any length of time.

4. As for violent interference with principal or witness in a trial, if it is a slave that is so kept away, the suit fails, if a free man, it fails, with the added penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a liability to prosecution for kidnapping. If the like violence impedes a competitor in a public contest, and the athlothetai cannot remove the impediment, the winner must give the victory to the thwarted competitor, and duly advertise the fact, besides forfeiting for ever the chance of advertising any victory of his own, and paying damages for violence.

955 b 5. The receiver of stolen goods is to be held as guilty as the thief. For the harbourer of a runaway slave, likewise for any person or persons who themselves make peace or war with those with whom the state does not do the same, death is the penalty. For the latter offence the military authorities are those who must prosecute.

6. Under no pretext of good service must a gift be accepted by a state official. It is hard to see good work and withhold a reward, but the only safe thing is loyally to obey the law which punishes the receiver of such gifts with death.

5. As to public taxes, not only is it necessary, for many reasons, to have a public register of each man's property, but also that each tribe should register their yearly harvest, so that the state may have either register on which to base their inquisitions.

5. Let there be no extravagance in religious arrangements. The soil and hearth of our dwellings are sacred to all the gods: no special private shrines are needed, nor any display of gold or ivory. The former is vulgar, the latter has associations which make it unfit for pious use. Bronze and iron have too war-
like a look. For public temples whole wood or marble statues, plain woven draperies in white, are the suitable adornments. Birds are suitable for sacrifice, and simple frescos for decoration.

956 b 4. The state having been divided into its due components, and such and such laws having been made for the regulation of important contracts between citizens, there remains the question of judicial proceedings. Resource must first be had to arbitration by agreement between the parties to the suit. Next come the sessions of the villagers and tribesmen, who for this purpose are divided into twelve parts. If the arbitrator's decision be challenged by the defendant, the case moves to the higher court, at the risk of an enhanced penalty. If a third trial is desired, it must be before the Select Judges, and involve a higher penalty still. If it is the plaintiff who appeals, the same rules as to penalties apply. The election of judges, whether original or supplemental, the constitution of their assistant staffs, and their terms of office, and the proceedings of their courts may, for the larger state courts, be copied from other states, with amendments where experience may show them to be needed, and, in the smaller details, left to the "younger legislators," who will in course of time supplement our work. But when once completed the judicial system must thereafter be unalterable. Even the manners and tone of the court proceedings should be subjects of regulation. All these regulations, being a branch of Legal Science, belong to a subject of study of the most improving kind. It is therefore most important that there should be no defect in them. The profound study of Legal Science will help, more than all other literature, to give soundness to men's judgement, and stability to the state. For the good will be confirmed and advanced in goodness, and all not irreclaimably bad converted. On the hopelessly bad the wise judge will inevitably pass sentence of death.

958 a 4. At the conclusion of judicial proceedings steps must be taken to execute their decisions. Power must first be publicly assigned to the winner over the loser's personal property. If in the course of the next full month after the month of the trial the winner's just demands have not been satisfied, the court will hand the property over to him. If this does not suffice within a drachma, the loser, while still in debt, will be incapacitated from suing anybody else. If a man sets the court at defiance, he may be sentenced by the Law-Guardians' Court to death.

c 7. At the end of all things comes death, and after death
burial. As to burial rites in honour of gods of this world or the next, the Delphi-taught state hierophants must decide. The state itself must insist on the earthly part of the transaction. Graves, great or small, must not be made in agricultural land, and must in no way injure the living. Mounds must be limited in height, and stone tablets not larger than what would contain four hexameter verses. Lyings-in-state must be only long enough to establish the fact of the death. The great lesson the lawgiver must enforce about death is that the real man is his soul not his body, which is the soul’s image or shade. The real man has gone to give, to the gods of the lower world, an account of the deeds done in the flesh. Nothing that you can do here can help him in this ordeal. While he was alive it was possible for his friends to help him so to live that he would have nothing now to fear. Now it is too late. Let no man therefore ruin himself over funeral expenditure, but remember what it really is that he is burying, and not think of it as the departed loved one, who has gone far away to learn his fate. Make the best of what is left, but do not exaggerate its value. It will be well to prescribe five minae as the extreme limit for such expenditure, with smaller limits for the lower property classes. Let each family of mourners put themselves in the hands of any member of the Guardian class they choose, and he shall be responsible for the correctness of the funeral ceremony. Funeral customs will only be checked by the state in the following particulars. Tears it would be unbefitting either to demand or to prohibit. Wailing must not be heard in public: the funeral cortège must make no display of the corpse, and no noise in the streets, and must be outside the city before daybreak. Disobedience in these respects to the Guardian in charge must be punished by the Guardians as a body as they think fit. As has been mentioned above, apropos of some kinds of murders, there are cases where no burial at all is allowed.

960 b 4. This brings our law-making to an end, but no task is really finished unless provision has been made for the security and maintenance of the thing produced. We have completed our work. We must now find means of preserving our structure. The name of the third of the Fates, Atropos, hints this need. Atropos means unalterable. That good laws should sink into our souls, and so become immortal, is as important to the state as health and safety for the bodies of its citizens.

961 a. Do you remember the Nocturnal Council we spoke of? —comprised of (1) the ten oldest Guardians of the Laws, (2) the
recipients of special commendation for state service who were appointed Correctors and priests of Apollo and Helios, (3) the approved travellers of over fifty who have acquired valuable experience abroad, and (4) the younger men of over thirty chosen each by one of these elders, and "passed" for admission? It meets at dawn, when other engagements are fewest. Give this assembly its proper weight, and it will provide the preservative we want.

d. The preservation of every animal depends on the combined excellence of (1) its *intelligence*, and (2) its "head" senses of seeing and hearing. In different circumstances the aim and occupation of the intelligence and senses are different. The physician's aim, e.g., is health: the general's, victory: on sea the aim is safe-conduct. What is the statesman's aim? The faculty for discerning what ought to be the aim of the statesman is a prime necessity for the *preservation* of our fabric. Where, in our state organism, shall we find such a faculty? Surely in the Nocturnal Council. It must then be our first object to ensure that Council's perfection, and for this purpose the Council must have one sole aim. Different states have different laws and institutions because their aims are different. In one it is power for its oligarchy—whether good or bad; in another wealth, with or without freedom; in another mere freedom, or freedom coupled with sovereignty over others. Some states aim at all together.

963 a. We agreed long ago that our state must aim at one thing only, and that ἄρετή. Under the leadership of Mind, or Wisdom, Virtue is fourfold. *Mind*, whether of statesman or physician, keeps its eye on its aim. What, I ask again, is the aim of the πολιτικὸς νοῦς? What exactly is it that we are so eager to catch sight of? and in what manifestations? What do we mean, you ask, by "manifestations"? In saying there are four kinds of ἄρετή we imply that each of the four is a separate kind. At the same time we give them all four a common name, which seems to pronounce them one and not many. It is easier to account for the bestowal of each of the four separate names, than it is to account for the bestowal of the one name which is common to all four. Courage, e.g., is "physical" and may be found in irrational creatures. But wisdom cannot exist without reason. The difference between the two is plain. Wherein they are one it is harder to see. (That is what I mean by different manifestations.)

964 a. Again, in this connexion let me remind you that a man of judgement has to, know two things about every important thing: (a) its name and (b) its definition. What can be more
important for such a distinguished man as a Lawgiver and Law-
guardian than these four virtues of Courage, Temperance, Justice
and Wisdom? Do you think a chance poet or sophist would be
more likely than such a man—whose $\text{\textalpha} \text{\textphi} \text{\textomicron} \text{\textomicron} \text{\textomicron}$ is beyond that of other
men—to enlighten us on the nature of $\text{\textalpha} \text{\textphi} \text{\textomicron} \text{\textomicron}$ and its opposite?
The want of such enlighteners among its citizens would abandon
a state to all kinds of misfortune.

\textbf{d 3.} Our first object, then, must be to secure Guardians of
superior $\text{\textalpha} \text{\textphi} \text{\textomicron} \text{\textomicron}$, and thus provide the state with wise "head-senses"


to preserve its constitution. The state being the "body," the

selected younger men of the assembly will resemble the "body

senses," and the elder members will be its \textit{mind}. The \textit{education}
of destined members of this assembly must be of a higher

kind than ordinary, and then we shall have got the preservers we

want. Our model Guardian must have an eye for the one thing

needful, and the power of concentrating all his energies on its

pursuit. For the former purpose the best possible philosophical

education is the process of discerning the \textit{one} in the separate and

unlike \textit{many}. Not a doubt of it. Let us therefore propose to

these preservers of our society this problem: how is it that the

four distinct virtues of Courage, Temperance, Justice, and Wisdom

have yet the \textit{one} name of Virtue? Is it \textit{one} thing? Is it a \textit{whole}

thing? Is it both? or what is it? We \textbf{must} have this defined. Real

excellence is, I believe, otherwise unattainable by the state. We know

the cost then: are we going to pay it, or to give up? Never, you

say; but how, you ask, are we going to get the definition in question?

Before we ask that I want to be sure that we all feel the need of it.

\textbf{966 a 5.} In the case of Beauty and Goodness the Guardians have
to find out not only that various kinds of good things are \textit{many}, but
also that they are \textit{one}. Further, if they feel that, they ought to
be able to explain the \textit{one-ness}. All genuine Guardians of the
Laws ought thoroughly to understand all important subjects, and
to be able to explain them, and to act accordingly. Now can
there be any more important subject than the knowledge of the
existence and manifested power of the gods? While allowing
the multitude to hold these truths \textit{on report} alone, our Guardians
must labour to arrive at complete conviction on the subject. To
secure this we must choose only such guardians as are exceptionally
capable, exceptionally well trained, and exceptionally virtuous.

\textbf{e.} Our previous discourse showed us that there are two
discoveries that produce faith in the gods: (1) that the $\nu \chi \xi \gamma$ is
the first of prime movers, and (2) that the ordered movement of
the stars and all else is directed by *mind*. A thorough and competent investigation of these two subjects will not, as is popularly supposed, make infidels, with no faith but in blind necessity. Such infidelity was due to men's belief that the origin of all things was lifeless matter, though even then some thought there must be *mind* in the heavenly movements. No mortal can "be right with God" who (1) does not hold that *soul* is prior to and lord of *body* of all kinds, and immortal, and (2) has not so intelligently studied astronomy as to see that the motions of the stars are the work of *mind*. He must also be able to expound these beliefs. Men who fall short of this must be content with *practical everyday virtue*, and can never be fit to *rule*; only to *obey*. Such then must be the education and training of the members of the Nocturnal Council, if it is really to save the constitution.

968 b. For this purpose you shall have the best help that I can give you. I happen to have some friends whose help will be valuable. Our first step must be to constitute our Council: to them, after they have received much instruction and held much consultation with us, we must leave further legislation. To begin with, we must select all fit persons—i.e. those whose age, intelligence and character mark them as appropriate members. For their studies we cannot yet frame strict rules. The *value* and appositeness of a study is often only revealed when it is already mastered. It is not so much that we can't make rules for it as that we must *wait* to make them. Something we must leave to chance, and hope for the best. My own experience as an educator and a student is entirely at your service, and if, Cleinias, you will make the great venture, the New Magnesia will through all its generations bless you and hold you in high honour. Set up your Council: choose and train them wisely; put the state in their hands, and you will have that desirable union of Mind and Head-Senses—thought and clear-sightedness—which was the creation of our dreams. Such a perfect safeguard will it be as no state has ever yet possessed.

Megillus and Cleinias heartily agree, and promise complete compliance with the Athenian's advice.
ΝΟΜΟΙ

(Z–ΙΒ)

ἈΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΞΕΝΟΣ ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΡΗΣ
ΜΕΓΙΛΛΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ
BOOK VII

SHORT ANALYSIS

788-793 d 6.—The care of children up to three years of age. —Carry them about much; keep them from pain and vexation, but do not be anxious to procure them pleasure.

793 d 7-794 c 3.—From three to six is the age of play; careful supervision; and, if necessary, punishment.

794 c 3-798 d 5.—At six the children begin to be taught.—Gymnastic and dancing for the body; “music” for the mind. Oversight must still be kept over games, which will be as far as possible the same for every generation.

794 d 2-795 d 5.—Left and right hands to be both equally trained.

798 d 7-803 b 3.—The choice of “music” (tune, dance, and song).

803 b 3-804 c 1.—The meaning and value of man’s life, and the part played in it by Art and Religion.

804 c 2-806 d 2.—Women’s education to be the same as men’s.

806 d 7-808 c 6.—Man’s supreme task through life must be his own perfection.

808 c 7-809 b 3.—Ὁ παῖς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δυσμεταχειριστάτων: the education of children will task the lawgiver’s wisdom to the uttermost.

809 b 3-812 b 1.—Reading and writing; what to read.

812 b 2-813 a 3.—Lyre-playing.

813 a 5-814 d 5.—Further remarks about gymnastic training.

814 d 7-817 e 4.—Further remarks about dancing and dances.

817 e 5-819 a 7.—Preliminary remarks on mathematical necessity.

819 a 8-c 7.—Arithmetic.

819 c 7-820 e 7.—Geometry.

820 e 8-822 d 1.—Astronomy.

822 d 2-824.—Field sports.

51
788 Α. Προφήτης δε παίδων ἰδρύτων καὶ θηλείων, τροφὴν μὲν ποι ἔννοιαν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα λέγειν ὑπὲρτατ' ἵνα γίγνουθ' ἡμῖν, ἵνα εἴναι μὲν ἀρρητὸν πάντως ἀδύνατον, λεγομένη δὲ διδαχὴ τινα καὶ νοουθῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ νόμοις εἰκών·

b ἐκάστων λύπης τε καὶ ἢδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμιᾶς ἔτερα παρὰ τὰς τοῦ νομοθέτου συμβουλὰς παραγενόμενα, παντοδαπὰ καὶ οὐχ ὄμοιο ἀλλήλοις ἀπεργάζοιτ' ἵνα τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἡθητον, τούτο δὲ κακὸν ταῖς πόλεσιν· καὶ γὰρ διὰ σμικρότητα αὐτῶν καὶ πυκνότητα ἐπιζήμα τιθέντα ποιεῖν νόμους ἀπερέπεσ' ἀμα καὶ ἀσχήμον, διαφθειρεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς γραφῆς τεθέντας νόμους, ἐν τοῖς σμικροῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς ἐθισθέντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρά

789 c νομεῖν· ὥστε ἀπορία μὲν περὶ αὐτὰ νομοθετεῖν, σωφρόν ἄρ τὸ ἀδύνατον. ἁ δὲ λέγω, δηλώσαι πειρατεῖον οἷον δείγματα ἐξενεγκόμενα ἐἰς φῶς· τῶν γὰρ λεγομένων οὐκε κατὰ τι σκότος.

d 5 ΚΛ. Ἀληθεύσατα λέγεις.

Α. Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς τὴν γε ὅρθῃν πάντως δεῖ τροφήν φαίνεσθαι δυναμένην ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ ἀριστα ἐξεργάζεσθαι, τούτῳ μὲν ὅρθῳς εἰρηταί ποι. ΚΛ. Τι μήν;

10 Α. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

Α. Τι δὲ; τόδε οὐκ ἐννοοῦμεν, ὡς ἡ πρώτῃ βλάστη

d 5 παντὸς χῶρος πολὺ μεγίστῃ καὶ πλείστῃ φύεται, ὡστέ καὶ ἑρπὶ πολλοῖς παρέσχηκεν μὴ γίγνεσθαι τὰ γ' ἀνθρώπων μῆκοι διπλάσια ἀπὸ πέντε ἐτῶν ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς εὐκοσίω ἐτεσιων αὐξανόμενα;

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ.

Α. Τί οὖν; πολλὴ αὕτη ὅταν ἐπιρρέῃ πόνων χωρὶς

πολλῶν καὶ συμμέτρων, οὐκ ὑσμεν ὅτι μυρία κακὰ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἀποτελεῖ;

ΚΛ. Πάνω γε.

Α. Οὐκοῦν τότε δεῖται πλείστων πόνων, ὅταν ἡ πλείστῃ 52
τροφή προσγίγνηται τοῖς σώμασιν.

ΚΛ. Τι δήτ', ὃ ἔϕεν; ἣ τοῖς ἄρτι γεγονόσι καὶ νεστάτους πόνους πλείστους προστάζομεν;

ΑΘ. Οὐδαμῶς γε, ἀλλ' ἐτί καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν αὐτῶν μητέρων τρεφομένοις.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις, ὃ λέοτε; ἡ τοῖς κυνουμένοις φράζεις;

ΑΘ. Ναί. θαυμαστον δ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγνοεῖν ὃμᾶς τῆν τῶν τηλικούτων γυμναστικῆν, ἡν βουλοίμην ἄν ὑμῖν καίπερ ἀτοπον οὕσαν δηλώσαι.

ΚΑ. Πάνω μὲν ὑμῖν.

ΑΘ. Ἐστι τοῖνυν παρ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον τὸ τουοῦτον κατανοεῖν διὰ τὸ τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτοθί μειζόνως τινὰς παίζειν ἡ δεῖ: τρέφουσι γὰρ δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον παιδεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τινὲς ὀρνίθων θρείματα, ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας τὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα. ἀσκοῦντας τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν θηρίων πολλῷ δὴ δέουσαν ἥγεισθαι τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῖς εἰναι τοὺς πρὸς ἄλληλα μετρίους, ἐν οἷς αὐτὰ ἀνακινοῦσι γυμνάζοντες· πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτοι λαβόντες ὑπὸ μάλης ἐκαστος, τοὺς μὲν ἐλάττωνας εἰς τὰς χείρας, μείζους δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγκάλην ἐντός, πορεύονται περιπατοῦντες σταδίους παμπάλλους ἑνεκα. τῆς εὐεξίας οὖτι τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς τούτων τῶν θρεμμάτων, καὶ τὸ γε τοσοῦτον δηλοῦσι τῷ δυναμενῷ καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι τὰ σώματα πάντα ὑπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν τε καὶ κινή-σεων κυνούμενα ἀκοπα ὑνώναται πάντων, ὡσ τὸ ἐντὸς, ἡ καὶ ἐν αὐράις ἡ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἡ καὶ ἐφ' ἐπων ὁχυμένων καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων ὅπως οὖ δὴ φερομένων τῶν σω-μάτων, κινεῖται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὰς τῶν σῶν τροφὰς καὶ ποτῶν κατακρατοῦσα, ὑγείαιν καὶ κάλλος καὶ τῆν ἄλλην ῥώμην ἡμῖν δυνατὰ ἐστὶ παραδίδοναι. τί οὖν ἢν φαίμεν ἠχόντων οὕτω τούτων τὸ μετά τοῦτο ἡμᾶς δεῖν ποιεῖν; βού- λεσθε ἀμα γέλωτι φράζωμεν τιθέντες νόμους τῆν μὲν κύων- σαν περιπατεῖν, τὸ γενόμενον δὲ πλάττεν τε ὁδὸν κήρυν, ἔως ὑγρόν, καὶ μέχρι δυοῖν ἐτοῖν σπαργαναν; καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς τροφοὺς ἀναγκάζωμεν νόμως ἐπημοῦντες τὰ παιδία ἡ πρὸς ἀγροὺς ἡ πρὸς ἔρα ἡ πρὸς οἰκείους ἄει πῃ φέρειν, μέχριτερ ἢν ἱκανῶς ἱστασθαι δυνατὰ γίγνεται, καὶ τότε, διευλαβο- μένας ἐτι νέων ὁντων μὴ τῇ βίᾳ ἐπερεδομένους στρέφηται τὰ κάλα, ἐπιποιεῖν φεροῦσας ἔως ἢν τριτες ἀποτελεσθῇ τὸ γενόμενον; εἰς δύναμιν δὲ ἱσχυρὰς αὐτὰς ἐἶναι χρεών
καὶ μὴ μίαν; ἐπὶ δὲ τούτος ἐκάστοις, ἂν μὴ γίγνηται, ζη·
μίαν τοῖς μὴ ποιοῦσι γράφωμεν; ἡ πολλοὶ γε δεῖ; τὸ γὰρ ἄρτη ῥηθὲν γίγνουτ’ ἂν πολὺ καὶ ἀφθονον.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποίον;

5 ἌΘ. Τὸ γέλωτα ἂν πολὺν ὀφλεῖν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τῷ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἂν πείθεσθαι γυναικεῖα τε καὶ δουλεια ἤθη τροφῶν.

ΚΛ. Ἄλλα τῶν δὴ χάριν ἐφαμεν αὐτὰ δεῖν ῥηθήναι;

ΑΘ. Τούδε· τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν τε καὶ ἔλευθερῶν ἐν ταῖς

b πόλεσιν ἦθη τάχ’ ἂν ἀκούσαντα εἰς σύννοιαν ἄφικοι’ ἂν τὴν ὀρθὴν, ὅτι χωρίς τῆς ἱδίας διουκήσεως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὄρθης γυγυμοίῃς μᾶτην ἂν τὰ κοινὰ τις οἶστο ἐξείν τινα βεβαιώτητα θέσεως νόμων, καὶ ταῦτα ἐννοοῖν, αὐτὸς νόμοι

5 ἂν τοῖς νῦν ῥηθέσαι χρῆτο, καὶ χράμενος, εἰ τίνη τε οἰκιάν καὶ πόλιν ἀμα τὴν αὐτὸν διουκών, εὔδαιμονοί.

ΚΛ. Καὶ μάλ’ εἰκότως εὐρήκας.

ΑΘ. Τουγαροῦν μὴπο λήξωμεν τῆς τοιαύτης νομοθεσίας,

c πρὶν ἂν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πάνυ νέων παιδῶν ἐπι-

τηδεύματα ἀποδώμεν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄντερ ἡρμεθα

tῶν περὶ τὰ σώματα μῦθων λεχθέντων διαπεράνειν.

ΚΛ. Πάνω μὲν ὀν ὀρθῶς.

5 ἌΘ. Δάββομεν τῶν ὁλοκ τοῦτο οἶδο στοιχεῖον ἐπ’ ἄμφοτερα,

σώματος τε καὶ ψυχῆς τῶν πάνυ νέων τὴν τιθήνην καὶ

κύνησιν γυγυμοίῃς ὅτι μάλιστα διὰ πάσης τε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ὡς ἔστι σύμφορος ἀπασί μὲν, οὐχ ἢκιστα δὲ τοῖς

ὅτι νεωτάτουι, καὶ οἰκεῖν, εἰ δυνάτων ἤι, οἶδο ἀεὶ πλεοντας·

νῦν δ’ ὡς ἐγγύτατα τούτου ποιεῖν δεὶ περὶ τὰ νεογενῆ παιδῶν

θρέμματα.. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρῆ καὶ ἄπο τῶνδε, ὡς εἰς ἐμ.

περίασιν αὐτὸ εἰλήφασι καὶ ἐγνώκασιν ὅτι χρῆσομαι αἱ τε

τροφοὶ τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ τῶν Κορυφάντων οίαμα

tελόναι; ἤνικα γὰρ ἂν που βουληθόσων κατακομίζειν τὰ

dυσυστόντα τῶν παιδῶν αἱ μητέρες, οὐχ ἢσχύναν αὐτοῖς

προσφέρουσιν ἀλλὰ τούναντίον κύνησιν, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις

e δεὶ σείουσα, καὶ ὡς συγή ἀλλὰ τῶν μελωδιῶν, καὶ ἀτέχνω

ὁλον καταυλουσί τῶν παιδῶν, καθάπερ ἢ τῶν ἐκφρόνων

βακχειῶν, ἴσας ταύτη τῇ τῆς κινήσεως ἀμα χορεία κα

μοῦη χρώμεναι.

5 ΚΛ. Τίς οὖν αἰτία τούτων, ὥς εἶν, μᾶλιστ’ ἐσθ’ ἡμῖν;

ΑΘ. Οὐ πάνω χαλεπὴ γυγυμοίκειν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δή;
ἈΘ. Δειμαίνειν ἐστὶν ποι ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα τὰ πάθη, καὶ ἐστὶ δείματα δι’ ἐξιν φαύλην τῆς ψυχῆς τινα. ὅταν οὖν ἐξωθέν τις προσφέρῃ τοὺς τουούτους πάθεις σεισμόν, ἡ τῶν ἐξωθέν κρατεῖ κύνης προσφέρομεν τὴν ἐντὸς φοβερὰν οὐδαν καὶ μανικῆν κύνης, κρατήσασα δὲ, γαλήνην ἡσυχίαν τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φαίνεσθαι ἀπεργασαμένη τῆς περὶ τὰ τῆς καρδίας χαλεπῆς γενομένης ἐκάστων πτησίσεως, παντάπαινι 5 ἄγαπητόν τι, τοὺς μὲν ὑπνον λαγχάνειν ποιεῖν, τοὺς δ’ ἐγρήγοροτάς δροχουμένους τε καὶ αὐλουμένους μετὰ θεών, οίς ἂν καλλιεργοῦντες ἐκαστοὶ θώσαι, κατηγράσατο ἀντὶ μανικῶν ἡμῖν διαθέσεων ἐξεις ἐμφρονασ ἐχειν. καὶ ταῦτα, ὅσ διὰ b βραχέων γε οὕτως εἶπείν, πιθανόν λόγον ἔχει τινα.

ΚΑ. Πάντη μὲν οὖν.

ἈΘ. Εἰ δὲ γε οὕτως τοιαύτην τινα δύναμιν ἔχει ταῦτα, ἐννοεῖν χρή τόδε παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὡσ ἀπασα ψυχή δείμασιν 5 συνοδος έκ νέων μᾶλλον ἀν διὰ φόβων ἐθίζωτο γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ που πᾶς ἂν φαίνθη δειλίας ἂσκησιν ἀλλ’ οὖκ ἀνδρείας γίγνεσθαι.

ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ; ἈΘ. Τὸ δὲ γε ἐναντίον ἀνδρείας ἂν φαίμεν ἐκ νέων εὕθες 10 ἐπιτήδευμα εἶναι, τὸ νικᾶν τὰ προσπίπτου’ ἡμῖν δείματα τε c καὶ φόβους.

ΚΑ. Ὁρθῶς.

ἈΘ. “Εν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ψυχῆς μόριον ἀρετῆς, τῶν τῶν παντελῶς παιδῶν γυμναστικῆν ἐν ταῖς κυνήσεωι, μέγα ἡμῖν 5 φῶμεν συμβάλλεσθαι.

ΚΑ. Πάντη μὲν οὖν.

ἈΘ. Καὶ μὴν τὸ γε μὴ δύσκολον ἐν ψυχῆ καὶ τὸ δύσ- κολον οὐ σμικρὸν μόριον εὐψυχίας καὶ κακοψυχίας ἐκάτερον γιγνόμενον γίγνοιτ’ ἂν.

ΚΑ. Πῶς δ’ οὖ; ἈΘ. Τών οὖν ἂν τρόπον εὕθες ἐμφυοῦθ’ ἡμῶν ὀπότερον d θεοληθεύμεν τῷ νεογενεῖ, φράζειν δὴ πειρατέου ὅπως τις καὶ καθ’ ὅσον εὑροπετ τούτων.

ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ; ἈΘ. Δένω δὴ τὸ γε παρ’ ἡμῖν δόγμα, ὡς ἂ μὲν τρυφῆ 5 δύσκολα καὶ ἀκράχολα καὶ σφόδρα ἀπὸ σμικρῶν κινούμενα τὰ τῶν νέων ἤθη ἀπεργάζεται, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἐναντίον, ἡ τε σφοδρὰ καὶ ἀγρία δουλωσίς, ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀνελευθέρους καὶ
μισανθρώπους ποιοῦσα, ἀνεπιτηδείους συνοίκους ἀποτελεῖ.

5 e  ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν δὴ χρὴ τὰ μῆτης φωνῆς συνέντα, μηδὲ
pαιδείας τῆς ἄλλης δυνᾶτα γενέσθαι πω, τρέψεω τῇ
πόλιν ἅπασαν;

ΑΘ. 'Ὡδὲ πως· φθέγγεσθαι ποι μετὰ βοής εὔθὺς πάν
εἰσθεν τὸ γενόμενον, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γέ-
νος· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ κλάειν πρὸς τῇ βοή μάλλον τῶν ἄλλων
συνέχεται.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν αἱ τροφοὶ σκοποῦσαι τίνος ἐπιθυμεῖ, τούτοις

792 αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ προσφορᾷ τεκμαίρονται· οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἂν προσ-
φερομένου συγά, καλῶς οἴνομαι προσφέρειν, οὐ δ’ ἂν κλάῃ
cai boá, ou kalóς. tois òi pайдοις το δήλωμα δόν ἔρα
cai μισεῖ κλαυμοναί καὶ βοάι, σημεῖα οὐδαμῶς εὔτυχὴ· ἔστιν
dὲ ὁ χρόνος οὕτως τριῶν οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐτῶν, μόριον οὐ σμι-
cρόν τοῦ βίου διαγαγεῖν χεῖρον ἢ μὴ χεῖρον.

ΚΛ. Ἐρμής λέγεις.

ΑΘ. 'Ὁ δὴ δύσκολος οὐδαμῶς τε ἱλεως ἄρ’ οὐ δοκεῖ σφῶν

b θρηνώθης τε εἶναι καὶ ὀδύρμων ὃς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πλήρης
μάλλον ἢ χρεών ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν;

ΚΛ. Ἐμοί γοῦν δοκεῖ.

ΑΘ. Τὰ οὖν; εἰ τὶς τὰ τρίτη πειρώτο πᾶσαν μηχανήν

5 προσφέρων ὡς [τὸ τρεφόμενον] ἤμιν ὡς ὀλγιστῇ προσχρή-
σεται ἀληθῶς καὶ φόβους καὶ λύπης πάσης καὶ δύναμιν,
ἀρ’ οὐκ ὀμάρθυν μεθύμων μάλλον τε καὶ ἱλεων Ἱ’ ἄν’ ἀπεργάζε-
σθαι τηρικάδα τὴν ψυχήν τοῦ τρεφομένου;

ΚΛ. Δῆλον δὴ, καὶ μάλιστα ἃ’ ἄν, ὃ ξένε, εἰ τὶς πολλάς

c ἡδονᾶς αὐτῷ παρασκευάζοι.

ΑΘ. Τοῦτ’ οὐκετ’ ἂν ἔγον Κλεινία συνακολουθήσαμ’ ἄν,
ἄ δαυμάσσει. ἐστὶν γὰρ οὖν ἠμῖν ἡ τοιαύτη πράξεις δια-
θυρα μεγίστῃ πασῶν· ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ γίγνεται ἐκάστοτε
5 τροφῆς. ὑρώμεν δὲ εἰ τι λέγομεν.

ΚΛ. Δέγε τι φής.

ΑΘ. Οὐ σμικροῦ πέρι νῦν εἶναι νῦν τῶν λόγων. ὅρα δὲ

καὶ σύ, συνεπικρίνει τε ἡμᾶς, ὃ Μέγυλλε. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔμοι δὴ
λόγος οὐθ’ ἡδονᾶς φησι δεῖν διώκειν τὸν ὀρθὸν βιῶν οὖτ’ ἂν

d τὸ παράπαν φεύγειν τὰς λύπας, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ ἀσπάζεσθαι τὸ

mέσον, ὃ νυνὶ προσείπον ως ἱλεων ὀνομάσας, ἢν δὴ διά-

θεσιν καὶ θεοῦ κατὰ τινα μαντείας φήμην εὐστόχως πάντες
προσαγορεύομεν. ταύτην τὴν ἔξιν διότι  
δεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσσομαι θείου, μήτε οὖν αὐτὸν προσετῇ  
πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς γυνώμενον ὅλως, ὡς οὖν ἐκτὸς λυπῶν ἐσόμενον, μὴτε ἄλλου, γέροντα ἡ ἱερὸν, ἧνα ράσχειν ταύτων τοῦθ' ἡμῶν, ἀρρενίας τὴν νέων, ἑαυτά ὕπαντων  
δὲ ἡγίατα εἰς δύναμιν τὸν ἀρτίων νεογενής κυριωτάτων γὰρ οὖν ἐμφύτευται πάσι τότε  
τὸ πᾶν ἦθος διὰ ἔθος. ἐπὶ δ' ἐγὼ γ', εἰ μὴ μέλλομεν δοξεῖν παίξειν, χαίρειν ἂν δεῖν καὶ τὰς φεροῦσας ἐν γαστρὶ πασῶν  
tῶν γυναικῶν μᾶλλον θεραπεύειν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐνναύτων, ὥς μὴτε ἡδονάις τις πολλαῖς ἀμα καὶ μάργους προσχρή-  
σεται ἡ κύουσα μήτε αὖ λύπαις, τὸ δὲ λείων καὶ εὐμενεῖς  
πράον τε τιμῶσα διαζήσει τὸν τότε χρόνων.

ΚΛ. Ὥδεν δεῖ σε, ὥς ἔρχεται, Μέγιλλον ἀνερωτῶν πότερον  
ἡμῶν ὅρθοτερον εἰρήκεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς σοι συγχωρῶ τὸν  
λύπη της καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀκράτοι βίον φεύγειν δεῖν πάντας,  
μέσον δὲ τινὰ τέμνειν αἰεί. καλῶς τοίνυν εἰρήκας τε καὶ  
ἀκήκοας ἀμα.

ΑΘ. Μάλα μὲν οὖν ὅρθως, ὥς Κλεινία. τόδε τοίνυν ἐπὶ  
τούτοις τρεῖς ὄντες διανοηθῶμεν.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποίον;

ΑΘ. ὁτε ταύτ' ἐστιν πάντα, ὡς νῦν διεξερχόμεθα, τὰ  
καλοῦμεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγραφα νόμμα: καὶ ὁς πατρίους  
νόμους ἐπονομαζοῦσιν, οὐκ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἡ ταυτὰ σύμ-  
pαντα. καὶ ἔτι γε ὁ νῦν ὅλος ἡμῖν ἐπιχυνθεῖς, ὡς οὐτὲ  
νόμους δεὶ προσαγορεύειν ἄυτα οὐτὲ ἄρρητα ἕαν, εἰρήκατι  
καλῶς: δεσμὸι γὰρ οὗτοι πάσης εἰςιν πολιτείας, μεταξὺ  
pαντῶν ὄντες τῶν ἐν γράμμασι τεθέντων τε καὶ κειμένων  
καὶ τῶν ἐτὶ τεθησμένων, ἄτεχνως οἶον πάτρια καὶ παντά-  
pασιν ἀρχαὶα νόμμα, ἡ καλῶς μὲν τεθέντα καὶ ἐθισθέντα  
pάση σωτηρίᾳ περικαλύπταντα ἔχει τοὺς τότε γραφέντας  
νόμους, ἂν δ' ἐκτὸς τοῦ καλοῦ βαΐνη πλημμελῶς, οἶον  
tεκτόνων ἐν οἰκοδομήσαν ἐρείσματα ἐκ μέσων ὑπορρέουντα,  
συμπίπτεν εἰς ταύτων ποιεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, κεῖσθαι τε ἄλλα  
ὑφ' ἐτέρων, αὐτὰ τε καὶ τὰ καλῶς ὑστερον ἐποικοδομηθέντα,  
tῶν ἀρχαϊῶν ὑποσεόντων. ἀ ὅ δ' ἰδιαυομένους ἡμᾶς, ὥς  
Κλεινία, σοι δεὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶνὴν οὖσαν πάντῃ συνδεῖν,  
μήτε μέγα μήτε σμικρὸν παραλυπόντας εἰς δύναμιν ὅσα  
νόμους ἡ ἐθή τής ἡ ἐπίτηδεύματα καλεῖ: πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς  
τοιούτοις πόλις συνδεῖται, ἀνευ δὲ ἀλλῆλων ἑκάτερα τούτων

792 d

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793

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οὖκ ἔστιν μόνιμα, ὡστε οὐ χρή θαυμάζειν εάν ἦμιν πολλά ἁμα καὶ σμικρὰ δοκοῦντων εἶναι νόμιμα ἡ καὶ εὔσματα ἐπιρρέοντα μακροτέρους ποιή τοὺς νόμους.

ΚΛ. 'Αλλ' ὄρθως σὺ γε λέγεις, ἥμεις τε οὕτω διανοησόμεθα.

ΑΘ. Εἰς μὲν τοῖς τὴν [τοῦ] τριετῆ γεγονότος ἥλικιαν κόρου καὶ κόρης ταῦτα εἰ τις ἀκριβῶς ἀποτελοῖ καὶ μὴ παρέργοις τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρῆτο, οὐ σμικρὰ εἰς ὑφελίαν γίγνοιτ' ἀν τοῖς νεωτί τρεφομένοις τριετεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ τετραετεῖ καὶ πενταετεῖ καὶ ἐτὶ ἔξετεί ἥθει ψυχῆς παιδῶν δέον ἂν εἶη, τρυφῆς δ' ἥθη παραλυτέον κολάζοντα, μὴ ἄτιμως, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων γ' ἐλέγομεν, τὸ μὴ μὲν ὅβρεως κολάζοντας ὄργην ἐμπούησαι δεῖν τοῖς κολασθεῖσιν μηδ' ἀκολάστους ἔστωσι τρυφῆν, ταύτων δραστεῖν τούτο γε καὶ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαν. παιδιαὶ δ' εἰς ἄν τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις αὐτοφυεῖς τινες, ὃς ἔπειδὰν συνέλθωσιν αὐτοὶ σχεδὸν ἀνευρίσκουσιν. συνείναι δὲ εἰς τὰ κατὰ κώμας ἔρα δεὶ πάντα ἥθη τὰ τηλικαίτα παιδία, ἀπὸ τριετοὺς μέχρι τῶν ἐξ ἐτῶν, κοινῇ τὰ τῶν κωμητῶν εἰς ταύτων ἐκαστά: τὰς δὲ τροφοὺς ἐτὶ τῶν τηλικοῦτων κοσμομότητος τινές καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐπιμελεῖταί τινές δὲ τροφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης συμπάσιν, τῶν ὁδο- δεκα γυναικῶν μίαν ἐφ' ἐκάστη τετάχθαι κοσμούσαν κατ' ἐναντόν τῶν προηρµήνευσιν ἃς ἂν τάξωσιν οἱ νομοθῆκαι. ταύτας δὲ αἱρεύσθωσαν μὲν αἱ τῶν γάμων κύριαι τῆς ἐπι- μελείας, ἐξ ἐκάστης τῆς φυλῆς μίαν, ἥλικας αὐταῖς· ἡ δὲ καταστάσις ἀρχέτων φοιτῶσα εἰς τὸ ἀεὶκόν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ κολάζονσιν ἄει τὸν ἀδικοῦντα, δοῦλον μὲν καὶ δούλην καὶ ξένον καὶ ξένην αὐτῆ διὰ τῶν τῆς πόλεως οἰκετῶν, πολίτην δὲ ἀμφιβοηθοῦντα μὲν τῇ κολάσει πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους ἐπὶ δίκην ἁγιος, ἀναμφισβήτητον δὲ ὅντα καὶ τὸν πολίτην αὐτῆ κολάζετων. μετα δὲ τὸν ἔξετη καὶ τὴν ἐξέτων διακρι- νέσθω μὲν ἦθη τὸ γένος ἐκατέρων· κόροι μὲν μετὰ κόρων, παρθένοι δὲ ὁδαυτὸς μετ' ἀλλήλων τὴν διατριβὴν ποιε- σθωσιν· πρὸς δὲ τὰ μαθήματα τρέπεσθαι χρεῶν ἐκατέρωρ, τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας εφ' Ἰππων διδασκάλους καὶ τόξων καὶ ἀκοντίων καὶ σφενδονήσεως, ἕαν δὲ τὴν συγχωρέσων, μέχρι

gε μαθῆσεως καὶ τὰ θήλεα, καὶ δὴ τὰ γε μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν χρείαν. τὸ γάρ δὴ νῦν καθεστὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖται παρὰ τοῖς πάσιν ὀλίγου.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποιῶν;
ΑΘ. 'Ως ἀρα τὰ δεξιά καὶ τὰ ἀριστερά διαφέροντα ἐσθ' ἡμῶν φύσει πρὸς τὰς χρείας εἰς ἐκάστας τῶν πράξεων τὰ περὶ τὰς χείρας· ἐπεὶ τα γε περὶ πόδας τα καὶ τὰ κατω τῶν μελῶν οὐδὲν διαφέροντα εἰς τοὺς πόνους φαίνεται, τὰ δὲ κατὰ χείμας ἀνοίᾳ τροφῶν καὶ μητέρων οἶνον χωλικό γεγόνα-

μεν ἐκαστοί. τῆς φύσεως γὰρ ἐκατέρων τῶν μελῶν σχεδὸν ἀσοροπούσης, αὐτοὶ διὰ τὰ ἔθη διάφορα αὐτά πεποιήκαμεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς χρώμενοι. έν όσοις μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐργῶν μὴ μέγα διαφέρει, λύρα μὲν ἐν ἀριστερῶ χρώμενον, πλήκτρῳ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ, πράγμα οὐδέν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαύτα· τούτως δὲ παρα-

δείγμασι χρώμενον καὶ εἰς ἀλλὰ μὴ δέον οὖτω χρῆσθαι σχεδὸν ἄνοια. ἐδειξέν δὲ ταῦτα ο τῶν Ὁκυθάν νόμος, οὐκ ἐν ἀριστερά μὲν τόξων ἀπάγων, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ οὐστὸν προσαγό-

μενος μόνον, ἀλλ' ὀμοίως ἐκατέρως ἐπ' ἀμφότερα χρώμενος. πάμπολλα δ' έτερα τοιαύτα παραδείγματα ἐν ἱμοχείαις τε ἐστι καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις, ἐν οἷον μαθεῖν δυνατόν ὅτι παρὰ φύσιν κατασκευάζουσι οἱ ἀριστερὰ δεξιῶν ἀσθενεστερα κατασκευά-

ζοντες. ταύτα δ', ὅπερ εὑρομεν, ἐν μὲν κερατίνοις πλήκτροις καὶ ἐν όργανοις τοιούτοις οὐδὲν μέγα. σιδηροίς δ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὅταν δὲ χρῆσθαι, μέγα διαφέρει, καὶ τόξοις καὶ ἀκοντίως καὶ ἐκάστοις τούτων, πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅταν ὀπλοῖς δὲ πρὸς ὑπλα χρῆσθαι. διαφέρει δὲ πάμπολυ μαθῶν μὴ μαθόντος καὶ ὁ γυμνασάμενος τοῦ μὴ γεγυμνασμένου. καθά-

περ γὰρ ὁ τελέως παγκράτιον ἰσοκήκως ἡ πυγμήν ἡ πάλην οὐκ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀδύνατος ἑστὶ μάχεσθαι, χωλαίνει δὲ καὶ ἐφελκεται πλημμελῶν, ὅπταν αὐτὸν τις μεταβιβάζουν ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀναγκαίη διαπονεῖν, ταῦτα δ' τούτ', οἷμαι, καὶ ἐν ὀπλοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι χρή

προσδοκῶν ὀρθὰν, ὅτι τὸν διιττὰ δεὶ κεκτημένου, οἷς ἀμύ-

νοιτο τ' ἀν καὶ ἐπιπεθεῖτο ἄλλους, μηδὲν ἀργὸν τούτων μηδ' ἀνεπιστημόν ἐὰν ἐναι κατὰ δύναμιν. Γηρυόνου δὲ γε εἰ τις φύσιν ἔχων ἡ καὶ τὴν Βριάρεω φύσιτο, ταῖς ἐκατόν χερσίν ἐκατόν δεὶ βελη ῥίπτειν δυνατὸν εἰναι. τούτων δ' ἐν πάντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἄρχουσας τε καὶ ἄρχουσι δεὶ γίγνεσθαι, ταῖς

μὲν ἐν παιδαίσ τε καὶ τροφαῖς ἐπισκόπους γιγνομέναις, τοῖς ἐπὶ μαθήματα, ὅπως ἀρτίποδες τε καὶ ἀρτίχειρες πάντες τε καὶ πᾶσαι γιγνόμενοι, μηδὲν τοῖς ἐθεσιν ἀποβλάπτωσι

tὰς φύσεις εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν.

Τὰ δὲ μαθήματά που διττά, ὦς γ' εἰπεῖν, χρῆσασθαι
συμβαίνοι ἂν, τὰ μὲν ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμναστικῆς, τὰ δὲ εὐφυγίας χάριν μουσικῆς. τὰ δὲ гυμναστικῆς ἂν δῦο,

e τὸ μὲν ὄρχησιν, τὸ δὲ πάλη. τῆς ὄρχησεος δὲ ἄλλῃ μὲν Μοῦσῃ λέξιν μυμομένων, τὸ τε μεγαλοπρέπεις φυλάττοντας ἄμα καὶ ἐλεύθερον, ἄλλῃ δὲ, εὐεξίας ἐλαφρότητος τε ἐνεκα καὶ κάλλους, τῶν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ μελῶν καὶ μερῶν τὸ
5 προσήκον καμμῆς τε καὶ ἐκτάσεως, καὶ ἀποδιδομένης ἐκάστους αὐτῶν εὐρύθμου κινήσεως, διασπερομένης ἀμα καὶ συνακολουθούσης εἰς πάσαν τὴν ὄρχησιν ἰκανῶς. καὶ

796 

δὴ τὰ γε κατὰ πάλην ὅ μὲν Ἀνταῖος ἦ Κερκύων ἐν τέχναις ἐαυτῶν συνεστήσαντο φιλονικίας ἀρχήστου χάριν, ἢ πυγμῆς Ἑπείος ἦ Ἀμυκός, οὐδὲν χρήσιμα ἐπὶ πολέμου κοινωνίαν ὄντα, οὐκ ἄξια λόγῳ κοσμεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἀπ᾽ ὀρθῆς πάλης, ἀπ᾽
5 αὐχένων καὶ χειρῶν καὶ πλευρῶν ἐξειλήσεως, μετά φιλονικίας τε καὶ καταστάσεως διαπονοῦμενα μετ᾽ εὐσχήμνονος, ῥώμης τε καὶ ὑγείας ἐνεκα, ταῦτ᾽ εἰς πάντα ὄντα χρήσιμα οὐ παρετέων, ἀλλὰ προστακτέων μαθηταῖς τε ἄμα καὶ τοῖς
b διδάξοναιν, ὅταν ἐνταῦθ᾽ ὅμεν τῶν νόμων, τοῖς μὲν πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα εὐμενῶς δωρεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ παραλαμβάνειν ἐν χάρισιν. οὐδ᾽ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐστίν αὐτὶ μυμήματα προσή-
κοντα μιμεῖσθαι παρετέον, κατὰ μὲν τὸν τόπον τόνδε Κοῦ-
5 ρήτων ἐνὸπλια παίγνια, κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνα Διοσκόρων. ἡ δὲ αὖ που παρ᾽ ἧμιν κόρη καὶ δεύστων, εὐφρανθείσα τῇ τῆς χορείας παιδᾶ, κεναίς χεροῖς οὐκ ἀθήνθ᾽ ἐνν ἀθύρειν,
c πανοπλία δὲ παντελεῖ κοσμηθεῖσα, οὕτω τὴν ὄρχησιν δια-
περαίνειν· ἣ δὴ πάντως μιμεῖσθαι πρέπον ἃν εἰ ἐν κόρους τα ἄμα καὶ κόρας, τήν τῆς θεοῦ χάριν τιμῶντας, πολέμου τ᾽ ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ ἐρητῶν ἐνεκα. τοῖς δὲ που παισὶν εὐθὺς τε καὶ
5 ὅσον ἃν χρόνον μῆτρα ἐν πόλεμον ἰσων, πάσι θεοὶς προσ-
όδους τε καὶ πομπᾶς ποιομένους μεθ᾽ ὅπλων τε καὶ ὑπών ἀεὶ κοσμεῖσθαι δέον ἃν εἰ ἐν, ὀθῶς τε καὶ βραδυτέρας ἐν ὄρχησιν καὶ ἐν πορείᾳ τὰς ἱκετείας ποιομένους πρὸς θεοὺς
tε καὶ θεῶν παιδᾶς. καὶ ἀγώνας δὴ καὶ προσάγωνα, εἰ
tυνος, οὐκ ἄλλων ἡ τούτων ἐνεκα προσαγωνιστέον. οὔτοι γὰρ
καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον χρήσιμοι εἰς τε πολιτείαν καὶ ἰδίους οὐκος, οἷς ἄλλοι πόνοι τε καὶ παιδαί καὶ σπουδαί
5 κατὰ σῶματα οὐκ ἐλευθέρων, ὃ Μέγιλλε τε καὶ Κλεινία.

"Ἡν εἰπὼν γυμναστικὴν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι λόγοι οὕτ᾽ ἃ δεόν
dιεξελθεῖν, σχεδὸν δὴ διελήλυθα τὰ νῦν, καὶ ἐσθ' αὐτῇ

60
παντελῆς· εἰ δέ τινα ταύτης ὑμεῖς ἔχετε βελτίων, θέντες εἰς κοινὸν λέγετε.

ΚΑ. Οὐ ράδιον, ὡς ἔγεν, παρέντας ταύτα ἄλλα ἔχειν βελτίων τοὺτον περὶ γυμναστικῆς ἄμα καὶ ἀγωνίας εἰπεῖν.

ΑΘ. Τὸ τοῦτον τούτους ἐξῆς περὶ τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος δῶρα, τότε μὲν, ὡς ἀπαντά εἰρηκότες, φόμεθα καταλείπειν μόνα τὰ περὶ γυμναστικῆς· νῦν δὲ ἐστὶν δῆλα ᾧ τ’ ἐστὶν καὶ ὦτι πρῶτα πᾶσιν ῥήτεα. λέγωμεν τούτων ἐξῆς αὐτά.

ΚΑ. Πάντα μὲν οὖν λεκτέων.

ΑΘ. Ἀκούσατε δὴ μου, προακηκοότες μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόθεσι· ὃμως δὲ τὸ γε σφόδρα ἄτοπον καὶ ἁθέας διευλαβεῖσθαι δεὶ λέγοντα καὶ ἀκούοντα, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν· ἐρῶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγώ λόγον οὐκ ἀφοβον εἰπεῖν, ὃμως δὲ τῇ θαρρήσας οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι.

ΚΑ. Τίνα ὄν, τούτον, ὡς ἔγεν, λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Φημὶ κατὰ πᾶσας πόλεις τὸ τῶν παιδιῶν γένος ἡγοῦνται σύμπασιν ὅτι κυριώτατὸν ἐστὶ περὶ θέσεως νόμων, ἡ μονίμιοι εἶναι τοὺς τεθέντας ἡ μή· ταχέως μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ μετασχοῦν τοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὁσαύτως ἂν τῶν αὐτῶν παῖδεν τε καὶ εὐθυμεῖσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς παιγνίοις, ἔα καὶ τὰ ὁποὺ δὴ κείμενα νόμιμα μὲνεν ῥυχῆς, κωνούμενα δὲ ταὐτα καὶ κανονομούμενα, μεταβολαίς τὰ ἀλλαῖς καὶ χρώμενα, καὶ μηδέποτε ταὐτὰ φίλα προσαγορευόντων τῶν νέων, μὴτ' ἐν σχήμασιν τοῖς τῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων μιᾷ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις σκεύεσιν ὁμολογομένως αὐτοῖς ἂν κεῖσθαι τὸ τ' εὐχήσθων καὶ ἀσχημόνων, ἄλλα τὸν τι νέον ἂν κανονομοῦντα καὶ εἰσφέροντα τῶν εἰσιθόντων ἔτερον κατὰ τε σχήματα καὶ χρώματα καὶ πάντα ὡς ταυτά, τούτοις τιμᾶσθαι διαφέροντως, τούτῳ πολεῖ λύβην οὖν εἶναι μείζων φαίμεν ἂν ὀρθότατα λέγοντες· λανθάνειν γὰρ τῶν νέων τὰ ἡθη μεθυστάντα καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀτιμον, τὸ δὲ νέον ἐνίμπον· τούτῳ δὲ πάλιν αὖ λέγω τοῦ τε ρήματος καὶ τοῦ δόγματος οὖν εἶναι ζημίαν μείζων πάσαις πόλεσιν· ἀκούσατε δὲ ὅσον φημὶ αὐτ' εἶναι κακον.

ΚΑ. Ἡ τὸ ψέγεσθαι τὴν ἁρχαιότητα λέγεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

ΑΘ. Πάντα μὲν οὖν.
ΚΑ. Οὐ φαύλους τούνν ἡμᾶς ἢν ἀκροατাস πρὸς αὐτὸν
5 τὸν λόγον ἔχοις ἃν τοῦτον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς δυνατὸν εὐμενεστᾶτουσ.
ΑΘ. Εἰκός γοῦν.
ΚΑ. Δέγε μοῦν.
ΑΘ. Ἰτε δὴ, μειζὼνος αὐτὸν ἀκούσωμεν τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους οὕτως εἰπωμεν. μεταβολὴν γὰρ δὴ
10 πάντων πλὴν κακῶν πολὺ σφαλερωτὰτον εὑρήσωμεν εὐρίσκομεν ἐν ὡραις
πάσαις, ἐν πνεύμασιν, ἐν διαίταις σομάτων, ἐν τρόποις
ψυχῶν, ἐν ὡς ἔποιεσ εἴπεῖν οὐ τοὺς μὲν, τοῖς δ᾽ οὐ, πλὴν,
e ὅτιπερ εἶπον νυνῆς, κακοὶς· ἀνεί, εἴ τις ἀποβλέψει πρὸς
σῶματα, ὃς πᾶσι μὲν συτῖσιν, πᾶσι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ πόνοις
συνήθη γεγομένα, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ταραχθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν,
ἐπειτ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων ὑπὸ χρόνου σάρκας φύσαντα οὐκεῖας
798 τούτως, βῶλα τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα γενόμενα ἁπάση
ταύτη τῇ διαίτῃ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ υγίειαν ἀρίστα διάγει, καὶ
5νόσων μόγις ποτὲ κατέστη, τῇ συνήθειαν τῇ τροφῇ πάλιν
ἀπολαβόν, ταῦτον δὴ δεῖ νομίζειν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι καὶ περὶ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων διανόας τε ἀμα καὶ ταὐ τῶν ψυχῶν
φύσεις. ὅσ γὰρ ἐν ἐντραπέζω νόμοις καὶ κατὰ τινα θείαν
b εὐνυχίαι ἀκίνητοι γένονται μακρῶν καὶ πολλῶν χρόνων, ὡς
μηδένα ἔχειν μνείαν μηδὲ ἀκοὴν τοῦ ποτὲ ἄλλως αὐτὰ σχεῖν
ἡ καθάπερ νῦν ἔχει, σέβεται καὶ φοβεῖται πάσα η ἡμικὴ
τὸ τι κινεῖν τῶν τότε καθεστῶτων. μηχανής δὴ δεῖ τοῦ
5 νομοβέτην ἐννοεῖν ἀμόθεν γέ ποθὲν ὄντων τρόπον τοῦτον
ἐσται τῇ πόλει. τῇδ᾽ οὖν ἐγωγιε ἑυρίσκω. τὰς παιδιὰς
πάντες διανοοῦνται κινουμένας τῶν νέων, ὀπερ ἐμπροσθεν
ἐλέγουμεν, παιδίας οὖν εἰναι καὶ οὐ τὴν μεγίστην ἐξ αὐτῶν
c σπουδὴν καὶ βλάβην συμβαίνειν, ὡστε οὐκ ἀποτρέπουσιν
ἀλλὰ συνέπονται ὑπείκοντες, καὶ οὐ λογίζονται τόδε, ὅτι
tούτους ἀνάγκη τούς παιδίας τοὺς ὑπὸ ταῖς παιδιὰς
5 νομιμών ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ νόμων ἐπιθυμηθῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
ὡς ἤξοντος τοῦ νυνὶ δηλομένου μεγίστου κακοῦ πόλεως
d οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν φοβεῖται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐλάττω μετα-
βαλλόμενα κακὰ διεξεργάζοντ' ἃν, ὅσα περὶ σχῆματά πάσχει
τὸ τοιοῦτον· ὅσα δὲ περὶ τὰ τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπαίνου τε καὶ φόγου
62
πέρι πυκνά μετατίπτει, πάντων, οίομαι, μέγιστά τε καὶ
πλεῖστης εὐλαβείας δεόμενα ἂν εἰη.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὗ;

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις πιστεύομεν, οἷς ἐλέγομεν ὡς τὰ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ πάσαν μουσικὴν ἐστὶν τρόπων μυθήματα βελτιώνοι καὶ χειρόνων ἀνθρώπων;

η β' πῶς;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως πως τὸ γε παρ᾽ ἡμῖν δόγμα ἔχων ἂν εἰη.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν, φαμέν, ἀπασαν μηχανητέον μηχανὴν ὃς ἂν ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μῆτε ἐπιθυμῶσιν ἄλλων μυθήματων ἀπειθαὶ κατὰ ὅρχησεις ἢ κατὰ μελῳδίας, μῆτε τις αὐτοῦς πείσῃ προσάγων παντοίας ἴδιονας;

Κ.Α. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἐχει τις οὖν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βελτίω των τέχνην τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων;

ΚΛ. Ποίας δὴ λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Τοῦ καθερώσαι πάσαν μὲν ὄρχησιν, πάντα δὲ μελῆ, τάξαντας πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἐορτὰς, συλλογισμένους εἰς τὸν ἐναυτὸν ἁστικαὶ ἐν οἷς χρόνοις καὶ οίστισιν ἐκάστοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ παίσι τούτων [καὶ δαίμονα] γίγνεσθαι χρεῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν θύμασι οἴκαστοι ἣν ὤν ὡθήν ἐν ἐφυμένεσθαι, καὶ χορεῖας ποίασιν γεραίρειν τὴν τότε ὑμῖν, τάξαν μὲν πρῶτον τυπαὶ, ἀ δὲ ἄν ταχθῇ, Μοῖρας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι θεοῖς θύσαντας κοινῆ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, σπεῦδοντας καθερώσαι ἐκάστοις τὰς χώδας ἐκάστοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἀν δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὰ τίς τῶν θεῶν ἄλλους ὡμοῖος ἡ χορείας προσάγῃ, τοὺς ἱερεῖς τε καὶ τὰς ἱερείας μετὰ νομοθηλάκων ἐξείργασται οὐκ ἐξείργασιν καὶ κατὰ νόμον, τὸν δὲ ἐξειργόμενον, ἄν μὴ ἐκῶν ἐξειργησθῇ, δίκαι ἀσεβείας διὰ βίου παντὸς τῷ ἐθελήσαντι παρέχειν.

ΚΛ. Ὁρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Πρὸς τούτω δὴ νῦν γενόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, πάθωμεν τὸ πρέπον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς.

ΚΛ. Τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Πᾶς που νέος, μὴ ὅτι πρεσβύτης, ἱδὼν ἃν ἢ καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι οὖν τῶν ἐκτόπων καὶ μηδαμὴ πως συνήθων, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ που τὸ ἀπορηθὲν περὶ αὐτῶν συγχωρήσεις ἐπι-δραμῶν οὕτως εὐθὺς, στὰς δ᾽ ἂν, καθάπερ ἐν τριόδῳ γενό-
μενός καὶ μῆ σφάδρα κατειδώς ὃδόν, εἴτε μόνος εἴτε μετ'


d ἄλλων τίχου πορεύόμενος, ἀνέροιτι ἄν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
τὸ ἀπορούμενον, καὶ οὕκ ἄν πρῶτον ὁρµήσειν, πρὸν τὴ
βεβαιώσατο τὴν σκέψιν τῆς πορείας ὧπη ποτὲ φέρει. καὶ
δὴ καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἡμῖν ὀσαύτος ποιήσεων· ἀτόπον γὰρ τὰ

5 νῦν ἐμπεπτυκότος λόγου περὶ νῶμων, ἀνάγκη που σκέψιν
πάσαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μὴ βάδισως οὕτως περὶ τοσούτων
τηλικούτων ὄντας φάγαι διοχυριζόμενους ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα
tι σαφές ἂν εἴπειν ἔχειν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

e ἈΘ. Οὐκοῦν τούτῳ μὲν χρόνον δώσομεν, βεβαιώσομεν
δὲ τότε αὐτό, ὅποταν σκεφώμεθα ἰκανῶς· ἦνα δὲ μὴ τὴν
ἐποµένην τάξιν τοῖς νόµοις τοῖς νῦν ἡμῖν παροῦν διαπέρα-
νασθαι καυλυθόμενοι μάτην, ἠμεῖν πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν.

5 τάχα γὰρ ἰσως, εἴ θεὸς ἐθέλει, κἂν ἡ διεξόδος αὐτῆ ὄλη
σχοῦσα τέλος ἰκανῶς ἂν μηνύσει καὶ τὸ νῦν διαπορού-
μενον.

ΚΛ. Ἀριστ', ὃ ξένε, λέγεις, καὶ ποιῶμεν οὕτως ὡς εἰ-
ρήκας.

10 ἈΘ. Δεδόχθω μὲν δὴ, φαμέν, τὸ ἀτοπον τοῦτο, νόµους
τὰς ὑδάς ἡμῖν γεγονέναι, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ γε περὶ
κυθαρώδιαν οὕτω ποὺς, ὡς ἐοικέν, ὦνόμαζαν—ὡστε τάχ'

800 ἂν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι παντάπασι γ' ἂν ἀφεστώτες εἶν τοῦ νῦν
λεγοµένου, καθ' ὑπνον δὲ οἴον τοῦ τῆς ἡ καὶ ὑπαρ ἔγρη-
γὸρῳ ὄνειρῳξεν μαντευόμενος αὐτῷ·—τὸ δ' οὐν δόγμα περὶ

5 τῶν τῶν νέων σύµπασαν χορείαν μηδεῖς μᾶλλον ἡ παρ'
ὄντινοι ἄλλοι τῶν νόµων φθεγγέσθως μηδ' ἐν ὀρχήσει
κυνείσω. καὶ δὲ μὲν τοιοῦτοι ἂξιόµοις ἀπαλλαττέσθω, τὸν
dὲ μὴ πειθόµενον, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη νυνὶ, νομοφύλακες τε

b καὶ ἱέρειαι καὶ ἱερῆς κολαζόντων. κεῖσθω δὲ νῦν ἡμῖν

5 ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ;

ΚΛ. Κείσθω.

ἈΘ. Τίνα δὴ τρόπον αὐτὰ νοµοθετῶν τις μὴ παντάπασιν

5 καταγέλαστος γίγνοιτ' ἂν; ἢδωμεν δή το τοιοῦτ' ἐτι περὶ

ἀυτά. ἀσφαλέστατον καθάπερ ἐκµαγεῖ ἀττ' αὐτοῖσιν πρῶτον

πλάσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ, λέγω δὲ ἐν μὲν τῶν ἐκµαγείων εἴναι

τοῖνδε τι· θυσίας γενοµένης καὶ ἱερῶν καυθέντων κατὰ

νόµον, εἲ τῷ τις, φαµέν, ἰδίᾳ παραστάσω τοῖς βωµοῖς τε καὶ
δεροῖς, ύστ ἡ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, βλασφημοὶ πᾶσαι βλασφημίαι, c ἄρ’ οὖκ, ἂν φαίμεν, ἀθυμίαι καὶ κακὶν ὁταν καὶ μαντεῖαι πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν οἰκεῖοι φήγγυοτο ἐντιθεῖς;

ΚΑ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Ἐν τοῖς τούτων τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν τόποις τούτοις ἐστὶν ταῖς 5 πόλεσι γιγνόμενον ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν σχεδὸν ὀλγοῦν πάσας·

δημοσίᾳ γάρ τινα θυσίαν ὅταν ἀρχῇ τις θύη, μετὰ ταῦτα χορὸς οὗχ εἰς ἄλλα πλήθος χορῶν ἦκει, καὶ στάντες οὐ πόρων τῶν βωμῶν ἀλλὰ παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἐνίστε, πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καταχέουσαν, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὑσθμοῖς καὶ γνωστείαις ἄρμονίαις συντείνοντες τὰς τῶν ἀκρωμένων ψυχὰς; καὶ ὦς ἂν δακρυσάτα μάλιστα τὴν θύσιν παρα-

χρήμα ποιήσῃ πόλιν, οὕτος τὸ νυκτῆρια φέρει. τούτοις ἰν’ 5 τῶν νόμον ἄρ’ οὐκ ἀποφημίζόμεθα; καὶ εἰ ποτ’ ἀρα δεῖ

τοιούτων οὐκτῶν γίνεσθαι τοὺς πολῖτας ἐπηκόους, ὅταν ἠμέρα μὴ καθαραὶ τινὲς ἄλλα ἀποφράδες ὄσοι, τόθ’ ἦκεν δέον ἂν εἰ τὸν μάλλον χορὸς τῶν ἐξωθὲν μεμισθωμένους ἱδῶν, οἶνον οἱ περὶ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας μισθούμενοι Καρικῇ

τιν τοὺς πολεμίσκων τοὺς τελευτήσαντας; τοιούτων 5 που πρέπον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἱδῶν γιγνόμενον, καὶ ἰν’ καὶ στολὴ γέ που ταῖς ἔπικηδεῖοις ἱδαις οὖ οὕτω οὖ 

πρέποιεν ἂν οὐδ’ ἐπίχρυσοι κόσμου, πάν δὲ τοιναύτων, ἢν’ ὅτι τάχιστα περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων ἀπαλλάττωμα. τὸ δὲ το-

ιούτων ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπανερωτῶν πάλιν, τῶν ἐκμαγεῖων ταῖς ἱδαις ἂν πρῶτον ἄν τοῦθ’ ἡμῖν ἀρεσκόν κείσω.

ΚΑ. Τὸ ποίον;

ΑΘ. Εὐφημία, καὶ ἰν’ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑδῆς γένος εὐφημον ἡμῖν πάντη πάντως ὑπαρχέτω; ἡ μηδὲν ἐπανερωτώ, τὶθ’ δὲ τοῦτο οὐτὸς.

ΚΑ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν τὶθει· νικᾷ γὰρ πάσαισι ταῖς ψῆφοις οὖτος δ’ νόμος.

ΑΘ. Τίς δὴ μετ’ εὐφημίαν δεύτερος ἂν εἰ ἡ νόμος μου-

σικῆς; ἄρ’ οὐκ εὐχὰς εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς θυμεῖν ἐκάστοτε; 5

ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

ΑΘ. Τρίτοις δὲ οἶμαι νόμοις, ὅτι γνώντας δεὶ τοὺς ποιντᾶς 801 ὡς εὐχαῖ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτήσεις εἰσίν, δεὶ δὴ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοὺς

σφόδρα προσέχειν μὴ ποτὲ λάθωσιν κακῶν ὡς ἀγαθῶν αἰτοῦ-

μενοί· γελοίον γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάθος οἶμαι τοῦτ’ ἂν γέγονοτο, εὐχῆς τοιαύτης γενομένης.
ΚΑ. Τι μήν;

5 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἐμπροσθεν σμικρὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἐπείσθημεν ὡς οὕτε ἄργυρον δεῖ πλοῦτον οὕτε χρυσοῦν ἐν πόλει ἱδρυμένον ἐνοικεῖν;

ΚΑ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τίνος οὖν ποτε παράδειγμα εἰρήσθαι φῶμεν τούτον τὸν λόγον; ἢ ρ' οὐ τούδε, ὡτι τὸ τῶν ποιητῶν γένος οὐ πάντες ἕκανεν ἐστὶ γνωστόκεφαλον σφόδρα τὰ τέ άγαθά καὶ μή; ποιήσας οὖν δήπου τὴς ποιήσεως ῥήμασιν ἢ καὶ κατὰ μέλος τοῦ <τὸ> ἡμαρτημένον εὐχάσας οὐκ ὀρθάς, ἤμιν τοὺς πολιτὰς περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εὐχεσθαι τάναντια ποιήσει· καίτοι τούτοις, καθάπερ ἕλεγομεν, οὐ πολλὰ ἀμαρτήματα ἀνευρήσομεν μείζων. θάμεν δὴ καὶ τούτων τῶν περὶ μόνον νόμων καὶ τύπων ἕνα;

ΚΑ. Τίνα; σαφέστερον εἰπὲ ήμῖν.

ΑΘ. Τὸν ποιητὴν παρὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια καὶ άγαθά μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἀλλό, τὰ δὲ ποιηθέντα μὴ ἔξεναι τῶν ιδιωτῶν μηδενί πράτερον δεικνύει, πρὶν ἃν αὐτοῖς τοῖς περὶ ταύτα ἀποδεδειγμένοις κριταίς καὶ τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν δειχθεὶς ἀρέσυ; σχέσιν δὲ ἀποδεδειγμένωι εἰσίν ἦμῖν οὖσ εἰδόμεθα νομοθέτας περὶ τὰ μονακία καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελητήν. τί οὖν; δ ὑπερτώ, κείσθω νόμος ἦμῖν καὶ τύπος ἐκμαγεῖον τε τρίτον τοῦτο; ἢ πώς δοκεῖ;

ΚΑ. Κείσθω· τι μήν;

e ΑΘ. Μετά γε μὴν ταῦτα ήμοι θεών καὶ ἐγκώμια κεκοινωνημένα εὐχάσας ἄδουτ' ἀν ὀρθότατα, καὶ μετὰ θεοὺς ὡσαύτως περὶ δαίμονας τε καὶ ἡρωᾶς μετε ἐγκωμίων εὐχαί γίγνοντι ἂν τοῦτοις πᾶσιν πρέπουσαι.

5 ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ; ΑΘ. Μετὰ γε μὴν ταῦτ' ἢδη νόμοι ἄνευ φθόνων εὐθὺς γίγνοτι ἄν ὦδε· τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως τέλος ἔχουσιν τοῦ βίου, κατὰ σώματα ἢ κατὰ ψυχὰς ἢγά λε εξεργασθένου καλά καὶ ἐπίπτονα καὶ τοῖς νόμοις εὔπειθεὶς γεγονότες, ἐγκωμίων αὐτόις τυγχάνειν πρέπον ἂν εἰη.

ΚΑ. Πῶς δ' οὖ; 802 ΑΘ. Τοὺς γε μὴν ἕτο ξύντας ἐγκωμίωις τε καὶ ἠμοῖς τιμᾶν οὐκ ἄσφαλες, πρὶν ἃν ἀπαντᾶ τις τοῦ βίου διαδραμόν τέλος ἐπιστήμηται καλὸν· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἦμῖν ἐστώ κοινα ἀνδράσιν τε καὶ γυναιξίν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγαθαῖς διαφανῶς.
γενομένου. τάς δὲ ώδας τε καὶ ὀρχήσεις οὐτωσὶ χρῆ 5
kathisthestai. πολλὰ ἐστὶν παλαιὰ παλαία περὶ μουσικὴν
καὶ καλὰ ποιήματα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὀρχήσεις
ὡσαύτως, τὸν οὖν εἶδον φθόνος ἐκλέξασθαι τῇ καθιστημένῃ
πολυτείᾳ τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἁρμόττον. δοκιμάσας δὲ τούτων
ἐλομένους τὴν ἐκλογὴν ποιεῖσθαι μῇ νεωτέρους πεντήκοντα
ἐτῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἰκανὸν εἶναι δόξῃ τῶν παλαιῶν ποιη-
μάτων, ἐγκρίνει, δὴ ἢ ἐνικεῖς ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀνεπιθή-
δειον, τὸ μὲν ἀποβάλλεσθαι παντάπασιν, τὸ δὲ ἐπαναράμενον
ἐπιρρυθμίζειν, ποιητικοὺς ἁμα καὶ μουσικοὺς ἄνδρας παρα-
λαβόντας, χρωμένους αὐτῶν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τῆς ποιήσεως,
taís δὲ ἱδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμιάσις καὶ ἐπιπρέποντας ἀλλ' τοὺς
όλοις, ἐξηγούμενοι δέ τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου βουλήματα, δὴ
μάλιστα ὀρχησάν τε καὶ ώδην καὶ πάσαν χορεύαν συντή-
ρασθαν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν νοῦν. πάσα δὲ ἀτακτὸς γε τάξιν
λαμβάνει περὶ μοῦ σαν διατριβῆ καὶ μὴ παρατηθεμένης τῆς
γλυκείας μούσῆς ἀμείων μυρίω.  

ΚΛ. Καλῶς εἴρηκασ.
ΑΘ. "Ετι δὲ θηλείαις τε πρεπούσας ώδας ἄρρεσὶ τε
χωρίσαι που δεόν ἂν εἶπ τύπῳ των διορισάμενον, καὶ ἁρ-
μονίας δὴ καὶ ρυθμοὶς προσαρμόττενες ἀναγκαῖον. δεινὸν
γὰρ ὅλη γε ἁρμονία ἀπάδεων ἡ ρυθμῷ ἄρρυθμειν, μηδὲν
προσήκοντα τούτων ἐκάστοις ἀποδιδόντα τοῖς μέλεων.
ἀναγκαίοι δὴ καὶ τούτων τὰ σχῆματα γε νομοθέτειν. ἐστὶν
δὲ ἀμφότερος μὲν ἀμφότερα ἀνάγκη κατεχόμενα ἀποδιδόναι,
tὰ δὲ τῶν θηλειῶν αὐτῶ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐκατέρου διαφέροντι.
tούτων δὲ καὶ διασαφεῖν. τὸ δὲ μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὖν
καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἰηνον ἀρρενωπὸν φατέων εἶναι. τὸ
δὲ πρὸς τὸ κόσμου καὶ σῶφρον μᾶλλον ἀποκλίνων θηλυγενε-
στεροῦν ὡς ἄν παραδοτεῖν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ. τάξις
καὶ τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν διδασκαλία καὶ παράδοσις.
λεγέσθω τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, τίνα τρόπον χρή καὶ οἴστισον καὶ πότε πράττειν ἐκαστὰ αὐτῶν. οἷον δὴ τις ναυτηγός τῆς ναυτηγίας ἀρχὴν καταβαλλόμενος τὰ τροπίδεια ὑπογράφεται 5 τῶν πλοίων σχήματα, ταύτων δὴ μοι κάγω φαίνομαι ἐμαντῶ δράν, τὰ τῶν βίων πειράμενοι σχήματα διαστήσασθαι κατὰ τρόπους τοὺς τῶν ψυχῶν, ὄντως αὐτῶν τὰ τροπίδεια κατα- b βάλλεσθαι, ποιὰ μιχανὴ καὶ τίσιν πότε τρόποις συνόντες τὸν βίον ἀριστα διὰ τοῦ πλοῦ τούτου τῆς ζωῆς διακομι- sθομέναι, τοῦτο σκοπῶν ὀρθῶς. έστὶ δὴ τοῖν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα μεγάλης μὲν σπουδῆς οὐκ ἄξια, ἀνα- 5 γκαίον γε μὴν σπουδάζειν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐσμεν, εἴ πως διὰ προσήκοντός τινος αὐτὸ πράττομεν, ἵσως ἂν ἡμῖν σύμμετρον ἄν εἴη. λέγω δὲ δὴ τί ποτε; ἵσως μενταῖν τίς μοι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὑπολαβὼν ὀρθῶς ὑπολάβοι. c ΚΛ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν. ΑΘ. Φημὶ χρῆμα τὸ μὲν σπουδαῖον σπουδάζειν, τὸ δὲ μὴ σπουδαίον μὴ, φύσει δὲ εἰναι θεόν μὲν πάσης μακάριον σπουδῆς ἄξιον, ἀνθρωπον δὲ, ὅπερ εὑρομεν ἔμπροσθεν, θεοῦ 5 τι παῖγνιον εἶναι μεμηχανήμενον, καὶ ὅντως τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τὸ βελτίστον γεγονέναι· τοῦτο δὴ δεῖν τῷ τρόπῳ συνεπόμενον καὶ παῖζοντα ὃτι καλλίστα παιδίας πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ γυναίκα οὔτω διαβιώσαι, τοῦναντίον ἡ νῦν διανοηθείναι. d ΚΛ. Πῶς; ΑΘ. Νῦν μὲν ποις τὸν σπουδαίον οὖνται δεῖν ἕνεκα τῶν παιδιῶν γίγνεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἡγοῦνται σπουδαία ἄντα τῆς εἰρήνης ἕνεκα δεῖν εὑ τίθεσθαι. τὸ δ’ 5 ἢν ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν ἀρα οὔτ’ οὖν παιδιὰ πεφυκία οὔτ’ αὖ παιδεία ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἄξιόλογος, οὔτε οὔσα οὔτ’ ἐσομένη; δ’ δὴ φαμεν ἡμῖν γε εἶναι σπουδαίοτατον· δεί δὴ τὸν κατ’ εἰρήνη βίον ἐκαστὸν πλεῖστὸν τε καὶ ἀριστὸν διεξελθεῖν. τίς οὖν e ὀρθότης; παῖζοντα ἐστὶν διαβιωτέον τινὰς δὴ παιδίας, θύ νοντα καὶ άδοντα καὶ ὥρχομενον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἱλεως αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν δυνατὸν εἶναι, τοὺς δ’ ἐξθοροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ νικάν μαχόμενον· ὅποια δὲ ἄδων ἡν τις καὶ 5 ὥρχομενον ἀμφότερα ταῦτα πράττοι, τὸ μὲν τῶν τύπων εὑρηται καὶ καλάπερ ὅσοι τέτμηνται καθ’ ἂς ἰτέον, προσ- δοκώντα καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν εὑ λέγειν τὸ—

803α Τηλέμαχ’ άλλα μὲν αὐτός εἰνί φρεσί σήσι νοήσεις,
άλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται· οὐ γὰρ ὅιων ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀέκητι γενεσθαι ταῖς τραφέμεν τε.

ταύτῶν δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους· τροφίμους δεὶ διανουμένους τὰ μὲν εἰρημένα ἀποχράντως νομίζειν εἰρήσθαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν 5 δαίμονα τε καὶ θεόν αὐτοῦν ὑποθήσεσθαι θυσίων τε πέρι καὶ χορείων, οἴστι τε καὶ ὡστε ἡκαστά προσπαί- ξοντές τε καὶ ἱεόμενοι κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς φύσεως δια- βιώσονται, θαύματα ὅντες τὸ πολὺ, σμικρά δὲ ἀληθείας ἅττα μετέχοντες.

ΜΕ. Παντάπασι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἦμῶν, ὦ ἔνε, 5 διαφανλίζεις.

ΑΘ. Μηθαυμάση, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ἀλλὰ σύγγνωθί μοι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν θεόν ἀπίδων καὶ παθῶν εἶπον ὅπερ εἰρήσακα νῦν. 'Εστῳ δὲ οὖν τὸ γένος ἦμῶν μὴ φαίλον, εἰ σοι φίλον, σπουδῆς δὲ τινος ἄξιον.

Τὸ δὲ ἔξις τούτοις, οἰκοδομεῖ μὲν εἴρηται γυμνασίων ἀμα καὶ διδασκαλεῖν κοινῶν τριχῆς κατὰ μέσην τῆς πόλεως, ἐξωθεὶς δὲ ἵππων οὐ τριχῆς περὶ τὸ ἀστυ γυμνασία τε καὶ εὐρυχώρα, τοξίκης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροβολισμῶν ἕνεκα 5 διακεκοσμημένα, μάθησις ταῦτα ἄμα καὶ μελέτης τῶν νέων· εἰ δὲ ἄρα μητὸς ἱκανῶς ἐρρήθησαν, νῦν εἰρήσακα τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ νόμων. ἐν δὲ τούτοις πάσῳ διδασκαλεῖν ἑκάστων πεπει- σμένων μιθοῦς οἰκοδομᾶται· έξουσίως διάδοκειν· τε πάντα ὡς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· ἐςτὶν μαθήματα τους φοιτώντας· ὡς τὲ πρὸς μούσικα, οὐχ οὐ μὲν ἄν παθὴρ βουλθηται, φοιτώντα, διὰ δὲ ἄν μη, ἐώντας τὰς παιδείας, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ παιδά κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ 5 τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας, παιδεύουσθεν ἐς ἀνάγκης. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ δῆ καὶ περὶ θηλείων ὁ μὲν ἔμως νόμος ἄν εἶποι πάντα ὄσα περὶ τῶν ἄρρενων, ὡς καὶ τὰς θηλείας ἁσκεῖν γένει καὶ οὐδὲν φοβηθεῖσιν εἴπουσι· ἀν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὅτε ἵππων ὅτε γυμναστικῆς, ὡς ἄνδρας μὲν πρέπον ἄν εἴη, γυναιξὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄν πρέπον. ἀκούσων μὲν γὰρ δὴ μιθὸς παλαιὸς πέπεισμαι, τὰ δὲ νῦν ὡς ἐποίησεν οἷδα ὅτε μυριάδες ἀναρίθμητοι γυναικῶν εἰς τῶν περί τὸν Πόντον, ὡς Σαυρο- màτιδας καλοῦσι, αἰς οὐχ ἵππων μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὸξων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὄπλων κοινωνία καὶ τοῖς ἄνδράσιν ἥσαν προσ- τεταγμένη Ἰσως ἁσκεῖται. λογισμὸν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις περὶ 805

69
νούσας, ὡστε οὐδ' εἰ τίς ποτε διαμάχεσθαι περὶ πόλεως τε καὶ παιδών ἀναγκαῖα τύχη γίγνοιτο, οὔτ' ἂν τόξων, ὡς τινες Ἀμαζόνες, οὔτ' ἀλλης κοινωνήσαι ποτε βολής μετὰ τέχνης δυνάμεναι, οὐδὲ ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ λαβοῦσαι μμησάσθαι τὴν θέων, ὡς πορθομένης αὐταῖς τῆς πατρίδος γενναίος ἀντιστάσας, φόβον γε, εἰ μηδὲν μείζον, πολεμίουσι δύνασθαι παρασχεῖν ἐν τάξει τῷ κατοφθέεισας; Σαυρομάτιδας δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ παράπαν τολμήσειν μμησάσθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαβιοῦσαι, παρὰ γυναίκας δὲ αὐτάς ἄνδρες ἃν αἱ ἑκεῖνων γυναῖκες φανεῖν. ταῦτ' οὖν ὑμῖν τοὺς νομοθέτας ὁ μὲν βουλόμενος ἑπανεῖν ἑπανεῖτω, τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐκ ἄλλως ὁ ἀληθεῖν. τέλεον γὰρ καὶ οὗ διήμουν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην εἶναι, τὸ θῆλυ μὲν ἀφιέντα τρυφάν καὶ ἀναλίσκειν διαίταις ἀτάκτως χρῶμενον, τοῦ δὲ ἄρρενον ἐπιμεληθέντα, τελέως σχεδὸν εὑραίμονος ἣμου βίον καταλείπειν ἀντὶ διπλασίον τῇ πόλει.

ΜΕ. Τι δράσομεν, ὡ Κλεινία; τὸν ἕξον ἐάσομεν τὴν Σπάρτην ἥμων οὕτω καταδραμεῖν;
ΚΛ. Ναι. δεδομένη γὰρ αὐτῷ παρρησίας ἐστέον, ἔως ἂν διεξέλθωμεν πάντη ἴκανός τοὺς νόμους.
ΜΕ. Ὄρθως λέγεις.
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἢδη σχεδὸν ἐμὸν πειράσθαι φράξειν;
ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;
ΑΘ. Τίς δὴ τρόπος ἄνθρωποι γίγνοντ' ἂν τοῦ βίου, οἷς τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαία ἐι πατεσκευασμένα μέτρα, τὰ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν ἄλλοι παραδεδομένα, γεωργίαι δὲ ἐκδεδομέναι δοῦλοις ἀπαρχὴ τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀποτελούσιν ἴκανον ἄνθρωποι ζάσι κοσμίως, συσσίτια δὲ κατεσκευασμένα ἐι ἥψεις μὲν τὰ τῶν ἄνδρῶν, ἐγγύς δ' ἐχόμενα τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐκείων, παιδῶν τε ἰμα θηλεῖων καὶ τῶν μητέρων αὐταῖς, ἄρχουσιν δὲ καὶ ἄρχούσις ἐι προσπεταγμένα λύειν ταῦτα ἑκάστοις τα συσσίτια πάντα, καθ' ἑκάστην ἤμεραν θεασαμένους καὶ ἱδόντας τὴν τινάς διαµηγήν την τῶν συσσίτων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σπείσαντας τὸν τε ἀρχοντα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἷς ἄν τυγχάνῃ θεοὶ ἢ τότε νῦξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα καθερμενή, κατὰ ταῦτα οὐσὶς οἴκους πορεύσεσαι; τοῖς δ' ταύτῃ κεκοσμημένοις ἃρα οὖν ἑπιπόλεμον ἐστιν ἀναγκαίον τε ἐργὸν καὶ παντάπασι προσήκον, ἀλλ' ἐν τρόπῳ βοσκήματος ἑκάστον πιανόμενον

71
αυτῶν δεὶ ἔτην; οὕκεντο τὸ γε δίκαιον φαμεν οὐδὲ καλὸν, οὐδὲ οἷον τὸν ζῶντα οὕτως ἀτυχήσαι τοῦ προσήκοντος, προσήκει δὲ ἄργῳ καὶ βαθύμως καταπεπισεμένως ζῶφι σχεδόν ὡς ἄλλου διαρπασθῆναι ζῶου τῶν σφόδρα τετραυμιμένων μετὰ ἀνδρείας τε ἁμα καὶ τῶν πόνων. τάτα οὖν ὡς δὲ ἀκριβεῖας μὲν ἰκανῆς, ὅς καὶ νῦν ξητοῖμεν ἄν, ἰσως οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο, μέχριπερ ἄν γυναικὲς τε καὶ παιδεῖς οἰκήσεις τε ἱδίαι καὶ ἱδίως ἀπαντᾷ ἢ τὰ τοιούτα ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν κατεσκευασμένα· τὰ δὲ μετ' ἑκεῖν' αὖ δεύτερα τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα εἰ
c γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, γίγνοιτο ἂν καὶ μάλα μετρίως. ἔργον δὲ ἰδο τοὺς οὕτως ζώων φαμεν οὐ τὸ συμκρότατον οὐδὲ τὸ παιλότατον λείπεσθαι, μέγυστον δὲ πάντων εἶναι προστεταγμένον ὑπὸ δικαίου νόμου· τοῦ γὰρ πάσαν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἔργον διόν ἀσχολίαν παρασκευαζοντος, τοῦ Πυθιάδος τε καὶ Ὥλυμπιάδος νίκης ὅργυμοιν, ὑπολαγίας τε καὶ ἐτι πολλῷ πλέονος ἀσχολίας ἐστίν γέμων ὁ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος πάντως καὶ ἴσχυς εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐπέμελειαν βίος ἐρημένους ὀρθότατα. πάρεργον γὰρ οὐδὲν δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων διακαλύμπαι γίγνεσθαι τῶν τῶς σώματι προσκόμοντων εἰς ἀπόδοσιν πόνων καὶ τροφῆς, οὕτως αὖ ἴσχυς μαθημάτων τε καὶ ἐθών, πάσα δὲ νῦξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα σχεδὸν οὐκ ἔστων ἰκανῆ τούτῃ
d αὐτὸ πράττοντι τὸ τελεῖν τε καὶ ἵκανον αὐτῶν ἐκλαμβάνειν· οὕτω δὴ τούτων πεφυκότων, τάξιν δεῖ γίγνεσθαι πάσων τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς διατρήθης περὶ τοῦ χρόνου ἀπαντᾶν, σχεδὸν ἀρέσμενον εἴς ἐω μέχρι τῆς ἔτέρας ἀεὶ συνεχῶς ἔω τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατολῆς. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πυκνῶς καὶ συμφράγματα ἄν τις νομοθέτης ἀσχήμων φαίνοιτο περὶ τῶν κατ' οἰκίας διοικήσεως, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅσα νῦκτωρ ἀνυπνίας πέρυ πρέπει τοῖς μέλλουσιν διὰ τέλους μιλάζειν πάσαν πόλιν ἀκριβώς. τὸ γὰρ ὀλὴν διατελεῖν ἤμτυνον νῦκτα ἐῳδότα καὶ ὄντυνοι τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μὴ φανερὸν εἶναι πάσα τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐγερόμενον τε καὶ ἐξαναστάμενον ἂεὶ πρῶτον, τούτῳ αἰσχρὸν δει διδόσχαι πάσι καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθέρου, εἰτ' οὖν νόμον εἰτ' ἐπιτήδεωμα τὸ τοιοῦτον καλεῖν ἔστω χρεών· καὶ δὴ καὶ δέσποιναι ἐν ὦικία ὑπὸ θεραπανίδων ἐγείρεσθαι τινον καὶ μὴ πρώτην 5 αὐτὴν ἐγείρειν τὰς ἄλλας, αἰσχρὸν λέγειν χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦς δοθὸν τε καὶ δουλὴ καὶ παίδα, καὶ εἰ πως ἦν οἶδον τε, ὀλὴν καὶ πάσαν τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐγειρομένους δὲ νῦκτωρ δει πάντως
5 πράττειν τῶν το πολιτικῶν μέρη πολλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν,
άρχοντα μὲν κατὰ πόλιν, δεσποίνας δὲ καὶ δεσπότας ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις. ὥπειρος γὰρ δὴ πολὺς οὔτε τοῖς σῶμασιν οὔτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν οὐδ᾿ αὐτὰ πράξεων τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀρμόττων ἔστιν κατὰ φύσιν. καθεύδων γὰρ οὖν οὐδεὶς οὐθένος ἡξίος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ μὴ ζῶντος· ἀλλ᾿ ὅστις τοῦ ζῆν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν μάλιστα ἐστὶ κηδεμῶν, ἐγρήγορε χρόνων ὡς πλείστον, τὸ πρὸς ύπεραναύ οὕτω διὸν μόνον φυλάττων χρήσιμον, ἔστιν δὲ οὐ πολὺ, καλῶς εἰς ἔθος ίόν. ἐγρήγοροτές δὲ ἀρχοντες ἐν πόλεωι νῖκτωρ φοβεροὶ μὲν κακοῖς, πολε-μίοις τε ἄμα καὶ πολίταις, ἁγαστοὶ δὲ καὶ τίμιοι τοῖς δικαίοις τε καὶ σώφροσιν, ἀφέλιμοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ συμπάσχη τῇ πόλει.

Νῦς μὲν δὴ διαγομένη τοιαύτη τις πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρη-μένοις ἄνδρεῖαν ἂν τινα προσπαρέχοντο ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν· ἡμέρας δὲ ὅρθρον τε ἐπανόιοιν παῖδας μὲν πρὸς διδασκάλους ποιότερα χρεών, ἄνευ ποιμένος δὲ οὔτε πρόβατα οὔτ᾿ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πῶς βιωτέοι, οὐδὲ δὴ παῖδας ἄνευ τινῶν παιδαγωγῶν οὐδὲ δούλους ἄνευ δεσποτῶν. ὦ δὲ παῖς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δυσμενεῖς καὶ ἐστὶ δυσμενεῖς καὶ ἐστὶ δυσμενεῖς καὶ ἐστὶ δυσμενεῖς οὐδὲν γὰρ 5 μάλιστα ἔχει πηγήν τοῦ φρονεῖν μήπως κατηρτυμένην, ἐπι-βουλον καὶ ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑβριστότατον θηρίων γίγνεται. διὸ δὴ πολλοὶς αὐτὸ οἶχον χαλίνοις τισιν δεις ἐσμενεῖς, πρῶτον μὲν, τροφῶν καὶ μητέρων ὅταν ἀπαλλάττηται, παιδαγωγοῖς παιδίας καὶ κηδεμοῦς χάρων, ἄτι δ᾿ αὐτὸς διδάσκαλους καὶ ὅτιοι καὶ μαθήμασιν ὡς ἐλεύθερον· ὡς δ᾿ αὐτὸς δοῦλον, πᾶς δ᾿ προστυγχάνων τῶν ἐλευθερῶν ἀνδρῶν κολαζέτω τόν τε παῖδα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν καὶ διδάσκαλον, ἐὰν ἔξασμαρτήν τις τι τούτων. ἢ αὐτὸς δὲ προστυγχάνων τις μὴ κολάζῃ τῇ δίκῃ, οὐδὲις μὲν ἐνεχέσθω πρῶτον τῷ μεγίστῳ, ὦ δὲ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν παιδῶν ἀρχὴν ἡρμηνέας ἐπισκοπεῖτω τοῦν τῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα οἰς λέγομεν καὶ μὴ κολάζοντα δεόν κολάζειν, ἥ κολαζέτω μὴ κατὰ τρόπον, βλέπων δὲ ἡμῖν ὧν καὶ διαφερότων ἐπιμελοῦμενος τῇς τῶν παιδῶν τροφῆς κατευθυνέτω τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν, ἀεὶ τρέπουν πρὸς τὰ γαθὰν κατὰ νόμους. τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν αὖ πῶς ἢ νῦν τὸ νόμος αὐτὸς παιδεύεσθε ικανῶς; νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ εἰρηκεν οὐδὲν πω σαφές οὐδὲ ικανὸν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν, σδ᾿ νῦν· δὲ δὲ γὰρ δὴ εἰς δύναμιν μηδὲν παραλείπειν αὐτῷ, πάντα δὲ λόγον ἀφέρετεν, ἓναν οὖτος τοῖς ἄλλοις μηνυθῆς τε ἄμα καὶ
τροφεύς γίγνεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν δὴ χορείας πέρι μελῶν τε καὶ
5 ὀρχήσεως ἐρρήθη, τίνα τύπον ἔχοντα ἐκλεκτέα τέ ἐστιν καὶ
ἐπανορθωτέα καὶ καθερωτέα· τὰ δὲ ἐν γράμμασι μὲν ὄντα,
ἀνεν δὲ μέτρων, ποτὰ καὶ τίνα μεταχειρίζοιται χρή σοι
tρόπων, ὦ ἄριστε τῶν παίδων ἐπιμελητά, τοὺς ὕπο σοῦ
tρεφομένους, οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν, καὶ τοιοῦ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ἄδει μανθάνειν τε αὐτοῦς καὶ μελετῶν ἔχεις τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ
dὲ περὶ τα γράμματα πρῶτον, καὶ δεύτερον λύρας πέρι καὶ
λογισμῶν, ὅπειραμεν δεῖν ὅσα τε πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ οἴκο-

5 νομίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ πόλιν διοίκησιν χρήναι ἐκάστους λαβεῖν,
καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐτί τὰ χρήσιμα τῶν ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις
tῶν θεῶν, ἄστρων τέ περὶ καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ὅσα
dιοικεῖν Ἀναγκαῖον ἔστιν περὶ ταύτα πάση πόλει—τῶν δὴ
περὶ λέγομεν; ἂμερῶν τάξεως εἰς μηνῶν περιόδους καὶ
μηνῶν εἰς ἐκαστόν τῶν ἐναυτῶν, ὥσ ὁ δὲ καὶ ἥσυχαὶ καὶ
ἐστὶν τὰ προσήκοντ’ ἀπολαμβάνουσι ἑαυταῖς ἐκασταὶ τῷ
5 κατὰ φύσιν ἀγέσθαι, ξύσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐγηγορήσων
παρεχόμεναι, θεοῖς μὲν τῶν τιμῶν ἀποδίδοσι, τοὺς δὲ
ἀνθρώπους περὶ αὐτὰ μᾶλλον ἐμφρονοι ἀπεργάζωνται—
tαῦτα οὕτω σοι πάντα ἱκανοῖς, ὦ φίλε, παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου
dιείρθαι· πρὸσεχε δὴ τὸν νοῦν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μέλλουσιν
ῥηθῆσθαι. γραμμάτων εἰπομεν ὡς ἱκανῶς ἔχεις
περὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπικαλοῦντες τί τῇ λέξει; τόδε, ὡς οὕτω
dιείρηκέ σοι πότερον εἰς ἀκριβεῖαν τοῦ μαθήματος ἱερὸν
tὸν μέλλοντα πολιτίνην ἔσεσθαι μέτρων ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐκ
προσουτεν’ ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς καὶ περὶ λύραν. προσουτενὸς
5 μὲν τοῖς φαμεν. εἰς μὲν γράμματα παϊδὶ δεκετεί σχεδὸν
ἐναυτοῖς τρεῖς, λύρας δὲ ἄφασθαι τρία μὲν ἔτη καὶ δέκα
810 γεγονόσιν ἄρχεσθαι μέτρως ὁ χρόνος, ἐμμεῖναι δὲ ἐτερα
τρία. καὶ μὴτε πλείω τούτων μὴ τ’ ἐλάττω πατρὶ μηδ’ αὐτῶ,
φιλομαθοῦντε μιθὲ μισοῦντε, περὶ ταῦτα ἐξέστω μείζω μιθὲ
ἐλάττω διατρητῆς ποιεῖσθαι παράνομον· ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος
ἀτμος τῶν παιδείων ἔστω τιμῶν, ὡς ὀλήγων ύστερον ῥήτεον.
μανθάνειν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς χρόνοις δὴ τί ποτε δεῖ τοὺς
νέους καὶ διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς διδασκάλους, τοῦτο αὐτὸς
5 πρῶτον μάνθανε. γράμματα μὲν τοῖς χρή τὸ μέχρι τοῦ
γράμματε καὶ ἂναγνώσαι δυνατὸν εἶναι διαπονεῖν· πρὸς
τάχος δὲ ἡ κάλλος ἀπηκριβοῦσα τοιοῦτος, οἷς μὴ φύσες
eπέσπευσεν ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις ἔτεσιν, χαίρειν ἐάν. πρὸς
δὲ δὴ μαθήματα ἀλυρα ποιητῶν κείμενα ἐν γράμμαις, τοῖς 5
μὲν μετὰ μέτρων, τοῖς δὲ ἀνευ ῥυθμῶν τμημάτων, ἃ δὴ
συγγράμματα κατὰ λόγον εἰρημένα μόνον, τητώμενα
ῥυθμῷ τε καὶ ἀρμονίας, σφαλερὰ γράμμαθ' ἦμιν ἔστων
παρὰ τινῶν τῶν πολλῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων καταλειμμένα: c
οἷς, ὃ πάντων βέλτιστοι νομοφύλακες, τί χρῆσεσθε; ἢ τι
ποθ' ὑμῖν ὃ νομοθέτης χρῆσαι προστάξας ὅρθως ἂν τάξειε;
καὶ μάλα ἀπορήσειν αὐτῶν προσδοκῶ.
Κ.Λ. Τί ποτε τούτο, ὃ ἔξενε, φαύνη πρὸς σαυτὸν ὅντως 5
ἡπορηκός λέγειν;
Α.Θ. Ὀρθώς ὑπέλαβες, ὃ Κλεινία. πρὸς δὲ δὴ κοινωνοὺς
ὑμᾶς ὄντας περὶ νόμων ἀνάγκη τὸ τε φανόμενον εὕπορον καὶ
tὸ μῆθα φράζειν.
Κ.Λ. Τί οὖν; τί περὶ τούτων νῦν καὶ ποῖον τι πεπονθὸς d
λέγεις;
Α.Θ. Ἐρῶ δὴ· στόμασι γὰρ πολλάκις μυρίοις ἑναντία
λέγειν οὐδαμῶς εὕπορον.
Κ.Λ. Τί δὲ; σμικρὰ καὶ ὅλγα δοκεῖ σοι τὰ ἐμπροσθὲν 5
ἡμῖν εἰρημένα περὶ νόμων κείθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπεναντία;
Α.Θ. Καὶ μᾶλὰ ἀληθὲς τούτῳ γε λέγεις· κελεύεις γὰρ δὴ
με, ὅσ' ἐμοὶ φανεται, τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδὸν ἔκθεσιν τοῖς
πολλοῖς, ἵως δ' οὐκ ἐλάπτωσιν ἑτέρους προσφιλοὺς—εἰ δὲ
ἐλάπτωσιν, οὖκον χείροσι γε—μεθ' ὃν διακελεύη με παρα-
κινδυνεύοντα τε καὶ θαρροῦντα τὴν νῦν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
λόγων τετμημένην ὅδον τῆς νομόθεσις πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν
eάνεντα.
Κ.Λ. Τί μῆν;
Α.Θ. Οὔ τοίνυν ἀνίημι. λέγω μὴν ὅτι ποιητὰ τε ἡμῖν 5
εἰσίν τινες ἐπὶν ἐξαμέτρων πάμπολλοι καὶ τριμέτρων καὶ
πάντων δὴ τῶν λεγομένων μέτρων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ σποουθήν, οἱ δ' 10
ἐπὶ γέλωτα ὁρμηκότες, ἐν οἷς φασί δεῖν οἱ πολλάκις μυρίοι
tους ὅρθως παϊδευμένους τῶν νέων τρέφειν καὶ διακορεὶς
ποιεῖν, πολυκόσοις τ' ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσι ποιοῦντας καὶ
πολυμαθεῖς, ὅλους ποιητὰs ἐκμανθάνουσας· οἱ δὲ ἐκ πάντων
κεφάλαια ἐκλέξαντες καὶ τινας ὅλας ῥήσεις εἰς ταύτων
συναγαγόντες, ἐκμανθάνειν φασὶ δεῖν εἰς μνήμην τιθεμένους,
eἰ μέλλει τις ἀγαθὸς ἡμῖν καὶ σοφὸς ἐκ πολυτερίας καὶ
πολυμαθίας γενέσθαι. τοῦτοις δὴ ὁ ἐκ κελεύεις ἔμε τὰ νῦν
5
παρησιαξόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι τί τε καλὸς λέγουν καὶ
τι μή;
ΚΛ. Πώς γὰρ οὕ;  
ΑΘ. Τί δὴ ποτ' ἂν οὖν περὶ ἀπάντησιν τούτων εἶνι λόγῳ  
φράζων εἶποιμ' ἂν ἱκανόν; οἴμαι μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτο σχέδον, ὥς 
καὶ πᾶς ἂν μοι συγχωρήσεις, τολλὰ μὲν ἐκαστὸν τούτων 
εἰρηκέναι καλῶς, τολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦνατον ἐὰν δ' οὖν 
τοῦτ' ἔχει, κινδυνόν φημὶ εἶναι φέρουσαν τοῖς παισίν τὴν 
πολυμαθίαν.
ΚΛ. Πώς οὖν καὶ τὶ παρανοίας ἂν τῷ νομοφύλακι;  
ΑΘ. Τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;  
ΚΛ. Τοῦ πρὸς τί παραδείγματ' ποτε ἀποβλέψας ἂν τὸ μὲν 
c ἐφ' πάντας μανθάνειν τοὺς νέους, τὸ δ' ἀποκαλύπτω. λέγε καὶ 
μηδὲν ἀπόκνει λέγων.
ΑΘ. 'Ογαθέ Κλεωνία, κινδυνεύω κατὰ γε των τρόπων 
ηὐτυχηκέναι.
ΚΛ. Τοῦ δ' πέρι;  
ΑΘ. Τοῦ μὴ παντάπασι παραδείγματον ἀπορεῖν. νῦν 
γὰρ ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὐς ἐξ ἐως μέχρι δεῦρ' ἀεὶ 
διεληλύθαμεν ἡμεῖς—ὦς μὲν ἐμοὶ φαινόμεθα, οὐκ ἂνεν τινὸς 
ἐπιπνοίας θεῶν—ἐδοξαν δ' οὖν μοι παντάπασι ποιῇσε των 
προσομοίων εἰρήθαι. καὶ μοι ἰσως οὖθεν θαυμαστὸν πάθος 
d ἐπήλθε, λόγους οἰκείους ὅν τρόφους ἐπιβλέφαντι μάλα 
ήσθηναί· τῶν γὰρ δὴ πλείστων λόγων οὐς ἐν ποιήμασιν ἢ 
χύσῃν οὕτως εἰρημένους μεμάθηκα καὶ ἀκήκοα, πάντων μοι 
μετριώτατοί γε εἶναι κατεφάνησαν καὶ προσήκοντες τὰ 
μάλιστα ἄκουεν νέοις. τῷ δ' νομοφύλακι τε καὶ παιδευτῇ 
παραδειγμα ὅπι ἄν ἔχομι, ὡς οἶμαι, τοῦτον βέλτιον φράζειν, 
ἡ ταῦτα τε διδάσκειν παρακελεύεσθαι τοῖς διδασκάλοις 
e τοὺς παῖδας, τὰ τοὺτων ἱχώμενα καὶ ὅμοια, ἄν ἄρα 
περιτυχάνη ποιητῶν τε ποιήματα διεξαύτων καὶ γεγραμμένα 
καταλογάδην ἢ καὶ ψιλός οὕτως ἂνεν τοῦ γεγράφθαι λεγό-
μενα, ἀδελφὰ πον τοὐτῶν τῶν λόγων, μὴ μεθείναι τρόπω 
μηδὲν, γράφεσθαι δὲ· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς διδασκάλους 
αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζειν μανθάνειν καὶ ἐπηνειν, οὕς δ' ἂν μὴ 
ἀρέσκῃ τῶν διδασκάλων, μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῦτοις συνεργοῖς, οὕς 
δ' ἂν τῷ ἐπιτῶν συμψήφους ἔχῃ, τοῦτοις χρώμευον, τοὺς 
νέους αὐτοῖς παραδίδοναι διδάσκειν τε καὶ παιδεύειν. οὗτος 
μοι μύθος ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὕτω τελευτάτω, περὶ γραμματιστῶν 
te eἰρημένος ἀμα καὶ γραμματῶν.
ΚΑ. Κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὃ ἔστε, ἐμοιγε οὐ φαινό-

μεθα ἐκτὸς πορεύεσθαι τῶν ὑποτεθέντων λόγων· εἰ δὲ τὸ

ὁλὸν κατορθοῦμεν ἡ μῆ, χαλεπὸν ἵσως δισχυρίζομαι.

ΑΘ. Τότε γάρ, ὃ Κλεινία, τούτο γ' αὐτὸ ἔσται κατα-

φανέστερον, ἃς εἰκός, ὃταν, ὃ πολλὰς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπὶ

tέλος ἀφικώμεθα πάσης τῆς διεξόδου περὶ νόμων.

ΚΑ. Ὀρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἕφαμεν, οὕτως, τοὺς τοῦ Διονύσου τοὺς ἔξηκον-

tοῦτα ὡδόως διαφερόντως εὐαισθήτως δεῖν γεγονέναι περὶ

tε τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁρμονιῶν συστάσεις, ἃν τὴν

τῶν μελῶν μίμησις τὴν εὗ καὶ τὴν κακῶς μεμιμημένην, ἐν

tοῖς παθήμασιν ὅταν ὑψιή γίγνεται, τα τῆς ἀγαθῆς

ὂµοιόµατα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐναντίας ἐκλέξασθαι δυνάτος ἢν τις,

τὰ μὲν ἀποβάλλῃ, τὰ δὲ προφέρων εἰς μέσον ἅμη καὶ ἐπάρχῃ
tας τῶν νέων ψυχαῖς, προκαλούμενος ἐκάστους εἰς

ἀρετῆς ἐπεσθαί κτῆσιν συνακολουθοῦντας διὰ τῶν μιμήσεων.

ΚΑ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Τούτων τούτων δεῖ χάρων τοὺς φθόγγοις τῆς λύρας

προσχρῆσθαι, σαφεῖσας ἑνεκα τῶν χορδῶν, τὸν τε κιθα-

ριστὴν καὶ τὸν παιδεύομενον, ἀποδιδόντας πρόσχροδα τὰ

φθέγματα τοῖς φθέγμασι. τὴν δ' ἐτεροφυσίαν καὶ ποικιλίαν

tῆς λύρας, ἀλλὰ μὲν μέλη τῶν χορδῶν ἱεσῶν, ἀλλὰ δὲ τοῦ
tην μελῳδίαν συνθέντος ποιητοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυκνότητα

μαντήτη καὶ τάχος βραδυτῆτι καὶ δέσποτη βραύρτητι σύµ-

φωνον [καὶ ἀντίφωνον] παρεχομένους, καὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν

ὡσάντως παντοδαπά ποικίλματα προσαρμόττοντας τοῖς

φθόγγοις τῆς λύρας, πάντα οὖν τα τοιαῦτα μὴ προσφέρειν
tοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐν τρισίν ἔτεσιν τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς χρῆσιν

ἐκλάβησθαι διὰ τάχους. τὰ γάρ ἐναντία ἄλληλα ταράττοντα

dυσμάθειαν παρέχει, δεί δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα εὐμαθεῖσ εἶναι τοὺς

νέους· τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα οὐ σιμκρὰ οὐδ' ὀλίγα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ

προστεταγμένα μαθήματα, δείξει δὲ αὐτὰ προϊόν ὁ λόγος.
ἀμα τῷ χρόνῳ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς ἡμῶν ὁ παιδευτὴς ἐπιμελείσθω· τὰ δὲ μελῶν αὐτῶν αὕτη καὶ ῥημάτων, οί τοὺς χοροδιδασκάλους καὶ ἅ δὲι διδάσκειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν διείρητα πάντα, ἃ δὴ καθερωθέντα ἐφαμέν δεῖν, ταῖς ἐστραίς ἐκαστα ἁρμόττοντα, ἡδονὴν εὐτυχὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν παραδιδόντα ὠφελεῖν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα διείρηκας.

5 ἈΘ. Ἀληθεστάτα τοῖνυν. καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν παραλαβὸν ὁ πειρὶ τὴν μοῦσαν ἄρχων αἱρεθεῖς ἐπιμελείσθω μετὰ τύχης εὐμενοῦς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀρχήσεως τε πέρι καὶ ὅλης τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμναστικῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν εἰρημένοις ἀποδώμεν. καθάπερ μουσικῆς τὸ διδασκαλικὸν ὑπόλοιπον ὑν ἀπέδομεν, ὑσαυτῶς ποιόμεν καὶ γυμναστικῆς. τοὺς γὰρ παῖδας τε καὶ τὰς παιδᾶς ὀρχεῖσθαι δή δεῖ καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι μανθάνειν. ἡ γάρ;

ΚΛ. Ναι.

ΑΘ. Τοῖς μὲν τοῖνυν παιῶν ὀρχηστὰί, ταῖς δὲ ὀρχηστρίδες ἀν εἴεν πρὸς τὸ διαποιεῖν οὐκ ἀνεπιτηθειότερον. 

ΚΛ. Ἔστω δὴ ταύτῃ.

ΑΘ. Πάλιν δὴ τὸν τὰ πλείοτα ἐξοντα πράγματα καλῶμεν, τὸν τῶν παῖδων ἐπιμελήτην, δὲ τῶν τε περὶ μουσικῆς τῶν τε περὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπιμελοῦμενος οὐ πολλὴν ἐξεῖ σχολὴν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν δυνατός ἐσται πρεσβύτερος ὧν τοσοῦτων ἐπιμελείσθαι;

ΑΘ. Ὑπαίδως, ὦ φίλε. ὁ νόμος γὰρ αὐτῶ δέδωκεν καὶ δώσαι προσλαμβάνει εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν οὗς ἀν ἐθέλη, γνώσεται δὲ οὗς δεῖ, καὶ βοηθήσεται μὴ πλημμέλει εἰς ταῦτα, αἰδούμενος ἐμφρόνως καὶ γυνώσκων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος, λογισμῷ τε συνών ὡς εὐ μὲν τραφεῖται καὶ τρεφομένων τῶν νέων πάντα ἡμῖν κατ' ὀρθὸν πλεί, μή δὲ—οὐτ' εἰπεῖν ἄξιον οὐθ' ἡμεῖς λέγομεν ἐπὶ καυχή τὸλει τοὺς σφόδρα φιλομαντεύτας σεβόμενοι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰρητα, τῶν περὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν γυμνασιών κώμης, γυμνάσια γὰρ τίθεμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαντα τοῖς σώμασι διαποιήματα τοξικῆς τε καὶ πάσης ῥίψεως καὶ πελαταστικῆς καὶ πάσης ὀπλομαχίας καὶ διεξόδων τακτικῶν καὶ ἀπάσης πορείας στρατοπέδων καὶ στρατοπε-
δεύσεως καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἰππικήν μαθήματα συντείνει. πάντων γὰρ τούτων διδασκάλους τε εἶναι δεὶ κωνοὺς, ἀρνυμένους μισθὸν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τούτων μαθητὰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει παῖδας τε καὶ ἀνδρας, καὶ κόρας καὶ γυναίκας πάντων τούτων ἐπιστήμωνας, κόρας καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παῖδας τε καὶ τὰξεω και δέσεως καὶ ἀναρέσεως ὁπλών ἡμιμένας, εἰ μηδενὸς ἐνεκα, ἀλλ' εἰ ποτε δέσειε τανδήμει [πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει] καταλείποντας τῇ πόλιν ἐξω στρατεύεσθαι τοὺς φυλάξαντας παιδας τε καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς πόλιμ, ἵκανος εἶναι τὸ γε τοσοῦτον, ἣ καὶ τοῦνατιον, ὅν οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον, ἐξωθεν πολεμίους εἰσεπεσόντας ῥώμῃ τινὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ βίᾳ, ὦν τοσοῦτον, ἵκανος εἶναι τῇ πόλει, τῇ διαμάχῃ γίγνεσθαι, πολλῇ που κακία πολυτείας οὕτως αἰσχρῶς τὰς γυναίκας εἶναι τεθραμμένας, ἃς μηδ' ἄστορ ὀρνῦνας περὶ τεκνῶν μαχομένας πρὸς ὅπως τῶν ἱσχυροτάτων θηρίων ἔθελεν ἀποθησίκεως χαί τον πάντας κυνύνων κυνυνεύειν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς πρὸς ἱερὰ φερομένας, πάντας βωμοὺς τε καὶ ναοὺς ἐμπυμπλάνα, καὶ δοξαν τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους καταχείν ὅς πάντων δειλότατον φύσει θηρίων ἐστίν.

Κ.Λ. Οὐ μὰ τοῦ Δία, ὄ ἐσε, οὐδαμῶς εὑσχήμων γίγνοιτ' ἂν, τοῦ κακοῦ χωρίς, τοῦτο ἐν πόλει ὅπου γίγνοιτο.

Α.Θ. Οὐκότων τιθομέν τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, μέχρι γε τοσοῦτον μὴ ἀμελεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὸν πολέμον γυναῖξιν δεῖν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ πάντας τοὺς πολῖτας καὶ τὰς πολιτίδας;

Κ.Λ. 'Εγὼ γοῦν συγχωρῶ. 

Α.Θ. Πάλης τοῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν εἴπομεν, ὃ δ' ἐστὶ μέγιστον, ὡς ἐγὼ φαίνω ἂν, οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν, οὗδ' ἐστὶ βάδιον ἄνευ τοῦ τῷ σώματι δεικνύτα ἃμι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ φράζειν. τούτ' οὖν τότε κρυνοῦμεν, ὅταν ἔργῳ λόγος ἀκολουθήσας μηνύῃ τι σαφῆς τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅν εἰρήκειν πέρι, καὶ ὅτι τῇ πολεμικῇ μάχῃ πασῶν κινήσεων ὁπτῶς ἐστὶ συγγενὴς πολὺ μάλιστ' ἡμῖν ἢ τοιαύτη πάλη, καὶ ἢ καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ταύτῃ ἐκείνης χάριν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνη ταύτης ἑνεκα μαθάνειν. 

Κ.Λ. Καλῶς τοῦτο γε λέγεις. 

Α.Θ. Νῦν δὴ τῆς μὲν περὶ παλαιότραυ δυνάμεως τὸ μέχρι δεῦρ' ἡμῖν εἰρήσθων περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀλλῆς κινήσεως παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ᾗς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὀρχηστὶ τινὰ τις προσ-
αγορεύσων ὁρθῶς ἂν φθέγγοιτο, δύο μὲν αὐτῆς εἰδὴ χρῆ
νομίζειν εἶναι, τὴν μὲν τῶν καλλιόνων σωμάτων ἐπὶ τὸ
σεμνὸν μιμουμένην, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰσχύνων ἐπὶ τὸ φαύλον,
kai πάλιν τοῦ φαύλου τε δύο καὶ τοῦ σπουδαῖον δύο ἑτερα.
tοῦ δὴ σπουδαίου τὴν μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ ἐν βιαίοις ἐμ-
πλεκέντων πόνοισι σωμάτωι μὲν καλῶν, ψυχῆς δὲ ἀνδρικῆς,
tὴν δὲ ἐν εὐπραγίαις τε ὦσης ψυχῆς σάφρονοι ἐν ἦδοναῖς
tε ἐμμέτροις· εἰρηνικὴν ἂν τις λέγων κατὰ φύσιν τὴν τοιαῦ-
tὴν ὀρχήσων λέγοι. τὴν πολεμικὴν δὴ τούτων, ἀλλήν οὖσαν
tῆς εἰρηνικῆς, πυρόφηραν ἃ τις ὁρθῶς προσαγορεύετο, ταῖς
tε εὐλαβείαις πασῶν πληγῶν καὶ βολῶν ἐκνεύσεες καὶ ὑπείξει
πάση καὶ ἐκτηθήσεσιν ἐν ὑμείς καὶ σὺν ταπεινώσει μιμου-
μένην, καὶ τὰς ταύτας ἐναντίας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ δραστικὰ φερο-
μένας ἃς σχήματα, ἐν τε ταῖς τῶν τοξῶν βολαῖς καὶ ἀκοντίων
καὶ πασῶν πληγῶν μιμήματα ἐπιχειρούσας μιμεῖσθαι· τὸ
tε ὁρθῶν ἐν τούτοις καὶ τὸ ἑυτόνοι· τῶν ἀγαθῶν σωμάτων
καὶ ψυχῶν ὅπωτεν γίγνεται μίμημα, εὐθυφερὲς ὡς τὸ πολὺ
tῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν γιγνόμενον, ὁρθῶν μὲν τὸ τουτόν,
tὸ δὲ τούτως τοικταιῶν οὐκ ὁρθῶν ἀποδεχόμενον. τὴν
dὲ εἰρηνικῆν ὀρχήσας τῇδ' ἀδ βεβηρτεῖν ἑκάστων, εἴτε ὁρθῶς
εἴτε μὴ κατὰ φύσιν τις τῆς καλῆς ὀρχήσεως ἀντιλαμβα-
nέμενος ἐν χορείαις πρεσόντων εὐνόμων ἀνδρῶν διατελεῖ.
tὴν τοιῶν ἀμφισβητούμενην ὀρχήσας δεῖ πρῶτον χωρίς τῆς
ἀναμφισβητήτου διατελεῖν. τίς οὖν αὐτῇ, καὶ τῇ δὲ χωρὶς
tέμινεν ἐκατέραν; ὡς μὲν βακχεία τ' ἐστίν καὶ τῶν ταύτας
ἐπομένων αἰς Νύμφασ τε καὶ Πάνας καὶ Σειλήνους καὶ Σα-
tύρους ἐπονομαζότες, ὡς φασιν, μιμοῦνται κατομνώμενοι,
περικαθαρμοῦς τε καὶ τελετάς τινας ἀποτελοῦντων, σύμπα
τότο [τῆς ὀρχήσεως] τὸ γένεος οὐθ', ὡς εἰρηνικὸν οὐθ', ὡς
πολεμικὸν οὐθ'; ὃτι ποτὲ βούλεται βάδιον ἀφορίσωσθαι· διο-
rίσασθαι μὴν μοι ταύτη δοκεῖ σχεδὸν ὀρθότατον αὐτὸ εἶναι,
χωρὶς μὲν πολεμικοῦ, χωρὶς δὲ εἰρηνικοῦ θέντος, εἴπειν ὡς
οὐκ ἔστιν πολιτικὸν τοῦτο [τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὸ γένεος], ἐνταῦθα
dὲ κείμενον ἐάσαντας κεῖσαι, νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἁμα καὶ
eἰρηνικὸν ὡς ἀναμφισβητήτως ἣμετερόν ἄν ἐπονεῖναι. τὸ
dὲ τῆς ἀπολέμου μούσης, ἐν ὀρχήσεσιν δὲ τοὺς τε θεοὺς
καὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν παίδας τιμῶντων, ἐν μὲν σύμπαν γίγνοντ
ἀν γένος ἐν δαχῇ τοῦ πράττειν εὐ γιγνόμενον, τοῦτο δὲ διχῇ
e διαμορφεῖν ἂν, τὸ μὲν ἐκ πόνων τινῶν αὖ καὶ κινδύνων
80
διαπεφυγότων εἰς ἁγαθά, μεῖζους ἡδονὰς ἔχον, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐμπρόσθεν ἁγαθῶν σωτηρίας οὖσι καὶ ἑπαύξης, προμέτευς τὰς ἡδονὰς κεκτημένων εἰκείνων. ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις ποὺ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις τὰς κύνησις τοῦ σώματος μεῖζον ἐν τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐσῶν μεῖζον, ἔλαττόνως δὲ ἐλάττων κινεῖται, καὶ κοσμίωτέρας μὲν ὁ πρὸς τε ἀνδρείαν μᾶλλον γεγυμνασμένος ἐλάττων αὖ, δειλὸς δὲ καὶ ἀγύμναστος γεγονὼς πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν μεῖζους καὶ σφυδροτέρας παρέχεται μεταβολὰς τῆς κύνησεως. ὡς δὲ φθεγγόμενος, εἰτ' ἐν ὑδαίς εἰτ' ἐν λόγοις, ἤρυχιαν οὔ πάνυ δυνατὸς τῶ σώματι παρέχεσθαι πάσι. διὸ μίμησις τῶν λεγομένων σχῆμα γενομένη τῆς ὀρχηστικῆς ἐξηγῆσατο τέχνην σύμπασαν. ὃ μὲν οὖν ἐμμελῶς ἦμι, δὲ πλημμελῶς ἐν τούτοις πάσι κινεῖται. 

πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τοῖνοι ἅλλα ἡμῖν τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνοματῶν ὡς εὖ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν κείμενα δεὶ διανοούμενον ἐπαίνειν, τούτων δὲ ἐν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις τᾶς τῶν εὖ πραττόντων, ὄντων τε μετρίων αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς, ὡς ὀρθῶς ἁμα καὶ μουσικῶς ἀνόμασεν ὡς τοῦτ' ἤν, καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐταῖς θέμενος ὃνομα συμπάσας ἐμμελείας ἐπινόμασε, καὶ δύο δὴ τῶν ὀρχήσεων τῶν καλῶν εἶδ' ἀπεισόθησατο, τὸ μὲν πολεμικὸν πυρρήχην, τὸ δὲ εἱρημικὸν ἐμμελείαν, ἐκατέρῳ τὸ πρέπον τε καὶ ἀρμόττων ἐπιθείς ὅνομα. ἀ δὴ δεὶ τὸν μὲν νομοθέτην ἐξηγείσθαι τύποις, τὸν δὲ νομοφύλακα ξητεῖν τε, καὶ ἀνεφυνησάμενον, μετὰ τῆς ἅλλης μουσικῆς τὴν ὀρχήσιν συνθέντα καὶ νεμαντα ἐπὶ πάσας ἐορτὰς τῶν ὑπηρέτων ἐκάστη τὸ πρόσφορον, οὕτω καθερώσαντα αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν τάξει, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ κυνεῖν μηδὲν μήτε ὀρχήσεως ἐξόμενον μήτε ὕδης, ἐν ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὧσαντος τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν καὶ πολίτας διάγοντας, ὀμοίους εἰς δύναμιν ὄντας, ζην εὖ τε καὶ εὐδαίμωνος.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων καὶ γενναίων ψυχῶν εἰς τὰς χορείας, οἷς εἰρήνην δεῖν αὐτὰς εἶναι, διαπεπέρανται, τὰ δὲ τῶν αἰχμάρων σωμάτων καὶ διανοημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ γέλωτος κωμῳδήματα τετραμμένων, κατὰ λέξιν τε καὶ ὧδην καὶ κατὰ ὀρχήσιν καὶ κατὰ τὰ τούτων πάντων μιμήματα κεκωμῳδημένα, ἀνάγκη μὲν θεάσω σται καὶ γνωρίζειν. ἀνευ γὰρ γελοιῶν τὰ σπουδάζα καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἐναντία μαθεῖν μὲν οὐ δυνατὸν, εἰ μέλλει τες φρόνimos ἑςεσθαι, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐκ αὖ δυνατῶν ἀμφότερα, εἰ

VOL. II 81
τις αὖ μέλλει καὶ σμικρὸν ἀρετῆς μεθέξειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ἑνεκα τούτων καὶ μανθάνειν αὐτὰ δεῖ, τοῦ μὴ ποτὲ δι’ ἄγνοιαν δράν ἢ λέγεις ὅσα γελοῖα, μηδὲν δέον, δούλοις δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ξένοις ἐμμύσθοις προστάτευε μιμεῖοθαί, σπουδήν δὲ περὶ αὐτὰ εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ’ ἤντινοι, μηδὲν τινα μανθά- 
νοτα αὐτὰ γίγνεσθαι φανερῶν τῶν ἑλευθέρων, μήτε γνώαικα μῆτε ἄνδρα, καὶ ὦν δὲ ἀεὶ τι περὶ αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι τῶν με-
μημάτων. ὅσα μὲν οὖν περὶ γέλωτα ἐστιν παιγνία, ἀ δὴ κα-

κωμῳδίαν πάντες λέγομεν, οὖτως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ κείσων-

τῶν δὲ σπουδαίων, ὥς φασί, τῶν περὶ τραγῳδίαν ἡμῖν 

ποιητῶν, εάν ποτὲ τινες αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ἠλθόντες ἐπανερω-

σοσιν οὖτωσι πως. " Ω̄ ξένοι, πότερον φοιτῶμεν ὤμοι εἰς 

τὴν πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν ἡ μη, καὶ τὴν ποίησιν φέρωμεν τε 

καὶ ἀγωμεν, ἡ πῶς ὤμοι δεδοκται περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δράν;"— 

τὸ θεῖον ἀν πρὸς ταῦτα ὅρθος ἀποκριναίμεθα τοῖς θείοις ἀνδρά-

σιν; εἶμοι μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τάδε. " Ω̄ ἀριστοί, φάναι, " τῶν 

ξένων, ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τραγῳδίας αὐτοὶ ποιηται κατὰ δύνα-

μιν ὅτι καλλιστῆς ἁμα καὶ ἁρίστης. πάσα γοῦν ἡμῖν ἡ πολιτεία 

συνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἁρίστου βίου, δ ὡ-


φαμεν ἡμεῖς γε ὄντως εἶναι τραγῳδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην. 

ποιηται μὲν οὖν ὡμεῖς, ποιηται δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τῶν 

αὐτῶν, ὡμῖν ἀντίτεχνοι τε καὶ ἀνταγωνισται τοῦ καλλί-

στου δράματος, δ ὡμὸν ἀλῆθες μόνοις ἀποτελεῖν πέφυκεν, ὡς 

ἡ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐλπίς. μη δὴ δόξητε ἡμᾶς βαδίως γε 

ὄντως ὡμᾶς ποτε παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐάσειν σκηνᾶς τε πήχαντας κατ’ 

ἀγορὰν καὶ καλλιφώνους υποκρίτας εἰςαγαγομένους, μείζον 

φθεγγομένους ἡμῶν, ἐπιτρέψειν ὡμῖν δημηγορεῖν πρὸς παίδας 

τε καὶ γνώακας καὶ τῶν πάντα ὄχθων, τῶν αὐτῶν λέγοντας 

ἐπιτηδευμάτων πέρι μη τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ’ ὡς τὸ 

τοῦ ἐναντία τὰ πλείοτα. σχέδον γὰρ τοι καὶ μανωί-

μεθα τελέως ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἀπασα ἡ πόλις, ἡτυσούν ὡμῖν 

ἐπιτρέποι δραν τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα, πρὶν κρίναι τὰς ἁρχὰς εἰτε 

ρητά καὶ ἐπιτυθεία πεποίηκατε λέγεν εἰς τὸ μέσον εἰτε μή. 

νῦν οὖν, ὃ παιδεῖ μαλακῶν Μοῦσων ἕκγονοι, ἐπιθείζαντες 

τοῖς ἀρχοντὶ πρῶτον τὰς ἡμετέρας παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ώδας, 

ἂν μὲν τὰ αὐτὰ γε ἢ καὶ βελτίω τὰ παρ’ ὡμῶν φαινήται 

λεγόμενα, δώσομεν ὡμῶν χορὸν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὃ φιλοι, οὐκ ἂν 

ποτὲ δυναίμεθα."
πέρι συντεταγμένα νόμους ἑθη, χωρίς μὲν τὰ τῶν δούλων, χωρίς δὲ τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν, εἰ συνδοκεί.

Κ.Π. ὡς δ’ οὐ συνδοκεῖ νῦν γε οὕτως;

Α.Θ. Ἑτὶ δὴ τοῖς τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐστίν τρία μαθήματα, λογισμοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀριθμοὺς ἐν μάθημα, μετρητικὴ δὲ μήκους καὶ ἐπίπεδου καὶ βάθους ὡς ἐν αὐτῶν δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων περιόδου πρὸς ἄλληλα ὡς περιοχεῖ πορεύοντα. ταῦτα δὲ σύμπαντα οὐχ ὡς ἀκριβείας ἐχόμενα δεῖ διαπονεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλὰ τινας διλύγους’ οὐς δὲ, προϊόντες ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει φράσομεν· οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἂν εἰπ’ τῷ πληθεῖ δὲ ὡς αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ πῶς ὁρθότατα λέγεται μὴ ἑπιστασθαι μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰσχρῶν, δι’ ἀκριβείας δὲ ξητεῖν πάντα οὕτε ράδιον οὕτε τὸ παράπαν δυνατόν. τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶν τε ἀποβάλλει, ἀλλ’ ἐοικεί δ’ τὸν θεὸν πρῶτον παρομισσάμενος εἰς ταῦτα ἀποβλέψας εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδὲ θεὸς ἀνάγκη μή ποτε φανὴ μαχόμενος, ὥσα τειαί γε, οὕτα, τῶν γε ἀναγκῶν εἰσιν’ ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἀνθρωπῶν, εἰς ὧς οἱ πολλοὶ βλέποντες λέγουσι τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὕτος πάντων τῶν λόγων εὐθεότατος ἐστὶν μακρὰ.

Κ.Π. Τίνες οὖν, ὦ ξένε, αἱ μὴ τοιαύται ἀνάγκαι τῶν μαθημάτων, θεῖαι δέ;

Α.Θ. Δοκῶ μὲν, ὅς μή τις πράξασι μηδὲ αὖ μαθῶν τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο ἀνθρώπους θεοὺς οὐδὲ δαίμων οὐδὲ ἠρως οἰός δυνάτως ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαιν σὺν σπουδὴ ποιεῖται. πολλοὶ δ’ ἀν δεήσειν ἀνθρωπός γε θεῖος γενεάθαι μήτε ἐν μήτε δύο μήτε τρία μήθ’ ὡς ἄρτια καὶ περιττά δυνάμενος γεννώσκει, μηδὲ ἀριθμεῖν τὸ παράπαν εἰδῶς, μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διαρθρεύεται δυνάτος ὡς, σελήνης δὲ καὶ ήλίου καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀστρών περιφεράς ἀπείρου ἔχων. ταῦτ’ οὖν δὴ πάντα ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀναγκαία ἐστὶ μαθήματα τῷ μέλλοντι σχεδὸν ὅτιον τῶν καλλίστων μαθημάτων ἐσεθαί, πολλὴ καὶ μωρία τοῦ διανόηματος· ποτα δὲ ἐκαστα τούτων καὶ πόσα καὶ πότε μαθητεύον, καὶ τί μετὰ τίνος καὶ τί χωρίς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ πάσαν τὴν τούτων κράσιν, ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἀ δεὶ λαβόντα ὅρθως πρώτα, ἐπὶ τάλλα ἱόντα τούτων ἡγομένων τῶν μαθημάτων μανθάνειν. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνάγκη φύσει κατείηθεν, ἢ φαμεν οὐδένα θεῶν οὕτε μάχεσθαι τὰ νῦν οὐτε μαχεῖσθαι ποτε.
ΚΛ. "Εοικέν γε, ὦ ξένε, νῦν οὔτω πως ῥηθέντα ὅρθως εἰρήθαι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἄ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. "Εχεί μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ὦ Κλεενία, χαλέπον δὲ αὕτα 5 προταξάμενον τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ νομοθετεῖν· ἀλλ’ εἰς ἄλλον, εἰ δοκεί, χρόνον ἀκριβέστερον ἂν νομοθετησάμεθα.

ΚΛ. Δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένε, φοβεῖσθαι τὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπειρίας ἔθος. οὐκον ὅρθως φοβηθῇ πειρῶ δὴ λέγειν μηδὲν ἀποκαμπτόμενος ἕνεκα τούτων.

ΑΘ. Φοβοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἀ συ νῦν λέγεις, μᾶλλον δ’ ἐτι δέδοικα τοὺς ἡμιμένους μὲν αὐτῶν τούτων τῶν μαθημάτων, κακός δ’ ἡμιμένους. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ δεινὸν οὐδὲ σφοδρὸν ἀπειρία τῶν πάντων οὐδὲ μέγιστον κακόν, ἀλλ’ 5 ἡ πολυτειρία καὶ πολυμαθία μετὰ κακῆς ἀγωγῆς γίγνεται πολὺ τούτων μείζων ἦμις.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Τοσάδε τοῖνυν ἐκάστων χρή φάνω μανθάνειν δεῖν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὡσα καὶ πάμπολος ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ παῖδων ὠχλος ἃμα γράμμασι μανθανεί. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ λογισμοὺς ἀτεχνῶς παῖν ἔξηγηρμένα μαθήματα μετὰ παιδίας τε καὶ ἱδονῆς μανθάνειν, μήλων τε τινῶν διανομαί καὶ στεφάνων 5 πλείοσιν ἃμα καὶ ἐλάττοσιν ἄρμοστον ἄρμοστον τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πυκτῶν καὶ παλαιστῶν ἐφεδρείας τε καὶ συλλήξεως ἐν μέρει καὶ ἐφεξῆς καὶ ὡς πεφυκαί γίγνεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ παίζοντες, φίλας ἃμα χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων κεραυνῶτες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλα πως διαδιδόντες, ὅπερ εἴπον, εἰς παιδίαν ἐναρμότατον τὰς τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἀριθμῶν χρήσεως, ὕφελοῦσι τοὺς μανθάνοντας εἰς τὰς τῶν ἐπιστομοῦντας τάξεις καὶ ἀγωγάς καὶ στρα- 5 τειὰς καὶ εἰς οἰκονομίας αὖ, καὶ πάντως χρησιμοτέρους αὐτῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγγαρηγοροῦσας μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεργάζοντα: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς μετρήσεσιν, ὡσα ἔχει 5 μήκη καὶ πλάτη καὶ βάθη, περὶ ἀπαντα ταῦτα ἐνοικοῦν τίνα φύσει γελοιῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἄγνοιαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν, ταύτης ἀπολλάττουσιν.

ΚΛ. Ποίαν δὴ καὶ τίνα λέγεις ταύτην;

ΑΘ. Ὡ φίλε Κλεενία, παντάπασι γε μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούσας ὅψε ποτε τὸ περὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν πάθος ἑθαύμασα, καὶ ἐδοξή μοι τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ ὑπερὶ τινῶν εἶναι

84
μάλλον θρεμμάτων, ἦσχυνθην τε οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

ΚΛ. Τοῦ πέρι; λέγε ὃτι καὶ φής, ὡς ξένε.

ΑΘ. Δέγω δή: μάλλον δὲ ἐρωτῶν σοι δεῖξω, καὶ μοι συμκρόν ἀπόκριναι γυνώσκεις που μήκος;

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Τί δὲ; πλάτος;

ΚΛ. Πάντως.

ΑΘ. Ἡ καὶ ταῦτα ὃτι δύ' ἔστον, καὶ τρίτον τούτων βάθος;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ; 

ΑΘ. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα εἶναι πάντα μετρητὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα;

ΚΛ. Ναι.

ΑΘ. Μήκος τε οἶμαι πρὸς μῆκος, καὶ πλάτος πρὸς πλάτος, καὶ βάθος ὦσαυτῶς δυνατὸν εἶναι μετρεῖν φύσει;

ΚΛ. Σφόδρα γε.

ΑΘ. Εἰ δ' ἐστι μήτῃ σφόδρα μήτῃ ἡρέμα δυνατὰ ἐνία, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ μή, οὐ δὲ πάντα ἡγή, πῶς οἰει πρὸς ταῦτα διακείσθαι;

ΚΛ. Δῆλον ὑπί φαύλως.

ΑΘ. Τί δ' αὐδ μήκος τε καὶ πλάτος πρὸς βάθος, ἦ πλάτος τε καὶ μήκος πρὸς ἄλληλα; [ὦστε πῶς] ἂρ' οὗ διανοούμεθα περὶ ταῦτα οὔτως Ἑλλήνες πάντες, ὡς δυνατὰ ἐστὶ μετρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλα ἰμῶς γέ πως;

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Εἰ δ' ἔστων αὐδ μηδαιμός μηδαιμῇ δυνατά, πάντες δ', ὅπερ εἰπων, Ἑλλήνες διανοούμεθα ὡς δυνατά, μῶν οὐκ ἄξιον ὑπὲρ πάντων αἰσχυνθέντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Ὡς δὲ ἄλλως τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐν ἐκείνων τούτ' ἔστων ὅπως [ἐ]φαμεν αἰσχρὸν μὲν γεγονέναι τὸ μή ἐπίστασθαι, τὸ δ' ἐπίστασθαι τὰναγκαία οὐδὲν πάντως καλὸν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὖ;

ΑΘ. Καὶ πρὸς τούτων γε ἄλλα ἔστων τούτων συγγενῆ, ἐν οἷς αὐδ πολλὰ ἀμαρτήματα ἐκείνων ἀδελφα ἡμῖν ἐγγύνεται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.

ΚΛ. Ποία δή;

ΑΘ. Τὰ τῶν μετρητῶν τε καὶ ἀμέτρων πρὸς ἄλληλα ἦτεν φύσει γέγονεν. ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ σκοποῦντα διαγγέλλωσκειν ἀναγκαίον ἦ παντάπασιν εἶναι φαύλος, προβάλλοντά τε
ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ, διατριβὴν τῆς πεπειναζομεν ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἄξιαις σχολαῖς.

ΚΑ. "Ἰσως, ἔοικεν γοῦν ἦ τε πεπειναζομεν τα μαθηματα οὐ πάμπολυ κεχωρισθαι.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτα τοινυν ἐγὼ μέν, ὥς Κλεινια, φημὶ τουσ νέους δειν μαθανόμενν καὶ γὰρ οὔτε βλαβερὰ οὔτε χαλεπὰ ἑστιν, μετὰ δὲ παιδιᾶς ἄμα μαθανόμενα ὥφελησει μὲν, βλάψει δὲ ἦμιν τὴν πόλιν οὐδεν. εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλως λέγει, ἀκουστεόν.

ΚΑ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ μήν ἂν οὔτω ταῦτα ἔχοντα φαίνηται, δῆλον ὃς ἐγκρινοῦμεν αὐτά, μή ταῦτη δὲ φαινόμενα ἔχειν ἀποκρηθήσεται.

ΚΑ. Δήλον: τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν νῦν, ὥς ἔγεν, κείσθω ταῦτα ὡς ὀντα τῶν δεόντων μαθημάτων, ἵνα μὴ διάκειν ἦμιν ἡ τὰ τῶν νόμων; κείσθω μέντοι καθάπερ ἐνέχυρα λύσιμα [ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτείας], ἕαν ἦ τοὺς θέντας ἡμᾶς ἣ καὶ τους θεμένους ἡμᾶς μηδαμῶς φιλοφρονήσατι.

ΚΑ. Δικαίων λέγεις τὴν θέσιν.

ΑΘ. Ἀστρων δὴ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅρα τὴν μάθησιν τοῖς νέοις ἃν ἡμᾶς ἀρεσκῇ λεχθείσα ἣ καὶ τοῦνταντιον.

ΚΑ. Λέγε μόνων.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μήν βαθύμα γε περὶ αὐτά ἐστιν μέγα καὶ οὐδαμῶς οὐδαμῇ ἀνεκτόν.

ΚΑ. Τὸ ποῦν δὴ;

ΑΘ. Τὸν μέγιστον θεών καὶ ὅλου τῶν κόσμου φαμέν οὔτε ἐστείν δειν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰς αὐτίας ἐρευνῶντας—οὐ γὰρ οὖδ᾽ ὁσιον εἰναι—τὸ δὲ ἐοικεν πάν τοῦτον τοῦνταντιον ἔιη γιννόμενον ὅρθος ἃν γίγνεσθαι.

ΚΑ. Πῶς εἶπες;

ΑΘ. Παράδοξον μὲν τὸ λεγόμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πρεσβύταις τις οὐθεὶς πρέπειν· τὸ δὲ ἐπειδάν τίς τι καλὸν τε οὐθῆν Καὶ ἄλλης μάθημα εἶναι καὶ πόλει συμφέρον καὶ τῷ θεῷ παντάπασι φιλον, οὐδενὶ δὴ τρόπῳ δυνατὸν ἐστιν ἐτὶ μὴ φράζειν.

ΚΑ. Εἰκότα λέγεις· ἀλλ᾽ ἀστρων περὶ μάθημα τι τούτον ἀνευρήσομεν;

ΑΘ. Ὡ ἀγαθῶν, κατατευθούμεθα νῦν ὃς ἔπους εἰπεῖν.
"Ελλήνες πάντες μεγάλων θεών, 'Ηλίου τε ἀμα καὶ Σελήνης.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποιὸν δὴ ἤπειδος;

ΑΘ. Φαμεν αὐτὰ οὐδὲτοποτ ἠν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴεναι, καὶ ἀλλ᾽ ἀττα ἀστρα μετὰ τοὺτων, ἐπονομάζοντες πλανητά αὐτά.

ΚΛ. Νὴ τὸν Δία, ὃ ξένε, ἀληθεὶς τοῦτο λέγεις: ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ βίῳ πολλάκις ἐώρακα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τε Ἔωσφόρον καὶ τὸν Ἐσπερόν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς οὐδὲτοποτ ἴοντας εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὁχρόν ἄλλα πάντη πλανωμένους, τὸν δὲ ἡλιόν που καὶ σελήνην ὄρωντας ταῦτα αἰεὶ πάντες συνεπιστάμεθα.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν τοῦν, ὃ Μέγιλλε τε καὶ Κλεινία, νῦν ὃ δὴ φημι δεῖν περὶ θεῶν τῶν κατ᾽ ὑμετέρους πολίτας τε καὶ τοὺς νέους τὸ μέχρι τοσοῦτον μαθεῖν περὶ ἀπάντων τούτων, μέχρι τοῦ μὴ βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτά, εὐφημεῖν δὲ αἰεὶ θυντάς τε καὶ ἐν εὐχαῖς εὐχομένους εὐσεβῶς.

ΚΛ. Τοῦτο μὲν ὁρθῶν, εἰ γε πρῶτον μὲν δυνατὸν ἐστιν 5 ὃ λέγεις μαθεῖν: εἰτὰ, εἰ μὴ λέγομεν τι περὶ αὐτῶν ὁρθῶς νῦν, μαθόντες δὲ λέξομεν, συγχωρῶ καὶ τό γε τοσοῦτον καὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ μαθητέων εἰναι. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ὃς ἔχοντα ἐσθ᾽ ὀὕτω, πειρῶ δὲ μὲν ἐξήγεισθαι πάντως, ἡμεῖς δὲ συνέπεσθαι σοι μανθάνοντες.

ΑΘ. 'Ἀλλ᾽ ἐστὶ μὲν οὖρ ῥάδιον ὃ λέγω μαθεῖν, οὐδ' αὖ παντάπασι χαλεπῶν, οὔτε γε τινὸς χρόνου παμπόλλου. τεκμήριον δὲ: ἐγὼ τούτων οὔτε νέος οὔτε πάλαι ἄκηκοδις σφῶν ἀν νῦν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δηλώσαι δυναίμην. καίτι χαλεπά γε ὃντα οὐκ ἂν ποτε οἶδος τ' ἂν δηλουν τηλικοῦτοις ὁσι τηλικοῦτος.

ΚΛ. 'Ἀληθῆ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ τὶ καὶ φήσῃ τοῦτο τὸ μάθημα ὃ θαυμαστὸν μὲν λέγεις, προσήκον ὃ αὖ μαθεῖν τοὺς νέους, οὐ γεγυνώσκεν δὲ ἡμᾶς; πειρῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ γε τοσοῦτον φράξεις ὡς σαφέστατα.

ΑΘ. Πειρατέον. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ὃ ἄριστοι, τὸ δόγμα ὁρθὸν περὶ σελήνης τε καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, ὡς ἄρα πλανᾶται ποτε, πάν ἐν τούνατιν ἔχει τούτου—τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἑκαστόν καὶ ὃ πολλάς ἄλλα μιᾶς αἱ κύκλῳ διεξέρχεται, φαίνεται δὲ πολλὰς φερόμενον—τὸ δὲ τάξιστον αὐτῶν ὃν βραδύτατον οὐκ ὁρθῶς αὖ δοξάζεται, τὸ δ᾽ ἐναντίον ἐναντίως. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν εἰ πέφυκεν μὲν οὕτως, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ ταύτη δοξάζομεν, εἰ μὲν ἐν Ἄλαμπτια θεόντων ἒπτων οὕτως ἡ.
δολιχοδρόμων ἀνδρῶν διενοσύμεθα πέρι, καὶ προσηγορεύομεν τὸν τάχιστον μὲν ὡς βραδύτατον, τὸν δὲ βραδύτατον ὡς
5 τάχιστον, ἐγκώμια τε ποιοῦντες ἤδομεν τὸν ἢπτώμενον νευκηκότα, οὕτε ὅρθως ἀν οὔτ' οἶμαι προσφιλῶς τοῖς
δρομεύσαι ἢμᾶς ἃν τὰ ἐγκώμια προσάπτειν ἀνθρώπους οὖν.

καὶ ταῦτα ἕξαμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν, ἀρ' οὐκ οὐμεῖοι ὡς ἔλεον τε καὶ οὐκ ὅρθον ἐκεὶ γεγονό-

5 μέν εἰς τὸν ἔνστατον, ἡνταυθὶ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γίγνεσθαι
γελοῖον μὲν οὐδήμως, οὐ μὴν οὔτε θεοφιλὲς γε, ψευδή

5 φήμην ἡμῶν κατὰ θεῶν ὑμνοῦντων.

ΚΑ. Ἀληθέστατα, εἴπερ γε οὕτω ταῦτ' ἐστών.
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἂν μὲν δείξωμεν οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχοντα, μαθητέα
μέχρι γε τούτοις τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, μὴ δειχθέντων δὲ ἐστέον;
καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν οὕτω συγκεῖσθω;

ΚΑ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.
ΑΘ. Ἡδὴ τούν τρήρα φᾶναι τέλος ἔχειν τὰ γε παideίας
μαθηματῶν πέρι νόμιμα· περὶ δὲ θήρας ὁσαύτως διανοηθήναι
χρῆ καὶ περὶ ἀπάντων ὅποσα τοιαῦτα. κωδυνεύει γὰρ δὴ
5 νομοθέτη τὸ προστατύμενον ἔτι μεξ' οἴναι τοῦ νόμους
θέντα ἀπηλλάθαι, ἔτερον δὲ τὶ πρὸς τοῖς νόμοις εἶναι
μεταξὺ τι νοεθετήσεως τε πεθυκὸς ἁμα καὶ νόμων, ὃ δὴ

ε ὁλὴς τῆς πολιτείας, οὗ τέλεος τὸ διαφέροντος πολίτου πρὸς
ἀρετὴν γίγνεται ἐπαινοῦ, ὅταν αὐτόν τις φιλὸν ὑπηρετήσαντα
toῖς νόμοις ἀρίστα καὶ πειθόμενον μάλιστα, τούτοις εἶναι τὸν
ἀγαθὸν· τελεωτέρον δὲ δὴ δειρημένον, ως ἀρα ὅσ ἂν τοῖς τοῦ

5 νομοθέτου νομοθετούτω τε καὶ ἐπανοῦντος καὶ ψεύντος
πειθόμενος γράμμασιν διεξέλθῃ τὸν βίον ἄκρατον. οὕτως οὐ

823 τε λόγος ὀρθότατος εἰς ἐπαινοῦ πολίτου, τὸν τοῦ νομοθέτη
ἀντος δὲ μὴ μόνον γράφεω τοὺς νόμους, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς νόμοις,
ὅσα καὶ ἀυτὸ δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ καλὰ εἶναι, νόμοις ἐμπλεγμέναι

5 γράφεω, τὸν δὲ ἄκρον πολίτην μηδὲν ἧττον ταῦτα ἐμπεδοῦν
η τὰ ταῖς ζημίαις ὑπὸ νόμων κατειλημμέναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ

παρὸν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν <εἰ> οἶον μάρτυρα ἐπαγόμεθα, δηλοῦμεν ἃν
b δο βουλόμεθα μᾶλλον. θῆρα γὰρ πάμπολι τι πράγμα ἐστι,

περιειλημμένον ὅνοματι νῦν σχεδὸν ἐνι. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ
τῶν ἐνύδρων, πολλὴ δὴ ἢ τῶν πτηνῶν, πάμπολυ δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ πεζὰ θηρεύματα, οὐ μόνον θηρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄξιαν ἐννοεῖν θήραν, τὴν τε κατὰ πόλεμουν, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἢ κατὰ φίλίαν θηρεύοντα, ἢ μὲν ἐπανοῦν, ἢ δὲ ψόγων ἔχει· καὶ κλωπεῖα [καὶ] ληστῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων στρατοπέδω ἥρας. ἥρας δὲ πέρι τιλέντι τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοὺς νόμους οὐτὲ μὴ δηλοῦν ταῦθο οἷον τε, οὐτὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τάξεις καὶ ζημίας ἐπιτιθέντα ἀπειλητικὰ νόμιμα τιθέναι. τὶ δὴ δραστεόν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα; τὸν μὲν, τὸν νομοθέτην, ἐπαινεῖσα καὶ ψέξαι χρεών τὰ περὶ ἥρας πρὸς τοὺς τῶν νέων πόνους τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὸν δ’ αὐ τῶν ἀκουόντα πείθεσα ται, καὶ μήθ’ ἡδονὴ μήτε πόνον ἐξείργην αὐτὸν, τῶν δὲ περὶ ἑκαστὰ ἀπειληθέντων μετὰ ζημίας καὶ νομοθετήθητων τὰ μετ’ ἐπαίνου ῥηθέντα μᾶλλον τιμῶν καὶ προσταχθέντα ἀποτελεῖν.

Τούτων δὴ προρρηθέντων, ἔξεσιν γὰρ γίγνοιτο ἐμμετρὸς ἐπαίνοις ἥρας καὶ ψόγος, ήτις μὲν βελτίως ἀποτελεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν νέων ἐπαινοῦντος, ψέγωντος δὲ ἢ τάναντια. 5 λέγομεν τοῖν τὸ μετὰ τούτο ἔξεσις προσαγορεύοντες δι’ εὐχῆς τοὺς νέους. "Ω φίλοι, εἰθ’ υμᾶς μήτε τις ἐπιθυμία μήτ’ ἔρως τῆς περὶ βαλατταν θήρας ποτὲ λάβοι μηδὲ ἀγκιστρείας μηδ’ ὀλος τῆς τῶν ἐνύδρων ζώων, μήτε ἐγχηροῦς μήτε εὐδοὺς κύριος ἀγρόν θήραν διαπονομένους. μηδ’ αὐ ἄγρας ἀνθρώπων κατὰ βαλατταν ληστείας τε ἱμερὸς ἐπελθὼν οἷον θηρευτὰς ὁμοῦς καὶ ἀνόμους ἀποτελοῦ· κλωπεῖας δ’ ἐν χώρα καὶ πόλει μηδὲ εἰς τὸν ἐσχατὸν ἐπελθὼν νοῦν ἠψασαί. μηδ’ αὐτοὶ πτηνῶν θήρας αἰμοῦς ἔρως οὐ σφόδρα ἐλευθέροις ἐπελθοῦ τοι νέων. πεζῶν δὴ μόνον θῆρευσι τε καὶ ἄγρα λουτή τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἄθληταις, ὅτι η μὲν τῶν εὐδοντῶν αὐτὰ κατὰ μέρη, νυκτερεία κληθείσα, ἄργῳ ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἄξια ἐπαίνου, οὐδ’ ἢ τῶν, διαπαύματα πόνων ἐποῦσα, ἀρκυνῶν τε καὶ πάγαις ἀλλ’ οὐ φιλοφόνον ψυχῆς νύκη χειρουμένων την ἄγριον τῶν θηρίων μήμην· μόνη δὴ πάσαι λουτῇ καὶ ἀρίστῃ ἤ τῶν τετραπόδων ἱπποὺς καὶ κυνιν καὶ τοῖς εαυτοῖς θῆρα σώματος, ἃν ἀπάντων κρατοῦσιν δρόμους καὶ πληγαῖς καὶ βολαῖς αὐτόχειρες θηρεύοντες, ὁσοὶ ἀνδρεῖας τῆς θείας ἐπιμελέσ.

Τούτων δὴ πάντων ἐπαίνος μὲν περὶ καὶ ψόγος ὁ διειρήμενός ἂν εἰς λόγος, νόμος δὲ ὅδε· Τούτως μηδεῖς τοὺς ἑρωῦς 89
όντως θηρευτάς κωλυέτω ὅπου καὶ ὀππερ ἄν ἐθέλωσιν κυνηγετεῖν, νυκτερευτὴν δὲ ἄρκυσιν καὶ πλεκταῖς πιστὸν μηδεῖς 
15 μηδέποτε ἐάσῃ μηδαμοῦ θηρεύσαι τὸν ὄρνιθευτὴν δὲ ἐν ἄργοις μὲν καὶ ὀρεσίν μὴ κωλυέτω, ἐν ἐργασίμοις δὲ καὶ ἱερατικοῖς [ἄγριοις] ἐξειργάτω ὁ προστυγχάνων, ἐνυγροθηρευτὴν δὲ, πλὴν ἐν λιμέσιν καὶ ἱεροῖς ποταμοῖς τε καὶ ἐλεσι καὶ λίμναις, ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἐξέστω θηρεύειν, μὴ 
20 χρώμενον ὅπων ἀναθολώσει μόνον.

Ὃν ὅν ἦδη πάντα χρὴ φάναι τέλος ἐχεῖν τὰ γε παιδείας πέρι νόμιμα.
ΚΛ. Καλῶς ἃν λέγοις.
828–831.—The arrangement of military field-days and sham-fights on holidays:—(to be as like real fights as possible.)

831–832.—(1) The love of money, and (2) defects in the constitutions of states prevent men from giving a proper attention to military training.

832–835.—The details of military training.

835 d–841.—The proper regulation of the sexual instinct.

842–850.—The production and distribution of food.

843–846.—Laws for farmers.

846 d–847 d.—Regulations about artizans and about foreign trade.

847 e–849 a.—Distribution of agricultural and manufactured produce.

849 a–850.—Market regulations.)

H

ΑΘ. Τούτων μὴν ἐχόμενα ἐστιν τάξασθαι μὲν καὶ νομοθετήσασθαι ἐφορᾶς μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντείων, αἰτίως θυσία καὶ θεοὶς οἴστις ἀμείνων καὶ λόγον θυνόσῃ τῇ πόλει γίγνοντ’ ἀν’ πότε δὲ καὶ πόσαι τὸν ἀριθμόν, σχεδὸν ἵσως ἡμέτερον ἄν νομοθετεῖν [ἐνιά γ’] αὐτῶν εἰη.

ΚΑ. Τάχ’ ἂν τὸν ἀριθμόν.

ΑΘ. Τὸν ἀριθμόν δὴ λέγωμεν πρῶτον. ἐστωσαν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων μηδὲν ἀπολείπουσαι, ἄδως ἂν μία γέ τις ἀρχὴ θύη θεῶν ἦ δαμόνων τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπὲρ πόλεως τε καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ κτημάτων. ταύτα δὲ συνελθόντες ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ ἑρείς ἑρείαι τε καὶ μάντεις μετὰ νομοφυλάκων ταξάντων ἡ παραλείπεις ἀνάγκη τῷ νομοθέτῃ· καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτῳ τούτων χρῆ γίγνεσθαι ἐπιγνώσομαι τοῦ παραλειπομένου τούτου τοῦ αὐτούς. ὃ μὲν γὰρ δὴ νόμος ἑρεῖ δῶδεκα μὲν ἐφορᾶς εἶναι τοῖς δῶδεκα θεοῖς, ὃν ἂν η ὕλη ἓκαστη
τέκνωνος ἢ, θύνοντας τούτων ἐκάστους ἐμμηνα ἱερά, χοροῦ τε καὶ ἄγωνας μουσικοὺς, τοὺς δὲ γυμνικοὺς, κατὰ τὸ πρέπον προσνέμοντα τοῖς θεοῖς τε αὐτοῖς ἁμα καὶ ταῖς ὀραῖς ἐκά-
αργον καὶ ἐπιφανές μηδὲν δράσαντες πώποτε· ὅσοι δὲ ἀγαθοὶ
tε αὐτοὶ καὶ τίμιοι ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐργών ὄντες δημιουργοὶ
καλῶν, τὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἅδεσθω ποιήματα, ἕαν καὶ μὴ
μονωτὰ περὶκη. κρίσις δὲ αὐτῶν ἔστω παρά τῇ παῦδετῇ
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοφύλαξι, τότῳ ἀποδιδόντων αὐτοῖς γέρας,
5
παραρτήμαν ἐν μούσαις εἶναι μόνοις, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους μιθεῖαν
ἐξουσίαν γίγνεσθαι, μηδὲ των τολμαί ἄδειν ἅδεκμον μοῦσαν
[μὴ κρινάντων τῶν νομοφυλάκων], μηδὲ ἄν ἡδῶν ἢ τῶν Θεα-
μοῦρον τε καὶ Ὀρφείων ὦμοιον, ἀλλ' ὃσα τε ἱερὰ κριθέντα
ποιήματα ἐδοθή τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἀγαθῶν ὄντων ἄνδρῶν
ψέγοντα ἡ ἐπαινοῦτα τινας ἐκρίθη μετρίως δρᾶν τὸ τοι-
ότον. τα αὐτὰ δὲ λέγω στρατείας τε πέρι καὶ τῆς ἐν ποιήμα-
παραρτήμας γυναιξί τε καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὦμοίως γίγνεσθαι δεῖν.
5
χρή δὲ ἀναφέρειν παραδειγμάτα ἔαυτῷ τὸν νομοθέτη τῷ
λόγῳ. Φέρε, τίνας ποτὲ τρέφω τῇ πόλιν ὅλην παρα-
σκευάσας; ἃρ' οὐκ ἄθλητας τῶν μεγίστων ἄγώνων, οὐς
ἀναγωνισταὶ μυρίας ὑπάρχουσι; Καὶ πάντα γε, φαίη τις ἀν
ὄρθως λέγων. Τῇ δήτα; εἰ πῦκτας ἡ παγκρατιαστὰς ἐτρέ-
φομεν ἡ τὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἔτερων ἄγωνισμῶτων ἀθλοῦντας,
ἀρα εἰς αὐτὸν ἂν ἅπιτωμεν τὸν ἁγώνα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν
5
χρόνῳ οὐδὲν καθ' ἡμέραν προσμαχόμενοι; ἡ πῦκται γε ὄντες
παμπόλλας ἡ ἡμέρας ἐμπροσθὲν τοῦ ἁγώνος ἐμαυθάνομεν
τε ἂν μάχεσθαι καὶ διεπονούμεθα, μμούμενοι πάντα ἐκεῖνα
ὅποσοι ἐμέλλομεν εἰς τὸ τέτερα χρήσεως· περὶ τῆς νύκης δια-
μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὡς ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ὦμοίου ὄντες, ἀντὶ ἰμάντων
σφαίρας αὐτοῦ περιεδομένα, ὅπως αἰ πληγαὶ τε καὶ αἰ τῶν
πληγῶν εὐλάβειαι διεμελέτωντο εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἰκανόν, εἰ
5
tε τῆς ἡμῖν συγγυμναστῶν συνέβανεν ἀπορία πλείων, ἃρ'
ἂν δείσαντες τοὺς τῶν ἁνοίχτων γέλωτα οὐκ ἂν ἔτολμομεν
κρεμανύντες εἰδώλοιν ἁμφων γυμναζοῦσαν πρὸς αὐτό; καὶ
ἐτι πάντων τῶν τε ἐμψύχων καὶ τῶν ἅμυχων ἀπορήσαντες
5
ποτε, ἐν ἐρημίᾳ συγγυμναστῶν ἃρ' γε οὐκ ἔτολμόμενεν ἂν
αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σκιαμαχεῖν ὄντως; ἡ τί ποτε ἄλλο
τῆς τοῦ χειρομονεῖν μελέτην ἂν τις φαίη γεγονέναι;

ΚΛ. Σχεδόν, ὁ ἔνε, οὐδὲν ἄλλο γε πλὴν τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὃ 5
него ἐφθαγεῖ.
δ ψυχής καὶ παιδῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως; καὶ
tαύτα δὴ φοβηθείς αὐτῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τὰ πρὸς ἄλληλον
gυμνάσια μὴ φαίνηται τισιν γελοῖα, οὐκ ἄρα νομοθετήσει,
στρατεύεσθαι προστάτων μάλιστα μὲν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὰ
5 γε σιμκρὰ χωρὶς τῶν ὅπλων, χοροῦς τε εἰς ταύτα ἀμα καὶ
gυμναστικῆν πᾶσαν συντείνων, τὰς δὲ οἶνον τινὰς μείζονος
[τε καὶ ἐλάττους] γυμνασίας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ κατὰ μὴν ἐκαστον
ποιεῖσθαι προστάξει, ἀμίλλας τε πρὸς ἄλληλον ποιουμένους
κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἔπι καταληψιν χωρίων ἀμιλλωμε-
νοὺς καὶ ἐνέδρας, καὶ πᾶσαν μιμουμένους τὴν πολεμικήν,
6 ὅντως σφαιρομαχεῖν τε καὶ βολαῖς ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῶν
ἀληθῶν, χρωμένους ὑποκινδύνους βέλεσιν, ὅπως μὴ παντά-
πασῶν ἀφοβος ἢ πρὸς ἄλληλους γίγνεται παρέα, δειμάτα δὲ
παρέχη καὶ τινα τρόπον δηλοῖ τῶν τε ἐνυφυχον καὶ τὸν μή,
καὶ τοῖς μὲν τιμᾶς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμίας διανέμων ὅρθως, τὴν
πόλιν ὅλην εἰς τὸν ἄλληθυνόν ἀγώνα διὰ βίου παρασκευάζω
χρησίμην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τινος ἀποθανόντος οὕτως, ὡς ἀκουσίων
τοῦ φόνου γευμένου, τιθῆ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα κατὰ νόμον
καθαρθέντα καθαρόν εἶναι χείρας, ἡγούμενος ἀνθρώπων μὲν
teleuησάντων μὴ πολλῶν, ἔτερος πάλιν οὐ χεῖρος φύ-
σεαι, φῶβον δὲ οἴνον τελευησάντος, ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς τοιούτοις
βάσανον οὐχ εὐφρένειν τῶν τε ἀμενόνοιν καὶ χειρόνον, οὐ
μικρῷ πόλει μείζον κακόν ἐκείνου;
6 831
Κ.Α. Συμφαίμεν ἃν ἡμεῖς γε, ὦ ξένε, τὰ τοιαύτα δεὶν καὶ
νομοθετεῖν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύειν πόλιν ἁπασαν.
Α.Θ. ὁ Ἀρθούριος γυνικόκομεν ἄπαντες τὴν αἰτίαν διότι ποτὲ
νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ τοιαύτη χορεία καὶ ἀγωνία σχεδοῦ
οὔταν, ὅπως ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ πάντα τις σιμκρᾶ; ἡ βάλον δὴ
ἀμαθίαν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν τεθέντων αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους;
Κ.Α. Τάχα ἀν.
Κ.Α. Οὔταν, ὃ μακάρει Κλεινία. δύο δὲ χρῆ φάναι
τούτων αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ μάλα ἰκανός.
Κ.Α. Ποιάς;
Α.Θ. Τὴν μὲν ὕπ’ ἔρωτος πλούτου πάντα χρόνον ἀσχολοῦ
5 ποιουμένως τῶν ἄλλων ἑπιμελεῖσθαι πλὴν τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων,
ἐξ ὑπὸ κρεμαμένη πάσα ψυχή πολίτου παντὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ
dύνατο τῶν ἄλλων ἑπιμελεῖσαι ἱσχειν πλὴν τοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν
cέρδους· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο φέρει μάθημα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτυ-
δείμα, ἵδια πάς μανθάνει τε καὶ ἄσκειν ἑτοιμότατός ἐστιν,
τῶν δὲ άλλων καταγελᾶ. τούτο μὲν ἐν καὶ ταύτην μίαν διαμένει χρῆ φάναι τοῦ μήτε τούτο μήτ'. ἄλλο μὴ δὲν καλὸν κἄγαθον ἐθέλειν ἐπιτήδειμα πόλειν σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργυροῦ ἀπληστιάν πάσαν μὲν τέχνην καὶ μηχανήν, καλλίῳ τε καὶ ἀσχημονεστέραν, ἐθέλειν ὑπο-μένειν πάντα ἀνδρᾶ. εἰ μέλλει πλούσιος ἑσσεθαί, καὶ πράξεων πράττειν ἄσιόν τε καὶ ἀνόσιον καὶ πάντως αἰσχράν, μηδὲν δυσχεραίνοντα, ἕάν μόνον ἔχῃ δύναμιν καθάπερ θηρίω τοῦ φαγεῖν παντοτάτα καὶ πείνω σωστώς καὶ ἀφροδισίων πᾶσαν πάντως παραχεῖν πλησιμονήν.

ΚΑ. Ὡρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἀνύμ μὲν τοῖνοι, ἦν λέγω, μία κείσθω διακωλύουσα αἰτία τοῦ μήτε ἄλλο καλὸν μήτε τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανὸς ἐώσα ἄσκειν τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ναυκλήρους καὶ διακόνους πάντως τοὺς φύσει κοσμίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπεργαζομένην, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρείους ληστὰς καὶ τοιχωρύχους καὶ ἀερούλους καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ τυραννικοὺς ποιῶσα, καὶ μᾶλ' ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἀφεῖς ὄντας, δυστυχουντάς γε μήν.

ΚΑ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Πῶς μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦς οὐ λέγοιμ' ἢν τὸ παράπαν δυστυχεῖς, οἶς γε ἀνάγκη διὰ βλου πεινῶσιν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτῶν διεξελθεῖν;

ΚΑ. Ἀνύμ μὲν τοῖνοι μία· τὴν δὲ δὴ δευτέραν αἰτίαν τίνα λέγεις, ὦ ξένε;

ΑΘ. Καλῶς ὑπέμνησας.

ΚΑ. Ἀνύμ μὲν δὴ, φής σύ, μία, ἢ διὰ βλου ἀπληστος ξήτησις, παρέξουσα ἀσχολοῦν ἐκαστόν, ἐμπόδιοι γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπεργαζομένης, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρείοις ληστὰς καὶ τοιχωρύχους καὶ ἀερούλους καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ τυραννικοὺς ποιῶσα, καὶ μᾶλ' ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἀφεῖς ὄντας, δυστυχουντάς γε μήν.

ΚΑ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Πῶς μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦς οὐ λέγοιμ' ἢν τὸ παράπαν δυστυχεῖς, οἶς γε ἀνάγκη διὰ βλου πεινῶσιν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτῶν διεξελθεῖν;

ΚΑ. Ἀνύμ μὲν τοῖνοι μία· τὴν δὲ δὴ δευτέραν αἰτίαν τίνα λέγεις, ὦ ξένε;

ΑΘ. Καλῶς ὑπέμνησας.

ΚΑ. Ἀνύμ μὲν δὴ, φής σύ, μία, ἢ διὰ βλου ἀπληστος ξήτησις, παρέξουσα ἀσχολοῦν ἐκαστόν, ἐμπόδιοι γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπεργαζομένης, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρείοις ληστὰς καὶ τοιχωρύχους καὶ ἀερούλους καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ τυραννικοὺς ποιῶσα, καὶ μᾶλ' ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἀφεῖς ὄντας, δυστυχουντάς γε μήν.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖ λέγεις ἄλλα διατρίβειν δοκῶ δὲ ἀπορίαν;

ΚΑ. Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ οἶον μιμῶν δοκεῖς Ἦμιν κολάζειν τὸ 5 τοιοῦτον ἰθὸς μάλλῳ τοῦ δέοντος τῶν παραπεπτωκότων λόγων.

ΑΘ. Κάλλιστα, ὦ ξένου, ἐπεπλήξατε· καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσάντ' ἂν, ὡς ἐοίκε.

ΚΑ. Λέγε μόνον.

ΑΘ. Τὰς οὖ πολυτείας ἐγώγει αἰτίας εἶναι φημὶ ἃς 10 πολλάκις εἰρήκα ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις, δημοκρατίαι καὶ ὀλυγραχίαι καὶ τυραννίδα. τούτων γὰρ δὴ πολυτεία μὲν οὐδεμία, στασιωτείαι δὲ πάσαι λέγοντ' ἂν ὀρθότατα· ἐκόν-
των γὰρ ἐκοῦσα οὐδεμία, ἀλλὰ ἀκόντων ἐκοῦσα ἄρχει σὺν
5 ἀεὶ των βία, φοβούμενος δὲ ἄρχων ἀρχόμενον οὔτε καλὸν
οὕτε πλοῦσιον οὔτε ἵσχυρὸν οὔτ' ἀνδρείον οὔτε τὸ παράπαν
πολεμικὸν ἕκων ἐάσει γίνεσθαι ποτε. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ
dύο πάντων μὲν σμικροῦ διαφέροντα αὕτια, τούτων δ' οὖν
ὀντως διαφέρει. τὸ δὲ τῆς νῦν πολιτείας, ἥν νομοθετοῦμεν,

5 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ δρόμον καὶ τάχος ὅλως ἀρ' ὦ
θετέον;

ΚΛ. Θετέον.

ΑΘ. "Εστι γοῦν πάντων πολεμικῶτατον ἡ σώματος
833 χειρῶν· φυγεῖν μὲν καὶ ἔλειν ἢ τῶν ποδῶν, ἡ δ' ἐν ταῖς
συμπλοκαῖς μάχῃ καὶ σύστασις ἴσχυος καὶ ράμης δεομένη.

ΚΛ. Τι μήν;

ΑΘ. Οὐ μὴν χωρίς γε ὅπλων οὐδετέρα τὴν μεγίστην
5 ἔχει χρείαν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν;

ΑΘ. Σταδιοδρόμον δὴ πρῶτον ὁ κήρυξ ἡμῖν, καθάπερ
νῦν, ἐν τοῖς ἄγωσι παρακαλέι, δ' ἐδείσεων ὅπλα ἔχων·

10 ψιλῶ δὲ ἄθλα οὗ θήσομεν ἄγωνιστῇ. πρῶτος δὲ εἰσεισει
ὁ τὸ στάδιον ἀμμίλησόμενος σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, δεύτερος δὲ

b ὁ τὸν δίαυλον, καὶ τρίτος ὁ τὸν ἐφίππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τέ-

5 ταρτος ὁ τὸν δόλχον, καὶ τέμπτος δὲ ὁ ἀφήσομεν πρῶτον
ἀπλισμένον, ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων μήκος πρὸς ἱερὸν Ἀρεώς
τι καὶ πάλιν, βαρύτερον, ὅπλητην ἐπονομάζοντες, λειτέρας

οδοὺ διαμελώμενον, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον, τοξότην πᾶσαν τοξικὴν

96
εχοντα στολην, σταδιων δε εκατον προς Ἀπόλλωνος τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ιερον την δι’ ορων τε καὶ παντοιας χωρας ἀμιλλωμενον· και τιθεντες τον αγωνα μενομεν τουτους, εως αν ελθωσι, και τω νικωντα τα νικητηρια δωσομεν εκαστων.

ΚΛ. Ὠρθως.

ΑΘ. Τριττα δη ταιτα ἀθλήματα διανοηθαμεν, εν μεν παιδικαν, εν δε αγενεισι, εν δε ανδρων· και τοις μεν των αγενεισι τα δυο των τριων του μήκους του δρομου θησομεν, τοις δε παισι τα τουτων ἡμισεα, τοξοταις τε και ὀπληταις ἀμιλλωμενοις, γυναειν δε, κοραις μεν ανηριως γυναιας σταδιων και διαυλοι και εφιππιων και δολιχων, εν αυτω τω δρομων ἀμιλλωμεναις, ταις δε τριακαδεκατεσι μεχρι γαμου μενουσαις κοινωνιας μη μακροτερον εικοσι ετων μηδ’ ἔλαττον ὁκτωκαιδεκα. προτοουση δε στολη ταιτας ἐσταλμενας καταβατεν ἐπι την ἀμιλλαν τουτων των δρομων· και τα μεν περι δρομους ανδρασι τε και γυναιξι ταιτα εστω· τα δε κατ’ ἵσχυν, αντι μεν πάλης και των τοιουτων, τα νυν οσα βαρεα, την εν τοις ὀπλοις μαχην, ἐνα τε προς ἐνα διαμαχομενους και δυο προς δυο, και μεχρι δεκα προς δεκα διαμιλλωμενους ἀλληλοις. α δε τον μη παθοντα η πουησαντα δει νικαν καὶ εἰς ὀποσα, καθαπερ νυν εν τη πάλη διενομοθετησαντο οι περι την πάλην αυτην τι του καλως παλαιοντος ξρονοι και μη καλως, ταιτον δη και τους περι ὀπλομαχιαν άκρους παρακαλοντας χρη τουτους συννομοθετειν κελευειν τις νικαν ἀρα δικαιος περι ταιτας αυ τους μάχας ὧτι μη παθων η δράσας, και τον ἡττομενον ὡσαυτως ἡτε διακρινει τάξις. ταιτα δε καὶ περι των θηλειων ἐστω νομοθετουμενα των μεχρι γαμου. πελταστικην δε ὀλην ἀντιστησαντας δει τη του παγκρατιου μαχη, τοξους και πελταις και ακοντιοις και λιθω εκ χειρος τε και σφενδοναις ἀμιλλωμενων, διαθεμενοι αυ περι τουτων νομους, τω καλλιστα ἀποδιδόντα τα περι ταιτα νόμιμα τα γερα και τας νικας διανεμειν. το δε μετα ταιτα ἵππων δη περι ἀγωνος γίγνοιτο ἐξης ἃν νομοθετουμενα. ἴππων δε ἡμιν χρεια μεν ουτε τις πολλων ουτε πολλη, κατα γε δη Κρηθην, ὥστε ἀναγκαιον και τας σπουδας ἔλαττους γίγνεσθαι τας τε ἐν τη τροφη και τα περι ἀγωνιαν αυτων. ἀρματος μεν ου και το παράπαν ουτε τις τροφεις ἡμιν ἐστων ουτε τις φιλοτημια προς ταιτα οδειν γίγνοιτ' αν λόγουν ἐχουσα, ὥστε τουτου μεν ἀγωνιστας ουκ ἐπιχώριον

VOL. II 97 H
834 b

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

| έσται τιθέντας νοῦν μήτε ἔχειν μήτε δοκεῖν κεκτήσαθαι, |
| μονίπτως δὲ ἄθλα τιθέντες, πῶλους τε ἁβόλους καὶ τελείων |
| τε καὶ ἁβόλων τοῖς μέσοις καὶ αὐτοῖς δὴ τοῖς τέλοις ἔχουσι, |
| κατὰ φύσιν τῆς χώρας ἢ τῆς ἱπτικῆς παιδίαν ἄποδιδόμεν. |
| ἔστω δὴ τούτων τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ἀμιλλά τε καὶ φιλο- |
| νυκία, φυλάρχοις τε καὶ ἰππάρχοις δεδομένη κοινή κρίσις |
| ἀπάντων τῶν τε δρόμων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν καταβανόντων μεθ’ |
| ὀπλων· φιλοίς δὲ ὀπλων ὦτ’ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς οὔτε ἐνταῦθα |
| τιθέντες ἁγωνίας ὀρθῶς ἢ νομοθετοῦμεν. τοξότης δὲ ἄφ’ |
| ἰππῶν Κρῆς ὦκ ἄχρηστος, οὔτ’ ἀκοντιστής, ὥστε ἐστω καὶ |
| τούτων παιδίας χάρων ἔρις τε καὶ ἁγωνία. θηλείας δὲ περὶ |
| τούτων νόμοις μὲν καὶ ἐπιτάξεως οὐκ ἄξια βιάζεσθαι τῆς |
| κοινωνίας. ἐάν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐμπρόσθεν παιδευμάτων |
| εἰς ἔθος ἰόντων ἡ φύσις ἐνδέχεται καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνῃ παιδᾶς |
| ἡ παρθένους κοινωνεῖ, ἐάν καὶ μὴ ἴσχειν. |

e ᾨγωνία δὴ ὧν ἦδη καὶ μάθησις γυμναστικῆς, ὅσα τε |
| ἐν ἁγώνει καὶ ὅσα καθ’ ἥμεραν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἔκτηνυ- |
| μεθα, πάντως ἦδη ἐπεξέ ἔχει. καὶ δὴ καὶ μουσικῆς τὰ μὲν |
| πλείστα ὁματώ παιστῶ διαπερνάται, τὰ δὲ ῥαβδῶδων καὶ τῶν |
| τούτων ἐπομένων, καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἔρταις ἀμμαλία χορῶν ἀνα- |
| γικαῖα γίγνεσθαι, ταχθέντων τοῖς θεώς τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ |
| θεῶν μηνών καὶ ἡμερῶν καὶ ἕναντῶν, κοσμηθῆσονται τότε, |

835 εἰτε τριετηρίδες εἰτε αὖ καὶ διὰ πέμπτων ἑτῶν, εἰθ’ ὅτι καὶ |
| ὅπου ἐννοιαν διδόντων τῶν θεῶν τάξεως περὶ διανεμηθῶσιν: |
| τότε καὶ τοὺς μουσικῆς ἁγώνας χρή προσδοκάν κατὰ μέρος |
| ἁγωνιζόμενοι ταχθέντας ὑπὸ τὸν τοῦθεν καὶ τοῦ παιδευτοῦ |
| τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν νομοφολάκων, εἰς κοινὸν περὶ αὐτῶν |
| τούτων συνελθόντων καὶ γενομένων νομοθετῶν αὐτῶν, τοῦ |
| τοῦ πότε καὶ τίνες καὶ μετὰ τῶν τῶν ἁγώνων ποιοῦσιν |
| περὶ ἀπάντων χορῶν καὶ χορείας. οἷα δὲ ἕκαστα αὐτῶν |

b εἶναι δὲ κατὰ λόγουν καὶ κατ’ ὠδᾶς καὶ καθ’ ἁμοιοίας ρυθμοῖς |
| κρατείσας καὶ ὀρχήσεις, πολλάκις εἰρήται τῷ πρῶτῳ νομο- |
| θετῇ, καθ’ ἄτο τοὺς δευτέρους δὲι μεταδιδόκοντας νομοθετεῖν, |
| καὶ τοὺς ἁγώνας προτόπως ἐκάστους θύμασεν ἐν χρόνοις |
| προσήκουσι νεώματας, ἐορτᾶς ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει ἐορτάζειν. |
| ταύτα μὲν ὡσαν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα οὔτε χαλεπὸν γνώμαν τίνα |
| τρόπον χρὴ τάξεως ἐννόμοι λαγχάνειν, οὔτ’ αὖ μετατιθε- |

c μενα ἐνθα ἡ ἐνθα μέγα τῇ πόλει κέρδος ἡ ζημιὰν ἄν φέροι. |
| ἃ δὲ μὴ σμικρὸν διαφέρει, πείθει τε χαλεπὸν, θεῷ μὲν
μάλιστα ἔργον, εἰ πως οἷον τε ἣν ἐπιτάξεις αὕτας παρ’ ἠκείνου γίγνεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἄνθρωπον τολμηροῦ κινδυνεύει δεῖσθαι τινος, ὡς παρρησίαν διαφερόντως τιμῶν ἑρεῖ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀριστ’ εἶναι πόλει καὶ πολίταις, ἐν ψυχαῖς διεφθαρμεῖαι τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἐπόμενον πάση τῇ πολιτείᾳ τάττων, ἐναντία λέγων ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ οὐκ ἔχων βοηθὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδένα, λόγῳ ἐπόμενον μόνω μόνος.  

ΚΛ. Τίν’ αὖ νῦν, ὦ ἔνε, λόγου λέγομεν; οὐ γὰρ πω μανθάνομεν.  

ἈΘ. Εἰκότως γε’ ἀλλὰ δὴ πειράσομαι ἐγὼ φράζεω ῥήματι σαφέστερον. ὡς γὰρ εἰς παιδείαν ἠλθον τῷ λόγῳ, εἴδον νέοις τε καὶ νέας ὁμολογίας φιλοφρόνως ἄλληλαις, εἰσήλθεν δὲ με, οἰον εἰκός, φοβηθημένοι συννόησαντα τι τις χρίσται τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει ἐν ἡ δὴ νέοι μὲν νέαι τε εὐτρεφεῖς εἰσί, πῶνων δὲ σφοδρῶν καὶ ἀνελευθέρων, οἱ μάλιστα ὑβρῖν οβεννύσαν, ἀργῶν, θυσίαι δὲ καὶ ἑορταὶ καὶ χοροὶ πᾶσιν μέλουσιν διὰ βίου. τίνα δὴ ποτὲ τρόπον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἀφέξονται τῶν πολλῶν δὴ πολλὰ ἐπιθυμίμων εἰς ἐσχατα βαλλοὺσιν, ὥν ἄν δ’ λόγος προστάτη ἀπέ-χεσθαι, νόμος ἐπικεφαλῶς γίγνεσθαι; καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλῶν οὐ θαναμοστὸν ἐπιθυμίμων εἰ κρατοὶ τὰ πρόσθεν νόμιμα ταχ-θέντα—τὸ γὰρ μὴ πλοῦτεον τε ἐξεῖναι ὑπερβάλλοντως ἀγαθῶν πρὸς τὸ σωφρωνεῖν σὺ σμικρόν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ παιδεία μετρίους πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτ’ εἰλήφη πόλοις, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἢ τῶν ἄρχοντῶν ὅψις διηναγκαζομένη μὴ ἀποβλέπειν ἄλλοτε, τηρεῖν δ’ αἰεῖ, τοὺς νέους τ’ αὐτοὺς, πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθυμίας, ὡς γε ἄνθρωπα, μέτρουν ἐχει—τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐρῶτων παῖδων τὲ ἀρρένων καὶ θηλείων καὶ γυναικῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ ἄνδρῶν γυναικῶν οἶδε δὴ μυρία γέγονεν ἄνθρωποί ιδία καὶ ὅλαις πόλεσιν, πῶς τὶς τούτῳ διευλαβοῦτ’ ἂν, καὶ τ’ ἐμὸν πάντων πάμεν ἢ μεν ἄλλα ὄντα δὴ ἱπτή τῇ Κρήτῃ τε ἡμῖν ὅλῃ καὶ ἢ 5 Ἀνακεδαίμων βοήθειαν ἑπιεικώς οὐ σμικρὰν συμβάλλονται τιθείση νόμους ἄλλοιος τῶν πολλῶν τρόπων, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐρῶτων—ἀυτοὶ γὰρ ἐσμέν·ἐναντίονται παντάπασιν. εἰ γὰρ τις ἀκολούθων τῇ φύσει θήσει τὸν πρὸ τοῦ Λατόν νόμον, λέγων ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰχεν τὸ τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ νέων μη κοινωνεῖν καθάπερ θηλείων πρὸς μείζων ἀφροδισίων, μάρ-
τυρα παραγόμενος τῆς τῶν θηρίων φύσιν καὶ δεικνύς πρὸς
tὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἀπόμενον ἀρρενα ἀρρενος διὰ τὸ μὴ φύσει
tοῦτο εἶναι, ταχ’ ἄν χρότῳ ἀπιθάνων λόγῳ, καὶ ταῖς ύμετέραις
tόλεσιν οὐδαμῶς συμβαλλει. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, δὴ διὰ παντὸς

φαμέν δεῖν τὸν νομοθετὴν τηρεῖν, τοῦτο ἐν τούτοις οὐχ

ὁμολογεῖ. ζητοῦμεν γὰρ ἀεὶ δὴ τὶ τῶν τιθεμένων πρὸς

ἀρετὴν φέρει καὶ τὰ μή. φέρε δή, τοῦτο ἐὰν συγχωρῶμεν
calὸν ἡ μηθαμῶς αἰσχρὸν νομοθετεῖσθαι τὰ νῦν, τί μέρος

ημῶν συμβάλλοντ’ ἂν πρὸς ἀρετὴν; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ

πεισθέντος ψυχῆ γνώμενον ἐμφύσεται τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας

ἡδος, ἢ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πεῖσαντος τὸ τῆς σώφρονος ιδέας γένος;

ἡ ταύτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἂν πεισθεὶ ποτὲ, μᾶλλον δὲ, ἀπαν
tούτου τοῦναντίον, τοῦ μὲν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὑπείκοντος καὶ

cαρτερεῖν οὐ δυναμένου πέξει πᾶς τὴν μαλακίαν, τοῦ δ’ εἰς

μίμησιν τοῦ θῆλεος Ιόντος τῆς εἰκόνος ὀμοϊότητα ἀρ

οὐ μέμφεται; τίς οὖν ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο ἐν τοιῶνον νομο-

θετήσει; σχεδὸν οὐδείς, ἐχὼν γε ἐν τῷ νῦ νόμον ἁλθῆ.

πώς οὖν φαμέν ἀληθὲς τοῦτο εἶναι; τὴν τῆς φιλίας τε καὶ

ἐπιθυμίας ἀμα καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐρώτων φύσιν ὕδει

ἀναγκαίον, εἰ μέλλει τις ταύτα ὀρθῶς διανοηθῆσθαι: δύο

γὰρ οὐτα αὐτά, καὶ εὖ ἀμφοῖν τρίτον ἅλλο εἴδος, ἐν ὄνομα

περιλαβόν πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν καὶ σκότον ἀπεργάζεται.

5 Ὁλ. Π. ὅς;

posites. Ἐφ. Φίλων μὲν ποὺ καλοῦμεν ὀμοιὸν ὀμοίῳ καὶ ἀρετὴν

καὶ ἴσον ἴσω, φίλων δ’ αὐδι καὶ τὸ δεόμενον τοῦ πεπλούτη-

κότος, ἐναντίων ἃν τῷ γάνει ὅταν δὲ ἐκάτερον γίγνηται

σφοδρόν, ἐρωτα ἐπονομάζομεν.

b ΚΛ. Ὁρθῶς.

ὁλ. Φιλία τοίνυν ἢ μὲν ἀπὸ ἐναντίων δεινὴ καὶ ἀγρία

καὶ τὸ κοινὸν οὐ πολλάκις ἔχουσα ἐν ἡμῖν, ἢ δ’ ἐκ τῶν

ὁμοίων ἡμερός τε καὶ κοινὴ διὰ βίου μεικτῇ δὲ ἐκ τοιῶν

gενομένῃ πρῶτον μὲν καταμαθεῖν οὐ ράδια, τί ποτε βούλουτ’

ἀν αὕτη γενέσθαι τὸν τρίτον ἐρωτά τις ἡχών τοῦτον, ἐπείτη

eis τούναντίον ὑπ’ ἀμφοῖν ἐλκόμενος ἀπορεῖ, τοῦ μὲν κελεύ-

οντος τῆς ἀρασ ἀπτεσθαί, τοῦ δὲ ἀπαγορεύοντος. δ’ μὲν

c γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἑρών, καὶ τῆς ἀρας καθάπερ ὀπώρας

πενῶν, ἐμπληκηθήναι παρακελεύεται ἐαυτῷ, τιμὴν οὐδεμίαν

ἀπονέμων τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς θείῳ τῷ ἔρωμεν: ό δὲ πάρεργον

μὲν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις ἔχον, ὄραν δὲ μᾶλλον ἥ
ἐρών, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ὄντως τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτεθυμηκὼς, ὑμνῶν 5 ἤγγιται τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ σώματος πλησιότητι, τὸ σώφρον δὲ καὶ ἄνδρεῖον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον αἰδούμενον ἄμα καὶ σεβόμενος, ἀγνεύειν ἀεὶ μεθ’ ἀγνεύοντος τοῦ ἐρωμένου βούλουτ’ ἀν. ὁ δὲ μειχθεὶς εξ ἀμφοῖν γ’ ἑρως οὖτος ἐσθ’ ὑμῖν διενελθάμεν καὶ τρίτον. ὄντων δὲ τούτων τοσοῦτων, πότερον ἀπαντάς δεῖ κωλύειν τὸν νόμον, ἀπείροντα μὴ γίγνεσθαι ἐν ἡμῖν, ἦ δῆλον ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἄρετῆς ὄντα καὶ τὸν νέον ἐπιθυμοῦντα ὡς ἀριστον γίγνεσθαι 5 βουλοὶμεθ’ ἀν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνείναι, τοὺς δὲ δύο, εἰ δυνατὸν εἰη, κωλύομεν ἂν; ἦ πῶς λέγομεν, ὃ φίλε Μέγυλλε;  

ΜΕ. Πάντη τοι καλῶς, ὃ ξένε, περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰρήκας τὰ νῦν.

ΑΘ. 'Εοικά γε, ὁπερ καὶ ἐτοπάζων, τυχεῖν τῆς σῆς, ὃ φίλε, συνοδίας. τὸν δὲ νόμον ὑμῶν, ὅτι νοεῖ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐδὲν μὲ ἐξετάζειν δεῖ, δέχεσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν λόγων συγχώρησιν. Κλεινία δὲ [μετὰ ταύτα.] καὶ εἰς αὖθις περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων πειράσομαι ἐπάνων πείθειν· τὸ δὲ μοι δεδομένον ύπὸ σφῶν ἢτω, καὶ διεξέλθωμεν πάντως τοὺς νόμους.

ΜΕ. 'Ορθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Τέχνην δὴ τιν’ αὖ τούτου τοῦ νόμου τῆς θέσεως ἐν τῷ νῦν παροντί τὴν μὲν ῥαδίαν ἔχω, τὴν δ’ αὖ τινα τρόπον παντάπασιν ὡς οἶδον τε χαλεπωτάτην.

ΜΕ. Πῶς δὴ λέγεις;

ΑΘ. 'Ισμεν που καὶ τὰ νῦν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἄνθρωπων, καίπερ παρανόμους οὖντας, ὡς εὖ τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς εὑρίσκοντι τῆς τῶν καλῶν συνουσίας οὐκ ἄκοντες, ὡς οἶδον τε δὲ μάλιστα ἐκόντες.

ΜΕ. Πότε λέγεις;

ΑΘ. 'Οταν ἄδελφος ἡ ἄδελφη τῷ γεννώνται καλοὶ. καὶ περὶ νέος ἡ θυγατρὸς ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος ἀγραφός ὃν ὡς οἶδον 5 τε ἐκανόνιστα φιλάττει μὴτε φανερῶς μὴτε λάθρα συγκαθέουσαι ἢ πως ἄλλως ἀσπαζόμενον ἄπτεσθαι τούτων. ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐπιθυμία ταύτης τῆς συνουσίας τὸ παράπαν εἰσέρχεται τοὺς πολλοὺς.

ΜΕ. 'Αληθῆ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Οὕκοιν σμικρὸν ρῆμα κατασβέννυοι πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας ἤδονας;
ΜΕ. Τὸ ποίον δὴ λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Τὸ ταῦτα εἶναι φάναι μηδαμῶς ὅσα, θεομοιή δὲ καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἀίσχυτα. τὸ δ' αὕτων ἃρ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἑστι, τὸ μηδένα ἄλλως λέγεις αὐτά, ἄλλ' εὖθυς γενόμενον ἡμῶν ἐκαστὸν ἀκούσαν τε λεγόντων ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ταῦτα, ἐν γελοίοις τὲ ἁμα ἐν πάσῃ τε σποουδή τραγικῇ λεγόμενα πολλάκις, ὅταν η̣ θυέστας η̣ τινας Οἶδόσδας εἰσάγωσιν, η̣ Μακαρέας τινὰς ἀδέλφας μειγδέντας λαθραίως, ὀφθέντας δὲ ἐτοίμως θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθέντας δίκην τῆς ἀμαρτίας; ΜΕ. Ὄρθοτα λέγεις τὸ γε τοσοῦτον, ὦτι τὸ τῆς φη-μης βαθμοτήν τινα δύναμιν εἴληχεν, ὅταν μηδεῖς μηδαμῶς ἄλλως ἀναπνεύς ἐπιχειρήσῃ ποτὲ παρὰ τὸν νόμον.
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ὁρθὸν τὸ νυνὴν ἰηθὲν, ὦτι νομοθετή, βου-λομένω τινὰ ἐπιθυμόν δουλώσασθαί τῶν διαφερόντων τός ἀνθρώπως δουλουμένων, ράδιον γνώναι γε ἄτινα τρόπων χειρώσαστο ἂν· ὅτι καθιερώσας ταύτῃ τῆς φήμης παρὰ πάση, δουλός τε καὶ ἕλευθερος καὶ παιδι καὶ γυναῖξι καὶ δή τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, οὕτω τὸ βεβαιότατον ἀπειργασμένος
ε ἔσται περὶ τούτων τῶν νόμων.
ΜΕ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν ὦτι δὲ αὐτὸ τοσοῦτον ἐθέλοντας λέγειν πάντας δυνατὸν ἐσται ποτὲ παρασχεῖν—
ΑΘ. Καλῶς ὑπέλαβες· αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἢ τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ
λεχθὲν, ὅτι τέχνην ἐγὼ πρὸς τούτου τὸν νόμον ἐχομι τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν χρήσθαι τῇ τῆς παιδογονίας συνουσίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος ἀπεχομένου, μὴ κτείνοντάς τε ἐκ προνοία τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, μηδ' εἰς πέτρας τε καὶ λίθους σπειροντας, οὗν καὶ πολιταὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ βίωθεν λήψεται γόνυμον, ἀπε-χομένους δὲ ἀρουρας θηλείας πάσης εἰς ἥ μὴ βουλοὶ ἃν σοι φύσιθα τὸ σπαρέν· ὥ δ' νόμος οὕτος διυρκεῖς μὲν γενόμενος ἁμα καὶ κρατήσας—καθάπερ νῦν περὶ τὰς τῶν
γονεῶν συμμείξεσκ κρατεῖ, ἐὰν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας νικής δικαίως—μυρία ἄγαθα ἔχει. κατὰ φύσιν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον κεῖται, λύτθης δὲ ἐρωτικῆς καὶ μανίας καὶ μοιχείων πασῶν καὶ πωμάτων καὶ σιῶν ἐθρεφθέντα ποιεὶ τῶν ἀμέτρων πάντων, γυναίξι τε αὐτῶν οἰκείοις εἴναι φίλους· ἄλλα τε πάμπολα ἄγαθα γίγνοιτ' ἂν, εἰ τοῦ νόμου τις τούτου δύνατο ἐγκρατῆς εἶναι. τάχα δ' ἂν ἧμιν τὰς παραστάς ἀνήρ σφοδρός καὶ νέος, πολλοὺ σπέρματος μεστός, ἀκοῦν
τιθεμένον τοῦ νόμου λοιδορήσειν ἂν ὅσ ἀνόητα καὶ ἀδύνατα

839 b

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

102
τιθέντων νόμμα, καὶ βοήτις πάντα ἐμπλήσειε· πρὸς ἀ δὴ καὶ βλέψας ἐγὼ τοῦτο εἶπον τῷ ῥῆμα, ὡς τινα τέχνην κεκτήμην, τῇ μὲν βάστου ἀπασών, τῇ δὲ χαλεποτάτην, πρὸς τὸ τοῦτον τεθέντα ἐμμεῖναι τὸν νόμον. νοῆσαι μὲν γὰρ ἐὰν βάστων ὡς δυνατὸν τέ ἐστιν καὶ οὕτω—φαμέν γὰρ ἐὰν καθερωθὲν τοῦτο ἵκαιὸς τὸ νόμμον πᾶσαν ψυχὴν δουλώσεσθαι καὶ παντᾶπάσων μετὰ φόβου ποιήσεων πείθεσθαι τοῖς τεθείσις νόμοις—ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο προβέβηκε νῦν, ὡστ' οὐδ' ἂν τότε γενέσθαι δοκεῖ, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν συστητῶν ἐπιτήδειμα ἀπιστεῖται μη δυνατὸν εἶναι δύνασθαι διὰ βίου πόλων ὅλην ἤν πράττουσιν τοῦτο, ἐλεγχθὲν δ' ἔργῳ καὶ γενόμενον παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅμως ἐτὶ τοῦ γε γνωσθῶν οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις πόλεσιν δοκεῖ φύσιν ἔχειν γίγνεσθαι. ταύτῃ δ' αὖ, διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀπίστιας ρώμην, εἰρήκτικα ἀμφότερα ταύτα εἶναι παγχάλετα μενεῖν κατὰ νόμον.

ΜΕ. Ὁρθῶς γε σὺ λέγων.

ΑΘ. Ὡς δ' οὖν οὐκ ἔστων ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον, οἴνον τε δ' ἐπεδρέσας, βουλευθείς ὑμῖν πειραθῶ τινα λόγον ἐχόμενον πιθανότητος εἰπείν τινος;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν τις ἀφροδισίων βάρον ἄν ἀπέχοιτο, καὶ τὸ τάχθεν θέλοι περὶ αὐτὰ μετρίως ποιεῖν, εἰ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων καὶ μὴ ἱδωτικῶς, ἡ φαύλως;

ΚΛ. Πολὺ ποὺ μᾶλλον μὴ ἱδωτικῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐκ ἵσμεν τὸν Ταραντίνον Ἰκκόν ἀκοῆς διὰ τὸν Ὁλυμπίασι τό ἄγωνα καὶ τοὺς [τε] ἄλλους; ὧ行 διὰ ἕλονφικιαν, καὶ τέχνην καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦ σωφρονείν ἀνδρείων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κεκτημένος, ὡς λόγος, οὔτε τῶν πάκτωτε γνωσθῶν ήμιτον οὖν αὐτὸ παιδός ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀκμη; καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρίσως καὶ Ἀστίλον καὶ Διώτομπον καὶ ἄλλους παμπόλλους ὁ αὐτὸς ποὺ λόγος ἔχει. καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐμών καὶ σῶν πολιτών, δὲ Κλεινία, πολὺ κάκιον ἦσαν πεπαινευμένοι τὰς ψυχὰς, τὰ δὲ σώματα πολὺ μᾶλλον οφριγώττες.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθὴς ταύτα λέγεις ὅτι σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐστὶν εἰρήμενα περὶ τοῦτων τῶν ἀθλητῶν ὡς ὄντως ποτὲ γενόμενα.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; οἱ μὲν ἄρα νῦν ἐνέκα τάλης καὶ δρόμων καὶ τῶν τουτών ἔτολμησαν ἀπέχεσθαι λεγομένου πράγματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εὐδαιμόνων, οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι παῖδες.
δινατήσουσι καρτερεῖν πολὺ καλλίονος ἐνεκα νίκης, ἢν
ήμεις καλλιστὴν ἐκ παίδων πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντες ἐν μῦθοις
tε καὶ ἐν ρήμασιν καὶ ἐν μέλεσιν ἔδοντες, ὡς εἰκός, κηλή-
σομεν;
ΚΑ. Ποίας;
5 ἈΘ. Τῆς τῶν ἠδονῶν νίκης. ᾧ ἐγκρατεῖς ὑπότα ἐὰν ζηῦ
εὐδαιμόνων, ἡπτωμένους δὲ τοὐναντίον ἄπαν. πρὸς δὲ τού-
tους ἔτι φόβος ὁ τοῦ μηδαμὴ μηδαμῶς ὡς εἰναι
dύναμιν ἦμιν οὐκ ἄρα ἔξει κρατεῖν ἄν ἄλλοι κεκρατήκαι
tούτων ὀντες χείρονες;
10 ΚΑ. Εἰκός γοῦν.
ἈΘ. Ἐπειδή τούτων ἐνταῦθα ἔσμεν τοῦτο τοῦ νομίμου
πέρι, διὰ κάκην δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐπέσομεν,
φημὶ τὸ μεν ἡμέτερον νόμων ἀτεχνῶς δεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν
tούτων πορεύσθαι λέγων ὡς οὐ δεῖ χείρον ἦμιν εἰναι τοὺς
πολῖτας ὑμῖν καὶ ἂλλων θηρίων πολλῶν, οἱ κατὰ μεγάλας
5 ἀγέλας γεννηθέντες, μέχρι μὲν παιδογονίας ἂθεθεί καὶ ἄκη-
ρατοι γάμων τε ἀγνοι ζώσιν, ὅταν δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἡλικίας
ἐλθωσί, συνδυασθέντες ἄρρην θηλεία κατὰ χάρων καὶ θήλεια
ἀρρενί, τόν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὀσίως καὶ δικαίως ζώσιν, ἐμεύ-
εντες βεβαίως ταῖς πρῶταις τῆς φιλίας ὁμολογίαις. δεῖν
δὴ θηρίων γε αὐτοὺς ἀμεῖνοις εἴναι. ἐὰν δὲ οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν
5 ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν πλείστων διαφθείρων-
tαι, τήν λεγομένην ἄτακτον Ἀφροδίτην ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁρώτες
tε καὶ ἀκούσται μέγιστον δυναμένην, καὶ οὕτω δὴ μὴ
dυνατοὶ γίγνωσται κατακρατεῖν, δεύτερον νόμων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς
μηχανάσθαι χρὴ τοὺς νομοφύλακας νομοθέτας γενομένους.
841 ΚΑ. Τίνα δὴ συμβουλεῖν αὐτοῖς τίθεσθαι νόμου, ἐὰν
ὁ νῦν τιθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἐκφύγῃ;
ἈΘ. Δῆλον ὅτι τὸν ἐξόμενον τοῦτον δεύτερον, ὥς
Κλεινία.
10 ΚΑ. Τίνα λέγεις;
ἈΘ. Ἀγύμναστον ὅτι μάλιστα ποιεῖν τὴν τῶν ἠδονῶν
ρώμην ἥν, τὴν ἐπίχυσιν καὶ τροφὴν αὐτῆς διὰ πόνων ἄλλοσ
τρέποντα τοῦ σώματος. εἰδὴ δὲ ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ ἀναίδεια μὴ
ἐνείη τῇ τῶν ἀφροδιαίων χρήσει, ὀπαίω γὰρ αὐ ὅ το τοιοῦτο
δὲ αἰσχύνη χρώμενοι, ἀσθενεστέραν ἄν αὐτὴν δείπνων
κτῶντο διληγάκις χρώμενοι. τὸ δὲ λαυθάνειν τούτων δρώντα
τι καλὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἑστώ, νόμων ἐδει καὶ ἀγράφω νομι-
σθέν νόμω, τὸ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ μὴ πάντως δράν. οὔτω τούτῳ αἰσχρόν αὐτὶ καὶ καλὸν δευτέρως ἂν ἥμων ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενον κέοιτο, ὀρθότητα ἔχων δευτέραν, καὶ τοὺς τὰς φύσεις διεθθαρμένους, οὓς ἦττους αὐτῶν προσαγορεύμεν, ἐν γένος ὦν, περιλαβόντα τρία γένη, βιάζοντ' ἂν μὴ παρανομεῖν.

ΚΛ. Ποία δὴ;

ΑΘ. Τὸ τε θεοσεβεῖς ἁμα καὶ φιλότιμον καὶ τὸ μὴ τῶν σωμάτων ἀλλὰ τῶν τρόπων τῆς φυσῆς ὀντῶν καλῶν γεγονὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ. ταῦτα δὴ καθάπερ ἰσως ἐν μύθῳ τὰ νῦν λεγόμεν' ἐστίν εὐχαί, πολὺ γε μὴν ἀριστα, εἴτερ γίγνοιτο, ἐν πάσαις πόλεις γίγνοιτο ἂν. τάχα δ' ἂν, εἰ θεὸς ἥθελοι, κἂν δυνών βατερὰ βιασαίμεθα περὶ ἑρωτικῶν, ἢ μηδένα τολμᾶν μηδενὸς ἀπεσθαί τῶν γενναίων ἁμα καὶ ἑλευθέρων πλὴν γαμετής έαυτὸς γυναικὸς, ἀθυτα δὲ παλλακῶν οπερματα καὶ νόθα μη σπειρέν, μηδὲ ἄγονα ἁρρένων παρὰ φύσιν. ἢ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἁρρένων πάμπαν ἁφελοίμεθα ἂν, τὸ δὲ γυναικῶν, εἰ τις συγγίγνοιτο τινὶ πλὴν ταῖς μετὰ θεῶν καὶ ιερῶν γάμων ἐλθούσαι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὥνταις εἴτε ἀλλῳ ὀτομῶν τρόπῳ κτηταῖς, μὴ λανθάνων ἀνδρας τε καὶ γυναίκας πάσας, τάχ' ἂν ἀτιμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπαίνων νομοθετοῦντες ὀρθῶς ἂν δόξαμεν νομοθετεῖν, ὅς ὀντως ὀντας ἐκεικόν. οὕτως δὴ νόμου, εἴτε εἴτε δύο αὐτοῦς χρῆ προσαγορεύειν, κείσθω περὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἑρωτικῶν, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιθυμίας ὁμολούντες ὀρθῶς τε καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς πράττομεν.

ΜΕ. Καὶ τοίνυν, ὃ ξένε, ἐγώ μὲν σοι σφόδρα δεχοίμην ἂν τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, δ' ἐν τῇ Κλεινίας αὐτὸς φαράζετω τί ποτε περὶ αὐτῶν διανοεῖται.

ΚΛ. Ἡσται ταῦτα, ὃ Μέγιλλε, ὅποταν γε δὴ μοι δόξῃ τις παραπεπτωκέναι καιρός: νῦν μὴν εἴωμεν τὸν ξένον ἐτι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προϊέναι τῶν νόμων.

ΜΕ. Ὅρθως.

ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν νῦν γε προϊόντες ἃδη σχεδόν ἐσμεν ἐν τῷ κατεσκευάσθαι μὲν συσότια—ὁ φαμεν ἀλλοθι μὲν ἂν χαλεπὸν εἰναι, ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἄλλως ἂν ὑπολάβοι δειν γίγνεσθαι—τὸ δὲ τίνα τρόπον, πότερον ὡς ἐνθάδε ἢ καθάπερ ἐν Δακεδαίμονι, ἢ παρὰ ταῦτα ἤστιν τι τρίτον εἴδος.
συσυντίων ἀμφοῖν τούτων ἀμείον ἰν ἐχον, τότο οὔτ' ἐξευ- 
ρεῖν μοι χαλεπὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ, μέγα τε ἁγαθὸν εὐρέθεν οὔτεν 
ἀπεργάσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἴνα ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν κατεσκευασμένα.

c Τοῦτοις δ' ἐστὶν ἀκόλουθον ἡ τοῦ βίου κατασκευή, τῷ 
αὐτοῖς ἂν τρόπον ἐποιεῖ. βίος δὴ ἄλλαις μὲν πόλεσιν 
pαντοδαπῶς ἃν καὶ πολλαχόθεν εἴη, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκ διπλα-
σίων ἡ τούτοις· ἐκ γῆς γὰρ καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης τοὺς πλείστους 
5 τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐστὶν κατεσκευασμένα τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφήν,
tούτοις δὲ μόνον ἐκ γῆς. τῷ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτη τοῦτο βασ.
d ού γὰρ μόνον ἡμίσεις αἰ ἠγίνονται νόμοι μέτροι, πολὺ δ' 
ἐλάττους, ἐτὶ δ' ἐλευθεροῖς ἄνθρώποις μᾶλλον πρέποντες, 
ναυκληρικῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐμπορικῶν καὶ καπνευτικῶν καί 
pανδοκεύσεων καὶ τελωνικῶν καὶ μεταλλεύων καὶ δανεισμῶν 
καὶ ἐπιτόκων τόκων καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων τοιούτων τὰ πολλὰ 
ἀπηλλακταί, χαίρεν αὐτοῖς εἰσών, ὁ περὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν 
nομοθέτη, γεωργοὶ δὲ καὶ νομεύοι καὶ μελιττουργοὶ καί 
tοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φιλανθρητίους τε καὶ ἐπιστάταις ὀργάνων 

5 νομοθετήσει, τὰ μέγιστα ἡδὴ νεομοθετηκὼς περὶ γάμους 
ἄμα καὶ γενέσεις παιδῶν καὶ τροφὰς ἔτι δὲ καὶ παιδείας 
ἀρχών τε καταστάσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει. νῦν δ' ἐπὶ [τοὺς] τὴν 
τροφὴν καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην συνδιαπονοῦσιν ἀναγκαῖον 

5 νομοθετοῦντα ἐστώτι πρέπεσθαι.

Πρῶτον δὴ νόμοι ἐστώσαν λεγόμενοι τοῦνομα γεωργικοῖ.
Διὸς ὁρίοι μὲν πρῶτος νόμος ὀδε εἰρήσθω· Μὴ κυβίτω γῆς
ὅρια μηδεὶς μήτε οἶκελο πολίτων γειτονίω, μήτε ὁμοτέρμονοι
ἐπὶ ἐσχατίας κεκτημένοι ἄλλως ἕξων γειτονῶν, νομίσας τὸ 

5 τάκτικα τε κυνεῖν ἀληθῶς τούτο ἐστε· βουλέσθω δὲ πᾶσὲν 
τρόπον ἐπιχειρήσας κυνεῖν τὸν μέγιστον ἄλλων πλὴν ὄρον 
μᾶλλον ἢ σμικρόν λίθον δρίζοντα φυλίαν τε καὶ ἔχθραν 

843 ἐνορκοῦν παρὰ θεῶν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὄμοφυλος Ζεὺς μάρτυς,
τοῦ δὲ ἔξων, οἱ μετὰ πολέμων τῶν ἐχθριστῶν ἐγείρονται,
καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς τῷ νόμῳ ἀναίσθητος τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ 
κακῶν γίνοντ' ἂν, καταφρονήσας δὲ δισταῖς δίκαι σίγων 
ἐστω, μιᾷ μὲν παρὰ θεῶν καὶ πρώτη, δευτέρα δὲ ὑπὸ νόμου.

b μηδεὶς γὰρ ἐκὼν κυβίτω γῆς ὀρία γειτονίων· ὃς δ' ἂν κυνήσῃ,
μηνυότω μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ 
δικαστήριον ἄγοντων· ἣν δὲ τῆς ὄφλη τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην,
ὡς ἀνάδαστον γῆν λάθρα καὶ βία πουούντος τοῦ ὄφλοντος,

5 τιμᾶτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι ἂν δην πᾶσχει ἦ ἀποτίνειν τὸν
Ηττηθέντα.
Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο βλάβαι πολλαὶ καὶ σμικρὰ γειτόνων γιγνόμεναι, διὰ τὸ θαμίζειν ἔχθρας ὄγκον μέγαν ἐντίκτουσαί, χαλεπὴν καὶ σφόδρα πικρὰν γειτονίαν ἀπεργάζονται. διὸ χρῆ πάντως εὐλαβεῖσθαι γειτόνα γειτόνι μηδὲν ποιεῖν διά-
φορον, τῶν τε ἀλλών πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπεργασίας συμπάσης σφόδρ’ ἂεὶ διευλαβοῦμεν’. τὸ μὲν γὰρ βλάπτειν οὐδὲν
χαλεπὸν ἀλλ’ ἀνθρώπου παντός, τὸ δ’ ἐποφθεῖν οὐδαμῇ
ἀπαντός. ὅσ’ ὣν ἐπεργάζεται τὰ τοῦ γείτονος ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς ὀροὺς, τὸ μὲν βλάβος ἀποτινέτω, τῆς δὲ ἀναιδείας ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἀνελευθερίας ἕνεκα ἀντρεφομένου διπλάσιον τοῦ βλάβους ἀλλὰ ἐκείστατο τῷ βλαφθέντι. τούτων δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν
tοιοῦτων ἐπιγνώμονες τε καὶ δικασταὶ καὶ τιμηταὶ γυγνέων ἀγρόνομοι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν εὑρηταὶ, πάσα ἡ τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου τάξις, τῶν ἔλαττών
5 δὲ οἱ φρούραρχοι τούτων. καὶ εἰ περὶ τῆς βοσκήματα ἐπινεμίας, τὰς βλάβας ὀργίτεσκεν κρυνόντων καὶ τιμῶντων. καὶ ἕαν ἐσμοὺς ἀλλοτρίους σφετερίζῃ τις τῇ τῶν μελετῶν ᾑδονὴ συμπό-

μενος καὶ κατακρούνων οὕτως οἴκεωτα, τυνέτω τῆν βλάβην.
καὶ ἕαν πυρεύνη τὴν ὄψιν μή διευλαβηθῇ τῇ τοῦ γείτονος, τῆν δόξαν ἥμισὺ τοῖς ἀρχούσι ἥμισισθω. καὶ ἕαν φυ-

τεὼν μὴ ἀπολεῖτη τὸ μέτρον τῶν τοῦ γείτονος χωρίων, καθάπερ εὑρηταὶ καὶ πολλοὶ νομοθέταις ἦκαν, ἵνα τοὺς
5 νόμους χρὴ προσχρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ πάντα ἀξιόν, πολλὰ καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος νομοθέτου γιγνόμενα, τῶν μείζω

πόλεως κοσμητὴν νομοθετεῖν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ὑδατῶν πέρι
gεσφυγῆσαι παλαίοι καὶ καλοὶ νόμοι κείμενοι οὐκ ἄξιοι παρ-

οχετεύειν λόγοι, ἀλλ’ ὁ βουληθεὶς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων
5 ἄγειν ὑδρῷ ἄγετω μὲν ἀρχόμενος ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ναματῶν,

μὴ ὑποτείμαν πηγὰς φανερὰς ἰδιώτου μηδενὸς, ἤ δὲ ἄν

βουληθηται ἄγειν, πλὴν δι’ οἰκίας ἢ ἐραίν τινων ἢ καὶ


μην ματῶν, ἄγετα, μὴ βλαπτῶν πλὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ὀχεταγωγίας.

ἀνδρὰ δὲ εἰ τισὶ τόποις σύμβουλοι ἐκ γῆς τὰ ἐκ Διὸς ὑντα

5 ἀποστέγη νάματα, καὶ ἐλλείπει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πωμάτων,

ὄρυτετώ μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ χωρίῳ μέχρι τῆς κεραμίδος γῆς,

ἐὰν δ’ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βάθει μηδαμῶς υδατι προστυχνήθη,


παρὰ τῶν γείτόνων ὑδρευόσθω μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πωμάτου

5 ἐκάστους τῶν οἰκετῶν. ἐὰν δὲ δ’ ἀκραβεῖας ἢ καὶ τοῖς γει-

tοσί, τάξιν τῆς ὑδρείας ταξάμενος παρὰ τοῖς ἀγρόνομοι,

107
πλάτωνος

844

tαύτην ἡμέρας ἐκάστης κομιζόμενος, οὕτω κοινωνεῖτω τοῖς

c γείτοσιν ὑδατος. εάν δὲ ἐκ Δίως ὦδατα γυγνόμενα, τὸν

5 ἐπάνω γεωργοῦντα ἢ καὶ ὀμότοιχον οἰκοῦντα τῶν ὑποκάτω

βλάπτῃ τις μὴ διδοὺς ἐκροήν, ἢ τοιναντιόν ὁ ἐπάνω μεθεἰς

ἐἰκῇ τὰ ἑσύματα βλάπτῃ τὸν κάτω, καὶ περὶ ταύτα μὴ

d θ’ ἀμα καὶ δυσκόλου ψυχῆς ὑπεχέτω δίκην, καὶ ὀφλῶν

845 διπλάσιον τὸ βλάβος ἀποτυνέτω τῷ βλαφθέντι, μὴ ἐθελήσας
tοῖς ἄρχουσιν πεῖθεσθαι.

᾿Οπώρας δὲ δὴ χρῆ κοινωνίαν ποιεῖσθαι πάντας τοιάνδε

5 τινά. διστάσας ἡμῖν δωρεάς ἡ θεὸς ἔχει χάριτος αὐτῇ, τὴν

μὲν παιδεῖαν Διονυσίαδα ἄθησαμοςτόν, τὴν δ’ εἰς ἀπόθεσιν

gενομένην κατὰ φύσιν. εἰστὶ δὴ περὶ ὀπώρας ὅροι νόμος

tαχθεῖσ. Ὅσα ἂν ἀγροίκων ὀπώρας γεύσηται, βοτρύῳν εἶτε

e καὶ σῦκων, πρῶς ἐλθεῖν τὴν ὦραν τὴν τοῦ τρυγανὸν ἀρκτοῦρον

5 σύνδρομον, εἴτ’ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χωρίοις εἶτε καὶ ἐν ἄλλων,

ἐρᾶς μὲν πεντήκοντα ὅθελέτω τῷ Διονύσῳ δραχμάς, ἕαν

ἐκ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ δρέπη, εάν δ’ ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων, μναῖ, εάν δ’

ἐξ ἄλλων, δύο μέρη τῆς μνᾶς. ὅσ’ ἂν τὴν γενναίαν νῦν

λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ἡ τὰ γενναία σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα

ὄπωρεῖς βούληται, εάν μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων λαμβάνῃ, ὅπως

ἄν ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὀπόταν βούληται καρποῦσθαι, εάν δ’ ἐξ ἄλλων

μὴ πείσας, ἐπομένος τῷ νύμῳ, τῷ μὴ κυνῆ ὅτι μὴ κατεθετο,

ἐκείνως ἄει ζημιούσιν. εάν δὲ δὴ δοῦλος μὴ πείσα τὸν

δεσπότην τῶν χωρίων ἀπτητά τοῦ τῶν τοιούτων, κατὰ ράγα

βοτρύων καὶ σῦκον συκῆς ἱσαρίθμους πληγᾶς τοῦτος μαστο-

γοῦσθαι. μέτοικος δὲ ὀνούσιος τὴν γενναίαν ὀπώραν

5 ὀπωριζέτω, εάν βούληται, εάν δὲ ἐξένος ἐπιδημήσες ὀπώρας

ἐπιθυμήσῃ φαγεῖν διαπορεύομενος τάς ὕδος, τῆς μὲν γενναίας

ἀπέτεθα, εάν βούληται, μεθ’ ἐνδ’ ἀκολούθου χωρίς τιμῆς,

b ξένα δεχόμενος, τῆς δὲ ἀγροίκου λεγομένης καὶ τῶν τοι-

ούτων ὁ νόμος εἰργάτω μὴ κοινωνεῖ ἡμῖν τοὺς ξένοις. εάν

5 δὲ τις αἰσθῶρ ὅν αὐτὸς ὁ δοῦλος ἁμητα, τὸν μὲν δοῦλον

πληγαίς κολάζεω, τὸν δὲ ἑλεύθερον ἀποπέμπει νουθετή-

σαντα καὶ διδάξαντα τῆς ἀλλῆς ὀπώρας ἀπέτυχα τῆς εἰς

ἀπόθεσιν ἀσταφίδος οἴνου τε καὶ ξηρῶν σῦκων ἀνεπιτηθείουν

κεκτήσατε. ἀπίων δὲ πέρι καὶ μήλων καὶ ροών καὶ πάντων
108
τῶν τοιούτων, αἰσχρὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἠστὸν λάθρα λαμβάνειν, δὲ ληφθεὶς ἐντὸς τριάκοντα ἑτῶν γεγονός τυπτεόθω καὶ ἀμυνόθω ἄνευ τραματῶν, δίκην δὲ εἶναι ἐλευθέρω τῶν τοιούτων πληγῶν μηδεμίαν. Ξένω δὲ καθάπερ ὅπωρας ἐξέστω καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μέτοχον εἶναι: εἰ ἐν δὲ πρεσβύτερος ὃν ἀπτήται τούτων, φαγὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποφέρων μηδὲν, καθάπερ ὁ ξένος ταύτης κοινωνεῖτω τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων, μὴ πειθόμενος δὲ τῷ νόμῳ κινδυνεύειν ἀναγώνιστος γίγνεσθαι περὶ ἀρέτης, εἰ τὰ τά τοιαύτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τότε κρίναι τις ἀναμμυνήσῃ.

"Γίδωρ δὲ πάντων μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς κηπείας διαφερόντως τρόφιμοι, εὐδιάφθαρτον δὲ: οὔτε γὰρ γῆν οὔτε ἠλιον οὔτε πνεύματα, τοῖς ὑδαίσι σύντροφα τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλασταντῶν, ἑδίκους φθείρες φαρμακεύσεων ἢ ἀποτροπαῖς ἢ κλοπαῖς, περὶ δὲ τὴν ὑδατος φύσιν ἔστων τὰ τοιαύτα σύμπαντα δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι. διὸ δὴ βοηθοῦ δεῖται νόμου. ἐστῳ τοῖνυ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ· "Ἀν τις διαφθείρῃ ἐκὼν ὑδώρ ἀλλότριων, εἰτε καὶ πηγαίνει εἰτε καὶ συναγυρτόν, φαρμακείαις ἢ σκάμμασιν ἢ κλοπαίς, ὁ βλαπτόμενος δικαζέσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους, τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς βλάβης ἀπογραφόμενος: ἂν δὲ τις ὀφλη 5 φαρμακείαις τιοῦ βλάπτων, πρὸς τῷ τιμῆματι καθηράτῳ τὰς πηγὰς ἢ τάγγειον τοῦ ὑδατος, ὀπήρη ἂν οἱ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν νόμοι ἀφηγώνται δεῖν γίγνεσθαι τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐκάστοτε καὶ ἐκάστοις.

Περὶ δὲ συγκοιμήσεως τῶν ὦραίων ἀπάντων, ἐξέστω τῷ βουλόμενῳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τόπου κομίζεσθαι, ὀπήρη ἂν ἣ μηδέν μηδένα ζημιοὶ ἢ τριπλάσιον αὐτὸς κέρδος τῆς τοῦ γείτονος ζημίας κερδαίνῃ, τούτων δὲ ἐπιγνώμονας τοὺς ἄρχοντας γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὡσα τὰ ἐν ἔκών ἀκούντα βλάπτη βλα. ἡ λάθρα αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ τι, διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων, πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα τοῖς ἄρχοσεσ ἐπίδεικνυσ τιμωρεῖσθω, μέχρι τριῶν μιᾶν ὄντως τοῦ βλάβους· εὰν δὲ ἐγκλημάτω τῷ μείζων ἄλλω πρὸς ἄλλῳ γίγνεται, πρὸς τά κοινά δικαστήρια φέρων τὴν δίκην τιμωρεῖσθω τῶν ἀδίκουντα. εὰν δὲ τις τῶν ἄρχοντων δοκῇ μετ’ ἀδικίν γνώμης κρίνει τὰς ζημίας, τῶν διπλασίων ὑπόδικος ἐστώ τῷ βλαφθέντι· τά δὲ αὖ τῶν ἄρχοντων ἀδικήματα εἰς τα κοινά δικαστήρια ἐπανάγει τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. μυρία δὲ ταῦτα οὖντα καὶ σμικρὰ νόμιμα, καθ’
α δεὶ τὰς τιμωρίας γίγνεσθαι, λήξεων τε πέρι δικῶν καὶ
προσκλήσεων καὶ κλητήρων, εἴτ' ἐπὶ δυνῶν εἴτ' ἐφ' ὅποσων
dεῖ καλεῖσθαι, καὶ πάντα ὅποσα τοιαύτα ἔστω, οὔτ' ἀνο-
μοθέτητα οἶνον τ' εἶναι γέροντός τε οὐκ ἄξια νομοθέτου,
νομοθετοῦντων δ' αὖτα οἱ νέοι πρὸς τὰ τῶν πρόσθεν νομο-
θετήματα ἀπομιμοῦμενοι, σμικρὰ πρὸς μεγάλα, καὶ τῆς
ἀναγκαίας αὐτῶν χρείας ἐμπείρως ἱσχυοντες, μέχριπερ ἂν
πάντα ἰκανός δοξὴ κείσθαι· τότε δὲ ἀκίνητα ποιησάμενοι,
ξώντων τούτως ἤδη χρώμενοι μέτρον ἔχουσι.

d τό δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δημουργῶν ποιεῖν χρὴ ἑκτὸς ὑπὲρ τὸ
πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιχώριον μηδέ τιν έστιν τῶν περὶ τὰ δημουργικὰ
tεχνῆματα διαπονοῦντων, μηδὲ οὐκέτις ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχώριοι.
τέχνην γὰρ ἰκανὴν, πολλῆς ἀσκήσεως ἄμα καὶ μαθημάτων
πολλῶν δεύμενην, κέκτηται πολίτης ἀνήρ τὸν κοινὸν τῆς
πόλεως κόσμων σφῶν καὶ κτῶμενος, οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ δεό-
μενον ἐπιπληθεῦναι· δύο δὲ ἐπιτηθεύματα ἦ δύο τέχνας ἀκριβῶς
dιαπονεῖσθαι σχεδὸν οὐδεμία φύσις ἰκανὴ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν,
οὔθ' αὖ τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς ἰκανὸς ἀσκεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλον ἀσκοῦντα
ἐπιπληθεῦναι. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐν πόλει ὑπάρχον δεῖ πρῶτον
γίγνεσθαι· μηδὲς χαλκεῖων ἄμα τεκτανεῦσθαι, μηδὲν
τεκτανόμενος χαλκευώντων ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μάλλον ἡ τῆς
αὐτοῦ τέχνης, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς πολλῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπιμελοῦ-
μενος ἀειτῷ δημουργοῦντων, εἰκότως μάλλον ἐπιμελεῖται δὴ
ἐκεῖνων διὰ τὸ τὴν πρόσοδον ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῦ πλείω γίγνεσθαι
tῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης, ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν ἐκαστὸς τέχνην ἐν πόλει
κεκτημένος ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄμα καὶ τὸ ἤην κτάσθων. τούτον δὴ
τὸν νόμον ἀστυνόμου διαπονοῦμενοι σωζόντων, καὶ τὸν μὲν
ἐπιχώριον, εὰν εἰς τινὰ τέχνην ἀποκλίνῃ μάλλον ἡ τῆς
tῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελείαν, κολάζοντων ὑνειδείς τε καὶ ἀτιμίαις,
μέχριπερ ἂν κατευθύνωσιν εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ δρόμον, ξένων δὲ
ἀν τῆς ἐπιτηθεύη δύο τέχνας, δεσμοίσις τε καὶ χρημάτων

847 

ζημίαις καὶ ἐκβολαῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κολάζοντες, ἀναγκαζόντων
ἐνα μόνον ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς εἶναι. μισθῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ
καὶ τῶν ἀναρέσεων τῶν ἔργων, καὶ εὰν τις αὐτοῖς ἐτεροῦ
κειναί τινα ἄλλον ἄδικως, μέχρι δραχμῶν πεντήκοντα
ἀστυνόμου διαδικαζόντων, τὸ δὲ πλέον τούτου τὰ κοινὰ
dικαστήρια διακρινοῦντα κατὰ νόμον.

Τέλος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει μηδένα μηδὲν τελεῖν μὴτε ἐξαγο-
μένων χρημάτων μὴτ' εἰσαγομένων· λιβανωτὸν δὲ καὶ ὅσα
πρὸς θεοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐστὶν ἔξιν τὸν θυμίαμα, καὶ πορφύραν καὶ οὐσα βαπτὰ χρώματα, μὴ φερούσης τὴς χώρας, ἣ περὶ τῶν ἀλλαὶ τέχνην δεσμένην ἔξιν κῶν τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν μηδενὸς ἀναγκαίου χαρίν μὴ τὸς ἀγέτω, μὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀναγκαίων ἐμμενεὶν ἐξαγέτω, τούτων δὲ ἀν πάντων ἐπηγαίνωναι εἰναι καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν νομοφυλάκων, πέντε ἀφαιρεθέντων τῶν πρεβυτέρων, τοὺς ἔξης δώδεκα.

Περὶ δὲ ὁπλῶν καὶ οὖσα περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαντὰ ὀργανα, ἐὰν τινος ἡ τέχνης εἰσαγωγώμου δεχὴ γίγνεσθαι ἡ φυτοῦ ἢ μεταλλευτικοῦ κτήματος ἢ δεσμευτικοῦ ἢ ζώων τῶν ἐνεκα τῆς τοιαύτης χρείας, ἵππαρχοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τούτων ἐστωσαι κύριοι εἰσαγωγῆς τε καὶ ἔξαγωγῆς, δίδουσι τῇ ἀμα καὶ δεχομένης τῆς πόλεως, νόμους δὲ περὶ τούτων νομοφυλάκης τοὺς προποντάς τε καὶ ἰκανοὺς θήσουσιν. καπηλεῖαν δὲ ἐνεκα χρηματισμῶν μήτε ὅν τοῦτο μήτε ἀλλον μηδενὸς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὁλη καὶ πόλει ἵμιν γίγνεσθαι.

Τροφῆ̣ς δὲ καὶ διανομῆς τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐγγὺς τῆς τοῦ Κρητικοῦ νόμου έσκενεν ὀρθότης ἀν τις γυνομενή κατὰ τρόπον γίγνεσθαι. δώδεκα μὲν χαρ δὴ μέρη τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας γυνόμενα νέμεν χρεών πάντας, ἡπερ καὶ ἀναλωτεά. τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον μέρος ἐκαστοῦ—οἶνον πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν, οἰκον δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀπαντα ἀκολουθεῖτω τὰ ἀλλα ὀραία νεμόμενα, καὶ οὖσα ζωὰ σύμπαντα πράσμα εὐ ἐκάστοις ἡ—

Τριχῇ διαμείσθω κατὰ λόγον, ἐν μὲν μέρος τοῖς ἑλευθέρωσι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τούτοις οἰκέταισι. τὸ δὲ τρίτον δημουργοῖς τε καὶ πάντως τοῖς ἔξενοις, οἱ τε τινὲς ἀν τῶν μετοικούντων ὧσιν συνοικοῦντες τροφῆς ἀναγκαίον δείκομεν, καὶ οὐσι χρεία των πόλεως ἡ τινος ἰδιωτῶν εἰσαφακύνουνται ἐκάστοτε, πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπονεμηθέν τρίτον μέρος ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐστω τοῦτο μόνον, τῶν δὲ δύο μερῶν μηδὲν ἐπάναγκης ἐστω πωλείν. πῶς οὖν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρθότατα νέμουτ' ἂν; πρῶτον μὲν δὴλον ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἵσα, τῇ δ' οὐκ ἵσα νέμομεν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Χείρω που καὶ βελτίω τούτων ἐκαστα ἀνάγκη φύειν καὶ ἐκτρέψειν τὴν γῆν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τῶ μὲν τοιῶν τοιούτω τῶν μερῶν, τριῶν ὑπὸ τῶν, μηδὲν πλέον ἐχέτω μήτε τοῖς δεσπόταις ἡ δοῦλοις νεομένουν, μήτε αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξενων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἱσότητα ἡ
10 νομὴ πᾶσιν ἀποδιδότω τὴν αὐτήν· λαβὸν ἐκαστὸς τῶν
c πολλῶν τὰ δύο μέρη κύριος ἐστιν τῆς νομῆς δούλως τε καὶ
d ἐλευθέρως, ὅποις ἀν καὶ ὅποια βούληται διανέμειν. τὸ δὲ
e πλέον τούτων μέτρους τε καὶ ἀριθμῷ τῇ διανέμεσθαι·
f λαβόντα τὸν ἄριθμὸν πάντων τῶν ζώων οἷς ἐκ τῆς γῆς δεί
g τὴν τροφὴν γίννεσθαι, διανέμειν.

Τὸ δὲ μετά τούτο αὐτοῖς οἰκήσεις δεῖ χωρίς διατεταγμένας
eίναι· τάξις δὲ ἢδε πρέπει τοῖς τοιούτοις. δώδεκα κώμας
eίναι χρή, κατὰ μέσον τὸ δωδεκακτήμορον ἐκαστὸν μίαν, ἐν
tῇ κώμῃ δὲ ἐκάστῃ πρῶτον μὲν ἑρὰ καὶ ἀγορὰν ἐξηρήθαι
θεών τε καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων θεοῖς δαιμόνων, εἴτε τινὲς ἐντοποί
Μαγνήτων εἰτ’ ἄλλων ἱδρύματα παλαιῶν μνήμης διασεσω-
mένων εἰσὶν, τούτοις ἀποδιδόντας τὰς τῶν πάλαι τιμᾶς
5 ἀνθρώπων, Ὁστίας δὲ καὶ Διὸς Ἀθηνᾶς τε, καὶ ὅσ’ ἂν
ἀρχηγὸς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἐκάστου μέρους, ἑρὰ
pανταχοῦ ἱδρύσασθαι. πρῶτον δὲ οἰκοδομίας εἶναι περὶ τὰ

e ἑρὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἂν ὁ τόπος ύψηλότατος ἢ, τοῖς φρούροις
ὑποδοχὴν ὁτι μάλιστα εὐεργετὴν δὲ ἄλλην χώραν κατα-
sκευάζεις πάσαν δημιουργῶν τριακάδεκα μέρη διελομένους,
καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν ἄστει κατοικίζειν, διελομένους αὐτοὶ καὶ τοῦτο
5 εἰς τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης, ἐξω τε καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ
κατανεμηθέντας, ἐν τῇ κώμῃ δὲ ἐκάστῃ τὰ πρόσφορα γεωργοῖς
γένε τῶν δημιουργῶν συνοικίζειν. τοὺς δ’ ἐπιμελητάς εἶναι
tούτων πάντων τοὺς τῶν ἀγρονόμων ἀρχοντας, ὅσων τε καὶ
ἀντιλοι ό τόπος ἐκαστὸς δεῖται, καὶ ὅπου κατοικοῦτες
6 ἀλυπότατοι τε καὶ ὅβελμασται ἐσονται τοῖς γεωργοῖς.

849 τῶν δὲ ἐν ἄστει κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιμεληθήναι καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
tὴν τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀρχὴν.

Τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἀγορανόμοις τὰ περὶ ἀγορὰν δεῖ ἐκαστὰ
μέλεως· ἢ δ’ ἐπιμελεῖα, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἑρῶν ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν
5 κατ’ ἀγορὰν μὴ τις ἅδεις τι, τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρείας τὸ
δεύτερον ἐν εἰς, σωφροσύνης τε καὶ ὃθρεως ἐπισκόπους ὅτας
κολάζειν τὸν δεύμων κολάζεως. τῶν δὲ ωνῆων, πρῶτων
μὲν τὰ περὶ τούς ξένους ταχθέντα πωλεῖν τοὺς ἄστοις σκοπεῖν
b εἰ γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκαστά. νόμος δ’ ἐκάστῳς μηνός
τῇ νέᾳ ὅτι δεὶ πραθήμαι τὸ μέρος τοὺς ξένους ἐξάγειν τοὺς
ἐπιτρόπους, ὅσοι τοῖς ἄστοις ξένοι ἦ καὶ δοῦλοι ἐπιτρό-
πευσί, δωδεκατημόριον πρῶτον τοῦ σίτου, τὸν δὲ ξένον
5 εἰς πάντα τὸν μήνα ὀνεισθαι σῖτον μὲν καὶ ὅσα περὶ σῖτου

112
άγορα τῇ πρώτῃ δεκάτῃ δέ τοῦ μηνὸς τὴν τῶν ύγρῶν οἱ μὲν πράσιν, οἱ δὲ ὄνη τοὺς ποιεῖσθαι δὲ ὅλου τοῦ μηνὸς ἵκανῆς τριτῇ δὲ εἰκάδι τῶν ζώνων ἐστὶ πρᾶσις, ὅσα πρατέα ἐκάστοις ἡ ὄνηται αὐτοῖς δεομένων, καὶ ὅποιον σκεῦων ἢ χρημάτων γεωργοῖς μὲν πράσιν, ὦν δερμάτων ἢ καὶ πάσης ἔσθητος ἢ πλοκῆς ἢ πυλήσεως ἢ τινον ἄλλων τοιούτων, ἕξενοι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ὄνεισθαι παρ' ἄλλων κτωμένοις. κατηλείπεις δέ τούτων ἢ κριθῶν ἢ τυρῶν εἰς ἄλφητα νεμηθέντων, ἢ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύμπασαν προφήτη, ἀρτοῖς μὲν καὶ τούτων δύο λίοις μῆτε τις πωλεῖτις μῆτε ὄνεισθω παρὰ τοιούτων μηδεὶς μηδενός, ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἔξενοι ἄγορας πωλείτω τοῖς δημιουργοῖς τε καὶ τούτων δύο λίοις, οὐνοῦ τε μεταβαλλόμενου καὶ σύτων πρᾶσιν, δὲ δὴ κατηλείπεις ἐπονομάζομεν οἱ πλείστοι. καὶ ζώνων διαμερισθέντων μάγειροι διατίθεσθων ἔξενοι τε καὶ δημιουργοῖς καὶ τούτων οὐκέτας. πάσαν δὲ ᾨλην καυσίμων οὔσηραι ἕξενος ἡ βουλήθεις ὄνεισθω μὲν ἄθροιαν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐπιτρόπων, πωλεῖτω δὲ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔξενοις, καθ’ ὅσον ἄν βούληται καὶ ὅποτάν βούληται. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων χρημάτων πάντων καὶ σκευῶν ὅποσών ἐκάστους χρεία, πωλεῖται εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἄγοραν φέροντας εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκαστον, ἐν οἷς ἄν νομοφύλακες τε καὶ ἀγορανομοὶ, μετ’ ἀστυνομῶν τεκμηριάμενοι ἡδρας πρεπούσας, ὅρους θωτὰ τῶν ὀνίων, ἐν τούτοις ἄλλατες θυμίζωμε τε χρημάτων καὶ χρημάτα νομίσματος, μὴ προϊΕΜΕΝΟΝ ἄλλων ἔτερω τὴν ἀλλαγήν· ὅ δὲ προεμενος ὅς-πιστεύων, ἐὰν τε κομίζωνται καὶ ἁν μή, στεργέως ὡς οὐκέτι δίκης οὐσίς τῶν τοιούτων περὶ συναλλάξεων. τὸ δὲ ἄνηθιν ἡ πραθέν ὅσον πλεόν ἀν ἢ καὶ πλέονος ἢ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, δὲ εἰρήκεν τόσον προσγενομένου καὶ ἀπογενομένου δει μηδετερα τούτων ποιεῖν, ἀναγραφήσι τοῦ ἢ ἤδη παρὰ τοῖς νομοφύλαξι τὸ πλεόν, ἐξαλειφθός δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ μετοικῶν ἐστὶ τῆς ἀναγράφησι πέρι τῆς οὐσίας. λέναι δὲ τῶν βουλομένου εἰς τὴν μετοικησι ἐπὶ ῥητῆς, ὃς οἰκίσεως οὐσίς τῶν ἔξενω τοῦ βουλομένων καὶ δυναμένων κατοικεῖν, τέχνην κεκτημένω καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντι μὴ πλέον ἐτῶν εὐκοσίν αφ’ ἒς ἦν γράφηται, μετοικιῶν μηδ’ ομικρὸν τελουτί πλῆ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, μηδ’ ἄλλο αὐτὸ τέλος ἐνεκά τινος ὄνης ἢ καὶ πράσεως. ὅταν δ’ εξῆκωσιν οἱ χρόνοι, τῆν αὐτὸν λαβόντα οὐσίαιν ἀπίεναι. 5 εάν δ’ ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσι τούτοις αὐτῷ συμβῆ λόγου ἀξίω πρὸς

VOL. II 113
ευεργεσίαν τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι τινὰ ἱκανὴν, καὶ πιστεὺ̂ 
πείσεων βουλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, ἡ τινὰ ἀναβολὴν τῆς ἐξοι- 
cκήσεως ἀξιῶν αὐτῶ γίγνεσθαι κυρίως, ἡ καὶ τὸ παράπαν διὰ 
βίου τινὰ μονήν, ἐπελθὼν καὶ πείσας τὴν πόλιν, ἀπερ ἀν 
πείση, ταῦτα αὐτῶ τέλεα γιγνέσθω. παισί δὲ μετοίκων, 
δημιουργοῖσι οὕσι καὶ γενομένοις ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα, τῆς μὲν 
μετοικίας ἀρχέτω χρόνος ὁ μετὰ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον 
ἐτος, ἐπὶ τούτους δὲ εἰκοσιν ἐτή μείνας, ἵτω ὁπῃ αὐτῶ φίλον, 
μένειν δὲ ἀν εὐλύτηται, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μενέτω πείσας: ὁ δὲ 
dἀπὸν ἐξελευφάμενος ἵτω τὰς ἀπογραφᾶς, ἄτινες ἄν αὐτῶ 
παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν γεγραμμέναι πρῶτερον ὅσιν.
BOOK IX

SHORT ANALYSIS

853-857 b.—The penalties for sacrilege and high treason, and the courts which are to try such cases.

857 c-864 c.—A digression on the function of the lawgiver, the varying motives of crime, and the meaning of the words intentional and unintentional as applied to crime.

865-874 d 2.—φόνου.
874 d 2-879 b 5.—τραύματα.
879 b 5 to end.—αίκίαι.

Θ

ΑΘ. Δίκαι δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκόλουθοι ταῖς ἐμπροσθεν
πράξεσιν ἀπάσαις οὐσαὶ κατὰ φύσιν γίγνοντο ἂν τὴν τῆς
dιακοσμήσεως τῶν νόμων. δυνατῶν οὖν δὴ πέρι δεὶ γίγνεσθαι
δίκας, τὰ μὲν εἰρηται, τὰ κατὰ γεωργίας τε καὶ ὅσα τούτων
eἴπετο, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα οὔτε εἰρηταὶ πω, καθ' ἐν ἐκαστὸν 5
tε λεγόμενον [ῥήθεν] ὡν δεὶ λαμβάνειν αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν καὶ
tίνων ποτὲ δικαστῶν τυγχάνειν, μετ' ἐκείν' αὐτὰ ἔξης ταῦτα
βητέον.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

ΑΘ. Αἰσχρὸν μὲν δὴ τινα τρόπον καὶ νομοθετεῖν πάντα
ὅποσα νῦν μέλλομεν τούτο δράν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει ἢν φαμεν 5
οἰκήσεσθαι τε εὗ καὶ τεῦξεσθαι πάσης ὁρθότητος πρὸς ἐπιτη-
dευσιν ἀρετῆς. ἐν δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τὸ καὶ ἄξιον τῆς τῶν
ἄλλων μοχθηρίας τῶν μεγίστων ἐμφύεσθαι τινα μεθέξοντα,
ὡστε δεῖν νομοθετεῖν προκαταλαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀπειλοῦντα
eάν τις τοιοῦτος γίγνηται, καὶ τούτων ἀποτροπῆς τε ἑνέκα 6
καὶ γενομένων κολάσεως τιθέναι ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς νόμους, ὡς
ἐσομένους, ὅπερ ἐπον, αἰσχρὸν μὲν τινα τρόπον. ἐπειδὴ
dὲ οὖ, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ νομοθέται θεῶν παισὶν νομοθετοῦ-
5 μενοι τοις ἦρωσιν, ὡς ὁ νῦν λόγος, αυτοί τ' ἐκ θεῶν ὄντες ἁλλοις τε ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονόσιν ἐνομοθέτουν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων σπέρμασιν νομοθετοῦμεν τὰ νῦν, ἀνεμέ-

853 c

5 γίγνονται. ὃν δὴ χάριν οὐκ ἐπίχαριν λέγομι ἂν πρῶτον νόμον ἑρών περὶ συλήσεων, ἂν τὰ τοῦτο ὅραν τολμή. καὶ πολίτην μὲν τῶν τεθραμμένων ὅρθως οὖτ' ἀν δουλιόμεθα οὔτε ἐλπίσατο πάνω τι νοσησαι ποτε ἂν ταύτην τὴν νόσου, οἰκέται δὲ ἃν τούτων καὶ ξένου καὶ ξένων δούλοι πολλά ἂν ἐπιχειρήσεισιν τοιαῦτα. δ' ἔνεκα μὲν μάλιστα, ὡμοὶ δὲ καὶ

854 σύμπασαν τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀποθέετα εὐλαβο-

5 τέον ἀπασιν ὡς βραχύτατα. λέγοι δὴ τις ἂν ἐκεῖνω δια-

854 άληγόμενος ἁμα καὶ παραμυθοῦμεν, δὴ ἐπιθυμια κακὴ 

5 σθένει. τίς δ' ἐστὶν εὐλάβεια, μαθὲ. ὅταν σοι προσπίπτῃ 

855 τι τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων, ἦτι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδοτοιμήτεις, ἦτι ἐπὶ ὧσς ἀποτροπαίων ἑρὰ ἱκέτης, ἦτι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν 

856 λεγομένων ἀνδρῶν ὑμῶν ἀγαθῶν συνοπίας, καὶ τὰ μὲν 

5 τι τὸ νόσημα. εἰ δὲ μῆ, καλλίως θάνατον σκεφάμενος 

857 ἀπαλάττου τοῦ βίου. 

858 τοῖς πάντα ταῦτα ἐπι-

5 μενοί ἂν ἄδικων προούμια τοῖς πάντα παῦτα ἐπι-

859 νοοῦσιν ὅσα ἀνόσια ἔργα καὶ ποιτοθόρα, τῷ μὲν πεθομένῳ 

859 τῶν νόμων ἐὰν συγῇ δει, τῷ δὲ ἀπειθεῖτε μετὰ τὸ προούμιον 

859 ἀδειν μέγα. ὡς δ' ἂν ἠρεσούλων ληφθῆ, εὰν μὲν ἢ δοῦλος ἢ 

5 τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ γραφεῖς τὴν συμφόραν,
καὶ μαστιγωθείς ὀπόσα ἂν δόξῃ τοὺς δικαστὰς, ἐκτὸς τῶν ὀρών τῆς χύρας γυμνὸς ἐκβληθήτω· τάχα γὰρ ἂν δοὺς ταῦτην τὴν δίκην γένοιτ' ἂν βελτίων σωφρονισθείς. οἴ τὰς ἐπὶ κακὸ δίκη γίγνεται οὐδεμία γενομένη κατὰ νόμον, δυσών δὲ θάτερον ἀπεργάζεται σχέδον· ἢ γὰρ βελτίων ἡ μοχθρό-

tερον ἔττυν ἐξηγώσατο τὸν τὴν δίκην παρασχόντα. πολίτης ε
dὲ ἂν τίς ποτὲ τι τοιούτων δρῶν ἀναφανῇ, περὶ ὁς ἢ

перι γονέας ἢ περὶ πόλιν ἡδικηκώς τῶν μεγάλων τινα καὶ
ἀπορρήτων ἀδικιῶν, ὡς ἀνιατόν ἡδη τοῦτο ὦντα τὸ δικαστής
dιανοεῖσθαι, λογίζομενοι οἶας παίδειας τε καὶ τροφῆς ἢ

παιδὸς τυγχάνων ὦν ἀπέσχετο τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν. δίκη
dὴ τούτῃ θάνατος, ἐλάχιστον τῶν κακῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους

παράδειγμα ὄνησε γενόμενος, ἀκλεῖς καὶ υπὲρ τοὺς τῆς
χύρας ὄρους ἀφαινισθείς: παιοὶ δὲ καὶ γένει, εὰν φύγωσι

τὰ πατρία ἡθη, κλέος ἐστω καὶ λόγος ἐντίμου λεγόμενος,
ὡς εὖ τε καὶ ἀνδρείως εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐκ κακοῦ διαπεφυγότων.

δημοσία δὲ χρήματα οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων τῇ πολιτείᾳ

πρέπον ἂν εἰς γίγνεσθαι, ἐν ἢ δεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἂεὶ καὶ ἰσος

ὅτας διατελένικ κλήρους. ζημίας δ' ἐκτίσεις, ὅταν ἀδικεῖν

ἀξία δοκῇ τις χρημάτων, ἐκτίνευν, ἢ τὶ τῷ τὸ κλήρου
cατεσκευασμένου περιτεθόν, μέχρι τοσοῦτον ζημιωθέντα, b
tὸ δὲ πλέον μή· τὰς δ' εἰς ταῦτα ἀκριβεῖας ἐκ τῶν ἀπο-

γραφῶν νομοφύλακες σκοποῦντες τὸ σαφὲς ἔξαγγελλόων

ἀεὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς, ὅπως ἂν τῶν κλήρων ἀργὸς μηδεὶς μηδέ-

ποτε γίγνηται δὲ ἀπορίαν χρημάτων. ζημίας δὲ ἂν τις

πλέονος ἀξίων εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐὰν ἀρα μὴ τινες ἐθέλωσων αὐτὸν

τῶν φίλων ἑγγυῶσα τε καὶ συνεκτίνωσες ἀπελευθέρωσιν,

dεσμος τε χρόνως καὶ ἐμφανέσθαι καὶ τοὺς προπηλακίστων

cολάζειν, ἄτιμον δὲ παντάπασον μηδένα εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ' c

eφ' ἐνι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, μηδ' ὑπερορίαν φυγάδα· θάνατον
dὲ ἢ δεσμοὺς ἢ πληγάς, ἢ τινας ἀμόρφους ἔδρας ἢ στάσεις

ὑπαρκάτεσθεις εἰς ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς χύρας ἑσύχα, ἢ χρημάτων

καθάπερ ἐμπροσθεν ἐπίσωμεν ἐκτίσεις γίγνεσθαι ἰδίων τὴν
dίκην ταῦτην, γυγνόθω. δικαστὶ δὲ ἐστῶσαν θανάτον περὶ
nομοφύλακες τε καὶ τὸ τῶν περουσιῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστόνηθην
apomerosithen dikasthrom. eisagwagias de touton kai proskler-

seis kal osa touaita kai os deis gignesai, tois nevterois

nomothetais xro meliei, tihn diafylfiouz de hmeteron ergon

nomobetein. estin de phanera a mhn h phfes thsemeni, prō
5 τούτου δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ διώκοντος τε καὶ φεύγοντος ὁ δικαστής ἔξης ἢ μὲν ἐγγύτατα κατὰ πρέσβιν ἤ ἀνεύθυνος, πάντες δ᾽ οἱ πολίται, ὥσπερ ἂν ἁγωσὶ σχολήν, ἐπῆκοοι ἐστωσαν ἀποδῆ τῶν τοιούτων δικών. Λέγειν δὲ ἐνα λόγον, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν διώκοντα, τὸν δὲ φεύγοντα δεύτερον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἀρχεσθαί μὲν τὸν γεραίτατον ἀνακρίνοντα, ἱόντα εἰς τὴν τῶν λεχθέντων σκέψιν ἱκανήν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν προσβυταν ἔξης ἀπαντάς χρῆ διεξελθεῖν ὅτι ἂν παρ᾽ ἐκατέρω τις τῶν ἀντιδικῶν ῥήθην ἢ μὴ ῥήθην ἐπιστολή των τρόπων· ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ποθόν ἄλλῳ τὴν ἀνάκρισιν παραδιδότων τῶν δὲ ῥήθέντων ἐπισφραγισμένους ὁσα ἂν εἶναι καίρω

856 δοκή, γράμμασιν σημεία ἐπιβάλλοντας πάντων τῶν δικαστῶν, θείαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, καὶ πάλιν αὐριόν εἰς ταύτων συνελθόντας, ὑσαύτως τε ἀνακρίνοντας διεξελθεῖν τὴν δίκην καὶ σημεία ἐπιβάλλοντας αὕτοις λεχθείσιν· καὶ τρίς δράσανται τούτο, τεκμήρια τε καὶ μάρτυρας ἰκανῶς παραλαβόντας, ψήφων ἤκαστον φέροντα καὶ ὑποσχόμενον πρὸς τῇ ἐστίᾳ εἰς δύναμιν τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῆ κρίνειν, οὕτω τέλος ἐπιθεῖαι τῇ τοιαύτῃ δίκῃ.

b Μετὰ δὲ τὰ περὶ θεοὺς τὰ περὶ κατάλοιπον τῆς πολιτείας. "Ὅς ἂν ἄγων εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀνθρώπων δουλεύει μὲν τοὺς νόμοις, ἑταρίαις δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκουν ποιήσει, καὶ βιαίως δὴ πάν τοῦτο πράττων καὶ στάσει ἐγείρων παρανομήν, τούτον δὴ διανοεῖσθαι δὲι πάντων πολεμωδάτατον ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει· τὸν δὲ κοινωνούντα μὲν τῶν τοιούτων μηδὲν, τῶν μεγίστων δὲ μετέχοντα ἀρχῶν εἰς τῇ πόλει, λεληθότα τε ταύτα αὐτῶν, ἦ

c μὴ λεληθότα, δεῦλα δ', ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτοῦ μὴ τιμωροῦμεν, δεὶ δεύτερον ἤγειρον τοῖς τοιούτοις πολίτην κάκη. πᾶς δὲ ἀνήρ, οὐ καὶ σμικρὸν ὀφελὸς, ἐνδεκεκτό ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς κρίσιν ἄγων τῶν ἐπιβουλεύοντα βιαίου πολιτείας μεταστάσεως ἀμα καὶ παρανόμου· δικασταί δὲ ἐστωσαν τούτους οὗτος τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κρίσιν ὡσαύτως αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἑκείνους, τὴν ψήφων θάνατον φέρειν τὴν πλῆθει νικώσαν. ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, πατρὸς ὀνείδος καὶ τιμωρίας

d παίδων μηδὲν συνέπεσθαι, πλὴν ἕως τῶν πατήρ καὶ πάππος καὶ πάππος πατήρ ἐφεξῆς ὄρλωσι θανάτου δίκην· τούτους δὲ ἡ πόλις ἔχοντας τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν, πλὴν ὁσον κατεσκευασμένου τοῦ κλήρου παντελῶς, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχαίαν ἐκ- πεμπέσθω πατρίδα καὶ πόλιν. οἷς δ᾽ ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν ὑεῖς
ὅντες τυγχάνωσιν πλείους ἕνὸς, μὴ ἔλαττον δέκα ἐτῆς γεγονότες, κληρώσας μὲν τούτων δέκα, οὔς ἀν ἀποφήμη πατήρ ἢ πάππος ὁ πρός πατρός ἢ μητρός, τῶν δὲ λαχώντων τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθέντι· δειν δὲ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέλῃ, εἰ κληρονόμον εἰς τὸν οἶκον καταστῆσαι τὸν τῶν ἐκλεπτών τύχῃ ἀμείνων·

ΚΛ. Καλῶς.

ΑΘ. Κοινὸς δ' ἔτι τρίτος εἰς ἐστω νόμοις περὶ δικαστῶν τε, οὖς δει δικάζειν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῶν δικῶν, οἷς ἂν προδόσεως αἰτίαι ἐπιφέρων τις εἰς δικαστήριον ἀγή· καὶ μονὴς ὀσαύτως ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἐξὸδού τῆς πατρίδος εἰς ἐστω περὶ ταῦτα νόμος οὕτως προῖ καὶ ἱεροσύλω καὶ τῶν τούς τῆς πόλεως νόμους βίᾳ ἀπολλύσει. κλέπτης δὲ, εάν τε μέγα ἔαν τὸ σμικρὸν κλέπτη τις, εἰς αὐτὸ νόμοις κείσθω καὶ μιὰ δίκης τιμωρία σύμπασιν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κλαπέν ἂς ἡ历来 διπλάσιον πρῶτον ἐκτίνευε, εάν ὄφλη τις τὴν τουαίτην δίκην καὶ ἱκανὴ ἔχῃ τῇ ἀλλήν οὐσίαν ἀποτίνευς ὑπὲρ τὸν κλήρον, εάν δὲ μὴ, δεδεχαί ἐως ἂν ἐκτείνῃ ἡ πείσῃ τὸν καταδικασάμενον. εάν δὲ τις ὄφλη κλοπῆς δημοσία δίκην, πείσας τῆν πόλιν ἢ τὸ κλέμμα ἐκτείνας διπλοῦν, ἀπαλαττέσθω τῶν δεσμῶν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δὴ λέγομεν, διε ἔεν, μὴ δὲν διαφέρειν τῷ κλέπτοντι μέγα ἡ σμικρὸν ὑφελομένω, καὶ ἐξ ἵερῶν ἢ ὀσίων, καὶ ὃς ἄλλα ἐστών περὶ κλοπῆς πάσαν ἀνομοίοτητα ἔχοντα, οἷς δεῖ ποικίλους οὕσιν ἐπεθεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην μηδὲν ὀμοίας ζημίαις ζημιούντα·

ΑΘ. Ἀριστ', δι' Κλευνία: σχέδον τοί με ὡστερ φερομένον ἀντικρούσας ἀνήγερας, ἐννενοθηκότα δὲ καὶ πρότερον ὑπέμνησας ότι τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων θέουν οὐδὲν τρόπω πᾶσοτε γένοιεν θρῆς διαπεπονημένα, ὦς γε ἐν τῷ νῦν παραπεπτωκότι λέγειν. πῶς δ' αὖ καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν; οὐκ κακῶς ἀπηκάςαμεν, ὅτε δούλους ὡς ἰατρευμένοις ὑπὸ δούλων ἀπηκάζομεν πάντας τῶν νῦν νομοθεουμένων. εὖ γὰρ ἐπιστασάηκα δεῖ τὸ τούνδε, ὡς εἰ κατάλαβοι ποτέ τις ἰατρὸς τῶν τάις ἐμπειρίας ἄνευ λόγου τὴν ἰατρικὴν μεταχειριζομένων ἐλεύθερον ἐλευθέρω νοσοῦντι διαλεγόμενου ἰατρόν, καὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγγὺς χρώμενο χὲ τοῖς λόγοις, εὖ ἄρχης τε ἀπόρους τοῦ νοσήματος, περὶ φύσεως πάσης ἐπανόρω τῆς τῶν σωμάτων, ταχὺ καὶ σφόδρα γελάσειν ἄν καὶ οὐκ.
5 ἄν ἀλλοὺς εἰποὶ λόγους ἢ τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀεὶ προχείρους οὕτος τοῖς πλείοσις λεγομένοις ἵατροῖς· φαιν γὰρ ἃν 'Ὤ μῶρε, οὐκ ἵατρεῖες τὸν νοσοῦτα ἀλλὰ σχέδον παιδεύεις, ἐ ὦ ἵατρον ἀλλ' οὗς ὑγίη δεόμενον γίγνεσθαι.'

Κ. Οὐκοῦν λέγων τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅρθως ἢ λέγοι:
Α. Τάχ' ἂν, εἰ προσδιανοοῖτο γε ὡς ὅστις περὶ νόμων οὕτω διεξέρχεται, καθάπερ ἤμεις τὰ νῦν, παιδεύει τοὺς πολλάς ἀλλ' οὗ νομοθετεῖ. ἐρ' οὖν οὗ καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν πρὸς τρόπον λέγειν φαίνοιτο;

Κ. 'Ἰσως·
Α. Εὐτυχεῖς δὲ ἤμων τὸ παρὸν γέγονεν.
Κ. Τὸ ποιὸν δή;

10 Α. Τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀνάγκην εἶναι νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς εἰς παρὰ πάσης ποιμείας περισθαίνοις κατιδεῖν τὸ τε ἄριστον καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαίωταν, τίνα τρόπον ἀν γηγομένων γίγνοιτο. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ νῦν ἔξεστον ἤμων, ὃς ἕοικεν, εἰ μὲν βουλόμεθα, τὸ βέλτιστον σκοπεῖν, εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα, τὸ ἀναγκαίωταν περὶ νόμων· αἱρόμεθα οὖν πότερον δοκεῖ.

Κ. Γελοίαν, ὃ ξένε, προτιθέμεθα τὴν αἴρεσιν, καὶ ἀτεχνώς ὄσπερ κατεχομένως νομοθέταις ἢμοιοι γιγνομέθ' εἰς αὐριον. ἤμων δ'—εἰπεὶν οὖν θεὶ—ἔξεστι, καθάπερ ἡ λιθολόγοις ἢ καὶ τινος ἐτέρας ἀρχομένοις συστάσεως, παραφορήσασθαι κυθὴν ἐξ ὡν ἐκλεξόμεθα τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ 5 μελλοῦσῃ γενήσεσθαι συστάσει, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκλέξασθαι. τιθῶμεν οὖν ἢμᾶς νῦν εἶναι μὴ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἰκοδομοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐτί τὰ μὲν παρατιθεμένους, τὰ δὲ συνιστάντας· ὅστε ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὰ μὲν ἤδη τῶν νόμων λέγειν ὡς τιθέμενα, τὰ δ' ὡς παρατιθέμενα.

Α. Οὔ. Γένοιτο γοῦν ἂν, ὃ Κλεινία, κατὰ φύσιν μᾶλλον ἢμῖν ἢ σύνοψις τῶν νόμων. ἔδωμεν γὰρ οὖν, ὃ πρὸς θεῶν, τὸ τοιοῦτο περὶ νομοθετῶν.

5 Κ. Τὸ ποιὸν δή;
Α. Θραμμάτα μὲν που καὶ ἐν γράμμασιν λόγοι καὶ ἄλλων εἰς πολλῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν γεγραμμένοι, γράμματα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ λόγοι.

Κ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

10 Α. Θ. Πότερον οὖν τοῖς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων συγγράμμασιν
πουητῶν καὶ ὄσοι ἀνευ μέτρων καὶ μετὰ μέτρων τὴν αὐτῶν εἰς μνήμην συμβουλὴν περί βίου κατέθεντο συγγράφαστες προσέχωμεν τὸν νόμον, τοῖς δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν μη προσέχωμεν; ἡ πάντων μάλιστα;

ΚΛ. Πολύ γε.

ἈΘ. Ἀλλὰ δήτα οὐ χρή τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τῶν γρα-φόντων περὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων συμβουλεύειν, διδάσκοντα οἶδά τε ἐστι καὶ ὡς ἐπιτηδεύειν αὐτὰ τοῖς μέλλουσι εὐδαιμοσιν ἔσεσθαι;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς οὐ;

ἈΘ. Ἀλλὰ ἀσχρόν δὴ μᾶλλον Ὀμήρῳ τε καὶ Τυρταίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς περὶ βίου τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων κακῶς θέσθαι γράφαντας, Δυκούργῳ δὲ ἦττον καὶ Σάλωνι καὶ ὅσοι δὴ νομοθέται γενόμενοι γράμματα ἔγραφαν; ἢ τὸ γε ὅρθον, πάντων δὲι γραμματῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ περὶ τοὺς νόμους γεγραμμένα φαίνεσθαι διαπτυτόμενα μακρῷ κάλλιστα τε καὶ ἀριστα, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κατ’ ἐκεῖνα συνεπόμενα, ἢ διαφωνοῦντα αὐτοῖς εἴναι καταγέλαστα; οὔτω διανοώμεθα περὶ νόμων δεῖν γραφῆς γίγνεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν πατρὸς τε καὶ μητρὸς σχήμασι φιλούντων τε καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων φαίνεσθαι τα γεγραμμένα, ἢ κατὰ τύραννοι καὶ δεσπότην τάξαντα καὶ ἀπευλησάντα γράφαντα ἐν τοίχοις ἀπηλλάχθαι; σκοπῶμεν οὖν δὴ καὶ τὰ νῦν ἡμεῖς πότερα ταύτῃ πειρώμεθα λέγειν διανοηθέντες περὶ νόμων, εἴτε οὖν δυνάμεθα εἴτε μή, ἀλλ' οὖν τὸ γε πρόθυμον παρεξῆμενοι καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὅδον ἰόντες, ἀν ἀρα τι καὶ δὲν πάσχειν, πάσχωμεν. ἀγαθὸν δ' εἶη γε, καὶ ἂν θεὸς ἑθέλῃ, γίγνοιτ' ἂν ταύτῃ.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς εὐρήκας, ποιώμεν τε ὡς λέγεις.

ἈΘ. Διασκεπτέον ἀρα πρῶτον, ὥσπερ ἐπεχειρήσαμεν, ἀκριβῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν τε ἱεροσυλούντων καὶ κλοπῆς πάσης πέρι καὶ ἀδικημάτων συμπάντων, καὶ οὐ δυσχεραντέον εἰ μεταξὶ νομοθετοῦντες τὰ μὲν ἔθεμεν, τῶν δ' ἐτὶ διασκοποῦμεν πέρι: νομοθέται γὰρ γιγνομέθα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσμέν πω, τάχα δὲ 'ἴως ἂν γενοῦμεθα. εἰ δ' δοκεῖ περὶ ὧν εὐρήκα ὡς εὐρήκα σκοπεῖσθαι, σκοπῶμεν.

ΚΛ. Ποιντάπαμε μὲν οὖν.

ἈΘ. Περὶ δὴ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων συμπάντων πειρώμεθα κατιδεῖν τὸ τοιόνδε, ὅπῃ ποτὲ ὀμολογοῦμεν νῦν καὶ ὅπῃ.
διαφερόμεθα ἡμεῖς τε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὴ φαίμεν ἂν προθυμεῖσθαι γε, εἰ μὴ δὲν ἄλλο, διαφέρειν τῶν πλείστων, οἱ πολλοὶ
d τε αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδ
ΚΑ. Τάς ποιάς δὲ δὴ διαφοράς ἡμῶν ἐννοηθεῖς λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Ἑγώ πειράσομαι φράζειν. ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνης ὅλως
cαι τῶν δικαίων ἄνθρωποι τε καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ πράξεων
5 πάντως πως συνομολογοῦμεν πάντα εἶναι ταύτα καλά, ὡστε
οὐδ' εἰ τὸς διωχυρίζοντο εἶναι τοὺς δικαίους ἀνθρώπους,
ἀν καὶ τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες αἰσχροὶ τὰ σώματα, κατ' αὐτὸ γε
τὸ δικαιότατον ἥθος ταύτη παγκάλους εἶναι, σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν
e λέγων οὗτῳ πλημμελῶς δόξειε λέγειν.
ΚΑ. Ὁυκοῦν ὅρθώς;
ΑΘ. Ἰσως; ἱδωμεν δὲ ὡς, εἰ πάντ' ἐστὶν καλὰ ὥσα
dικαιοσύνης ἑγεταί, τῶν πάντων τοι καὶ τὰ παθήματα ἡμῖν
5 ἐστιν, σχεδὸν τοῖς ποιήμασι χάς.
ΚΑ. Τί οὖν δή;
ΑΘ. Ποίημα μεν, ὅπερ ἄν ἡ δικαίων, σχεδὸν ὀσοντερ
ἀν τοῦ δικαίου κοινωνη, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ
μετέχον ἐστὶ.
10 ΚΑ. Τί μήν;
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ πάθος ὅπερ ἄν δικαίου κοινωνη, κατὰ
tosothoν γίγνεσθαι καλὸν ὁμολογοῦμενον, όυκ ἄν δια-
φωνοῦντα παρέχοι τῶν λόγων;
ΚΑ. Ἀληθῆ.
ΑΘ. Ἕαν δὲ γε δικαιοῦν μὲν ὁμολογοῦμεν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ εἶναι
5 πάθος, διαφωνήσει το τε δικαίον καὶ τὸ καλὸν, λεχθέντων
tῶν δικαίων αἰσχίστων εἶναι.
ΚΑ. Πῶς τοῦτο εἴρηκας;
ΑΘ. Οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν ἐννοεῖν· οἱ γὰρ ὀλίγως πρόσθεν
τεθέντες ἡμῖν νόμοι πάντων ἑναντιώτατα παραγγέλλειν
10 δόξειαν ἀν τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις.
ΚΑ. Ποίους;
b ΑΘ. Τῶν ἵεροσυλῶν που ἑτίθημεν δικαίως ἃν ἀποθυμήσκειν
καὶ τὸν τῶν εὗ κεμένων νόμων πολέμιον, καὶ μέλλοντες δὴ
νόμμα τοιαῦτα τιθέναι πάμπολλα ἑπέσχομεν, ἱδόντες ός
ταύτα ἐστὶν μὲν ἀπερὰ παθήματα πληθεὶ καὶ μεγέθεσιν,
5 δικαίωτατα δὲ πάντων παθημάτων καὶ συμπάντων αἰσχίστα.
μῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἡμῖν τά τε δίκαια καὶ τά καλά τοτε μὲν ός
ταύτα σύμπαντα, τοτε δὲ ός ἑναντιώτατα φανεῖται;
122
ΚΛ. Κυδυνεύει.

ΑΘ. Τοίς μὲν τοῖν πολλοῖς οὕτω περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀσυμφώνως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια διερρημένα προσαγορεύεται.

ΚΛ. Φαίνεται γοῦν, ὥς ἔγει.

ΑΘ. Τὸ τοῖνυν ἡμέτερον, ὁ Κλεείνια, πάλιν ὑδωμεν πῶς αὐτῷ αὐτὰ ταύτα ἔχει τῆς συμφωνίας.

ΚΛ. Πώλεις δὴ πρὸς ποίαν;

ΑΘ. Ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις οίματι διαρρήξῃ ἐμὲ εἰρήκεναι πως, εἰ δ' οὖν μὴ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν ὡς λέγοντα τίθετε—

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποίον;

ΑΘ. Ὦς οἱ κακοὶ πάντες εἰς πάντα εἰσὶν ἀκουτες κακοὶ τοῦτον δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντο, ἀνάγκη ποταί συνέπεσθαι τὸν ἐκεῖς λόγον.

ΚΛ. Τίνα λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὦς ὁ μὲν ἄδικος που κακός, ὁ δὲ κακὸς ἀκών τουστοσ. ἀκουσίως δὲ ἐκούσιον οὐκ ἔχει πράττεσθαι ποτε λόγον· ἀκὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι φαίνουσιν ἄν ἄδικείς ὁ ἄδικων τῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀκούσιον τιθεμένῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὄμολογητέον ἐμοὶ· σύμβημι γὰρ ἀκοῦσις ἀδικεῖν πάντας—ἐἰ καὶ τὶς φιλονικίας ἡ πιλοτιμίας ἐνεκα ἀκοητας μὲν ἄδικους εἰναὶ φησι, ἀδικεῖν μὴν ἐκόντος πολλοίς, ὦ γ' ἐμὸς λόγος ἐκεῖνος ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτος—τίνα οὖν αὕ τρόπον ἔγγονε συμφωνοῦν ἄν τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ λόγοις; εἰ μὲ, ὁ Κλεείνια καὶ Μέγιλλε, ἐρωτάτησ: "Εἰ δὴ ταύτα οὐτως ἔχοντα ἐστιν, ὥς ἔγει, τι συμβουλεύεις ἦμιν περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας τῇ τῶν Μαγνήτων πόλει; πότερον νομοθετεῖν ἢ μή?" "Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;" φήσων. "Διοριεῖς οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀκοῦσια τε καὶ ἐκούσια ἀδικήματα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐκουσίων ἀμαρτημάτων τε καὶ ἀδικήματων μείζους τὸς ζημίας θῆσομεν, τῶν δ' ἐλάττους; ἢ πάντων εἶς ἵπτης, ὡς οὐκ ἐντὸς ἀδικήματος τοῦ παράπαν ἐκούσιων;"

ΚΛ. Ὀρθῶς μέντοι λέγεις, ὥς ἔγει· καὶ τοῦτος δὴ τὶ χρησομεθα τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις;

ΑΘ. Καλῶς ἦρωι. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνν αὐτοῖς τὸδε 5 χρησομεθα.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποίον;

ΑΘ. Ἀναμνησθῶμεν ὡς ἐμπροσθεν νυν ἡμῶς ἐλέγομεν ὅτι περὶ τὰ δίκαια εἰς παμπόλλη τις ἡμῶν ταραχή τε καὶ ἀσυμφωνία. τούτῳ δὲ λαβόντες πάλιν ἐρωτῶμεν ἡμᾶς 10.
αὐτοῦς. "ἐόν οὖν περὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπορίαν οὔτ' ἐξευπορή-
σαντες οὔτε διωρισάμενοι τί ποτ' ἑστὶν ταῦτα ἀλλήλων
διαφέροντα, ἀ δὴ κατὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ὧπο νομοθετῶν
πάντων τῶν πώς ποτε γεγομένων ὡς δύο εἰδὴ τῶν ἄδικημάτων
5 ὄντα, τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια, ταὐτή καὶ νομοθετεῖται.
ο δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν νυνὶ δὴθηείς λόγος, ἄσπερ παρὰ θεοῦ λεχθεῖς,
tοσοῦτον μόνον εἰτῶν ἀπαλλάξεται, δοὺς δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ὡς


οὐθώς εὑρηκεν, κατανομοθετήσει τινὰ τρόπον;" οὐκ ἔστω,
ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πως ταῦτα ἐμπροσθὲν τοῦ νομοθετεῖν δηλώσαι
δύο τε ὄντα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἅλλην, ἵνα, ἂτιν ἐκατέρω
τις τὴν δίκην ἐπιτίθη, πᾶς ἑπακολούθη τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ
5 δυνατός ἢ τὸ τε προέπτως τεθὲν ἀμὴ γέ τῇ κρίναι καὶ
tὸ μή.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς ἡμῖν φαίνη λέγειν, ὡς ἔσεν. δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερον
ἡμᾶς χρεών, ἡ μὴ λέγειν ὡς πάντα ἀκούσια τὰ ἄδικημάτα, ἡ

tούτῳ ὡς οὕτως εὑρήται πρῶτον διωρίσαντας δηλώσαι.
ΑΘ. Τούτων τοινυν τῶν δυοίν τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐμοὶ
πάντως που γίγνεσθαι, τὸ γε δὴ μὴ λέγειν, οὔτως οἷομενον
ἐχειν τάληθες—οὐ γὰρ ἂν νόμιμον οὐδ’ ὅσιον ἂν εἰη—κατὰ
5 τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἐστον δύο, εἰ μὴ τῷ γέ ἀκούσιῳ καὶ τῷ
ἐκούσιῳ διαφέροντο ἐκάτερον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλω τωδ’ ἡ’ ποτε,
πειρατέον ἀμῶς γέ πως δηλοῦν.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔσεν, τοῦτο γε οὐχ οἶνον τε
ἀλλὸς πως ἡμῖν διανοηθῆναι.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτα ἔσται, φέρε δή, βλάβαι μὲν, ὡς ἠσκεν,
ἀλλήλων τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις τε καὶ ὡμολίας
πολλαὶ γίγνονται, καὶ τὸ γε ἐκούσιον τε καὶ ἀκούσιον ἐν
αὐταῖς ἀφθονον ἐστὶ.

5 ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;
ΑΘ. Μὴ τοῖνων τὶς τὰς βλάβας πάσας ἄδικας τιθεῖς,
οὔτως οἰηται καὶ τὰ ἄδικα ἐν αὐταῖς ταὐτῆ γίγνεσθαι διηλᾶ,
τα μὲν ἐκούσια δῆ, τὰ δ’ ἀκούσια—βλάβαι γὰρ ἀκούσιοι
τῶν πάντων οὔτ’ ἄρθιμοις οὔτε μεγέθεσον ἐλάπτους εἰαὶ τῶν

862 ἐκούσιων—σκοπεῖτο δὲ εἰτε τι λέγοι λέγειν ἄ μελλὼ λέγειν,
eίτε καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν. ὅ γάρ φημι ἐγὼγε, ο νεωνία
καὶ Μέγυλλε, εἰ τίς τινὰ τι πημαίνει μη βουλόμενος ἀλλ’
ἄκων, ἅδικεῖν μὲν, ἀκοντα μὴν, καὶ ταὐτὴ μὲν δὴ νομοθετήσων,
5 τοῦτο ὡς ἀκούσιον ἄδικημα νομοθετῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἄδικιάν τὸ
παράπαν θήσω τὴν τοιαύτην βλάβην, οὔτε ἂν μείζων οὔτε
124
অ এলাপ্তων τω γίγνηται: πολλάκις δε ωφελίαν ούκ όρθην γενομένην τον τής ωφελίας αὐτιον ἀδίκειν φήσομεν, εάν ἢ γ’ ἐμὴ νυκα. σχεδὸν γάρ, ὃ φίλοι, οὔτε εἰ τίς τω διδώσει τι τῶν οὐτῶν οὔτε εἰ τοιούτων ἀφαιρεῖται, δύκαιον ἀπλώς ἡ ἀδικὸν χρή τὸ τοιοῦτον οὔτω λέγειν, ἀλλʼ εάν ἦθει καὶ δικαίω τρόπων χρώμενος τις ωφελή τυχά τι καὶ βλάπτη, τοῦτο ἐστὶν τῷ νομοθέτῃ θεατέον, καὶ πρὸς δύο ταῦτα δὴ βλεπτέον, πρὸς τε ἀδικίαν καὶ βλάβην, καὶ τὸ μὲν βλαβέν ἄβλαβες τοῖς νόμοις εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ποιητέον, τὸ τε ἀπολόμενον σφόζοντα καὶ τὸ πεσόν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἐξορθώντα, καὶ τὸ βανατωθὲν ἡ τρωθὲν ύγιὲς, τὸ δὲ ἀποίνους ἐξιλαθηθὲν τοῖς δρώοι καὶ πάσχουσιν ἐκάστας τῶν βλάψεων, ἐκ διαφοράς εἰς διαλαγήν πειρατέον ἀεὶ καθιστάναι τοῖς νόμοις.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς ταῦτα γε.

ΑΘ. Τάς τούνων ἀδίκους αὐ βλάβας καὶ κέρδη δε, εάν τις ἀδικών τινα κερδαίνειν ποιή, τούτων ὁπόσα μὲν ίατά, ὡς οὐσῶν ἐν ψυχῇ νόσων, ἵσθαι. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἱάσεως ἡμῖν τῆς ἀδικίας τῇδε ρέπειν χρὴ φάναι.

ΚΛ. Πἡ;

ΑΘ. Ὁπως ότι τις ἂν ἀδικήσῃ μέγα ἡ σμικρόν, ὁ νόμος αὐτοῦ διδάξει καὶ ἀναγκάσει τὸ παράπτων εἰς αὖθις τὸ τοιοῦτον ἡ μηδέποτε ἐκόντα τομηῆσαι ποιεῖν ἡ διαφερόντως ἦττον πολὺ, πρὸς τῇ τῆς βλάβης ἐκτίσει. ταῦτα εἴτε ἔργους ἡ λόγοις, ἡ μεθ’ ἕδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν, ἡ τιμῶν ἢ ἀτιμῶν, καὶ χρημάτων ξημίας ἢ καὶ δόρων, ἡ καὶ τὸ παράπταν ὅτιν τρόπῳ ποιήσει τις μισήσαι μὲν τὴν ἀδικίαν, στέξει δὲ ἡ μὴ μισέων τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσι, αὐτὸ ἐστὶν τοῦτο ἐργον τῶν καλλίστων νόμοιν. ὃν δ’ ἂν ἀνάτατως εἰς ταῦτα ἐχοντα ἀισθηθῇ νομοθέτης, δίκην τοῦτοι καὶ νόμον θήσει τίνα; γιγνώσκων ποιεῖ τοῖς τοιούτους πάσιν ὡς οὔτε αὐτοῖς ἐτί ζήν ἄμενον, τοὺς τὲ ἄλλους ἃν διπλή ωφελοῦν ἀπαλλαττόμενοι τοῦ βίου, παράδειγμα μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενοι, ποιούστες δὲ ἀνδρῶν κακῶν ἔρημον τὴν πόλιν, οὕτω δὴ τῶν τοιοῦτων πέρι νομοθέτη κολαστὴν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων βάναυσιν ἀνάγκη νέμειν ἄλλως δὲ οὐδαμῶς.

ΚΛ. Ἐοικε μὲν πως λέγεσθαι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ μάλα μετρίως, ἢδιον δ’ ἂν ἐτί σαφέστερον ἀκούσαμεν ταῦτα ῥηθέντα, τὸ τῆς ἀδικίας τε καὶ βλάβης διάφορον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκουσίων καὶ ἀκουσίων ὡς ἐν τούτοις διαπεποίκιλται.
ΑΘ. Πειράτεον τοίνυν ὡς κελεύετε δράν, καὶ λέγειν.

b δὴλον γὰρ ὦτι τοσοῦτον γε περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ λέγετε πρὸς ἄλλους καὶ ἀκούστε, ὡς ἐν μὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς φύσεως εἶτε τι πάθος εἶτε τι μέρος ὅν ὁ θυμός, δύσερι καὶ δύσμαχον κτῆμα ἐμπεφυκός, ἀλογίστω βία πολλά ἀνατρέπει.

5 ΚΛ. Πῶς δ’ οὖν;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἠδονὴν γε οὐ ταύτων τῷ θυμῷ προσαγορεύομεν, ἐξ ἔναντίας δὲ αὐτῷ φαμεν ῥώμης δυναστεύουσαν πειθοί μετὰ ἀπάτης οὐ βία πράττειν πάν ὅτιπερ ἀν αὐτῆς ἡ βούλησις ἐθελήσῃ.

5 ΚΛ. Καὶ μᾶλα.

c ΑΘ. Τρίτων μὴν ἀγνοιαν λέγων ἃν τις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτίαν οὐκ ἂν ψεύδοτο. διχῆ μὴν διελόμενοι αὐτὸ ὁ νομοθέτης ἂν βελτίων εἵ, τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦ οὐτοῦ κούφων ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτίν θηγούμενος, τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν, ὅταν ἀμαθαίνη τις μὴ μόνον ἀγνοία συνεχόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξῃ σοφίας, ὡς εἰδὼς παντελῶς περὶ τοῦ μηδαμῶς οἴδεν, μετὰ μὲν ιθύνος καὶ ῥώμης ἐπομένης μεγάλων καὶ ἀμοῦσων ἀμαρτημάτων τυθεὶς αὖτιν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀσθενείας δὲ ἐπομένης, παιδεία τε ἀμαρτηματα καὶ πρεσβυτέρων γυνώμενα, θήσει μὲν ἀμαρτηματα καὶ ὡς ἀμαρτάνουσιν νόμους τάξει, πραστάτους γε μὴν πάντως καὶ συγγνώμης πλειοτῆς ἐχομένους.

5 ΚΛ. Εἰκότα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἡδονὴς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ θυμοῦ λέγομεν σχεδὸν ἀπαντεῖ ὡς ὁ μὲν κρείττων ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ ἦττων ἐστὶν καὶ ἑκεῖ ταύτη.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

10 ΑΘ. Ἀγνοιαὶ δὲ γε ὡς ὁ μὲν ἡμῶν κρείττων, ὁ δὲ ἦττων, οὐκ ἦκούσαμεν πώποτε.

e ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Πάντα δὲ γε προτρέπειν ταῦτα φαμεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἐπιστρέψαμεν ἑκαστοῦ εἰς τάναντία πολλάκις ἀμα.

ΚΛ. Πλειστάκις μὲν οὖν.

5 ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ σοι τὸ τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον, δ’ γε ἐγὼ λέγω, σαφῶς ἄν διορισάμην οὐδὲν ποικῆλλων. τὴν γὰρ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ φοβοῦ καὶ ἠδονῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ φθόνων καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν ἐν ψυχῇ τυραννίδα, εὰν τε τι βλάπτῃ καὶ ἐὰν μὴ, πάντως ἄδικαν προσαγορεύων. τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἁρίστου δόξαν, ὁπηπερ ἂν ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο γ’ ἡγήσονται πόλις εἰτε ἰδιωταί.
τίνες, έαν αὐτῇ κρατοῦσα ἐν ψυχαῖς διακοσμῇ πάντα ἄνδρα, καὶ σφάλληταί τι, δικαίους μὲν πάν ἐ jäi φατέον τὸ ταῦτη πραχθὲν καὶ τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς γυγνόμενον ὑπῆκουν ἐκάστων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαντὰ ἀνθρώπων βίον ἄριστον, δοξάζοντας δὲ υπὸ πολλῶν ἀκούσιον ἄδικαν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην βλάβην. ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐστίν τὰ νῦν ὅνομάτων περὶ δύσερις λόγον, άλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων τρία εὐθείᾳ δεδήλωται γυγνόμενα, ταῦτα εἰς μνήμην πρῶτον ἦτο μᾶλλον ἀναληπτεῖον. λύσις μὲν οὖν, ἦν θημὸν καὶ φόβον ἐπονομάζομεν, ἐν εἰδος ἡμῖν ἐστιν.

ΚΛ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

ἈΘ. 'Ἡδονῆς δ' αὖ καὶ ἐπιθυμίων δεύτερον, ἐλπίδων δὲ καὶ δόξης τῆς ἀμαθείας περὶ τὸ ἀριστον ἔφεσις τρίτον ἔτερον. τούτου δὲ αὐτοῦ τρία διχῇ τιμηθέντος πέντε εἰδή γέγονεν, ὡς νῦν φαμεν. οἷς νόμους διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων πέντε εἰδεσιν θετεόν ἐν δυνώ γένεσιν.

ΚΛ. Τίσων τούτων;

ἈΘ. Τὸ μὲν διὰ βιαίων καὶ συμφανῶν πράξεων πρατόμενον ἐκάστοτε, τὸ δὲ μετὰ σκότους καὶ ἀπάτης λαθραίως γυγνόμενον, ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ δι' ἀμφότερον τούτων πραχθὲν· ὥς δὴ καὶ νόμοι πραχύτατοι γίγνοντο ἃν, εἰ τὸ προσήκον μέρος ἔχοιεν.

ΚΛ. Εἰκός γοῦν.

ἈΘ. 'Ἰωμεν δὴ τα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖσε ὑπόθεν ἐξεβημεν ἐν δεύορο, περαιοντες τὴν θέσιν τῶν νόμων. ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν κείμενα περὶ τῶν συλωτῶν, οἵματα, τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ περὶ προδοτών, ἐτι δὲ τῶν τοὺς νόμους διαφθειρόντων ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας. τούτων δὴ τις ἄν ἓσον πράξειν τι μανείς, ἡ νόσοις ἡ γῆρα ὑπερμέτρω συνεχόμενος, ἡ παιδία χρώμενος, οὑδὲν πώ τῶν τοιούτων διαφέρων· ὥν ἂν γίγνηται τι φανερὸν τοῖς ἐκλεκτεῖσιν ἐκάστοτε δικασταῖς, ἀναφέροντο τοῦ δράσαντος ἢ τοῦ σκηπτομένου ὑπὲρ τοῦ πονησαντος, κρῖθη δὲ ὡτω διατεθεὶς παρανομήσαι, τὴν μὲν βλάβην ἦν ἃν τινα καταβλάσῃ πάντως ἀπλὴν ἀποτυντινω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δικαιουμάτων ἀφείσθω, πλὴν ἂν ἄρα τωδ' ἀποκτείνας μὴ καθαρὸς ἤ τὰς χεῖρας φόνου· οὕτω δ' εἰς ἄλλην χώραν καὶ τόπον ἀπελθὼν οἰκεῖτω τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἐκδημοῦν, πρότερον δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῦ χρόνου δὴ νόμος ὀρισεν, ἢ καὶ πάσης ἐπιβάς τῆς οἰκείας χώρας, ἐν δημοσίῳ δεσμῷ δεθεὶς ὑπὸ
τῶν νομοφυλάκων δύο ἐνιαυτούς, οὕτως ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῶν δεσμῶν.

Φόνου δὴ καθάπερ ἡρξάμεθα, πειρώμεθα διὰ τέλους παντὸς εἴδους πέρι φόνου θείναι τοὺς νόμους, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ βίαια καὶ ἀκούσια λέγωμεν. Εἰ τις ἐν ἀγώνι καὶ ἀθλοῖς δημοσίους ἄκων, εἴτε παραχρήμα εἴτε καὶ ἐν ὅστεροι χρόνοις

5 ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν, ἀπέκτεινέν τινα φίλον, ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον ὁμαντως ἢ κατὰ μελέτην τὴν πρὸς πόλεμον, ποιουμένων ἀσκησιν [τῶν ἄρχοντων] ψυλοῖς σώμασιν ἢ μετὰ τινων ὄπλων

ἀπομμομενών τὴν πολεμικὴν πράξεως, καθαρθεῖς κατα τὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν κοιμισθέντα περὶ τούτων νόμον ἐστω καθαρὸς· ἵστατον δὲ πέρι πάντων, ὡν ὁ θεραπευόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀκόντων τελευτᾶ, καθαρὸς ἐστω κατα νόμον. ἦν δὲ αὐτόχειρ μὲν,

5 ἄκων δὲ ἀποκτείνῃ τις ἐτέρως ἐτερων, εἴτε τῷ ἐαυτῷ σώματι ψιλῷ εἴτε ὀργάνῳ ἢ βέλει ἡ πῶματος ἢ σίτου δόσει ἢ πυρὸς ἢ χειμάνως προσβολῇ ἢ στερήσει πνεύματος, αὐτὸς τῷ ἐαυτῷ σώματι ἢ δ’ ἐτέρως σωμάτων, πάντως ἐστω μὲν ὡς αὐτόχειρ, δίκας δὲ τινέως τὰς τοιάδες· ἦν μὲν δούλου κτείνῃ, νομίζων τὸν ἐαυτὸν διειργάσθαι τὸν τού τελευτήσαντος δεσπότην ἀβλαβῇ παρεχέται καὶ ζῆμιον, ἢ δίκην εἰς

tὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος υπεχέτω διπλῇ, τῆς δὲ ἄξιας οἱ δικασταὶ διάγνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, καθαρμοὶς δὲ χρήσασθαι μείζονι τε καὶ πλεούσι τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀθλα ἀποκτεινάντων,

tούτων δ’ ἐξηγητάς εἶναι κυρίους ὡς ἢν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέλης· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ δοῦλον, καθηράμενος ἀπαλλαττέσθω τοῦ φόνου κατὰ νόμον. ἦν δὲ τις ἐλευθερὸν ἄκων ἀποκτείνῃ, τοὺς

μὲν καθαρμοὺς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθαρθῆτω τῷ τὸν δοῦλον ἀποκτείναντι, παλαιῶν δὲ τινὰ τῶν ἄρχαιων μθῶν λεγόμενον μὴ ἀτμιαζέτω. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὁ θανατωθεὶς ἄρα βιαίως, ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ φρονήματι βεβιωκὼς, θυμοῦται τε τῷ ὁδότας νεοθῆς ὡν, καὶ φόβου καὶ δειματος ἁμα διὰ τὴν

βίαιον πάθην αὐτὸς πεπληρωμένοι, δρῶν τὸν ἐαυτὸν φονεά ἐν τοῖς ἡθείς τοῖς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ συνήθειας ἀναστρέφομεν, δειμαίνει, καὶ παραπτόμενος αὐτὸς ταράττει κατά δύναμιν

πᾶσαν τὸν ὁδότας, μὴ ἡμὴν σύμμαχον ἦχων, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτὸς. διὸ δὴ χρεών ἐστιν ἀρὰ ὑπεξελθεῖν τῷ παθόντι τὸν ὁδότας τὰς ὀράς πᾶσας τὸν ἐνιαυτὸ καὶ ἐρημώσατι πάντας τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους συμπάσχης τῆς πατρίδος· ἦν δὲ ἐξένοις ὁ τελευτήσας ἢ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐξένου

128
NOMΩΝ Θ

χώρας εἰργέσθω τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους. τοῦτω δὴ τῷ νόμῳ ἕαν μὲν ἐκῶν πείθηται τις, ὃ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γένει ἐγγύτατα, ἐπίσκοπος ὦν τούτων πάντων γενομένων, ἔχετω συγγνώμην τε καὶ ἄγων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην μέτρου ἄν εἰ ἐν αὐτῶν πάντως· ἕαν δὲ τις ἀπευθή καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκάθαρτος ὄν· εἰς τὰ ιερὰ τομά Πορευέθαι καὶ θυεῖν, ἐξει δὲ τοὺς χρόνους μὴ ἑθέλῃ πληροῦν ἀποξενούμενος τοὺς εἰρημένους, ὃ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γένει ἐγγύτατα ἑπέξειτο μὲν φόνον τῷ κτείναντι, διπλά δὲ πάντα ἐστώ τὰ τιμωρήματα τῷ ὀφλόντι. ἕαν δ' ὁ προσήκων ἐγγύτατα μὴ ἑπέξει τῷ παθήματι, τὸ μίσομα ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν περιεληλυθός, τοῦ παθόντος προστρεπομένου τὴν πάθην, ὃ Βουλόμενος ἑπέξελθὼν τοῦτω δίκῃ, πεντε ἐπὶ ἀποσυχέσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος ἀναγκαζέτω κατὰ νόμον. ἕαν δὲ ἔξειος ἀκών ἔξειον κτείνη τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἑπέξειτο μὲν ὁ Βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς νόμοις, μέτοικος δὲ ὡς ἀπεισυναγάγεται, ἔξειος δὲ ἐὰν Ἰ παντάπασιν, πρὸς τῷ καθαρμῷ, ἕαν τε ἔξειον ἔαν τε μέτοικον ἔαν τε ἀστόν κτείνη, τὸν βιοῦ ἀπαντά τῆς χώρας τῆς τῶν νόμων τῶν κυρίας εἰργέσθω· ἕαν δ' ἔλθῃ παρανόμως, οἱ νομοφύλακες θανάτω ζημιοῦντων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἕαν ἔχῃ ὑστάν τινά, τῷ τοῦ παθόντος ἐγγύτατα γένει παραδίδοντων. ἕαν δὲ ἄκων ἔλθῃ, ἢν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκτίπτη πρὸς τὴν χώραν, σκηνησάμενος ἐν βαλαττή τέγγως τοὺς πόδας πλοῦν ἐπιφυλαττέτω, κατὰ γὴν δὲ ἐὰν ἔμπρος τινὸς ἄρχῃ, ἡ πρώτη προστυχοῦσα ἀρχῆ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει λύσσα, εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐκπεμπτέω ἀσώλουν. ἕαν δ' ἄρα τις αὐτόχερι μὲν κτείνη ἐλεύθερον, θυμῷ δὲ ἢ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐκπραχθέν, διιχῇ δὲὶ πρῶτον τὸ τοιοῦτον διαλαβεῖν. θυμῷ γὰρ δὴ πέπρακται καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ ἂν εξαίφης μὲν καὶ ἀπροβολεύσως τοῦ ἀποκτείναι πληγαῖς ἦ τινι τοιοῦτω διαφθείρωσιν τινα παραχρήμα τῆς ὁμοίας γενομένης, μεταμελεία τε εὐθὺς τοῦ πεπραγμένου γίγνηται, θυμῷ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ προπληκισθέντες λόγους ἦ καὶ ἀτίμους ἐργοὺς, μεταδιώκοντες τὴν τιμωρίαν, ύστερον ἀποκτείναι τινα βουλθεύεται κτείναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἀμεταμέλητον γίγνηται. δυτῶς μὲν δὴ τοὺς φόνους, ὡς ἐοίκε, θετέον, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀμφότερον θυμῷ γεγονότας, μεταξὺ δὲ ποὺ τοῦ τε ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου δικαίωτατ' ἂν λεγομένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰκῶν ἐσθ' ἐκάτερος· ὃ μὲν τὸν θυμὸν φυλάττων καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήματι ἐξαλίφης ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐπιβουλῆς ύστερον χρόνῳ τιμορούμενος ἐκουσίως 866 a

867
εἴοικεν, δ' δὲ ἀταμενοῦτας ταῖς ὀργαῖς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα
eὐθὺς χρῶμενος ἀπροβολεύτως ὅμοιος μὲν ἄκουσιν, ἐστι
dὲ οὖν ὅτους αὐτοὶ παντάπασιν ἄκουσιοι ἄλλ' εἰκών ἄκου-
sιόν. διὸ χαλεποὶ διορίζειν οἱ τῷ θυμῷ πραξθέντες φόνοι,
pότερον ἐκουσίους αὐτοὺς ἢ τινας ὃς ἄκουσίοις νομοθετήτεν,
βελτιστον μὴν καὶ ἀληθέστατον εἰς εἰκόνα μὲν ἄμφω θείναι,
tεμείν δὲ αὐτῶ χαρᾶς τῇ ἐπιβολῆς καὶ ἀπροβολίᾳ, καὶ
tοις μὲν μετ' ἐπιβολῆς τε καὶ ὀργῇ κτέινασιν τοῖς τιμωρίας
χαλεπώτερας, τοῖς δὲ ἀπροβολεύτως τε καὶ ἔξαιρῃς πραο-
tέρας νομοθετεῖν· τὸ γὰρ εἰκὸς μείζονι κακῶ μειζόνως, τὸ
6' ἐλάττων τιμωρητέον ἐλαττώνως. ποιητέον δὴ καὶ τοῖς
ἡμετέροις νόμοις ὰυτω.

Κ.Α. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.
Α.Θ. Πάλιν ἐπανελθόντες τοῖς λέγωμεν· "Ἀν ἀρα τις
5 αὐτόχειρ μὲν κτείνῃ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ πεπραγμένου ἀπρο-
βολεύτως ὀργῇ τοις γένεται πραξθέν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, καθάπερ
ἀνεβ θυμοῦ κτείναντι προσήκειν τῷ πάσχειν, πασχέτω, δύο
δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐτῇ φευγέτω κολάζων τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν. δ' δὲ
θυμῷ μὲν, μετ' ἐπιβολῆς δὲ κτείνας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν
πρόσθεν αὐτῷ τρία δὲ ἐτῇ, καθάπερ ἄτερος ἐφευγεν τὰ δύο,
φευγέτω, μεγεθεὶς θυμοῦ πλείω τιμωρθεὶς χρόνων. καθόδου
δὲ πέρι τούτος ὃδε ἐστώ. χαλεπὸν μὲν ἀκριβῶς νομοθετεῖν.
5 ἔστι γὰρ ότε τούτοις ὁ τῷ νόμῳ ταχθείς χαλεπώτερος ἢμερω-
tερος ἂν, δ' ὁ ἡμερώτερος χαλεπώτερος ἂν ἐτῇ, καὶ τὰ περὶ
tὸν φόνον ἀγρωτέρων ἂν πράξειεν, δ' ὁ ἡμερώτερως· ὡς
dὲ τὸ πολὺ κατὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα συμβάινει γιγνόμενα.
tούτων οὖν πάντων ἐπιγνώμονας εἴναι χρὴ νομοθέταισι,
ἐπειδὼν δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἔλθῃ τῆς φυγῆς ἐκατέρω, πέμπειν αὐτῶν
δικαστάς δώδεκα ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χώρας, ἐσκεμμένους ἐν
5 τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τὰς τῶν φυγώντων πράξεις ἐτὶ σαφέστερον,
καὶ τῆς αἰδοῦς τε πέρι καὶ καταδοχῆς τούτων δικαστάς γι-
γνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς δικασθέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τουτών
όλα ἑρᾶ μιαίνη, ὁ βουλόμενος, τὸν τὴν ἐπιτρέποντα τῶν προσήκοντων τῷ τελευτήσαντι καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἰς δίκην καταστήσας, τὴν διπλασίαν χρημάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων ἀναγκαζότων πράττειν τε καὶ ἐκτίνευ, τὸ δὲ ἐκτείσα οὗτος αὐτῷ κομιζόθω κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἐὰν δὲ τις θυμῷ δοῦλος δεσπότην αὐτοῦ κτείνῃ, τοὺς προσήκοντας τοῦ τελευτήσαντος χρωμένους τῷ κτείναντι χρείαν ἢν ἄν ἐθέλωσιν, πλὴν μηδαμῇ μηδαμῷ ὑγιρόθνατας, καθαροὺς εἶναι· εὰν δὲ ἄλλος τοὺς δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἀποκτείνῃ θυμῷ, παραδιδόντων οἱ δεσπόται τὸν δοῦλον τοὺς προσήκουσι τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὲν θανατοσάντων τὸν δράσαντα, τρόπῳ δὲ ὅ ἄν ἐθέλωσιν. ἂν δ', ὁ γίγνεται μὲν, ὁλιγάκις δὲ, διὰ θυμὸν πατήρ ἡ μήτηρ ὄν ἡ θυγατέρα πληγαῖς ἢ τῶν τρόπων βιαίω κτείνῃ, καθάρεσις μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαίρεσθαι καὶ ἐναντούς τεῖς ἀπεναινεῖν, κατελθόντων δὲ τῶν κτεινῶν, ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γυναῖκα τε ἀπ’ ἄνδρος καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπὸ γυναικός, καὶ μὴ ποτ’ ἐτι κοινῇ παιδοποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ συνέστων ἣν ἐκγονον ἡ ἄδελφων ἀπεστηρήκη γίγνεσθαι ποτὲ μηδὲ κοινῶν ιερῶν· ὁ δὲ ἀσεβῶν τε περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπειθῶν ὑπὸδικος ἀσεβείας γιγνέσθω τῷ ἐθέλοντι. γυναῖκα δὲ γαμετήν ἐὰν ἄνηρ δι’ ὅργην κτείνῃ τυπά τις, ἢ γυνῆ ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα ταῦτων τοῦτο ὀσάυτως ἐργασθηκε, καθαίρεσθαι μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθαρμοὺς, τριτείς δὲ ἀπεναινεῖς διατελεῖν. κατελθὼν δὲ ὁ τὶ τοιοῦτον δρᾶσας, τοὺς αὐτοῦ παιοῦν ιερῶν μὴ κοινωνεῖτω μηδὲ ὁμοτράπεζος γιγνέσθω ποτὲ· ἀπειθῶν δὲ ὁ γεννητωρ ἢ ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἀσεβείας ἢ ὑπόδικος γιγνέσθω τῷ ἐθέλοντι. καὶ ἐὰν ἄδελφος ἄδελφων ἡ ἄδελφη, ἡ ἄδελφη ἄδελφον ἡ ἄδελφη θυμῷ κτείνῃ, τὰ μὲν τῶν καθαρμῶν καὶ ἀπεναινείσεων ὀσάυτως, καθάπερ εὑρίσται τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἰρήνηθω δεῖν γιγνέσθαι καὶ τοὐτοῖς—ἀν ἄδελφοὺς τε ἄδελφον καὶ γονέας ἐστήρηκη παῖδων, τοῦτοις δὲ συνεστως αὐτοῖς μηδέποτε γιγνέσθω μηδὲ κοινῶν ιερῶν—ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀπειθῇ, τῷ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἀσεβείας εἰρημένῳ νόμῳ ὑπόδικος ὀρθῶς ἄν γίγνοτο μετὰ δίκης. ἐὰν δ’ ἄρα τις εἰς τοιοῦτον ἀκρατὴς θυμὸν γίγνεται πρὸς τοὺς γεννησάντας, ὡστε μανίας ὀργῆς τῶν γεννητόρων τολμῆσαι κτείναι τινα, ἐὰν μὲν τὸ τελευτήσας πρὶν τελευτήσαι τὸν δράσαντα φόνον ἀφην ἐκόνων, καθάπερ οἱ τὸν ἁκουσίων φόνον ἐξεργασάμενοι καθαρθεῖς,
καὶ τὰλλα ὀσαπερ ἐκεῖνοι πράξας, καθαρὸς ἦστω, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ

άφη, πολλοὶς ἐνοχὸς ἦστω νόμοις οἱ δράσας τι τοιουτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αἰκίας δίκαιας ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἐνοχὸς ἂν γίγνοιτο καὶ ἀσεβείας ὁσαύτως καὶ ἱεροσύλας, τὴν τού γεννητοῦ ψυχῆν συλῆσας, ὥστε εἶπεν ὅλον τ' ἢν [τοῦ] πολλάκις ἀποθηκήσεων

τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸν πατροφόνον ἡ μητροκτόνον, ἐξεργασάμενον θυμῷ τούτῳ, δικαίωταν βανάτων πολλῶν ἢ τυγχάνειν. ὃ γὰρ μόνῳ ουδ' ἀμυνομένῳ βάνατον [μελλοντι ὅποι]

τῶν γονέων τελευτήσεθαί] παρεξεί νόμοις οὐδεὶς κτείνα τὸν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, τοὺς εἰς φῶς τὴν ἐκεῖνοι φύσιν ἀγαγότας, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα τὰ πάντα πάσχειν πρὶν τι δράν τοιουτον νομοθετήσει, πῶς τούτω δίκης γε ἄλλοις προσήκον τυγχάνειν

ἀν γίγνοιτο ἐν νόμῳ; κείσθω δὴ τῷ πατέρᾳ ἢ μητέρᾳ ἀποκτείναντι θυμῷ βάνατος ἢ ξημία. ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἀν ἀδελφὸν κτείνῃ ἐν στάσει μάχης γενομένης ἡ τινὶ τρόπῳ τοιουτῷ,

ἀμυνόμενοι ἀρχοντα θεραίων πρότερον, καθάπερ πολέμιον ἀποκτείνας ἐστώ καθαρός, καὶ εὰν πολίτης πολίτην, ὡσαυτῶς, ἢ ξένος ξένον. εὰν δὲ ἀστός ξένον ἢ ξένους ἀστόν ἀμυνόμενος κτείνῃ, κατὰ ταύτα ἐστὶ τοῦ καθαρότες εἶναι.

καὶ εὰν δοῦλος δοῦλον, ὡσαυτῶς· εὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐλεύθερον ἀμυνόμενοι ἀποκτείνη, καθάπερ ὁ κτείνας πατέρα, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνοχὸς ἐστὼ νόμοις. δ' ἐὰν περὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως εἰρηται φόνου πατρί, ταῦτον τοῦτο ἐστὶν περὶ ἀπάσης τῶν τοιουτῶν ἀφέσεως· εὰν ἀστισθον ὄτωσιν ἀφή τοῦτο ἕκων, ὡς ἄκουοι γεγονότος τοῦ φόνου, οὐ τε καθαροὶ γονεὶς ἀφίησαν τῷ δράσαντι καὶ ἐναιτός εἰς ἐστώ τῆς ἐκδήμας ἐν νόμῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ βιαία τε καὶ ἄκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸν θυμὸν γεγονόμενα περὶ φόνους μετρίως εἰρήσθω· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ κατ' ἀδικίαν πάσαν γεγονόμενα τοιουτῶν περὶ καὶ ἐπιβολῆς δι' ἤπτας ἤδονων τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίων καὶ φθόνων, ταῦτα μετ' ἐκείνα ἢ ἰδίων λεκτέων.

ΚΛ. Ὀρθῶς λέγεις.

10 ἌΘ. Πάλιν δὴ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν τοιουτῶν εἰς δύναμιν

870 εἰπὼμεν ὅποσα ἂν εἴη. τὸ μὲν δὴ μέγατον ἐπιθυμία κρατοῦσα ψυχῆς ἐγγραμμένης ὑπὸ πόθων· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν μάλιστα ἐνταῦθα οὗ πλειστὸς τε καὶ ῥυχρότατος ἱμεροῦς ὅν τυγχάνει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς ἀπλῆστον

καὶ ἀπείρου κτήσεως ἐρωταὶ μυρίους ἐντύκτουσα δύναμις διὰ φύσιν τε καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν τὴν κακῆν. τῆς δὲ ἀπαιδευσίας
η τοῦ κακῶς ἐπανείσθαι πλοῦτον αἵτια φήμη πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων· πρῶτον γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτὸ προκρίνοντες, τρίτον οὖν, τοὺς τῇ ἐπιγηγομένους λαβῶνται καὶ εαυτούς· τὸ γὰρ ἰληθὲς λέγεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πλοῦτον κατὰ πόλεις πάσας πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ ἀριστον, ὃς ἐνεκά σώματος ἐστὶ, καὶ σῶμα ψυχῆς ἐνεκά· ἀγαθῶν μὲν οὖν ἄντων ὁ ἐνεκά δ' πλοῦτος εἶναι πέφυκε, τρίτον ἀν εἰη μετὰ σώματος ἀρετὴν καὶ ψυχῆς. διδάσκαλος οὖν ἂν ὁ λόγος οὗτος γίγνοντο ὄσοι οὖ χρὴ πλουτεῖν ἐπεὶ τὸν εὐδαιμονὰς, ἀλλὰ δικαῖως πλουτεῖν καὶ σωφρόνους· καὶ φόνοι οὕτως οὐκ ἂν γίγνοντο ἐν πόλεσιν φόνοις δεόμενοι καθαρέσθαι. νῦν δὲ, ὅπερ ἀρχόμενοι τούτων εἴπομεν, ἐν μὲν τούτῳ ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστον ὁ ποιεῖ φόνον ἐκουσίον τὰς μεγίστας δίκας. δεύτερον δὲ φιλοτίμου ψυχῆς ἔξις, φθόνους ἐντίκτουσα, χαλεποῦς συνοικίως μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ κεκτημένῳ τὸν φόνον, δεύτερος δὲ τοῖς ἀριστοῖς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει· τρίτον δὲ οἱ δεῖλοι καὶ ἄδικοι φόβοι πολλοῦς δὴ φόνους εἰσὶν ἐξεργασμένοι, ὅταν ἡ τῶν πραττόμενα ἡ πεπραγμένα ἀ μηδένα βουλονται σφίσι συνειδεῖσαι γεγονότα· τοὺς οὖν τούτων μνημώς ἀναρθήσοι βαθάστοι, ὅταν ἀλλῷ μηδενὶ δύνανται τρόπῳ. τούτων δὴ πάντων πέρι προοίμια μὲν εἰρημένα ταῦτ' ἑστώ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὅν καὶ πολλοὶ λόγων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακότων ἀκούοντες σφόδρα πείδυονται, τὸ τῶν τοιούτων τῖσον ἐν Ἄιδον γίγνεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀφικομένοις δεύρῳ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν κατά φύσιν δίκην ἐκτείναι, τὴν τοῦ παθόντος ἀπερ αὐτὸς ἐδρασεν, ὅτι ἀλλὸ τοιαῦτή μοῖρα τελευτήσω τὸν τότε βίον. πειθομένῳ μὲν δὴ καὶ πάντως φοβουμένῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προοίμιος τὴν τοιαῦτη δίκην οὐδέν δεῖ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ νόμον ὑμεῖς, ἀπεθυώντε καὶ νομὸς ὅδε εἰρήσθω τῇ γραφῇ. Ὅσον ἂν ἐκ προοίμιας τε καὶ ἄδικως ὄντωναυτών τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτὸχερι κτείνη, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν νομίμων εἰργοῦσθαι, μήτε ἱερὰ μήτε ἄγοράν μήτε λαμένας μήτε ἀλλον κοινὸν σύλλογον μηδένα μιαίνων, εάν τε τὶς ἄπαγορεύῃ τῷ δράσαντι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἂν μή· ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἄπαγορεύει καὶ ἄπαγορεύων ὑπὲρ πᾶσης τῆς πόλεως ἀεὶ φαίνεται τε καὶ φανεῖται—δὲ μὴ ἐπεξείρων δέον, ἡ μή προαγορεύων εἰργοῦσθαι, τῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεψιτητοὺς, πρὸς ἄνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν προσήκων τῷ τελευτήσαντι, πρώτον μὲν τὸ μίασμα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν

133
πλατωνος

5 τῶν θεῶν ἔχθραν δέχοτο; ὡς ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἀρὰ τὴν φήμην προτρέπεται, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὑπόδικος τῷ ἐθέλοντι τιμωρεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γιγνέσθω. ο͜δ ἰδὲ ἐθέλων τιμωρεῖ, τῶν τε ἐπὶ τούτους λουτρῶν φυλακῆς πέρι καὶ ὀσῶν ἀν ἐτέρων ὁ θεὸς περὶ ταῦτα νόμμα παραδῷ, πάντα ἀποτελῶν, καὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν προαγορεύων, ὑτω ἀναγκάζων τὸν δράσαντα ὑπέχειν τὴν τῆς δίκης πράξεως κατὰ νόμον. ταῦτα δὲ ὄτι μὲν γίγνεσθαι χρεῶν ἐστι διὰ τῶν ἐπευχῶν καὶ θυσίων θεοῖς τισαὶ οἷς τῶν τοιούτων μέλει, φῶνοι μὴ γίγνεσθαι κατὰ πόλεις, ῥάδιον ἀποφαίνεσθαι νομοθέτῃ τίνες δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν τῆς εἰςαγωγῆς ὀρθότατα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἃν γιγνόμενος εἰς, νομοφύλακες μετ'

d ἤγιγνητῶν καὶ μάντεων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ νομοθετησάμενοι, τὰς δίκας εἰςαγόντων ταύτας. δικαστὰς δὲ αὐτῶν εἰναὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς οὕστε τοὺς τὰ ἱερὰ συλλογὰς διαδικάζων ἐρρήθη κυρίως: ο ὁ δὲ ὀφλῶν βανάτων ζημιούθω καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ τοῦ παθόντος χώρα ἀπατέσθω, ἀναίδειας ἕνεκα πρὸς τῷ ἀσβεσίν. φυγῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ 'θελήσας κρίσιν ὑποσχέσθω φευγέτω ἀει- φυγίαν· εὰς τῇ ἐπιβηθὶ τούτων τῆς τοῦ φονευθέντος χώρας, ὁ προστυχῶν πρῶτος τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἤ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἁνατὶ κτεινέτω, ἢ δήσας τοὺς ἄρχουσι τῶν τὴν δίκην κρινόντων κεῖναι παραδότων. δὲ ἐπισκη- πτόμενος ἡμια καὶ κατεγγυνᾶτο τὸν ἢ ἀν ἐπισκηπτήσει: δὲ παρεχέτω τοὺς ἐγγυντὰς ἀξίοχρεως, οὕς ἢ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δικαστῶν ἀρχὴ κρίνῃ, τρεῖς ἐγγυντὰς ἀξίοχρεως παρέξεων ἐγγυωμένους εἰς δίκην: εὰς τῇ μὴ θελήθη ἢ ἄδυνατή τις καθυστάναι, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβοῦσαν δήσασαν φυλάττειν καὶ παρέχειν εἰς τὴν κρίσιν τῆς δίκης. εὰς δὲ αὐτόχειρ μὲν μή, βουλεύσῃ δὲ δάνατόν τις ἄλλω ἐτέρω καὶ τῇ βουλήσει τε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι ἀποκτείνας αὐτίος ὄν καὶ μὴ καθαρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ φῶνον ἐν πόλει ἑνοίκη, γιγνέσθων καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ κρίσεις τοιωτῆς περὶ πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης, τῷ δὲ ὀφλῶντο γαθῆς τῆς οἰκείας ἐξέστω τυχεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτα ὡσαίτως τῷ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντι περὶ αὐτοῦ γιγνέσθω. τὰ αὕτα δὲ ἐστὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐξέστω τε πρὸς ξένους καὶ ἀστοῖς καὶ ξένους πρὸς ἄλλους, δουλοὺς τε αὐ πρὸς δούλους, τῆς τε αὐτοχείρας περὶ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσεως, πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης· ταῦτην δὲ, καθάπερ εἰρθηται τοὺς αὐτόχειρας κατεγγυάθαι, τὸν [δὲ] προαγορεύοντα τὸν
φόνον ἄμα κατεγνύν καὶ τοῦτον. ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἐκὼν, ἐπὶ αὐτόχειρ ἐπὶ βουλεύσας, ἀποκτείνη καὶ ὄψῃ τὴν δίκην, ὅ τις πόλεως κοῦνος δήμοις ἁγὼν πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ ἀποβαπὼτος, θεὶν ἃν ὅπα τὸν τύμβον, μαστιγώσας ὄποσας ἀν ὁ ἐλών προστάτη, ἐάντερ βιώ παιόμενος ὁ φονεύς, θανατώσατο. ἐὰν δὲ τις δοῦλον κτείνῃ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, φόβῳ δὲ μη μηνύτης αἰσχρῶν ἔργων καὶ κακῶν αὐτοῦ γίγνηται, ἦ τινος ἑνεκὰ ἄλλου τοιοῦτου, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ πολιτείᾳ κτείνῃ ὑπείχε φόνον δίκας, ὃςαῦτως καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον δοῦλον κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀποβαπὼτος ὄντως ὑπεχέτω.

'Εὰν δὲ δὴ γίγνηται ἐφ' οἴσι καὶ νομοθετεῖν δεινῷ καὶ οὐδαμῶς προσφιλές, μὴ νομοθετεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατον, συγγενῶν αὐτόχειρας φόνους ἢ δὴ ἐπιβουλεύσεως γενομένους, ἐκουσίους τε καὶ ἀδίκους πάντως, οὐ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ εἰς κακῶς οἰκουσίας καὶ τρεφομένους γίγνονται πόλεων, γένοιτο δ' ἂν ποῦ τι καὶ ἐν ἡ μὴ τις ἂν προσδοκήσειν χώρα, λέγειν μὲν δὴ χρεών αὐτὸν τὸν ἐμπροσθεὶς συμκρό ῥηθέντα λόγον, ἃν ἀρα τις ἁκοῦνον ἡμῶν οἰσὶ ἀποσχέσθαι γένηται μάλλον ἐκὼν διὰ τὰ τοιαύτα φόνων τῶν πάντη ἀνωσωτάτων. ὃ γὰρ δὴ μῦθος ἡ λόγος, ἢ ὅτι χρή προσαγορεύειν αὐτοῦ, ἐκ παλαιών εἰρήταται σαφῶς, ὥς ἡ τῶν συγγενῶν αἰμάτων τιμωρῶς Δίκη ἐπίσκοπος νόμω χρῆται τῷ νυνὶ δεξιόντες καὶ ἐταξεῖν ἄρα δράσαντι τι τοιοῦτον ποδεὶν ταῦτα ἀναγκαίως ἀπέρ ἔδρασεν· εἰ πατέρα ἀπέκτεινεν ποτὲ τις, αὐτῶν τοῦτο ὑπὸ τέκνων τολμήσανα βία πάροικα ἐν τις χρόνοις, κἂν ἴτανη μητέρα, γενέσθαι τε αὐτῶν θηλείας μετασχόντα φύσεως ἀναγκαίοις, γενόμενον τε ὑπὸ τῶν γεγονότων λυπεῖν τὸν βίον ἐν χρόνοις ὡστέρως· τοῦ γὰρ κοῦνοι μανθέντος αἰμάτως οὐκ εἶναι κάθαρον ἄλλην, οὐδὲ ἐκπλητοὶ ἐθέλειν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μανθένα πρὶν φόνον φόνῳ ὁμοίῳ ὄμοιον ἡ δράσασα ψυχὴ τείσθη καὶ πάσης τῆς συγγενείας τὸν θυμὸν ἀφιλασμανήν κομίσῃ. ταῦτα δὴ παρὰ θεῶν μὲν των φοβομένων τὰς τιμωρίας εἰργεσθαί χρῆ τὰς τοιαύτας, εἰ δὲ τινὰς ὄντως ἀθλία συμφορὰ καταλαβόν, ὥστε πατρὸς ἡ μητρὸς ἡ ἄδελφων ἡ τέκνων ἐκ προνοίων ἐκουσίως ψυχὴν τολμῆσαι ἀποστερέων σώματος, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ τητοῦ νομοθέτου νόμος ὁδὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων νομοθετεῖ. Προρρήσεις μὲν τὰς περὶ τῶν νομίμων εἰργεσθαί καὶ ἐγγύας τὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τοῖς ἐμπροσθεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ τὶς ὀφλή φόνου τοιοῦτον, τοῦτων κτείνας.
τινά, οί μὲν τῶν δικαστῶν ὑπηρέται καὶ ἀρχοντες ἀποκτεί-

5 νατες, εἰς τεταγμένην τρίοδον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλλόντων

γυμνόν, αἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖ πᾶσαι υπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, λίθον

ἐκαστὸς ἕρων, ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ βάλλων ἀφο-

σιοῦτω τὴν πόλιν ὄλην, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο εἰς τὰ τῆς χώρας

6 ὀρια φέροντες ἐκβαλλόντων τῷ νόμῳ ἄταφον.

Τὸν δὲ δὴ πάντων οἰκειότατον καὶ λεγόμενον βιλτατόν

ὁς ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ, τί χρῆ πάσχειν; λέγω δὲ ὅσ ἂν ἐαυτὸν

κτείνη, τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης βία ἀποστερῶν μοῦραν, μήτε

πόλεως ταξάσης δίκη, μήτε περιῳδύνω ἀφύκτων προσπεσοῦση

τύχη ἀναγκασθεὶς, μηδὲ αἰσχύνης των ἂποροὶ καὶ ἄβιον

μεταλαχῶν, ἀργία δὲ καὶ ἀναιδρίας δειλία ἐαυτῷ δίκην ἀδικὸν

ἐπιθῆ. τοῦτω δὴ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θεὸς οἴδεν ἃ χρῆ νόμιμα

γίγνεσθαι περὶ καθαρμοῦς τε καὶ ταφᾶς, ὡς ἐξηγηθᾶς τε

ἀμά καὶ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα νόμους ἐπανερμένους χρῆ τοὺς

ἐγγύτατα γένει πουεῖν αὐτοῦς κατὰ τὰ προστατόμενα:

5 τάφοις δὲ εἶναι τοῖς οὔτω φθαρεῖσι πρώτων μὲν κατὰ μόνας

μηδὲ μεθ’ ἕνος συντάφου, εἶτα ἐν τοῖς τῶν δώδεκα ὀρίουσι

μεροῦς τῶν ὅσα ἄργα καὶ ἀνώνυμα βάπτειν ἀκλείες αὐτοὺς,

μήτε στήλαις μήτε ὑμόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους.

e Ἐαν δ’ ἀρα ὑποζύγιον ἡ ζύον ἀλλο τῆ φονεύσθη τινά,

πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἐν ἀγώνι τῶν ἁγιοσις τιθεμένων ἀθλεύντα

ti τοιοῦτον δράση, ἑπεξίσωσαν μὲν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῦ φό-

νου τῷ κτειναντι, διαδικαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἀγρονόμων οἶσιν ἄν

καὶ ὅποσοι προστάξη ὁ προσήκων, τὸ δὲ ὀφλόν ἔξω τῶν

ὄρων τῆς χώρας ἀποκτείναντας διορίσαι. εὰν δὲ ἄψυχον

τι ψυχῆς ἄνθρωπων στερήσῃ, πλὴν ὅσα κεραυνὸς ἢ τι παρὰ

θεοῦ τοιοῦτον βέλος ἔνν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα τῶν προσ-

πεσοῦτος ἢ αὐτὸ ἐμπεσον κτεῖνη τινά, δικαστὴν μὲν αὐτῷ

καθιζέτω τῶν γειτόνων τῶν ἐγγύτατα ὁ προσήκων γένει,

ἀφοσιοῦμενος ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ύπὲρ τῆς συγγενείας ὅλης,

τὸ δὲ ὀφλόν ἐξορίζει, καθάπερ ἐρήμηθα τὸ τῶν ζώων γένος.

5 Ἐαν δὲ τεθνεύς μὲν αὐ τις φανὴ, ἀνηλος δὲ ὁ κτεῖναν

5 ἤ καὶ μὴ ἀμελῶς ἔπτοιμον ἀνεύρετος γίγνηται, τὸς μὲν

προρρήσεις τὰς αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις, προ-

αγορευέων δὲ τὸν φόνον τῷ δράσαντι, καὶ ἐπιδικασάμενον ἐν

b ἁγορὰ κηρύξει τῷ κτειναντι τὸν καὶ τὸν καὶ ὡφληκότι φόνου

μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἔρων μηδὲ ὅλης χώρας τῆς τοῦ παθοντος,

ὡς, ἃν φανὴ καὶ γνωσθῇ, ἀποθανοῦμενοι καὶ ἔξω τῆς τοῦ
παθόντος χώρας ἐκβληθησόμενον ἄταφον. οὗτος δὴ νόμος εἰς ἡμῖν ἔστω κύριος περὶ φόνου κείμενος.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέχρι τοῦτων οὕτως· ἂν δὲ ὁ κτείνας ἐξ' οίς τε ὅρθως ἂν καθαρὸς εὑρῇ, τάδε ἔστω. Νῦκτιωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσιόντα ἐπὶ κλοπῆς χρημάτων ἐκέλαν κτείνην, καθαρὸς ἔστω· καὶ ἐὰν ἐπισκοπήν ἀμύνομεν ἀποκτείνῃ, καθαρὸς ἔστω· καὶ ἐὰν ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα βιάζῃ τις ἡ παίδα περὶ τὰ ἁφροδισία, νηπίου τεθνάτω ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑβρισθέντος βία καὶ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἡ ἀδελφῶν ἡ ἴδρυ· ἐὰν τε ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυχῃ γαμετῇ γυναικείᾳ βιαζομένη, κτείνας τὸν βιαζομένον ἔστω καθαρὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ· καὶ ἐὰν τις πατρὶ βοηθῶν θάνατον, μηδὲν ἁνόσον δρώντι, κτείνῃ τυά, ἡ μητρὶ ἡ τέκνου ἡ ἀδελφοὶς ἡ συγγεννήτορι τέκνων, πάντως καثαρὸς ἔστω.

Τὰ μὲν τοῖνυν περὶ τροφῆν τε ζώσης ψυχῆς καὶ παιδείαν, ἄν αὐτῇ τυχόνῃ μὲν βιωτόν, ἀντυχγόιη δὲ τούναντιν, καὶ περὶ θανάτων τῶν βιαίων ἃς δὲ τιμωρίας γίγνεσθαι, νενομοθετήσων· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων τροφῆν μὲν καὶ παιδείαν εὑρήσω, τὸ δ' ἐχόμενον τούτων, αἴ βίαιν πράξεις υπ' ἄλληλον ἀκούσιοι τε καὶ ἐκούσιοι γιγνόμεναι διοριστέων ἐς δύναμιν αἱ τε εἰσον καὶ ὅσαι, καὶ ὅτι ἄν τυγχάνουσαι τιμωρήσεων τὸ πρόσφορον ἔχοιεν ἄν ἐκασται, ταῦτα μετ' ἐκείνα, ὡς ἐσοχεν, ὅρθως ἂν νομοθετοῖτο.

Τραύματα δὴ καὶ πηρώσεις ἑκ τραυμάτων τὰ γε δεύτερα μετὰ θανάτους καὶ δ' ἐγκάλητασ αἰν τάξειεν τῶν ἐπὶ νόμου τρεπομένων. τὰ δὴ τραύματα, καθαπὲρ οἱ φόνοι διήρηστο, διαιρετέον, τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια, τὰ δὲ θυμῷ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὀπόσα ἐκ προνοιας ἐκούσια συμβαίνει γιγνόμεναι προρητέον δὴ τι περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων τούτωδε, ὡς ἄρα νόμους ἄνθρωπος ἀναγκάζει τίθεσθαι καὶ ζην κατὰ νόμους ἡ μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῶν πάντη ἀγρυπτάτων θηρίων. ἡ δὲ αὐτία τούτων ἢδε, ὅτι φύσεις ἄνθρωπων οὐδένὸς ἰκανῆ φύσει ὡστε γνώναι τε τὰ συμβέροντα ἄνθρώποις εἰς πολυτείαν καὶ γνούσα, τὸ βέλτιστον ἂεὶ δύνασθαι τε καὶ ἐθέλειν πράττειν. γνώναι μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον χαλεπον ὅτι πολιτικῆ καὶ ἀληθεί 5 τέχνη οὗ τὸ ἱδιον ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνάγκη μέλειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνδεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἱδιον διασπὰ τὰς πόλεις· καὶ ὅτι συμφέρει τῷ κοινῷ τε καὶ ἱδίῳ, τοῖν ἄμφοι, ἢν τὸ κοινὸν τιθῆται καλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἱδίον· δεύτερον δὲ, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ 137
τὸ γνώναι τις ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτω πέφυκεν λάβῃ ἰκανῶς ἐν τέχνῃ, μετά δὲ τοῦτο ἀνυπεύθυνος τε καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἀρξὴ πόλεως, οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύνατο ἐμεῖναι τούτω τῷ δόγματι καὶ διαβιώναι τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ἡγούμενον τρέφων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὸ δὲ ἰδίων ἐπόμενον τῷ κοινῷ, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαι καὶ ἱδιοπραγίαν ἡ θνητή φύσις αὐτῶν ὀρμήσει ἀεὶ, φεύγουσα μὲν ἀλόγως τὴν λύπην, διώκουσα δὲ τὴν ὁδονήν, τοῦ δὲ δικαιοσέρους καὶ αμείνονος ἐπιτροποθέν ἄμφω τοῦτῳ προστήσεται, καὶ σκότος ἀπεργαζομένη ἐν αὐτῇ πάντων κακῶν ἐμπλήσει πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτῆ τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀλην. ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἰ ποτὲ τις ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἰκανὸς θεία μοίρα γεννηθεὶς παραλαβεῖν δυνάτος εῦθη, νόμων οὐδὲν ἂν δόσοτε τῶν αρξόντων ἐαυτοῦ· ἐπιστήμης γὰρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε τάξεις οὐδεμία κρεῖττων, οὐδὲ θέμις ἐστὶν νοῦν οὐδενὸς ὑπῆκοον οὐδὲ δοῦλον ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀρχοντα εἶναι, ἐάντερ ἀληθάνες ἐλευθερός τε ὅντως ἢ κατὰ φύσιν. νῦν δὲ οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐδαμοῦ οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ’ ἢ κατὰ βραχίου. διό δῆ τὸ δεύτερον αἱρετέον, τάξιν τε καὶ νόμον, ἂ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὅρα καὶ βλέπει, τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀδυνατεῖ. ταῦτα δὴ τῶν δε εἶνεκα εὑρίσκει· νῦν ἡμεῖς τάξιμεν τὸ χρὴ τὸν τρόπον ἢ τι βλαφιστάνῃ ἐφετερον ἀλλὸν παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν. πρόχειρον δὴ παντὶ περὶ παντὸς ὑπολαβεῖν ὀρθῶς, "Τὸν τι τρώσαντα ἢ τίνα ἢ πώς ἢ ποτέ λέγεις; μυρία γὰρ ἐκαστά ἐστι τούτων καὶ πάμπολυ διαφέροντα ἄλλης τοις ἵλην". ταῦτ’ οὐν δὴ δικαστήριος ἐπιτρέπειν κρίνειν πάντα ἢ μηδὲν ἀδύνατον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ πάντων ἀναγκαῖον ἐπιτρέπειν κρίναι, τὸ πότερον ἐγένετο ἢ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐκαστὸν τούτων των πολεμοθέτησαι σιμερῶν καὶ μεγάλων, σχεδὸν ἀδύνατον. Τὰς οὖν ὃ μετὰ τούτον λόγοις. "Οδε, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐπιτρέπτεον δικαστήριος, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπτεον, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ νομοθετηχείν.

ΚΑ. Πολά δὴ νομοθετητέον τε καὶ πολὰ ἀποδοτέον κρίνειν τοῖς δικαστήριοις;

ἈΘ. Τάδε δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρθότατ’ ἂν ἐπείν εὖ, ὡς ἐν πόλει ἐν ἢ δικαστήρια φαῦλα καὶ ἄφωνα, κλέπτοντα τὰς αὐτῶν δόξας, κρύβδην τὰς κρίσεις διαδικάζει καὶ, ὅ τούτον δεινότερον, ὅταν μηδὲ σιγώντα ἀλλὰ ὁρυβού μεστὰ καθάπερ
θέατρα ἐπαινοῦντα τε βοή καὶ φέγγοντα τῶν ῥητόρων ἐκάτερον ἐν μέρει κρίνῃ, χαλεπὸν τότε πάθος ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι φιλεί. τοῖς οὖν ἃ δὴ τοιούτως δικαστήριοι νομοθετεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνάγκης ληφθέντα ὡκί εὐτυχὲς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰλημμένοι ὅτι περὶ σιμπρότατα ἐπιτρεπτέον αὐτοῖς τάττειν τὰς ἑμίας, τὰ δὲ πλείστα αὐτῶν νομοθετεῖν διαρρήξῃ, ἅν τις ἁρα τοιαύτη πολυτεία νομοθετή ποτε· ἐν ἃ δὲ ἂν πόλει δικαστήρια εἰς δύναμιν ὅρθως καθεστώτα ἃ, τραφέντων τε ἐν τῶν μελλόντων δικαίων δοκιμασθέντων τε διὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας, ἐνταῦθα ὅρθων καὶ ἔχουν εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὸ πολλὰ ἐπιτρέπειν κρίνειν τοῖς τοιούτως δικασταῖς τῶν ὀφλόντων πέρι, τὴν χρή πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀποτίνες. ἡμῖν δὴ τὰ νῦν ἀνεμέσθην τὸ μὴ νομοθετεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πλείστα, ἅ καὶ φαυλότερως ἂν πεπαιδευμένοι δικασταὶ δύναμτο κατείδειν καὶ προσόπαις ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὴν ἄξιαν τοῦ πάθους τε καὶ πράξεως· ἔπειδή δὲ ὅ ημεῖς νομοθετοῦμεν, ὡνή ἥκιστα ἐμμελείς αὐτοὺς οἴομεθ' ἂν τῶν τοιούτων γίγνεσθαι κριτᾶς, ἐπιτρεπτέον δὴ τὰ πλείστα. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὅπερ πολλάκις εἰπομένε τε καὶ ἐδράσαμεν εν τῇ τῶν ἐμπρόσθεν νομοθετῆσαι νόμων, τὸ περιγραφῆν τε καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν τιμωρίων εἰπόντας δοῦναι τὰ παραδείγματα τοῖς δικαστάς τοῦ μὴποτε βαῖνεν ἔξω τῆς δίκης, τότε τῇ ὅρθοτατα ἔχουν καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο αὐτὸ ποιητέον, ἐπανελθόντα ἦδη πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους. ἥ δὴ γραφὴ περὶ τραύματος ὄδε ἡμῖν κείσθω· Ἐὰν τις διανοηθεῖς τῇ βουλήσει κτείναι τινα φίλον, πλήν δὲν ο νόμος ἐφίησαν, τρώσῃ μὲν, ἀποκεντα ἄδυνατή, τὸν διανοηθέντα τε καὶ τρώσαντα οὐτως οὐκ ἄξιον ἔλεειν, οὔδε αἰδοῦμεν άλλως ἢ καθάπερ ἀποκενταντα ὑπέχειν τὴν δίκην φόνου ἀναγκάζειν· τὴν δὲ οὐ παυτάσαι κακὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ σεβόμενον καὶ τὸν δαίμονα, δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν τρωθέντα ἔλεεςας ἀπότροπος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο μὴ τῷ μὲν ἀνίατον ἐλκος γενέσθαι, τῷ δὲ ἐσπάρατον τύχην καὶ συμφοράν, τοῦτῳ δὴ χάριν τῷ δαίμονι διδόντα καὶ μὴ ἐναντιο μένον, τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἀφελεῖν τῷ τρώσαντος, μετάστασιν δὲ εἰς τὴν γείτονα πόλιν αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι διὰ βίου, καρποῦ μεν ἀπασάν τὴν αὐτοῦ κτήσιν. βλάβοι δὲ, ἐι κατέβλαψεν τὸν τρωθέντα, ἐκτίνευ τῷ βλαβθέντι, τιμᾶν δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅπερ ἄν τὴν δίκην κρίνῃ, κρίνειν δὲ οὔτε ἄν τοῦ φόνου ἐδικασάν εἰ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκ τῆς πληγής τοῦ τραύματος.
γονέας δ' ἂν παῖς ἢ δούλος δεσπότην ὡσαύτως ἐκ προνοίας
tρώσης, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν· καὶ ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν
ἡ ἀδελφὴν ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν ἡ ἡμᾶς τρώσης,
καὶ ὃφη τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν.
γυνὴ δὲ ἄνδρα ἑαυτῆς ἢ ἐπιβουλής τοῦ ἀποκτείνα τρώσασα,
ἡ ἄνηρ τὴν ἐαυτὸν γυναίκα, φευγέτω ἁεφυγίαν· τὴν δὲ
κτήσει, ἕως μὲν ὑπ' ἢ θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ ὅσων παιδεῖ ἐτί,
τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ ὡς ὀρφανοὶ τῶν παιδῶν
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ἕν τε ἄνδρες ἡδῆς, ἐπαναγκᾶς ἐστω τρέφεσθαι
τὸν φεύγοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκγόνων, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦς
κεκτήσαν· ἀπαίς δὲ ὡστις ἂν τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς περι-
πέσῃ, τοὺς συγγενεῖς συνελθόντας μέχρι ἀνεμίων παιδῶν τοῦ
πεφευγότος ἄμφοτέρως, πρὸς τε ἄνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν,
κληρονόμων εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον τῇ πόλει τετταρακοντα-
pεντακισχιλιοστὸν καταστήσας βουλευομένους μετὰ νομο-
5
φυλάκων καὶ ἱερῶν, διανοηθέντας τρόπῳ καὶ λόγῳ τούτῳ,
ὅς οὐδές οἷκος τῶν τετταρακοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίων τοῦ
ἐνοικοῦντός ἐστιν οὐδὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ γένους οὕτως ὡς τῆς
πόλεως δημοσίως τε καὶ ἰδίως· δεὶ δὴ τὴν γε πόλιν τοῦ
e
αὐτῆς οἴκους ως ὀσιωτάτους τε καὶ εὐτυχεστάτους κεκτήσαι
κατὰ δύναμιν. ὅταν οὖν τις ἁμα δυστυχήθη καὶ ἀσέβθηθη
τῶν οἴκων, ὅτε τῶν κεκτημένων ἐν αὐτῷ παιδας μὲν ἡ
καταλιπεῖν, ἢθεον δὲ ἢ καὶ γεγαμηκότα ἀπαιδα τελευτῆσαι
5
φόνον ὀφλόντα ἐκοινοίου ἢ τινος ἀμαρτήματος ἄλλου τῶν
περὶ θεοῦ ἢ πολίτας ἢν ἂν θάνατος ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ζημία
diαρρήθην ἢ κεμένη, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἁεφυγία τῆς φεύγη τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἀπαις, τοῦτον πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασαι καὶ ἀπο-
dιοιστιμησασθαι τὸν οἶκον χρεών ἐστω κατὰ νόμον, ἐπειτα
878
συνελθόντας, καθάπερ εἴπομεν νυνὶ, τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἢμα
νομοφύλαξιν σκέψασθαι γένος ὁπιτερ ἢ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
εὐδοκιμώτατον πρὸς ἅρητην καὶ ἀμα εὐτυχὼς, έν ὑν
παιδεῖ γεγονότες ὅσων πλείους, οθ' ἔνα τῷ τοῦ τελευτήσαστος πατρί
καὶ τοὺς ἀνα τοῦ γένους ὅν ἐκείνων εἰσποιούτας, φήμης
ἐνεκα ἐπονομάζοντας, γεννητόρα τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱεροῦχοι καὶ
θεραπευτὴν οδίων τε καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπὶ ἀμείνους τύχαις γίγνεσθαι
tοῦ πατρὸς τοῦτο τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπεύξαμένους, αὐτὸν κληρονόμον
b καταστήσαι κατὰ νόμον, τοῦ δ' ἐξαμαρτόντα ἀνώνυμον ἐαν
καὶ ἀπαιδα καὶ ἁμορφων κεῖσθαι, ὅποταν αὐτὸν καταλάβωσαι
αἱ τοιαύται συμφοραί.
"Εστιν δὲ οὐ πάντων, ὡς ἔσκε, τῶν ὄντων ὅρος ὅρφι προσμενενύσει, ἀλλ᾽ ὁς ἔστιν μεθόριον, τοῦτο [ἐν μέσῳ ὅρφι] πρὸ τερον ἐκατέρρῳ προσβάλλει γίγνοιτί ἄν ἁμόφοιν μεταξύ. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀκουσιν τε καὶ ἐκουσίων τὸ θυμῷ γίγνομεν ἡμαῖν εἶναι τοὐτούτων. τραυμάτων οὖν ἐστὶν τῶν ὅρφην γενομένων. Ἐὰν ὥθητι τις, πρῶτον μὲν τίνες τοῦ βλάβου την δυσλαίαν, ἂν τὸ τραύμα ἰάσμον ἀποθῆ, τῶν δὲ ἀνιάτων τὴν τετραπλασίαν. ἐὰν δὲ ἱάσμιν μὲν, ὀσίχυρα δὲ μεγάλην τὴν προσβάλη τῷ τρωθεῖν καὶ ἐπονείδιστον, τὴν τριπλασίαν ἐκτίνεω. ὅσα δὲ τις τρώσας τινὰ μὴ μόνον βλάπτῃ τὸν παθόντα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, πούσις ἀδύνατον τῇ πατρίδι πρὸς πολεμίους βοηθεῖν, τοῦτον δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἱμηνεύμεν ἐκτίνεω καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν βλάβην. πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς αὐτοῦ στρατεύσεις καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνατοῦντος στρατεύσεως καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμικὰς τάττεσθω τάξεις, ἡ μὴ ὁρῶν ταῦτα ὑπόδικος τῷ ἐθέλουν τῆς ἀστρατείας γυνεῖσθω κατὰ νόμον. τὴν δὲ δὴ τῆς βλάβης ἀξίων, εὑτε διπλῆν εὑτε τριπλῆν εὑτε καὶ τετραπλασίαν, οἱ καταφικμᾶμεοι δικασταὶ ταπαστόντων, ἐὰν δὲ ὅμογονος ὅμογονον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τούτω τρώσῃ, τοὺς γεννήτας καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς μὲχρι ἀνεφίων παῖδων πρὸς γυναίκας καὶ ἀνδρῶν, γυναῖκας τε καὶ ἀνδρὰς συνελθόντας, κρίναντας παραδιδόναι τιμᾶν τοῖς γεννήσασι κατὰ φύσιν. ἐὰν δὲ ἄμφισβητήσεμος ἡ τίμιος γίγνεται, τοὺς πρὸς ἀνδρῶν εἶναι τιμῶντας κυρίως, ἐὰν δὲ ἀδυνατῶσιν αὐτοῖς, τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν τελευτώντας ἐπιτρέπεται. εὐγόνοις δὲ πρὸς γονέας εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων τραυμάτων δικαστὰς μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἐτη γεγονότας ἐπάναγκης, οἷς ἂν παῖδες μὴ ποιητοί, ἀληθεῦσι δὲ, ὡς, ἃν δὲ τοὺς ὥθησι, τιμᾶν εἰ τεθανάσαν χρή τὸν τοιούτον εὑτε τὶ μείζον ἐτερον τούτου πάσχειν ἡ καὶ μὴ πολλῷ σμικρότερον καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ δράσαντος μηδένα δικάζειν, μηδ᾽ ἐὰν γεγονός ἢ τῶν χρόνον ὅσον ὁ νόμος εὐρήκει. δούλος δ᾽ ἐὰν τις ἐλευθερὸν ὁρῇ τρώσῃ, παραδότω τὸν δούλου ὁ κεκτημένος τῷ τρωθεῖν χρῆσθαι ὅτι ἂν ἐβήλη. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραδίδω, αὐτοῖς τὴν βλάβην ἐξιάσθω. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ συνθήκης αἰτιάται τὸν δούλου καὶ τῷ τρωθεῖν τοῦ, μηχανήν εἴναι τὸ γεγονός, ἀμφισβήτησάτω. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐλη, τριπλασίαν ἐκτευσάτω τὴν βλάβην, ἐλον δὲ, ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ὑπόδικον ἐχέτω τὸν τεχνάζοντα μετὰ τοῦ δούλου. ὅσ δ᾽ ἐὰν ἄκων ἄλλος ἄλλου τρώσῃ.
τὸ βλάβος ἀπλοῦν ἀποτινετῶ—τύχης γὰρ νομοθέτης οὐδεὶς ἰκανὸς ἄρχειν—δικασταὶ δὲ ὄντων οἷπερ τοὺς ἐκγύνοις πρὸς τοὺς γεννήτορας ἐρρήθησαν, καὶ τιμώντων τὴν ἄξιαν τῆς βλάβης.

Βίαια μὲν ὅτι πάνθ’ ἦμῖν τὰ προειρημένα πάθη, βίαιον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰκίας πάν γένος. ὡδε οὖν ἥρη περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντα αὐτὰ καὶ παῖδα καὶ γυναῖκα ἄει διανοεῖσθαι, τὸ πρεσβύτερον ὡς οὐ σμικρῷ τοῦ νεατέρου ἐστὶ πρεβευόμενον ἐν τέλει γενομένη ὑπὸ νεατέρον ἰδεῖν αἰώναρα καὶ θεομεῖαν· ἔοικεν δὲ νέω παντὶ ὑπὸ γέρους πληγέντι μαθύμως ὁργῆν ὑποφέρειν, αὐτῷ τιθεμένω τιμήν τούτῃ εἰς γῆρας. ὥδε οὖν ἔστω. Πάς ἦμῖν αἰδεύσθω τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἔργῳ τε καὶ ἔτει: τὸν δὲ προέχοντα εἰκοσιδίκης ἦλκιὰς ἔτειоν, ἀρρενα ἦ θῆλυν, νομίζων ὡς πατέρα ἡ μητέρα διενιθάβεισθαι, καὶ πάσης τῆς δυνατῆς ἦλκιάς αὐτὸν φιτύσαι καὶ τεκεῖν ἀπέχοτο ἀεὶ θεῶν γενεθλίων χάριν. ὡς δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ ξένου ἀπείρουτο εἴτε πάλαι ἐνοικοῦσας εἴτε νεόλυθος ἄφιγμενον· μήτη γὰρ ὑπάρχων μήτε ἀμυνόμενος τὸ παράπαν τολμᾶτω

πληγαίς τὸν τοιούτον νουθετεῖν. ξένων δὲ ἂν ἀσελγαίνοντα καὶ θρασυνόμενον ἐαυτὸν τῦπτοντα ὑπῆται δεῖν κολασθῆναι, λαβὼν πρὸς τὴν ἄρχην τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀπαγέτω, τοῦ τύπτειν δὲ εἰργέσθω, ἢν πόρρω γίγνηται τοῦ τοῦ ἐπιχώριον ἄν τολμήσαι ποτε πατάξαι· οἱ δ’ ἀστυνόμοι παραλαβόντες τε καὶ ἀνακράντες, τὸν ἦνικον αὐθεν εὐλαβοῦμενι, ἐὰν ἄρα ἄδικως δοκῇ ο ξένων τὸν ἐπιχώριον τῦπτειν, τῇ μάστιγι τὸν ἦνιν ὅσος ἂν αὐτὸς πατάξῃ τοσαῦτα δόντες, τῆς θρασύνειας

παυόντων· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἄδικῇ, ἀπειλήσαντές τε καὶ οὐνεῖδώντες τῷ ἀπαγαγόντι μεθεντῶν ἄμφω. ἤλιξ δ’ ἦλκικα καὶ ἐκάστῳ ἐπικοινωνοῦσα ἂν τῷ προεχόμενῳ ἠλκική ἐαυτόῦ ἐὰν τῷ πρόπτῃ, γέρων τοις γέρωντα καὶ ἐὰν νέος νέον, ἀμυνότως κατὰ φύσιν ἄνευ βέλους ὑπαίτης ταῖς χερσί· οδ’ ὃ υπερ τεττάρακοντα γεγονὼς ἐτή ἐὰν τολμᾶ τῷ μάχεσθαι, εἴτε ἄρχων εἴτε ἀμυνόμενος, ἄγροικοι καὶ ἀνέλευθεροι νὰ λεγόμενοι ἀνδραποδώδης τῇ δίκῃ ἂν ἐπονειδίστων τυγχάνων τὸ πρέπον ἔχοι. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν τοιούτους παραμυθλίους εὐπεθῆς γίγνεται, εὐνόμως ἂν εἴη· ὃ δὲ ἄσπεθῆς καὶ μηδὲν προομίου φροντίζων δέχοιτ’ ἂν τὸν τούδε

ἐτοίμως νόμον. Ἐὰν τις τῷ πρήμεν εἰκοσι
Νόμοι δὲ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ μὲν τῶν ἥρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνεκα γίγνονται, διδαχὴς χάριν τοῦ τῶν τρόπων ὀμιλοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἀν ἰλοφρόνους οἴκοιεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν τὴν παιδείαν διαφυγόντων, ἀτέραμοι χρωμένων τινὶ φύσει καὶ μηδὲν τεχνήλατον ὦστε μη ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἰέναι κάκην. οὕτως τοίς μὲν μάλλοντας λόγους ρήθησθαι πεποιηκότες ἂν εἶην· οὗ δὴ τοὺς νόμους ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ νομοθέτης ἄν νομοθετοῖ, βουλόμενος αὐτῶν μηδέποτε χρείαν γίγνεσθαι. πατρὸς γὰρ ἢ μητρὸς ἡ τοῦτων ἐτὶ προγόνων ὡστὶς τολμήσει ἀφασθαί ποτε βιαζόμενος αἰκία τινὶ, μῆτε τῶν ἀνώ δεῖσας θεῶν μήν μήτε τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς τιμωρῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ ὡς εἶδος ἡ μηδαμῶς οἶδεν, καταφρονῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων εἰρημένων, παρανομεῖ, τοῦτω δεὶ τῶν ἀποτροπῆς ἔσχατης. θάνατος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔσχατον, οἱ δὲ ἐν "Ἀδιόν τοῦτοι λεγόμενοι πάνω ἐτὶ τοῦτον εἰσὶ μᾶλλον ἐν ἑξάκτως, καὶ ἀληθεστατα λέγοντες οὐδὲν ἀνύτουσι ταῖς τοιαύταις ψυχαῖς ἀποτροπῆς—οὗ γὰρ ἂν ἐγγύνοντο ποτε μητραλοιάν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεννητόρων ἀνόσιοι πληγῶν τόλμαι—δεὶ δὴ τὰς ἐνθάδε
πλατωνος

b κολάσεις περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα τούτους τὰς ἐν τῷ ξῆν μηδὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀιδοὺ λειτεσθαί κατὰ δύναμιν. ἦστω δὴ λεγόμενον τὸ μετὰ τούτο τῇδε. "Οσ ἂν τολμήῃ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ τούτων πατέρας ἢ μητέρας τύπτειν μὴ μανίας ἐχόμενος, πρῶτον μὲν
5 ὁ προστυχάνων καθάπερ εἰς τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν θεὶτεύτω, καὶ ὁ μὲν μέτοικος [ἡ] ἕνος εἰς προεδρίαν τῶν ἀγώνων καλεῖσθω βοήθουν, μὴ βοηθήσας δὲ ἀειφυγίαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φευγέτω.
c ὁ δὲ μὴ μέτοικος βοηθῶν μὲν ἐπανοῦν ἐχέτω, μὴ βοηθῶν δὲ, ψόγων. δοῦλος δὲ βοηθήσας μὲν ἐλεύθερος γυνέσθω, μὴ βοηθήσας δὲ πληγᾶς ἐκατόν τῇ μάστιγι τυπτεύθω, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ἂν γίγνηται τὸ γενόμενον, ὡπ' ἀγορανόμων, εἶν δὲ ἐκτὸς
5 ἀγορᾶς ἐν ἄστει, τῶν ἀστυνόμων κολάζειν τὸν ἐπιδημοῦντα, ἐὰν δὲ κατ' ἀγρούς τῆς χώρας που, τούς τῶν ἀγορόμων ἀρχοντας. ἐὰν δ' ἐπιχώριος ὁ παρατυχάνων ἢ τύσ, ἐὰν τε
παῖς ἐὰν τε ἀνήρ ἐὰν τ' οὖν γυνὴ, ἀμυνέτω πάς τὸν ἀνόσον ἐπονομάζεων' ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀμόνων ἀρὰ ἐνεχέσθω Δίος ὁμογίνου καὶ πατρόμων κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δὲ τις ὀφλη δίκην αἰκίας
gονέων, πρῶτον μὲν φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν ἐξ ἄστεος εἰς τὴν
5 ἀλλήν χώραν καὶ πάντων ἱερῶν εἰργέσθω. μὴ δὲ εἰργομένων
cολαζόντων αὐτοῦ ἀγορόμου πληγαῖς καὶ πάντως ὡς ἂν ἠθέλωσαν, κατελθὼν δὲ θανάτῳ ἥμισυθω. ἐὰν δὲ τις
τῷ τοιούτῳ, ὅσι ἐλεύθερος, συμβαίγῃ ἡ συμπί η τίνα
tοιαύτην ἀλλήν κοινωνίαν κοινωνίσῃ, ἡ καὶ μόνον ἐντυγχάνων που προσάπτηται ἑκόν, μήτε εἰς ἱερῶν ἔλθῃ μηδὲν
μήτ' εἰς ἄγοραν μηδ' εἰς πόλιν ὅλως πρότερον ἡ καθήρται, νομίζων, ἐκκοινωνίσκεται ἀληθινῶς τῆς γης. ἐὰν
d' ἂν ἀπεθάνων νόμῳ ἱερὰ καὶ πόλιν μιαίνη παρανόμως, ὡς ἂν
5 τῶν ἀρχόντων αἰσθόμενον μὴ ἐπάγη δίκην τῷ τοιούτῳ, ἐν εὐθύναις ἔστω τῶν κατηγορήματῶν τῶν μεγίστων

882 ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῷ. ἐὰν δὲ αὐτός τὸπτη τὸν ἐλεύθερον, ἐϊτ' οὖν ἕνοι εἴτε ἄστον, βοηθεῖτω μὲν ὁ προστυχάνων
η κατὰ τὸ τίμημα τῆς εἰρημένης ζημίας ἀποτινετώ, συνδίσκεται δὲ οἷς προστυχάνοντες μετὰ τοῦ πληγέντος
b παραδόντων τῷ ἀδικομένῳ. ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν, δῆσας ἐν
5 πέδαις καὶ μαστιγώσας ὅποσα ἂν ἠθέλη, μηδὲν βλάπτων
τοῦ δεσπότην, παραδότω ἐκεῖνῳ κεκτήσαι κατὰ νόμον.
ο δὲ νόμος ἔστω. "Οσ ἂν ἐλεύθερον δοῦλος ἂν τύπτη μη
5 τῶν ἀρχόντων κελεύοντων, παραλαβὼν ὁ κεκτημένος παρὰ
c τοῦ πληγέντος δεδεμένον αὐτῶν μη λύσῃ, πρὶν ἂν ὁ δοῦλος
πείση τὸν πληγέντα ἡξίος εἶναι τοῦ λελυμένος ζήν. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ γυναιξὶ τῇ ἔστω πρὸς ἀλλήλας περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων νόμων, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄνδρασι πρὸς γυναῖκας.
BOOK X
SHORT ANALYSIS

884—888 d.—Impiety, its causes, nature, and supports.
888 d—899 d.—Refutation of those who hold that there are no gods.
899 d—903 a.—Refutation of those who hold that the gods do not concern themselves with humanity.
903 a—905 d.—Appended Exposition of the Providential Ordering of the world and life in general.
905 d—907 d.—Refutation of those dangerous people who believe that the gods are bribable.
907 d—909 d.—The law against impieties of various kinds.
909 d—end.—Law against Private Shrines.

I

884 ΑΘ. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς αἰκίας περὶ παντὸς ἐν εἰρήσθω τουύνδε
τὶ νόμιμον βιαῖων πέρι. Τῶν ἄλλοτρίων μηδένα μηδὲν
φέρειν μηδὲ ἀγειν, μηδ’ αὐτὸ χρῆσθαι μηδὲν τῶν τού πέλας,
ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τὸν κεκτημένον· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τοιούτου πάντα
ἐφημένα τὰ τε εἰρήσει κακὰ γέγονε καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται.
μέγιστα δὲ δὴ τῶν λοιπῶν αἱ τῶν νέων ἀκολούθαι τε καὶ
ὑβρεῖς, εἰς μέγιστα δὲ, όταν εἰς ἑστὶ γίγνωσται, καὶ δια-
φερόντως αὐτὸ μεγάλα, όταν εἰς δημόσια καὶ ἄγια ἡ κατὰ
μέρη κοινὰ φυλετῶν ἡ τυχὸν ἀλλων τοιούτων κεκοιμη-
κότων· εἰς ἑστὶ δὲ ἰδία καὶ τάφους δεύτερα καὶ δεύτερος,
eἰς δὲ γονέας τρίτα, χωρίς τῶν ἐμπροσθεν εἰρημένων όταν
ὑβρίζῃ τις. τέταρτον δὲ γένος ὑβρεῖς, όταν ἀφροντιστῶν
τις ἄρχωντων ἄγιη ἡ φέρη ἡ κρητὶ τιν τῶν ἐκείνων μὴ
πείσας αὐτοὺς, πέμπτον δὲ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀν εἰῇ ἐκάστου
τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρισθὲν δίκην ἐπικαλούμενον. οἶς δὴ δοτέον
eἰς κοινὸν νόμων ἐκάστοις. ἱεροσυλία μὲν γὰρ ἐϊρηται

146
NOMΩΝ I 885 b

NOMΩΝ I 886

συλλήβδην, βιαῶς τε καὶ λάθρα ἐὰν γίγνηται, τὸ χρῆ πάσχειν. ὃσα δὲ λόγῳ καὶ ὃσα ἐργῶν περὶ θεοῦ υβρίζει τις λέγων ἢ πράττων, τὸ παραμύθιον ὑποθεμένως ρήτεον ἄ δει πάσχειν. ἦστῳ δὴ τοῦτα. Θεοὺς ἥγουμενοι εἶναι κατὰ νόμους οὐδὲς πώποτε οὐτε ἐργῶν άσεβής ἥργάσατο ἐκὼν οὔτε λόγῳ ἀφίκην ἄνομον, ἀλλὰ ἐν δὴ τί τῶν πρῶν πάσχων, ἢ τούτο, ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐχ ἥγουμενοι, ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ὡντας οὐ φροντίζειν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν τρίτην εὐπαραμυθήτους εἶναι θυσίας τε καὶ εὐχαῖς παραγομένους.

ΚΛ. Τί οὖν δὴ δρόμουν ἀν ἢ καὶ λέγουμεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς;

ΑΘ. Ἡμαθεῖ, ἐπακούσώμεν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἀ τῷ καταφρονεῖν ἡμῶν προσπαθήσαστας αὐτοῦς λέγειν μαντεύομαι.

ΚΛ. Ποιά δὴ;

ΑΘ. Ταῦτα τάξιν ἄν ἐρεσχηλοῦντες εἶπονεν. Ὡς ξένον 5 Ἀδηναῖε καὶ Λακεδαιμώνε καὶ Κνώσε, ἀληθῆ λέγειε. ἡμῶν γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν θεοὺς οὐδαμῶς νομίζομεν, οἱ δὲ οἴους οὐκέεις λέγετε. ἀξιόμεν ὑμὴ, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ἥμων καθήμετε περὶ νόμων, πρὶν ἀπειλεῖν ἡμῖν σκληρῶς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐπιχειρεῖν πείθειν καὶ διδάσκειν ως εἰσὶ θεοὶ, τεκμηρία λέγοντες ἵκανα, καὶ ὧν βελτίους ἡ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ τῶν παρατρέπεσθαι κηλουμένοι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες τε καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐτερα τῶν λεγομένων ἀρίστων εἶναι ποιητῶν τε καὶ ῥήτορων καὶ μάντεων καὶ ἱερεῶν καὶ ἄλλων μυράκις μυρίων, οὔκ ἐπὶ τὸ μή δράν τὰ ἀδικα τρεπομεθα οἱ πλείστοι, δράσαντες δ' εξακείθησαι πειρώμεθα. παρὰ δὲ δὴ νομοθετῶν, δασκόντων εἶναι μὴ ἀγρίων ἄλλα ἡμέρων, ἀξιού- 5 

μεν πειθοὶ πρῶτον χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μὴ πολλῷ βελτίω τῶν ἄλλων λέγοντας περὶ θεῶν ως εἰσίν, ἄλλ' οὖν βελτίω γε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τάχα πειθομεθ' ἂν ἰσως ωμίν. ἄλλ' ἐπιχειρεῖτε, εἰ τι μέτριον λέγομεν, εἰπεῖν ἄ προκαλούμεθα.

ΚΛ. Οὐκοῦν, ὡς ξένε, δοκεῖ βάδιον εἶναι ἀληθεύοντας λέγειν ως εἰσίν θεοὶ;

ΑΘ. Πῶς;

ΚΛ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλιος ἄστρα τε καὶ τὰ σύμ- 5

παντα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄρων διακεκοσμημένα καλῶς οὕτως, ἐνιαυ- 

τοῖς τε καὶ μησὶν διελημενα: καὶ ὧν πάντες Ἔλληνες τε καὶ βαρβαροι νομίζονται εἶναι θεοὺς.

ΑΘ. Φοβοῦμαι γε, ὃ μακάριε, τοὺς μοχθηρούς—οὐ γὰρ 

δὴ ποτε εἶπομεν ἄν ὡς γε αἰσθούμαι—μὴ πὼς ἡμῶν κατα- 

147
φρονήσωσιν. ούμεις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἵστε αὐτῶν πέρι τὴν τῆς
diaφοράς αὐτίαν, ἀλλὰ ἤγειοίδε ακρατείᾳ μονὸν ἡδονῶν τε
c καὶ ἐπιθυμίων ἐπὶ τὸν ἁσβῆ βίον ὀρμᾶσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς
aυτῶν.

Κ.Λ. Τὸ δὲ τί πρὸς τούτοις αὐτίν αὖ, ὧν ἐξενε, εἶ ἂν;
Α.Θ. Σχεδον δὲ παντάπασιν οὔμεις ἐξω ξαντες οὐκ ἂν
eιδείητε, ἀλλὰ οἵμας ἂν λανθάνω.

Κ.Λ. Τι δή τούτο φράξεις τὰ νῦν;
Α.Θ. Ἀμαθία τις μάλα χαλεπὴ, δοκοῦσα εἶναι μεγίστη
φρόνησις.

Κ.Λ. Πῶς λέγεις;
Α.Θ. Εἰσίν ήμῖν ἐν γράμμασιν λόγοι κείμενοι, οἱ παρ’ οἴμων
oυκ εἰσίν δὲ ἀρετὴν πολιτείας, ὥς ἐγὼ μαθάνω, οἱ μὲν ἐν
c τοῖς μέτροις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ μέτρων λέγοντες περὶ θεῶν,
οἱ μὲν παλαιότατοι ὡς γέγονεν ἡ πρώτη φύσις οὐρανοῦ
tῶν τὰ ἄλλων, προϊόντες δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ πολὺ θεογονίαν
dιεξέρχονται, γενόμενοι τοίς ὡς πρὸς ἅλληλους ὀμίλησαν. ὁ
5 τοῖς ἀκούοντιν εἰ μὲν εἰς ἅλλο τοῦ καλῶς ἡ μὴ καλῶς ἔχει,
οὐ δὲ διὸν ἐπιτιμῶν παλαιόταις οὖσιν, εἰς μέντοι γονέων τε
θεραπείας καὶ τιμᾶς οὐκ ἂν ἔγγυτον ποτὲ ἐπανὸν ἐπαινὸι
οῦτε ὡς ὑφέλιμα ὄντε ὡς τὸ παράπαν ὅντως εἰρηταί τὰ
5 μὲν ὡς ὧν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πέρι μεθείσθω καὶ χαρέτω, καὶ
ἐπὶ θεοῦν φιλοῦ, λεγέσθων ταύτῃ. τὰ δὲ τῶν νέων ἡμῶν
καὶ σοφῶν αὐτιαθῆτω ὅπῃ κακῶν αὐτήα. τόδε οὖν οἱ τῶν
tοιούτων ἐξεργάζονται λόγοι: ἐμὸ ἄρα καὶ σοῦ, ὅταν τεκ-
5 μήρια λέγομεν ὡς εἰσίν θεοὶ, ταῦτα αὐτὰ προφέροντες,
ἡμῶν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἅστρα καὶ γῆν ὡς θεοὺς καὶ θεία
ὅντα, ὅπω τῶν σοφῶν τούτων ἀναπτυσμένου ἂν λέγοιον
ὡς γῆν τε καὶ λίθους ὅντα αὐτὰ καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπεῖων
e πραγμάτων φροντίζειν διαμένα, λόγοισι δὲ ταῦτα εἴ πως
e εἰς τὸ πιθανὸν περιπετεμεύα.

Κ.Λ. Χαλεπῶν γε λόγον, ὧν ἐξενε, εἰρηκῶς τυγχάνεις, εἰ
gε εἰς ἓν μόνον. νῦν δὲ ὅτε πάμπολλοι τυγχάνονσιν, ἐτὶ
5 χαλεπώτερον ἂν εὑρ.
Α.Θ. Τί οὖν δή; τί λέγομεν; τί χρῆ δράν ἡμᾶς; πότερον
ἀπολογησώμεθα οἴον κατηγορήσαντός τινος ἐν ἁσβῆς
ἄνθρωποις ἡμῶν, φεύγοιοι περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας λέγοντων
887 ὡς δεινὰ ἐργαζόμεθα νομοθετοῦντες ὡς ὅντων θεῶν; ἡ χαί-
ρειν ἐάσαντες ἐπὶ τούς νόμους τρεπόμεθα πάλιν, μὴ καὶ
τὸ προοίμιον ἡμῖν μακρότερον γίγνηται τῶν νόμων; οὐ γάρ τι βραχὺς ὁ λόγος ἐκταθεῖς ἃν γίγνοιτο, εἰ τοίων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀσεβεῖν τὰ μὲν ἀποδείξαμεν μετρίως τοὺς λόγους ὅπως ἐφεραξὼν δεῖν πέρι λέγειν, τῶν δὲ εἰς φοβον τρέψαμεν, τὰ δὲ δυσχεραῖνει ποιήσαντες, ὅσα πρέπει μετὰ ταύτα ἢδη νομοθετοῦμεν.

ΚΛ. Ἀλλ', ὃ ἔξεν, πολλάκις μὲν ὡς γε ἐν ὅλῳ χρόνῳ τούτ' αὐτὸ εἰρήκαμεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖ προτιμᾶν βραχυλογίαν μᾶλλον ἡ μήκος—οὐδείς γὰρ ἡμᾶς, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπείγους διώκει—γελοῖον δὴ καὶ φαίλον τὸ πρὸ τῶν βελτίστων τὰ βραχύτερα αἱρουμένους φαίνεσθαι. διαφέρει δ' οὐ σμικρὸν ἀμώς γε ποὺς πιθανότητὰ τινα τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ὡς θεῖο τ' εἰσίν καὶ ἀγαθοὶ, δίκην τιμῶντες διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπως. σχέδον γὰρ τούτο ἡμῖν ὕπερ ἀπάντων τῶν νόμων κάλλιστον τε καὶ ἀριστον προοίμιον ἂν εἴη. μὴδὲν οὖν δυσχεράναντες μηδὲ εἰπεῖσθεντες, ἦντι ποτὲ ἐχομεν δύναμιν εἰς πειθὸν τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, μηδὲν ἀποθέμενοι διεξέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἴκανός.

ΑΘ. Εὐχὴν μοι δοκεῖ παρακαλεῖν ὅ λεγόμενον ὅποι σοῦ νῦν λόγος, ἐπειδὴ προθύμοις συντείνεις· μέλλεις δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγχωρεῖ λέγειν. φέρε δὴ, πῶς ἂν τις μὴ θυμῇ λέγοι περὶ θεῶν ὡς εἰσίν; ἀναγκῇ γὰρ δὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν καὶ μισεῖν ἑκείνους οἱ τούτων ἡμῶν αἰτίοι τῶν λόγων γεγένηται καὶ γίγνονται νῦν, οὐ πεθόμονοι τοῖς μύθοις οὐς ἐκ νέων παίδων ἔτι ἐν γάλαξι τρεφόμενοι τροφῶν τῇ ἴκουν καὶ μητέρων, οἶνον ἐν ἔπωδαις μετὰ τε παιδὶς καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένων καὶ μετὰ θυσίων ἐν εὐχαίς αὐτοὺς ἀκούοντές τε, καὶ ὅσεις ὅρωντες ἐπομενός αὐτοὶ ἃς ἡδονα ὡς νέος ὅρα τε καὶ ἀκούει πραττομένας θυόντων, ἐν σπουδῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ τους αὐτῶν γονέας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἑκείνων ἐπουδακτάσας, οὐδὲ ὅτι μάλιστα οὖν θεοὶ εὐχαίς προσδιαλεγόμενοι καὶ ἰκτείναις, ἀνατέλλοντος τῇ ἴλῳ καὶ σελήνης καὶ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἵπτων προκυλίσεις ἀμα καὶ προσκύνήσεις ἀκούοντές τε καὶ ὅρωντες Ἐλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πάντων ἐν συμφορᾶς παιδοῖσι ἐχομένων καὶ ἐν εὐπραγίας, οὐχ ὡς οὐκ ὅτι δὲν ἐκείνων ἔποιησας τοῦτο τῷ δή πάντων ὃ δὲν καταφρονήσατε οὐδὲ ξένου ἴκανον λόγου, ὡς φαίνει ἄν ὅσοι καὶ σμικρὸν νοῦ κέκτηται, νῦν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἡμᾶς λέγειν ἃ
λέγομεν, πῶς τούτους ἂν τις ἐν πραξὶ λόγοις δύναιτο νοο-
θετῶν ἀμαδάσκειν περὶ θεῶν πρῶτον ὡς εἰσὶν; τολμητέον
δὲ οὐ γὰρ ἀμα ἐν δὲι μανῆναι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ λαμαργίας
ἡδονῆς ἡμῶν, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦσαν τοῖς τοιοῦτοι. ἵτω
δὴ πρόρρησις τοιάδε τις ἄθυμος τοῖς οὕτω κἂν διάνοιαν διε-
θαρμένως, καὶ λέγωμεν πρῶς, σβέσατε τὸν θυμόν, ὡς εἴη
dιαλεγόμενοι τῶν τοιοῦτων. Ἡ θεοὶ, νεοὶ εἰ, προϊὼν δὲ σε
ό χρόνος ποιήσει πολλὰ ἄν νῦν δοξάζεις μεταβαλὸντα ἐπὶ
tάνατια τίθεσαι· περίμενον οὖν εἰς τότε κρίσις περὶ τῶν
μεγίστων γίγνεσθαι, μέγιστον δὲ, ὡς νῦν οὐδὲν ἤγη οὐ, τὸ
περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς διανοηθεῖν ζῆν καλῶς ἡ μη. πρῶτον
δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τὶ μέγα σοι μηνύων οὐκ ἃν ποτε φανεῖν
φευδῆς, τὸ τοῦτε. οὐ τῷ μόνῳ οὐδὲ οἱ σοι φίλοι πρῶτοι
cκαι πρῶτον ταύτην δόξαν περὶ θεῶν ἔσχετε, γίγνονται δὲ αἰ̣
πλείους ἡ ἐλάττους ταύτην τὴν νόσου ἔχοντες· τόδε τῶν
soi, παραγεγονὼς αὐτῶν πολλοῖς, φράζομι· ἀν, τὸ μηδένα
πώποτε λαβόντα ἐκ νέου ταύτην τὴν δόξαν περὶ θεῶν, ὡς
οὐκ εἰσὺν, διατελέσαι πρὸς γῆρας μείναντα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ δια-
νοήσει, τὰ δύο μέντοι πάθη περὶ θεοὺς μεῖναι, πολλοῖς μὲν
οὐ, μεῖναι δὲ οὖν τισιν, τὸ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰναι μὲν, φρονιτέζειν
dὲ οὐδὲν τῶν ἄνθρωπων, καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς φρονιτίζουσι
μὲν, εὐπαραμύθητοι δ' εἰσὶν θύμασιν καὶ εὐχαίς. τὸ δὴ σαφὲς
ἀν γενόμενον σοι περὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ δύναμιν δόγμα, ἄν ἐμοὶ
πείθη, περιμενεῖς ἀνασκοπῶν εἴτε οὗτος εἴτε ἄλλος ἔχει,
pυνθανόμενος παρὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καὶ
παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου· εν δὲ δὴ τούτω τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ τολμῆσης
περὶ θεοὺς μηδὲν ἄσεβῆσαι. πειρατέον γὰρ τῷ τοῖς νόμοις
τοις τιθέντι νῦν καὶ εἰς αὕθες διάδασκεν περὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς
ὡς ἔχει.

ΚΛ. Κάλλισθῃ ἡμῖν, δ' ἔνει, μέχρι γε τοῦ νῦν εἴρηται.
ΑΘ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ὡς Μέγιλλε τε καὶ Κλευνία·
λελήθαμεν δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς θαυμαστὸν λόγον ἐμπεπτω-
kότες.

ΚΛ. Τόν ποιῶν δὴ λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Τὸν παρά πολλοῖς δοξαζόμενον εἴναι σοφώτατον
ἀπάντων λόγων.

ΚΛ. Φράζ' ἐτι σαφέστερον.
ΑΘ. Λέγουσιν ποι замет ὡς πάντα ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα
γενόμενα καὶ γενόμενα καὶ γενηρόμενα τὰ μὲν φύσει, τα

150
δὲ τέχνη, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὰ χήματα.

ΚΑ. Οὐκοῦν καλὸς;

ΑΘ. Ἐικός γε τοι ποιοσ ἄνδρας ὦρθῶς λέγειν· ἐπόμενοι γέ μήν αὐτοὶς σκεφάμεθα τοὺς ἐκείθεν τί ποτε καὶ τυγχάνουσι διανοοῦμεν.

ΚΑ. Πάντως.

ΑΘ. Ἑοκε, φασίν, τὰ μὲν μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ κάλλιστα ἀπεργάζεσθαι φύσιν καὶ τύχην, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα τέχνην, ἢ δὴ παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσαν τὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ πρῶτων γένεσιν ἔργων, πλάττειν καὶ τεκταίνοσθαι πάντα τὰ σμικρότερα, ἢ δὴ τεχνικὰ πάντες προσαγορεύομεν.

ΚΑ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὡδ᾽ ἐτί σαφέστερον ἔρω. πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄερα φύσει πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχῃ φασίν, τέχνην δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων, καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸ σώματα, γῆς τε καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἀστρῶν τε πέρι, διὰ τούτων γεγονόνει παντελῶς ὀντων ἀληχῶν· τύχῃ δὲ φερόμεναι τῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκάστω ἔκάστου, ἢ συμπέπτωτεν ἀρμόττοντα οἰκεῖως πως, θερμῶς ἰχθυροῖς ἢ ἔξωρ πρὸς ὕγρα καὶ μαλακὰ πρὸς σκληρά, καὶ πάντα ὄποσα τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κράσει κατὰ τύχην ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνεκεράθη, ταῦτῃ καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὄτως γεγενηκέναι τὸν τε οὐρανὸν ὅλον καὶ πάντα ὄποσα κατ᾽ οὐράνιον, καὶ ζῶα αὐτοὶ καὶ φυτὰ σύμπαντα, ὄρων πασῶν ἐκ τούτων γενομένων, οὐ [δὲ] διὰ νοῦν, φασίν, οὐδὲ διὰ τις θεὸν οὐδὲ διὰ τέχνην ἄλλα, ὅ λέγομεν, φύσει καὶ τύχῃ. τέχνην δὲ ὑστερον ἐκ τούτων ὑστερον γενομένην, αὐτὴν θυγατὴν ἐκ θυγατὴς ὑστερα γεγενηκέναι παιδίας τινος, ἀληθείας οὐ σόδρα μετέχουσας, ἄλλα εἰδωλί, ἀττα συγγενεῖ ἕαντων, οἷς ἡ γραφικὴ γεννᾶ καὶ μουσικῇ καὶ ὅσι ταυτάς εἰσὶν συνεργοῖ τέχνην· ἢ δὲ τι καὶ σπουδαῖον ἄρα γεννῶσι τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι ταῦτα ὄποσα τῇ φύσει ἐκοίνωσαν τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, οἶνον αὐτὶ ἰατρικῇ καὶ γεωργίᾳ καὶ γυμναστικῇ. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς σμικρῶν τι μέρος εἶναι φαιν κοινωνοῦν φύσει, τέχνη δὴ τὸ πολὺ, ὄτως δὲ καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν πᾶσαν οὐ φύσει, τέχνη δὲ, ἤς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς εἶναι τὰς θέσεις.

ΚΑ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Θεοὺς, ὅ μακάριε, εἶναι πρῶτον φανον οὕτωσι τέχνη, οὐ φύσει ἄλλα τισον νόμοις, καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄλλη, ὅτι ἐκαστοί ἐαυτοὶς συνωμολόγησαν νομοθετούμενοι καὶ δὴ.
καὶ τὰ καλὰ φύσει μὲν ἄλλα εἶναι, νόμως δὲ ἔτερα, τὰ δὲ ὅτι δίκαια οὐδὲ εἶναι τὸ παράπαν φύσει, ἀλλ' ἀμφιβασάμενοι, καὶ μεταπηθεμένους ἂεὶ ταῦτα, ἃ δ' ἂν μετάθωνται καὶ ὅταν, τότε κύρια ἐκαστὰ εἶναι, γεγονόμενα τέχνη καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλ' οὐ δὴ τινὶ φύσει. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν, ὡς φίλου, ἀπαντᾷ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν παρὰ νέοις ἀνδρῶποις, ἰδιωτὸν τε καὶ ποιητὴν, φασκόντων εἶναι τὸ δικαίωταν

5 ὅτι τις ἂν νικᾶ βιαζόμενος· θεῖν ἀσέβεια τε ἀνθρώπως ἐμπίπτουσιν νέοις, ὡς οὐκ ὄντων θεῶν οἷος ὁ νόμος προστάτει διανοεῖθαί δεῖν, στάσεις τε διὰ ταῦτα ἐλκύτων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὅρθον βίον, ὃς ἐστὶν τῇ ἀληθεία κρατουτῆναι ἓν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μὴ δουλεύνοντα ἐτέρους κατὰ νόμον.

b ΚΛ. Οἶον διελήλυθας, ὥς ἔγενε, λόγον, καὶ ὅστην λάβην ἀνθρώπων νέων δῆμοσία πόλεων τε καὶ ἱδίοις οἷοισ.

ΑΘ. Ἀληθῆ μέντοι λέγεις, ὡς Κλεινία. τί οὖν οἷος χρήσαι δρᾶν τὸν νομοθετήν, οὕτω τούτων πάλαι παρεσκευασμένων;

5 ἥ μόνων ἀπειλεῖν στάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει σύμπασι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς εἰ μὴ φήσοντο εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ διανοθήσονται δοξάζοντες τοιούτους οἷοις φησίν ὁ νόμος—καὶ περὶ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν μεγίστων ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος,

c οὕτως τε πρὸς ἄρετήν τείνει καὶ κακῶν, ὡς δεὶ ταῦτα οὕτω πράττειν διανοουμένους ὅπερ ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης υφηγησθαι γράφω—ὅτι δ' ἂν μὴ παρέχηται ἑαυτὸν τοῖς νόμοις εὔπειθῆ, τὸν μὲν δεῖν τεθνάναι, τὸν δὲ τινα πληγαίς καὶ δεσμοίς,

5 τὸν δὲ ἀτιμίας, ἄλλους δὲ πεινίας κολάζονται καὶ φυγαίς· πειθῶ δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀμα τιθέντα αὐτῶς τοῖς νόμοις, μηδεμιᾶν ἔχειν τοῖς λόγοις προσάπτοντα εἰς δύναμιν ἁμερών;

d ΚΛ. Μηδαμώς, ὥς ἔγενε, ἅλλ' εἴπερ τυχανεὶ γε οὐσα καὶ σμικρὰ πειθῶ τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, δεὶ μηδαμῇ κάμενεν τὸν γε ἄξιον καὶ σμικρὸν νομοθετῆν, ἄλλα πάσαν, τὸ λεγόμενον, φωνὴν ἔντα, τῷ παλαιῷ [νόμῳ] ἐπίκουρον γίγνεσθαι

5 λόγῳ ὃς εἰσάνθει θεοὶ καὶ οὐσα νυνθῇ διηλθές σοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμων αὐτῶ βοηθῆσαι καὶ τέχνη, ὡς ἐστον φύσει ἡ φύσεως οὐχ ἤττον, εἴπερ νοῦ γε ἐστὶν γεννημάτα κατὰ λόγον ὅρθον, ὃν σὺ τε λέγεις μοι φαίνῃ καὶ ἐγὼ σοι πιστεῦω τὰ νῦ.

e ΑΘ. 'Ω προθυμοτάτη Κλεινία, τί δ'; οὐ χαλεπά τε ἐστὶ συνακολουθεῖν λόγοις οὕτως εἰς πλῆθη λεγόμενα, μήκη τε αὐτοκτηναι διωλόγια;
ΚΛ. Τί δέ, ὦ ἔνε; περὶ μέθης μὲν καὶ μουσικῆς οὗτω μακρὰ λέγοντας ἰμάσ αὐτοὺς περιμείναμεν, περὶ θεών δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐχ ὑπομενοῦμεν; καὶ μὴν καὶ νομοθεσία γε ἔστιν που τῇ μετὰ φρονίσεως μεγίστη βοήθεια, διότι τὰ περὶ νόμους προστάγματα ἐν γράμμαι τεθέντα, ὡσ ὄρσοντα εἰς πάντα χρόνου ἐλεγχον, πάντως ἦρμενε, ὡστε οὔτ' εἰ χαλεπά κατ' ἀρχὰς άκούεις ἐστίν φοβητέον, ἀ γ' ἔσται καὶ τῷ δυσμαθεὶς πολλάκις ἐπανώντι σκοπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ μακρὰ, ὥφελιμα δὲ, διὰ ταῦτα λόγον οὐδαμὴ ἔχει οὔδε ὅσιον ἐμοιγε εἰναι φαίνεται τὸ μη ὧν βοηθεῖν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις πάντα ἄνδρα κατὰ δύναμιν.

ΜΕ. Ἄρστα, ὦ ἔνε, δοκεῖ μοι λέγειν Κλενίας.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μάλα γε, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ποιήτεον τε ὡς λέγειν.  
καὶ γάρ εἰ μὴ κατεσταμενοὶ ἰσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπους, οὐδὲν ἀν ἔδει τῶν ἐπα-
μακελαίων λόγων ὡς εἰσὶν θεοὶ· νῦν δὲ ἀνάγκη. νόμοις
οὐν διαφθειρομένοις τοῖς μεγίστοις ὑπὸ κακῶν ἀνθρώπων
τίνα καὶ μάλλον προσήκει βοηθεῖν ἡ νομοθέτην;

ΜΕ. Οὐκ ἔστιν.

ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ δὴ λέγει μοι πάλιν, Κλενίαξ, καὶ σὺ—κοι-
νωνον γὰρ δεῖ σε εἶναι τῶν λόγων—κινδυνεύει γὰρ ὦ λέγων
ταῦτα πῦρ καὶ ὄδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα πρῶτα ἥγευσθαι τῶν
πάντων εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὄνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτά, φυχήν
δὲ ἐκ τούτων ὑστέρων. ἔστεκεν δὲ οὗ κινδυνεύειν ἀλλὰ
ὄντως σημαίνειν ταῦτα ἦμῖν τῷ λόγῳ.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἀρ' οὖν πρὸς Δίος οἶνον πηγὴν τινα ἀνοητοῦ δόξης
ἀντιρρήκαμεν ἀνθρώπων ὁπόσοι πῶστε τῶν περὶ φύσεως
ἐφήμαντο ἁτημάτων; σκόπει πάντα λόγον ἑξετάζων· οὐ
γὰρ δὴ σμικρὸν γε τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ φανεῖν οἱ λόγων ἀπτό-
μενοι ἀσεβῶν, ἀλλοις τε ἐξάρχοντες, μηδὲ εἰ τοῖς
λόγοις ἄλλ' ἐξημαρτημένοις χρώμενοι. δοκεῖ τοῖς μοι ταῦτα
οὕτως ἔχειν.

ΚΛ. Ἐδ' λέγεις· ἄλλο ὀπτη, πειρᾶδ φράζειν.

ΑΘ. Ἑοικειν τοῖνυν ἀπθεστέρων ἀπτέον εἶναι λόγων.

ΚΛ. Οὐκ ὁκνητέον, ὦ ἔνε. μανθάνω γὰρ ὡς νομο-
θεσίας ἐκτὸς οἴησι βαιώνει, ἐὰν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπτώμεθα
λόγων. εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ μηδαμὴ ἐτέρως συμφωνήσαι τοῖς νῦν
κατὰ νόμον λεγομένοις θεοῖς ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔχουσιν ἡ ταῦτη,
λεκτέον, ὃ θαυμάσιε, καὶ ταύτῃ.

Α.Θ. Δέγοιμ, ἃν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦδη σχέδον οὐκ εἰσωθότα

λόγον τινα τόνδε. ὃ πρῶτον γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς αὐτῶν ἀπάντων, τούτο οὗ πρῶτον ἀλλὰ ὑστερον ἀπεφήναντο εἰναι γεγονός οἱ τήν τῶν ἁσθών ψυχὴν ἀπεργασάμενοι λόγοι, ὃ δὲ ὑστερον, πρότερον· οὐδεν ἡμαρτήκασι περὶ θεῶν τῆς ὄντως οὐσίας.

892 ΚΛ. Οὔπω μανθάνω.

Α.Θ. Ψυχὴν, ὃ ἐταίρε, ἡγνοκέναι κινδυνεύοντι μὲν ὄλιγον σύμπαντες οἵν τε ὁν τυγχάνει καὶ δύναμιν ἢν ἔχει, τῶν τε ἀλλῶν αὐτῆς πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ γενέσεως, ὡς ἐν πρῶτοις ἐστί, σωμάτων ἐμπροσθὲν πάντων γενομένη, καὶ μεταβολῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετακοσμήσεως ἀπάσης ἀρχὴν παντὸς μάλλον· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ ταύτα οὕτως, ἃρ' οὐκ ἐς ἀνάγκης τὰ ψυχῆς συγγενῆ πρότερα ἢν εἰπ' γεγονότα τῶν σώματι

b προσηκόντων, οὕσης γ' αὐτῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἡ σώματος;

ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη.

Α.Θ. Δόξα δὴ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ νοῦς καὶ τέχνη καὶ νόμος σκληρῶν καὶ μαλακῶν καὶ βαρέων καὶ κούφων πρότερα ἢν

εἰπ'· καὶ δὴ καὶ τα μεγάλα καὶ πρῶτα ἐργα καὶ πράξεις τέχνης ἢν γίγνοντο, ὅταν ἐν πρῶτοις, τὰ δὲ φύσει καὶ φύσις, ἢν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπονομάζομουσα αὐτὸ τούτο, ὑστερα καὶ ἀρχόμενα ἢν ἐκ τέχνης εἰπ' καὶ νοῦ.

c ΚΛ. Πῶς οὐκ ὀρθῶς;

Α.Θ. Φύσιν βούλονται λέγειν γένεσιν τήν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα· εἰ δὲ φανήσεται ψυχὴ πρῶτον, οὗ πῦρ οὐδὲ ἀῆρ, ψυχὴ δ' ἐν πρῶτοις γεγενημένη, σχέδον ὀρθότατα λέγοντ' ἢν εἰναι διαφερόντως φύσει. ταύτ' ἐσθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἢν ψυχὴν τις ἐπιδεἰξῃ πρεσβύτεραν οὔσιν σώματος, ἀλλως δὲ οὐδαμῶς.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθεστάτα λέγειν.

Α.Θ. Οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταύτα ἐπ' αὗτο δὴ τοῦτο στελ-

10 λώμεθα;

d ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

Α.Θ. Φυλάττωμεν δὴ παντάπασιν ἀπατηλὸν λόγον, μὴ τη πρεσβύτας ἡμᾶς οὕτας νεοπρεπῆς ἢν παραπείσῃ καὶ διαφυγὼν καταγελάστους ποιήσῃ, καὶ δοξώμεν μείζονα ἐπι-

5 βαλλόμενοι καὶ τῶν σμικρῶν ἀποτυχεῖν. σκοπεῖτε οὖν. εἰ καθάπερ ποταμὸν ἡμᾶς ἔδει τρεῖς ὀντας διαβαίνειν ῥέοντα
σφόδρα, νεώτατος δ' ἐγὼ τυγχάνων ἥμιὼν καὶ πολλῶν ἐμ-
πειρὸς ρεματῶν, εἶπον ὅτι πρῶτον ἔμε χρῆναι πειραθῆναι κατ' ἐμαυτὸν, καταλυόντα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἄσφαλε, σκέψασθαι εἰ
diαβατός ἐστὶ προσβυτέρως οἴσι καὶ ὑμῖν, ἡ πῶς ἔχει, καὶ
φανέντος μὲν ταῦτῃ, καλεῖν ὑμᾶς τότε καὶ συνιδαββάζειν ἐμπειρία, εἰ δὲ ἄβατος ὑν ὡς ὑμῖν, ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν κίνδυνον
γεγονέναι, μετρίως ἀν ἐδόκουν λέγειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὁ
μέλλων ἐστὶ λόγος σφοδρότερος καὶ σχέδον ἱσώς ἄβατος ὡς
τῇ σφόν βρώμῃ. μὴ δὴ σκοτοδινιὰν ἰλυγγὸν τε ὑμῖν
ἐμπούμης παραφερόμενος τε καὶ ἐρωτῶν ἄθεες ὀντας ἀπο-
κρίσεων, εἰτ' ἀσχημοσύνην ἀπρέπειάν τε ἐνέκη ἁθηδὴ, δοκεῖ
dὴ μοι χρῆναι ποιεῖν οὕτως τὰ νῦν ἔμε, ἀνερωτῶν πρῶτον
ἐμαυτὸν, ἀκούονταν ὑμᾶς ἐν ἄσφαλε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπο-
κρίνασθαι πάλιν ἔμε, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀπαντὰ οὕτω διεξελθεῖν,
μέχριπερ ἀν ψυχῆς πέρι διαπεράνηται καὶ δείξῃ πρότερον
ὅν ψυχὴν σώματος.
ΚΛ. Ἄριστον, ὅ ἔριε, δοκεῖς ἥμιν εἰρηκέναι, ποίει τε ὡς
λέγεις.
ΑΘ. Ἄγε δή, θεῶν εἰ ποτε παρακλητέον ἥμιν, νῦν ἔστω
tοῦτο οὕτω γενομένοι—ἐπὶ γε ἀπὸδειξὼν ὡς εἰσὶν τὴν οὕτων
σπουδῇ πάσῃ παρακεκλήσθησιν—ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὡς τινος ἁσφα-
λοῦσ πεἰσματος ἐπεισβαίνωμεν εἰς τὸν νῦν λόγον. καὶ μοι
ἐλεγχομένῳ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐρωτήσεσθαι τοιαῦτε ἁσφαλε-
stata ἀποκρίνεσθαι φαίνεται κατὰ τάδε. 'Ω ἔριε, ὅπόταν
φη τις, ἃ ἔστηκε μὲν πάντα, κινεῖται δὲ οὐδὲν; ἡ τούτῳ
πᾶν τοῦνατον; ἡ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κινεῖται, τὰ δὲ μένει;—
Τὰ μὲν κινεῖται ποι, φήσω, τὰ δὲ μένει.—Μῶν οὖν οὐκ ἐν
χώρᾳ τινὶ τὰ τε ἐστώτα ἔστηκεν καὶ τὰ κινούμενα κινεῖτα;
—Πῶς γάρ οὐ;—Καὶ τὰ μὲν γε ἐν μιᾷ ἔδρα που τοῦτο ἄν
dρώῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐν πλείσσον. —Τὰ τὴν τῶν ἐστώτων ἐν μέσῳ
λαμβάνοντα δύναμιν λέγεις, φήμομεν, ἐν ἐν κινεῖται,
καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἐστάναι λεγομένων κύκλων ὀστρέφεται περι-
φορά;—Ναι. μανθάνομεν δὲ γε ὡς ἐν ταῦτῃ τῇ περιφορὰ
tῶν μέγιστον καὶ τῶν σμικρότατον κύκλων ἄμα περιάγουσα
ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις ἀνὰ λόγον ἑαυτὴν διαιέμει σμικρὸς τε
καὶ μεῖξον, ἐλάττων τὰ οὐσα καὶ πλεῖων κατὰ λόγον. διὸ
dὴ τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἀπάντων πηγή γεγονεν, ἂμα μεγάλος
καὶ σμικρὸς κύκλως βραδυτῆτάς τε καὶ τάχη ὀμολογούμενα
πορεύουσα, ἀδύνατον, ὡς ἃν τε ἐλπίσειε, γίγνεσθαι πάθος.
—'Αληθέστατα λέγεις.—Τὰ δὲ γε κινοῦμενα ἐν πολλοῖς φαίνη μοι λέγειν ὅσα φορᾷ κινεῖται μεταβαίνοντα εἰς ἔτερον ἀεὶ τόπον, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔστιν ὅτε βάσιν ἐνὸς κεκτημένα
e τινὸς κέντρου, τοτὲ δὲ πλείονα. τῷ περικυλλωθαίμ. προσ-
tυγχάνοντα δ’ ἐκάστοτε ἐκάστους, τοὺς ἐστῶσι μὲν διασχι-
ζεται, τοὺς ἀλλος εἰς ἐναντίας ἀπαντῶσι καὶ φερομένοις
eῖς ἐν γεγονόμενα μέσα τα, καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τοιοῦτων συγκρι-
nεται.—Λέγω γὰρ οὖν ταῦτα οὔτως ἔχοντα, ὡς σὺ λέγεις.
—Καὶ μὴν καὶ συγκρινόμενα μὲν αὐξάνεται, διακρίνομεν
dὲ φθίνει τότε, ὅταν ἡ καθεστηκυκία ἐκάστων ἐξὶς διαμένῃ,
μὴ μενούσης δὲ αὐτῆς, δι’ ἀμφότερα ἀπόλλυται. γίγνεται δὴ
pάντων γένεσις, ἡνίκ’ ἂν τί πάθος ή; ἰῆλον ὡς ὅποταν
ἀρχὴ λαβοῦσα αὐξῆν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἐλθῃ μετάβασιν καὶ
ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν πλησίον, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν ἔλθοσα
αἰσθήσειν σχῆ τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις. μεταβάλλον μὲν οὖν
οὕτω καὶ μετακινούμενον γίγνεται πάντες ἐστὶν δὲ ὄντως ὅν,
ὅποταν μὲν, μεταβαλλόν δὲ εἰς ἀλλήν ἐξίων διεφθάρμεν
παντέλως. ἀρ’ οὖν κινήσεις πάσας εἰρήκαμεν ὡς ἐν εἴδεσιν
λαβεῖν μετ’ ἀριθμοῦ, πλὴν γε, ὦ φίλοι, δυνών:
ΚΑ. Ποιαν δῇ;
ΑΘ. Σχεδὸν, ὡγαθέ, ἐκείναιν οὖν ἑνεκα πᾶσα ήμῖν ἔστω
ἡ σκέψις τὰ νῦν.
ΚΑ. Λέγε σαφέστερον.
ΑΘ. Ψυχῆς ἢν ἑνεκά ποῦ;
ΚΑ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.
ΑΘ. Ἡς τοῖς ὑμέν ἐστερ δυναμένη κυνεῖν κίνησις,
ἐαυτὴν δὲ ἀδυνατοῦσα, ἢ μία τις, ἢ δὲ αὐτὴν τ’ ἀεὶ καὶ
ἐστερ δυναμενή κατά τε συγκρίσεις εἰν τε διακρίσειν αὐξάς
τε καὶ τῷ ἐναντίῳ καὶ γενέσει καὶ φθοραῖς ἀλλή μία τις
οὐ τῶν πασῶν κινήσεων.
ΚΑ. Ἡς γὰρ οὖν ὁμιλεῖ.
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν ἐστερον ἂεὶ κινοῦσαν καὶ μετα-
βαλλομένην ὃφ’ ἐστερον ὑσσομεν ἐνατίνας αὐτ’, τὴν δὲ ἐαυτὴν
κινοῦσαν καὶ ἐστερον, ἐναρμόττουσαν πάσιν μὲν πούμασιν,
πάσιν δὲ παθήμασιν, καλουμένην τε ὀντως τῶν ὄντων
πάντων μεταβολήν καὶ κίνησιν, ταύτην [δε] δεκάτην σχεδὸν
ἐροῦμεν.
ΚΑ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.
ΑΘ. Τῶν δὴ δέκα μάλιστα ἡμῖν κινήσεων τιν’ ἃν προ-
κρίναμεν ὧρθότατα πασῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτην τε εἶναι καὶ διαφερόντως;

ΚΑ. Μυρίω ἀνάγκη ποὺ φάναι διαφέρειν τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτὴν δυναμένην κωεῖν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πάσας ύστερας.
ΑΘ. Ἐν λέγεις. ἃρ᾽ οὖν ἢμῖν τῶν νῦν οὐκ ὧρθῶς 5 ῥηθέντων μεταβεβέον ἐν ἥ καὶ δύο;

ΚΑ. Ποία φής;
ΑΘ. Τὸ τῆς δεκάτης ῥηθέν σχεδὸν οὐκ ὧρθῶς εἴρηται.
ΚΑ. Πῇ;
ΑΘ. Πρώτον γενεσεί τε ἔστιν καὶ ῥώμη κατὰ λόγον. τὸ 10 δὲ μετὰ τούτο ἔχομεν τούτου δεύτερον, ἀρτι ῥηθέν ἀτόπως ἐναντίων.

ΚΑ. Πῶς λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Ὁδὲ. οταν ἔτερον ἄλλο ἡμῖν μεταβάλῃ καὶ τοῦτο ἄλλο ἔτερον ἄει, τῶν τουιύτων ἄρα ἐσται ποτὲ τι πρῶτον 5 μεταβάλλον; καὶ πῶς, ὃ ἦν ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου κινήτω, τούτ' ἐσται ποτὲ τῶν ἀλλοιώντων πρῶτων; ἀδύνατον γάρ. ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἀρα αὐτῷ αὐτῷ κινήσαν ἔτερον ἀλλοίωση, τὸ δ᾽ ἔτερον ἄλλο, καὶ οὕτω δὴ χίλια ἐπὶ μυρίων γίγνεται τὰ κινηθέντα, μῶν ἀρχὴ τις αὐτῶν ἐσται τῆς κινήσεως ἀπάσης ἄλλη πλήν ἡ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτὴν κινησάσας μεταβολή;

ΚΑ. Κάλλιστα εἶπες, συγχωρητέα τε τούτοις.
ΑΘ. Ἐπὶ δὴ καὶ τῇδε εἴπωμεν, καὶ ἀποκρινώμεθα πάλιν 5 ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. εἰ σταίη πως τὰ πάντα ὅμως γενόμενα, καθάπερ οἱ πλέοντοι τῶν τουιύτων τολμῶσι λέγεις, τῶν ἀρα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη πρῶτην κίνησιν γενέσθαι τῶν εἴρημένων; τὴν αὐτὴν ἐαυτὴν δὴπον κινῶσαν. ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου γὰρ ὃ ἡ μήποτε ἐμπροσθεν μεταπέσῃ, μηδεμίας γε ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕσης ἐμπροσθεν μεταπασώσεως. ἀρχὴν ἄρα κινήσεων πασῶν καὶ πρῶτην ἐν τε ἐστῶσιν γενομένην καὶ ἐν κινομένοις οὕσαν τὴν αὐτὴν κινῶσαν φήσομεν ἀναγκαῖος εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην 5 καὶ κρατίστην μεταβολῶν πασῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀλλοιωμένην ὑφ᾽ ἔτερου, κινῶσαν-τε ἔτερα δευτέραν.

ΚΑ. Ἀλληθέστατα λέγεις.
ΑΘ. Ὅποτε δὴ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα ἐσμεν τοῦ λόγου, τόδε ἀποκρινώμεθα.

ΚΑ. Το ποῖον;
ΑΘ. Ἐὰν ἰδομέν που ταύτην γενομένην ἐν τῷ γηνῷ ἦ ἐνῦδρῳ ἦ πυροειδεῖ, κεχωρισμένῳ ἥ καὶ συμμυγεί, τὴ ποτε 5
Φήσομεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθος εἶναι;
Κ.Δ. Μῶν ἄρα με ἐρωτᾶς εἰ τῇ ἀυτῷ προσεροῦμεν, ὅταν
ἀυτὸ αὐτὸ κυνῆ.
Α.Θ. Ναί.

10  
Κ.Δ. Ζήτει πῶς γὰρ οὗ;
Α.Θ. Τί δὲ; ὅπως τοιχήν ἐν τισὶν ὅρμημεν, μῶν ἄλλο
ἡ ταῦτα τοῦτω; τῇ ἀμολογητέου;
Κ.Δ. Όυκ ἄλλο.

d  
Α.Θ. ὉΕχε δὴ πρός Διός. ἂρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοις περὶ ἐκαστον
τρία νοεῖν;
Κ.Δ. Πῶς λέγεις;
Α.Θ. ἩΕν μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας τὸν λόγον,
5 ἐν δὲ ὅνομα. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐρωτήσεις εἶναι περὶ τὸ ὅν ἄπαν δύο.
Κ.Δ. Πῶς δύο;
Α.Θ. Τοτέ μὲν ἢμῶν ἐκαστὸν τοῦνομα προτεινόμενον
ἀυτὸ τὸν λόγον ἀπαίτειν, τοτέ δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν προτει-
νὸμενον ἔρωτάν αὐ τοῦνομα.

10  
Κ.Δ. Ἀρά γε τὸ τοιοῦτε αὐτοῖ οὐφομέθη νῦν λέγειν;
Α.Θ. Τὸ ποῖον;

e  
Κ.Δ. ἩΕστὶν ποὺ δίχα διαιροῦμεν ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ ἐν
ἀριθμῷ. τοῦτῳ δὴ τῷ κατʼ ἀριθμὸν ὅνομα μὲν ἄρτιον, λόγος
δὲ, ἀριθμὸς διαιροῦμενος εἰς ᾗσα δύο μέρη.
Α.Θ. Ναί. τὸ τοιοῦτον φράζω. μῶν οὖν οὐ ταύτων
5 ἐκατέρως προσαγορεύομεν, ἂν τὸν λόγον ἐρωτόμενοι
τοῦνομα ἀποδιδόμεν, ἂν τοῦνομα τὸν λόγον ἄρτιον ὄνοματι,
καὶ λόγῳ δίχα διαιροῦμεν ἀριθμῶν, προσαγορεύοντες
tαὐτὸν δὲ;
Κ.Δ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

10  
Α.Θ. ἩΕῳ δὴ ψυχή τοῦνομα, τίς τοῦτο λόγος; ἔχομεν

896  
ἀλλον πλὴν τὸν νυκτὴν ῥηθέντα, τὴν δυναμένην αὐτῆν αὐτῆς
κινεῖν κύησιν;
Κ.Δ. Τὸ ἐαυτὸ κινεῖν φής λόγον ἔχειν τὴν αὐτῆν οὐσίαν,
 Hannity τοῦνομα δὴ πάντες ψυχήν προσαγορεύομεν;
5 Α.Θ. Φημὶ γε; εἰ δ' ἔστι τοῦτο οὔτως ἔχον, ἄρα ἐτὶ
ποθοῦμεν μὴ ἔκκαθαρίζῃ ψυχήν ταῦταν ὅν καὶ τὴν
πρώτην γένεσιν καὶ κύνησιν τῶν τὲ ὄντων καὶ γεγονότων
καὶ ἐσομένων καὶ πάντων αὐ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτως, ἐπειδή γε
b ἀνεθάνη μεταβολῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως ἀπάσης αὐτία ἀπασίν;
Κ.Δ. Όυκ, ἀλλὰ ἰκανότατα δέδεικται ψυχή τῶν πάντων

158
πρεσβυτάτη, γενομένη γε ἀρχῇ κινήσεως.

ἈΘ. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐχ ἢ δι' ἐπερ έν ἀλλῳ γενομένῃ κινήσει, αὐτῷ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ μηδέποτε παρέχουσα κινήσεις 5 μηδὲν, δευτέρα τε, καὶ ὄποσών ἀριθμῶν βούλευτο ἂν τις ἀριθμεῖν ἀυτὴν πολλοστίν, τοσούτων, σῶματος οὗτος οὖν ὃντως ἀψίχου μεταβολή;

ΚΛ. Ὀρθώς.

ἈΘ. Ὀρθῶς ἄρα καὶ κυρίως ἀληθεστάτα τε καὶ τελεώ- 10 τατα εἰρηκότες ἂν εἶμεν ψυχήν μὲν προτέραν γεγονέναι σωμάτος ἡμῖν, σώμα δὲ δεύτερον τε καὶ ὦστερον, ψυχής ἀρχοῦσα, ἀρχόμενον κατὰ φύσιν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθεστάτα μὲν οὖν.

ἈΘ. Μεμνήμεθα γε μὴν ὁμολογήσαντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὅσι, εἰ ψυχή φανεῖ ὑπερτερά σώματος οὔσα, καὶ τὰ ψυχής τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐσοστο πρεσβυτέρα.

ΚΛ. Πάνι μὲν οὖν.

ἈΘ. Τρόποι δὲ καὶ ἤθη καὶ βουλήσεις καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ 5 δόξαι ἀληθεῖς ἐπιμέλειαί τε καὶ μνήμαι πρότερα μήκους σωμάτων καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους καὶ ρώμης εἰς γεγονότα ἂν, εἴπερ καὶ ψυχή σώματος.

ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη.

ἈΘ. Ἀρ' οὖν τὸ μετὰ τούτο ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τῶν 10 τῶν ἁγαθῶν αὐτίαν εἰναι ψυχήν καὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἄδικων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων, εἴπερ τῶν πάντων γε αὐτὴν θέσομεν αἰτίαν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γάρ οὖν;

ἈΘ. Ψυχήν δὲ διουκοῦσαν καὶ ἐνσινθαυσαν ἐν ἀπασὶν 15 τοῖς πάντῃ κινομένοις μῶν οὐ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάγκη ε διουκεῖν φάναι;

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

ἈΘ. Μίαν ἡ πλείους; πλείους· ἐγὼ υπὲρ σφῶν ἀπο- 20 κρινοῦμι. δυνοῦν μὲν γε ποὺ ἔλαττον μηδὲν τιθῶμεν, τῆς τε εὐεργετίδος καὶ τῆς τάναντια δυναμένης ἐξεργάζεσθαι.

ΚΛ. Σφόδρα ὥρθως εἰρήκας.

ἈΘ. Εἴειν. ἄγει μὲν δὴ ψυχὴ πάντα τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ταῖς αὐτῇς κινήσεως, αἰς δῶματα ἐστὶν βούλευσαι, σκοπεῖσαι, ἐπιμελεῖσαι, βουλεύεσθαι, 25 δοξάζειν ὥρθως ἐπευσμένης, καὶρασουν λυπουμένην, θαρ- ροῦσαν φοβουμένην, μυοῦσαν στέργουσαν, καὶ πάσας.
όσος τούτων συγγενείς ἢ πρωτουργοί κινήσεις τὰς δευτε-
ρουργοὺς αὖ παραλαμβάνουσαι κινήσεις σωμάτων ἁγούσι
πάντα εἰς αὐξήσεως καὶ φθοὺς καὶ διάκρισιν καὶ σύγκρισιν
καὶ τούτως ἐπομένως θερμότητας ψύξεις, βαρύτητας κοι-
νοφότητας, σκληροῦ καὶ μαλακοῦ, λευκοῦ καὶ μέλαν, αὐστηρὸν
καὶ γλυκό, καὶ πάσιν οἷς ψυχὴ χρωμένη, νοῦν μὲν προσλα-
βούσα αἱ θεοὶ ὅρθοὶς θεοῖς, ὅρθα καὶ εὐδαίμονα παιδαγωγεῖ
πάντα, ἀνοίᾳ δὲ συγγενομενὴ πάντα αὐ τάναντια τούτοις
ἀπεργάζεται. τιθῶμεν ταύτα οὕτως ἔχειν, ἢ ἐτι διστάζομεν
5 εἴ ἐτέρως πως ἔχει;
ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς.
Α. Πότερον οὖν ἢ ψυχῆς γένος ἐγκρατέσεις οὐρανοῦ καὶ
γῆς καὶ πάσης τῆς περιόδου γεγονέναι φῶμεν; τὸ φρόνιμον
καὶ ἄρετῆς πλήρεις, ἢ τὸ μηδέτερα κεκτημένου; βουλεύει οὖν
πρὸς ταύτα ὡς ἀποκρινόμεθα;
ΚΛ. Πῶς;
Α. Εἰ μὲν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, φῶμεν, ἢ σύμπασα οὐρανοῦ
5 ὁδὸς ἄμα καὶ φορὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῶ ὄντων ἀπάντων νοῦ
κινήσει καὶ περιφορᾷ καὶ λογισμοῖς ἁμοίων φῦσιν ἔχει καὶ
συγγενῶς ἐρχεται, δὴ λοι ὡς τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν φατέον ἐπι-
μελεῖτομεν τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν τὴν τοιαύτην
ὁδὸν ἐκείνην.
ΚΛ. Ὄρθως.
5 εἷς μανικῶς τε καὶ ἀτάκτως ἐρχεται, τὴν κακῆν.
ΚΛ. Καὶ ταύτα ὅρθως.
Α. Τίνα οὖν ἢ νοῦ κίνησις φύσιν ἔχει; τούτῳ ἢ ἦν
χαλεπῶν, ὦ φίλοι, ἐρώτημα ἀποκρινόμενον εἶπεῖν ἐμφρόνως.
διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ὑμῶν δίκαιον ταῦτα νῦν προς-
lαμβάνειν.
ΚΛ. Εὐ λέγεις.
Α. Μὴ τοῖνυν εἷς ἐναντίας οἷον εἰς ἦλιον ἀποβλέποντες,
νῦκτα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἐπαγόμενοι, ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀπόκριαν,
5 ὡς νοῦν ποτὲ θυντοῖς ὀμμασιν ὄφομενοι τε καὶ γνωσόμενοι
ἐκανῶς; πρὸς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἑρωτωμένου βλέποντας ἀσφαλέ-
στερον ὅραν.
ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;
Α. Ἡ προσέοικεν κινήσει νοῦς τῶν δέκα ἐκείνων
5 κινήσεων, τὴν εἰκόνα λάβωμεν. ἢν συναναμνησθεὶς ὑμῖν
ἐγὼ κοινὴ τὴν ἀπόκριαν ποιήσομαι.
ΚΛ. Κάλλιστα ἂν λέγοις.
ΑΘ. Μεμνήμεθα τόιν τῶν τότε ἐτι τούτο γε, ὅτι τῶν πάντων τὰ μὲν κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ μένειν ἔθεμεν;
ΚΛ. Ναί.
ΑΘ. Τῶν δ' αὖ κινούμενων τὰ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐν πλεῖσιν φερόμενα.
ΚΛ. Ἕστι ταῦτα.
ΑΘ. Τούτων δὴ τοῖν κινήσεων τὴν ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένην ἀεὶ περί γε τι μέσον ἀνάγκη κινεῖσθαι, τῶν ἐντόρνων οὐδὲν μύημα τι κύκλων, εἰναί τε αὐτὴν τῇ τοῦ νοῦ περιόδῳ πάντως ως δυνατὸν οἰκειοτάτην τε καὶ ὀμολᾶν.
ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Τὸ κατὰ ταῦτα δῆπον καὶ ὁσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τὰ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἄνα λόγον καὶ τάξιν μίαν ἀμφοὶ κινεῖσθαι λέγοντες, νοῦν τὴν τε ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένην κίνησιν, [σοφιάς ἐντόρνου ἀπεκασμένα φοραίς,] οὐκ ἂν ποτε φανεῖμεν φαύλοι δημιουργοί λόγων καλῶν εἰκόνων.
ΚΛ. Ὅρθοτάτα λέγεις.
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν αὖ ἣ γε μηδέποτε ὁσαύτως μηδὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μηδὲ ἐν ταῦτῳ μηδὲ περὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲ ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένῃ μηδὲ ἐν κόσμῳ μηδὲ ἐν τάξει μηδὲ ἐν τῶν λόγων κίνησις ἄνοιας ἂν ἀπάσης εἰς συγγενής;
ΚΛ. Εἰς γὰρ ἂν ἀληθέστατα.
ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ χαλεπὸν οὐδέν ἐτι διαρρήθην εἰπεῖν ὡς, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ψυχὴ μεν ἐστίν ὁ. περιάγουσα ἢμιν πάντα, τὴν δὲ οὐρανοῦ περιφορὰν εξ ἀνάγκης περιάγει φατέον ἐπιμελουμένην καὶ κοσμοῦσαν ἦτοι τὴν ἀρίστην ἡ ψυχῆν ἢ τὴν ἐναντίαν—
ΚΛ. Ὡς ἔνε, ἄλλα ἐκ γε τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων οὐδ' ὅσιον ἄλλως λέγειν ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐχουσαν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλείους περιάγει αὐτὰ.
ΑΘ. Κάλλιστα, ὥς Κλεινία, ὑπήκουσας τοῖς λόγοις: τὸδε δὲ προσυπάκουσον ἐτὶ.
ΚΛ. Τὸ ποιον;
ΑΘ. Ἡλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἁστρα, εἰπερ ψυχῇ περιάγει πάντα, ἄρ' οὐ καὶ ἐν ἐκαστον;
ΚΛ. Τι μήν;
ΑΘ. Περὶ ἐνὸς δὴ ποιησομὲθα λόγους, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα ἢμῖν ἁστρα ἁρμόττοντες φανοῦνται.
ΚΛ. Τίνας;

ΑΘ. 'Ἡλιόν πᾶς ἀνθρωπος σῶμα μὲν ὅρα, ψυχὴν δὲ ὄνοδεις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον σώματος οὐδένος οὔτε ζώντος οὔτε ἀποθνῄσκοντος τῶν ζωνών, ἀλλὰ ἐξίσης πολλῆ τὸ παράπαν
e τὸ γένος ἦμιν τοῦτο ἀναίσθητον πάσας ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσει περιπεφυκέναι, νοητῶν δ' εἶναι. νῦν μόνῳ δὴ καὶ διανοήματι λάβωμεν αὐτοῦ πέρι τὸ τοιόῦτε.

ΚΛ. Ποίον;

ΑΘ. Ὁ λέως ἦν ἐνοῦσα ἐντὸς τῷ περιφερεί τοίτω φαινομένω σώματι πάντη διακομίζει τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ ἡμᾶς ἢ παρ' ἦμιν ψυχῇ πάντῃ περιφέρει: ἦ ποθεν ἐξεδραν, σῶμα αὕτη
tορισμένη πυρὸς ἢ τινος áρεος, ὡς λόγος ἐπὶ τινῶν, ὥθεὶ Mafia σώματι σώμα: ἦ τρίτον αὕτη ψυλή σώματος οὖσα, ἐξούσα ὡς ἐννάμεις ἄλλας τινᾶς ὑπερβαλλούσας θαύματι,
pοδηγεῖ.

5 ΚΛ. Ναί, τούτο μὲν ἀνάγκη, τούτων ἐν γέ τι δρώσαν ψυχὴν πάντῃ διάγενεν.

ΑΘ. [Αὐτοῦ δὴ ᾧμεινον] ταύτην <δὴ> τὴν ψυχήν, εἴτε ἐν ἄρμασιν ἐχουσα ἦμιν ἠλιον ἁγεῖ φῶς τοῖς ἀπασιν, εἴτε ἐξεδραν, εἴθ' ὅπως εἴθ' ὅτη, θεον ἴσεσθαί χρεῶν πάντα ἀλβρα. ἦ πῶς;

b 5 ΚΛ. Ναί, τὸν γέ ποὺ μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐσχατὸν ἀφιγμένον ἀνοίας.

ΑΘ. 'Ἀστρων δὴ πέρι πάντων καὶ σελήνης, ἐναυτῶν τε καὶ μηνῶν καὶ πασῶν ὄρων πέρι, τίνα ἄλλον λόγον

5 ἐρούμεν ἦ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον, ὡς ἐπειδή ψυχῇ μὲν ἥ ψυχα
pάντων τούτων αὐτὸν ἠφάνησαν, ἀναθαὶ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν,
θεοὺς αὐτᾶς εἶναι φήσομεν, εἴτε ἐν σώμασιν ἐγνώσαι, ὡς ὅντα, κοσμούσαν πάντα συρακόν, εἴτε ὅτη τε καὶ ὅπως; ἐκθ' ὅστις ταύτα ὁμολογῶν ὑπομενεῖ μὴ "θεῶν εἶναι πλήρη
5 πάντα"

c 10 ΚΛ. Οὐκ ἔστων οὖτως, ὡς ἔμεν, παραφρονῶν οὐδείς.

ΑΘ. Τῷ μὲν τοῖς μὴ νομιζόντοι θεοὺς ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν

χρόνῳ, ὡς Μέγιλλε τε καὶ Κλεινία, εἰπόντες ὅρους ἀπαλ-

κατώμεθα.

5 ΚΛ. Τίνας;
ΑΘ. Ἡ διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐκ ὅρθως λέγομεν τιθέμενοι ψυχὴν γένεσιν ἀπάντων εἶναι πρῶτην, καὶ τάλα ὁπόσα τούτων συνεπόμενα εἶπομεν, ἣ μὴ δυνάμενον βέλτιον λέγειν ἡμῶν, ἤμων πείθομαι καὶ ζῆν θεοὺς ἱγνούμενον εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοπον βίον. ὅρμουν οὖν εἶτε ἱκανός ηὐθύ τοῖς οὐχ ἱγνο
μένοις θεοὺς εἰρήκαμεν ὡς εἰδὼν θεοῖ, εἶτε ἐπίδεοι.

ΚΑ. Ἡκιστά γε, ὧ δὲνιε, πάντων ἐπίδεώς.

ΑΘ. Τούτως μὲν τοῖνυν ἡμῖν τὸ λόγων τέλος ἐξέτω· τὸν δὲ ἱγνούμενον μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι, μὴ φροντίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πραγμάτων, παραμυθητέον. Ὡάριστε δὴ φῶμεν, ὅτι μὲν ἡγήθη θεοὺς, συγγένειά τις ἵσως σε θεία πρὸς τὸ σύμφωνον ἀγεί τιμᾶν καὶ νομίζειν εἶναι: κακῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄδικων τύχαι ἴδια καὶ δημοσία, ἀληθεῖα μὲν οὐκ εὐδαιμόνες, δόξαις δὲ εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι σφόδρα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμελλων, ἄγουσί σε πρὸς ἀσέβειαν, ἐν τε μουσάι οὐκ ὅρθως ὑμνούμεναι ἃμα καὶ ἐν παντοίοις λόγοις. ἡ καὶ πρὸς τέλος ἵσως ἀνθρώπων ὅρων ἔλθοντας γηραιοὺς, παίδας παῖδον καταλύτων ἐν τιμᾶς ταῖς μεγίσταις, ταράττῃ τὸ νῦν ἐν ἀπασί τούτως ἱδών, ἢ δὲ ἀκοῆς αἰσθό
μενος ἡ καὶ παντάπασιν αὐτός αὐτόπτης, προστυχὴς πολλῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ δεινῶν γενομένων τισών, δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐκ σμίκρων εἰς τυραννίδας τε καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἀφικομένους· τότε διὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δήλος εἰ μέμφεσθαι μὲν θεοὺς ὡς αἰτίους ὄντας τῶν τοιούτων διὰ συγγένειαν οὐκ ἂν ἔθελων, ἁγόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τε ἀλογίας ἄμα καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος δυσχε
ραίνειν θεούς, εἰς τοῦτο νῦν τὸ πάθος ἐλήλυθας, ὥστε εἶναι μὲν δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνων καταφρονεῖ καὶ ἀμελεῖν πραγμάτων. Ὕνα οὖν μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον ἑλθῇ σοι πάθος πρὸς ἀσέβειαν τὸ νῦν παρὸν δόγμα, ἀλλ' εάν πως οἶνον ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι λόγοις αὐτῷ προσφορὰς γενόμεθα δυνατοί, πειρώμεθα, συνάψαντες τὸν ἐξής λόγον ὦ πρὸς τὸν τὸ παράπαν οὐχ ἱγνούμενον θεοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς διεπερανάμεθα, τοῦτώ τὰ νῦν προσχρήσασθαι. σὺ δ', ὃ Κλεινία τε καὶ Μέγιλλε, ὕπερ τοῦ νέου καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἀπο
κρινόμενοι διαδέχεσθε· αὖν δὲ τὸ δύσκολον ἐμπίπτῃ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ σφῶν ὦσπερ νυν δεξάμενος διαβιβᾷ τὸν ποταμὸν.

ΚΑ. ὅρθως λέγεις· καὶ σὺ τε οὔτω ταῦτα δρά, ποιήσομεν τε ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἅ λέγεις.
ἈΘ. Ἄλλ' οὐδέν τάχ' ἂν ἴσως εἰη χαλέπον ἐνδείξασθαι τούτω γε, ὡς ἐπιμελεῖς σιμκρών εἰσιν θεοὶ οὕχ ἦττον, μάλλον δὲ, ἣ τῶν μεγέθει διαφερόντων. ἦκονε γάρ ποι καὶ παρῆν τοῖς νυνὶ δειγμένοις, ὡς ἄγαθοι γε ὄντες πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τὴν τῶν πάντων ἐπιμελεῖαν οἰκειοτάτην αὐτῶν οὖσαν κέκτηνται.
ΚΛ. Καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐπῆκουν.
5 ἈΘ. Τὸ μετὰ τούτο τοῖνυν κοινῇ συνεξεταζόντων τίνα λέγοντες ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὁμολογοῦμεν αὐτοῦς ἄγαθοὺς εἰναι. φέρε, τὸ σωφρονεῖν νοῦν τε κεκτηθεῖα φαμεν ἀρετῆς, τὰ δ' ἐναντία κακίας;
ΚΛ. Φαμεν.
ἐ ἈΘ. Τί δὲ; ἀρετῆς μὲν ἀνδρείαν εἶναι, δειλίαν δὲ κακίας;
ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.
ΑΘ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ τούτων, τὰ δὲ καλὰ φήσομεν;
ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη.
ΑΘ. Καὶ τῶν μὲν προσήκεις ἡμῖν, εἴπερ, ὡς ὀπόσα φλαῦρα, θεοῖς δὲ οὔτε μέγα οὔτε σμικρῶν τῶν τοιοῦτων μετὸν ἐρούμενος;
ΚΛ. Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὁμολογοί σᾶς ἂν.
10 ἈΘ. Τί δὲ; ἀμέλειαν τε καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφήν εἰς ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς θήσομεν, ἣ πῶς λέγεις;
ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;
ΑΘ. Ἄλλ' εἰς τοιοῦτον;
ΚΛ. Ναι.
901 ἈΘ. Τάναντια ἀρὰ τούτωσ εἰς τοιοῦτον;
ΚΛ. Τοιοῦτον.
ΑΘ. Τί οὖν δή; τρυφῶν καὶ ἀμέλης ἀργός τε, δν ὁ ποιητὴς κηφήσαι κοθοῦροις μάλιστα εἰκελον ἐφασκεν εἶναι, 5 γίγνοιτ' ἂν [ὁ] τοιοῦτος πᾶς ἡμῖν.
ΚΛ. Ὀρθότατα γε εἰπὼν.
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τὸν γε θεοὶ οὗ ῥητέον ἔχειν ἤδος τοιοῦτον, ὁ γέ τοι αὐτὸς μισεῖ, τῷ τε τῷ τοιοῦτον φθέγγεσθαι πειρωμένων οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον.
10 ΚΛ. Οὐ μὲν δή· πῶς γάρ ἂν;
b ἈΘ. Ὡς δὴ προσήκει μὲν πράττειν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι διαφερόντως τινός, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο γε νοῦς τῶν μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελεῖται, τῶν σιμκρῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖ, κατὰ τίνα ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον οὐκ ἂν παντάπασι πλημμελούμεν; σκο-
πώμεν δὲ ὃδε. ἀρ' οὐ κατὰ δύο εἶδη τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττει 5 ὁ πράττων, εἶτε θεὸς εἰτ' ἀνθρώπος;
ΚΑ. Πῶς ἔδει λέγομεν;
ΑΘ. ᾿Η διαφέρον οὐδὲν οἰόμενος εἶναι τῷ ὅλῳ ἀμελομένων τῶν σμικρῶν, ἡ βαθμία καὶ τρυφή, εἰ διαφέρει, ὦ δὲ ε ἀμελεῖ. ἡ ἐστιν ἄλλας πως γιγνομένη ἀμέλεια; οὐ γάρ ποι ὅταν γε ἀδύνατον ἥ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τότε ἀμέλεια ἐστιν τῶν σμικρῶν ἡ μεγάλων, μὴ ἐπιμελουμένῳ ὅν ἄν δυνάμει θεὸς ἡ φαύλος τις ἃν ἐλλιπής καὶ μὴ δυνατὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι γίγνεται.
ΚΑ. Πῶς γάρ ἂν;
ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ δὺ ὄντες τρισὶν ἡμῖν οὖσιν ἀποκρινάσθωσαν οἱ θεοῦς μὲν ἀμφότεροι ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι, παραπτητοὺς  ἀπὸ ἀποτελοῦσαν, ὦ δὲ ἀμελεῖς τῶν σμικρῶν. πρῶτον μὲν θεοὺς ἀμφότεροι φατε γιγνώσκειν καὶ ἥπαιν καὶ ἀκούεις πάντα, λαθεὶς δὲ αὐτούς οὐδὲν δυνατόν εἶναι τῶν ὁπόσων εἰσὶν αἱ ἀισθήσεις τε καὶ ἐπιστήμαι· ταύτῃ λέγετε ἔχειν ταύτα, ἡ 5 πῶς;
ΚΑ. Οὕτως.
ΑΘ. Τί δὲ; δύνασθαι πάντα ὁπόσων αὐτῷ δύναμις ἐστιν θεοῦς τε καὶ ἀθανάτους;
ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ συγχωρῆσονται καὶ ταύτα οὕτως ἔχειν; 10 ἈΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἀγαθοὺς γε καὶ ἁριστοὺς ὁμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πέντε ὄντες.
ΚΑ. Σφόδρα γε.
ΑΘ. ᾿Αρ' οὖν οὐ τῷ βαθμία μὲν καὶ τρυφῇ ἀδύνατον αὐτοὺς ἀμφολογεῖν πράττειν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν τὸ παράπαν, ὄντας οὐκ οὗν ὁμολογοῦμεν; δειλίας γὰρ ἐκγονοῦς ἐν γε ἡμῖν ἀργία, βαθμία δὲ ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς.
ΚΑ. ᾿Αληθέστατα λέγεις.
ΑΘ. ᾿Αργία μὲν δὴ καὶ βαθμία οὐδὲς ἀμελεῖ θεῶν· οὐ γάρ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ ποιος δειλίας.
ΚΑ. ᾿Ορθότατα λέγεις.
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν, εἴπερ ἀμελοῦσι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ἀλλίγων τῶν περὶ τὸ πᾶν. ἡ γιγνώσκοντες ὅσ τὸ παράπαν οὔδενος τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, δρῶειν ἄν τοῦτο, ἡ τί τὸ λοιπὸν πλὴν τῷ γιγνώσκειν τούναντίον;
ΚΑ. Οὐδέν.
ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν, ὦ ἀριστε καὶ βέλτιστε, θῶμεν σε 10

165
λέγοντα ὡς ἄγνοοιντάς τε καὶ δέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δι' ἀγνοιαν ἀμελοῦντας, ἡ γιγνώσκοντας ὅτι δεῖ, καθάπερ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγονται ποιεῖν, εἰδότες ἀλλὰ εἶναι βελτίων πράττειν ὧν δὴ πράττουσιν, διά τινας ήττας ἥδονάν ἡ λυπῶν οὐ ποιεῖν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν;
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν δὴ τὰ γε ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα τῆς τε έμψυχου μετέχει φύσεως ἁμα, καὶ θεοσεβέστατον αὐτό ἐστι πάντων ζῴων ἀνθρώπων;

ΚΛ. Ἐσούκε γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Θεών γε μὴν κτήματα φαμεν εἰναι πάντα ὁπόσα θυτῆτα ἡμᾶ, ἄντερ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν οἶλον.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;
ΑΘ. Ἡθη τοῖνν σμικρὰ ἡ μεγάλα τις φάτω ταῦτα εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς: οὐδέτερος γὰρ τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἡμᾶς ἀμελεῖν ἂν εὑρ' προσήκον, ἐπιμελεστάτοις γε οὕσι καὶ ἀρίστοις. σκοπᾶμεν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἐτί πρὸς τούτοις.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποίον;

ΑΘ. Τὸ περὶ τε αἰσθήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως, ἃρ' οὐκ ἐναντίος ἀλληλοὺς πρὸς βραστώνην καὶ χαλεπότητά ἐστον πεφυκότε.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Ὡρᾶν μὲν ποὺ καὶ ἄκουεν τὰ σμικρὰ χαλεπώτερον ἡ τὰ μεγάλα, φέρειν δὲ αὖ καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὅλων παντὶ βάζον ἡ τῶν ἐναντίων.

ΚΛ. Καὶ πολὺ γε.

ΑΘ. Ἰατρῷ δὲ προστεταγμένον ὦλον τι θεραπεύειν, βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ [τῶν] μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τῶν μορίων δὲ καὶ σμικρῶν ἀμελοῦντι, ἔξει ποτὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ τὸ πάν;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς.
ΑΘ. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ κυβερνήταις οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς οὐδ' οἰκονόμοις, οὐδ' αὖ τοῖν πολιτικοῖς οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενί, χωρὶς τῶν ὅλων καὶ σμικρῶν πολλὰ ἡ μεγάλα: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνεν σμικρῶν τοὺς μεγάλους φασίν λιθόλογοι λίθους εὗ κεῖσθαι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν;
ΑΘ. Μὴ τοῖνν τὸν γε θεὸν ἀξιώσωμεν ποτε θυτῶν δημιουργῶν φαυλότερον, οὐ τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔργα,
οσωπερ ἂν ἁμείνοις ὤσιν, τόσον ἀκριβέστερα καὶ τελεότερα μᾶ τέχνη σιμφάνται καὶ μεγάλα ἀπεργάζονται. τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὖν τε σοφῶτατον θεουμένον τ᾽ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ δυνά-μενον, ὅν μὲν ῥάγον ἢ ἐπιμεληθήναι σιμφάντων ὄντων, μηδαμῇ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἄργον ἢ δειλῶν τινα διὰ πόνους ῥαθυμοῦντα, τῶν δὲ μεγάλων.

ΚΛ. Μηδαμώς δόξαν τουαυτῆν περὶ θεῶν, ὡς “παποδε-χώμεθα: οὐδαμῇ γαρ οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτ’ ἀληθὲς τὸ διανόημα διανοοῦμεθ᾽ ἂν.

ΑΘ. Δοκοῦμεν δὲ μοι νῦν ἂδη μάλιστα μετρίως διειλέχθαι τῷ φιλατίῳ τῆς ἁμελείας περὶ θεῶν.

ΚΛ. Ναὶ.

ΑΘ. Τῷ γε βιάζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ λέγειν ὑβρίς; ἐπιδῶν γε μὴν προσδείσθαι μοι δοκεῖ μῦθων ἐτὶ τινῶν.

ΚΛ. Ποίων, ὡγαθὲ;

ΑΘ. Πείθωμεν τὸν νεανίαν τοῖς λόγοις ὡς τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιμελουμένῳ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἁρετὴν τοῦ ὅλου πάντ᾽ ἐστὶ συντεταγμένα, ὅν καὶ τὸ μέρος εἰς δύναμιν ἐκαστὸν τὸ προσθῆκον πάσχει καὶ ποιεῖ. τούτως δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες προστεταγμένοι ἐκάστους ἐπὶ τὸ σιμφότατον αἰεὶ πάθης καὶ πράξεως, εἰς μερισμὸν τὸν ἔσχατον τέλος ἀπειργασμένοι· ὅν ἐν καὶ τὸ σῦν, ὡς σχέτλιο, μόριον εἰς τὸ πᾶν συντείνει βλέπων αἰεῖ, καίπερ πάνομικρὸν ὅν, σὲ δὲ λέληθεν περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὃς γένεσις ἕνεκα ἐκείνου γίγνεται πᾶσα, ὅπως ἢ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς βιῶν ὑπάρχουσα εὐδαίμων οὐσία, ὁὐχ ἕνεκα σοῦ γνυμομένη, ὡς δ᾽ ἕνεκα ἐκείνου. πᾶς γὰρ ἱστρὸς καὶ πᾶς ἐντεχνὸς δημιουργός παντὸς μὲν ἕνεκα πᾶντα ἐργάζεται, πρὸς τὸ κοινὴ συντείνον βέλτιστον μέρος μὴν ἕνεκα ὅλου καὶ οὐχ ὅλων μέρους ἕνεκα ἀπεργάζεται· οὐ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖς, ἀγνωσθεῖ ὅπῃ τὸ περὶ σὲ ἀριστὸν τῷ παντὶ συμβαίνει καὶ σοὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν τῆς κοινῆς γενέσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ ψυχὴ συντε- ταγμένη σὺμματι τοτε μὲν ἄλλω, τοτε δὲ ἄλλω, μεταβάλλει παντοτικὰς μεταβολὰς δι᾽ ἐαυτὴν ἢ δι᾽ ἐτέραν ψυχὴν, ὡθημέν ἅλλο ἔργον τῷ πεπτευθῇ λείπεται πλὴν μετατιθέναι τὸ μὲν ἀμενοῦ γνυμόμενον ἦθος εἰς βελτίων τόπον, χειρὸν δὲ εἰς τὸν χείρονα, κατὰ τὸ πρέπον αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν, ἢν τῆς προσηκούσης μοίρας λαχανή.

ΚΛ. Πῇ λέγεις;
5 ΑΘ. Ἡπερ ἂν ἐξοι ραστώνης ἑπιμελείαις θεοῖς τῶν πάντων, ταύτη μου δοκῶ φράζειν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον αἰὲ βλέπων πλάττοι τις μετασχηματίζων τὰ πάντα, οἶον ἐκ πυρὸς ὠδὼρ ἐμψυχοῦν, καὶ μὴ σύμπολλα ἐξ ἑνὸς ἦ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐν, πρῶτης ἡ δευτέρας ἡ καὶ τρίτης γενέσεως μεταληφότα πλήθεις ἀπειρ ἂν εἰ ὑψ τῆς μετατύπωσι τοίης γενέσεως κοσμήσεως. νῦν δὲ ἐστὶ θαυμαστὴ ραστώνη τῇ τοῦ πάντος ἑπιμελουμένῳ.

5 ΚΑ. Πῶς αὖ λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Ὡδε. ἐπειδὴ κατείδεν ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμψυχοὺς οὕσας τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας καὶ πολλὴν μὲν ἁρετὴν ἐν αὐταῖς οὕσα, πολλὴν δὲ κακίαν, ἀνώλεθρον δὲ ὑν γενόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰώνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, καθάπερ οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὄντες θεοὶ—γένεσις γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ἥν ζώων ἀπολομένου τούτων θατέρου—καὶ τὸ μὲν ὠφέλει χεὶς πεθοκός, ὡςον ἀγαθὸν ψυχῆς, διενοθή, τὸ δὲ κακῶν βλάπτειν. ταύτα πάντα συνεδὼν, ἐμπραχύσατο ποῦ κείμενον ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν νικόσαν ἁρετὴν, ἡττωμένην δὲ κακίαν, ἐν τῷ παντὶ παρέχοι μάλιστ' ἂν καὶ ῥάτα καὶ ἁρώσα. μεμεχανὴν δὴ πρὸς πάν τοῦτο τὸ ποιὸν τι γιγνόμενον ἀεὶ ποιάν ἐδραν δεὶς μεταλαμβάναν οἰκίζομαι καὶ τίνας ποτὲ τόπους. τῆς δὲ γενέσεως τοῦ ποιὸν τινὸς ἀφήκη ταῖς θαυμάζοντο ἐκάστων ἡμῶν τὰς αἰτίας. ὅτι γὰρ ἂν ἐπίθυμη καὶ ὁποῖος τις ἥν τὴν ψυχήν, ταύτη σχεδὸν ἐκάστοτε καὶ τοιοῦτος γίγνεται ἂπας ἡμῶν ὡς τὸ πολὺ.

5 ΚΑ. Τὸ γοῦν εἰκός.
ΑΘ. Μεταβάλλει μὲν τοῖνυν πάνθ' ὁσα μέτοχα ἐστιν ψυχῆς, εἶν ἐαυτοῖς κεκτημένα τὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς αἰτίαν, μεταβάλλοντα δὲ φέρεται κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον. σμικρότερα μὲν τῶν ἠλῶν μεταβάλλοντα ἐλάττων κατὰ τὰ τῆς χώρας ἐπίπεδον μεταπορεύεται, πλεῖω δὲ καὶ ἀδικώτερα μεταπεσόντα, εἰς βάθος τά τε κάτω λεγόμενα τῶν τόπων, ὡςα "Ἄιδην τε καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχομενατῶν ὅνομάτων ἐπονομάζοντες σφόδρα φοβοῦνται καὶ ὑειροπολούσιν ἑωτέρες διαλυθέντες τε τῶν σωμάτων. μείζω δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ κακίας ἡ ἁρετής όποταν μεταλάβῃ διὰ τὴν αὐτής βουλήσεως καὶ ὁμιλίαν γενομένην Ἰσχυρὰν, ὁποταν μὲν ἁρετήθη θεὶς προσμειδαὶς γίγνεται διαφέρουσι τοιαύτῃ, διαφέροντα καὶ μετέβαλεν τόπων ἀγιών ὅλον, μετακομισθείσα εἰς ἀμείνω τινὰ τόπον.
ἐτερον· ὅταν δὲ τάναντια, ἐπὶ τάναντια μεθιδρύσασα τὸν αὐτῆς βίον.

Αὕτη τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν οἳ "Ολυμπον ἔχουσιν,

ὅ παῖ καὶ νεανίσκε ἀμελεῖσθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ θεῶν, κακῶν μὲν
gγνώμενον πρὸς τὰς κακίους ψυχὰς, ἀμείνω δὲ πρὸς τὰς
ἀμείνους πορευμένον, ἐν τε ζωῇ καὶ ἐν πάσι θανάτοις πάσχειν
tε ἃ προσήκον δράν ἐστὶ τοῖς προσφερέσι τοὺς προσφερεῖς
καὶ ποιεῖν. ταύτης τῆς δίκης οὔτε ὑμὶ ποτὲ οὔτε ἐὰν ἀλλὸς
ἀτυχὸς γενόμενος ἐπεύξηται περιγενέσθαι θεῶν· ἢν πασῶν
dικῶν διαφερόντως ἐταξάν τε οἱ τάξαντες χρεῶν τε ἐξευλα-
βεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν. ὦ γὰρ ἀμεληθηκότες ποτὲ ὑπ’ αὕτης:
οὐχ οὔτω σμικρὸν ὤν δύσῃ κατὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς βάθος, οὔδὲ
ὑψιλός γενόμενος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτήσῃ, τείσεις δὲ
αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν εἰτ’ ἐνθάδε μὲν εἴτε καὶ
ἐν "Αἴδοι διαπορευθεῖς εἴτε καὶ τοῦτων εἰς ἀγριώτερον ἐτὶ
dιακομισθεῖς τόπον. ὦ αὕτος δὲ λόγον σοι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων
ἀν εἰς, τῶν οὖς σὺ κατίδων ἐκ σμικρῶν μεγάλους γεγονότας
ἀνοσιορυγήσατας ἡ τι τοιοῦτον πράξαντας ψῆθης ἐξ ἄθλιων
eυδαίμονας γεγονέναι, κάτα ως ἐν κατόπτροις αὐτῶν ταῖς
πράξεωι ἡγήσω καθεωρακέναι τὴν πάντων ἀμέλειαν θεῶν,
οὐκ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν συντελείαν ὅτ’ ὑπὸ τῷ παντὶ συμ-
βάλλει. γιγνώσκειν δὲ αὐτήν, ὦ πάντων ἀνδρεώτατε, πῶς
οὐκ δεῖν δοκεῖς; ἢν τις μὴ γιγνώσκων οὐδ’ ἂν τὸν ἵδιον ποτὲ,
οὐδὲ λόγον συμβάλλεσθαι περὶ βίου δυνατός ἢν γένοιτο εἰς
ευδαίμοναν τε καὶ δυσδαίμονα τύχην. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν σε πείθει
Κλεωνίας ὃς καὶ σύμπασα ἢμῶν ἢδε ἡ γερουσία, περὶ θεῶν
ὡς οὐκ οἴσθα ὅτι λέγεις, καλῶς ἂν σοι θεὸς αὐτὸς συλλαμ-
βάνοι· ἐδ’ ἐπιδείξῃ ἐτὶ λόγου τινὸς ἂν εἰς, λεγόντων ἢμῶν
πρὸς τὸν τρίτον ἑπάκουε, εἰ νοῦν καὶ ὅπωσον ἔχεις. ὅτι
μὲν γὰρ θεοὶ τ’ εἰσίν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελεῦται, ἐγγὺς οὖ
παντάπασιν φαύλως ἂν φαίην ἢμῶν ἀποδεδείξῃ· τὸ δὲ
παραπτητοῦς αὐθεὺς εἰσίν τοῖσον ἀδικοῦσι, δεχομένους δύρα,
οὔτε τῶι συγχωρητέον παντὶ τ’ αὖ κατὰ δύναμιν τρόπῳ
ἐλεγκτέον.

ΚΛ. Κάλλιστ’ εἶτε, ποιῶμεν τε ὡς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν αὐτῶν, τίνα τρόπον παρατητοι
γύνοντ’ ἄν ἢμῖν, εἰ γίγνοντο αὐ; καὶ τίνες ἡ ποῖοι τίνες
ὄντε; ἄρχοντας μὲν ἀναγκατὸν που γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἕως

169
διουκήσοντας τὸν ἀπαντα ἐντελεχῶς ὀφρανόν.

ΚΑ. Οὔτως.

5 ἈΘ. ἈΛΛ ἁρὰ τίσι προσφερεὶς τῶν ἀρχῶντων; ἢ τίνες
tούτοις, ὁν δυνατὸν ἦμιν ἀπεικάζουσι τυχανέων μείζων
ἐλάττονας; πότερον ἤμιοχοὶ τίνες ἂν εἶχεν τοιοῦτοι ζευγάριν
ἀμιλλαμένων ἢ πλοίων κυβερνήται; τάχα δὲ κἂν ἀπει-
κασθείοις στρατοπέδων ἀρχούσι τίσιν. εἰή δ' ἂν καὶ νόσουν
πόλεμον εὐλαβομένοις ἵστροις ἐσκέναι περὶ σύμματα, ἢ

906 γεωργοίς περὶ φυτῶν γένεσιν εἰσιθυίας ὄρας χαλεπᾶς διὰ
φόβων προσδεχομένοις, ἢ καὶ ποιμνίων ἐπιστάταις. ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ συγκεκαρῆκαμεν ἦμιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν τὸν ὀφρανὸν
πολλῶν μεστὸν ἁγαθῶν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, πλειόνων
δὲ τῶν μή, μάχη δὴ, φαμέν, ἀλάνατος ἐσθ' ἢ τοιάτη καὶ

φυλακῆς θαυμαστῆς δεομένη, σύμμαχοι δὲ ἦμιν θεοὶ τῇ ἁμά
και δάμονες, ἁμένες δ' αὐτὶ κτῆμα ἥθεν καὶ δαμόνων· φθείρε
δὲ ἢμᾶς ἀδικία καί ὑπερὶ μετὰ ἀφροσύνης, σφέζει δὲ δικαίωσύνη
καὶ σωφροσύνη μετὰ φρονήσεως, ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐμψυχοῖς
οἰκοῦσαι δυνάμεως, βραχύ δὲ τι καὶ τῆς ἀν τις τῶν τοιούτων
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καὶ ἄδικον λήμμα κεκτημέναι δήλου ὑπὶ θηρίωδεις, πρὸς τὰς

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ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν ὄνν.

ΔΘ. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν λόγον ἀναγκαίον λέγεω τὸν λέγοντα

δ ὃς εἰσὶν συγγενίμονες ἄει θεοὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἁδίκοις καὶ

ἄδικοις; ἃν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων τις ἀπονέμῃ· καθάπερ

κυσὶν λύκοι τῶν ἀρπασμάτων σμικρὰ ἀπονέμοιεν, οὗ δὲ

ημερούμενοι τοῖς διάροις συγχωροῦν τὰ ποιμνα διαρπάζειν.

5 ἅρ' οὖχ οὖτος ὁ λόγος ὃ τῶν φασκόντων παραγινητοὺς εἶναι

θεοῦς;

ΚΛ. Οὔτος μὲν ὄνν.

ΑΘ. Τίσιν ὄνν δὴ τῶν προρρηθέντων ἀπεικάζων ὁμοίως

170
φύλακας εἶναι θεούς οὐκ ἂν καταγέλαστος γίγνοιτο ἀνθρώπων ὀστισμοῦ; πότερον κυβερνήταις, λοιβῇ τε οἴνου κύσῃ τε παρατρεπομένοις αὐτοῖς, ἀνατρέπουσι δὲ ναῦς τε καὶ ναῦτας;

ΚΛ. Μηδαμώς.

ΑΘ. 'Αλλ' οὕτω, μὴν ἡμιόχουσι γε ἐν ἀμύλλῃ συντε-5 ταμένους, πεισθέας ὑπὸ δωρεὰς ἐτέροις τὴν νίκην ζεύγεσι προδονύαι.

ΚΛ. Δεινήν γὰρ εἰκόνα λέγουσι ἢ λέγων τὸν λόγον τούτον.

ΑΘ. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ στρατηγοὶς γε οὐδ' ἱατροῖς οὐδὲ γεωρ-γοῖς, οὐδὲ νομεῦσι μὴν οὐδὲ τισι κυσὶν κεκηλημένοις ὑπὸ λύκων.

ΚΛ. Εὐφῆμει: πῶς γὰρ ἂν;

ΑΘ. 'Αλλ' οὔ πάντων φυλάκων εἰσὶ μέγιστοι καὶ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἢμῖν οἱ πάντες θεοί;

ΚΛ. Πολὺ γε.

ΑΘ. Τοὺς δὴ κάλλιστα τε πράγματα φυλάττοντας, δια-5 φέροντάς τε αὐτοὺς φυλακὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν, κυνῶν χείρως καὶ ἀνθρώπων μέσων εἶναι φήσομεν, οἱ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ προδίδον ἕνεκα δώρων παρὰ ἄδικων ἀνθρῶν ἀνοσίως διδομένων;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς· οὔτε ἀνεκτὸς λόγων, τῶν τε περὶ πάσαν ἀσέβειαν ὄντων κυνοκεφαλῶς πάσι οἱ ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἀντεχό-μενος πάντων ἂν τῶν ἀσεβῶν κεκρίσθαι δικαιότατα κάκωστός τε εἶναι καὶ ἀσεβέστατος.

ΑΘ. Τὰ μὲν δὴ προτεθέντα τρία, θεοὶ τε ως εἰσὶν, καὶ ως ἐπιμελεῖς, καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ως παντάπασιν ἀπαραίτητοι, φῶμεν ἵκανος ἀποδεεῖχθαί ποι; 6

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὕ; καὶ σύμψηφοι γε τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἐσμέν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν εἰρηνταὶ γε πως σφοδρότερον διὰ φιλονικίαν τῶν κακῶν ἄνθρωπών· τούτοις γε μὴν ἐνεκα, ὁ φίλε Κλεινία, πεφιλονικήσαν, μὴ ποτὲ λόγος ἡγώνται κρατοῦσιν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι σφίσων ἢ βούλονται πράττειν οἱ κακοὶ, ἢ δὴ καὶ ὅσα καὶ οἶα περὶ θεοὺς διανοοῦνται. προθύμια μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα νεωτέρως εἰσεῖν ἢμῖν γέγονεν· εἰ δὲ τι καὶ βραχύν προώργου πεποιήκαμεν εἰς τὸ πείθειν πη τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐαυτοὺς μὲν μισῆσαι, τὰ δ' ἐναντία πως ἠθῇ στέρζαι, καλῶς ἢμῖν εἰρημένον

171
δ ἤν εἶχε τὸ προοίμιον ἀσεβείας πέρι νόμων.

ΚΛ. Ἀλλὰ ἐλπίς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸ γε τὸν λόγον γένος οὐκ αἰτιάσεται τὸν νομοθέτην.

ΑΘ. Μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον τοῖνυν λόγος οἶδα δὲ τῶν νόμων

εἴρημαις ὅρθως γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, προαγωγέων ἐξιστάσθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀσεβείς τρόπων τῶν αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς. τοῖς δὲ μὴ πεθομένοις ἀσεβείας οἴδε ἔστω πέρι νόμος. Ἐὰν τις ἀσεβὴς λόγοις εἰτὲ ἔργοις, δὲ παρατυγχάνων ἁμυντῶν σημαίνων πρὸς ἀρχοντας, τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων οἱ πρῶτοι πυθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ περὶ τοὺν ἀποδεδειγμένον κρίμεν δικαστήριον εἰςαγα-

γόντων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· εὰν δὲ τις ἀκούσασα ἀρχὴ μὴ δρά ταῦτα, αὐτὴ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδοκος γιγνέσθω τῷ ἐθέλοντι τιμωρεῖν ύπὲρ τῶν νόμων. εὰν δὲ τις ὁφθῆ, τιμᾶτω τὸ δικαστήριον ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν καθ᾽ ἐν ἀσεβοῦστοι τίμημα.

908 δεσμὸς μὲν οὖν υπαρχέτω πάσως· δεσμωτηρίων δὲ ὑπνῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τριῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν κοινοὶ τοῖς πλείστοις περὶ ἄγοραν, σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν σωμάτων, ἐνὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν τῶν νῦκτωρ συλλεγομένων σύλλογον, σωφρονουστηρίον ἐπονο-

μαζόμενον, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτὰ κατὰ μέσην τὴν χώραν, στηπὶ περὶ ἄν ἔρημος τε καὶ ὅστις μᾶλιστα ἀγροῦτατος ἢ τοῦτος, τιμωρίας ἐχὼν ἐπωνυμίαν φήμην τινὰ· περὶ ἀσεβείαν δὲ ὑπνῶν αἰτίας

μὲν τρισάς, αἰστήρα καὶ δυνήθωμεν, δύο δὲ εἰς ἐκάστης τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας γενομένων, εἰς ἂν γίγνοιτο ἄ καὶ διακρίσεως ἀξία γένε τῶν περὶ τα θεῖα ἐξαμαρτανόντων, οὐκ ἱσθέν ὁμοίας δίκης δεόμενα. ὃ γὰρ ἂν μὴ νομίζοιτε θεοὺς εἰναι τὸ παράπαν ἂθος φύει προσγένηται δίκαιον, μισοῦτες τε γίγνονται τοὺς κακοὺς, καὶ τῷ δυσχεραίνειν τὴν ἀδικίαν ὑπὲ τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις προσίεται πράττει, τοὺς τε μὴ

c δικαίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων φεύγουσι καὶ τοὺς δικαίους στέργου-

σιν· οἷς δὲ ἂν πρὸς τῇ δόξῃ τῇ θεοῦ ἔρμην εἰναι πάντα ἀκράτεια τε ἡδονῶν καὶ λυπῶν προσπέσσωσι, μνημαί τε ἵσχυρα καὶ μαθήσεις ὀξεῖα παρώσι, τὸ μὲν μὴ νομίζειν

θεοὺς ἀμφοῖν ἂν ἐνυπάρχοι κοινὸν πάθος, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων λόγῳ τὸ μὲν ἐλάττω, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον κακὰ ἐργάζοντ’ ἂν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ λόγω τε ἂν περὶ θεοῦ παραρρίατι εἰπὸ μεστὸς καὶ περὶ θυσίας τε καὶ ὦρκους, καὶ ὅστις τῶν ἄλλων καταγελῶν

d τάχ’ ἂν ἐτέρους τοιούτους ἀπεργάζοιτο, δίκης μὴ τυγχάνων· ὁ δὲ δὴ δοξαζόν μὲν καθάπερ ἄτερος, εὐφυὴς δὲ ἐπικαλοῦ-

μενος, δόλου δὲ καὶ ἐνέδρας πλήρης, εἰς ὧν μάντεις τε
κατασκευάζονται πολλοί καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μαγγανείαν κεκινημένοι, γίγνονται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ τύραννοι καὶ δημηγοροί καὶ στρατηγοί, καὶ τελεταίς δὲ ἰδίαις ἐπιβεβουλευκότες, σοφιστάν τε ἐπικαλουμένων μηχαναί. τούτων δὲ πολλὰ μὲν εἴδη γένοιτ’ ἄν, τὰ δὲ νόμων ἄξια θέσεως δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν εἰρωνικόν οὐχ ἐνός οἴδε δυὸν ἄξια θεατῶν ἀμαρτάνον, τὸ δὲ νουθετήσεως ἄμα καὶ δεσμῶν δεόμενον. ὀσαύτως δὲ καὶ καὶ τὸ θεοῦ νομίζον ἀμελεῖν δυ’ ἐτερα γεννᾷ, καὶ τὸ παρατητοῦσι ἀλλὰ δύο. τούτων δὴ ταύτῃ διεστικότων, τοὺς μὲν ὑπ’ ἄνοιας ἁνεύ κάκης ὀργῆς τε καὶ ἥθεος γεγενημένων εἰς τὸ σωφρονιστήριον ὁ δικαστὴς τίθεμεν νόμῳ τιθέοντος μηδὲν ἐλαττον ἐτῶν πέντε, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ μηδεῖς τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτῶς ἔλλος συγγιγνέσθω πλῆν οἱ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ συλλόγου κοινωνοῦντες, ἐπὶ νουθετήσει τε καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρία ἐμιλοῦντες. ὅταν δ’ ὁ χρόνος αὐτῶς ἐξέλθῃ τῶν δεσμῶν, εἰάν μὲν δοκῇ τις σωφρονεῖν αὐτῶν, οἰκείων μετὰ τῶν σωφρόνων, εάν δὲ μὴ, ὀφείλῃ δ’ αὕτης τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην, θανάτῳ ξημιούσθω. ὅσοι δ’ ἂν θηριώδεις γένουται πρὸς τῷ θεοῦ μὴ νομίζειν ἢ ἀμελεῖς ἢ παρατητοῦσι εἶναι, καταφρονοῦντες δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαγωγῶσι μὲν πολλοὺς τῶν ζώντων, τοὺς δὲ τεθνεώτας φάσκοντες ψυχαγωγεῖν καὶ θεοὺς ὑποσχούμενοι πείθεν, ὡς θυσίας τε καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπωδαῖς γοητεύοντες, ἱδώτας τε καὶ ὀλὰς οἰκίας καὶ πόλεις χρημάτων χάριν ἐπιχειρῶσιν κατ’ ἀκρας ἐξαιρεῖν, τούτων δὲ ὃς ἢν ὀφλῶν εἶναι δόξῃ, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτῷ κατὰ νόμον δεδέσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ τῶν μεσογέων δεσμωτηρίῳ, προσίεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς μηδένα ἐλεύθερον μηδὲποτε, τακτὴν δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων αὐτῶς τροφήν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν λαμβάνειν. ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν ὀρίσκει ἐκβάλλειν ἀταφον. εὰν δὲ τὶς ἐλεύθερος συνθάπτῃ, δίκας ἀσεβείας τῷ ἔθελοντι λαγχάνειν ὑπεχέτων. ποίása δ’ ἂν μὲν καταλείπῃ τῇ πόλει ἰκανον, οἱ τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι καὶ τούτων ὃς ὄντων ὀρφανῶν ἐπιμελεύσων μηδέν χειρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τῆς ἄμερας ἃς ἂν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ὀφλῆ τὴν δίκην.

Κοινὸν δ’ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάσι νόμον κεῖσθαι χρεών, ὃς ἐλάττω τε εἰς θεοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἑργῷ καὶ λόγῳ πλημμελεῖν ἃν ποιοῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνόητος Ἰησοῦ γίγνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι θεοπολεῖν παρὰ νόμον. ἔστω γὰρ νόμος ὃδε τοῖς σύμπασιν κείμενοι ἀπλῶς. Ἰέρα μηδὲ εἰς ἐν ἰδίαις
oικίας εκτήσθων. θύειν δ' ὅταν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἵνα τινὶ, πρὸς τὰ
dημόσια ὑπὸ τὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῖσι τε καὶ ἱερείαις ἐγχει-
eρέτω τὰ δύοματα, οἷς ἀγνεῖα τοῦτων εἰπιμελεῖσα. συνεὐξάσθω
δὲ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ συνεύχεσθαι. ταύτα
dὲ γυγνόμενα τῶν τούτων χάριν ἐστώ. ἵερα καὶ θεοὺς οὐ
ῥάδιον ἱδρύεσθαι, μεγάλης δὲ διανοίας τινὸς ὀρθῶς δράν τὸ
tουιτόν, ἑθος τε γυναιξὶ τῇ δή διαφερόντως πάσαις καὶ τοῖς
ἀσθενοῦσι πάντῃ καὶ κυδωνεύουσι καὶ ἀποροῦσι, ὅτι τις
ἂν ἀπορῇ, καὶ τοῦνατιν ὅταν εὐπορίας τινὸς λάβωνται,
καθερῶν τε τὸ παρὸν ἄει καὶ θυσίας εὐχέσθαι καὶ ἱδρύσεις
ὑποσχενεῖσθαι θεοῖς καὶ δαίμονας καὶ παισὶ θεῶν, ἐν τῇ
φάσμαιν ἐγρηγοροῦντας διὰ φόβους καὶ ἐν ὀνείροις, ὃς δὲ
αὐτῶς ὤφεις πολλαὶ ἀπομνημονεύοντας ἐκάσταις τε αὐτῶν
ἀκή ποιούμενοι βωμοὺς καὶ ἵερα, πᾶσας μὲν οἰκίας, πάσας
5 δὲ κόμις ἐν τῇ καθαροῖς ἱδρυμένους ἐμπυμπλάναι καὶ ὅτι
tις έτυχε τῶν τοιούτων. ἂν ἕνεκα χρή πάντων ποιεῖν κατὰ
tὸν νῦν λεγόμενον νόμον πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἑνεκα τῶν ἁσέ-
bούτων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ταῦτα κλέπτοντες ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἵερα
tε καὶ βωμοὺς ἐν ἱδίαις οἰκίας ἱδρυμένοι, λάθρα τοὺς θεοὺς
ἐλεως οἰόμενοι ποιεῖν θυσίας τε καὶ εὐχαῖς, εἰς ἀπειρὸν τὴν
5 ὁδικίαν αὐξάνοντες αὐτοῖς τῇ εὑρηκήματα πρὸς θεῶν ποιοῦνται
καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, οὐσιν αὐτῶν βελτίσσων, καὶ πάσα
οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἀπολαμβάνη τῶν ἁσεβῶν τρόπων τούτων ἰδικαῖως.
tὸν μὲν δὴ νομοδέτην ὁ θεὸς οὐ μέμπεται. κεῖον γὰρ νόμος
οὗτος. Μὴ κεκτήσθαι θεῶν ἐν ἱδίαις οἰκίαις ἵερα, τὸν δὲ
cφανέντα κεκτημένον ἔτερα καὶ ὀργάζομαι πλὴν τὰ δημόσια,
ἐὰν μὲν ἄδικον μηδὲν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀνοιχῶν εἰργα-
σμένος ἀνήρ ἡ καὶ γυνὴ κεκτήται τις, ὁ μὲν αἰσθανόμενος
καὶ εἰσαγγελλέτω τοῖς νυμφόφραξιν, ὁ τοῦ δὲ προστατόντων
5 εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἀποφέρεσι ἵερα τὰ ἱδία, μὴ πείθοντες δὲ
ξημούντων ἐν ὅπερ ἀπενεχθῇ. ἐναν τῶν ἁσεβῆς μὴ
παιδίων ἀλλ' ἄνδρῶν ἁσεβῆς ἀνοίξους γένηται φανερός,
eῖτὲ ἐν ἱδίαις ἱδρυμένοις εἰτ' ἐν δημοσίοις θύσια ἵερα θεοῖς
dοισεισνούν, ὡς οὐ καθάρος ὃν θύσιν δανάτῳ ξημοῦσθω,
tὸ δὲ παιδεύον ἢ μὴ κρίνατε οἱ νυμφόφρακτικοὶ, εἰς τὸ
dικαστήριον οὕτως εἰσαγαγόντες, τῆς τῆς ἁσεβείας δίκην
tούτους ἐπιτελοῦντων.
BOOK XI
SHORT ANALYSIS

913-915.—Legal definition of and limitations to the right to property.
916-917.—State regulations as to buying and selling. Honesty in trade.
918-920 c.—State restrictions on retail trade and inn-keeping.
920 d-922 a 5.—Actions for breach of contract—including the failure duly to honour professional soldiers.
922 a 6-928 d 4.—Laws regulating the power of testamentary disposition; and the position and care of orphans.
928 d 5-929.—The decision of disputes between fathers and sons.
930.—Disputes between husbands and wives. Divorce.
931-932.—Respect to be shown to old age.
933 a-e 6.—Injuries by (a) noxious drugs, (b) magic charms or philtres.
933 e-934 c 6.—Thefts and acts of violence.
934 c 7-936 b 2.—Laws dealing with (a) madmen, (b) violent ill-temper and personal abuse, (c) limitations to the use of public ridicule.
936 b 3-c 7.—Mendicancy absolutely prohibited.
936 c 8-e 5.—Masters to be responsible for injuries committed by slaves (except in cases of collusion or culpable negligence on the part of the injured).
936 e 6-937 d 5.—Laws dealing with witnesses in courts of justice.
937 d 6-938 c 5.—Professional advocacy absolutely forbidden.

IA

ἈΘ. Τὸ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτ᾽ εἶ ὑπὸ συμβολαίων ἢν πρὸς ἄλλη-λους ἡμῶν δεόμενα προσηκούσης τάξεως. ἀπλοῦν δὲ γε'


913a

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

εστὶν ποι τὸ γε τουτόν. Μήτε οὖν τὶς τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων ἀπτυχεί οἱ δύναμις; μηδὲ αὕτη κινήσεις μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον
5 ἐμὲ μηδαμὴ μηδαμῶς πείθων. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περί τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγώ δρόμην, νοῦν ἔχων ἐμφρονα. θε- 

σαυρόν δὴ [λέγομεν] πρῶτον τῶν τουτῶν ὅπως ἀν οὐκ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν κεφαλῆς ἔθετο, μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐν πατέρων, μηδὲ'

b εὑρεῖν ποτε θεοῖς εὔξαμην μηθ' εὑρὼν κινήσωμι, μηθ' αὕτη τοῖς λεγομένοις μάντεσιν ἀνακοινώσωμι τοῖς ἀμώς γε πάσαις

μου συμβουλεύονες ἀνέλειν τὴν γῆ παρακαταθήκην. οὐ γὰρ ποτε τουτόν εἰς χρημάτων ὑθελθείν ἂν κτῆσιν

5 ἀνέλαθον, ὅσον εἰς ὄνγκον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ζησῆς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπιδιόδουν μὴ ἀνέλομενος, κτῆμα ἀντὶ κτήματος ἀμενῶν ἐν ἀμεινῶν κτησάμενος, δίκην ἐν τῇ ζησῇ πλούτου προτυ- 

μῆσας ἐν οὐσίᾳ κεκτήσατε πρότερον. εἶπ' πολλάς γὰρ δὴ λεγόμενον εὗ τὸ μὴ κυνείν τὰ ἀκώντα καὶ περὶ τοῦτον

c λέγοιτ' ἂν ὡς ἐνὸς ἐκείνων ὄντος, πείθεσθαι δὲ χρῆ καὶ τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα λεγομένους μύθοις, ὡς εἰς παύων γενεὰν ὑδ σύμφορα τὰ τουτά. ὁς δ' ἂν παύων τὸ ἀκοὴς γένηται καὶ τοῦ θέντος τὸν νόμον ἀμελήσας, ἀ μήτε αὐτὸς κατέθετο

5 μήτε αὐτῶν τοὺς πατήρας, μή πέσας τὸν θέμενον ἀν- 

έληται, καλλιστόν νόμων διαφθειρῶν, ἀπλοῦστατον καὶ ὑσαμήν ἀγείνοις ἀνδρῶς νομοθέτημα, ὅς εἶπεν· 'Α μή κατέ-

d θθοῦν, μή ἀνέλη—τούτων δυνῶν νομοθέτων καταφρονή-

σαντα καὶ ἀνέλομενον, οὕτω σμαργόν, δ' μή κατέθετο αὐτὸς, 

πλήθος δ' ἐστὶν ὅτε θεσαυρόν παρατεθείνες, τί χρῆ πάσχειν; ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ θεοῦ, δ' θεὸς οἶδεν. δ' δὲ κατιδὼν πρῶτος ἀγγελ-

λέτω, ἐὰν μὲν ἐν ἄστει γίγνεται τὸ τουτόν, τοῖς ἀστυνόμοις, ἐὰν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀγορᾷ ποι, τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις, ἐὰν

5 δὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, ἀγοροῦμοι τε καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἀρχουσι δηλοσάτω. δηλωθέντων δὲ, ἡ πόλις εἰς Δελφοὺς περιπέτων

οτὶ δ' ἄν νο θεοῦ ἀναρρῆνερ περὶ τε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ κινή-

σαντας, τοῦτο ἡ πόλις ὑπηρετοῦσα ταῖς μαντείαις δράτω τοῦ

5 θεοῦ. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἔλευθερος ὁ μνήσας ἦ, δόξαν ἀρτῆς κεκτήσατο, μὴ μνήσας δὲ, κακίας· δοῦλος δ' ἐὰν ἦ, μνήσας

μὲν ἔλευθερος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἀποδι-

δούσης τῷ δεσπότῃ τῷ τηρῇ, μὴ μνήσωσι δὲ θανάτω της-

μιούσθω. τούτῳ δ' ἐπόμενον ἔξης ἂν γίγνοιτο τὸ περὶ

b σμικρά καὶ μεγάλα ταῦτα τοῦτο νόμιμον συνακολουθεῖν. ἂν τις τῶν αὐτῶν τι καταλείπῃ που ἐκὼν εἰτ' ἄκων, δ'
προστυγχάνων ἔτως κείσθαι, νομίζων φιλάττειν ἐνοδίαν
dαίμονα τὰ τουατα ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῇ θεῷ καθιερωμένα. 5
ἀν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα τις ἀπειθῶν ἀναρούμενον οἴκαδε φέρῃ,
ἀν μὲν σμικρᾶς τιμῆς ἄξιον ὅν δοῦλος, ὑπὸ τοῦ προστυγχά-
νοντος μὴ ἐλαττον τριακοντάτους πολλὰς πληγὰς μαστι-
γούσθω: εὰν δὲ τις ἐλευθερος, πρὸς τῷ ἀνελευθερος ἐδει
δοκεῖν καὶ ἀκοινώνητος νόμων, δεκαπλάσιον τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ
κυρηνέτος ἀποτυγκῶ τῷ καταλπόντη. εὰν δὲ τις ἐπαι-
νιᾶται τῶν αὐτῶν χρημάτων ἔχειν τινὰ πλέον ἡ καὶ σμικρό-
τερον, δὲ δὲ διμολογῇ μὲν ἔχειν, μὴ τὸ ἐκείνον δὲ, ἂν μὲν
ἀπογεγραμμένον ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχουσι τὸ κτήμα κατὰ νόμον,
tὸν ἔχοντα καλείσθω πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὃ δὲ καθιστᾶτω.
γενομένου δὲ ἐμφανοῦ, εὰν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἀπογεγρα-
μένον φαίνηται ποτέροι τῶν ἄμφισβητούντων, ἐξων οὕτως
ἀπέτω: εὰν δὲ των ἀλλο τῶν μὴ παράντων, ὅποτερος ἂν
παράσχῃ τὸν ἐγγυητὴν ἄξιόχρεως, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπόντος ὡς
παραδώσων ἐκείνω κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀφαιρέσων ἀφαιρέσω.
εὰν, δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχουσι τὸ ἄμφισβητούμενον μὴ ἀπο-
γεγραμμένων δὲ, κείσθω μὲν μέχρι δίκης παρὰ τρισὶ τῶν
ἀρχὸντων τοῖς πρεβυτάτος, εὰν δὲ τὸ μεσεγγυωθὲν θρέμμα
ἡ, τὸν νικηθέντα περὶ αὐτοῦ δίκη τὴν τροφὴν ἐκτίνευν τοῖς
ἀρχουσιν: τὴν δὲ κρίνων διαδικάζειν ἐντὸς τριῶν ἡμερῶν
τοὺς ἀρχοντας.

'Αγέτω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ Βουλόμενος, εἰπὶ ἐμφρῶν
ἡ, χρησάμενος ὡς ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν ὅποσα ὅσια: ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ
ὑπὲρ ἀλλο τῶν οἰκείων ἡ φίλων τὸν ἀφεστώτα ἐπὶ σω-
tηρία... εὰν δὲ τοῖς ἀφαιρήται τινα εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ὡς δοῦλον
ἀγόμενον, μεθέτω μὲν ὃ ἄγον, δὲ ἀφαιροῦμεν ἐγγυηθα
τρεῖς ἄξιόχρεος καταστήσας, οὕτως ἄφαιρεσθω κατὰ ταῦτα,
ἀλλος δὲ μὴ. εὰν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα τις ἀφαιρήται, τῶν βιάων
ἔνοχος ἐστώ, καὶ ἄλοις τὴν διπλασίαν τοῦ ἐπιγραφέντος
βλάβους τῷ ἀφαιρεθέντι τινάτο. ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπε-
λευθερον, εἶν τῆς μὴ θεραπεύῃ τοὺς ἀπελευθερώσαντας ἡ
μὴ ἰκανῶς. θεραπεύει δὲ φοιτᾷ τρίς τοῦ μηνὸς τῶν ἀπε-
λευθερωθέντας πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀπελευθερώσαντος ἐστίαν, 5
ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὧ τι χρὴ δραν τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀμα δυνατῶν,
kai. περὶ γάμου ποιεῖν ὑπερ ἀν συνδοκῆ τῷ γενομένῳ
δεσπότῃ. πλουτεῖν δὲ τῶν ἀπελευθερώσαντος μὴ ἔζειν
μᾶλλον: τὸ δὲ πλέον γιγνέσθω τοῦ δεσπότου. μὴ πλεῖω ς

VOL. II 177 N
δὲ εὐκοσὶν ἔτων μένειν τὸν ἀφεθέντα, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξένους ἀπίεναι λαβόντα τὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν, ἕαν μὴ πείσῃ τοὺς τε ἀρχοντας καὶ τὸν ἀπελευθερώσαντα.

5 ἐὰν δὲ τῷ ἀπελευθερώθηνῃ ἡ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων των ξένων οὐσία πλῆθων γίγνεται τοῦ τρίτου μεγέθει τιμήματος, ἢ ἂν τούτῳ ἡμέρα γένηται, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας λαβὼν ἀπίτω τὰ ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ μηδεμία τῆς μονῆς παράτησις ἐτί τοῦτο παρ’ ἀρχοντῶν γιγνέσθω· ἐὰν δὲ τίς ἀπειθῶν τούτοις εἰσαχθεῖς εἰς δικαστήριον ὀφλῆ, θανάτῳ τε ἥμισυσθω καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ γιγνέσθω δημόσια.

5 δικαίος δ’ ἐστισαν τούτων ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαισί δίκαια, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἐν γείτονοι ἤ ἐν αἰρετοῖς δικασταῖς ἀπαλλάττωσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. ἐὰν δὲ ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐφάπτεται ζήμιον καὶ ὀστοῦν ἢ τῖνος ἐτέρου τῶν αὐτοῦ

d χρημάτων, ἀναγέτω μὲν ὁ ἤχον εἰς πρατήρα ἢ τὸν δόντα ἀξιόχρεων τε καὶ ἐνδικὸν τὴν τρόπῳ παραδόντα ἄλλω κυρίως, εἰς μὲν πολίτην ἢ καὶ μέτοικον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα, εἰς δὲ ἕξικυκῆν παράδοσον πέντε μηνῶν,

5 οἷς μέσος ὁ μὴν ἐν δ’ τρέπεται θερμὸς ἡλιος εἰς τὸ χειμερινά. ὡσα δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑψίστων ἢ καὶ πράσεως ἄλλαττηται τοις ἐτέροις ἄλλω, διδόντα ἐν χώρα τῇ τεταγμένη ἐκάστοις κατ’ ἀγοράν καὶ δεχόμενον ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα τιμήν, οὕτως
e ἀλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλοθεὶ δὲ μηδαμοῦ, μηδ’ ἐπὶ ἀναβολῇ πράσιν μηδὲ ὑνὴν ποιεῖσθαι μηδενός· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλως ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ὀτιοῦ ἀνθ’ ὄστους διαμείβηται ἔτερος ἄλλω, πυστεύων πρὸς ὅν ἂν ἄλλαττηται, ποιεῖσθαι ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ οὔσων

5 δικὼν κατὰ νόμον περὶ τῶν μη πραθετῶν κατὰ τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα. ἐράνων δὲ πέρι, τὸν θυσίαν ἐρανίζειν φίλον παρὰ φίλοις· ἐὰν δὲ τὶς διαφορὰ γίγνεται περὶ τῆς ἐρανίζεσθαι, οὕτω πράττειν ὡς δικῶν μηδενὶ περὶ τοὺς μηδαμῶς ἐσομένων. ὃς δὲ ἂν ἀποδόμενος τιμήν του λάβῃ μὴ ἐλάττω

10 ὁδαχωσιν πεντήκοντα, παραμενέτω κατὰ πόλιν εἰς ἀνάγκης

916 δέκα ἡμέρας, ὃ δὲ προέμενος ἦστα τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν του ἀποδομένου, τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκλημάτων εἰσβοτῶν γίγνεσθαι χάριν καὶ τῶν ἀναγογῶν τῶν κατὰ νόμους ἐνεκα· ἢ δὲ κατὰ νόμους ἀναγωγὴ καὶ μὴ θηδε ἔστω. ἐὰν τὸι ἀνδράποδον ἀποδῷται κάμινον φθώνη λιβῶν ἢ στραγγουρίων ἢ τῇ καλομένη ἵερᾶ νόσῳ ἢ καὶ ἐτέρῳ των ὅδηγων τοῖς πολλοῖς νοσήματι μακρῷ καὶ δυσιάτῳ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἢ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν,
'Ο Δέ άλλαττόμενος η νόμισμα άντί νομίσματος, ἢ καὶ τῶν ἀλλών ζώων οίκον ἢ καὶ μή ζώων, ἀκίβδηλον πάνεν διδότω καὶ δεχέσθω τῷ νόμῳ συνετόμενον· προοίμων δέ, καθάπερ ἄλλων νόμων, δεξιώθη καὶ περὶ ὁλίγης ταύτης τῆς κάκης. κιβδηλείν τε ΧΡΗ Πάντα άνδρα διανοηθήναι καὶ ψεύδος καὶ ἀπάτην ὅς ἐν τί γένος ὤν, τούτο ὃ τήν φήμην ἐπιφέρειν εὐθασίαν οἱ πολλοὶ, κακῶς λέγοντες, ὅσ ἐν καιρῷ γυγύμνουν ἐκάστοτε τὸ τουποῦν πολλάκις ἃν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι, τόν καίρον δὲ καὶ ὅποιο καὶ ἀπότε ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀορίστως εὖντες, ηῇ λέξει ταύτη πολλὰ ζήμιονται τε καὶ ζημιοῦον ἑτέρους. νομοθετήθη δέ οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τοῦτο ἀόριστον ἐὰν, ἄλλα ἡ μείζον ἡ ἐλάττοσ ὀρος ἂει δει διασαφέως, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὁρίσθων. Ψεύδοις μηδέοις μηδὲν μήδ' ἀπάτην μηδ' τι κιβδηλοῖ, γενός ἐπικαλούμενος θεων, μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἑργῳ πράξειν, ὃ μή θεομοσεστάτος ἐσεθαί μέλλων· οὕτος δ' ἐστώ ὃς ἅν ὀρκους ὀμνύς ψευδείς μηδὲν φροντίζῃ θεων, δεύτερος δὲ ὅς ἃν ἐναντίον τῶν κρειττών αὐτοῦ ψευδήται. κρεῖττους δὲ οἱ ἄμείνους τῶν χειρόνων, πρεσβύται τε ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν τῶν νέων, διὸ καὶ γονῆς κρεῖττους ἐγκόνων, καὶ ἄνδρες δὴ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, ἀρχοιντες τε ἀρχομένων· οὕς ἀδείοσθαι πᾶσιν πάντας πρέπον ἃν εἰη ἐν ἄλλῃ τε ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δὴ μάλιστα ἀρχαίς; θεῖον ὃ νῦν.
παρὼν ἡμῖν λόγος ἐλήλυθεν. πᾶς γὰρ τῶν κατ’ ἀγορὰν
b ὁ κυβιδλεύων τι πεψεται καὶ ἀπατᾶ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς παρα-
καλῶν ἐπίμνυσιν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀγορανόμων νόμους τε καὶ
φυλακτηρίως, οὔτε ἀνθρώπους αἰδοῦμενον οὔτε θεοὺς σεβό-
μενος. πάντως μὲν δὴ καλὸν ἐπιτήδευμα θεῶν ὅνοματα
5 μὴ χραίνειν βαδίως, ἔχοντα ὡς ἔχοναι ἡμῖν ἐκάστοτε τὰ
πολλὰ οἱ πλείστοι καθαροτήτος τὲ καὶ ἀγνείας τὰ περὶ
toūs θεοὺς. εἰ δ' οὖν μὴ πείθοιτο, δὲ νόμος. Ὅ τι πωλῶν
ότιον ἐν ἀγορᾶ μηδέποτε δύο εὖτη τιμᾶς ὅν ἂν πωλῇ,
c ἀπλὴν δὲ εἰσών, ἀν μὴ τυγχάνῃ ταύτης, ἀποφέρων ὅρθως
ἀν ἀποφέροι πάλιν, καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας μὴ τιμήσῃ πλέον
μηδὲ ἐλάττονος, ἔπαινος δὲ ὅρκος τε περὶ παντὸς τοῦ πω-
λομενοῦ ἀπέστω: εάν δὲ τις ἀπειθῇ τούτους, ὁ παρὰ
5 τυγχάνων τῶν ἀστῶν, μὴ ἐλαττῶν ἡ τράκκοντα γεγονώς ἔτη,
kολάζων μὲν τῶν ὁμινῦν ἀναί τυπέτως τις, ἀφροντιστῶν
dὲ καὶ ἀπειθῶν ἔνοχος ἐστώ ψόγῳ προδοσίας τῶν νόμων.
tὸν δὲ δὴ κυβδηλὸν τι πωλοῦντα, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον τοῖς
vόν πείθεσθαι λόγοις, ὁ προστυγχάνων τῶν γυνωσκόντων,
dυνατὸς ὡν ἐξελέγχειν, ἐναντίον ἐλέγξας τῶν ἄρχοντων,
ο μὲν δούλοις φερέσθω τὸ κυβιδλευθὲν καὶ ὁ μετοικὸς, ὁ δὲ
pολίτης μὴ ἐλέγχως μὲν ὡς ἀποστέρων τοὺς θεοὺς κακὸς
5 ἀγορευέσθω, ἐλέγξας δὲ ἀναθέτω τοῖς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχουσι
theoῖς. ὁ δὲ δὴ φανερὸς γενόμενος τὸ πωλῶν τοιοῦτον,
pρὸς τῷ στερηθῆμα τοῦ κυβιδλευθέντος, ὅποση ἃν τιμῆς
ἀξιώσῃ τὸ πωλοῦμεν, κατὰ δράβην ἐκάστην τῆς μάστιγν
5 τυπέτεσθω πληγᾶς ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κηρύξατος ὃν
ἐνεκα μέλλει τυπέτεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κυβιδλεύματά τε καὶ κακουρ-
gήσα τῶν πωλούντων οἱ τ τὸ ἀγορανόμου καὶ οἱ νομοφύλακε
πυθόμενοι τῶν ἑμπερτῶς περὶ ἐκαστά, ἀναγραφάνων ἃ τε
χρὴ ποιεῖν τὸν πωλοῦντα καὶ ἃ μὴ καὶ πρόσθε τοῦ ἀγορα-
νομίου θέντων ἐν στῆλῃ γράψαντες νόμους εἶναι τοῖς περὶ
tὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς χρείαν μνητάς σαφεῖς. τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν
5 συντόμων ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ικανῶς εἴρηται: εὰν δὲ τι προ-
ποιεῦν δοκῇ νομοφύλαξιν ἐπανακωνύμεντες καὶ γράϕαντες τοῦ
dοκοῦ ἐλλιπεῖν, εἰς συντόμονον θέντων ἐν στήλῃ τὰ τε
πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα τεθέντα αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμου.
5 Κυβιδλοῦς δὲ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔπεται κατὰ πόδα καπηλείας
ἐπιτηδεύματα: ταὐτῆς δὲ περὶ συμπάσχεις συμβουλὴν πρῶτον
δόντες καὶ λόγον, ἐπ' αὐτῆ νόμον ὑστερον ἐπιθώμεθα. κα-
180
πηλεία γάρ κατὰ πόλιν πάσα γέγονεν οὐ βλάβης ἑνεκά τὸ γε κατὰ φύσιν, πάν ὅτε τούναντιον. πῶς γάρ οὐκ ἐνεργεῖτο πᾶς ὅτι ἡν τούρματων ἐντυνων, ἀσύμμετρον οὖσαν καὶ ἀνώμαλον, ὁμαλὴν τε καὶ σύμμετρον ἀπεργάζεται; τοῦτο ἤμιν χρῆ φάναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος ἀπεργάζεσθαι δύναμιν, καὶ τὸν ἐμπορὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τετάχθαι δει λέγειν. καὶ μισθωτὸς καὶ πανδοκεύς καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν εὐσχημονεστερα, τὰ δὲ ἀσχημονεστερα γυγόμενα, τοῦτο γε πάντα δύναται, πᾶσιν ἐπικουρίαν ταῖς χρείαις ἐξευπορεῖν καὶ ὄμαι λόγητα ταῖς οὐσίαις. τί ποτε ὅτι τὸ μὴ καλὸν αὐτῷ μηδ' εὐσχημον δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τί τὸ διαβεβληκὸς τυγχάνει, ἰδὼμεν, ἵνα εἰ μή καί τὸ ὅλον, ἀλλ' οὖν μέρη γε ἐξισομεθα νόμων. πράγμ' ἔσοθ', ὡς ἐοίκειν, οὐδὲ σιμικρᾶς δεόμενον ἀρετῆς.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὅ φίλε Κλεινία, σιμικρὸν γένος ἀνθρώπων καὶ φύει ὀλίγον καὶ ἄκρα τροφῆς τεθραμμένον, ὅταν εἰς χρείας τε καὶ ἐπιθύμια τινῶν ἐμπύητη, καρπερεῖν πρὸς τὸ μέτρων δυνατόν ἔστων, καὶ ὅταν ἐξὶν χρήματα λαβεῖν πολλὰ, νήφει καὶ πρότερον αἱρεῖται τὸ πολλὸν τὸ τοῦ μέτρου ἐχὼμενον. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλήθη πᾶν τούναντίον ἔχει τούτους δεόμενα τε ἀμέτρως δεῖται καὶ ἐξὸν κερδαίνει τὰ μέτρα, ἀπλῆστως αἱρεῖται κερδαίνειν, διὸ πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν κατη- λείαν καὶ ἐμπορίάν καὶ πανδοκείαν γένη διαβεβληταί τε καὶ ἐν αἰσχρῶς γέγονεν οὐνέδεσθον. ἐπεὶ εἰ τις, ὁ μὴ ποτε γένοιτο οὐδ' ἔσται, προσαναγκάσειν—γελοῖον μὲν ἐπείγω, ὡμος <δὲ> εἰρήσεται—πανδοκεύσα τοὺς πανταχῇ ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τῶν χρῶνον, ἡ κατηλείεις ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων πρᾶτεις, ἡ καὶ γυναίκας ἐκ τινῶν ἀνάγκης εἰμαρμένης τοῦ τοιούτου μετασχεῖν τρόπον, γνώσημεν ἃν ως φίλον καὶ ἀγα- πητῶν ἐστὶν ἐκαστὸν τοιῶν, καὶ εἰ κατὰ λόγον ἀδιάφθορον γίγνοιτο, εἰ μητρὸς ἅν καὶ τροφοῦ σχῆματι τυμῶτο τὰ τοιοῦτα πάντα· νῦν δὲ ὅτοταν εἰς ἐρήμους τις κατηλείας ἑνεκα τῶν καὶ πανταχὸς μήκη ἔχοντας δὴν ἴδρυσάμενος ὑκῆσεις, ἐν ἀπορία γυγομένου καταλύσεις ἀγαπηταῖς δεχόμενος ἢ ὑπὸ χειμώνων ἀγρίων βία ἐλαυνομένους, εὐ- διευνὴν γαλήνῃν παρασχῶν ἢ πνεύσειν ἀναθυμῆν, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ως ἐταίρους δεξάμενος φιλικὰ παράσχῃ ξένια ἐπόμενα ταῖς υποδοχαῖς, ὃς δ' ἐχθροῦς αἰχμαλώτους κεχει-
Ρωμένος ἀπολυτρώση τῶν μακροτάτων καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων λύτρων, ταῦτα ἐστὶν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν σύμπασιν τοῖς τοιούτοις [ὀρθῶς] ἀμαρτανόμενα τὰς διαβολὰς τῆς ἀπορίας ἐπικουρήσει παρεσκευάκοτα. τούτων οὖν χρὴ φάρμακον ἀεὶ τέμνειν τὸν νομοθέτην. ὅρθων μὲν δὴ πάλαι
tε εὑρήμενόν ὡς πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι καὶ ἐναντία χαλεπόν, καθαπέρ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πολλοῖς τὰ ἀλλοι. καὶ δὴ καὶ νόν ἡ τούτων καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἐστὶν πρὸς δύο μάχη, πενιάν καὶ πλοῦτον, τὸν μὲν ψυχὴν διεφθαρκότα τρυφῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν δὲ λύπας προτετραμμένην εἰς ἀναίσχυντίαν αὐτήν. τὸς οὖν δὴ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἀρωγὴ γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἐν νον ἐχοῦσῃ πόλει; πρῶτον μὲν ὁτι σμικροτάτῳ χρῆσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν καπηλῶν γένει, ἔπειτα τούτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προστάτευς ὅτι διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἂν γίγνοιτο μεγάλη λύπη τῇ πόλει, τρίτον δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς μετασχούσι τούτων τῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων εὑρεῖν μηχανήν ὅπως ἡθὰ μὴ ἀνέδην
ἀναίσχυντας τε καὶ ἀνελευθέρους ψυχὰς μέτοχα συμβῆσεται γίγνεσθαι ῥαδίως. μετὰ δὴ τὰ νῦν εὑρήμενα, πρὶν ταῦτα νόμος ἀγαθῆς τύχη τουσδε ἠμὲν γυγνέσθω. Μαγνήτων, οὓς ὁ θεὸς ἀνορθῶν πάλιν κατοικίζει, γεωμορίοι ὁσοὶ τῶν τετταράκοντα και πεντακοσικλών ἐστῶν εἰσώ, μὴ κατὰπλησ έκόνες μηδ' ἀκόνες μηδεῖς γυγνέσθω μηδ' ἐμπορος μήτε διακονίαν μηδ' ἡμεῖν κεκτημένοι ὑδώτας τοῖς μὴ ἔξ' ἤσον ἐστιν, πλὴν
πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐτί τούτων εἰς τὸ ἀνὸν γένεσιν καὶ πάσι τοῖς αὐτοὶ προεσβτηρέουσ ὅσοι ἐλευθεροὶ ἐλευθεροὶ.
τὸ δ' ἐλευθερικὸν καὶ ἀνελευθέρον ἀκρίβεις μὲν οὐ βάδιον νομοθετεῖν, κρυνέθων γε μὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἐληφότων τῶν ἐκείνων μίας τε καὶ ἀσπασμῶ. δὲ δ' ἂν καπηλίας τῆς ἀνελευθέρων τέχνης τῶν μετάσχη, γραφέσθω μὲν αὐτών γένους αἰσχύνης ὅ βουλόμενος πρὸς τοῖς ἄρετη πρῶτος 
κεκριμένους, ἐὰν δὲ δόξη ἀνοξίω ἐπιτηθεύσεται καταρρυπανεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρώαν ἐστίαν, δεθεὶς ἐναντίον ἀποσχέσθω 
tοῦ τοιοῦτο, καὶ ἐάν αἰθίς, ἔτη δύο, καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἀλώσεως τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἁπανέσθω διπλασιάζων [τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον]. δεύτερας μὴν νόμος. Μέτοικον εἰναι χρεών ἡ ἔσεν, δὲ ἂν μέλλῃ καπηλίεσθεν τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τρίτος. "Οπως

920 ὃς ἀριστὸς η καὶ κακὸς ὃς ἦκιστα ο τοιοῦτο ἢμῖν ἢ σύνοικος ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς νομοφύλακας χρή νοῆσαι φύλακας εἰσὶ 

μὴ μόνον ἐκεῖνων οὖς φιλάττειν ῥάδιον μὴ παρανόμοις

182
καὶ κακοὺς γίγνεσθαι, ὅσοι γενέσει καὶ τροφαὶς εὗ πεπατοῦνται, τοὺς δὲ μὴ τοιούτους ἐπιτηδεύματα τε ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἀροτὴν ἔχει τινὰ ἱσχυρὰν πρὸς τὸ προτρέπειν κακοὺς γίγνεσθαι, φυλακτέον μᾶλλον. ταύτῃ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν καπηλείαν πολλὴν ὠσκαν καὶ πολλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τουαῖτα κεκτημένην, ὅσπερ ἂν αὐτῶν λειψθῇ δοξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης ἐν τῇ πόλει δεῖν εἶναι, συνελθεῖν αὖ χρεῶν περὶ ταῦτα τοὺς νομοφυλάκας μετὰ τῶν ἐμπείρων ἐκάστης καπηλείας, καθάπερ ἐμπροσθεὶν ἐπετάξαμεν τῆς κυβηλείας περὶ, συγγενοῦς τούτων πράγματος, συνελθόντας δὲ ἰδεῖν λήμμα τε καὶ ἀνάλωμα τί ποτε τῷ καπῆλῳ κέρδος ποιεῖ τὸ μέτριον, γράψαντας δὲ θεύσαι τὸ γιγνομένον ἀνάλωμα καὶ λήμμα καὶ φυλάττειν, τὰ μὲν ἀγορανόμους, τὰ δὲ ἀστυνόμους, τὰ δὲ ἀγορονόμους καὶ σχεδὸν οὐτῶς ἃν καπηλεῖα τὰ μὲν ὀφελοὶ ἐκάστοις, σμικρότατα δὲ ἃν ἑλάπτοι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεις χρωμένους.

"Ὅσα τις ἃν όμολογῶν συνθέσθαι μὴ ποῦ κατὰ τὰς ὥμολογίας, πλὴν ὃν ἂν νόμοι ἀπειργώσων ἡ ψήφισμα, ἢ τῶν ὧν ἑαυτοῖς βιασθέαν ἀνάγκης όμολογύσαι, καὶ ἓν ἀπὸ τὐχῆς ἀπροσδόκητο τοις ἄκων κωλυθῆ, δίκαιο εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀτέλεος όμολογίας ἐν ταῖς ψυλτικαίοις δίκαιοι, εὖν ἐν διαμετατέσθαι ἡ γείτονος ἐμπροσθεῖν μὴ δύναται διαλλάττεσθαι. Ὡφαίστον καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἔρον τὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν γένος, οὐ τὸν βίον ἁμῖν συγκάτεσθενακάσιν τέχναις, Ἀρεώς δ᾽ αὖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς οἱ τῶν δημιουργῶν σύζοντες τέχναις ἐτέρας ἀμυντριόος ἔργα. δικαῖος δὲ καὶ τὸ τούτων γένος ἐρόν ἐστὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. οὗτοι δὴ πάντες χώραν καὶ δήμονν θεραπεύσαις διατελοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων, οἱ δὲ ἄργανως τε καὶ ἔργων ἀποτελοῦντες γένσιν ἐμμοῦσιν. οἳ δὴ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ πρέπον ἂν εἰς ψευδεσθαι, χεὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν αἰδομένους. ἄν δὴ τῆς δημιουργῶν εἰς χρόνον εἰρημένον ἔργων μὴ ἀποτελεῖσθαι κακὴν, μὴ δὲν τὸν βιοδότην θεὸν ἐπαίδευσθεῖς, ἡγούμενος ὡς οἰκείον συγκυρωμονείς ἢ εἰς θεοῦ, οὐδὲν τῷ νῷ βλέπων, πρῶτον μὲν δίκην τῷ θεῷ ὑφεξε, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπόμενος αὐτῶν νόμος κείσθαι. ἢν ἡμῶν τῶν ἔργων ὅφειλεν ὃν ἂν τὸν ἐκδόταν ψευδεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἢ ἄρχης ἐν τῷ ὁθεντὶ χρόνῳ προῖκα ἐξεργαζόμενος, καὶ ἀναζωμένος δ᾽ ἔργων συμβουλευτὴς νόμος, ἀπερ τῷ πολοῦτί συνεβοῦλεν, μὴ πλέονος τιμῶν διαπερώμενον ἡμῶν.
ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

921 b

ἐλλ' ος ἀπλουστατα τής ἀξίας, ταυτὸν δὴ προστάττει καὶ
tῶν ἀναρουμένων: γιγνώσκει γάρ ὁ γε δημουργός τήν ἀξίαν.
ἐν ἑλευθέρων οὖν πόλεις οὐ δὴ ποτε χρή τέχνη, σαφεῖ
tε καὶ ἀφενδεί φύσει πράγματι, διαπεράσθαι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
tεχνάζοντα αὐτὸν τὸν δημουργόν, δίκαιος δὲ εἶναι τούτων
tῶν ἄδικοµενῶς πρὸς τὸν ἄδικοντα. ἐὰν δὲ τις ἐκδοὺς αὐ
dημουργῶς μὴ ἀποδίδῃ τοὺς μισθοὺς ὅρθῶς κατὰ τὴν ἐννομὸν
ὄμολογίαν γενομένην, Δία δὲ πολυοχὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν κοινω
νοὺς πολιτείας ἀτιμάζων, βραχύ κέρδος ἀγαπῶν, λύη μεγάλας
κοινωνίας, νόμος δὲ βοηθῶν ἐστὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως συνδέσμῳ
μετὰ θεῶν. Ὁς γὰρ ἄν προσευμφάνεοι ἔργον μισθοὺς μὴ
ἀποδίδῃ ἐν χρόνοις τοῖς ὀμολογηθέσις, διπλῶν πραττόμεθω
ἐὰν δὲ ἐναυτὸς ἐξέλθῃ, τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀτόκων ὄντων χρημάτων,
ὄποσα δανεισμῷ συμβάλλει τις, ὦστε τῇ βραχυκή ἐκάστου
μηνὸς ἐπωθεῖαν καταπιθέτω, δίκαιος δὲ εἶναι τούτων ἐν τοῖς
cata φυλᾶς δικαιστρίοις.
it
Ως δὲ ἐν παρέργῳ περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλειν δημουργῶν
ὄντων σωτηρίας, στρατηγῶν τε καὶ οσοὶ περὶ ταύτα τεχνικοῖ,
dίκαιον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ παράπαν ἐμφάσις ὁ δημουργός. Ὅς
tούτοις αὖ, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι, οὐκ έπέρασον οὐδὲν δημουργοῖς,
ἐὰν τις ἁρα καὶ τούτων ἀνελόμενος δημόσιον ἔργον εἴθ' ἐκὼν
e εἰτε προσταχθὲν καλῶς ἐξεργάσηται, τὰς τιμάς, οἳ δὴ μισθο
πολεμικοὶ ἀνδράσιν εἰσίν, ἀποδίδῃ δικαίως, οὐ νόμος αὐτὸν
ἐπαινῶν οὖποτε καμεῖται: ἐὰν δὲ προσευμφάνεοι ἔργον τι
tῶν κατὰ πόλειν καλῶς ἔργον μὴ ἀποδίδῃ, μέμψεται.
5 νόμος οὖν οὕτως ἐπαίνῳ περὶ τούτων ἡμῶν μεμειγμένοις
κείσθω, συμβουλευτικὸς, οὐ βιαστικὸς, τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολι
τῶν, τιμῶν τοὺς ἄγαθοὺς ἀνδρας, ὃσοι σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως
eἰσι συμπάθεις εἰτε ἄνδρειας εἰτε πολεμικάς μηχανᾶς,
δευτέρους: πρῶτοι γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον γέρας δεδόσθω τοῖς
τὰ τῶν ἄγαθων νομοθετῶν γράμματα τιμῶν διαφερόντως
5 δυνηθεῖσιν.

922 Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα τῶν συμβολαίων, ὃσα πρὸς ἄλληλους
ἀνθρωπον συμβάλλουσιν, πλὴν γε ὁρφανικῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν
ἐπιτρόπων ἐπιμελείας τῶν ὁφανῶν, σχεδὸν ἡμῖν διατετακται.

b ταῦτα δὲ δὴ μετὰ τὰ γίνεται ἀναγκαῖοι ἄμως γε πως
tάξασθαι. τούτων δὲ ἀρχαὶ πάντων αἱ τέων τελευτῶν
μελλόντων ἐπιθυμοῦ τῆς διαθέσεως αἱ τέων μηδὲν τὸ
παράπαν διαθεμένων τύχαι: ἀναγκαῖον δὲ εἶπον, ὁ Κλεινια,
βλέψας αὐτῶν περὶ πρὸς τε τὸ δύσκολον καὶ χαλεπόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄτακτον δυνατὸν ἐστ’ αὐτὸ ἔαν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐκαστοι καὶ διάφορα ἀλλήλων καὶ ἑναντία τιθεῖτ’ ἂν τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἡσυχίων ήθεσι καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν πρὶν διατίθεσθαι μέλλειν, εἰ τις εξουσίαν δώσει ἀπλῶς οὕτως κυρίων εἶναι διαθήκην ἡν ἂν τις διαθήκην ὅπωσον ἔχων πρὸς τῷ τοῦ βίου τελεί. ἀνοήτως γὰρ ἡ καὶ διατεθρυμμένως τών τρόπων ἐχομεν οἱ πλείστοι, ὅταν ἡδὴ μέλλειν ἡγώμεθα τελευτάν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς τούτο, ὦ ἔνε, λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Χαλεπόν ἐστ’, ὦ Κλεινία, μέλλων ἀνθρωπος τελευτήσει, καὶ μεστὸν λόγου τοῖς νομοθέταις εὗ μάλα φοβερῷ καὶ δυσχερῷς.

ΚΛ. Πῇ;

ΑΘ. Ζητῶν εἶναι κύριος ἀπάντων, εἰσβε μετ’ ὀργῆς λέγεις.

ΚΛ. Ποιὰ δῇ;

ΑΘ. Δεινὸν γε, ὦ θεῖ, φησίν, εἰ τὰμὰ ἐμοὶ μηδαμῶς εξέσται δοῦναι τε ὡς ἄν ἔθέλω καὶ μή, καὶ τῷ μὲν πλείω, τῷ δ’ ἑλάττωσα, τῶν ὀπόσοι περὶ ἐμε φαίλοι καὶ ὅσοι ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν φανερῶς, βασανισθέντες ἰκανῶς ἐν νόσοις, οἱ δ’ ἐν γηρᾷ καὶ ἄλλαις παντοίαις τύχαις.

ΚΛ. Οὔκοιν, ὦ ἔνε, καλῶς δοκουσίν σοι λέγειν;

ΑΘ. Μαλθακοὶ ἐμοιγ’, ὦ Κλεινία, δοκούσιν οἱ πάλαι νομοθετοῦντες γεγονέναι καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων βλέποντες τε καὶ διανοούμενοι νομοθετεῖν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Τὸν λόγον τούτον ὁγαθὲ, φοβούμενοι, τὸν νόμον ἐτίθεσαν τὸν ἐξείναι τὰ ἐαυτοῦ διατίθεσθαι ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἄν τις ἔθελῃ τὸ παράπαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῖς ἐν τῇ σῇ τόλει μέλλουσι τελευτάν ἀποκρινούμεθα ἐμμελέστερόν πως. Ὅι φίλοι, φήσομεν, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἐφήμεροι, χαλεπὸν ὑμῖν ἐστών γεγνώσκειν τὰ ἁμετέρ’ αὐτῶν χρήματα καὶ πρὸς γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὀσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθίας γράμμα φράζει, τὰ νῦν. ἐγὼς’ οὖν νομοθέτης ὄν ὑδ’ ὑμᾶς ὑμῖν αὐτῶν εἴναι τίθημι οὐτε τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην, σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν τοῦ τε ἐμπροσθεν καὶ τοῦ ἐπειτα ἐσομένου, καὶ ἐπὶ μάλλον τῆς πόλεως εἴναι τὸ τε γένος πᾶν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ οὕτω τούτων ἐχόντων, οὐκ, εάν τις ὑμᾶς ἔστειλες υποδραμῶν ἐν

923
νόσοις ἡ γῆρα σαλεύοντας παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διατίθεσθαι πείθη, συγχωρήσομαι ἐκών, ὅτι δὲ τῇ πόλει τε ἁριστον πάση καὶ γένει, πρὸς πάν τοῦτο βλέπων νομοθετήσω, τὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κατατίθεις ἐν μοίραις ἐλάττουσι δικαίως. ὦμεῖς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐλεός τε καὶ εὐμενεῖς ὅπτες πορεύουσθε ἢπερ κατὰ φύσιν νῦν πορεύεσθε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην. ἦμων δὲ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑμετέρων μελήσει, κηδομένοις ὅτι μάλιστα εἰς δύναμιν, οὐ τῶν μὲν, τῶν δὲ οὐ. ταῦτα μὲν ὀσὶν παραμυθία τε καὶ προοίμια τῶν τε ζωτῶν, ὁ Κλεινία, καὶ τῶν τελευτῶντων ἔστω, νόμος δὲ ὁδε. Ὄσ ἦν διαθήκην γράφη τὰ αὐτὸν διατίθεμενος, παίδων ὑπὸ πατήρ, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ἐνών κληρονόμον ὃν ἄν ἁγίωσο γίγνεσθαι γραφέτω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων παίδων, ὃν ἄν μὲν ἐτέρω ποιεῖσθαι διδῶν δεχομένω, γραφέσθω τοῦτο αὐτῷ.

5 ἦν δὲ περγυγνήτα τις τῶν ἐνών αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπί τινι κλήρῳ πεποιημένοις, ὃν κατὰ νόμον ἐπέτεις εἰς ἀποκίνων ἐκπεμφθη-

σεθαι, τοῦτῳ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ἐξέστω τῷ πατρὶ διδόναι ὅσα ἄν ἐθέλη, πλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κλήρου καὶ τῆς περὶ τόν κλήρου κατασκεύης πάσης, καὶ ἦν πλείους ὅσων, πρὸς μέρος ὁ πατήρ ὅπτῃ ἄν ἐθέλῃ νεμέτω τὰ περόντα τοῦ κλήρου. ὅτως ὃ ἄν τῶν ἐνών ὑπάρχων οἰκος ἦ, μὴ νέμεις τούτῳ τῶν χρη-

mάτων, θυγατρὶ τε ὄσαυτὸς, ἦ μὲν ἄν ἐγγεγυμένον ὁς ἀνήρ ἐσόμενος ἦ, μὴ νέμεω, ἦ δ’ ἄν μη, νέμεω. ἦν δὲ τῷ τῶν ἐνών ἦ καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων φανὴ κλήρος ἐπιχώριος τῆς διαθήκης γενόμενος ὡστερον, τῷ κληρονόμῳ τοῦ τῆς διαθήκης διαθεμένου καταλείπτετω. ἦν δὲ ἀρέσκεις μὲν μὴ λείπῃ, θηλείας δὲ, ὁ διατίθεμενος, ἄνδρα μὲν τῶν θυγατέρων ἦτιν ἀν ἐθέλη, ὅν δὲ αὐτῷ καταλείπτετω, γράφας κληρονόμον·

τοῦτο τῆς τοιαύτης τύχης ὃ τῆς διαθήκης γράφων τῶν χρη παίδα αὐτῷ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τύχαις ἀμείνοσιν γίγνεσθαι. ἦν δὲ τὶς ἀπαίς ὃν τὸ παράπαν διαθήκης γράφη, τὸ τῆς ἐπι-

κήτου δεκατημόρον ἐξελομένος, ἦν ἐθέλη τῷ δωρεῖσθαι,

δωρείσθω. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα παραδίδουσι πάντα τῷ ποιήσαντι ἀμέμπτος ἑλέουν ὃν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι σὸν νόμω. ὃ δ’ ἂν ἐπιτρόπως οἱ παίδες δεώνται, ἦν μὲν διαθεμένοις τελευτά καὶ γράφες ἀποτρόπους τοῖς παισὶ ἐκόντας τε καὶ ὁμολο-

6 γονύτας ἐπιτροπεύσεων ὑστηκασοῦν καὶ ὁπόσους ἄν ἐθέλη, κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ γραφέντα ἢ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων αἴρεσις γιγνέσθω

186
κυρία· εὰν δὲ ἡ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διαθέμενος τελευτήσῃ τις ἤ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων αἰρέσεως ἐλλπησίς, ἐπιτρόπους εἶναι τοὺς ἐγγυτάτα γένει πρὸς πατρός καὶ μητρός κυρίους, δύο μὲν πρὸς πατρός, δύο δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ἕνα δ' ἐκ τῶν τοῦ τελευτή-
σαντος φίλων, τούτους δ' οἱ νομοφυλάκες καθιστάντων τῷ δεομένῳ τῶν ὀρφανῶν. καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι πάντων ἐπιμελείσθων ἂει κατὰ πρέσβιν καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς διελ-
μενοi σφαίς αὐτοῦς, κατ' ἐναυτὸν τρεῖς καὶ κατ' ἐναυτὸν ἄλλον ἑτεροι τρεῖς, ἐως ἂν αἱ πέντε περιόδου γίγνονται κύκλῳ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλιπέτω μηδέποτε κατὰ δύναμιν.

"Ος δ' ἂν μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν διαθέμενος ἀποθάνη, παῖδας
μὲν καταλιπών δεομένους ἐπιτροπῆς, τῶν αὐτῶν νόμων
tούτων ἡ χρεία τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ μετεχέτω· θηλείας δὲ ἂν καταλείπῃ τις ἀπροσδοκήτω τύχῃ χρησάμενο, συγγνώμην τῷ τιθέντι τὸν νόμον ἔχετω, εάν τῶν τριῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ δύο ἑπισκόπου τὴν ἐκδοσιν τῶν θυγατέρων ποιήται, πρὸς τῇ τῆς τοῦ γένους ἀγνιστείαν καὶ τῆς τοῦ κλήρου σωτηρίαν, τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὁπερ ἂν πατήρ διασκέψαι, ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν πολιτῶν βλέπων εἰς ἥθελ τε καὶ τρόπους τὸν ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ μὲν ὑνό, νυμφίον δ' εἶναι τῇ θυγατρί, τοῦτο δὲ παρα-
λείπῃ διὰ τὴν ἀδύνατον σκέψιν, νόμος τούτων εἰς δύναμιν ὀδὲ περὶ τοιοῦτων κείσθω· 'Εαν ὁ μὴ διαθέμενος
θυγατέρας λείπῃ, τοῦδε ἀποθανόντος, ἀδελφὸς ὠμοτάτωρ ἢ ἀκλήρος ὁμομήτριος ἔχετω τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν κλήρον τοῦ τελευτήσαντος· εάν δὲ μὴ ἢ ἀδελφός, ἀδελφοῦ δὲ παις, 5 ὠσαύτως, εάν ἐν ἡλίκια πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὤσιν· εάν δὲ μηδὲ εἰς τούτων, ἀδελφής δὲ παις ἢ, κατὰ ταῦτα· τέταρτος δὲ πατρός ἀδελφός, πέμπτος δὲ τούτου παις, ἐκτος δὲ ἀδελφῆς πατρός ἐκγονος. ὠσαύτως δὲ τὸ γένος ἂεὶ πορευέσθω κατ' ἀγνιστείαν, εὰν τὰς παίδας θηλείας καταλείπῃ, δ' ἀδελφῶν τε καὶ ἀδελφιδῶν ἐπανοί, ἐμπροσθεὶς μὲν τῶν ἀρρένων, ὑστερον δὲ θηλείων ἐὰς γένει. τὴν δὲ τούτων γάμου ἥρων συμμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀμετρίαν ὁ δικαστής σκοπῶν κρινῶν, γυμνοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀρρενας, γυμνὰς δὲ ὁμφαλοῦ μέχρι θεώ-
μενος τὰς θηλείας. εὰν δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπορία συγγενῶν 5 ἢ μέχρι μὲν ἀδελφοῦ ὑδῶν, μέχρι δὲ πάππου παιδῶν ὀσαύτως, τῶν ἄλλων διντ' ᾗ ἡ παῖς μετ' ἐπιτρόπων αἱρῆται τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκούσιον ἐκουσία, κληρονόμος γυνεῖσθω τοῦ τελευτή-
σαντος καὶ τῆς θυγατρός νυμφίος. ἔτι δὲ πολλὰ πολλῶν, καὶ
πλείων ἀπορία τῶν τοιούτων γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἔστιν ὅτ' ἐν αὐτῇ
tῇ πόλει· ἂν οὖν δὴ τις ἀπορομμένη τῶν αὐτῶν ὁρᾷ τινα
εἰς ἀποκιάν ἀπεσταλμένον, ἢ δὲ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῇ κληρονόμον
ἐκεῖνον γίγνεσθαι τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐὰν μὲν συγγενῆς ἢ, κατὰ
tὴν τάξιν τοῦ νόμου ἔπι τὸν κλήρον πορεύεσθω, ἐὰν δὲ ἐκτὸς
γένους, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οὖντος ἕξω τῆς συγγνεῖας, κύριος

5 εἶστι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων καὶ τῆς παιδος τοῦ τελευτή-
σαντος ἀγέσιν γῆμαι καὶ τὸν κλήρον ἐπανελθὼς οἰκάδε
λαβεῖ τοῦ μὴ διαθεμένου. ἀπαίς δὲ ἄρρενων τε καὶ θηλεών
τὸ παράπαν ὅσ ἂν μὴ διαθέμενος τελευτᾷ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περὶ

5 τοῦ τοιούτου κατὰ τὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἐχέτω νόμον, θηλε fldε
c καὶ ἄρρην οἶνον σύννομοι ὑποσαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους εἰς τὸν
ἐξηρμημένον ἐκάστοτε οἶκον, ὅποιος γιγνέσθω κυρίως,

d ἀδελφὴ μὲν πρῶτον, ἀδελφοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ δευτέρα, τρίτη δὲ
ἐκγόνους ἀδελφής, τετάρτη δὲ πατρός ἀδελφή, καὶ πέμπτη
πατρὸς ἀδελφοὺς παῖς, ἐκτε δὲ ἀδελφῆς πατρὸς ἂν εἶν παῖς:
συνοικίζειν δὲ ταύτας ἐκείνοις κατ᾽ ἀγγιστεῖαν καὶ θέμων,

5 ὡς ἐμπροσθεν ἐνομοθετήσαμεν. μὴ δὴ λανθανέτω τὸ τῶν
tοιούτων νόμων ἡμᾶς βάρος, ὃς χαλεπῶς ἐστὶν ὅτε προσ-
τάττει τῷ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος κατὰ γένος οἰκεῖῳ γαμεῖν
τὴν συγγενῆ, μὴ δοκεί δὲ σκοπεῖν ἡ μυρία ἐν ἀνθρώποις
e ἐμπόδια γίγνεται τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῦ μήτη
ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι, πρότερον δὲ οὕστων οὕτων ἃν βουλη-
θήναι παθεῖν, ὡς ὅποταν ἢ σωμάτων νοσήματα καὶ πηρώσεις ἢ
диανοιας ἐν τισι τῶν ἐπιταγμένοις γαμεῖν ἢ γαμεῖσθαι

5 γίγνεται. τούτων δὴ μὴν δένοιν φροντίζειν τάχ' ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης
δοξείν τιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοκοῦν. ἔστω τοιῶν εἰρήμενον ύπέρ
tε νομοθέτου καὶ υπέρ νομοθετομένου σχεδον οἶον κοινὸν
προοίμιον, συγγνώμην μὲν τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοὺς ἐπιταγμένους
δοέμενον ἕχειν, ὅτι τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ

10 δύνατο διοικεῖν ἀμα καὶ τὰς ἱδιὰς ἐκάστω γιγνομένας συμ-
φοράς, συγγνώμην δ' αὕτα καὶ τοῖς νομοθετομένοις, ὡς τὰ
tοῦ νομοθετούντος εἰκότως ἐνίοτε οὐ δύναται προστάγματα
tελευτ., ἀ μὴ γιγγυσκών προστάτατε.

ΚΛ. Τῇ δ' τις οὖν, ὧν ἔσεν, δρῶν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα
5 ἐμμετρότατος ἂν εἰη;

ΑΘ. Διαμητάς, ὁ Κλεωνία, τοῖς τοιούτοις νόμοις καὶ
νομοθετομένοις ἀναγκαῖον αἴρεσθαι.

188
ΚΑ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΔΘ. Ἡστίν ὅτε πλοιαίον πατρὸς ἀδελφίδοις τὴν τοῦ θείου θυγατέρα ἐκών οὐκ ἂν ἔθελοι λαμβάνειν, τρυφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ μείζονι γάμοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπέχων. Ἡστίν δ' ὅτε καὶ συμφωρῷ τὴν μεγίστην τοῦ νομοθέτου προστάττοντος, ἀπειθεῖν ἀναγκάζοντος λαμβάνειν ἢ δεινᾶς άλλας σωμάτων ἢ ψυχῶν συμφωράς, ἃς ἀβίωτον ξὴν κεκτημένων. ὡδ' ὅν τὸν ἐμὸν ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων ὅδε νόμος κείσθω. Ἐάν τυχε ἀρα περὶ διαθήκης ἐγκαλώσι τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις, περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀντινοῦν καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ γάμων, ἢ μὴν παροῦσα καὶ ζῶντα αὐτόν τὸν νομοθέτην μῆποτ' ἂν ἀναγκάσαι πράττειν ὀὕτω, μηδὲ γῆμαι μηδ' ἐγῆμαισθαι, τοὺς τὸν ἀναγκαζομένους ἐκάτερα δράν, ὡδ' τε τῶν οἰκείων ἢ της ἐπίτροπος φη, διαμετάςφαναι καὶ πατέρως τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων καταλιπεῖτο τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς καὶ ὀρφανῖας τὸν νομοθέτην. πρὸς οὗ ἐπανώντες διαδικαζότων οἱ περὶ τυποὺς τῶν τουίτουν ἀμφισβητοῦντες, κύρια τελοῦντες τὰ τούτων δόγματα. ἡς τε τῶν μείζων δύναμις ἐπανατίθεσθαι δοκῇ τοῖς νομοφυλάξειν, εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐκκρίτων δικαστῶν δικαστήριον εἰσάγων αὐτοὺς διαδικαζότων περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητομένων· τῷ δὲ ἐπιτηδέου παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου φόγος καὶ οὔνειδου κείσθω, πολλῶν χρημάτων νοῦν κεκτημένῳ ξημίᾳ βαρυτέρα.

Νῦν δὴ τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς πασί γένεσις οἶδ᾽ ἐνετέρα τις γίγνοντ' ἂν, μετὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρῶτην ἐκάστοις ἐφηνται τροφαὶ καὶ παιδεύσεις· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνετέραν, ἐρήμου πατέρων γενομένης, μηχανάσθαι δεῖ τίνα τρόπον ἢ τῆς ὀρφανίας τύχη τοῖς γενομένοις ὀρφανοῖς ὡς ἦκιστα ἐλευθερώσεις ἐξεῖς τῆς συμφωράς. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ [φαμεν] νομοθετεῖν 5 αὐτοῖς τοὺς νομοφυλάκας αὐτὶ γενετόρων πατέρας οὐ χείρος, καὶ δὴ καὶ καλ' ἐκαστὸν ἐναυτὸν ἀνέπτυξε· ὡς οἰκείων ἐπιμελείσθαι προστάτησεν, ἐμμελητὴ τούτων τε αὐτοῖς περὶ τροφῆς ὀρφανῶν προσμισάμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις. εἰς τινα γὰρ οὖν μοι καιρὸν φαινόμεθα τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν λόγους διεξελθεῖν, ὡς ἄρα αἱ τῶν τελευτήσαντων γυναι δύναμιν ἐχουσάν τινα τελευτήσασαν, ἢ τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους πραγμάτων ἐπιμελοῦντας· ταῦτα δὲ ἀληθείς μὲν μακρὸι δ' εἰδών περιέχοντες λόγους πιστεύειν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις φήμαις χρεών περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὕτω πολλαίσιν καὶ 10

927 189
σφόδρα παλαιὰς οὐσιὰς, πιστεύειν δ’ αὖ καὶ τοῖς νομοθετούσι ταῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀντερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἄφρονες φαίνονται. ταῦτῃ δὲ εἰ ταύτ’ ἦστιν κατὰ φύσιν, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἀνω θεοὺς φοβεισθῶν, οἱ τῶν ὀρφανῶν τῆς ἔρημίας αἰσθήσεις ἔχουσιν, ἐίτα τὰς τῶν κεκηρυκτῶν φυχάς, αὐς ἦστιν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκγόνων κηδεσθαι διαφορῶς καὶ τιμῶσιν τε αὐτοὺς εὐμενεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀτυμάζουσιν δυσμενεῖς, 5 ἢτι δὲ τὰς τῶν ξώντων μὲν, ἐν γῆρᾳ δὲ ὄντων καὶ ἐν μεγίσταις τιμαῖς, ὀποπεπορήτος εὐνομοῦσα εὐδαιμονεῖ, τούτους οἱ παῖδες παιδῶν φιλοστοργοῦντες ζῶσι μεθ’ ἡδονῆς· καὶ τὰ περὶ ταῦτα δὲ μὲν ἀκούοντα βλέπουσιν τε δὲ, τοῖς τε περὶ αὐτά δικαίοις εὐμενεῖς εἰσιν, νεμεσοῦσιν τε μάλιστα αὐτοῖς εἰς ὀρφανὰ καὶ ἔρημα ὑβρίζουσιν, παρακαταθήκην εἶναι μεγίστην ἡγοῦμενοι καὶ ἱερωτάτην· οἷς ἐπίτροπον καὶ ἀρχοντα πᾶσι δεὶ τῶν νοῦν, δ’ καὶ βραχὺς ἐνείη, προσέχοντα, καὶ εὐλαβοῦμενοι περὶ τροφῆν τε καὶ παιδείαν ὀρφανῶν, ὡς ἐρανον εἰσισφέροντα ἐαυτὼ τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δύσαμιν πάντως πᾶσαν εὐεργετεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς τῷ πρὸ τοῦ νόμου μύθῳ καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ὀρφανὸν ὑβρίας οὐκ εἰσεται 5 ἑναργῶς τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὧργην νομοθέτου, δ’ ἢ ἀπειθῆς καὶ των πατρῶν ἡ μητρὸς ἐρήμων ἀδικῶν διπλῆς τινέτω πᾶσαν τὴν βλάβην ἢ περὶ τῶν ἀμφιθαλῆς γενόμενος κακός. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην νομοθετίαν ἐπίτροπον μὲν περὶ ὀρφανοῦ 5 ἀρχουσίν τε περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐπίτροπων, εἰ μὲν μὴ παραδειγμα τροφῆς παιδῶν ἐλευθέρων ἑκέκτηντο αὐτοὶ τρέφοντες τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων χρημάτων ἐπιμέλευμενοι, ἢτι δὲ νόμους περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων μετρίως διειρημένους εἶχον, εἰχέν τινα λόγον ἂν ἐπιτροπικοῦς τινας νόμους, οὓς ὄντας ἴδια διαφέροντα πολὺ, τιθέναι, ποικilléντας ἐπιτρεπεῖσθαι ἠκτηντομασίως ἰδίοις τῶν ὀρφανῶν βίον παρὰ τῶν τυφ. νυν 5 δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα οὐ πολὺ διαφέρουν η ἣμιν ὀρφανία κέκτηται τῆς πατρονομικῆς, τιμαῖς δὲ καὶ ἀτυμίας ἀμα καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσαν οὐδαμῶς ἐξισοδοθαί φιλεῖ. 928 διὸ δὴ περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὴν ὀρφανῶν περὶ νομοθετίαν παραμυθουμένος τε καὶ ἄπειλον ὁ νόμος ἐπιστόδακεν. ἦτ’ δ’ ἀπειλή τις ἄν τοιόδε εἰς μάλα ἐγκαρος. "Ος ἃν θήλυν εἴη ἄρρενα ἐπιτροπεῖς, καὶ δ’ ἃν ἐπιτρόπον φύλαξ τῶν νομοφυ- λάκων καταστάσις ἐπιμελήτηται, μη χείρον ἀγαπάτω τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων τὸν τῆς ὀρφανικῆς μετειληφότα τύχης, μηδὲ τῶν 190
οἰκεῖων τῶν τοῦ τρεφομένου χείρον χρημάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθω, βέλτιον δὲ [ἡ τῶν αὐτοῦ] κατὰ προθυμίαν. ἔνα δὲ τούτων νόμων ἔχων ὀρφανῶν πέρι πᾶς ἐπιτροπευτῶν· εάν δὲ ἄλλως τις περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα πράττῃ παρὰ τῶν νόμων τόνδε, ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ζημιοῦτω τὸν ἐπίτροπον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτροπος τὸν ἀρχοντα εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐκκρίτων δικαστήριον εἰσάγων ζημιουτώ τῷ 5 δόξαντι μιμήματι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ διπλῇ. εάν δ' ἐπιτροπος ἀμελεῖ ἢ κακογρεῦει δοκῇ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινι πολιτῶν, εἰς ταύτων ἀγέτω δικαστήριον· ὅτι δ' ἂν ὄφλη, τετραπλασιάν μὲν τούτου τίνειν, γιγνέσθω δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἢμισου τοῦ παιδός, τὸ δ' ἢμισον τοῦ καταδικασμένου τὴν δίκην. Ἰμα δ' ἂν ἡβηςη τις τῶν ὀρφανῶν, ἐάν ἡγηται κακῶς ἐπιτροπευθῆναι, μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν ἐξηκούσης τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐστω δίκην λαχεῖν ἐπιτροπίας· εάν δὲ τις ὄφλη τῶν ἐπι- τρόπων, τιμᾶν τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρή παθεῖν ἡ ἀποτίνεων, εάν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀρχοντων, ἀμελεία μὲν δόξας κακώσαν τοῖς ὀρφανῶν, ὃτι χρή τίνειν αὐτοῦ τῷ παιδί, τιμᾶτω τὸ δικαστή- ριον, εάν δὲ δὴ ἀδικία, πρὸς τῷ μιμήματι, τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἀφιστάσθω, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐτερον νομοφυλακα ἀντὶ τούτου καθιστάτω τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ πόλει. 5

Διαφοράι πατέρων τε πρὸς αὐτῶν παίδας γίγνονται καὶ παῖδων πρὸς γεννητας μείζους ἢ χρεων, ἐν αἰσ ο(KERN τε πατέρες ἤνοιντ' αν δειν τὸν νομοθέτην νομοθετείν εξειναι σφιων, εάν δουλωνται, τὸν ύδο χήρους ἐναντιόν ἀπάντων ἀπειτείν υδον κατα νόμον μηκέτ' εἶναι, υεις τ' αδ σφιον πατέρας υπὸ νόσων ἡ γήρως διαπιθεμένους αἰσχρώς εξειναι παρανοιας γράφεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ὄντως ἐν παγκάκων ἢθεσιν ἀνθρώπων γίγνεσθαι φιλει, επει ἡμίσεων γε ὄντων τῶν κακῶν, όιον μὴ κακοὶ μὲν πατρός, ύεος δέ, ἡ τουναντίον, όγ γίγνονται 5 συμφοράι τηλικαύτης ἔχθρας ἐγκυνο. ἐν μὲν οὖν ἄλλῃ πολιτείᾳ παῖς ἀποκεκηρυγμένοι οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀπολίει ἐιη, ταῦτης δέ, ἢς οἰδε οἱ νόμοι ἐσονται, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἐξουκίζεσθαι τῶν ἀπάτωρα—πρὸς γάρ τοῖς τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακαυχολίοις οὐκοὶς οὐκ ἐστων ἐνα προσγενέσθαι—διὸ δὴ δει τῶν ταῦτα πεισόμενον ἐν δίκη μή ὑπὸ ἐνόσ πατρός, υπὸ δὲ τοῦ γένους ἀπορρηθῆναι παντός. ποιεῖν δὲ χρή τῶν τοιούτων πέρι κατὰ νόμον τούνδε τίνα· 5 Ὁν ἂν θυμοῦ ἐπιή μηδαμῶς ἡνυχίης, εἰτ' οὖν ἐν δίκη εἰτε καὶ μή, ὅν ἐτεκε τε καὶ ἐξεθρέψετο, τούτων ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀπαλ-
λάξαι τῆς αὐτοῦ συγγενείας, μὴ φαύλως ὤντως ἐξέστω μηδ' εὐθὺς τούτο δρᾶν, πρῶτον δὲ συλλεξάτω τοὺς αὐτοῦ συγγενείς μέχρι ἀνεψιάν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἱερὸς ὀσαυτῶς τοὺς πρὸς μητρός, κατηγορεῖτω δὲ ἐν τούτοις, διδάσκων ὅσα ἄξιος ἀπανθίκ ή ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐκκεκηρύχθαι, δότω δὲ καὶ τῷ οἷος λόγους τοὺς ὤσος ὦν ἄξιος ἔστι τοῖς ὄντων οὐδὲν πάσχειν· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν πείθη ὁ πατὴρ καὶ συμψήφους λάβῃ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν ὑπὲρ ἴμους, πλὴν πατρὸς διαψήφιζομένων καὶ μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ

5 ό τῶν ὄποσοντες ἄν ὄντων ἀναμείκον εἴτε ἀνδρῶν ἢ μηδὲν τελεοῦντα καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐξέστω τῷ πατρὶ τὸν ὄνο πατηρύντειν, ἅλλως δὲ μηδαμός, τὸν ὁ ἄποκηρυχθέντα ἐὰν τις τῶν πολιτῶν ὄνο βουλήτης θέσαι, μηδεις νόμος ἀπεργεῖτω ποιεῖσθαι· τα γὰρ τῶν νέων ἡπία πολλὰς μεταβολὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ μεταβάλλειν εἰκάστοτε πέφυκεν· ἀποκηρυχθέντα δὲ ἐὰν τις δέκα ἑπίθη καὶ μηδαμός τις ἐπιτιθήθη δεῖν τις τῶν νέων ἡπία πολλὰς μεταβολὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ μεταβάλλειν εἰκάστοτε πέφυκεν ἀπεργαζότας τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ λανθάνῃ τους ἄλλους πλὴν τῶν συνδιατημένων, οἰκοθερῇ δὲ ὡς ὃν τῶν αὐτοῦ κύριος, ὃ δὲ υὸς ἀπορῇ καὶ ὁκνῇ τῆς τῆς παρανοίας

5 γράφεσθαι δίκην, νόμος αὐτῷ κείσθω πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐλθόντα διηγήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφορὰν, οἱ δὲ καταδόντες ικανῶς συμβουλεύοντων ἐὰν τε δεῖ γράφεσθαι καὶ ἐὰν μὴ τὴν γραφήν, ἐὰν δὲ συμβουλέυσωσιν, γυνέσθωσαν τῷ γραφομένῳ μάρτυρες ἀμα καὶ σύνδικοι· ὁ δὲ ὀφλίων τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἄκυρος ἑστὶν τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ συμκρότατον διατίθεσθαι, καθάπερ παῖς δὲ ὄικείτω τοῦ ἐπίλοιπον βίον.

Ἐὰν δὲ ἄνηρ καὶ γυνὴ μηδαμῇ συμφέρωνται τρόπων ἀπευθεῖα χρώμενοι, δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐπι-

930

μελεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων ἄν ἵππων τοὺς μέσους, δέκα δὲ τῶν περὶ γάμους γυναικῶν ὀσαυτῶς· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν δὴ συναλλάττειν δύνανται, ταῦτ' ἐστίν κύρια, ἐὰν 19 δ' αἰ ζυγίζει κυριακών μειζόνων αὐτῶν, ἐτεῖς κατὰ δύναμιν οὕτως ἑκατέρω συνοί-

5 σουσιν. εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτως μὴ πρέασον ήθεασιν κεχρημένους· βαθύτερα δὴ τοιούτοι καὶ προόρεσι τρόπων ἕτη σύννομα περάσαθαι προσαρμόττειν. καὶ ὁσοὶ μὲν ἄν ἀπαίδες
αὐτῶν ἡ ὀλυγόπαιδες ὄντες διαφέρωνται, καὶ παῖδων ἕνεκα τὴν συνοίκησιν ποιεῖσθαι. ὅσοι δ’ ἂν ἵκανῶν ὄντων παῖδων, τῆς συγκαταγηγήσεως ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἄλληλων τὴν διάλεξιν τε καὶ σύζευξιν ποιεῖσθαι χρεῶν. ἐὰν δὲ τελευτά
gυνή καταλείπονσα παῖδας ἠθλεῖας τε καὶ ἄρρενας, συμβο
teυτικὸς ἂν εἰς νόμος ὁ τιθέμενος, οὐκ ἀναγκαστικὸς, τρέφειν
tου ὄντας παῖδας μὴ μητρών ἐπαγόμενον· μὴ δὲ ὄντων, ἦς ἀνάγκης
gαμείν, μέχριπερ ἂν ἱκανοὺς γεννήσῃ παῖδας τῷ
tε ὦκῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει. ἤν δὲ ὁ ἄνηρ ἀποθάνῃ παῖδας ἱκανοὺς
λυπῶν, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ μένουσα τρεφέτων· νεωτέρα
d’ ἂν δοκῇ τοῦ δέοντος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ἔτη αὐτὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν
ἀναιρωστικοὶ, οἱ προσήκοντες πρὸς τὰς τῶν γάμων ἐπιμελουμένας
gυναικῶν κοινοῦμενοι, τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἑκεῖναις
περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ποιούμενων, ἐὰν δὲ ἐνδειξὶς τέκνων ὄντων,
καὶ παῖδων ἕνεκα, παῖδων ἂν ἵκανότης ἀκριβῆς ἀρρήν καὶ
θήλεια ἐστὶν τῷ νόμῳ. ὅταν δὲ ὁμολογήται μὲν τὸ γενόμενον
eἰναι τῶν ποιοῦμενων ἐγκυονον, δεῖται δὲ κρίσεως τίνι
τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐπεσαθαὶ χρεῶν, δούλη μὲν εἶναι συμμελεῖσθαι
dούλων ἢ ἐλευθέρω ἢ ἀπελευθέρω, πάντως τοῦ δεσπότου ἐστὶν τῆς
dούλης τὸ γεννωμένον, ἐὰν δὲ τὴν ἐλευθερία δούλων συν-
γίγνεται, τοῦ διεσποτώτου ἐστὶ τὸ γεννωμένον [τοῦ δούλου].
ἐὰν δ’ ἢ τοῦ δούλου ἢ ἢ καὶ δούλου ἐαυτῆς, καὶ περιφανεῖς
tούτ’ ἢ, τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς αἱ γυναίκες εἰς ἀλλήν χώραν
ἐκπεμπόντων σὺν τῷ πατρὶ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἱ νομοθετοῦσα
SUMER τῇ γεννησάσθαι.

Γονέων δὲ ἀμελεῖν οὕτε θεὸς οὕτε ἄνθρωπος νοῦν ἔχων
σύμβουλος ποτε γένοιτ’ ἂν ουδεὶς οὐδενίς· φρονῆσαι δὲ ἥξη
περὶ θεῶν θεραπείας τοιοῦτε προοίμων ἂν γενόμενον εἰς τὰς
τῶν γεννησάντων τιμᾶς τε καὶ ἀτιμίας ὀρθῶς συντεταγμένον.
Νόμοι περὶ θεοῦ ἀρχαίοι κεῖνται πᾶσιν δύχῃ· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
τῶν θεῶν ὀράματα σαφῶς τιμῶμεν, τῶν δ’ εἰκόνας ἀγάλματα
ἰδρυσάμενοι, ὅσ’ ἢ μὴν ἀγάλλουσι καὶ περὶ ἀφύλιως ὄντας, ἐκεῖνος
ἡγούμεθα τοὺς ἐμφύλιους θεοὺς πολλῆς διὰ ταῦτ’ εὐνοιαν
καὶ χάριν ἔχων. πατὴρ οὖν ὅτι καὶ μήτηρ ἢ τοῖτων πατέρες
ἡ μητέρας ἐν οἰκίᾳ κεῖνται κειμήλιοι ἀπειρηκτόν γῆρα, μηδὲις
διονυσθήτω τοτε ἀγαλμα αὐτῶ, τοιούτων ἐφέστωι ἵδρυμα
[ἐν οἰκίᾳ] ἔχων, μάλλον κύριον ἐσεθαί, ἐὰν δὴ κατὰ τρόπον
γε ὀρθῶς αὐτῷ θεραπεύῃ ὁ κεκτημένος.

ΚΛ. Τίνα δὴ τὴν ὀρθότητα εἶναι φράζεις;
ΑΘ. Ἐγώ ἐρώτ. καὶ γὰρ οὗν ἄξιον, ὦ φίλε, ἀκούειν τὰ γε δὴ τοιαῦτα.

ΚΛ. Λέγε μονὸν.

5 ἈΘ. Οδίπος, φαμέν, ἀτμασθεῖς ἐπηύξατο τοῖς αὐτοῖς τέκνοις ἃ δὴ καὶ πᾶς ὑμεῖς τέλεα καὶ ἐπήκοα γενέσθαι παρὰ θεῶν, Ἀμύντορᾶ τε Φοίνικι τῷ έαυτοῦ ἐπαράσθαι παιδὶ θυμωθέντα καὶ Ἰππολύτῳ Θησέα καὶ ἐτέρους ἄλλους μυρίους.

c μυρίους, ὥν γέγονεν σαφές ἐπηκόος εἶναι γονεύοι πρὸς τέκνα θεοῦς· ἀραῖος γὰρ γονεὺς ἔγκονοι ὡς ὑδεῖς ἔτερος ἄλλος, δικαιότατα. μὴ δὴ τις ἀτμαζομένως μὲν διαφερόντως πατρὶ πρὸς παῖδιν καὶ μητρὶ θεὸν ἐπῆκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς ἡγεῖσθω

5 γίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν, τιμωμένω χὲ ἄρα καὶ περιχαρὲς σφόδρα γενομένω, καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐχαῖς λιπαρῶς εἰς ἀγαθὰ τοῖς παιδὶ παρακαλοῦντος θεοῦς, οὐκ ἄρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄκοιεν εἰς ῥίσοι καὶ νέμειν ἡμῖν αὐτοῦς ἡγησόμεθα· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ δίκαιο νομῆς εἰς ἀγαθῶν, δὴ φαμέν ἡκιστα θεοῖς εἶναι πρέπον.

ΚΛ. Πολὺ γε.

5 ἈΘ. Οὐκδέν διανοθῆλομεν, οὐκ μικρῶ τρότερον εἴπομεν, ὡς οὔδεν πρὸς θεῶν τιμωτέρον ἁγαλμ' ἀν κτησαμέθα πατρὸς καὶ προτάτορος παρεμέλων γῆρα καὶ μητέρων τὴν αὐτήν δύναμιν ἐχοὺσών, οὐδ' ὅταν ἀγάλλη τις τιμαῖς, γέγονεν ὁ θεός· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐπῆκοος ἦν αὐτών. θαμαστὸν γὰρ δήπου

e τὸ προγόνων ἱδρυμα ἡμῖν ἐστιν, διαφερόντως τῶν ἄφύχων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ θεραπευόμενα ὑπ' ἡμῶν, ὡσ ἐμίθυσα, συνεχεῖται ἐκάστοτε, καὶ ἀτμαζόμενα τάναντια, τὰ δ' οὐδέτερα, ὦσε ἂν ὀρθῶς τις χρηται πατρὶ καὶ προτάτορι καὶ πάσι

toῖς τοιούτοις, πάντων πρὸς θεοφιλὴ μοίραν κυρίωτα ἀγαλμάτων ἂν κεκτήτο.

ΚΛ. Κάλλιστ' εἶπες.

ΛΘ. Πᾶς δὴ νοῦν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμὰ γονεῶν εὐχᾶς, εἰδὼς πολλοὶ καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιτελεῖς γενομένας· τούτων οὖν οὗτο φύσει διατεταγμένων, τοῖς μὲν ἄγαθοῖς ἐρμαίων πρόγονοι γηραιοί, ζώντες μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων τοῦ βίου, καὶ ἀπίντες νέος ὁμοίως ποθεῖνο, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἐν μάλα φοβεροί. πᾶς δὴ τιμάτω πάσαις τιμαῖς ταῖς ἐννόμοις τούς

5 αὐτοῦ γεγινότορας τοῖς νῦν πεισθέεις λόγοις· εἰ δ' οὖν των κατέχοι φήμη κωφῶν τῶν τοιούτων προοιμίων, νόμος ὅδε ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀρθῶς κείμενος ἂν εἴη· Ἐδώ τος ἐν τῇ ἔρημῳ τῆς πόλει
γονέων ἀμελέστερον ἔχῃ τοῦ δεόντος, καὶ μὴ τῶν ὑέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ έαυτοῦ μειζόνως εἰς ἀπαντα ἐπιτρέπων καὶ ἀποπληρών ἂς βουλήσεις, ἐξαγγελλέτω μὲν ὁ πάσχων τι τοιοῦτον, εἶτε αὐτὸς εἶτε τινὰ πέμπων, πρὸς τρεῖς μὲν τῶν νομοφυλάκων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, τρεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ γάμους γυναικῶν ἐπιμελουμένων: οἱ δ᾽ ἐπι-
μελείσθωσαν, κολαξοντες τοὺς ἀδικοῦτας νέους μὲν ὀντας ἐτὶ πληγαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς, μέχριτε ἄν ἐτῶν ἄνδρες μὲν τυγχάνωσιν ὀντες τριάκοντα, γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα πλείον ὑπελεῖραν κολαξεσθώσαν ταῖς αὐταίς κολάσεσιν. ἦν δὲ πορ-
ρωτέρων τούτων τῶν ἐτῶν ὀντες τῶν αὐτῶν ἀμελεῖν περὶ γονέας μὴ ἀφιστῶντα, κακώσι δὲ τινὸς τινος, εἰς δικαστή-
ριον εἰσαγόντων αὐτοὺς εἰς ἑνα καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν, ὁτινες ἂν ὁς πρεσβύτατοι ἀπάντωσιν ἄν δὲ τις ὀψι,
τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρὴ τίνειν ἡ πάσχειν, ἀπόρρητον μὴδὲν ποιοῦμενοι ὡςν δυνατὸς ἀνθρώπος πάσχειν ἡ τίνες.
ἐάν δέ τις ἀδυνάτη κακοῦμενο φράζειν, ὁ πυθόμενος τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐξαγγελλέτω τοὺς ἀρχουσον ἡ κακος ἑστῳ καὶ ὑπώδικος τῷ ἔθελοντι βλάβης. ἦν δὲ δοῦλος μηνύση, ἐλεύ-
θερος ἑστῳ, καὶ ἦν μὲν τῶν κακοῦτων ἡ κακοῦμενον δοῦλος, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφείσθω, ἦν δὲ τινὸς ἄλλου τῶν πολιτῶν, τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν τῷ κεκτημένῳ καταβαλλέτω· τοῖς ἀρχουσον δὲ ἐπιμελεῖ ἑστῳ μὴ τις ἀδικῇ τὸν τοιοῦτον τιμωροῦμενος τῆς μηνύσεως ἐνεκα.
"Οσα τις ἄλλος ἄλλον πημαίνει φαρμάκοις, τὰ μὲν θανά-
σμα αὐτῶν διείρθηται, τῶν δ᾽ άλλων πέρι βλάψεων, εἶτε τις ἄρα πώμασιν ἤ καὶ βρώμασιν ἡ ἀλείμμασιν ἐκὼς ἐκ προνοίας πημαίνει, τοῦτων οὔδέν πω πιερρήθη. διτταί γὰρ δὴ φαρμακεῖα κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς αἰτίων ἐπί-
σχον τῆν διάρρησιν. ἢν μὲν γὰρ τὰ νῦν διαρρήθην εἴσομεν, σώματι σώματα κακουργοῦσα ἑστὶν κατὰ φύσιν. ἄλλη δὲ ἡ μαγγανείας τέ τισιν καὶ ἐπωδαις καὶ καταδέσεις λεγομέναι πεἶθει τοὺς μὲν τολμῶντας βλάπτειν αὐτοὺς, ὡς δύνανται τὸ τοιοῦτον, τοὺς δ᾽ ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦτων δυναμένων γοητεύειν βλάπτονται. τᾶς ὡς ὁ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα σύμπαντα οὔτε βάδιον ὅπως ποτὲ πέφυκεν γυμνόσκειν, οὔτ᾽ εἴ τις γυναῖκα, πείθειν εὑπτεῖς ἐτέρους· ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς [τῶν ἀνθρώπων] δυσωπομένους πρὸς ἄλληλους περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα οὐκ ἀξίων ἐπιχειρεῖν πεῖθειν, ἃν ποτὲ ἄρα
ιδωσι' που κήρινα μμήματα πεπλασμένα, εὔτ' ἐπὶ θύραις εὔτ' ἐπὶ τριόδους εὔτ' ἑπὶ μνήμασι γονέων αὐτῶν τινες, ὄλγωρεῖν πάντων τῶν τουούτων διακελευόμεθα μὴ σαφές
5 ἔχουσι δόγμα περὶ αὐτῶν. διαλαβόντας δὲ διή ὁ ἐκ τῆς
φαρμακείας περὶ νόμων, ὁπότερος ἂν τις εἰπηχεῖ ὅτι φαρμάτ-
τευ, πρῶτον μὲν δεῖσθαι καὶ παραιεῖ καὶ συμβουλεύειν
μὴ δεῖ διηχεῖρεῖν τοιοῦτο ὁδῶν μὴ ἐπιστῆμον παίδας τοὺς
πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δειματοῦντας φοβεῖν, μηδ' αὐτὸν
νομοθέτην τε καὶ τὸν δικαστὴν ἀναγκάζων ἐξίστασθαι τῶν
ἀνθρώπων τοιούτους φόβους, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἑπι-
χειρόδουτα φαρμάττειν οὐκ εἰδότα τί δρᾶ, τὰ τε κατὰ σύμματα,
εὰν μὴ τυγχάνῃ ἐπιστήμων ὧν ἱατρικῆς, τὰ τε αὐτὲ περὶ τὰ
μαγγανεύματα, ἐὰν μὴ μάντις ἡ τερατοσκόπως ὑπὶ τυγχάνῃ.
λεγέσθω δὴ λόγος ὡς νόμου περὶ φαρμακείων. "Ὁς ἂν φαρ-
μακεύτην τινὰ ἐπὶ βλάβη μὴ θανασίμω μῆτε αὐτοῦ μῆτε
ἀνθρώπων ἔκεινον, βοσκημάτων δὲ ἡ σμύγων εὑρ' ἄλλῃ
βλάβη εὑρ' ὧν θανασίμω, ἐὰν μὲν ἰατρὸς ὑπὶ τυγχάνῃ καὶ
5 ὁφη δίκην φαρμάκων, θανάτω ζημιοῦσιθ, εὰν δὲ ἱδιότης,
ὅτι χρῆ παθεῖν ή ἀποτείχος τιμᾶτοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ δικαστή-
ρουν. ἐὰν δὲ καταδέσον ἡ ἐπαγωγαῖς ἡ τισιν ἐπωδάεις ἡ
τῶν τοιούτων φαρμακεῖων ὑπ' οὐκοῦν νόμοις εἶναι
βλάπτοντι, ἐὰν μὲν μάντις ὑπὶ τερατοσκόπως, τεθνάτω,
εὰν δ' ἀνευ μαντικῆς ὑπὶ τῆς φαρμακείας ὁφη, ταὐτὸν καὶ
τούτω γιγνέσθων· περὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ τοιοῦτο τιμᾶτω τὸ δικα-
στήρου ὅτι ἂν αὐτοὶς δεῖν αὐτῶν δοξὴ πάσχεις ἡ ἀποτίνειν.
5 Οοσα τις ἄν ἔτερον ἄλλον πημήνα κλέπτων ἡ βιαζόμενος,
ἀν μὲν μείζω, μείζονα τὴν ἐκτοσω τῷ πρακτικῶς τινὲς,
ἀλάττω δὲ ζημιώσας σμικροτέραν, παρά πάντα δὲ τοιαυτὴν
ἡλίκα ἂν ἐκάστοτε ζημιώσῃ τίς τινα, μέχριτε ἂν οἴσηται
τὸ βλαβεῖν. δίκην δὲ ἐκαστός [πρὸς ἐκάστω] τῷ κακουργή-
ματι σῳφρονιστὸν ἔνεκα συνεπομένην προσκεπεισάτω, ὥ
μὲν ἀνοία κακουργήσας ἀλλοτρία, πειθοὶ διὰ νεότητα ἡ τι
τοιοῦτον χρησάμενος, ἐλαφρότεραν, ὥς δὲ διὰ οἰκείων ἄνοιαν
[ἡ] δὲ ἀκρατείαν ἠδονῶν ἡ λυπῶν, ἐν φόβοις δεινῶς ἡ τι
5 ἐπιθυμίαις ἡ φθόνοις ἡ θυμοῖς δυσιάτως γιγνόμενος, βαρυ-
tέραν, οὐχ ἔνεκα τοῦ κακουργῆσαι δίδους τήν δίκην—οὔ γὰρ
τὸ γεγονός ἀγένητον ἐσται ποτὲ—τοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν αἰθιὸς ἔνεκα
χρόνον ἡ τὸ παράπαν μισῆσαι τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ
τοὺς ἰδόντας αὐτὸν δικαιομένον, ἡ λωφήσαι μέρη πολλά

196
τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς. δὲν δὴ πάντων ἕνεκα χρῆ καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα βλέποντας τοὺς νόμους τοξότων μὴ κακοῦ στοχάζεσθαι δίκην τοῦ τε μεγέθους τῆς κολάσεως ἐκάστων. ἔνεκα καὶ παντελῶς τῆς ἀξίας· ταύτῶν δὲ ἔργον ἥρων ἰδίων συνυπηρετεῖν δεῖ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοῖς δικαστήριοι, ὅταν αὐτῶς τις νόμος ἑπιτρέπῃ τιμᾶν ὅτι χρῆ πάσχειν τῶν κρυνόμενον ἢ ἀποτίνεω, τὸν δὲ, καθάπερ ζωγράφοις, ὑπογράφειν ἔργα ἐπόμενα τῇ γραφῇ. δὴ καὶ νῦν, ὁ Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία, ποιητέον ἡμῖν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἀριστεῖ· τῶν κλοπαῖν τε καὶ βιαίων πάντων τὰς ζημίας λεγομένας οἷς δει γίγνεσθαι, λεκτέον, ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν παρείκωσιν θεοὶ καὶ θεῶν παῖδες νομοθετείν.

Μανόμενος δὲ ἂν τις ἢ, μὴ φανερῶς ἔστω κατὰ πόλιν· οἱ προσήκοντες δὲ ἐκάστων κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας φυλαττόντων αὐτοῦ, ὅτως ἂν ἐπίστωνται τρόπω, ἡ ζημίαν ἐκτινώτων, ὁ μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος ἐκατον δραχμᾶς, εάν τ' οὖν δούλον εάν τ' οὖν καὶ ἐλεύθερον περιορᾷ, δευτέρου δὲ τιμήματος τέταρτα μέρη τῆς μιᾶς τῶν πέντε, τρία δ' ὁ τρίτος, καὶ δύο ὁ τέταρτος. μαίνονται μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πολλοὺς τρόπους· οὐς μὲν νῦν εἴπομεν, ὅπως νέοις, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ διὰ θυμοῦ κακὴν φύσιν ἁμα καὶ τροφὴν γενομένην, οἱ δὲ σιμικρὰς ἔχθρας γενομένης, πολλήν φωνήν ἑντες κακῶς ἄλληλοις βλασφημοῦντες λέγουσιν, οὐ πρέπειν ἐν εὐνόμων πόλει γίγνεσθαι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς. εἰς δὴ περὶ κακηγορίας ἔστω νόμος περὶ πάντας δέ· Μηδένα κακήγορεῖτω μηδέης. οὐ δὲ ἀμφισβητῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἄλλος ἄλλω διδασκότω καὶ μαθανεῖτω τὸν ἄμφισβητοῦτα καὶ τούς παρόντας ἀπεχόμενοι πάντως τοῦ κακηγορεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κατεύχεσθαι τε ἄλληλοις ἐπαρκεῖνοι καὶ δὲ αἰσχρῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιφέρειν γνωικείους ἐαυτοῖς φήμας, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ λόγων, κούφου πράγματος, ἔργω μίσῃ τε καὶ ἔχθρα βαρύταται γίγνονται· πράγματι γὰρ ἀχαρίστω, θυμῶ, χαρίζομενος δὲ λέγων, ἐμπιπλάσομαι ὅργῃ κακῶς ἐστιαμάτων, ὡςον ὑπὸ παῖδεος ἡμερώθη ποτὲ, πάλιν ἐξαγρίων τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ τοιοῦτον, θηριοῦμενος ἐν δυσκολίᾳ ζων γίγνεται, πικρὰν τοῦ θυμοῦ χάριν ἀποδεχόμενος. μετεκβαίνεις δὲ αὕτως εἰώθατε πάντες θαμά, ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰς τὸ τι γελοῖον περὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου φθέγγεσθαι· οὐ τὸς εὐθύομενος οὐδέκα πάλιν διὸς οὗ τοῦ σουδαίου τρόπου ἑτοῦ τὸ παράπαν διή-
μαρτεν ἡ μεγαλονοίας ἀπώλεσεν μέρη πολλά. ὄν δὴ χάριν
ἐν μὲν ίερῷ τὰ παράπαν μηδὲς τοιοῦτον φθέγξηται μηδὲποτε
μηδὲν μηδ’ ἐν τοις δημοτελέωι θυσίαις, μηδ’ αὖ ἐν ἄθλοις
μηδ’ ἐν ἁγορᾷ μηδ’ ἐν δικαστηρίωι μηδ’ ἐν συλλόγῳ κοινῷ
μηδὲν· κολαζέτω δ’ ὁ τούτων ἄρχων ἐκαστὸς [ἀναί., ἦ

μηδέποτ’ ἀριστεῖων πέρι φιλονικήσεω, νόμοις ὡς ὦ κρά-

μενος οὐδὲ ποιῶν τὰ προσταχθήναι ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου.
ἐὰν δὲ τὶς ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις λοιδορίας ἄρχων ἡ ἀμυνόμενος
ὀστισοῦν μὴ ἀπέχηται τῶν τοιοῦτων λόγων, ὁ προστυχάνων

πρεσβύτερος ὁν τῷ νόμῳ ἀμυνότω, πληγαῖς ἐξείρην τοὺς
θυμῶ, ἐταῖρῳ κακῷ, φιλοφρονομένου, ἡ ἐνεχέσθω τῇ τετα-

γμένῃ ζημίᾳ. Λέγομεν δὴ τὰ νῦν ὡς λοιδορίας συμπλέκο-

μενος ἢνε τοῦ γελοία ζητεῖν λέγειν οὐ δυνάτος ἑστὶν
χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο λοιδοροῦμεν, ὡς τοῖς θυμῶ γυγνομένοιν
ἡ. τί δὲ δή; τὴν τῶν κωμῳδῶν προθυμίαν τοῦ γελοία εἰς
touς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν ἡ παραδεχόμεθα, ἐὰν ἀνευ θυμοῦ

το τοιοῦτον ἢμῖν τοὺς πολῖτας ἐπιχειρῶσιν κωμῳδοῦντες
λέγειν. ἡ διαλάβωμεν δίχα τῷ παίζειν καὶ μή, καὶ παίζοντι
μὲν ἐξέστω των περὶ τού τελεύτατον γελοῖν ἀνευ θυμοῦ, συντε-

tαμένω δὲ καὶ μετὰ θυμοῦ, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, μή ἐξέστω
μηδενί; τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς ἀναθέτεσσιν, ὅ [8'] ἐξέστοι καὶ
μή δὲ, τούτο νομοθετησώμεθα. ποιητῇ δὴ κωμῳδίας ἡ
tυνό ἅμβων ἡ μουσῶν μελῳδίας μὴ ἐξέστω μήτε λόγῳ
μήτε εἰκόνι, μήτε θυμῷ μήτε ἀνευ θυμοῦ, μηδαμῶς μηδένα
tῶν πολιτῶν κωμῳδεῖν· εὰν δὲ τὶς ἀπευθή, τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας

936 ἐξείργεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας το παράπαν αὐθημερόν, ἡ ζημιοῦδα

μναῖς τρισὶν ἱεραὶς τοῦ θεοῦ ὦ ἀν ἄγων ἦ. οἶς δ’ εἰρηται

πρότερον ἐξουσιαί εἶναι [περὶ τοῦ] ποιεῖν εἰς ἀλλήλους,
tούτους ἀνευ θυμοῦ μὲν μετὰ παιδίας ἐξέστω, ὅποι δ’ ἐν

ἀμα καὶ θυμομένοισιν μὴ ἐξέστω. τοῦτο δ’ διάγνωσις
ἐπιτετράβθω τῷ τῆς παιδεύσεως ἄλης ἐπιμελητη τῶν νέων·
καὶ δ’ μὲν ἄν οὕτος ἐγκρίνῃ, προφέρει εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐξέστω
tῷ πονόμαντι, δ’ ἄν ἀποκρίνῃ, μήτε αὐτός ἐπιδεικνύθων

b μηδενί μήτε ἄλλου δόλου μηδε ἐλευθερόν ποτε φανή διδάξας,

ἡ κακὸς εἶναι δοξαζέσθω καὶ ἀπευθής τοῖς νόμοις.

Οἰκτρός δ’ οὐχ ὁ πενῶν ἡ τοιοῦτον πάσχων, ἅλ’

δ’ σωφρονῶν ἡ τινα ἁρετὴν ἡ μέρος ἔχον ταύτῃ, ἄν τινα

5 συμφορὰν πρὸς τούτοις κεκτήται· διὸ θαυμαστὸν ἃν γένοιτο
ev τις ὧν τοιοῦτος ἀμεληθείη τὸ παράπαν, ὥστ’ εἰς πτωχεῖαν

198
τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐλθεῖν, δούλος ἦ καὶ ἐλεύθερος, ἐν οἰκουμένῃ καὶ μετρίως πολιτείᾳ τε καὶ πόλει. διὸ τῷ νομοθέτῃ θείναι νόμον ἁσφαλεῖς τοιούτοις τοιοῦτοις τοιώντει τών. Πτωχὸς μηδεὶς ἦμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει γεννέσθαι, τοιοῦτον δ’ ἂν τις ἐπιχειρή δράν, εὐχαίς βίον ἀνήνυτοις συλλεγόμενος, ἐκ μὲν ἀγορᾶς ἀγορανόμου ἔξεργόντων αὐτὸν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀστείους ἢ τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀρχῆς ἀγρονόμου δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας εἰς τὴν ὑπεροριάν ἐκπεμπόντων, ὅπως ἦ χώρα τοῦ τοιοῦτον ζῶον καθάρα γίνεται το παράπαν.

enance η δούλη βλάψη τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ οἰσιῶν, μὴ συναιτίον τοῦ βλαβεῖτος αὐτοῦ γενομένου κατ’ ἀπερίαν ἦ τιν’ ἐτέραν ξρείαν μὴ σώφρονα, ὁ τοῦ βλασφαντος δεσπότης ἦ τὴν βλάβην ἐξίσοθα μὴ ἐνδεώς, ἦ τὸν βλάφαντ’ αὐτὸν παραδὸτω. εἶν δ’ ἐπαιτωμένον ὁ δεσπότης κοινὴ τοῦ βλάφαντος τέχνη καὶ τοῦ βλαβέντος ἐπ’ ἀποστερήσει φῆ τοῦ δούλου γεγονέναι τὴν αἰτίαν, διαδικαζόταθε μὲν κακοτεχνίαν τῷ φάσκοντι βλαβήσαται, καὶ ἔαν ἔλῃ, διπλασίαι τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ δούλου κομιζέσθω ἢ ἂν τιμήσῃ τὸ δικαστήριον, εἶν δὲ ήττηθῇ, τὴν τε βλάβην ἔξιαδόθω καὶ τὸν δούλον παραδότω. καὶ ἔαν ὑποζύγιον ἦ ἔππος ἦ κύων ἦ τι τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων σίνηται τὶ τῶν πέλας, κατὰ ταύτα ἐκτίνειν τὴν βλάβην.

Ἐὰν τῆς ἐκὼν μὴ θέλῃ μαρτυρεῖν, προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν δεόμενον, ὁ δὲ κληθεὶς ἀπαντάτω πρὸς τὴν δίκην, καὶ ἔαν μὲν εἰδὴ καὶ θέλῃ μαρτυρεῖν, μαρτυρεῖτω, ἐὰν δὲ εἰδέναι μὴ φη, τοὺς τρεῖς θεοὺς Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Θεόμιν ἀπομόρασα ἢ μὴ μὴ εἰδέναι ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῆς δίκης· ὁ δ’ εἰς μαρτυρίαν κληθείς, μὴ ἀπαντῶν δὲ τῷ καλεσμένῳ, τῆς βλάβης ὑπόδικος ἔστω κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δὲ τῆς τινα δικαζόντα ἀναστήσῃ μάρτυρα, μαρτυρήσας μὴ διαψυφίζεσθω περὶ ταύτης τῆς δίκης. γυνακι δ’ ἐξέστω ἐλευθερὰ μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν, ἐὰν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ἢ γεγονότα, καὶ δίκην λαγχάνειν, ἐὰν ἀνανδρός ἢ· ζώντος δὲ ἀνδρός ἐξέστω μαρτυρήσας μονόν. δούλη δὲ καὶ δούλω καὶ παιδί φόνου μονὸν ἐξέστω μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν, ἐὰν ἐγγυττὴν ἀξιωχρεῶν ἢ μὴ μενεῖν καταστήσῃ μέχρι δίκης, ἐὰν ἐπισκηφθῇ τὰ πευδὴ μαρτυρήσας. ἐπισκηφτεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἀντιδικῶν ἐκάτερον διὰ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ καὶ μέρει, ἐὰν τὰ πευδὴ φη τίνα μεμαρτυρήκεναι, πρὶν τὴν δίκην διακεκρίθαι· τὰς δ’ ἐπισκή-
ψευς τὰς ἀρχὰς φυλάττειν κατασεσμασμένας ὑπ’ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ
παρέχειν εἰς τὴν τῶν ψευδομαρτυρῶν διάκρισιν. εάν δὲ
tis ἄλογὸς ψευδομαρτυρῶν, τούτοιν μηκέτι νόμος ἀναγκαζέτω
μηδείς μαρτυρεῖν, ἦν δὲ τρίς, μηκέτι ἐξέστω τούτω μαρτυ-
ρείν. εάν δὲ τομὴς μαρτυρήσας τρίς ἐκλογικός, ἐνδεικνύτω
μεν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ θεολογεύμενος αὐτὸν, ἢ ἡ ἀρχὴ δικα-
στηρίων παραδότω, εάν δὲ ὀφθη, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. ὅποσον
δ’ ἐν μαρτυρία ἀλώσων δίκη, ψευδὴ δοξάντων μαρτυρεῖν καὶ
tὴν νίκην τῷ ἐλόντι πεποιηκέναι, εάν τῶν τοιοῦτων ὑπὲρ
ημίου μαρτυρῶν καταδικασθῶσιν τνες, τὴν κατὰ ταύτας
ἀλώσαν δίκην ἀνάδικον γίνεσθαι, ἀμφισβήτησον δ’ εἶναι
καὶ διαδικασίαν εἴτε κατὰ ταύτας εἴτε μὴ ἡ δίκη ἐκρίθη, ὁποτέρως
δ’ ἐν κριθῇ, ταύτη γιγνέσθω τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐμπροσθεν
dικών.

Πολλῶν δὲ οντων καὶ καλῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ,
toῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν οἶνον κήρες ἐπιπεφύκασιν, αἱ κατα-
μαίνουσιν τε καὶ καταρρυταίνουσιν αὐτᾶ. καὶ ὅ καὶ δίκη
eν ἀνθρώπων πῶς οὐ καλῶν, δ’ πάντα ἡμέρωκεν τὰ ἀνθρώ-
pina; καλὸς δὲ οντὸς τούτοι, πῶς οὐ καὶ τὸ συνδικεῖν ἡμῖν
γίγνοντ’ ἂν καλῶν; ταύτα οὖν τοιαῦτα οὖντα διαβάλλει τις
κάθη, καλὸν ὅνομα προστησμένη τέχνην, ἢ πρῶτον μὲν
δὴ φησιν εἰναὶ τινα δικών μηχανῆ—εἰναι δ’ αὐτῇ τοῦ
tε δικάσασθαι καὶ συνδικεῖν ἄλλω—νυκάν δυνάμενη, ἢν τ’ οὖν
dίκαια ἂν τε μὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίκην ἑκάστην ἢ πεπραγμένα;
dωρεάν δ’ αὐτῆς εἰναι τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐκ
tῆς τέχνης, ἢν ἀντιδωρηταί τις χρήματα. ταύτην οὖν ἐν
tῇ παρ’ ἡμῖν πόλει, εἴτ’ οὖν τέχνη εἴτε ἀτεχνὸς ἠστίν τις
ἐμπειρία καὶ τριβῆ, μάλιστα μὲν δὴ χρεῶν ἠστιν μὴ φῶναι.

dεομένου δὲ τοῦ νομοθέτου πείθεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐναντία δίκη
φθέγγεσθαι, πρὸς ἄλλην δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι χάρων, πειθο-
μένους μὲν συγν., ἀπειθοῦσιν δὲ φωνή νόμου ἦδη: "Ἀν τις δοκή
b
πειράσθαι τὴν τῶν δικαίων δύναμιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν δικαστῶν
ψυχαῖς ἐπὶ ταύτατα τρέπειν καὶ παρὰ καρδίν πολυδικεῖ
τῶν τοιοῦτον ἢ καὶ συνδικεῖν, γραφέσθω μὲν ὁ θεολογεύμενος
αὐτῶν κακοδικίας ἢ καὶ συνδικίας κακῆς, κρυνέσθω δὲ ἐν τῷ
τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν δικαστηρίων, ὁφλόντος δὲ, τιμᾶτω τὸ δικαστή-
ριον εἴτε φιλοχρηματία δοκεῖ δρᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἴτε φιλονικία,
καὶ ἐὰν μὲν φιλονικία, τιμᾶν αὐτῷ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅσον χρὴ
χρόνου τῶν τοιοῦτον μηδενὶ λαχεῖν δίκην μηδὲ συνδικήσαι,
ἐὰν δὲ φιλοχρηματία, τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑπάνω ἐπιύντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὑπότε πάλιν ἠθείν ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, τὸν ἀστὸν δὲ τεθνάναι φιλοχρημοσύνης ἐνεκα τῆς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου παρὰ αὐτῷ τιμωμένης· καὶ ἐάν τις φιλονικίᾳ κρίθη διὸ τὸ τοιοῦτον δράν, τεθνάτω.
Short Analysis

941 a.—Ambassadors must be honest.
941 b.—All theft is dishonourable: theft of any public property is to be punished by death.

942 a.—Habits of military discipline and subordination are salutary to the community. 943 a.—Military service universal. Military offences and distinctions. (944) Reasonable excuses for military failure—all to be judged by a court of fellow-soldiers.

945 b—948 b.—Election and powers of the Euthunoi or Correctors, with the honour to be paid them, alive and dead.

948 b—949 c.—No oaths in a court of justice—care to be taken to secure execution of sentences.

949 c—953 e.—The lawful occasions of foreign travel, and the advantage to the state of experience so gained.

953 e—956 a.—Various regulations as to bail: search for stolen goods: "statute of limitations": forcible interference with judicial proceedings: receiving of stolen goods: private arrangements with foreign states: returns of amount of crops and property: limitations to dedications for religious objects.


958 c—960 b.—Regulations as to funerals and graves.

960 c to the end.—The constitution and training of the members of the Nocturnal Council.

IB

941 ΑΘ. Ἐὰν ὦς πρεσβευτής τις ἡ κήρυξ καταψευδόμενος τῆς πόλεως παραπρεσβευτηται πρὸς τινα πόλιν, ἡ πεμπό- μενος μὴ τὰς οὖσας πρεσβείας ἑφ᾿ αἰς πέμπεται ἀπαγγέλλῃ.
ΝΑΜΩΝ ΙΒ

941 a

η πάλιν αὖ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἡ καὶ φίλων μὴ τὰ παρ’
ἐκεῖνων ὀρθῶς ἀποπρεπεῖσθα γένηται φανερὸς ἡ χηρυκεύσας,
γραφαὶ κατὰ τούτων ἐστῶν ὡς Ἐρμοὺ καὶ Διὸς ἀγγελίας
καὶ ἐπιτάξεις παρὰ νόμον ἁσβησάντων, τίμημα δὲ ὅτι χρὴ
πάσχειν ἡ ἀποτίνειν, ἕαν ὀφλή.

Κλοπὴ μὲν χρημάτων ἀνελεύθερον, ἀρπαγὴ δὲ ἀναί-
σχυντον’ τῶν Διὸς δὲ νέων οὐδεὶς οὔτε δόλους οὔτε βία
χαίρων ἐπιτετήθεικεν τούτων οὐδέτερον. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ
πολιτῶν μηδ’ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τινών μυθολόγων πλημμελῶν περὶ
tὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαπατώμενος ἀναπειθέσθω, καὶ κλέπτων ἡ
βιαζόμενος οἰεσθώ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν ἀλλ’ ἀπεὶ αὐτοὶ
θεοὶ δρᾶσιν. οὔτε γάρ ἀληθεῖς οὔτ’ εἰκός, ἀλλ’ ὅσ τι δρᾶ
τοιοῦτον παρανόμως, οὔτε θεοὶ οὔτε παῖς ἐστὶν ποτὲ θεάων,
tάῦτα δὲ νομοθέτῃ μάλλον προσήκει γυνώσκειν ἡ ποιηταὶ
σύμπασιν. οὐ μὲν οὖν πεισθεὶς, ἡμῶν τῷ λόγῳ εὐτυχεῖ τε
καὶ εἰς χρόνον ἀπαντὰ εὔτυχοι, ὡς ἄπιστήσας τὸ μετὰ
ταῦτα τοιῶδε τινὶ μαχέσθω νόμω. Ἐὰν τίς τι κλέπτη δη-
μόσιον μέγα ἡ καὶ σμικρὸν, τῆς αὐτῆς δίκης δεί. μικρὸν
τι γὰρ ὁ κλέπτων ἐρωτε μὲν ταῦτα, δυνάμει δὲ ἐλάττων
κέκλοφεν, ὃ τε τὸ μείζον κυνὸν οὐ καταθέμενος ὅλον ἄδικη
dίκης οὐν οὐδέτερον οὐδέτερον ἐλάττονος ἕνεκα μεγέθους τοῦ
κλέματος ὁ νόμος ἄξιοι ζημιῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν μὲν ἰσως
ἀν ἰάσιμον ἢτ’ εἰναι, τὸν δ’ ἀνίατον. ἔξον μὲν ἡ τῶν
δημοσίων ἡ δοῦλον ἀν τίς τι κλέπτοντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἐλή,
ὡς ἰασίμου ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων όντι τὶ χρῆ παθεῖν τὴν ἡ ἡμία
ἀπότινειν αὐτῶν ἡ κρίσις γυνέσθω τὸν δὲ ἀστὸν καὶ
tεθραμμένον ὡς ἐσται τεθραμμένος, ἄν πατρίδα συλῆν ἡ
βιαζόμενος ἄληκηται, ἐὰν τ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ ἐὰν τὸ μῆ, σχεδὸν
ὡς ἀνίατον οὖν θανάτῳ ζημιῶν.

Στρατιῶν δὲ ἕνεκα πολλῆ μὲν συμβουλῇ, πολλοὶ δὲ
νόμοι γίγνονται κατὰ τρόπον, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ μηδέποτε
ἀναρχον μηδένα εἰναι, μὴ’ ἀρρενα μὴ’ θήλειαν, μηδὲ τινὸς
ἐθεί ψυχήν εἰδίθαι μὴ’ σπουδάζωντος μὴ’ ἐν παιδαίας
αὐτῶν ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ τι κατὰ μόνας δρᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τὶ πολέμῳ
παντὶ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάσῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα οἰκ’ ἑπάνω
καὶ συνεπόμενον ζῆν, καὶ τὰ βραχύταθ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κυβερνώ-
μενον, οἶδον ἐστάναι θ’ ὅταν ἐπιτάττῃ τις καὶ πορεῖσθαι
καὶ γυμνύζεσθαι καὶ λουθαι καὶ συτείσθαι καὶ ἐγείρεσθαι
νῦκτωρ εἰς τε φυλακὰς καὶ παραγγέλσεις, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς

942 b

5

203
κωδικοί μήτε τινά διώκειν μηθ’ ὑποχωρεῖν άλλῳ ἀνευ τῆς
tῶν ἀρχόντων δηλώσεως, ἐνὶ τῇ λόγῳ τῷ χαρίς τι τῶν άλλων
πράττειν διδάξαι τὴν ψυχῇν ἔθεσι μήτε γιγνώσκειν μήθ’
ἐπιστασθαι τὸ πάραπα, ἀλλ’ ἀθρόν οὐκέ τι καὶ ἀμα καὶ κουνὸν
tὸν βίον ὅτι μάλιστα πᾶσι πάντων γίγνεσθαι—τούτῳ γὰρ
5 οὔτ’ ἐστιν οὔτε μὴ γένηται κρείστων οοῦτε ἀμεινων οὔτε
technikōteron εἰς σωτηρίαν τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ νίκην—
tοῦτο ἐν εἰρήνῃ μελετητέον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν παίδων, ἀρχεῖν τε
tῶν ἀρχεσθαί β” ψ” ἐτέρων: τὴν δ’ ἀναρχιαν ἔξαιρετεν

d ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἀπάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ τῶν
ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπους θηρίων. καὶ δὴ καὶ χορείας πάσσας εἰς τὰς
ἀριστείας τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον βλεποῦσα χορεύει, καὶ ἀλη
ἐνυκλιάν τε καὶ εὐχέρειαν ἐπιτηδεύειν τῶν αυτῶν εἴνεκα,
5 καρτέρησες τε αὐτὸν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ χειμώνων καὶ τῶν
ἐναντίων καὶ καίτις σκληρᾶς, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τὴν τῆς
κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν δύναμιν μὴ διαφθείρει τῇ τῶν ἀλλο-
tρίων σκεπασμάτων περικαλυφῇ, τὴν τῶν οικείων ἀπολ-
λύτα πὶλων τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν: ταῦτα
γὰρ ἄκρωτηρια ὅπως σφόδρα τε ἔχει μεγίστην <τὴν>
δύναμιν παντὸς τοῦ σῶματος καὶ τούναντίον ἐναντίως, καὶ τὸ
μὲν ὑπηρετικώτατον ἀπαντὶ τῷ σώματι, τὸ δὲ ἀρχικώτατον,

493 ἔχον τὰς κυρίας ἀπάσας αἰσθήσεις αὐτῶν φύσει.
ἐπανοὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοι ακούειν τὸν νέον χρήν δοκεῖν πολέμικον περὶ
βίου, νόμος δ’ αὖ τούσδε· Στρατεύεσθαι τὸν καταλεγέντα
ἡ τὸν ἐν μέρει τινὶ τεταγμένον εάν δὲ τις ἐκλείπῃ τωι
5 κάκη μὴ στρατηγῶν ἀφεντῶν, γραφάς ἀστρατείας εἶναι πρὸς
τοὺς πολέμικοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου,
dικάζειν δὲ τοὺς στρατεύςαντας ἐκάστους χωρίς, ὀπλίτας
tε καὶ ἰππεῖς καὶ τάλλα ἐμπολέμα ἐκαστά ἀσάυτως, καὶ
b εἰσάγειν ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἰππεῖς δὲ εἰς τοὺς
ἰππεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀλλους δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐις τοὺς αὐτῶν σω-
νομοὺς. εάν δὲ τις ὀφθη, ὑπάρχει μὲν αὐτῷ μήποτε θῆς
ὁλης ἀριστείας ἀγωνιστῇ γενέσθαι μηδὲ ἀστρατείας ἀλλον
5 γράφασθαι μπορεῖ ὁ κατηγόρω τούτου πέρι γενέσθαι, πρὸς
τούτους δ’ ἐτι προστιμών αὐτῷ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν
ἡ ἀποτίνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκδικάσθειν τῶν τῆς ἀστρα-
teίας δικών, πάλιν ἐκάστων ἀρχοντας ποιήσαι σύλλογον,
c ἀριστείων δὲ περὶ κρίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν
ἐθνεσιν, μὴ περὶ προτέρου πολέμου μηδὲν παρεχόμενον μήτε

204
τεκμήριον μὴτε μαρτύρων πιστώσεις λόγων, αὐτὴς δὲ περὶ τῆς στρατείας τῆς τότε γενομένης αὐτοίς. οὕτως δὲ τὸ νικητήριον ἐκάστους εἶναι θαλλοῦ. τούτων δὲ εἰς τὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν θεῶν ἱερά, ἐν ἅν ἂν τις βούληται, γράψαντα ἀναθεῖναι μαρτύριον εἰς τήν τῶν ἀριστείαν κρίσιν παντὸς τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς τῶν δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων. ἔναν δὲ στρατεύονται μὲν τις, μὴ ἀπαγαγόντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχιτῶν οἴκαδε προ- ἀπελθῆ τοῦ χρόνου, λυποταξίου τούτων εἶναι γραφᾶς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς περὶ τῆς ἀστρατείας, ὁφλοῦσιν τε τιμωρίαν ἐπέστωσαν αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ πρὸςθεὶν ἐπέθεσαν. χρή μὲν δὴ πάσαν ἐπιφέροντα δίκην ἀνδρὶ πάντ᾽ ἄνδρα φοβεῖσθαι τὸ μῆτε ἐπενεγκεῖν ψευδὴ τιμωρίαν, μὴ δὲν ἐκόντα μὴ τ᾽ ἀκοντα κατὰ δύναμιν—παρθένοις γὰρ Ἀἴδους Δίκη λέγεται τε καὶ ἄντων εὐηρται, ψεύδος δὲ αἰδοὶ καὶ δίκη νεμεσθὸν κατὰ φύσιν—τῶν τῷ οὖν ἄλλων εὐλαβεῖσθαι πέρι πλημμελεῖν εἰς δίκην, διαφερόντως δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ὁπλῶν ἀποβολῆς, μὴ διαμαρτῶν τις ἀρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποβολῶν, ὡς αἰσχρὸς αὐτὰς εἰς ὅνειδος τιθεὶς, ἀναξίω ἀναξίας ἐπάγη δίκας. ῥάδιον μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς διορίσαι τοῦτων βάτερον, ὀμος δὲ χρὴ τῷ νόμων ἀμώς γε πὼς ὀρίζεις πειρᾶσθαι κατὰ μέρη. μὴ δὸ προσχρομένου ἀμ᾽ εὖπωμεν, εἵ κοιμοθεὶς ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἀνευ τῶν ὁπλῶν Πάτροκλος ἐμπνοῦς ἐγένεθ', ὦν δὴ μυρίως συνέπεσεν, τὰ δὲ πρότερα ἐκεῖνα ὁπλα, ἅ Πηλεῖ φησιν ὁ τοιτής παρὰ θεῶν προῖκα ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἐπιδοθῆναι Θέστι, ταῦτα δὲ Ἕκτωρ εἴχεν, ἐζήν ἂν τῶν τότε ὅσοι κακοὶ ὀνειδίζειν ὁπλῶν ἀποβολὴν τῷ του Μενοιτίου. ἔτι δὲ ὀπόσοι κατὰ κρημνῶν ῥβείντες ἀπώλεσαν ὁπλα, ἦ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἡ χειμώνων ἐν κόποις ὑποδεξαμένης αὐτούς ἑξαίφης πολλὴς ρύσεως ὤδατο, ἢ μυρί' ἂν ἔχει τις τοιαῦτα παραμυθούμενος ἐπάδεων, εὐδιάβολον κακὸν καλλύνων· τεμεῖν δὴ χρεών κατὰ δύναμιν τὸ μείζον καὶ τὸ δυσχερέστερον κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου. σχέδον οὖν ἐν τοῖς ὀνειδεῖσιν ἐχει τιαν τοιμὴν ἡ τούτων τῶν ὁμομάτων ἐπιφορά: ῥώπαστος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν πάσῳ ὄνομαζον· ἂν δυκαίως, ἀποβολεῖς δὲ ὁπλῶν. οὔχ ὀμοίως γαρ ὃ τε ἀφαι- ρεθεὶς μετε εἰκυίας βίας γίγνοντα ἂν ῥώπαστος ὃ τε ἀφεῖς ἐκὼς, διαφέρει δὲ ὅλων που καὶ τὸ πᾶν. ὀδ' οὖν ὃ ἡ λεγέσθω νόμων· 'Εάν καταλαμβανόμενος τις ὑπὸ πολεμιῶν καὶ ἥχων ὁπλα μὴ ἀναστρέφῃ καὶ ἁμόνηται, ἀφὴ δὴ ἐκὼς ἡ ῥύπη.
Εὐθύνων δὴ πέρι τις ἡμῖν λόγος ἂν εἰπῇ πρέπουν ἀρχόντων γενομένων τῶν μὲν κατὰ τύχην κλήρου καὶ ἐπ’ ἐναυτόν, τῶν δὲ εἰς πλείονα ἐτή καὶ ἐκ προκρίτων; τῶν δὴ τοιούτων εὐθυνής τις ἢκανός, ἂν τίς τι τῆς σκολίων αὐτῶν καμάθεις ὑπὸ βάρους μὲν [τὴν ἄρχην] πράξῃ, τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ δινάμεως ἑνεδίκη πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἄρχης ἄξιαν; ῥάδιως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εὐρείων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀρχόντα ὑπερβαλλοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅμως δὲ πειρατεῖν εὐθυνᾶς τινος ἀνευρίσκειν θέλειος. ἔχει γὰρ οὐν οὗτω. πολλοὶ καὶ ροιτεῖα λύσεώς εἰσιν, καθάπερ νεὼς ἡ ἥσομυν τινός, οὐς ἐντόνους τε καὶ ὑποζώματα καὶ νεώρων ἐπίτονος, μέν οὖν πάρον ὕψως διεσταρμένην, πολλαχοῦ πολλοίς ὁνόμασιν πρὸσαγορεύομεν· εἰς δὲ οὕτως
ού σμικρότατος καιρὸς τού σώζεσθαι τε καὶ διαλυθεῖσαν 
οίχεσθαι πολιτείαν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ οἱ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐξευθύνοντες 
βελτίως ὅσιν ἐκέινων, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν δίκῃ ἀμέμπτω τε 
καὶ ἀμέμπτως, ἡ πᾶσα οὔτω θάλλει τε καὶ εὐδαμονεῖ 
χώρα καὶ πόλις. έαν δ' ἄλλως τὰ περὶ τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν 
ἀρχόντων γίγνεται, τότε λυθεῖσας τῆς τὰ πάντα πολιτεύματα 
συνεχούσης εἰς ἐν δίκῃς, ταύτη πᾶσα ἄρχη διεστάσθη 
χωρίς ἑτέρα ἀπ' ἄλλης, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτι νεύσαι, 
pολλάς ἐκ μιᾶς τὴν πόλιν ποιοῦσαι, στάσεων ἐμπλήσασα 
tαχύ διώλεσαι. διὸ δὴ δεὶ πάντας τοὺς εὐθύνους 
θαμαστοὺς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εἶναι. τεκταίνωμεθα δὴ τινα τρόπον αὐτῶν 
τοιἀνδε γένεσιν. κατ' ἐναντίον ἐκαστον μετὰ τροπᾶς ἢλιον 
tὰς ἐκ θέρους εἰς χειμῶνα συνιέναι χρεών πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν 
eis Ἡλίου κοινὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τέμενοι, τῷ θεῷ ἀποφανοւ-
μένους ἄνδρας αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὅν ἂν ἐκαστος αὐτῶν ἥγη 
Pάντη ἄριστος εἶναι πλην αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἔλαττον πεντήκοντα 
γεγονότα ἐτῶν. τῶν δὲ προκριθέντων οὐδ' ἄν πλείστοι ἐνέγκωσιν, τού-
τους ἐκλέξαρ μέχρι τῶν ἡμίσεων, εὰν ἀρτιοὶ γίγνωσι 
περιττοὶ δὲ ἐὰν ὅσιν, ένα ἄφελεῖν, ὃ ἂν ἐλάχισται γένωνται, 
καταλίπειν δὲ τοὺς ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν πλῆθει τῶν ψήφων ἀπο-
κριναντας, ἐὰν δὲ τις ίσαι γίγνωσται καὶ τὸν ἡμίσυν 
ἀριθμὸν πλείω ποιῶσι, ἄφελεῖν τὸ πλέον ἀποκριναντας 
νεότητι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐγκριναντας φέρεν αὐθίς, μέχριτε 
ἄν τρεῖς λειψθῶσιν ἄνισοι: ἔαν δὲ ἡ πᾶσιν ἡ τοῖν δυοῖν ἰσαι 
γίγνωσται, τῇ ἅγαθῇ μοῖρᾳ καὶ τῇ χαρῇ ἐπιτρέπασιν, κλήρῳ 
dιελόντας τὸν νικῶντα καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον στεφανόσι 
θαλλό, καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἀποδόντας πᾶσιν ἀνεπιλ θι 
Μαγνητῶν ἡ κατὰ θεὸν πάλιν τυχοῦσα σωτηρίας πόλις, 
ἀποφήμασα αὐτῆς Ἡλίῳ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τρεῖς, ἀκρο-
βανον Ἀπόλλωνι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀνατίθησι κοινὸν 
cαὶ Ἡλίῳ, ὅσωντερ ἂν ἐπιστεῦται χρόνων τῇ κρίσει. 
τοιούτους 
d δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐναντιῶ δώδεκα εὐθύνους ἀποδεῖξαι, μέχριτε 
ad ἀκάστω πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτή ςυμβή γενόμενα, τῷ 
λοιπὸν δὲ τρεῖς ἄει προσγιγνέοντο κατ' ἐναντίον: οὔτοι δὲ 
tὸς ἄρχας πᾶσας δώδεκα μέρη διελόμεθα πᾶσις βασάνοις 
χρώμενοι ἐλευθέρας ἐλεγχόντων. οἰκονύτων δὲ, ὅσον αὖ 
εὐθύνωσιν χρόνου, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τε καὶ Ἡλίῳ 
tεμένει, ἐν ὑπὲρ ἐκρίθησαν: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἰδία ἐκαστος, τὰ δὲ 
d καὶ κοινὴ μετ' ἀλλήλων κρίναντες τοὺς ἀρέσκας τῇ πόλει,
άποφημάντων, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν γράμματα καταθέντες, περὶ
5 ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς ὅτι χρῆ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν κατὰ τὴν τῶν
εὐθύνων γνώμην. ἦτις δὲ ἀν τῶν ἁρχῶν μὴ διμολογηθεὶς
κρίσθαι δικαίως, εἰς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαστάς ἐσαγαγέτω τοὺς
εὐθύνους, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἀποφήμη γύρως eὐθύνας, αὐτῶν τῶν
εὐθύνων κατηγορεῖτο, ἢ ἠθέλη, ἢν δὲ ἁλῶ, ἢν μὲν ἢ τῷ
θανάτῳ τετμημένον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων, ὡσπερ ἀνάγκη, ἀπλῶς
θητικέτω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τιμημάτων ἢν ἀν δυνατόν ἢ δυσλή
τείσαι, διπλασιάν τινέτω. τὰς δὲ εὐθύνας αὐτῶν τοῦτων
5 ἀκούὼν χρῆ τίνες ἔσονται καὶ τίνα τρόπον. ἦσοι μὲν ὅπως
tοῦτοι τοῖς παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἀριστείων ἡξιωμένοις
προεδρεύαι τ' ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι πάσαις ἐστιν, ἐτι δὲ τῶν
eἰς τοὺς 'Ελληνας κοινὴ θυσίων καὶ θεωρίων καὶ ὅσων ἢν
ἐτέρων κοινωνίων ἵνα, ἐκ τούτων τοὺς ἀρχοντας τῆς
θεωρίας ἐκάστης ἐκτέμπες, καὶ τούτοις μόνοις δάφνης
5 οστεάνω τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κεκοσμημένους εἰναι, καὶ ἵπερας
μὲν πάντας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τε καὶ Ἡλίου, ἀρχερέων δὲ ἐνα
κατ' ἐναυτὸν τῶν πρῶτων κριθείται τῶν γενομένων ἐκείνων τῷ
b ἐναυτῷ [τῶν ἵπεραν], καὶ τούνομα ἀναγραφεῖν τοῦτοι κατ'
ἐναυτὸν, ὅπως ἢν γίγνεται μέτρον ἁρμονία τοῦ χρόνου, ἢς
ἀν ἡ πόλις οἰκήται. τελευτήσαι δὲ προθέσεις καὶ ἐκφοράς
καὶ θηκάς διαφόρους εἰναι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. λεωκὴν μὲν
5 τὴν στολὴν ἔχεω πᾶσαν, θρήνων δὲ καὶ ὅδυμμών χωρὶς
γίγνεσθαι, κοράν ὡς χορὸν πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἄρρενων ἐτερον
περισταμένους τῇ κλίνῃ ἑκατέρους οἶνον ὑμνον πεποιήμενον
c ἐπαίνον εἰς τοὺς ἵπερας ἐν μέρει ἑκατέρους ἄδεων, εὐδαμομνί
ζοντας φῶλ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας. έωθεν δ'/ εἰς τὴν θήκην
φέρειν αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν κλίνην ἑκατον τῶν νέων τῶν ἐν τοῖς
γυμνασίοις, οὓς ἢν οἱ προσήκοντες τὸ τελευτάσατο ἐπι,
5 ὁφυνότα, πρώτως δὲ προϊέναι τοὺς ζηθεόυς τὴν πολεμικὴν
σκευὴν ἐνδεδικοτάς ἑκάστους, σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις μὲν ἰππέας,
σὺν δ' ὅπλοις ὀπλίται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὠσιάτως, παίδας δὲ
περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κλίνην ἐμπροσθεν τὸ πάτριον μέλος ἐφυμινεῖν,
d καὶ κόρας ἐπομένας ἐξοπισθέν ὅσα τ' ἂν γυναῖκες τῆς παιδο-
ποιήσεως ἀπηλλαγμέναι τυχάνωσιν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἵπερας
to καὶ ἵπερας ὡς καθαρεύοντι τῷ τάφῳ ἐπεσθαῖ, ἐὰν ἄρα
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφίγνωται τάφων, ἢν καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθίας
5 οὖτω τε καὶ ταύτη σύμψηφον Ἦ. θήκην δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς αὐτοῖς
εἰργασμένην εἰναι ψαλίδα προμήκη λίθων ποτίμων καὶ
ἀγήρων εἰς δύναμιν, ἔχουσαν κλίνας παρ’ ἀλλήλας λιθίνας κεμένας, οθ’ ἤ δὴ τὸν μακάριον γεγονότα θέντες, κύκλῳ χῶ-
ςαντες, πέρις δένδρων ἁλοσος περιπυτεύουσι πλὴν κώλου ἑνὸς, ὅπως ἂν αὔξην ο ἀφος ἔχη ταυτήν τὴν εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα
χρόνου ἐπίδεῃ χώματος τοῖς τιθεμένοις· κατ’ ἑναυτὸν δὲ
ἀγώνα μοναχῆς αὐτοῖς καὶ γυμνικῶν ἵππικών τε θήσουσιν.
τὰ μὲν δὴ γέρα ταῦτα τοῖς τάς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῦσιν· ἂν δὲ
τις τούτων, πιστεύων τῷ σεκρίσθαι, τὴν ἄνθρωπίνην φύσιν
ἐπιδείξῃ κακὸς γενόμενος ὄστερον τῆς κρίσεως, γράφεσθαι
μὲν τὸν βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ὁ νόμος προστατετέω, ἀ δὲ ἀγών
ἐν διικαστηρίῳ γυνέσθω τοῦδε τίνι τρόπῳ. πρῶτον μὲν
νομοφύλακες ἐστωσαν τοῦτο οὐ δικαστηρίον, ἐπειτα αὐτῶν
toιτων οι ζωντες, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν δικα-
στήριον, γράφεσθαι δὲ ὁ γραφόμενος, ὅν ἂν γράφηται,
λέγοντες τὴν γραφήν ἀνάξιον εἶναι τὸν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀρι-
στείων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ὁ φεύγων ἁλώ, στερέω
τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τάφου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δοθεισῶν αὐτῷ
tιμῶν, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ διώκων μὴ μεταλαβῇ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν
ψήφων, τινέτω ὁ μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος δώδεκα μνᾶς,
ὄκτω δὲ ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου, τρίτου δὲ ἕξε, τετάρτου δὲ δύο.
Ῥαδαμάνθυος δὲ περὶ τὴν λεγομένην κρίσιν τῶν δικῶν
ἀξίων ἀγαθαί, διότι κατεδόν τοὺς τότε ἄνθρωπος ἡγο-
μένους ἐναργῶς εἶναι θεοὺς, εἰκότως, ἀτε κατὰ τὸν τότε
χρόνον τῶν πολλῶν ἐκ θεῶν ὄντων, ἐν εἰς ἐν αὐτός, ὡς ἂ
λόγοι. ἔοικεν δὴ δικαστὴ μὲν ἄνθρωπων υδειν διανοο-
μένους δὲν ἐπιτρέπειν, θεοίς δὲ, ὅθεν ἀπλαί καὶ ταχείας δίκαι
ἐκρίνοντ’ αὐτῷ· διόδος γὰρ περὶ ἐκάστων τῶν ἀμφισβη-
tομέων ὄρκων τοῖς ἀμφισβητουσί ἀπηλλάττετο ταχὺ καὶ
ἀσφαλῶς. νῦν δὲ δὴ ὅτε μέρος τι μέν, φαμέν, ἄνθρωπον
τὸ παρὰπαν οὐχ ἠγούντας θεοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐ φροντίζων ἡμῶν
ἀυτοὺς διανοοῦντα, τῶν δὲ δὴ πλείοντων ἐστὶ καὶ κακίστων
ἡ δόξα ὡς σμικρὰ δεχόμενοι θύματα καὶ θωπείας πολλὰ
συναποτεροῦσιν χρήματα καὶ μεγάλων σφάς ἐκλύονται κατὰ
πολλὰ ζημίων, οὐκετί δὴ τοῖς νῦν ἄνθρώποις ἃ Ῥαδαμάνθυος
ἄν εἶῃ τέχνη πρόπουσα ἐν δίκαιι. μεταβεβληκμένοι οὖν τῶν
περὶ θεοὺς δοξῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις μεταβάλλειν δὲι καὶ
tοῖς νόμους· ἐν γὰρ λήξεσιν δικῶν τοὺς μετὰ νοῦ τιθεμένους
νόμους ἔξαιρείν χρή τους ὄρκους τῶν ἀντιδικοῦντων ἐκα-
tέρους, καὶ τὸν λαγχάνοντα τῷ τινα δίκην τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα

VOL II 209
γράφειν, ὅρκον δὲ μὴ ἐπομνύναι, καὶ τὸν φεύγοντα κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἀρνησιν γράψαντα παραδούναι τοῖς ἄρχονσιν ἀκωμοτὸν. δεῦν γὰρ ποῦ, δικῶν γ' ἐν πόλει πολλῶν

gενομένων, εὐ εἰδέναι σμικρὸν δεῖν τοὺς ἡμώσεις αὐτῶν ἐπιωρκηκότας, ἐν συνσυνίοις τε ἀλλήλους εὐχερῶς συγγυνο-
méνους καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις συνουσίαις τε καὶ ἰδιωτικαὶς συγγενή-
σεων ἐκάστων. νόμος δὴ κείσθω δικαστὴν μὲν ὁμνύναι
dικάζειν μέλλοντα, καὶ τὸν τὰς ἄρχας τῷ κοινῷ καθιστάντα
5
dι' ὅρκον ἡ διὰ φορὰς ψήφων αὕτ' ἱερῶν φέροντα δράν ἀεὶ
tὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ κρίτην αὖ χορὸν καὶ πάσης μουσικῆς καὶ
gυμνικῶν τε καὶ ἵππικων ἄθλων ἐπιστάτας καὶ βραβείας
cαὶ ἀπάντων ὁπόσα μὴ φέρει κέρδος κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπινήν
dόξαν τῷ ἐπιορκοῦντι τῶν δὲ ὁπόσα ἐξαρθηκέντι καὶ ἐξ-
ομοσαμένως κέρδος μέγα φανερὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ταῦτα δὲ ἀδιὰ
dικῶν ὁρκῶν χωρίς κρίνεσθαι σύμπαντας τοὺς ἐπικαλούντας
ἀλλήλους. καὶ τὸ παράπον ἐν ἰδίῳ τοὺς προεδροὺς μὴ
b ἐπιτρέπειν μὴτε ὁμνύντι λέγειν πιθανότητος χάριν μὴτε
ἐπαράμενον έαυτῷ καὶ γένει μὴτε ἰκετεῖαις χρωμένον ἀσχή-
μοσιν μὴτε οὕκτως γνωακεῖοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκιον μετ' εὐφη-
mίας διδάσκονται καὶ μανάνταιντα εἰ διατελεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
kαθάπερ ἐξῳ τοῦ λόγου λέγοντος, τοὺς ἄρχοντας πάλιν
ἐπανάγειν εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀεὶ λόγον. ξένω δ' εἶναι πρὸς ξένους, καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, δέχεσθαι τε ὅρκους παρ'
cἀλλήλων, ἃν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ διδόναι κυρίως—οὐ γὰρ κατα-
γράσουσιν οὐδ' ἐνερετέουσης ἐν τῇ πόλει ὡς- τὸ πολὺ
tουοῦτοις ἄλλους κυρίους τῆς χώρας παρέξονται συντρόφους
—δικῶν τε περὶ λήξεως τοῦ αὐτῶν τρόπον εἶναι πρὸς
5 ἀλλήλους πάσι τῆς κρίσιν.

"Ὅσα τις ἔλευθερος ἀπείθει τῇ πόλει, μήτ' οὖν πληγῶν
ἀξία μηδ' αὐτῇ δεσμῶν μηδ' θανάτου, περὶ δὲ χορείας τινῶν
φοιτήσεων ἡ πομπεύσεως ἡ τοιοῦτων τινῶν ἄλλων κοινών
dιεμένωσιν ἡ λητορηγῶν, ὁπόσα περὶ θυσίαις εἰρημικῆς ἡ
πολεμικῶν εἰσφορῶν εἰνεκα, πάντων τῶν τοιοῦτων τῆς
πρώτην ἀνάγκην ἵστην εἶναι τῆς ζημίας, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθο-
5 ειστράτευσι προστάτης, τῶν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντων ταῖς ἐνεχυ-
ρασίαις πράσων τῶν ἐνεχύρων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ νόμωμα γίνεσθαι
tῇ πόλει· εὰν δὲ ζημίας δεώνται πλεῖνους, τὰς ἄρχας
ἐκάστας τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι τᾶς πρεπούσας ζημίας ἐπιβαλλοῦσας
210
πόλει δὲ, ἦτις αὐτ clang δια πληθύν τῶν ἐκ γῆς χρηματισμοῦ μῆτ' ἐμπορεύηται, περὶ ἀποδημίας εἰσαύτών ἔξω τῆς χώρας καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχῆς ἀλλοθεν ἀνάγκη βεβουλεύθη τῇ χρῆ δράν. συμβουλεύειν οὖν τὸν νομοθέτην δει τούτων πέρι πρῶτον πέιδοντα εἰς δύναμιν. πέφυκεν δὲ ἡ πόλεως ἐπιμελεία πόλεων ἦθη κερανύναι παντοτάπα, καπνοτομίας ἀλλήλοις ἐμποιούντων ξένων ξένων. δ' δὴ τοίς μὲν εὖ πολιτευκομένοις διὰ νόμων ὀρθῶν βλάβην ἀν ψέσθαι μηγίστην πασῶν, ταῖς δὲ πλείονες πόλεις, ἀτε οὐδαμῶς ἐννοομομέναις, οὐδὲν διαφέρει φύρεθαι δεχομένους τε αὐτοῖς ξένους καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐπικυμάζοντας πόλεις, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήθη τις ἀποδημίας ὁπροῦν καὶ ὅποτε, εἴτε νέος εἴτε καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὄν. τὸ δ' αὖ μήτε ἄλλους δέχεσθαι μήτε αὐτούς ἀλλοσ ἀποδημεῖν ἁμα μὲν οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τὸ γε παράπαν, ἐτὶ δὲ ἄγριον καὶ ἀποτάται τ' ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, ὠνομασία τὸς χαλεπὸς ταῖς λεγόμεναις ἐξηνλασίαις χρωμένους καὶ τρόπους αὐθάδεσι καὶ χαλεπὸς, ὁς δοκοῦν ἄν. χρῆ δὲ ὀπτοτε περὶ σιμεροῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὸ δοκεῖν ἀγαθοί εἰναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡ μὴ δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οὔσον οὐσίας ἀρετῆς ἀπεσφαλμένοι τυγχάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, τοσούτων καὶ τοῦ κρίσεως τοῖς ἄλλοις οὔσοι πονηροὶ καὶ χρηστοὶ, θείον δὲ τι καὶ εὐστοχὸν ἐνεστὶ καὶ τούσαν κακοῖς, ὡστε πάμπολλοι καὶ τῶν σφόδρα κακῶν εἰ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς δόξαις διαρρούνται τοὺς ἀμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶς χείρονας. διὸ καλὸν ταῖς πολλαῖς πόλεις τὸ παρακλέῳμα ἐστιν, προτιμάν τὴν εὐδοξίαν πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὀρθότατον καὶ μέγιστον, οὕτω αὐθάδαν ἄληθῶς οὐτω τῶν εὐδοξίων βίον θηρεύειν, χωρὶς δὲ μηδαμῶς, τὸν γε τέλεον ἄνδρα ἐςόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ κατὰ Κρήτην οἰκιζομένην πόλει πρέπουν ἀν εἰ ἐδόξαν πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὅτι κάλλιστην τε καὶ ἀρίστην παρασκευάζοσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν πάσα δ’ ἐλπὶς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων, ἀντερ κατὰ λόγον γίγνεται, μετ’ ὀλίγων ἠλίῳ ὑφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἐν ταῖς εὐνόμοις πόλεσι καὶ χώραις. ὦ δὲ οὖν χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ ἀποδημίας εἰς ἄλλας χώρας καὶ τόπους καὶ περὶ ύποδοχῆς ξένων. Πρῶτον μὲν νεωτέρῳ ἐτῶν τετταράκοντα μή ἐξεστὶν ἀποδημήσαι μηδαμῆ μηδαμῶς, ἐτὶ τε ὑδαί μηδενί,
δημοσία ὅ ἐστω κήρυξιν ἥ πρεσβείας ἡ καὶ τινὶ θεωροῖς.

tάς δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ στρατείας ἀποδημίας ὅ όκ ἐν ἐκδη-


μίας πολιτικαίς ἂξιον ἀγορεύειν ὡς τούτων ὁ σάς. Πιθανὸς

tῶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ εἰς Ὡλυμπίαν τῶ Διὸ καὶ εἰς Ἕλεμαν καὶ
eἰς Ἰσθμὸν χρῆ πέμπειν κοινωνούντας θυσίων τε καὶ ἀγώνων

tούτως τοῖς θεοῖς, πέμπειν δὲ εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι πλείστους


ἀμα καὶ καλλίστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους, οἴτινες εὐδόκημον τὴν


πόλιν ἐν ἱεραίς τε καὶ εἰρηνικὰς συνονοίας ποιῆσον

dοκεῖν, τοῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀντίστροφον ἀποδιδόντες


δόξης παρασκευὴν, ἐλθόντες δὲ οὐκάδε πεῖ διαδίκουσι τοὺς νέους


ὅτι δεύτερα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν νόμιμα τὰ περὶ τᾶς πολι-


τείας. θεωροῦν δὲ ἄλλους ἐκπέμπειν χρεών τοιούτῳ διὰ

tοὺς νομοφυλάκας παρεμένουσ. ἂν τινα ἐπιθυμῶσι τῶν


πολιτῶν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πράγματα θεωρήσαι κατά


tυνα πλεὺρα σχολήν, ἀπεργέτως μηδὲις τούτως νόμοις. οὔτε


γὰρ ἀπειρος οὔσα πόλις ἀνθρώπων κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δύναι
dν. ἂν ποτε, ἀνομίλητος οὔσα, ἦμερος ἰκανῶς εἰναι καὶ τέλεος,


οὔθε αὐτοὺς νόμοις διαφυλάττειν ἁνευ τοῦ γνώμη λαβεῖν


αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον ἔθεσιν. εἰδί γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς


ἀνθρωποὶ αἰεὶ θεοὶ τῖνες—ὁ πολλοὶ—παντὸς ἄξιοι συγγί-


γεσθαι, φυμένοι οὐδὲν μάλλον ἐν εὐνομομενέας πόλειν


ἡ καὶ μὴ, ὅ τι κατ᾽ ἔχων αἰεὶ χρῆ τῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐνομομενέαις


πόλεσιν οἰκοῦντα ἐξίδόντα κατὰ κάλαταν καὶ γῆν ξητεῖν,


do τοῦ ἄδιαφθαρτος ἡ, τὰ μὲν βεβαιούμενον τῶν νομίμων,


ὁσα καλῶς αὐτοῖς κεῖται, τὰ δ᾽ ἐπανορθούμενοι, εἰ τί παρα-


λεῖστει. ἂνευ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς θεωρίας καὶ ξητήσεως οὐ


μένει ποτὲ τελεώς πόλις, οὔθε ἄν κακῶς αὐτήν θεωρῶσιν.


ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν ἂν γίγνοντ᾽ ἀμφότερα;
ΛΘ. Τήδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεωρῶς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἣμῖν

gεγονός ἐστώ πλεούνων ἢ ἡ πεντήκοντα, ἐτι δὲ τῶν

eὐδοκίμων τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐστὼ γεγενη-

mένος, εἰ μέλλει τὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων δεύμα εἰς τὰς ἄλλας


μεθῆσειν πόλεις· πλέον δὲ ἐξήκοντα γεγονός ἐτὼν μὴκέτι


θεωρεῖτο. θεωρήσας δὲ ὅποιο ἂν ἐτη βουληθῇ τῶν δέκα


καὶ ἀφικόμενοι οἰκάδε, εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ὑτω τῶν τῶν περὶ


νόμως ἐποπτεύόντων· οὕτως δ᾽ ἐστὶ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων


μεμενεγμένος, ἐκάστης μὲν ἡμέρας συλλεγόμενος ἢς ἀνάγκης


ἀπ᾽ ὀρθρον μέχριτε ἂν ἢλως ἀνάσχη, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν


ἰερέων τῶν τὰ ἀριστεία εἰληφότων, ἐπειτὰ τῶν νομοφυλάκων


212
τοὺς ἀεὶ προσβεβάζοντας δέκα, ἐτὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς παιδείας πάσης ἐπιμεληθής ὅ τε νέος οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς ἁρχῆς ταύτης ἀπηλλά-
γιένοι. ἐκαστὸς δὲ τούτων μὴ μόνος, ἀλλ` ἵνα μετὰ νέον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ὅτεν μέχρι τετταράκοντα, τὸν ἀρέσκοντα
αὐτῷ προσλαμβάνειν. τὴν δὲ συνουσίαν εἴναι τούτοις καὶ
tους λόγους περὶ νόμων ἀεὶ τῆς τε οἰκείας πόλεως πέρι, καὶ
eὰν ἄλλοθι πυνθάνονται τι περὶ τῶν τούτων διαφέρων,
καὶ ἄριστα καὶ περὶ μαθημάτων, ὅποι` ἂν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σκέψει δοκῇ
συμφέρειν μαθοῦσι μὲν εὐαγέστερον γίγνεσθαι, μὴ μαθοῦσι
δὲ σκοτωδέστερα τὰ περὶ νόμων αὐτοῖς φαίνεσθαι καὶ
ἀσαφῆ. ὃ δ` ἂν τούτων ἐγκρίνωσιν οἱ γεραίτεροι, τοὺς
νεωτέρους παθὰρα σπουδὴ μανδάνειν, εὰν δὲ τις ἀνάξιος δοκῇ
τῶν παρακεκλημένων εἴναι, τῷ παρακαλούντι μέμφεσθαι τὸν
σύλλογον ὅλον· τοὺς δ` εὐθοδιομοῦντας τούτων τῶν νέων
φιλάττειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, ἀποβλέποντας εἰς αὐτοὺς
diaφέρουστες τὰ τηροῦντα, καὶ τιμῶν μὲν κατορθοῦντας,
ἀτιμάζειν δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, εὰν ἀποβαίνωσι χείρων
tῶν πολλῶν. εἰς δὴ τούτοις τὸν σύλλογον ὁ θεωρήσας
tὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις νόμιμα ἁφικόμενοι εὐθὺς
πορεύεσθαι, καὶ εἰ τινὰ φήμην των περὶ θέσεως νόμων
ἡ παιδεία ἡ τροφῆς ἡδρεὺν τινας ἐχοντας φράζειν, εἴτε καὶ
αὐτὸς νεονήσκος ἀττα ήκοι, κοινοῦτω τῷ συλλόγῳ ἀπαντῇ·
καὶ εὰν τέ μηδὲν χείρων μηδὲ τι βελτίων ἢκεν δόξη, χάριν
γοῦν τῆς σφόδρα προθυμιάς αἰνεῖσθω, εὰν δὲ πολὺ βελτίων,
pολὺ δ` ἐπανείσθω μᾶλλον ζῶν, τελευτήσαντά τε τηµαίς
αὐτοῦ προσηκούσαις ἢ τῶν συλλεγομένων τιµαστῶν σύναις.
εὰν δὲ διεθθαρμένοις ἁφικέσθαι δόξη, μηδενὶ συγγνώσθω
μήτε νέω μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ προσποιούμενοι εἶναι σοφός·
cαὶ εὰν μὲν πείθηται τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν, ἰδιότης ζήσω, εὰν δὲ
μὴ, τεθνάτω, εὰν γ` ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἄλω πολυπραγμονὰς τι
περὶ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τῶν νόμων. εὰν δὲ ἄξιον ὅντα εἰς
dικαστήριον εἰσάγειν ἀρχόντων μηδεις εἰσάγῃ, ὅνειδος ἀπο-
κείσθω τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀριστείων διαδικασίαι.
Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐκδημῶν οὕτω καὶ τοιοῦτος ὅν ἐκδημεῖται,
tον δ` εἰσαποθήκασαν μετὰ τούτων χρὴ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι.
tέτταρες δ` εἰσὶ ξένοι ὃν δεῖ περὶ λόγον ταῦτα ποιεῖσθαι·
ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτός τε καὶ διὰ τέλους ἂεὶ θερινὸς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
dιατελῶν ταῖς φοιήσεως, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ὀρνίθων διαπο-
ρευόμενοι—καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοί κατὰ θάλατταν ἀτεχνῶς

213
οἶνον πετόμενοι χρηματισμοῦ χάριν ἐμπορευόμενοι ἐτους ὀφραν πέτονται πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις—ὅν ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέατι
5 καὶ δημοσίως οἰκοδομήμασιν ξεξί τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῇ πόλει ὑποδέχεσθαι χρῆ τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄρχοντας τεταγμένους,

593 φυλάττοντας μὴ νεωτερίζῃ τῖς τι τῶν τοιοῦτων ξένων, καὶ δικαίς αὐτοῖς ὀρθῶς διανέμοντας, ἀναγκαία μὲν, ὥς ὀλίγοτα δ’ ἐπιχρωμένους. ὦ δὲ δεύτερος, ὄμμασιν ὄντως θεωρὸς ὡσα τε μονοῦν ὅσιν ἔχεται θεωρήματα. τῷ δ’ τῇ τοιοῦτῳ παντὶ
χρῆ καταλύσεις πρὸς ἑρόις εἶναι φιλοξενίαν ἀνθρώπων παρεσκευασμένας, χρῆ δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἑρέας τε καὶ νεωκόρους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τημελεῖν, ἦς ἢ τοῦ μέτριον ἐπιμεινάντες χρόνον, ἱδόντες τε καὶ ἀκούοντες ὡς χάριν ἀφικντό, ἀβλαβεῖς τοῦ δρᾶσαι τε καὶ παθεῖν ἀπαλλάττωνται.

δυκαστάς δ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἑρέας, ἢν ἀδικῇ τις αὐτῶν τινὰ ἢ τιν’ ἄλλον ἀδικῇ τις τούτων ὡσα ἐντὸς δραχμῶν πεντῆκοντα, ἢν δὲ τι μείζονο ἐγκλῆμα αὐτοῖς γίγνηται, πρὸς
toῖς ἀγορανόμοις εἶναι δεῖ δίκαι τοῖς τοιοῦτοι. τρίτον δὲ
ξένων ὑποδέχεσθαι χρῆ δημοσία τὸν κατὰ τι Δημόσιον εἰς ἄλλης χώρας ἀφιγμένων· ὃν στρατηγούς τε καὶ ἐπίπαρχοι καὶ ταξιάρχοι ὑποδεκτέον ἐστὶν μόνους, τὴν τ’ ἐπιμελεῖαν
tῶν τοιοῦτων μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων ποιητέον ἕκεινῳ παρ’
ότω τις ἢν αὐτῶν τὴν κατάλυσιν ξενωθεῖς ποιήσηται μόνως. τέταρτος δὲ, ἢν ποτὲ τις ἀφίκηται, σπάνιος μὲν, ἢν δ’ οὖν
ποτὲ τις ἐλθῇ τῶν παρ’ ἤμων θεωρῶν ἀντίστροφος εἰς ἄλλης
χώρας, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλαττὸν ἑτῶν μηδὲν πεντῆκοντα γεγονός
ἐστω, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ ἀξίων τι καλὸν ἱδεῖν τῶν ἐν ταῖς
ἄλλαις πόλεσιν διαφέρουν ἐν καλλοναις ἢ καὶ δεῖξαι τι κατὰ
tαυτὰ ἄλλη πόλει. ἦτω μὲν νῦν πᾶς ἀκέλευστος ὁ τοιοῦτος
ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων καὶ σοφῶν θύρας, τοιοῦτος ἐτερος
αὐτοῖς ὡν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελομένουν
πάσης οἰκήσιν ἢτω πιστεύων ἰκανώς εἶναι ξένων τῷ τοιοῦτῳ
ξένως, ἢ τῆς τῶν μυθηφόρων τινῶς ἐπ’ ἀρετῇ, συνὼν δὲ
tούτων τιων τοῦ μὲν διδάξας, τὸ δὲ μαθῶν ἀπαλλαττέως,
φίλος παρὰ φίλων διώροις καὶ τιμαῖς πρεπούσαις τμηθείς.
tοῦτοι δὴ τοῖς νόμοις ὑποδέχεσθαι τε χρῆ πάντας ξένους
tε καὶ ξένας ἐξ ἄλλης χώρας καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκτέμπως,
tιμῶντας ξένουν Δία, μὴ βρώμασι καὶ θύμασι τὰς ξενηλασίας
ποιουμένους, καθάπερ ποιοῦσιν νῦν θρέμματα Νεῖλου, μηδὲ
κηρύγμασιν ἄγριοι.
'Εγγύην, ἣν ὁ ἐγγυάται τις, διαρρήθην ἐγγυάσθω, τὴν 5
πρᾶξιν πάσαν διομολογούμενος ἐν συγγραφῇ καὶ ἐναντίον
μαρτύρων μὴ ἔλαττον τριῶν, ὥσα ἐντὸς χιλίων, τὰ δ’ ὑπὲρ χιλίας μὴ ἔλαττον ἡ πέντε. ἐγγυηθῆς μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ προ-
pωλῶν ὁτιοῦ τοῦ μὴ ἐνδίκως πωλοῦντος ἡ καὶ μηδαμῶς
ἀξιόχρεω. ὑπόδικος δ’ ἔστω καὶ ὁ προπωλῶν καθάπερ ὁ
ἀποδόμενος.

Φωράν δὲ ἂν ἐθέλη τις παρ’ ὅτι αὖν, γυμνὸς [ἡ] χιτωνίσκον
ἐχὼν ἀξωστὸς προομόσας τοὺς νομίμους θεοὺς ἢ μὴν ἐπι-
ζευ εὐρῆσειν, οὔτω φωράν· ὁ δὲ παρεχέτω τὴν οἰκίαν, τὰ
tε σεσημασμένα καὶ τὰ ἀσήμαντα, φωράν. ἐὰν δὲ τις
ἐρευνᾶν βουλομένων φωράν μὴ διδῷ, δικάζεσθαι μὲν τὸν
ἀπειρούμενον, τιμησάμενον τὸ ἐρευνώμενον, ἀν δὲ τις ὁφλή,
tὴν διπλασίαν τοῦ τιμηθέντος βλάβην ἐκτίνευε. εἰὼν δὲ
ἀποδημῶν οἰκίας δεσπότης τυχάνη, τὰ μὲν ἀσήμαντα παρε-
χόντων οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐρευνᾶν, τὰ δὲ σεσημασμένα παρα-
σημνάσθω καὶ δὲν ἂν ἐθέλη φύλακα καταστησάτω πέντε
Ἕμερας ὁ φωράν· ἐὰν δὲ πλέονα χρόνον ἀπῆτο, τοὺς ἀστυνό-
mους παραλαβὼν οὔτω φωράτω, λύον καὶ τὰ σεσημασμένα,
pάλιν δὲ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ τῶν ἀστυνόμων κατὰ ταῦτα
σημνάσθω.

Τῶν ἀμφισβητησίμων χρόνου <ὁ> δὲ ὁρὸς ὅτι ἐὰν τις ἡ
κεκτημένως μηκέτ’ ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐξειναι. χωρίων μὲν οἰκή-
σεων τε τῇδε οὐκ ἐστ’ ἀμφισβητησίς· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅτι ἂν
τις ἐκτημένος ἡ, ἐὰν μὲν κατὰ ἀστυ καὶ κατ’ ἄγοράν καὶ ἑρᾶ
χρόμενος φαινείται καὶ μηδεῖς ἐπιλάβηται, φῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ἔτους
τοῦ τοῦ χρόνου, ὃ δὲ μὴ ἀποκρυπτόμενοι φανερὸς ἡ, ἐὰν
οὕτω τις ἐναυτὸν ὁτιοῦ ἐκτημένος, ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐναυτὸν διαγένεται,
μὴ ἐξέστω τοιοῦτον κτήματος ἐπιλαβεῖσθαι μηδένα παρελ-
θόντος ἐναυτοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ κατ’ ἀστυ μὲν μὴ μηδὲ κατ’ ἄγοράν
χρήται, κατ’ ἄγροις δὲ φανερῷς, μὴ προστυχῆς δὲ ἐν πέντε
ἐτεσίω γενήται τις, τῶν πέντε ἐξελθόντων ἐτῶν, μηκέτι [τοῦ
λοιποῦ χρόνου], ἐξέστω τούτω τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἐπιλαβεῖσθαι.
ἐὰν δὲ κατ’ οἰκίας ἂν ἀστει τέ τις χρήται, τριετῇ τῇ προ-
θεσμίαν εἶναι, ἐὰν δὲ κατ’ ἄγρους ἐν ἀφανεί κεκτῆται, δέκα
ἐτῶν, ἐὰν δ’ ἐν ἄλλοιμία, τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου, ὅταν ἀνεύρῃ
ποι, μηδεμίως εἶναι προθεσμίαν τῆς ἐπιλήψεως.

'Εὰν τίς τινα δίκη παραγενέσθαι κωλύσῃ βία, εἴτε αὐτὸν
eίτε μάρτυρας, εἴαν μὲν δούλον εἴτε αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἀλλότριον,
ατελή καὶ ἂκερον γίγνεσθαι τὴν δίκην, ἐὰν δὲ ἐλεύθερον,
πρὸς τῷ ἀτελῆ, δεθήσαι μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, ὑπόδικον δὲ ἀνδρα-
pοδισμοῦ τῷ ἐθέλοντι γίγνεσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἀνταγωνιστὴν
γυμναστικῆς ἡ μουσικῆς ἡ τινος ἁγώνος ἐτέρου διακωλύη
τις βία μὴ παραγίγνεσθαι, φραζέτω μὲν ὁ ἐθέλων τοῖς
ἀλλοθέταις, οἱ δὲ δὶς τὸν ἁγώνα ἐλεύθερον ἀφιέντων τὸν
ἐθέλοντα ἁγώνιζεσθαι· εὰν δὲ ἀδυνατήσωσιν, εὰν μὲν ὁ
cωλών ἁγώνιζεσθαι νικήσῃ, τὸ τε νικητήρια τῷ διακωλυ-
θέντι διδόναι καὶ νικήσαντα γράφειν ἐν ἱεροῖς οἳ ἂν ἐθέλῃ,
tῷ δὲ διακωλύσαντι μὴ ἔξεστι μηδὲν ἀνάθημα μηδὲ ἐπι-
γραφὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἁγώνας ποτε γενόσθαι, βλάβῃς δὲ ύπό-
dικος γιγνέσθαι, εὰν τε ἦττησται ἁγωνιζόμενος εὰν τε καὶ νικά.
5 Ἐάν τις κλεμμάδιον ὄσιον ὑποδέχηται γυμνώσκων, τὴν
αὐτὴν ὑπεχέτω δίκην τῷ κλέφαντι· φυγάδος δὲ ύποδοχῆς
θάνατος ἦστω ζημία. Τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον τε καὶ ἑχθρὸν
νομίζετω πᾶς τῇ πόλει· εὰν δὲ τίς ιδία ποίηται πρὸς τινας
εἰρήνην ἡ πόλεμον ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ, θάνατος ἦστω καὶ τούτῳ
ζημία· εάν δὲ τὶ μέρος τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνην ἡ πόλεμον πρὸς
τινας ἐαυτῷ ποίηται, τοὺς αἰτίους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ταύτῃ τῆς
πράξεως ἐπαγόντων εἰς δικαστήριον, ὀφλοντὶ δὲ θάνατος
ἐστὶν δίκη.

Τοὺς τῇ πατρίδι διακονοῦντάς τι δώρων χωρίς χρή δια-
κονείν, πρόφασιν ὁ εἶναι μηδεμίαν μηδὲ λόγον ἑπαινούμενον,
ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαθοῖς μὲν δεῖ δέχεσθαι δῶρα, ἐπὶ δὲ φλαύροις
5 οὐ τὸ γὰρ γνώναι καὶ γνῶντα καρτερεῖν οὐκ εὔπετές,
ἀκούοντα δὲ ἀσφαλέστατον πειθέσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, μηδὲν ἐπὶ
δώροις διακονεῖν. ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἀπλῶς τεθνάτω
ἀλως τῇ δίκῃ.

Χρημάτων εἰσφορᾶς πέρι τῷ κοινῷ, τετμήσθαι μὲν
ἐκαστὸν τῇν οὐσίαν ἕνεκα πολλῶν χρεῶν καὶ τῇν ἐπέτειον
ἐπικαρπίαν ἐν γράμμασιν ἀποφέρειν ἁγρονόμους φυλέτας,
ὅπως ἂν δυνὸν οὕσαι ταῖν εἰσφοραῖν, ὅποτέρα τὸ δημόσιον
e ἀν χρησθαί βούληται, χρῆται, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκαστὸν βουλευ-
μένον, εάν τε τοῦ τιμήματος ὅλου μέρει εάν τε τῆς γενομένης
ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάστοτε προσόδου, χωρίς τῶν εἰς τὰ συνιτία
tελουμένων.
5 Θεοῦ δὲ ἀναθήματα χρεῶν ἐξεμπρά τοῦν μέτριον ἄνδρα
ἀνατιθέντα δωρείσθαι. γῆ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τε οὐκήσεως ἱερὰ
πάσιν πάντων θεῶν· μηδεὶς οὖν δευτέρως ἱερὰ καθιεροῦτων

216
θεοίς. χρυσὸς δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ίδία τε καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἐστὶν ἐπίφθουν κτήμα, ἐλέφας δὲ ἀπολελουτότος ψυχὴν σώματος οὐκ εὐαγές ἀνάθημα, σίδηρος δὲ καὶ χαλκὸς πολέμων ὄργανα· ξύλον δὲ μονόξυλον ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις ἀνατιθέντω, καὶ λίθον ὡσαύτως πρὸς τὰ κοινά ἱερὰ, ὕφη γνώμην [μη πλέον] ἔργον γνωσικὸς μᾶς ἐμιμηνον. χρώματα δὲ λευκά πρέπον, ἂν θεοὶς εἴη καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐν ὕφῃ, βάμματα δὲ μὴ προσφέρειν ἄλλο ἢ πρὸς τὰ πολέμου κοσμῆμα. θειότατα δὲ δώρα ὄρμιθές τε καὶ ἀγάλματα διάπερ ἐν μιᾷ ζωγράφος ἡμέρα εἰς ἀποτελέσθη καὶ τάλλα ἐστὸν κατὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναθήματα μεμημένα. Ὁτε δὲ μέρη διείρθηται τῆς πόλεως συμπάσημα, ὡσα τε καὶ ὃ δεῖ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ νόμοι περὶ τῶν συμβολῶν εἰς δύναμιν ὑπὸ περὶ πάντων ἐφημητα, τὸ λοιπὸν δὴ δίκαι ἂν εἴη χρεών γίγνεσθαι. δικαστηρίων δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἰρετοὶ δικασταὶ γίγνοντ’ ἃν, οὐδὲ ὃ φεύγων τε καὶ ὃ διώκων ἐλωνταί κουή, διαιτητὰ δικαστῶν τοὺν μᾶλλον πρέπον ἔχοντες· δευτέροι δὲ κωμῆται τε καὶ φυλετά, κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον μέρος διηρημένοι, ἐν οἷς, ἃν μὴ διακριθῶσι ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι, περὶ ζημίας μείζονον ἰῶτῶν ἀγωνισμοί, δὲ δε φεύγων, ἡ ἡττηθῇ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ πεμπτημόριον ἀποτινέτω τοῦ τιμήματος τῆς γραφείως δίκης. εἰάν δ’ ἐγκαλῶν τις τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ τρίτον ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλήται, ἀγέτω μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς τὴν δίκην, εἰάν δὲ πάλιν ἡττηθῇ, τὴν ἡμολίαν τοῦ τιμήματος ἀποτινέτω. εἰάν δὲ ὃ διώκων ἡττηθείς ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι μὴ ἡρεμῆ, εἰς δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους ἦ, νικήσας μὲν ὅτι δὴ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἀπολαμβανέτω, νικηθεῖς δὲ ἀποτινέτω ταυτὸν μέρος τῆς δίκης. εἰάν δ’ εἰς τὸ τρίτον ἐλθοῦσιν δικαστήριον ἀπεθήκαισται ταῖς ἐμπροσθεῖ δίκαια, δ’ μὲν φεύγων ἡττηθείς, ὄσπερ εἰρήνητα, τὴν ἡμολίαν, ῥ’ δὲ διώκων τὴν ἡμίσειαν τοῦ τιμήματος ἀποτινέτω. κληρώσεις δὲ δικαστηρίων καὶ πληρώσεις, καὶ ὑπηρεσίῶν ἐκάστοις τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις, καὶ χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἐκαστὰ γίγνεσθαι χρεών, καὶ διαβαθμίσεων περὶ καὶ ἀναβολῶν, καὶ πάνθ’ ὅποια τοιαῦτα ἀναγκαία περὶ δίκας γίγνεσθαι, προτέρων τε καὶ υπότερων λέξεις, ἀποκρίσεων τε ἀνάγκας καὶ παρακαταβάσεων, καὶ ὡσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ συμπαντεύεται, εἰπομεν μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, καλὸν δὲ τὸ γέ όρθον καὶ δὶς καὶ τρίς. πάντα δ’ οὖν ὅποια σμικρά καὶ ῥάδια νόμιμα 957
εὐρίσκειν, πρεσβύτου νομοθέτου παραλιπόντος, τὸν νέον ἀναπληροῦν χρὴ νομοθέτην. τὰ μὲν ἱδία δικαστήρια ταύτη
πη γνυνόμενα μετροῦν ἀν ἔχοι· τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ κοινὰ
καὶ ὅσοι ἄρχας δεῖ χρωμένα τὰ προσήκοντα ἐκάστη τῶν
ἄρχων διουκείν ἐστὶν ἐν πολλαῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ ἀσχήμονα ἐπιεικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὅλα γνωριζόμεθα, θεῖν νομοφύλακας
χρῆ τὰ πρέποντα τῇ νῦν γεννωμένη πολιτείᾳ κατασκευάζειν
συλλογισμάτων καὶ ἐπανορθουμένων, ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις δια-
βασανίζοντας, ἐως ἀν ἰκανῶς αὐτῶν ἐκαστα δόξῃ κεῖται,
tότε δὲ τέλος ἐπιθέντας, ἀκύνητα οὕτως ἐπισφραγισμένους,
χρῆσθαι τὸν ἄπαντα βίον. ὅσα δὲ περὶ τε ἀγνη δικαστῶν
καὶ εὐθυμίας καὶ τονυντίων, καὶ ὅσα παραλλάττει τῶν πολ-
λῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν δικαίων καὶ ἀγάθων καὶ καλῶν,
tὰ μὲν εἴρηται, τὰ δὲ ἐτερὸς τῷ τέλει ρήθησεται. πρὸς ἄ
πάντα χρῆ τὸν μέλλοντα δικασθῆναι ἱσον ἔσεσθαι κατὰ δίκη
βλέψειν τε καὶ κεκτημένων γράμματα αὐτῶν πέρι μανθάνειν
πάντων γὰρ μαθημάτων κυριώτατα τοῦ τῶν μανθάνοντο
βελτίω γίγνεσθαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους κείμενα, ἐπερ ὅρθως
εἰς τεθέντα, γίγνοντ’ ἄν, ἡ μάτην τούνομα νῦ προσήκον
κεκτήτ’, ἂν ὁ θεός ἡμῖν καὶ θαυματόσ νόμος. καὶ δὴ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λόγων ὅσοι τὲ ἐν ποιήσαμεν ἐπανοῦ καὶ
d ψόγοι περὶ τινῶν λέγονται καὶ ὅσοι καταλογάδην, εἰτ’ ἐν
γράμμασιν εἴτε καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πάσαις συνοισίαις
dιὰ φιλονίκαις τε ἀμφισβητοῦνται καὶ διὰ συγχωρήσεων
ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ μᾶλα ματαίων, τούτων πάντων ἄν βάσανος
εἴη σαφῆς τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου γράμματα, ἃ δει κεκτημένον
ἐν αὐτῶ, καθάπερ ἀλεξιφάρμακα τῶν ἄλλων λόγων, τὸν
ἀγαθὸν δικασθῆναι αὐτὸν τε ὅρθῳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν
c ἀγαθοῖς μοναῖς τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἐπαύξησιν παρασκεύαζον,
tοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἐξ ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀκολογίας καὶ δειλίας καὶ
συλλήβδην πάσης ἀδικίας εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν μεταβολὴν, ὅσοις
ἰάσιμοι δόξαι τῶν κακῶν· οἷσιν δὲ ὄντως ἐπικεκλωμέναι,
θάνατον ἅμα ταῖς οὕτως διατεθείσαις ψυχαῖς διανέμοντες,
cbc οι δικαίως εἰς πολλάκις ἂν εἰρημένων, ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου γίγνοντ’
ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πόλει τοιοῦτοι δικασταὶ καὶ δικαστῶν ἠγεμόνες.
Ἐπείδ’ ἃς αἰ καὶ ἐναυτὸς δικαὶ τέλος ἐκδικασθεῖσαι
σχῶσι, ταῖς πράξεσι νόμους αὐτῶν χρεών γίγνεσθαι τούτως·
Πρῶτον μὲν ἂ δικάζουσα ἄρχῃ τὰ τοῦ ὀφλόντος τῷ νικήσαντι
χρήματα πάντα ἀποδιδότω, χωρίς τῶν ἄναγκαιων κεκτήσθαι,
μετὰ τὴν διαψήφισιν ἐκάστην εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυκος, ἀκούοντων τῶν δικαστῶν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ τῶν δικαστῶν· μην ἔχομεν γένηται μὴν, ἐὰν τις μὴ ἀπαλλάττῃ τὸν νικήσαντα ἐκόντα ἐκόνω, ἡ δικάσασα ἀρχὴ συνεπομένη τοῦ νικῶντι τὰ τοῦ ὀφλόντος παραδιδότων χρήματα. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσιν ὁπόθεν, ἀλλὰ ἐκέλευθεν δὲ μὴ ἐλαττων δραχμῆς, μὴ πρότερον εἶναι τοῦτω δίκαι πρὸς ἀλλον μηδένα, πρὶν ἀν ἐκπληρώσῃ τὸ χρέος ἀπαν τῷ νικήσαντι· ἀλλοις δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον ἐστῶσαν δίκαιον κυρίως. ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀφηρητῇ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς καταδικάσασαν καταδικασθεῖς, εἰσαγόντων μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ τῶν νομο-φυλακών δικαστήριων οἱ ἀφαιρεθέντες ἄδικαι, εὰν δὲ τις ὀφλη τὴν τουσώτην δίκην, ὡς ὅλην τὴν πόλιν καὶ νόμους φθείρων βανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθω.

'Ἀνδρὶ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο γεννηθέντι καὶ ἔκτραφέντι, καὶ γεννήσαντι καὶ ἔκτρεψαντι τέκνα, καὶ συμμείξαντι συμβολαία μετρίως, διδόντι τε δίκας εἴ τινα ἡδικήκηκε καὶ παρ’ ἐπέρου ἐκλάβοντι, σὺν τοῖς νόμοις ἐν μοιρᾷ γηράσαντι τελευτῇ γίγνουτ’ ἂν κατὰ φύσιν. περὶ τελευτήσαντας δὴ, ἐπεὶ τις ἀρρην εἴτε τις θῆλυς [ inflammabilis ], τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ θεία νόμιμα τῶν τε ὑπὸ γῆς θεῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς, ὡσα προσῆκε τελευταίοι, τόσο ἐξηγήτας γίγνεσθαι κυρίως φράζοντας· θῆκας δ’ εἶναι τῶν χωρίων ὀπόσα μὲν ἐργάσαμα μηδαμοῦ, [μήτε τι μέγα μήτε τι σμικρὸν μημή], ἀ δὴ ἡ χώρᾳ πρὸς τοῦτ’ ἀυτὸ μόνον φύσιν ἔχει, τὰ τῶν τετελευτηκότων σώματα μάλιστα ἀληθῶς τοὺς ζῶσι δεχομένη κρύπτειν, ταῦτα ἐκπληροῦν, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ὡσα τροφῆς μήτηρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ [prós ταῦτα]. πέφυκεν βούλοσθαί φέρειν, μήτε ζῶν μήτε τις ἀποθανῶν στερείτω τὸν ζῶνθ’ ἡμῶν. χώρα δὲ μὴ χούν υψηλότερον πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἐργον, ἐν πένθ’ ἡμέραις ἀποτελοῦμεν· λιθωνικοὶ δὲ ἐπιστήμια μὴ μείζω ποιεῖν ἡ ὡσα δέχεσθαι τῶν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐγκώμια βίον μὴ πλείον τεττάρων ἡμωικῶν στιχῶν. τὸς δὲ προθέτεσις πρῶτον τοῦ μη μακρότερον χρόνον ἔνδον γίγνεσθαι τοῦ δηλούντος τοὺς τοῦ ἑκτεθεωτα καὶ τὸν ὀντὸς τεθυκτο, εἴτε δ’ ἀν σχεδον, ὡς τάνθρωπα, μέτρον ἐχουσα τριταία πρὸς τὸ μνήμα ἐκφορα. πειθθεσθαι δ’ ἐστὶ τῶ νομοθετῇ χρεὼν τά τε ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγοντι ψυχήν σώματος εἶναι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρουσαν, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βίῳ το παρ-εχόμενον ἦμῶν ἐκαστον τοῦτ’ εἶναι μηδὲν ἀλλ’ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ σώμα ἰνδαλλόμενον ἦμῶν ἐκαστος ἐπεσθαι, καὶ
τελευτησάντων λέγεσθαι καλῶς εἰδωλα εἰναι τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα, τὸν δὲ ὄντα ἡμῶν ἔκαστον ὄντως, ἀδάνατον εἰναι ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον, παρὰ θεοὺς ἄλλους ἀπίναι δώσοντα

5 λόγον, καθάπερ ο νόμος ὁ πάτριος λέγει—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἁγαθῷ θαρραλέον, τῷ δὲ κακῷ μάλα φοβερὸν—βοήθειαι τε αὐτῷ μήτινα μεγάλην εἰναι τετελευτηκότι. ξύνων γὰρ ἔδει βοηθεῖν πάντας τους προσήκοντας, ὅπως ὦτι δικαιότατος ὦν καὶ

c ὁσίωτάτος ἦ ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας ἀτμιώρητος [ἂν] κακῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐγίγνετο τὸν μετὰ τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτων ὁμώς ἐχóντων οὐδέποτε οἰκοθορεῖν χρή, διαφερόντως νομίζοντα τὸν αὐτῷ τοῦτον εἰναι τὸν τῶν σαρκῶν

5 ὅγκον θαπτόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὦν ἡ ἀδελφόν, ἡ ὄντως τις μάλιστ' ἤγείται ποθῶν βάσπειν, εἰςθεσθαι περαινόντα καὶ ἐμπυπλάντα τὴν αὐτοῦ μοίραν, τὸ δὲ παρὸν δεῖν εὖ ποιεῖν, τὰ μέτρια ἀναλισκόντα ὡς εἰς ἀψύχουν χθὸνων βωμόν· τὸ δὲ μέτριον νομοθέτης ἄν μαντεύσαιτο οὐκ ἀσχημονέστατα. ἐστώ δὴ νόμος οὗτος. Τῷ μὲν δὴ τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος εἰς τὴν πᾶσαν ταφὴν ἀναλισκόμενα μὴ πλέον πέντε μηνῶν,

d τῷ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τρεῖς μιαί, καὶ δύο τῷ τοῦ τρίτου, μιᾶ

dὲ τῷ τοῦ τετάρτου μέτρον ἄν ἔχοι τῶν ἀναλμάτων. νομο- φύλαξι δὲ πολλά τε ἄλλα ἀνάγκη πράττειν καὶ πολλῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τούτων δ' οὐχ ἦκιστα, ὅπως ἄν παῖδων τε καὶ

e ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐπιμελεύμενοι Ἴωσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀπάντων νομοφύλαξ εἰς γέ τις ἐπιστατῇ, ὅπως ἄν οἱ τοῦ τετελευτήκοτος ἐπίσκοποι οἰκεῖοι παραλάβοσιν, ὧν καλόν τ' ἐστων καλῶς καὶ μετρίως τὰ περὶ τὸν τετελευτηκότα

5 γυνώμενα καὶ μη καλῶς αὐχρόν. πρόθεσις δὲ καὶ τάλλα ἐστώ

960 μὲν τὸν τετελευτηκότα ἐπιπάττειν ἡ μη ἀμορφον, θηρεῖν
dὲ καὶ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας φωνὴν ἐξαγγέλλειν ἀπαγορεύειν, καὶ
tὸν νεκρὸν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν προάγει τῶν ὄξων κωλύειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς πορευόμενον φθέγγεσθαι, καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἔξω
tῆς πόλεως εἰναι. τάτα δὴ κείσθω τε οὕτω περὶ τὰ
tοιαῦτα νόμμα, καὶ ὦ μὲν πειθόμενος ἐστώς ζημίας ἐκτός,
dὲ ἀπειθῶν ἐνὶ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ὑπὸ πάντων ζημιοῦσθω

b τῇ δοξάσῃ πάσιν κοινῇ ζημίᾳ. ὅσα δ' ἀλλα γίγνονται περὶ
tελευτησάντων ταφαί εἴτε καὶ ἀταφο πράξεις, περὶ πατρο-

φόνων καὶ ἱεροσύλων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων, εἰρήμεναι

220
ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν κεῖνται διὰ νόμων, ἄστε σχεδὸν ἡ νομοθεσία τέλος ἀν ἡμῖν ἔχοι· τῶν πάντων δ’ ἐκάστοτε τέλος οὐ
tὸ δράσαι τι σχεδὸν οὐδὲ τὸ κτήσασθαι κατουκίσαι τ’ ἐστίν,
ἀλλὰ τῷ γεννηθέντι σωτηρίαν ἐξευρόντα τελέως ἀεί, τότ’
ἡδι νομίζειν πάν ὅσον δεὶ πραξῆσαι πεπράξθαι, πρότερον
d’ ἀτελές εἶναι τὸ ὀλον.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς, ὥς ἔξεν, λέγεις· πρὸς ὅτι δὲ τὸ νῦν αὐτῷ ἡθὲν εὐρήτατο, φραζόντι σαφέστερον.

ΛΘ. Ὁ Κλεινία, πολλὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν καλῶς ὄμνηται,
σχεδὸν δὲ οὐχ ἕκιστα τὰ τῶν Μοιρῶν προσρήματα.

ΚΛ. Ποία δή;

ΑΘ. Τὸ Λάχεσυς μὲν τὴν πρῶτην εἶναι, Κλωθῶ δὲ τὴν
dεύτεραν, τὴν Ἀτροπον δὴ τρίτην σώτεραν τῶν ληξθέντων,
[ἅπηκασιµένα] τῇ τῶν κλωσθέντων [τῶν πυρί] τὴν ἀμετά-
στροφον ἀπεργαζόµενην δύναμιν· ἀν ὅδη καὶ πόλει καὶ πολιτείᾳ
dεὶ μὴ µόνον ὑγίειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς σώµασι παρασκευής
ζεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνυμίαν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ σωτηρίαν
tῶν νόµων. ἡµῖν δ’ ἐτί µοι φαίνεσθαι δοκεῖ τούτ’ ἐλλείπον
τοῖς νόµοις εἶναι, τῶς χρῆ τὴν ἀμετάστροφον αὐτοῖς
εγγίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν δύναμιν.

ΚΛ. Οὐ σμικρὸν λέγεις, εἰπέρ ἐστὶν µὴ δυνατὸν εὑρέω
ὅτι γίγνοντ’ ἀν παντὶ κτήµα τι τοιοῦτων.

ΑΘ. Ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ µὴν δυνατὸν, ὡς γε µοι τὰ νῦν παν-
τάσαι καταφαίνεται.

ΚΛ. Ἐκ τοίνυν ἀφιστώµεθα µηδὲν τρόπῳ, πρὶν ἀν
tοῦτ’ αὐτὸ ἐκπορισώµεθα τοῖς εἰρηµένοις νόµοις· γελοιον
gαρ τὸ γε µάτην πονησάντα ὡτοῦν εἰς µηδὲν βέβαιον κατὰ-

ΑΘ. Ὁρθῶς παρακελεύη, καὶ ἔµε τοιοῦτον εὑρήσεις

ΚΛ. Καλῶς δὴ λέγεις. τίς οὖν δὴ, φής, σωτηρία

ΑΘ. Ἄρ’ οὐκ εἰπομεν ὅτι δεὶ σύλλογον ἡµῖν ἐν τῇ
πόλει γίγνεσθαι τοιοῦτοι τινά; δέκα µὲν τῶν νοµοφυλάκων
tοὺς πρεβυτάτους ἀεί, τοὺς δὲ τάριστα εἰληφότας ἀπαντα

dεῖν εἰς ταύτῳ συλλέγεσθαι τούτοις, ἐτί δὲ τοὺς ἐκδηµήσαν-
tας ἐπὶ ζήτησιν εἰ τί που πρὸς τὴν νοµοφυλακίαν γίγνοι-
tο ἐν καιρίον ἀκούσαι καὶ σωθήνατας οὐκ ἄδει, δόξαι, τοῦτοι

221
αὐτοῖς διαβασανισθέντας, τοῦ συλλόγου ἀξιοκοινωνίτως εἶναι: πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἔνα ἐκαστὸν δεῖν προσλαμβάνειν τῶν νεῶν, μὴ ἢ λαττον ἢ τριάκοντ' ἐτη γεγονότα, πρῶτον δὲ αὐτὸν κρίναντα ἐπάξιον εἶναι φύσει καὶ τροφῇ, τὸν νέον οὕτως εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσφέρειν, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, προσλαμβάνειν, εἰ δὲ μη, ἀπόρρητον εἶναι τὴν γεγονεῖν κρίνων τοῖς τε ἄλλοις δὴ καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποκριθέντι: δεῖν δὲ ὀρθρίην εἶπαν τὸν σύλλογον, ἡμίκ' ἄν τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων ἀδίων τε καὶ κοινών καὶ μάλιστ' ἢ τῆς σχολῆς παντὶ. τοιοῦτον τί που λεγθέν ἡμῖν ἢν ἐν τοῖς εὑμπροσθεν λόγοις;

ΚΑ. Ἡν γὰρ οὖν. 
ΑΘ. Τούτου δὴ πέρι τοῦ συλλόγου πάλιν ἀναλαβών λέγομι ἅν τὸ τοιόντε. φημι, εἰ τις τούτων βάλοιτο οἶνον ἄγκυραν πάσης τῆς πόλεως, πάντα ἔχουσαν τὰ πρόσφορα ἐαυτῇ, σῶζειν ἃν σύμπαντα ἢ βουλόμεθα.

ΚΑ. Πῶς δή; 
ΑΘ. Τὸ μετὰ τούτῳ ἡμέτερος ἃν καιρὸς γίγνοιτο ὅρθως φράζοντας μηδὲν ἀπολέιτεν προθυμίας.

ΚΑ. Καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔπει, ποιεῖ θ' ὤσπερ καὶ διανοῇ.

ΑΘ. Χρή τοῖνυν, ἡ Kleivía, παντὸς πέρι νοῆσαι σωτήρα τὸν εἰκότα ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἑργῶν, ὡς ἐν ζῴῳ ψυχῇ καὶ κεφαλῇ, τὸ γε μέγιστον, πεφύκατον.

ΚΑ. Πῶς ἃ πέρα; 
ΑΘ. Ἡ τούτου ἀρτηθῆ ἀπο τοῦ παρέχει χρῶν σωτηρίαν.

ΚΑ. Πῶς;
ΑΘ. Ψυχῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις νοῦς ἐγγυνώμενος, κεφαλῇ δ' αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄμις καὶ ἀκοῇ. συλλήβδην δὲ νος μετὰ τῶν καλλιστῶν αἰσθήσεων κραθεῖς, γενόμενος τε εἰς ἐν, σωτηρία ἐκάστοις δικαίωτατ' ἃν εἰ ἐκαλομιμένη.

ΚΑ. Ἐοικε γοῦν.
ΑΘ. Ἐοικε γὰρ. ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ τί νοῦς μετ' αἰσθήσεων κραθεῖς σωτηρία πλοίων ἐν γε χειμώνιν καὶ ἐν εὐδιαί γίγνοιτ' ἄν; ἀρ' οὖκ ἐν νηὶ κυβερνήτης ἀμα καὶ ναῦται τὰς αἰσθήσεως τῷ κυβερνητικῷ νῷ συγκερασάμενοι σῳζουσιν αὐτοῦς τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ναῦν;

ΚΑ. Τι μὴν;
ΑΘ. Οὐδὲν δὴ πολλῶν δεῖ τῶν περι τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδειγμάτων. ἀλλ' οἶνον περὶ στρατοπέδων νοῆσωμεν τίνα
θέμενοι στρατηγοὶ σκοπῶν καὶ ἱατρικὴ ὑπηρεσία πᾶσα στοχάζοντ' ἂν τῆς σωτηρίας ὀρθῶς. ἀρ' οὐχ ἦ μὲν νίκην καὶ κράτος πολεμῶν, ἢ δὲ ἱατρῶν τε καὶ ὑπηρετῶν νύειας σώματι παρασκευήν;  
ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;  
ΑΘ. Ἐμπετομεν νύειαιν νῦν, ἦ νύκην στρατηγὸς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὁσα δὴ δυνλ- 
θομεν, ἐσθ' ὅπως ἀν νοῦν περὶ τοὺτων ἀν ἔχων φαίνοντο;  
ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;  
ΑΘ. Τί δὲ δὴ περὶ πόλιν; εἰ τις τὸν σκοπὸν οἶ βλέ- 
πεν δεῖ τὸν πολιτικὸν φαίνοτο ἄγνουν, ἄρα ἄρχων μὲν 
πρῶτον ἔκαισθ' ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο, εἰτα σωζεῖν ἂν δυνάτος 
ἐκ τούτο οὗ τὸν σκοπὸν τὸ παράπαν μηδ' εἰδείη;  
ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;  
ΑΘ. Δεῖ δὴ καὶ τὰ νῦν, ὡς ἐοικεν, εἰπερ μέλλει τέλος ὁ 
κατοικισμὸς τῆς χώρας ἡμῖν ἔζειν, εὐναί τι τὸ γιγνώσκον ἐν 
αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο ὁ λέγομεν, τὸν σκοπὸν, ὡστε ποτὲ 
ὁ πολιτικὸς ἡμῖν τυχχανεί, ἔσειτα ὅτι τρόπον δεῖ 
μετασχεῖν τούτου καὶ τίς αὐτῷ καλῶς ἡ μὴ συμβουλεύει, 
τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν πρῶτον, ἔσειτα ἄνθρωπων. εἰ δ' ἐσται 
τοῦ τοιούτου κενή τις πόλεως, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἂνοιξι καὶ 
ἀναίσθητος εἰ πράξει τὸ προστυχον ἐκάστοτε ἐν ἐκάσταις 
τῶν πράξεων.  
ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.  
ΑΘ. Νῦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐν τίνι ποτὲ τῶν τῆς πόλεως μερῶν 
ἡ ἐπιτηθεμάτων ἐστὶν ἱκανὸν κατεσκευασμένον ὡς Ῥο 
τούτον φυλακτήριον; ἐχομεν φράζειν;  
ΚΛ. Οὗ δήτα, ὡς ἐζεὐσα, σαφῶς γε' εἰ δ' οὖν τοπάζειν δεῖ, 
δοκεῖ μοι τείνειν ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ὃ τι 
εἰπες νυνὶ δ' νύκτωρ δεῖν συνιέναι.  
ΑΘ. Κάλλιστοι ὑπέλαβες, ὡς Κλεωςί, καὶ δεῖ δὴ τοῦτον, 
ὡς ἦ τὸν παρεστηκὼς ἡμῖν λόγος μηνύει, πάσαν ἀρετὴν 
ἐζεὐσα· ἦς ἄρχει τὸ μὴ πλανάσθαι πρὸς πολλὰ στοχαζόμενον 
ἀλλ' εἰς ἐν ἴστα τοὺς πόλεις πρὸς τοῦτο ἀδει τὰ πάντα ὃ ἐστὶ 
βιλή 
ΑΦΙΔΝΗΣΕΙΑ.  
ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.  
ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ μαθησόμεθα ὅτι θαυμαστῶν οὐδὲν πλανα- 
σθαι τὰ τῶν πόλεων νόμιμα, ὅτι πρὸς ἀλλ' ἀλλῆ βλέπει 
τῶν νομοθεσίων ἐν τῇ πολεί ἐκάστη. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ.
οδέν ἤμαστον τὸ τοῖς μὲν τὸν ὁρὸν εἶναι τῶν δικαίων

ὅπως ἀρξοὐσί τινες ἐν τῇ πολει, εἶτ' οὖν βελτίον εἶτε

χεῖρος τυχάνουσιν ὄντες, τοῖς δ', ὅπως πλουτήσουσιν,
eἶτ' οὖν δοῦλοι τινῶν ὄντες εἶτε καὶ μή, τῶν δ' ἡ προ-

θυμία πρὸς τὸν ἔλευθερον δὴ βίου ὁμορρημένη: οἱ δὲ καὶ

σύνδεσιν νομοθετοῦνται, πρὸς ἀμφοὶ βλέποντες, ἔλευθεροί τε

ὅπως ἄλλων τε πολεων ἔσονται δεσπόται, οἱ δὲ σοφῶτατοι,

ὡς ὀνύνται, πρὸς ταύτα τε καὶ τὰ τουλίτα σύμπαντα, εἰς ἐν

dὲ οδέν διαφέροντος τετμημένον ἔχοντες φράζειν εἰς ὁ
tάλλα αὐτοῖς δεὶ βλέπειν.

Κ. Οὐκοῦν τὸ γ' ἤμετερον, ὃ ἐξένε, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἰπὶ πάλαι

τιθέμενον; πρὸς γὰρ ἐν ἑφαμεν δεῖν αἰ νά πάνθ' ἡμών τὰ τῶν

νόμων βλέποντ' εἶναι, τοῦτο δ' ἄρετήν που συνεχωροῦμεν

πάνω ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι.

ΑΘ. Ναί.

Κ. Τὴν δὲ γε ἄρετὴν τέτταρα ἐθεμένι ποι.

ΑΘ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

Κ. Νοὺν δὲ γε πάντων πολεων ἡγεμόνα, πρὸς ὄν δὴ τὰ

te ἅλλα πάντα καὶ πολεων τὰ τρία δεὶ βλέπειν.

ΑΘ. Κάλλιστ' ἐπακολουθεῖς, ὃ Κλεινία. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ

δὴ συνακολούθην. νοῦν γὰρ δὴ κυβερνητικὸν μὲν καὶ ἰα-

τρικὸν καὶ στρατηγικὸν εἴπομεν εἰς τὸ ἐν ἑκεῖνο οἱ δεὶ

βλέπειν, τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν ἐλέγχοντες ἑνταῦθ' ἐσμὲν νῦν,

καὶ καθάπερ ἀνθρωπον ἐπανερωτώντες εἴπομεν ἃν. "Ὡ

θαυμάσθη, σὺ δὲ δὴ ποῖ σκοπεῖς; τῇ ποτ' ἑκεῖνο ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν,

δὲ δὴ σαφῶς ὃ μὲν ἰατρικὸς νοῦς ἔχει φράζειν, σὺ δ' ὄν δὴ

dιαφέρων, ὥς φαίης ἃν, πάντων τῶν ἐμφρόνων, οὕτ' εἴς εἰπεῖν;

ἡ σὺ γε, Μέγυλλε καὶ Κλεινία, ἔχετον διαρθροῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

φράζειν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὶ ποτὲ φατε εἶναι τοῦτο,

καθάπερ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς συχνῶν διωρίζομην;

Κ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὃ ἐξένε.

ΑΘ. Τῇ δ' ὅτι δεὶ προσυμείσθαι τε συνιδεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν

οἷς.

Κ. Οἶου ἐν τίσι λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Οἶου ὅτε τέτταρα ἐφίσαμεν ἄρετῆς εἰδὴ γεγονέναι,

δήλον ὡς ἐν ἑκατὸν ἀνάγκη φανεῖ, τεττάρων γε ὄντων.

Κ. Τῇ μὴν;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἐν γε αὖ πάντα ταύτα προσαγορεύομεν. ἀν-

δρείαν γὰρ φαμεν ἄρετῆν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν ἄρετῆν,
καὶ τὰ δύο τάλλα, ὃς οὖν ταῦτα οὐ πολλὰ ἄλλ' ἐν τούτῳ μόνον, ἀρετήν.

ΚΑ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

ἌΘ. 'Ἡ μὲν τοῖνυν διαφέρετον αὐτοῖν τούτῳ τῷ δύο καὶ δυ' οὖν ἐλαβέτην καὶ τάλλα, οὐδὲν χαλέπον εἰπεῖν: δὲ ἐν ἄμφοῖν ἐπωνυμάσαμεν, ἀρετήν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐκ εὔπτεσ ἑτε.

ΚΑ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ἌΘ. Οὐδὲν χαλέπον δ' λέγω δηλώσαι. διανεμώμεθα γὰρ ἄλληλοι τὴν ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν.

ΚΑ. Πῶς αὖ φράζεις;

ἌΘ. Ἐρωτήσομεν μὲ τί ποτε ἐν προσαγορεύοντες ἀρετήν ἀμφότερα, δύο πάλιν αὐτὰ προσεῖπομεν, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρείαν, τὸ δ' φρόνησιν. ἐρῶ γάρ σοι τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν περὶ φόβον, οὖ καὶ τὰ θηρία μετέχει, τῆς ἀνδρείας, καὶ τὰ 

γε τῶν παῖδων ἡθὶ τῶν πάνω νέων. ἀνευ γάρ λόγον καὶ φύσει γίγνεται ἀνδρεία ψυχῆ, ἀνευ δὲ αὐτὸν λόγον ψυχῆ φρόνιμος τε καὶ νοῦν ἐχουσα οὔτε ἐγένετο πῶποτε οὔτε ἐστὶν οὖδ' αὖθις ποτε γενήσεται, ὡς οὖντος ἑτέρου.

ΚΑ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ἌΘ. 'Ἡ μὲν τοῖνυν ἐστὸν διαφόρω καὶ δύο, σὺ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀπειλήφασ τῷ λόγῳ. δὲ ἐν καὶ ταύτων, σὺ πάλιν ἀπόδος ἐμοί. διανοοῦ δὲ ώς ἔρων καὶ ὅπη τετταρα οὐτα ἐν ἑστι, καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ ὀξίου, σοὶ δείξαντο ὡς ἐν, πάλιν ὅπη τετταρα. καὶ ὅτι δο τὸ μετὰ τούτῳ σκοπώμεν τὸν εἰδότα ἰκανός περὶ ὀντινονοῦν οἶς ἐστὶν μὲν ὄνομα, ἐστὶν δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ λόγος, πότερον μόνων ἐπιστασθαι τούνομα χρεών, τὸν δὲ λόγον ἄγνοειν, ἡ τὸν γε οὖν τι καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄγνοειν αἰσχρόν.

ΚΑ. Ἔσοικεν γοῦν.

ἌΘ. Μεῖζον δὴ τι νομοθετῆ τε καὶ νομοφύλακι, καὶ δ' ἀρετή πάντων διαφέρειν οἶται καὶ νικητήρια τούτων αὐτῶν εἰληθείν, ἡ ταύτα αὐτὰ περὶ ὧν νῦν λέγομεν, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φρόνησις;

ΚΑ. Καὶ πῶς;

ἌΘ. Τούτων δὴ περὶ τοὺς ἐξηγητάς, τοὺς διδασκάλους, τοὺς νομοθέτας, τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς φύλακας, τῶν δεομένων γυναι καὶ εἰδέναι, ἠ τῶν δεομένων κολάζεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπι- πληξαι ἀμαρτάνοντι—πότερον οὐ διδάσκοντα ἡν δύναμιν ἐχει
κακία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ πάντως δηλοῦντα, διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἡ ποιητὴ τινα ἐλθόντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἢ παιδευτὴν νέων φάσκοντ', εἶναι βελτίων φαίνεσθαι τοῦ πάσαν ἀρετὴν νευκηκότος; εἴτε ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει ὅπου μὴ λόγῳ ἔργῳ τε ἐκανοὶ φύλακες εἶπε, ἀρετὴς πέρι γυνώσκοντες ἴκανως, θαυμαστόν τι ταύτῃ τὴν πόλιν ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν πάσχειν 

d ᾧ πολλαὶ πάσχουσι τῶν νῦν πόλεων; 

Κ.Δ. Οὐδέν γε, ὡς εἰκὸς. 

Α.Θ. Τί οὖν; ὁ λέγομεν νῦν ποιητέων ἡμῖν, ἢ πῶς; τοὺς φύλακας ἀκριβεστέρους τῶν πολλῶν περὶ ἀρετῆς ἔργω καὶ λόγῳ κατασκευαστέον; ὃ τίνα τρόπον τῇ τῶν ἐμφρόνων κεφαλή τε καὶ αἰσθήσεων ὁμοιωθήσεται ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις, ὡς τοιαύτῃ τινα φύλακην κεκτημένη ἐν αὐτῇ; 

Κ.Δ. Πῶς οὖν ὅταν καὶ τίνα τρόπον, ὃ ἔσεν, ἀπεικάζοντες αὐτὸ τοιοῦτον τινα λέγομεν; 

e 

Α.Θ. Δήλον ὡς αὐτὴς μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὐσίας τοῦ κόσμου, τῶν δὲ φύλακων τοὺς μὲν νέους οἶκον ἐν ἄκρα κορυφῆς, ἀπειλεγμένους τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους, δεξιότητας ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντας, περὶ ὀλην κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν ὅραν, ὕφουρούντας δὲ παραδιδόναι μὲν τὰς αἰσθήσεις ταῖς μνήμαις, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους δὲ ἔσαγγέλους γίγνεσθαι πάντων τῶν κατά πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ νῦ ἀπηκασμένους τῇ πολλὰ καὶ ἄξια λόγου διαφερόντως φρονεῖν, τοὺς γέροντας, βουλευόμεθα, καὶ ὑπηρετοις χρωμένους μετὰ συμβουλίας τοῖς νέοις, οὕτω δὴ κοινῆ σύζευν ἄμφοτέρους ὡντως τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. πότερον οὕτω λέγομεν ἢ πώς ἄλλως δεῖν κατασκευάζεσθαι; μὸν ὀμοίως πάντας κεκτημένους καὶ μὴ διηκριβωμένως ἐστὶν οὖς τραφέντας τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένους; 

Κ.Δ. Ἁλλ', ὃ θαυμάσιε, ἀδύνατον. 

b 

Α.Θ. Ἰτέον ἀρα ἐπὶ τινα ἀκριβεστέραν παιδείαν τῆς ἐμπροσθεν. 

Κ.Δ. Ἰως. 

Α.Θ. Ἄρ' οὖν ἦς δὴ νῦν σχεδὸν ἐφησάμεθα, τυγχάνοι ἄν ὁδῖα ἦς χρείαν ἔχομεν αὐτῇ; 

Κ.Δ. Παντᾶπασι μὲν οὖν. 

Α.Θ. Όυκοῦν ἐλέγομεν τὸν γε πρὸς ἔκαστα ἄκρον δημουργόν τε καὶ φύλακα μὴ μόνον δεῖν πρὸς τὰ πολλὰ βλέπειν δυνατὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἐν ἐπείγονται γνῶναι τε, καὶ 

γνώντα πρὸς ἐκεῖνο συντάξασθαι πάντα συνορῶντα; 

226
Κ.Α. Ὅρθως.
Α.Θ. Ἄρ' ὅτι ἀκριβεστέρα σκέψις θέα τε ἂν περὶ ὀτουντὶ

ότων γύνοιτο ἢ τὸ πρὸς μίαν ἰδέαν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ

ἀνομοίων δυνατὸν εἶναι βλέπειν;
Κ.Α. Ἁσώς.
Α.Θ. Οὐκ ἰσώς, ἀλλ' ὀντώς, ὡς δαμόνιε, ταύτης οὐκ ἔστιν

σαφεστέρα μέθοδος ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.
Κ.Α. Σοι πιστεῦων, ὡς ἔνε, συγχωρῶ. δὴ, καὶ ταύτη

πορευώμεθα λέγοντες.
Α.Θ. Ἀναγκαστέον ἅρ', ὡς ἔοικεν, καὶ τοὺς τῆς θείας

πολυτείας ήμίν φύλακας ἀκριβῶς ἰδεῖν πρῶτον τί ποτὲ διά

πάντων τῶν τεττάρων ταυτὸν τυγχάνειν, δ' ἰδ' φαμεν ἐν τε

ἀνδρεία καὶ συνφρονή καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐν φρονήσει ἐν

ὁν, ἀρετὴν ἐνι δικαιῶς ἄν ὀνόματι προσαγορεύοσθαι. τοῦτο,

ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμὲν βουλόμεθα, τὰ νῦν οίόντερ σφόδρα πιέσατες

μη ἀνώμεν, πρὸν ἂν ἰκανώς εἴπομεν τί ποτ'] ἔστιν εἰς ὀ

βλεπτέον, εἰτε ὡς ἐν εἴτε ὡς ὅλον εἰτε ἀμφότερα εἰτε ὅπως

ποτὲ πέφυκεν: ἡ τούτον διὰφυγόντος ήμᾶς, οἴομεθα ποτὲ

ὁμών ἰκανῶς ἕξεν τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν, περὶ ἢς οὕτ' εἰ πολλά

ἐστ' οὕτ' εἰ τέταρα οὕτ' ὡς ἐν δυνατοί φράζειν εὐσόμεθα;

οὐκοιν εάν ἂν ἡμῖν συμβουλίοις πειθώμεθα, ἀλλὰς δὲ πῶς

μηχανησάμεθα ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγγεγονέναι τοῦθ' ήμῖν: εἰ δ' ἂρα
tὸ παράπαν δοκεῖ ἔαν, ὀραν δὴν χρεών.
Κ.Α. Ἡκιστα, νὴ τῶν ἐξευν, ὡς ἔνε, θεόν, ἐστέον που το

τοιοῦτον, εἰτε δοκεῖς ήμῖν ὀρθότατα λέγειν. ἀλλὰ δὴ πῶς

tis τοῦτ' ἄν μηχανώτω;
Α.Θ. Μήπω τὸ πῶς ἂν μηχανησαίμεθα λέγωμεν: εἰ δὲι 966

dε' ἡ μῆ, πρῶτον βεβαιωσάμεθα τῇ συνουσίᾳ πρὸς ήμᾶς

ἀυτούς.
Κ.Α. Ἀλλά μὴν δεῖ γε, εἰτερ δυνατῶν.
Α.Θ. Τί δ' ἰδ'; περὶ καλοῦ τε καὶ ἄγαθοῦ ταυτὸν τοῦτο

dιανουόμεθα; ὡς πάλι' ἔστων μόνον ἐκαστὸν τούτων τοὺς

φύλακας ήμίν γνωστέον, ἢ καὶ ὅπως ἐν τε καὶ ὅπῃ;
Κ.Α. Σχεδὸν ἐσικ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖς καὶ ὅπως ἐν δια-

νοεῖσθαι.
Α.Θ. Τί δ', εὖνοειν μὲν, τὴν δὲ ἐνδείξειν τῷ λόγῳ ἄδυνατεὶν

eνδείκνυσθαι;
Κ.Α. Καὶ πῶς; ἀνδραπόδοι γὰρ τινα σὺ λέγεις ἔξων.
Α.Θ. Τί δε; περὶ πάντων τῶν σπουδαίων ἅρ' ήμῖν αὐτὸς

227
5 λόγος, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὄντως φύλακας ἐσομένους τῶν νόμων ὄντως εἰδέναι τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν, καὶ λόγῳ τε ἰκανοῦς ἐρμηνεύειν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις συνακολουθεῖν, κρίνοντας τὰ τε καλὸς γιγνόμενα καὶ τὰ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν;

ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

c  ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις ἐστὶν τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὥς ὁ δὴ σπουδὴ διεπερανάμεθα, ὡς εἰσὶν τε καὶ ὅστις φαίνονται κύριοι δυνάμεως, εἰδέναι τε εἰς ὅσον δυνατόν ἐστιν ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πλείστοις τῶν κατὰ πόλιν συγγεννώσκειν τῇ φύσῃ μόνον τῶν νόμων συνακολούθουσιν, τοῖς δὲ φυλακῆς μεθέξουσιν μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ διαπονήσηται τὸ πᾶσαν πίστιν λαβεῖν τῶν ὄνομων περὶ θεῶν; τὴν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτροπὴν εἶναι τὸ μηδὲν ποτε τῶν νομοσυλάκων αἰρέσθαι τὸν μὴ θείον καὶ δια-

καθορισμόν πρὸς αὐτά, μηδὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐγκριτὸν γίγνεσθαι;

ΚΑ. Δικαίως γοῦν, ὡς λέγεις, τὸν περὶ τὰ τουαίτα ἀργὸν ἦ ἀδύνατον ἀποκρίνεσθαι πόρρω τῶν καλῶν.

ΑΘ. Ἄρα οὖν ἰσομεν ὅτι δ' ἐστον τὸ περὶ θεῶν ἄγοντε εἰς πίστιν, ὅσα διήλθομεν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν;

ΚΑ. Ποία;

ΑΘ. Ἐν μὲν δὲ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλέγομεν, ὡς πρεσβύ-

tatον τε καὶ θειότατον ἐστιν πάντων ὃν κίνησις γένεσιν παραλαβοῦσα ἀέναοι οὐσίαν ἐπόρισεν· ἐν δὲ τὸ περὶ τὴν φοράν, ὡς ἔχει τάξεως, ἀστρων τε καὶ οἰσιν ἄλλων ἐγκρατῆς νοὺς ἐστον τὸ πᾶν διακεκομισμένος. ὡς ἂν ἑδών τάιτα μὴ

φαύλως μηδ' ἤδωτικώς, οὔτεις οὕτως ἀθέους ἀνθρώπων ποτε πέφυκεν, ὡς ὁ τούναντιν ἐπαθεὶν ἢ τὸ προσδοκόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν. οὐ μὲν γὰρ διανοοῦνται τοῖς τὰ τοιαύτα μετα-

χειρισμένους ἀστρονομία τε καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναγκαίαις ἄλλαις τέχναις ἀθέους γίγνεσθαι, καθεωρακότας ὡς οἶν τε γιγνόμενα ἀνάγκαις πράγματ᾽ ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διανοιάς βουλήσεως

αὐτῶν περὶ τελουμένων.

967 ΚΑ. Τὸ δὲ δὴ πῶς ἐξον ἂν εἴη;

ΑΘ. Πάν, ὅπερ εἴπον, τούναντιν ἔχει νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε ἄφυχα αὐτὰ οἱ διανοούμενοι διενοοῦντο. ἡβυματά μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸτε ὑπεδύτσε περὶ αὐτά, καὶ ὑπωπτεύτε τὸ νῦν ὑπότις δεδομένου, ὡς τὴς ἀκριβείας αὐτῶν ἡπτοτό, ὅτως μῆλος ἂν ἄφυχα ὁντα οὕτως εἰς ἀκριβείαν ἰαμαστοῖς λογισμοῖς ἂν

228
ἐξῆτο, νοῦν μὴ κεκτημένα· καὶ των ἔτολμον τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ παρακινδυνεύων καὶ τότε, λέγοντες ὡς νοὺς εἰή ὁ διακεκοσμηκὼς πάνθ᾽ ὡσ καὶ ὡς ὄρανον. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἀμαρτάνοντες ψυχής φύσεως ὅτι πρεσβύτερον εἰή σωμάτων, διανοηθέντες δὲ ὡς νεώτερον, ἀπανθ᾽ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος ἀνέτρεψαν πάλιν, έαυτοὺς δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων, πάντα αὐτοὶς ἐφάνη τὰ κατ᾽ ὄρανον χερόμενα μεστά εἶναι λίθων καὶ γῆς καὶ πολλῶν ἀψίχων σωμάτων διανεμούντως τὰς αἰτίας παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου. ταῦτ' ἤν τὰ τότε ἑξειργασμένα πολλὰς ἀθέοτητας καὶ δυσχερείας τῶν τοιούτων ἀπεσταθή, καὶ δὴ καὶ λοιδορήσεις γε ἐπήλθον ποιηταῖς, τοὺς ψυλλοσφούντας καὶ ματαίας ἀπεικόζοντας χρωμέναις ὑλακίς, ἀλλὰ τα ἀνύότ' εἰπεῖν· νῦν δὲ, ὅπερ εὑρίσκον, πάν τοισαντίν ἔχει.

ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Ὅψιν ἤστων ποτὲ γενέσθαι βεβαίως θεοσέβη θυητῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὅσ ἀν μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ταῦτα νῦν δύο λάβῃ, 5 ψυχή τε ὡς ἤστον πρεσβύτατον ἀπάντων ὡς γονῆς μετέληψεν, ἀθανάτον τε, ἀρχεὶ τε ὡς σωμάτων πάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ δὴ, τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον πολλάκις, τὸν τε εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς ἀστροις νουὶ τῶν ὄντων τὰ τοῦ τούτων ἀναγκαῖα μαθήματα λάβῃ, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν μούσαν τούτῳ τῆς κοινωνίας συνθεασάμενοι, χρῆται πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ νόμιμα συναρμοτόντως, ὡς τε λόγων ἔχει, τοῖς δυνάτος ἢ δοῦσαι τὸν λόγον· ὁ δὲ μὴ τάθ᾽ οἶδος τ᾽ ὃν πρὸς ταῖς δημοσίαις ἀρεταῖς κεκτῆσαι σχέδον ἄρχων μεν οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ γένοιτο ἰκανὸς οὕτως πόλεως, ὑπηρέτης δ᾽ ἂν ἀλλοις ἄρχουσιν. ὑπὸν δὴ χρεῖων νῦν, ὥς Κλεονία καὶ Μέγυλλε, ηδῆ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις νόμοις ἀπασίν ὅσοις διεληλύθαμεν εἰ 5 καὶ τοῦτον προσοίσομεν, ὡς φιλακὴν ἐσάμενον κατὰ νόμον χάριν σωτηρίας τὸν τῶν ἄρχοντων νυκτερινὸν σύλλογον, παιδείας ὅποσης διεληλύθαμεν κοινωνικὸν γενόμενον· ὡς πῶς θεοί ποιοῖμεν;

ΚΛ. 'Αλλ', ὡς λύστε, πῶς οὐ προσοίσομεν, ἂν τῇ καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ δυνηθῶμεν;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν πρὸς γε τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀμιλληθῶμεν πάντες. 5 συλλήπτωρ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν καὶ ἐγὼ γυνοῦμην ἂν προθύμωσ᾽—πρὸς δ᾽ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐτέρους ἱσος εὐρίσκω—διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ σκέψιν γεγονούντιν μοι καὶ µάλα
συχνῆν.

10 ΚΛ. Ἀλλ’, ὅ εἶπε, παντὸς μὲν μᾶλλον ταύτῃ πορευτέον ἦπερ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς σχεδόν ἤγει· τίς δὲ ὁ τρόπος ἡμῖν
c γνωρίμενος ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ’ ἀν, τοῦτο δὴ τὰ νῦν λέγωμεν τε καὶ ἑρευνῶμεν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκέτι νόμοις, ὦ Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία, περὶ τῶν
tουτών δυνάτων ἐστὶν νομοθετεῖν, πρὸν ἀν κοσμηθῇ—τότε
dε κυρίους ὅν αὐτοὺς δεὶ γίγνεσθαι νομοθετεῖν—ἀλλὰ ἦδη
tὸ τὰ τοιαύτα κατασκευάζον διδαχὴ μετὰ συνυσίας πολλῆς
γίγνοιτ’ ἀν, εἰ γίγνοιτο ὀρθῶς.

ΚΛ. Πῶς; τί τούτο εἰρήσθαι φῶμεν αὐ;

ΑΘ. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴν καταλέκτεος ἂν εἶ ὁ καταλόγος
tῶν ὁσοί ἐπιτίθειοι πρὸς τὴν τῆς φυλακῆς φύσιν ἂν εἶν
ήλικίας τε καὶ μαθημάτων δυνάμεως καὶ τρόπων ἡθείω
tε καὶ ἔθεσιν· μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ, ὃ δεὶ μανθάνειν οὔτε εὐρέω
ῥάδιον οὔτε ἡροκότος ἄλλου μαθητὴν γενέσθαι. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ
5 χρόνοις, οὕς τε καὶ ἐν ὧς δεὶ παραλαμβάνειν ἕκαστα,
μάταιον ταῦτ’ ἐγ γράμμασιν λέγειν ὦνδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῖς
e μανθάνουσι δὴλα γίγνοιτ’ ἂν ὅτι πρὸς καιρὸν μανθάνεται,
πρὸν ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκάστῳ που μαθήματος ἐπιστήμη
gεγονέαν. οὔτω δὴ πάντα τὰ περὶ ταύτα ἀπόρρητα μὲν
λειθέντα οὐκ ἂν ὥρθως λέγουσι, ἀπρόρρητα δὲ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν
5 προφητηθέντα δηλοὺς τῶν λεγομένων.

ΚΛ. Τί οὖν δὴ ποιητέον ἐχόντων τούτων οὔτως, ὦ εἶπε;

ΑΘ. Τὸ λεγόμενον, ὦ φίλοι, ἐν κοινῷ καὶ μέσῳ ἑοικέν
ἡμῖν κείσθαι, καὶ εἰπέρ κινδυνεύειν πρὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐθέ-
λομεν συμπάθης, ἡ τρίς ἐξ, φασίν, ἡ τρεῖς κύβους βάλλοντας
tαῦτα ποιητέον, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν συγκινδυνεύω τῷ φράζειν τε
cαὶ ἐξηγείσθαι τὰ γε δοθομένα ἐμοί πρὶν τῆς παιδείας τε καὶ
tροφῆς τῆς νῦν αὐτοῦ κεκινημένης τοῖς λόγοις· τὸ μέντοι κινδύ-
νεμα οὐ σμικρὸν οὐδ’ ἐτέροις τοῖς προσφερές ἐν εἰς.

5 Ὁ δὴ τούτω γε, ὦ Κλεινία, μέλεως παρακελεύομαι· σὺ γὰρ τὴν
Μογγήτων πόλιν, ἡ δ’ ἂν θεὸς ἐπώνυμον αὐτὴν ποιήσῃ, κλέος
ἀρχή μέγιστον κατασκευάζας αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς, ἢ τὸ γε ἀνδρείο-

969
tatos εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν ὑπέρον ἐπιγυνομένων οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ
ποτὲ. ἐὰν γε μὴν οὗτοι ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς γενηται σύλλογος, ὁ
φίλοι ἑταῖροι, παραδότουν τούτω τῆς πόλιν, ἀμφισβητησάς
tε οὐκ ἐστ’ οὐδεμαί οὐδενὶ τῶν νῦν παρὰ ταῦθ’ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν
5 νομοθετῶν, οὖντες δὲ ἔσται σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ ἀποτελεσμένον
οὐ συμκρῷ πρόσθεν ὁνείρατος ὡς τῷ λόγῳ ἐφησάμεθα,  
κεφαλῆς νῦν τε κοινωνίας εἰκόνα τινὰ πως συμμείζαντες,  
ἐὰν ἢρα ἢμῖν οἱ τε ἄνδρες ἀκριβῶς ἐκλεχθῶσι, παιδευθῶσι τε  
προσηκόντως, παιδευθέντες τε ἐν ἁκροπόλει τῆς χώρας κατ-  
οικῆσαντες, φύλακες ἀποτελεσθῶσιν οἴους ἢμεῖς οὐκ ἐϊδομέν  
ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν βίῳ πρὸς ἁρετήν σωτηρίας γενομένους.  
ΜΕ. Ὡ καὶ Κλεινία, ἐκ τῶν νῦν ἢμῖν εἰρημένων ἀπάντων  
ἡ τὴν πόλιν ἔστε αὐτής κατοικίσσεως ἢ τὸν ξένον τόνδε οὐκ  
ἀφετέον, ἀλλὰ δεησεσθήν καὶ μηχανάζει πάσαις κοινωνοῦ  
ποιητέον ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως κατοίκισιν.  
ΚΛ. Ἄληθέστατα λέγεις, Ὑ Μέγιλλε, καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω δ  
ταῦθ' οὕτως καὶ <οὗ> συλλάμβανε.  
ΜΕ. Συλλήψομαι.
BOOK VII

788 a 2. All recent editors, except Schneider and Zürr., have adopted Ast's correction of the MS. ὧρθότατα to ὧρθότατ' ἄν.  

a 5 ff. ἰδίᾳ . . . παρανυμεῖν, "in the privacy of the home there are many little habits which people generally don't notice, arising from the child's fears, pleasures, or desires, of a kind of which the lawgiver would disapprove, and the result is, very likely, the development of a medley of incongruous characters and aims among our citizens. And in itself this does direct harm to a state. For while, on the one hand, these habits and ways are so insignificant and so multifarious that it would be foolish and undignified to make them punishable by law, at the same time they are a danger to such laws as we have, because these insignificant and countless habits are getting people into the way of transgressing" (i.e. the habits are contrary to the spirit of the law).—The correction of the MS. ἰδια to ἰδίᾳ is due to O.  

Fic. "privatim."

a 6. ἰδίῶς goes, I think, with ἀπεργάζοντ' ἄν.  

b 3. θῆθα: "character and aims" may serve as an explanation; the word is untranslatable. The object of the legislator is to inculcate such habits as will incline to right conduct; cp. above, 653 b 4 ff.

b 4. καὶ γὰρ κτλ.: καὶ (not to be taken closely with γὰρ) . . . δὲ καὶ (b 6) is "while on the one hand . . . on the other." Burnet is right in putting only a colon after πόλεσιν; the following words explain wherein the mischief lies.—αὐτῶν: i.e. the πολλὰ καὶ σμικρά of a 5, which I have ventured to call "habits."

b 6. The subject to διαφθείρει is the αὐτά of b 4. (Schneider, Stalb., Wagner, and Jowett would make διαφθείρει impersonal, understanding Plato to mean that mischief is done by making these trifles penal, and thus breeding disrespect for law in general. It is only after long consideration that I have rejected this attractive
THE LAWS OF PLATO

explanation.—Stallb. thinks we ought to read καίτοι for καὶ γάρ in b 4; Wagner and Susemihl translate καὶ γάρ as if it were καίτοι.)

c 3. λεγομένοις έοικε κατά τι σκότος, “are little better than a dark saying.”

c 8. είρηται: cp. 643 d 1; possibly, though, the word merely indicates a generally received opinion.

d 1. τὸ γε ἀπλούστατον, “to take the simplest point.”

d 2. νέων οντων εύθὺς: cp. Thuc. ii. 39 εὐθὺς νέοι οντες.

d 6. ἐριν πολλοὶς παρέσχηκεν, “many people contend that . . .”; cp. Thuc. ii. 54. 3 ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἐρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμῶν ὄνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἐπει υπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἄλλα λιμῶν. At 776 c 8 ἐριν παρέχειν is similarly used with a ὧς clause.

d 10. πόνων χωρὶς πολλῶν καὶ συμμέτρων, “without abundance of appropriate exercise.”

789 a 6. Cleinias thinks he can confute the Ath. here: “if,” he says, “exercise should be proportioned to the amount of nourishment taken, and to the rate of growth, then it would follow that a newly born infant should get most exercise, because it grows fastest then.” “No,” the Ath. says, “it grows fastest before birth, and that is the most important time to keep it moving.” This astonishes Cl. still more.—ἡ: Stallb. is wrong in saying that “before Steph.” the printed texts had ἡ. Not only has Steph. ἡ, but ed. Lov. has ἡ here, and at a 10. I fail to see why editors have not followed ed. Lov. in the latter case, as well as in the former. As Ast says, Ficinus’s translation is of ἡ at both places. Ast says that after τι δῆτα ; ἡ is right, but that after πῶς λέγεις; it ought to be ἡ. At Phaedr. 227 b 6 a similar question arises, which Heindorf ad loc. rightly decides in favour of ἡ.

b 4. πάνω μὲν οὖν, “do so by all means.”

b 9. Ficinus, and all printed edd. before Burnet, read ἀσκοῦντες, putting no stop after ἀλληλα, and a full stop after θηρίων. With this reading τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν θηρίων is merely a variety of expression for ὀρνιθῶν θρήματα, and, as such, is otiose and unnatural. (Fic. translates by aves.) All the MSS., however, have ἀσκοῦντας. This Burnet retains, putting a full stop after ἀλληλα, and none after θηρίων. In this way τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν θηρίων gets a significance of its own—“creatures intended for such a purpose”—i.e. fighting. The difficulty is with ἀσκοῦντας, which, agreeing with πόνους, must be taken quasi-predicatively with μετρίων εἶναι—“by way of training for such creatures.” The asyndeton too is very abrupt, but so it is with the pause at θηρίων.

236
c 2. μετρίως is almost equivalent to “sufficient”—ἐν οἷς αὐτὰ ἀνακινοῦσι γυμνάζοντες, “in which they exercise them by stimulating their pugnacity.”

c 3. ὑπὸ μάλης: as Ast says, this phrase is used of anything hidden somewhere about the person; see Thompson’s note on Gorg. 469 d. We should say “every one of them has a bird stowed away somewhere—the little ones inside the hands, the larger under the elbows.” In the story about Alcibiades and his quail (Plut. Ale. ch. x.) ἐν τῷ ἵματίῳ corresponds to ὑπὸ μάλης here; he says... ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ὄρτυγος ὑπὲρ ἑυχῆν ἑχων ἐν τῷ ἵματίῳ.

c 7–d 5. This passage bristles with difficulties in the interpretation of separate words and phrases, but the general sense is clearly that “motion, whether spontaneous, or due to some other agency, is good for the bodily frame.”

d 2 ff. ἄκοσα: adverbial. The punctuation of the early editions shows that this word was once taken with ὀνίναταi, though all translators, from Fic. downwards, take it with κινούμενα. Thompson on Phaedr. 227 a says it is a medical term, probably borrowed from Hippocrates. “It included all applications, external as well as internal, for removing lassitude and strengthening the nervous system, answering to our ‘tonics.’” This positive meaning of salutary, refreshing, invigorating, suits its use in this passage, and in the parallel passage at Tim. 89 a, better than the usual interpretation of “without fatigue,” and “not fatiguing.” In that case the old stopping may be right after all, and we may translate “derive invigoration from.”—πάντων: not (as Schneider) dependent on τὰ σώματα, but agreeing with σεωσμῶν τε καὶ κινησεων. Ast says Stob. has πάντως for it. (Mein. Stob. iii. p. 261 has πάντων.)—ὁσα: not, as most take it, with σώματα; πάντων ὅσα κινεῖται is “by all movements which they undergo,” ὅσα being an adverbial acc. of inner obj. with κινεῖται.—ὁχούμενων καὶ... φερομένων τῶν σωμάτων: the gen. abs. is irregular, but the two participles help one another; Ast’s ὁχούμενα, which Herm. and Wagner—and Stallb. in the 1859 ed.—adopt, makes the following words impossible. If Plato wrote ὁχούμενα, he must have gone on with φερόμενα, instead of φερομένων τῶν σωμάτων.—Ritter takes ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν to refer not to τὰ σώματα πάντα, but to the subject of δηλοῦσι—i.e. whether they carry the quails about when they walk or when they ride. He argues that the quail-carriers prove nothing as to movement originating with the mover. This is being over-logical.—The καὶ κινούμενα of A and O is sufficiently
explained by the καὶ κινήσεων just before it, and there is no reason to suppose, as some have done, that it stands for κατακινούμενα.—ἐν αἰώραις, “in vehiculis,” Ficinus. Archer-Hind, on Tim. 89 (διὰ αἰωρήσεων) conjectures that there was “a gymnastic machine called αἰώρα, a kind of swing.” A comparison of the two Platonic passages with Plutarch, Moralia, 130 c and 793 b seems to me to suggest that αἰώρα was a litter (φορεῖον).

In the former passage Plutarch says that reading aloud another man’s discourse, as compared with delivering one out of one’s own head, is like the difference between an αἰώρα and the γυμνάσιον.

The provision of ready-made words “moves and carries the voice μαλακῶς καὶ πράσων ἔσπερ ἐπ’ ὀχυμάτων ἀλλοτρίου. In the latter passage he says the old must be content to replace the active games of youth by αἰώραι καὶ περίπατοι. Cp. Lucian, Ep. Saturn. 28 ἐς γῆρας ἀφικόμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ποσίν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φοράδην ἐπὶ τεττάρων ὀχυμένον. For αἰώρησις used of riding in a carriage cp. Poll. x. 51 ἀλλ’ ἐι μὲν αἰωρήσει τῇ δὲ ὀχυμάτων χρόνῳ τίς. The whole passage may be translated: “that all bodies are salubrarily affected by being moved by any kind of shaking or shifting, whether the movement they undergo be caused by their own effort, or because the bodies are riding in litters, or on board ship, or on horseback, or because they are moved by an outside force in any conceivable way.”

d 6. κατακρατοῦντα: evidently another medical term; our “assimilate” or “absorb.” The subj. σώματα is supplied from the previous σωμάτων.—καὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν ῥόμην, “and strength to boot.”

d 8. τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο: as Ritter says, “next” does not suit the passage. Probably it is “in future”; as at Critias 120 a τὸ τε αὐτοῦ τοῦτο μυθεὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ἑκόντες παραβίαισθαι.

e 1. ἀμα γέλωτι φράζομεν τιθέντες νόμους . . . ; “are we to court ridicule by explicitly directing in our laws . . . ?” If a comma is put after φράζομεν there should be one also after νόμους; both or neither.

e 2. For this use of τὸ γενόμενον cf. below e 9, 791 e 5 and Crit. 50 b τὴν τοῦ γενομένου τροφὴν τε καὶ παιδείαν.

e 5. αἱ τῇ φέρειν, “to manage to be always carrying them.”

e 7. βιά ἐπερειδομένον, “if they lean their weight on them.”

e 8. ἐπισυνεῖν φεροῦσας, “to persevere in carrying them” (even after the swaddling-clothes are removed and the child can stand).

790 a 1. μίαν: for μίαν μόνην, as at Symp. 184 b 5, and Tim. 36 d 1, so that μὴ μίαν stands for πλείους μίας.
NOTES TO BOOK VII

a 3. πολὺ καὶ ἄφθονον, "more than enough." ἡ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ; in a 2 was equivalent to "is there not much reason why we should not?" and the πολὺ here, like the πολὺν in a 5, is an echo of the πολλοῦ there.

a 6. ἐθέλειν ἄν; for ἄν c. inf. for "to be likely to ..." cp. above, 739 a 4.—γυνακεῖα τε καὶ δοῦλεια ἦθη: for the feminine ἦθος cp. 781 c and, for that of slaves, 776 e.

a 8. τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν τε καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἦθη: the form of phrase is chosen to resemble that in a 6.—Though it is hopeless to try to persuade the nurses, their more enlightened masters may recognize the wisdom of the suggestion when it is put to them, and see how important it is for the community. The good citizen will realize that you cannot construct a well-regulated state out of ill-regulated households.

b 1. ἀκούσατα: for a similar, though harsher, enallage cp. Thuc. i. 110. 1 οὐτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρῃ εξ ἐτη πολεμίσατα; cp. also below, 793 e 4, and Ar. Plut. 45 τὴν επίνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ φράξουσαν (so MSS.).

b 2. χώρις τῆς ἱδίας διοικήσεως ... ὀρθῆς γιγνομένης: an unusual construction for ἑαν μή ἡ ἱδία διοικήσεως ὀρθῆ γίγνεται.

b 4. βεβαιότητα θέσεως νόμων = βεβαιάν νομοθείαν, "a strong body of law." — νόμοις is secondary pred., "will treat our suggestions as if they were laws."

c 2. κατὰ ... διαπεραίνειν: τῶν μύθων is governed by ἠργυμέθα; διαπεραίνειν is an epexegetic inf. loosely constructed with ἐπίπεδωματα ἀποδόμεν. For this construction cp. above on 700 c 2, and for the meaning of διαπεραίνειν cp. above on 739 e 5. (Many interpreters take διαπεραίνειν to depend, directly or loosely, on ἠργυμέθα.)

c 5-7. Almost all interpreters put a comma after νέων (or after ψυχῆσ), but they fail to explain the genitives σώματος and ψυχῆς without bringing in some idea which is not in the Greek words. These genitives depend on τιθήνησον. Though the "nursing" is done to the body, it—as we are here told for the first time—affects the ψυχῆς as well. Besides, as Ritter says, e 3 and 791 a 1 f. show that the music of the nurse’s song is regarded as a kind of κίνησις; and the effect of music is certainly mainly mental.—Finsler (Plato u. d. Ar. Poetik, p. 113 f.) is no doubt right in representing this whole discussion of κίνησις, along with that in Tim. 89 a, as the germ of Aristotle’s doctrine of καθαρσίς in Poet. 1449 b 27.

c 7 f. With λάβωμεν ... τὴν ... κίνησιν ... ὃς ἐστι

239
THE LAWS OF PLATO

σύμφωνος Ast cps. 625 c 10 and 733 d 2 διανοείσθαι τούς βίους ἡμῶν ὡς . . . περικαρι, also 905 b 7 and 946 e 4.

c 9. καὶ οἶκεῖν: supply σύμφωρον ἕστιν (or ἀν ἄν) from the preceding sentence; their life is to be as near an approach as possible to the constant movement felt on shipboard.

d 2. All interpreters but Schneider rightly supply an object for τεκμαίρεσθαι from the preceding sentence—"that it is so," or "what ought to be done" (Fic.); Schneider makes it govern the ὡς clause, and finds the explanation of the τώνδε merely in the sentence beginning ἕνικα γάρ at d 5.

d 3. αὐτῷ is the τοῦτον of d 1 (i.e. the στοιχεῖον of c 5), and the object of τεκμαίρεσθαι.—εἰλήφασι, "have adopted."

d 4. αἳ περὶ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἱάματα τελοῦσαι: in the absence of fuller information I accept Stallbaum's interpretation of this obscure passage, i.e. (1) that τὰ τῶν Κ. is "quaε Corybanti-
bus accidunt," and is meant as a general description of intense mental excitement (ταραντισμόν); and (2) that ἱάματα τελοῦσαι is "remedia adhibentes," τελείν (cp. 775 a 2) being used because there was something ceremonial and professional about the curative process adopted by the women in question. This remedial process was apparently so well known that the Ath. does not think it worth while to describe it. His subsequent words imply that it was like that adopted by the mothers of fractious children in order to put them to sleep; and also like the course adopted to cure cases of Bacchic frenzy. In both procedures there was more or less rhythmical movement and noise. (Badham accepts Ast's Κορυβαντιώντων and would read αἵπερ τὰ τῶν Κορυβαντιώντων ἱάματα τελοῦσι.)

e 2. καταυλοῦσι is used figuratively in the sense of charm, fascinate. For the connexion of αὐλοῖ and βακχεία cp. Arist. Pol. 1342 b 4 πάσα γὰρ βακχεία καὶ πάσα ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα τῶν ὁργάνων ἕστιν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς.—καθάπερ ἡ κτλ.: all editors before Burnet follow Ald. in reading αἵ in the place of the MS. ἡ. Such a change could hardly be justified even if the sense were satisfactory; but it is not. Ast would supply εἰσί as its verb, Stallb. ποιοῖς, both awkward in different ways; for the latter we should expect a personal subject, not ἰάσεις. Burnet construes (as he kindly informs me) "καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἐκφράσεως (καταυλοῦσι) βακχείων ἰάσεις," βακχείων being a genitive of definition depending on ἰάσεις, and ἰάσεις governed by καταυλοῦσα: "just like the (priestess) who pacifies mad people by curative Bacchic frenzies." Granted that we should retain ἡ and supply

240
NOTES TO BOOK VII

καταυλοῦσα (also that χρόμεναι agrees with αἱ μητέρες), still (1) the χρόμεναι clause remains weak, and (2) it is not easy to separate ἐκφρόνων from βακχεῖων (cp. the ἐξεις ἐμφρόνως of 791 b 1), and I would suggest that we should place a comma after βακχεῖων instead of before ταῦτη, and read ἱάσει for ἱάσεις: "and they just fascinate the babies, like the priestess who casts a spell on the mad frenzies" (referred to at d 4 as τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων). [F.H.D. would read ἱάσις for ἱάσεις.] — τῆς κωνίσεως: a genitive of definition; the essence of the χορεία and μοῦσα is also movement.

e 3. "ταῦτη est nota illa," Stallb. who cps. 677 a 8, and Phaedo 69 c oíτοι—"those famous men" (Cope).

e 8. ταῦτ’ ἀμφότερα τὰ πάθη: i.e. (1) the fright which, acc. to Plato, is the cause of the infant's crying in the night; and (2) the frenzied state of mind associated with the worship of Cybele and Dionysus: φοβεράν at 791 a 2 and τοῖς μὲν at a 6 refer to the former; μανικήν at a 3 and τοῖς δ’ ἔγρηγορότας ("those who are awake all the time") to the latter.

e 9. ἔξων φαῖλην: this deterioration implies a mental change, and all change is a κίνησις.

791 a 1. τῶν ἐξωθὲν: τὰ ἐξωθὲν stands for the simple ἐξωθὲν, just as περὶ τὰ τῆς καρδίας at a 4 stands for the simple περὶ τὴν καρδίαν, which, again, is equivalent to τῆς καρδίας.

a 2. κρατεῖ: apparently the external κίνησις effects its object by absorbing the attention of the sufferer, and so excluding the consciousness of the δείμα; this is implied in the φαίνεσθαι: the δείμα ceases to be apparent in the ψυχῆ.

a 4. Ald. changed φαίνεσθαι to φαίνεται—a very short-sighted correction, which all editors but Schneider, Wagner, and Burnet adopt.—απεργασαμένη κτλ. explains how the mastery is effected, and κρατήσασα is subordinate to ποιεῖ and κατηργάσατο.

a 6. ἁγαπητῶν τι: an accusative in apposition to the following sentence (or we may supply a second ποιεῖ with it).—(Badham rewrites the passage, omitting φαίνεσθαι, substituting τᾶς for τὰ τῆς, introducing ἥγεται before ἁγαπητῶν and changing τι to eί; apparently the subj. to his ἥγεται is κίνησις.)

a 7. ὀρχουμένους: the passive of the ὀρχεῖν, "make to dance," which we find at Ὀρατ. 407 a 1; for the pass. αἴλουμένους cp. Ρεπ. 561 c τότε μὲν μεθύων καὶ αἴλουμένος.—μετὰ θεῶν goes better, I think, with ἀρχ. καὶ αἰλ. than with κατηργάσατο. The ritual connected with the worship of the gods provides the necessary κίνησις—both bodily and mental.—For the μετά, "by the help of,"
which has gone a long way towards being an instrumental "with," cp. above 738 d 7 φιλοφρονοῦνταί τε ἄλληλους μετὰ θυσίων and Theaeet. 180 c 8 μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τούς πολλούς.

a 8. κατηγράφατο is a gnomic aor. For the form cp. Wecklein, Cwr. Epig. p. 36.

b 2. The passage τίνα . . . ἔχει was omitted in the first four printed edd. though Ficinus translates it; Steph. first inserted it after tacitly altering the mistaken τε of the MSS. (after βραχέων) to γε.

b 5. For the MS. παρ' αὐτοῖς—which Fic. unwarrantably translates praeterea, Schneider apud eas, and Wagner dabei—Burnet accepts Ritter's correction παρ' αὐτοῖς, i.e. "people" is supposed to be the subject of ἐννοεῖν. I have accepted A.M.A.'s suggestion that παρ' αὐτοῖς is right, and that it means "in the case of the sufferers"—the τοὺς μὲν and τοὺς δ' of a 6. (Is it possible that παραντίκα is what Plato wrote?)

b 6. Cornarius's κινεῖσθαι for γίγνεσθαι is probably due to the fact that Fic. translates διὰ φόβων γίγνεσθαι by "quovis ferri per formidinem." μᾶλλον . . . γίγνεσθαι, "would be all the more likely to be habituated to a state of fear."

b 8. Stobaeus is very likely right in reading εἴναι for this second γίγνεσθαι.

c 4 ff. ἐν, "one element," just as the cheerfulness, next mentioned, is another.—μόριον ἄρετης: cp. above, 696 b 6 ἀνδρεία ποιν μόριον ἄρετης ἐν; τὴν γυμναστικήν is in apposition to τοῦτο.—ἡμῖν is an ethic dative; cp. 836 d 4 τί μέρος ἡμῖν συμβάλλουσιν ἀν πρὸς ἄρετῆν;—The suggestion, made by Badham and W. R. Paton, that we ought to read ἄρετῆν for ἄρετης, is attractive, as it brings ἐν and μόριον together in a natural way; but it does not fit in so well with the adverbial μέγα qualifying συμβάλλεσθαι (which goes directly with εἰς).

c 5. παντελῶς παῖδων: cp. above, 639 b 11 σφόδρα γυναικῶν, Theaeet. 183 c 7 πάνω πρεσβύτη, Rep. 564 a η ᾑγαν ἐλευθερία.

c 9. εὐφυχία here is not, as L. & S. and Jowett say, "courage," but is a variant for ψυχῆς ἄρετή. Fic. correctly translates by bonitas, and so, in effect, Schneider and Wagner.

d 2. ὅπως τις καὶ καθ᾽ ὅσον εὑπορεῖ τοῦτον, "in whatever way or to whatever extent these objects lie within our power." τοῦτον is "these two characteristics"; he goes on to show us how we are to induce cheerfulness or τοῦτον is opposite. (Others take τοῦτον to refer to the τίνα τρόπον clause. It was probably because he took it this way that Stobaeus gives τοῦτον for τοῦτον—"that's
what we have got to try and show, as best we can.” [So too F.H.D.]—The original δὲ for δὴ of A and O, and the omission by A and O¹ of the καὶ before καθ’ are very natural blunders.

d 5. λέγω δῆ: the explanatory asyndeton is natural after φράζειν δῆ πειρατέον. What follows is the Athenian’s attempt to furnish the desired information.—Does the παρ’ ἡμῶν mean at Athens, or in Plato’s school? For the sentiment cp. the kindred warnings above at 728 e 5 ff. and 744 d 3 ff. against excessive wealth and excessive poverty in a state, and also Rep. 422 a 1.

d 6. The analogy of πάνυ παρὰ πολλοῖς and πάνυ ἐκ ἐκότος λόγου, at Euthydem. 305 c and d, suggests that σφόδρα here (for which the early printed edd. have σφόδρα) qualifies στὶκρῶν alone (not κυνούμενον).

e 2. τὴν πόλιν ἀπασαν: i.e. “how can the united forces of the state be called to such a task?” Cleinias’s view evidently is that no education is possible without speech; this is implied in his τῆς ἀλλης. He ought to have known, from the preceding discussion, that that was not the Athenian’s view.

e 6. τῷ κλάειν συνέχεται, “is given to tears”; lit. “is afflicted by weeping.”

792 a 1. τεκμαίρονται: the verb is used with the object left unexpressed, just as above at 790 d 2. Here it is suggested by the previous σκοποῦσαι τίνος ἐπιθυμεῖ. τούτοις αὐτῶσις is “by these very expressions of feeling,” i.e. by the child’s noise and tears, or their absence.

a 2. ὁδ stands for ὁδ προσφερομένον.

a 3. τοῖς δὴ κτλ.: an explanatory asyndeton; δὴ is “you see.”

a 4. οὐδαμῶς εὐτυχῆ, “the reverse of happy.” Cp. 803 b 5 τοῦτο δὴ οὐκ εὐτυχέσ. The following δὲ clause gives a reason why we must put up with them for all that.

a 8–b 3. The argument is that, as the morose and implacable nature is culpably dismal and querulous—for these characteristics naturally go together—much tearfulness in the young is likely to end in a morose disposition.

b 4 ff. Aristotle at Pol. 1336 a 35 says that “the people in the Laws” are wrong in stopping children’s tears; crying, he says, is a gymnastic exercise which helps growth. It is not the actual crying which Plato objects to—though he truly says that it does not sound nice—but the habit of mind engendered by constant complaining. On this ground he would avoid occasions for tears as much as possible. The logical opponent of Plato’s policy ought in certain circumstances to advocate a deliberate infliction of pain.
on babies.—A, L and O² have τὰ τριετῆ, “the three-year-olds,” loosely used for “all under three.” O however had originally a different reading, apparently τὰ τρι’ ἐτη. Steph. was the first editor to see that the former reading could not stand along with τὸ τρεφόμενον, and printed τὰ τριὰ ἐτη—the elision in the vulgate is doubtful—and so Ast. Bekker and all subsequent editors have adopted O’s τὰ τρι’ ἐτη (cp. below 793 d 7). In view of τὸν τρεφομένον in b 8—a very un-Platonic repetition—I cannot help suspecting that τὸ τρεφόμενον in b 5 is a later insertion, and that τὰ τριετῆ is what Plato wrote. Ficinus seems to have read τὰ τρι’ ἐτη and τὸ τρεφόμενον, for he has “in hoc triennio,” and “puer” as the subject of προσχρήσεως.

b 7. ἰλεων: perhaps gracious furnishes the nearest English equivalent to the double meaning of the word here and at d 2 below. Ast refers to Ath. viii. 363 c, where ἰλεως is said to be synonymous with ἱλαρός.—For εὐθυμον used in this connexion cp. Seneca, De tranquillitate 2, 3, εὐθυμίαν (esse) stabilem animi sedem, de qua Democriti volumen egregium est: ego tranquillitatem voco, and Diog. Laer. ix. 45 τέλος δ’ εἶναι τὴν εὐθυμίαν οὗ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῇ ἱδονῇ, ὡς ἐνιοὶ παρακούσαντες (? παρακρούσαντες) ἐξηγήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἣν γαληνὸς καὶ εὐσταθῶς ἡ ψυχῇ διάγει, ὡς μηδενὸς παραστομένη φόβου ἢ δεσποδαιμονίας ἢ ἀλλοῦ τῶν τάθων: καλεῖ δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ εἰσετῶ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόματι.—H. Richards is most likely right in demanding an ἀν after ἰλεων. (At 692 b 5 the case was different.)

b 8. τοῦ τρεφομένου: if τὰ τριετῆ be retained in b 4, there would be the same change to the singular here as we find below between τὰς φέρουσας in e 3 and ἡ κύουσα in e 6; at 793 d 7 ff. the change is reversed.

c 2. Steph. corrected the Κλεινία of the first four edd. to Κλεινία, which turns out to be the MS. reading. Ast and Ziirr. wrongly revert to the voc. Fic.’s “o mirifice Cleinia” is no warrant for supposing that δ’ θαυμάσει Κλεινία could be thus separated in Greek. For the playful substitution of the name for the personal pron. Stallb. cps. Euthyphro 5 a 1.

c 3. Again L preserves the right reading, where A and O have διαφορὰ (Fic. “pernities”).

c 4. ἐν ἄρχῇ γὰρ: at 753 e 6, 765 e 3, and 775 e 2 we have been reminded of the supreme importance of the ἄρχῇ. Such indulgence will more surely lay the foundations of a pleasure-seeking temperament if it comes early. Cp. below at e 1 κυρίωτατον ἡγάρ κτλ.
c 8. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς δὴ λόγος: with regard to young children, Plato's theory, when fully expressed, is this: (1) Pain should be kept as much as possible out of an infant's way, for fear that he should grow to dread it excessively; and (2) Pleasure should not be put in his way on purpose, for fear that he should come to like it too much. In this paragraph he expands the doctrine so as to embrace all ages, and finds confirmation of it in his ideal of the Divine nature. We have had hints of this doctrine in the description of the dangers of τρυφή at 791 d 5 ff., and in the selection of the words εὐθύμος and ἴλεως at 792 b 7, to describe the desirable state of mind.

d 1. τὸ παράπαν: Ficinus translates as if this qualified both clauses; rightly, I think. So below at d 6 ὀλως, and at e 5 πολλαίς, are felt to belong really to both halves of the sentence.—αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον, "Ie juste milieu."—ἀπαξεσθαι is well chosen to denote a state of passive enjoyment.

d 2. προσείπον ... ὄνομάρσας: Badham would reject ὄνομάρσας; the pleonasm is no greater than that in our "call by the name."—ἡ δὴ διάθεσιν ... προσαγορεύομεν, "and that is a temperament which a true inspiration teaches us all to call divine"; i.e. the word ἴλεως (gracious) is applied in a special sense to denote the favour of heaven.—Ast well cps. Euthyd. 273 ζ ἴλεως εἴπον—ἀτεχνὼς γὰρ ἐγώγε σφῶ ὀσπέρ θεῶ προσαγορεύω.—From this Plato draws the somewhat fanciful conclusion that the temper it describes must be divine. The fancy is quite in accordance with his views of the significance and naturalness of language.—Stallb. well reminds us that at Phil. 33 b 8 we are told οὐκον εἰκὸς ὃς ὁυτε χαίρειν θεοὺς ὁυτε τὸ ἐναντίον, and also cps. Epinomis 985 a 5 θεόν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὸν τέλος έχοντα τῆς θείας μοίρας ἐξω τοῖτων ἐιναί, λύπης τε καὶ ἡδονῆς. (Ficinus translates ἴλεως, both here and at b 7, by tranquillus. This suggests the view that the Stoic ἀταράξια was the "godlike" characteristic here alluded to. But the words κατὰ τινα ... προσαγορεύομεν point to a popular use of the word ἴλεως, and could not be used of a philosophical view such as this.)

d 5 ff. προπετῇ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς γέγνεσθαι ὀλως is "ganz und gar Genüussen nachjagen." (Wagner).—μὴτε ἄλλων εἶν: the good citizen has in this respect a double duty; he must correct the evil tendency in himself, and he must help to repress it in others.—There is a break in the construction here; instead of the expected participle we find the infin. εἶν ranging itself alongside of διώκειν.—ὅς οὖν ἐκτὸς λυπῶν ἐσόμενον: not, as Fic., "if he does,
he will suffer for it," but "and he must not forget that he will have his share of pain too." The well-balanced mind will neutralize the one experience by the thought of its opposite, and will so arrive at a divine indifference to both.

d 8. ἡμῶν: an ethic dative. Stallb. wrongly takes it closely with ταύτων, "idem hoc quod nobis fere accidere solet."

e 1. κυριώτατον γὰρ οὖν . . . ἔθος, "for infancy, you know, is the native soil of the proverb 'all nature comes by nurture'" (A.M.A.) Cp. Rep. 377 b μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ τότε πλάττεται καὶ ἐνδύεται τύπον δὲν αὐτὶ βούληται ἐνομήνασθαι ἔκαστῳ, and Arist. Pol. 1287 b 5 ἐτι κυριώτεροι καὶ πέρι κυριωτέρων τῶν κατὰ γράμματαν νόμων οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν.

2–7. Stobaeus (101. 5) quotes this passage with two careless mistakes, and one important variant: the former are δὴ for δεῖν in e 3, and διασάζει for διαζήσει in e 7; the latter is λέον for ἱλεων in e 6—very probably the correct reading. The more colourless word suits this passage better. Cp. Crat. 406 a 8 τὸ μὴ τραχύνει τοῦ ἢθους ἀλλὰ ἢμερον τε καὶ λέον. The word ἱλεων is not likely to have been used again so soon after b 7 and d 2.—It is noticeable that Stobaeus confirms the προσχρήσεται of A and O as against the προσχρήσηται of A² and O², as also the εὑμενές of I and O² as against the εὑμενῶς of A and O. (Possibly we ought to read εὑμενῶς πρόνοι, omitting τε.)

e 4. θεραπεύειν has here almost the sense of φυλάττειν, τὰς φερούσας is the object of θερ., and ἐνιαυτὸν acc. of time.

5. τε . . . δὲ, οὖτε . . . δὲ, μήτε . . . δὲ are not uncommon; cp. Soph. Phil. 1312, Eur. Suppl. 223.—μάργοις the Scholiast interprets by ὕβριστοις, ἀκράτεσι, μαυρομένοις.

e 7. τιμῶσα: for τιμῶν (colere, cultivate) used of dispositions cp. Rep. 572 c τὰς χρηματιστικὰς ἐπιθυμίας τιμῶντι μόνας; so too, perhaps, Eur. Phoen. 536 ἰσότητα τιμᾶν.—(Badham says διαζήσει is a mistake for διάζει.)

793 a 4. μέσον δὲ τινὰ (sc. βίον) τέμνειν: τέμνειν being used poetically with some word for path, road, course as its object, in the sense of transire, "take," the idiom is here extended, and βίον τέμνειν = βίον βιοῦν, and the μέσον in the phrase—recalling such expressions as μέσον τι τέμνειν (Prot. 338 a) and διὰ μέσον τέμνοντας (Politt. 262 b)—makes the extension sound more natural.

καλῶς . . . ἀμα: i.e. "you have made a satisfactory speech, and you have got a satisfactory answer to it." (Not, as Schneider, " . . . et simul bene cognosti causam.")

a 6. μάλα μὲν οὖν ὁρθῶς: this is a compliment to the way
Cleinias has summed up the Athenian's views. "You do more than agree courteously; you express what I mean with admirable precision."

a 9 ff. The object of this paragraph is to insist afresh on the great importance of such regulations as have been recommended. They deserve, he says, all the respect due to what time-honoured phrases describe as "unwritten laws"—the ἄγραπτα νόμμα of Soph. Ant. 454, the ἄγραφοι νόμοι of Xen. Mem. iv. 4. 19, and Thuc. ii. 37—"inmemorial tradition," and "social usage." He compares them to a screen protecting the laws, and to the braces or clamps of metal which keep the stones of a building in position, and again to the main supports on which a superstructure rests. Cleinias's city, being a new one, will not inherit such a traditional public conscience; therefore the lawgiver must, in this case, not stop short at positive enactment, but must risk prolixity by going into minute detail on such subjects as are now before us.

b 2. ὁ νυνδὴ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐπιχυθεῖς, "the conviction borne in upon us just now"; the reference is to 788 a 3 f.—Campbell on Polit. 303 c τοῦ νῦν ἐπικεχυμένων λόγου κατ' ἀρχάς cpr. this passage, Rep. 344 d ἡμῶν καταντλήσας . . . τὸν λόγον, Soph. 264 c ἐπὶ μείζον κατεχόντη σκοτοδυία, and Laws 682 a 7 τοῦ νῦν ἐπελθόντος ἡμῖν μύθου; cp. also Laws 672 b 3 λόγος τις . . . ὑπορρεῖ τῶς.

b 4. μεταξὺ pursues (I think) the metaphor of the "clamps"—"between stone and stone," not, as Fic. and others, "between present and future laws." The πάντων is in favour of the clamp metaphor: "binding together all laws, whether actually made, or to be made in future."

b 6. Burnet is the only editor who ventures to print the isolated pass. form θησομένων, relying on A and O as against O² and the grammars.

b 7. τεθέντα καὶ ἑδωθέντα is equivalent to ἐν ἑθεί τεθέντα, as opposed to ἐν γράμμασιν τεθέντα.

b 8. τότε is "hitherto."

c 1. ἄν δ' . . . πλημμελῶσ: cp. Tim. 30 a κινουμένων πλημμελῶσ καὶ ἀτάκτωσ; "if they transgress beyond the proper bounds"; "they" is the feelings, convictions and habits of the community—very much what we should call public opinion. In the language of the metaphor it is "get out of the straight."

c 2. ἐκ μέσου: probably only "from their place," but possibly containing the suggestion of a support to the centre of gravity of the superincumbent structure.
c 3. Badham conjectures that ἄλλα ὑφ' ἐτέρων is a scribe's error for ἄλλο ὑφ' ἐτέρω.

c 4. καλοσ: it doesn't matter how excellent the fresh laws are, if the previous structure is unsound.

c 7. ὀσα = πάντων ὀσα.

d 2. ἐκάτερα: i.e. neither the unwritten, nor the written laws.

d 4. The δοκούντα of all texts but Burnet's has no MS. authority beyond that of the second hand in O. It gives a satisfactory meaning, but the addition of another word in -α makes the passage awkward and monotonous. It is possible that A and O and Burnet are right: δοκούντων εἶναι may be a highly idiomatic and elliptical gen. abs. clause, meaning "as they seem to us," in which the εἶναι is like that in ἐκὼν εἶναι, τὸ νῦν εἶναι.—νόμιμα ἡ καὶ ἑθικαμα: the same two classes referred to in the ἐκάτερα of d 2 and in the νόμους ἡ ἑθή of d 1—"whether they be laws or customs."

d 6. Bekker, followed by Wagn., Zürr., and Herm., changed the MS. γε to τε: acc. to Zürr., MS. Angel. c. 1. 7 has neither γε nor τε.

d 7. εἰς μὲν...τρεφορένους, "so be it: until the boy or girl is three years of age, the careful and conscientious observance of the precepts I have given will substantially benefit our tender nurslings."—Α, L and O have τοῦ τριετῆς; the first correction of this comes from the Ven. MS. ξ which has τοῦ τριετῶς, and so all printed edd. before Bekker, who corrected the MS. τριετῆ to τρί' ἐτη, and all subsequent editors have followed him. As at 792 b 4, I doubt this correction. It is not certain that the α of τρία would be elided; I suggest that Plato wrote εἰς...τὴν τριετῆ γεγονότος ἥλικιαν κόρον καὶ κόρης, and that some early corrector put in a τοῦ above the line, which got before the τριετῆ by mistake. I have therefore removed the commas from after ἥλικιαν and κόρης.

e 4. ἐξετεὶ ἕθει ὑνύχης: a common, rather poetical, enallage; cp. Eur. Andr. 159 ἕπειρωτις ὑνυχῆ γυναικῶν, Soph. Antig. 794, Eur. I.A. 1266, Bacch. 866. So Keats talks of the "green felicity" of branches, and we see nothing strange in talking of "a happy time"; cp. above on 790 b 1.—Ficinus and the first five printed edd. made nonsense of this passage by reading παιδίων in spite of the παιδίων of the MSS. Ast and Schulthess first corrected this.

e 5. τρυφῆς δ' ἕθη παραλυτέων: there was the danger of getting "spoiled" in the nursery.—The two new instruments of education,
then, that are to be introduced after the age of three are (1) games, and (2) punishment.

e 6. The MSS. have τε λέγομεν; the first four printed edd. have τʼ ἐλέγομεν; Steph. tacitly altered τʼ to γʼ, and so all subsequent edd. Fic. has δικίμου — ἐλέγομεν has here the force of ἐκελεύομεν, as at Theaet. 209 d 5. The following precept is not the exact reproduction of the recommendations given above about slaves at 777 e 4 ff., but the likeness between the two passages justifies the reference.

e 7. Burnet's note explains the aberrations of the MSS. and edd. A's ἐμποιήσαι was not clearly written, and A² and O mistook it for ἐμποιήσειν—which is the reading of the first five edd., and even of Stallb. who defends it; O² suggested ἐμποιεῖν, which most edd. have adopted; Steph. also suggested ἐμποιήσαι or ἐμποιεῖν, and Ast printed the latter.

794 a 1. L has again, in τρυφήν, preserved the correct reading, which occurs also in O²; possibly the scribes of A and O thought that τρυφάν could be used actively in the sense of θρόπτευν.

a 2 f. Plato here, as A.M.A. says, anticipates Dr. Montessori.

a 4. The κόμαι may be assumed to be the twelve country districts allotted one to each tribe; each tribe had a sacred enclosure — see also below, τὸ ἱερόν at b 5 — where children under six were to play. We are not bound to suppose that all the children of a κόμη played together in one game.

a 6. ἐκάστα : ἐκάστων would be more natural here; as it is, it must be merely a variant for πάντα, like ἐκάσται for πάντες at e 2.

a 8. There is an anacoluthon here: τῶν δὲ τροφῶν begins as if μίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (δε) were to follow; actually ἐπιμελεῖσθαι is replaced at b 1 by (εφʼ ἐκάστῃ) τετάχθαι κοσμοῦσαν, which means the same thing, but could not grammatically take the same construction. (Ast says τῶν τροφῶν depends on ἐκάστῃ; Stallb. that it is "absolute positum").

b 1. With ἐκάστῃ we must supply ἀγέλη, which in sense is the same as φυλή.

b 2. I am convinced that Badham is right in correcting the MS. προειρημένων to προηγημένων. The following αἰρεσθωσαν explains sufficiently what was meant by "the twelve previously chosen women." (Neither the view of Ast and Stallb. that τῶν προειρημένων is "the nurses," nor Ritter's that it is "the games," will fit the passage. Ritter suggests that besides the games which sprang up spontaneously among the children, there were some more elaborate ones to be prescribed by the νομοφύλακες (b 2).
But if τών προερημένων meant "the above-mentioned games," it would be the spontaneous ones, for only these have been mentioned.)

—τάξισιν: i.e. to a particular tribe; not, apparently, their own.—

The alteration of ὁσ to ὁς by L2, and to ὀσα (tacitly) by Steph., shows a wish to take this clause with κοσμούσαν in the sense of administer. Fic. seems to have read ὀς, as he translates "imperatura prout legum custodes ordinaverint."

b 3. αἶ τῶν γάμων κύριαι: ep. above, 784 a ff.

b 5. ἀρχέτω φοιτῶσα, "shall pay an official visit."

b 7. αὐτήν here, and at c 3 (where the early edd. read αὐτη), is "summarily."

c 3. In μετὰ τὼν ἐξέτη, as in ἄπων διδασκάλους at c 7, we have a quite intelligible conversational brachylogy.

c 4. κόροι . . . ποιεῖσθωσαν: an ordinary explanatory asyndeton. Inasmuch as the δὲ in c 6 corresponds to the μὲν in c 4, it is perhaps better not to print it with parenthesis marks (as Burnet), but with colons (as other edd.).

c 8. ἔαν δὲ τῇ . . . τὰ θήλεια: girls may learn to ride and shoot if they like, but they are not (like the boys) to be compelled to do so. The words καὶ δή . . . χρείαν follow closely on σφενδονήσως, the πρὸς resumes the πρὸς in c 6, and the words do not apply to the girls, but to the use of weapons in general; again the μὲν and δὲ prevent this clause from being marked off as a parenthesis in Greek.—The subject of συνχρωσώσιν is "the girls"; not, as Fic., "people," "public opinion."

d 1. τὰ μάλιστα, as at 811 d 4, and Critias 108 d 2, is used in the sense of the more usual ὁτι μάλιστα or ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα. (Ast and Stallb. wrongly take τὰ with πρὸς . . . χρείαν; with this, as explained above, we must supply τρέπεσθαι from c 6.)

794 d and e. I have derived much help in this difficult passage from notes kindly sent me by Prof. Henry Jackson.

d 2 ff. τὸ γὰρ δή . . . χωλοὶ γεγόναμεν ἐκαστοὶ, "Of course almost everybody misunderstands the conditions now prevailing with respect to such matters" (i.e. the use of weapons, and the like).

Cl. "What conditions?" ("What do you mean?" H.J.)

Ath. "They think it is by an ordinance of nature that right and left differ in application to particular actions where the hands are concerned; the truth is that, while there is clearly no difference in the capability of the feet and the lower parts, thanks to the folly of our mothers and nurses we have all grown up with a kind of hand-lameness."—I have in d 7 and d 8 adopted the punctuation of the earlier texts, putting a colon after χείρας and only a comma.
after φαίνεται. The main antithesis in the whole sentence is between φύσει in d 6 and ἀνοιξα τρ. καὶ μητ. in e 1. The “mistake” is in assigning the “hand-lameness” to the former cause instead of to the latter.

**d. 2.** γὰρ δῆ here does not explain, or give a reason for the previous words, but (like the Scotch conversational “again,” in a question) explains an unexpressed thought. In this case the thought is something like “such as it is.” Perhaps an English “of course,” or “I must tell you that,” comes as near it as may be. Cp. Phaedr. 229 a 4, where γὰρ δῆ may be translated “of course”: εἰς καίρον, ὥς οὖκεν, ἀνυπόδητος ὡν ἔτυχον; σὺ μὲν γὰρ δῆ δεῖ; so too Crat. 391 d 7 δῆλον γὰρ δῆ ὅτι κτλ. where it is “you may be sure.”—τὸ νῦν καθεστῶς: used like τῶν τότε καθεστώτων below at 798 b 4; “the prevailing conditions.”

**d. 3.** ἀγνοεῖται: not “is not known,” or “is ignored,” but “is not recognized for what it is,” i.e. people are mistaken in what they think about the matter; so at Gorg. 517 d ἀγνοοῦντες ἀλλήλων ὅτι λέγομεν, “misunderstanding each other’s meaning” (Cope).

**d. 4.** For τὸ ποῖον; H.J. would prefer an ambiguous translation, “what do you mean by that?”

**d. 7.** χεῖρας: a corrector of L (and Ficinus) saw that all the MSS. had gone wrong in writing χεῖρας here; Steph., however, was the first to print it correctly. Was it possibly Ficinus who made the correction in L?—ἐπεί is “whereas” or “the truth is” (H.J.). (For the adversative force of ἐπεί cp. above on 669 b 6.) [F.H.D. takes ἐπεί to be “since,” and keeps Burnet’s punctuation.] —L and O do not share A’s mistake of κατά for κάτω. —The passage in Aristotle’s Politics (1274 b 12 ff.) in which the views here given are mentioned as one of Plato’s heresies, is by many thought to be spurious; but other passages show that Aristotle directly traversed Plato’s views about right and left: Eth. N. 1134 b 33, De part. an. 666 b 35 ff., where he says the natural superiority of the right (not hand only) is due to the fact that it gets more blood than the left; and also at 684 a 26, and (at length) at De an. incesu 705 b 13.

**e. 1.** ἀνοια: two minor MSS. have ἀγνοοία in the margin, a reasonable suggestion, which the previous ἀγνοεῖται supports; but the σχεδὸν ἀνοια of 795 a 1 reads like a justification of the more forcible word here.

**e. 3.** All modern edd. except Schneider accept the εθνη of Steph. and others for the MS. ηθη. Fic. translates “per consuetudinem.” Schn. trans. ηθη “instituta.”

251
e 4. οὐκ ὀρθῶς: though modern physiologists would probably agree with Plato, as against Aristotle, as to the equal possibilities of right and left, it may be doubted whether the superior “dexterity” gained by the exclusive use of one hand for certain purposes is not a greater advantage than the power of using either—but with less “dexterity.” There are a great many actions in civilized life which use only one hand. ἐν δόσοις . . . μὴ μέγα διαφέρει, “in insignificant matters”; cp. below, 795 a 7. For διαφέρει μέγα in this absolute sense cp. above, 780 c 1.

e 5. χρώμενον is in agreement with an imaginary τινα, the subj. to an equally imaginary inf. such as ἡάλλειν or κροûειν.—O. Apelt, (p. 13) plausibly suggests that χρώμενον is a mistake for χρωμένων (se. ἀνθρώπου vel ήμὼν). The following χρώμενον may well have caused the change.

e 6. πράγμα οὐδέν, “it doesn’t matter”; Gorg. 447 b.

e 7. I think it is best to suppose that there is a highly conversational ellipse of a second χρῆσθαι, and not to separate μὴ δέον from οὐτω χρῆσθαι. “For a man to use these cases as precedents for others, there being no necessity for such arrangements” (between the two hands) “is pretty foolish.” —Ritter suggests that the argument from lyre and plectrum may have been advanced in writing by some opponent of Plato’s thesis.

795 a 1. The Scythian can cover 180 degrees with his aim; the right-handed man only 90. (The modern game of fives would have furnished Plato with a good illustration of his point.)

a 2. ἀπάγων: an enallage similar to those noticed above at 790 b 1 and 793 e 4.

a 3. Whether, with Ast, Bekker, Wagn. and Zürr., we adopt Gataker’s ἐκατέραις, or, with Stallb., Schneider and Burnet, retain the MS. ἐκατέροις (cp. ἀριστερὰ in a 6), the words must refer to “right and left,” and not to “bow and arrows.”


a 5. ἐν οὖσιν μαθεῖν δύνατον, “which are enough to show us.”

a 6. The word κατασκευάζουσιν implies a deliberate educative process.

b 2. μέγα διαφέρει, “it matters a great deal.”

b 3. ὀπλοῖς: i.e. shield, spear, and sword.

b 4. μαθῶν μὴ μαθόντος: the absence of the article gives an incisive proverbial tone; the form of the expression somewhat resembles Strafford’s “stone-dead hath no fellow.”

b 8. οὐκ . . . ἐφέλκεται πλημμελῶν: ἐφέλκεται is used for
a laborious clumsy movement, not of the leg only: “his motions are not gauche and ungainly squirms.”

c 1. διαπονεῖν is the regular word for educational exercises or practices; cp. below 810 b 2, 813 b 7, d 8.—ταύτων δή τούτ’': adverbial, “just so.”

c 2. χρύπ προσδοκάν ὑρθόν, “it ought to be considered the proper thing”; there is some pleonasm in the δεῖ after ὑρθόν. Perhaps it was a consciousness of this that led to the correction (in Λ) of δεῖ to δή. For προσδοκάν, “regard,” “reckon,” cp. below, 803 e 6.

c 4. μηδὲν ... κατὰ δύναμιν, “he must not let any of these limbs be idle or incapable, if he can help it.”

c 5. Γηρυόνου κτλ., “what a waste of good material,” he suggests; “suppose a hundred-handed giant could only throw with one of them!”—δέ γε is “why!”

d 2. ἐπισκόποις γιγνομέναις: for the general practice cp. Plut. De ed. libri 5 a and De fortuna 99 d.

d 5. τὰς φύσεις (“what nature has given them”): we have here the same antithesis between natural endowment and habit which we had at 794 e 2.

d 6. The rest of this page contains many roughnesses of expression. Though the thoughts are precise, the style is conversational, or rather, perhaps, that of notes for a lecture. It is therefore better, with Burnet, to leave the roughnesses alone. We cannot hope that any polish we might apply would have satisfied the taste of Plato.—χρύσασθαι: this curious inf. depends on διττά: “two-fold, so to speak, in virtue of their application”; i.e. “the kinds of training open to us are, practically, two.”

e 2. μμουμένων: cp. Ar. Poet. 1462 a 9 ὅπερ καὶ Καλλιπίτιδη ἐπετμαύτο καὶ νῦν ἄλλοις ὡς οὐκ ἐλευθέρας γυναῖκας μμουμένων. Whereas μμουμένων is said of the pupils, φυλάττωνται is said of the teachers; in this is possibly to be found the motive for the very abrupt change of construction (cp. the χρύμενον of 794 e 5; this is worse). (Badham reads ἄλλο μὲν ... μμούμενον (doubtfully) ... φυλάττον ... ἄλλο δὲ; but cp. on d 6.) The former branch of ὁρχυρίας aims at “serious tragic style and gentlemanly deportment”; the latter at healthy and comely development of the muscles and bodily frame (the modern Swedish drill).—With the expression Μούσης λέξιν μμεύσθαι cp. our “to act Shakespeare.”

e 4. τὸ προσήκον, is not adverbial (as Ast and Stallb.) but, like τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς at e 2, is the object of (a quite imaginary and
ungrammatical) φυλάττοντας. What the teachers of the Swedish drill kind are on the look out for is "reach and mobility."

5. The καί ("also," "moreover") before ἀποδιδομένης—which all editors but Schneider, Zürr. and Burnet follow Ald. in omitting—connects φυλάττοντας with ἀποδιδομένης; in the latter we have another abrupt change of construction: instead of ἀποδιδόντας εὔρυθμον κίνησιν, we have ἀποδιδομένης εὐρ. κινήσεως, "there being moreover conferred upon all (the pupils) the power of moving themselves gracefully, which is at the same time completely transfused through, and associated with all kinds of dancing" (i.e. both the character dancing, and the purely gymnastic). I believe no two editors punctuate this passage alike; and I also believe that Burnet's is the right way: i.e. commas after μμ., ἔλευ., (ἀλλα) δέ, κάλλους, ἐκτάσεως, and κινήσεως. (Herm. alters ἀποδιδομένης to ἀποδιδόντας.)

796 a 1-b 3. "As concerns wrestling, the expert devices invented by an Antaeus or a Cercyon as displays of profitless mastery, or those of pugilism devised by an Epeius or an Amycus, are useless for hostile encounter, and are not worth describing; but all that belongs to stand-up wrestling—devices for freeing neck, arms, and ribs from an opponent's grasp, laboriously acquired in many a contest to the improvement of physique and bearing, and the establishment of health and strength,—such as these are useful under all circumstances; far from neglecting them, at the proper place in our regulations we must urge teachers and learners alike, the former generously to impart, and the latter gratefully to receive them."

1. The scholiast who gives an account of these mythical wrestlers tells us that Cercyon introduced the use of the legs into wrestling, which, along with the "catch-as-you-can" style, which included struggles between combatants lying on the ground, was evidently to be ruled out from ὀρθή τάλη, or ὀρθοπάλη as it is called by Lucian (Lexiphanes § 5).

2. ἤ πυγμῆς Επείος stands for ἤ τὰ πυγμῆς (or κατὰ πυγμῆν) ᾧ Επείος.

4. This use of ἀπό is peculiar: it is an extension of its signification of origin, and seems to mean "coming under the head of;" "belonging to;" the ἀπό, "due to," in ἤ ἀπό τῶν ποδῶν ὀξύτητας at 832 ε 8, which Ast cps., is similar, but not quite the same; in ἅπ' ἀ' κτλ. we have an ordinary explanatory asyndeton.

5. For ἔζείλησις Ast and Stallb. refer to El. Mag. s.v.
NOTES TO BOOK VII

796 a

εξειλήσας τοῦτο λέγοντι οἱ Ἀλεξινδρεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκφυγεῖν. ἔσκατι δὲ μεταφορικός λέγειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ παλαίειν ἀναλυόντων ἑαυτοῦ, where this passage is quoted.

a 6. It would be as well to follow the older editions in putting a comma after εἰσχύμονος, to show that it qualifies καταστάσεως (Stallb. and Jowett would make it qualify δόμης).

—I see no reason for either expelling the μετά with Stallb. or for changing it, as O. Apelt suggests, to μᾶλ'; μεγ' would be nearer).—καταστάσεως (which Stallb., with L. & S.'s approval, would change to κατατάσσεως) is quite sound, and means, I think, "bodily condition," or physique. (Ritter interprets it to be the "firm stand" of the wrestler, Jowett "constancy").

—The altered position of the second μετά prepares us for a slight difference in meaning; the first μετά is the quasi-instrumental μετά noticed above on 791 a 7: the conflicts are the means of acquiring the skill; the improved physique accompanies them, and is a result.

b 1. τοῖς μὲν . . . τοῖς δὲ: the ordinary chiasmus.

b 4. Κουρῆτων: these mountain demons, who formed the body-guard of the infant Zeus, were represented in art as youths dancing the πυρρῆχη.

b 5. Διοσκόρων: cp. Athen. iv. 184 f καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ φησιν Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μοῦσαις ἐπαυλήσας τοῖς Διοσκόροις τὸν ἐνόπλιον. Another account says that Athena invented the ἐνόπλιον ὄρχησις to celebrate the triumph of the gods over the giants (Dion. Hal. vii. 72).

c 1. διαπεραιέων: here like the simple περαῖνειν "perform"; cp. Adam on Rep. 532 a 3 and above, 723 ε 2.

c 3. τιμώντας, "conciliating," i.e. striving to get, the "favour" of the goddess.—πολέμου τ' ἐν χρεία: a different use of the difficult word χρεία from that in the apparently similar ἐν χρείᾳ δορός of Soph. Aj. 963; it is much the same use as in the πρὸς τὰς χρείας at 794 d 6. The best of the many translations given for it is Ficinus's "ad usum belli."

c 4. εὐθύς τε . . . ἦσσιν: i.e. from six to twenty years of age (cp. 787 b 6).

c 6. πολυμείνους: as Stallb. says, δέον ἄν εἶη . . . κοσμεῖσθαι: might take either παυσί or παίδας.—μεθ' ὀπλών τε καὶ ἐπτ' ὀπλών ἄει κοσμεῖσθαι: again the quasi-instrumental μετά; I do not think it means that those who were on horseback had hoplites' arms and armour as well; some join the procession as hoplites, some as cavalry.
c 7. The "slow and quick movements" probably apply to dances and processions alike.

c 8. ἰκετείαι is used, doubtless with a consciousness of its etymology, not of spoken words, but of the processions and dances themselves. (Those interpreters who take it to mean spoken words are bound to suppose the injunction to be to say the words sometimes fast and sometimes slow)—The ἐν is quasi-instrumental.

d 1. ἀγώνας καὶ προαγώνας: in effect "contests, and practising for contests."

d 2. τούτων ἑνεκα: i.e. πολέμου τ᾽ ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ ἐορτῶν ἑνεκα. —Any kind of bodily training or development which has not one of these two objects in view is οὐκ ἐλευθέρων, "ungentlemanly," βάναυσον. It will be remembered that in Bk. II. γυμναστική is spoken of as the handmaid of χορεία, which word he there uses as a comprehensive term for the whole of education (672 e and 673 a).

d 6. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις λόγοις: i.e. 673 d 7. Bruns (p. 88 ff.) regards the passages at the end of Book. II., to which reference is here made, as originally belonging to the discussion in Bk. VII. and the reference itself as an evidently apocryphal patch from the "Redaktor's" hand. If, he says, the subject of γυμναστική (and ἀγωνία) is "finished" here, how is it that, at 834 d 8 ff., we are again told that now we have done with ἀγωνία, and the μάθησις γυμναστικής? (On this see notes there.)

e 2. ἔχειν is "find."

e 4. τὸ τούτων ἐξῆς: in Bk. II. "Music" was treated first, as being the more important subject; here γυμναστική, because the bodily training begins at an earlier stage of education.

e 7. ἄ is used for the indirect interrogative, and πάντως ὄρθεα must be taken with ἐστίν as well as with πρῶτα. "(I thought I had exhausted the subject of μουσική,) but I now see clearly, not only what ought to be said to everybody, but also that it ought to be said to them before anything else." Ritter is perhaps right in thinking that there must once have been an ἔτι in this sentence; he would introduce it after the second ἐστίν, or else substitute ἔτι for the second ἐστίν. (To change ἄ τ᾽ to ἄττ᾽, as might be suggested, would sacrifice the valuable τ᾽.)

797 a 1. H. Richards would read δή for the MS. δέ—rightly, I think.

a 2 ff. Ritter (p. 189)cps. this passage with Rep. 450 a ff. (and Laws 739 a ff. and 780 b ff.) where the speaker expresses the same anxiety as to how what he is going to say will be received.—
Above (at 656 ff. and 700 d ff.) the Ath. has urged the necessity for a state regulation of "Music." Here he extends the sphere of regulation by including children's games, which he treats as belonging to μουσική rather than to γυμναστική.—For similar language about "Music" ep. Rep. 424 c εἴδος γὰρ καὶ νῦν μουσικῆς μεταβάλλειν εὐλαβητέοίν ὡς ἐν ὀλίγον κινδυνεύοντα: οὖδ'άμον γὰρ κινοῦται μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν νόμων τῶν μεγίστων, ὡς φησί τε Δάμων, καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι.

a 7. τὸ τῶν παιδῶν γένος, "games generally," or simply "games" (not, as Wagner, "the kind of games").

a 9 ff. ταχθεν . . . ἣσνχγ, "for where games are prescribed, and the regulation secures that the same people always play the same games, in the same circumstances, in the same way, and delight in recreation of the same kind, they help the institutions of real life to remain undisturbed."

b 4. The MSS. have τὰ αὐτὰ here and ταῦτα in the next line. Editors all correct ταῦτα in b 5 to ταὐτὰ, but leave τὰ αὐτὰ in b 4. Most likely the two got accidentally transposed, and we ought to read ταῦτα in b 4. Ficinus translates, "sin autem mutetur id genus." The omission of the τὰ before the second αὐτὰ in b 1 in Α and Ο, and the αῦτὲ τ' at c 8 in Α are other marks of carelessness at this part of the MSS. Very possibly an early MS. had ταῦτα in both places; a corrector saw that the second ταῦτα ought to be τὰ αὐτὰ, and by inadvertence wrote the correction over the wrong one.—The κινοῦμενα clause, and the gen. abs. (b 5), and the following acc. c. inf. clauses (b 6 ff. and b 8 ff.) all count as a complex, loosely constructed protasis to the apodosis τοῦτον πόλει λάβην κτλ. in c 3.

b 6. μόν' ἐν σχῆμασιν . . . καὶ ἄσχημον, "and if what is good or bad 'form' in their own attitude, gesture, or equipment is not always indisputably fixed."

c 3. τοῦτον: probably masc. here and at c 6.

c 4. λανθάνειν γὰρ . . . ἐντιμον, "for he is changing the characters of the young behind your backs. He makes them scorn the old, and worship the new." For the reproach of "ἀρχαιότης" ep. 657 b 7.

c 8. αὐτ' (for which Α has αῦτ' τ') is, I think, for αὐτά, not αὐτό.

d 4. φαιλοῦσα ἀκροατᾶς πρός, "deaf to."

d 8. μετώνως ἑμῶν-αὐτῶν: i.e. "we must surpass ourselves both as listeners and speakers."

d 9. γὰρ ὅτι, as at 794 d 2, introduces an important pronounce-
ment.—μεταβολήν κακῶν: not merely, as might seem at first sight, “change from bad (to good)”—such a self-evident proposition would be out of place as part of a solemnly enunciated principle—but also “change between bad things,” i.e. “change from one bad thing to another (equally bad).” The principle is that change is detrimental to the power or efficiency of anything. Ritter (p. 190) acutely points to 816 e as furnishing an instance of the weakening of the power of evil by change; we are told there that if we must have unedifying spectacles on the stage, they should be varied—so as to do less harm than we should get from familiarity with one such spectacle. (Plato’s fear is not, as Tennyson has it, “lest one good custom should corrupt the world,” but lest one bad custom should do so. Cp. Rep. 380 e ff.)


d 12. As Stallb. says, οὔ τοῖς μὲν, τοῖς δ’ οὔ is equivalent to ἐν ἄπασι, and ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν qualifies this in the usual way.

e 1. Though Bekker’s ingenious ὄσπερ may even be thought an improvement on the MS. ὄτιτερ, the latter reading is probably sound. For ὄτιτερ in the sense of the simple ὄτερ (which Stob. has here) cp. Soph. 255 a 7 ὄτιτερ ἀν κοινῇ προσείπωμεν κίνησιν καὶ στάσιν, τοῦτο οὐδέτερον αὐτοῖν οὖν τε εἶναι.

e 2. ὡς, “just as,” corresponds to the ταὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτο in 798 a 6.

e 3 ff. καὶ τὸ πρῶτον . . . ταῖτη τῇ διάτη is a quasi-parenthetic explanation of what is meant by συνήθη γενόμενα; the construction is “asyndetic,” the καὶ being “even (though).”—The ταχθέντα in the margin of A is probably merely a record of a mistake for ταροχθέντα in some earlier MS.

e 4. οἰκείας τοῦτοις: the flesh made from the diet is fancifully spoken of as “akin” to it. By the time the new diet has worked into the body and become part of it, the body and the diet are no longer strangers but friends—even relations.

798 a 1. γνώριμα, which agrees with σώματα, would hardly be used by itself in the active sense of “familiar with,” but the conjunction with the kindred συνήθη and φίλα and οἰκείας enables it to carry that meaning.

a 3. Here the construction changes, and we must supply τις as the subj. of ἀναγκάσθη—μεταβάλλειν is here “to change to.”

a 4. εὐδοκίμων, “reputable.”—No doubt A has preserved in τῷ

258
γε the right reading—τότε L O and Stob.—Bekker first corrected the text.

a 5. κατέστη (gnomic aor.), “he recovers himself.”

a 6. ταύτων δὴ κτλ.: as Ritter points out—comparing 802 d —the parallel between body and soul is not complete; it is possible for the ψυχή to feel ἡδονή without experiencing ὑγίεια; in the body it is assumed that the two always go together.

a 8–b 4. The subj. of ἐντραφώσιν is οἱ ἀνθρωποί, supplied from the preceding sentence. Strict grammar suggests that ἀκίνητοι γένωνται also belongs to οἱ ἀνθρωποί—and so Wagner translates—but I think that the other interpreters are right in taking ἀκίνητοι to belong to νόμοι—which, by a further grammatical irregularity, are subsequently denoted by the neuters αὐτά and τι. (H.J. and A.M.A. agree with Wagner.)—ως is used in the sense of ὥστε.—Ficinus (alone) separates σέβεται from φοβεῖται, taking the former to govern a τοῖς νόμοις, and the latter only the inf. κυνεῖν—perhaps rightly. (H.J. and F.H.D. prefer the usually accepted hendiadys.)—πᾶσα ἡ ψυχή: certainly not—as all interpreters take it—equivalent to, or a mistake for, πᾶσα ψυχή; like the πάση τῇ ψυχῇ at 964 e 3, it means “the whole soul,” “every faculty of the soul,” as we might say; there the plural ὄξωτητας (ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ) suggests different “faculties.” (Cp. Rep. 435 e–439 e.)

b 5. ἐννοεῖν seems used here, like our “spy, discern,” in the sense of discover; ἐπεννοεῖν (which Cobet would read here) generally means devise, discover, but is also used merely for perceive, notice.—τοῦτο is “reverence for the law.”

b 6. τῆς ὅ μον ἐγὼν εὐρύσκω, “this is the suggestion I have to make,” lit. “this is where I discover a μηχανή”; i.e. the prevention of change in children’s games.

b 7. πάντες is not all the world, but all legislators—“they all fancy”—the αὐτῶν of d 1 confirms this interpretation.—ἐμπροσθεν; i.e. at 797 a 8.

c 1. σπουδὴν καὶ βλάβην: a hendiadys.

c 4. ἐτέρους ἄνδρας τῶν ἐμπροσθεν γενέσθαι παιῶν, “(must) grow up different men from what the previous generations of boys grew to be.” (It would seem to us a much more natural expression if παιῶν were not there; is it possibly spurious?) It will be remembered that in the Republic the decline in goodness of constitutions comes from the decline in goodness of each generation compared with its predecessor.

c 6. μετὰ τοῦτο, “thereafter,” almost “in consequence,” goes,
not with φοβείται, but with ἡξοντος.—For the construction cp. on 624 a 7.

c 7. νυνιᾷ: i.e. at 797 d 10.

d 1–5. “If the change could be confined to externals, it would not matter; but it can’t.” As we were told at 797 c 4 λανθάνειν τὰ ἴθη μεθιστάντα τῶν νέων; their sense of moral values is extensively (πυκνά) altered, and this undermines the social fabric. Fic. translates ὅσα δὲ...μεταπίπτει χερσα χερα in laudandis vituperandisque moribus in(n)ovatio.”—πάντων μέγιστα, “the most powerful of all changes”; not (as Jowett) “the greatest of evils.”—διεξεργάζοντο: Badham, referring to Cobet’s dictum that δι and εξ are often confounded, thinks the two prepositions are due to a dittography, and would reject the δι. (The whole of this passage d 1–5 would in a modern book probably have been a footnote.)

d 7. τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις: i.e. 655 d ff. Bk. II. deals with the same subject as that which occupies us here, but the point of view is different. There the questions were (1) is there a right and a wrong in “Music,” and (2), if so, how are they to be discovered, and to obtain general recognition? Bk. VII. is concerned with the educational curriculum as a whole. The great importance of the subject justifies this double treatment.

e 5. The two objects to be secured are: (1) that the children shall not want any change, and (2) that temptation to change shall be kept out of their way. The former object will be secured to a large extent by the above recommended uniformity in games; the latter danger is to be guarded against by legislation on the Egyptian model. Fic. translates ἐπιθυμῶσιν by (pueritia) audiat, as if he had read τολμῶσιν.

799 a 2. τῶν Αἰγυπτίων: cp. above, 656 d ff.
a 5. συλλογισμένοις, subordinate to τάξαντας and its clause, explains in what the settling of the feasts consists; it seems to be used as the corresponding verb to συλλογῆ in the sense of “collection” : they are to draw up an ecclesiastical calendar.

a 6. οὖσιν ἐκάστοις: ἐκάστος is added to οὖσι as it is to εἰς, εἰς τις, αὐτὸς; cp. Hesiod, Theog. 459 οὗτοι ἐκάστος... ἰκουτο; here and at a 8 it has the force of an English “respectively.”

a 7. The καὶ δαίμονι may well have been a commentator’s explanation of καὶ παισὶ τούτων.

b 1. Steph. was undoubtedly right in reading πρῶτον τινας for πρ. τίνας, though CoRn. and Stallb. are wrong in translating it by aliquas, and quasdam; τινας is clearly the subject to τάξαι—the
special musical experts who select the “music” (cp. 765 a 5, 801 d 5), and is contrasted with πάντας τοὺς πολίτας who are to be the dedicating or consecrating body.—ἀ δ’ ἂν: the first hands in both A and O omitted the δ’, a mistake which probably was first made in copying from a “majuscule” script.

b 3. ψυδᾶς (see b 5) is supposed to imply χορέως as well.

b 4. Steph. first corrected the MS. τὶς τῷ to τὸς τῷ; previous texts had τὶς τῶν.

b 6. ἐξείρηγοντας . . . κατὰ νόμον: i.e. “that in excluding them from the festival they do so with the sanction of divine and human law.”

b 7. ἄν μὴ ἔκὼν ἐξειρηγηται, “if he resists”; this detail was not necessarily Egyptian.

c 1. πρὸς τοῦτῳ δὴ νῦν γενόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, “now that we have embarked on this subject”; cp. Phaedo 84 e 2 καὶ αὐτὸς τε πρὸς τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ ἦν ὁ Σωκράτης.—πάθωμεν τὸ πρέπον ἦμῖν αὐτῶις, “let us be content as becomes us.”

c 5. Bekker’s πῶ for πῶς is palaeographically so clearly possible that its adoption would be easy if the sense were improved by it; but this is doubtful: “not at all familiar in any way” fits the passage better, I think, than “not at all familiar yet.”—οὐκ ἄν . . . οὕτως εὐθῦς, “would not rush impulsively to a settlement of his doubts about them.” συγχωρεῖν c. acc. is accept, acquisire in, “swallow”; cp. Theaet. 151 d 2 ψεῦδος συγχωρηγαί (the object is really a solution of the ἀπορία). οὕτως qualifies εὐθύς.

d 1. καὶ is σο—The simile and the state of mind typified are mixed up here: στὰς δ’ ἄν belongs to the man confronted with any unfamiliar dilemma; τύχοι belongs to the imaginary traveller at the cross-roads; ἄνεροι’ ἄν, ὅρμησειν, and βεβαιωσάιτο belong to both; the simile has become a metaphor.

d 2 f. πρὶν πῇ . . . φέρει, “until he had formed a pretty clear notion of where the way led.” For the attracted opt. βεβαιωσάιτο cp. Goodwin, M. and T. § 643.

d 5. σκέψιν πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι, “investigate it thoroughly.”

d 6. ῥᾳδίως οὕτως, “without more ado.”

d 7. ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα, “off-hand.”

d 8. τι σαφές, “a trustworthy explanation.”

e 1 ff. οὐκοῦν . . . διαπαροσήμενον, “we will take our time about this, and not decide the question without thorough deliberation. We do not want to be prevented unnecessarily from completing the regulation order which should accompany those laws with which we are dealing; so we will go on to the end of them. If
we are fortunate, that enumeration, when complete, may perhaps suggest a satisfactory solution of our present difficulty." The "difficulty" is, "what should be the attitude of legislation towards matters of musical taste? How can laws of art become laws of the land?" For τὰ ‹γις in the sense of "fixing by ordinance" cp. 802 e 11, 807 d 6. We should be able, the Ath. thinks, to see what sort of ordinance we can make for the purpose when we have gone through all the laws on the subject. The διέξοδος is, as Ritter (p. 191) says, not the whole of the laws enumerated in the treatise, but only the chapter about music in education.

**e 10.** δεδόχθω: as above at 712 a 4 and 736 b 6, the perf. imperative is used of a postulate. "Let it be granted, I say, that, strange as it may seem, our odes have become laws."

**e 11.** καὶ καθάπερ: instead of a normal completion of the καθάπερ clause—such as "let us too regard it"—the δεδόχθω of e 10 is bluntly resumed at 800 a 3 in the words τὸ δ’ ὄνν ὀγμα περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτ’ ἔστω. Burnet does well to put parenthesis marks after ὄνόμασαν and αὐτό. It would be much simpler if, as Stallb. suggests, we could read καθάπερ καὶ instead of καὶ καθάπερ. The τότε seems out of place; O Apelt is very likely right in reading τό γε for it.

**e 12.** ὄνόμασαν governs φδάς understood: "gave the tunes some such name when played on the lyre."

**800 a 1.** τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου, "what we are now urging," "our present proposal"; cp. below 821 a 7.

**a 2 f.** καθ’ ὑπνον δὲ . . . αὐτό, "but maybe someone formed a kind of dim idea of the truth in a dream, or even by an inspiring vision when he was wide awake." ὑπάρ is adverbial.

**a 4.** For the hyperbaton of the τε cp. Rep. 452 a 1 μονικὴ μὲν ἐκείνους τε καὶ γυμναστικὴ ἐδόθη, with Adam's note.

**a 5 f.** μᾶλλον ἦ . . . νόμων: a brachylogy for "any more than (he would act) in violation of any other law"; still with a reference to the double meaning of νόμος.

**a 7.** τοιοῦτος: used "pregnantly," for "the man who so conforms to the law."

**a 8.** νυνδή: i.e. 799 b 5.

**b 1.** κείσθω: for the imperative in a question cp. below 801 a 1, and Polit. 295 e 8. Below at e 9 we have κείσθω in a dependent clause introduced by εἰ. Such constructions throw light on the much discussed οἶσθ’ ὁ δρᾶσων, οἶσθ’ α μοί γενέσθω (Eur. I.T. 1203), and the like.

**b 5.** τοιόνδ’ ἐτί: the vulgate τοιόνδε τί was first corrected by

262
Bekker; it is sufficiently condemned by the τοιοῦντε τι three lines lower down; Schneider and Stallbaum retain it.

b 6. ἐκμαγεῖ' ἂττ' αὐτῶσιν, "a few cases typical of them"—"them" being the αὐτά of b 4, the cases for which legislation is needed. The dative goes with ἐκμαγεῖα as does ὀδυῖς with ἐκμαγεῖων below at e 9. ἐκμαγεῖον is a kind of synonym for εἰδὸς.

b 9. φαμέν is equivalent to an English "let us imagine."

c 2. ἄν φαίμεν, "we would ask"; Stallb. was the first to recognize this as a parenthesis. Cp. Phaedo 87 a 8 and Riddell, Digest, § 295.

c 3. καί, as at 799 d 1, is or.

c 5. "Well, that's what happens to pretty nearly all states in our part of the world." In this passage there blazes out the same indignation at the chaotic state of contemporary music as above at 669 c 3 ff., where Plato inveighs against the mixture of θαυματουργία and ἀμονρία which took the place of real music in his day.

d 1. πᾶσαν, "sheer."

d 3. συντείνοντες, "harrowing." Cp. Shakespeare's "gripping grief" (Romeo and Juliet iv. v. 128), "sorrow gripes his soul" (3 Henry VI. I. iv. 171), and the French serrer le cœur.

d 4. παραχρήμα, "offhand." The suddenness of the effect produced on the crowd is an indication of the violence and "cheapness" of the appeal.

d 6. νόμον: although we must suppose that here, as at a 6, 801 a 4, 5, and 8, and c 6, the musical sense of νόμος was present to the speaker's mind, yet the primary sense is not, as Jowett, "strains," but "regulation," "authorized proceeding."


d 8. μὴ καθαράι . . . ἀποφράδες: such performances should only be tolerated on "dies nefasti," when no public ceremony could be transacted—days which were used, the scholiast tells us, for taking libations to the tombs.

e 2. φόδος: an adj. here (Winckelmann would read χορηγοῦς for χορου).—οἶνον οἱ . . . : lit. "as, for example, the . . ."; we should say, "like the hired mourners who . . ." Cp. Rep. 387 e 9.
—Καρικῆ των μοῦγη, "with doleful Carian strains." At Aristoph. Frogs 1302 Aeschylus says Euripides got his melodies from Καρικά αὐλήματα. Stallb. quotes from Pollux iv. 75 θρηνόδες γὰρ τὸ αὐλήμα τὸ Καρικόν, and Hesych. s.v. Καρικαῖ. Plato hated αὐλητική; cp. Rep. 399 d.

e 3. The repetition of the word τελευτάσαντας would never have survived the author's revision; possibly the first or the
second τοὺς τελευτήσαντας is a scribe's mistake for τοὺς ἐκφερο-
μένους, or some such expression, and was originally a com-
mentator's "gloss."—τοιοῦτόν πον: the asyndeton is explanatory and
emphatic, "That's the sort of accessory music, etc." In all texts
before Bekker's a (;) was placed before τοιοῦτον, and a (;) or (·)
before οἶνον (also τι was read instead of the MS. πον); i.e. τοιοῦτον
was taken to be the correlative of οἶνον.

e 5. ἐπικεφαλεῖος, "funereal."

e 9. φθαίνας: cp. on b 6 above.—εἰ ... κεῖσθω: cp. on b 1
above.

801 a 1. ὑπαρχέτω: cp. on 800 b 1.

a 3. πάσασι ταῖς ψήφοις: with a reference to ἀποψηφιζόμεθα
in d 6 above.

a 6. The second νόμος, for which no ἐκμαγεῖον is needed, is a
positive one; i.e. what utterance there is must consist of prayers
to the gods to whom the sacrifices are offered.

a 8. The third νόμος enjoins that the things asked for in those
prayers should be proper subjects for request. Of this question
certain high officials are to be judges. No prayers are to be sung
which have not been seen and approved by these officials.

a 9. δεῖ δὴ ... αὐτοὺς emphatically resumes the δεῖ τοὺς
τοντάς.

b 3. εὐχῆς τοιαύτης γενομένης is exephegetic of τοῦτο.

b 6. ἄργυροῦν πλοῦτον: the author of Περὶ ὤψος (ch. 29) says
that in this periphrasis Plato, in his desire for a recherché form
of expression, has exposed himself to ridicule; you might as well,
people say, call sheep προβάτειον πλοῦτον. Ast's defence of Plato
is: "Πλοῦτον videlicet ambigue position est, ita ut simul ad
Πλοῦτον deum referatur; hinc ἰδρυμένον ἐνοικείν" ("as a regular
institution"). For ἰδρυσθαι cp. 738 b 7. Dr. Verrall (C. Phil.
Soc. Trans. 1905) suggests that here (as at 778 d 5) Plato was
quoting from a poet unknown to Longinus.

b 9. παράδειγμα: Plato uses this word much in the same sense
as he has just used ἐκμαγεῖον, i.e. "a suggestive illustration." His
"idea," as we should say, in mentioning the objection to coined
money is this: "many people desire money, and poets are likely
to give expression to this desire; but if a higher statesmanship
decides that it is better to have no money in the state, such prayers
must be repressed, and it is evident that, to do this, there must be
a state censorship of poems."

b 10. οὗ πάν: a natural μείωσις. (If with Badham we read
οὗ πάνυ, the following σφόδρα would be de trop.)
NOTES TO BOOK VII

2. τὸ ἴμαρτημένον εὐχάς οὐκ ὀρθᾶς: I would with much hesitation suggest that a τὸ has fallen out after τὸ ἴμαρτημένον. — Possibly ἴπασιν ἦ καὶ κατὰ μέλος means "whether in spoken words or in song." The prayer might be, e.g., in hexameters, or it might be set to music; cp. Phaedr. 278 c τοῦρσιν ψιλὴν ἦ ἐν φδή. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the MS. reading — "quum hoc cecenerit... sic ut a recto sit aberratum, hoc est preces non rectae sint" Stallb., "praeter ipsam rationem preces non rectas" Fic. Schneider takes εὐχάς οὐκ ὀρθᾶς with εὐχεσθαι, which would be admirable but for the τὰναντία. (Is it possible that εὐχάς οὐχ ὀρθᾶς was a commentator's explanation of ἑναντία?)

c. ἴμιν... τὰναντία: most interpreters unwarrantably give to τὰναντία the meaning "the opposite of what is good," and treat ἴμιν as a simple possessive dative with τῶν πολίτας; but ἴμιν is emphatic, and should be taken with τὰναντία: "the opposite of what we" — the ἴμεις of b 5, "the authorities" — "ordain." (Cf. below, c 8 παρὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα.)

c. 6. νόμον καὶ τύπον: a hendiadys.

c. 7. τίνα: this natural question enables the Ath. to formulate precisely his demand for a state censorship of poetry.

d. 3. ἀποδεεδιεγμένοις, "appointed."

d. 4. σχεδόν, "actually"; cp. 722 c 7 (A.M.A.).

d. 5. οὗ εἰλόμεθα stands for "whose election we ordained"; cp. 764 c 5 ff. — καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελητήν: a curious piece of careless writing; he meant the nom.

d. 7. νόμος καὶ τύπος ἐκμαγείῳ τε: this might be called a ἐν διὰ τρίων.

e. 3. The MS. γέγνοντ' is a conceivable scribe's error after the ἀδοντ' in e 2; is it possibly another σχῆμα παρανοητικῶν — a temporary aberration of the writer?

e. 6. νόμος ἀνευ φθόνων εὐθύς: ἀνευ φθόνων γέγνοντ' ἂν is a modification of the ordinary οὐδὲς φθόνος ἐστι, "here can be no objection to," which occurs below at 802 a 8, but there is a special significance in the φθόνων, perhaps indicated by the plural; cp. 679 c 1; εὐνυ is just what would prevent a generous recognition of other people's merits — εὐθὺς qualifies ἀνευ φθόνων; cp. Meno 100 a εὐθὺς τοιοῦτος, "just such a man." — We may

265
translate "There may next be made a frankly generous law as follows."

e 7 ff. ὑπόσοι ἐχοιεν . . . αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν πρέπον ἄν εἴη: a conversational anacoluthon.

802 a 2. We must imagine a pause or break of some sort after ἀσφαλές, to save the author from the "bull" involved in saying "we must not praise living people before they are dead." For the sentiment, a commonplace of Gk. and Latin literature, cp. Jebb’s note on the final lines of Soph. Oed. Tyr.

a 5. τὰς δὲ φῶδας κτλ.: here begins a fresh subject—the method of selection of the orthodox, canonical "music."

a 6. Ast was the first to print πολλὰ ἐστιν for the earlier πολλά ἐστιν.

a 6 f. περὶ μουσικῆν is a periphrasis for μουσικῆς, and τοὺς σώματιν in the next line is a genitival dative.

a 8. τῇ καθισταμένῃ πολιτείᾳ ("the state which we are founding") is governed by πρέπον and ἀρμόττον (not, as Jowett, "the government may freely select").

b 1. δοκιμαστὰς . . . ποιεῖσθαι, "we must make the choice by selecting examiners of these" (i.e. of music and dances). In form ποιεῖσθαί, ἐγκρίνειν, ἀποβάλλεσθαι, ἐπιρρυθμίζειν, and συστήσα-σθαι (c 3) are infinitives denoting the course to be pursued, and having as their subject the (supplied) ἡμᾶς with which ἐλομένους agrees; in effect many of the actions thus described would be vicariously performed by the δοκιμασταί.

b 5. ἐπανερώμενον MSS. Hermann’s ἐπαναρώμενον is better than Steph.’s ἐπανερώμενος (ἐπανέρωμαι is not the word wanted here), or Ast’s ἐπανορθούμενον: what is only partially satisfactory has neither been included in the approved list, nor absolutely rejected, but laid aside for further consideration, and if possible, improvement; consequently it has to be "taken up again," before the improving process can begin.—The arrangement is chiastic, as usual.

c 1. ἀλλ’ ἡ των ὀλίγων: there are a few highly gifted men whose appetite for and enjoyment of pleasure are to be allowed free scope. There are, as Ritter points out, indications of this belief elsewhere: the γιγνώσκοντα of 659 a 6, καὶ ἔδοντες αὐτοί τε ἥδωνας τὸ παραχρῆμα ἄσωνες ἥδωνται at 670 d 6, 829 d 1 ff., and 936 a 2 ff. ὀλίγως is a genitival dative. Neither Hermann’s ὀλίγας nor Stallb.’s ἐν των ὀλίγων gives a satisfactory sense. The limitation is in the number of trustworthy poets, not in the kind of “pleasure” or “desire.” The pleasure naturally felt in music is a gift of heaven, as we are told at 654 a 2 f. All poets
but a few then will have to be supervised by the δοκιμασταί in this work of improvement.

c 1, 2. In both lines there is a δὲ which has no corresponding μὲν; the latter δὲ seems to resume the main thread, after the digression on the corrections made by composers. "In short, as expositors of the lawgiver's wishes we must set Music of all three kinds on the lines he wished it to take." αὐτῶν refers to βουλήματα. (With the exception of Ast, all editors before Stallb. read αὐτῶν, but not Ficinus.)—If we take ἔξηγονμένους . . . νόν to refer still to the help of the composers in rectifying deficiencies in the παλαιὰ ποιήματα, we make too much of τὸ ἔνδεες. The main work for "us" and our δοκιμασταί consists in the selection of what is good. For this the composer's help is not needed.

c 4 ff. πᾶσα δ' . . . μνήμη: these words pursue the idea contained in συντήρουσασθαι; "all unsystematic (formless, or chaotic) musical effort gains immensely by being made systematic, even though there be no feast of sweet things presented." καὶ is probably concessive, and not (as Jowett) copulative. The latter way assumes that τὸ γλυκὸ is a positive fault which "system" would expel; besides, the expression is as awkward as an "and which" clause in English.—L doubtless gives us the right reading in πᾶσα δ' ἀτάκτος; Ast and Badham conjecture πᾶσα δ' ἀτάκτον; O has πᾶσα δ' ἀτάκτως, A πασατατάκτος.

c 6. τὸ δ' ἡδὸν κοινῶν πάσαις: delight can be taken in all styles of music; it depends, he goes on to show, on the training the hearer has had, which style delights him. This passage should be compared with the difficult one in Bk. II. 667 b 5 ff.

c 7. ἐν ἀγαφὴ ἄν κτλ.: both in sense and construction this passage resembles that at 798 a 8 beginning οἷς γὰρ ἄν; in both the relative with which it begins has no antecedent. Here, however, the irregularity of ἀκοινῶν δὲ is greater than any there. If the δὲ is right, we ought to have ἀκοινὴ for ἀκοινῶν; even so the δὲ would not correspond to the μὲν after σώφρονι: the δὲ corresponding to that comes after τραφεῖς. δὴ for δὲ would be a possible reading (so marg. of Cod. Voss.). Hermann would reject δὲ; W. R. Paton (in Class. Rev.) suggests that it is a mistake for αἰ; I prefer the last suggestion.

c 8. σώφρονι μὲν μοῦσῃ καὶ τεταγμένη, "supposing it to be of a sober and classical style." The two clauses are skilfully connected by the transposition of the μοῦσῃ from the former to the latter.
d 2. κοινή: not "vulgar," but "vulgaris."

d 4. νυνθή: i.e. at c 6.—περὶ ἐκατέρως (acc. plur.): the usual periphrasis for ἐκατέρων; "neither the delight nor the distaste has won the day in either case;" in other words, the devotees of both styles equally get what they like; where the advantage and disadvantage come in (ἐκ περιττοῦ δὲ) is in the moral effect, which is good in the former, and bad in the latter. The adverbial phrase ἐκ περιττοῦ denotes the opposite of equality.

d 6. ἐκάστοτε, "respectively."

d 8. The fitness of an φῶνη for a male or female singer depends mainly upon its subject matter and language; therefore we may suppose φῶς to be used here for what we should call "the words of the song," "the poetry." Cp. below 835 a 7 ff. οἷα δὲ ἐκαστα αὐτῶν εἶναι δὲι κατὰ λόγον καὶ κατ᾿ ὃδας καὶ καθ᾿ ἀρμονίας ῥυθμοῖς κραθεῖσας καὶ ὀρχήσεως πολλάκις εἴρηται; cp. also 669 c 8 and Rep. 398 d 1.


e 3. (ὅλη) ἀρμονίᾳ ἀπάδευν would refer to an incongruity between the subject and the whole style of the tune; ῥυθμῷ ἀρρυθμεῖν to incongruity between the metre of the song and the movement of the music. (The datives are governed by the verbs, and not, as Jowett, by δεινῶν.) On this difficult subject it would be well to compare, among other passages, 669 c ff. above.—O2's correction of the MS. ἐπάδευν to ἀπάδευν is manifestly right.—μηδὲν προσήκοντα τούτων ἐκάστοις ἀποδιδόντα τοῖς μέλεσιν: we may represent the extremely loose connexion of this clause with what precedes by translating it "which would result if the (authority) assigned to the songs (μέλεσι) what is quite unsuitable in all these points (of tune, mode, pitch, and movement)."

e 5. Ritter (p. 193) is probably right in giving to σχῆματα here not a technical musical sense, but the general one, which would make it a variety of the τύπῳ ταύτη of e 1. In both instances a rough, general, definition is contrasted with the more particular description implied in διασαφεῖν at e 8 (see Ritter's note, and Stallb. on 803 e 5)—καὶ τούτων: i.e. the kinds of ἀρμονία and ῥυθμός (as well as the kinds of φῶς suitable to either sex).—ἐστὶν δὲ . . . διασαφεῖν: Burnet's discovery that ἀνάγκη (so Cod. Voss.), which Schneider conjectured, is really the reading of Α, puts out of court all emendations of this difficult passage which assume the reading ἀνάγκη. I think ἀμφιστέρου (neut.)—cp. τὰ τῶν θηλειῶν—is not "both sexes," but "the songs proper to both sexes"; and
that α'τρο το διαφέροντι bears the same relation to a supplied κατεχόμενα that ανάγκη does to the κατεχόμενα in e 6. So far we may translate: “it is quite possible to provide both (kinds of φόνε) with both the tune and the rhythm which musical necessity determines; but the share of the women is determined by the actual (α'τρο) difference in nature of each of the two sexes.” But, however much we may struggle, we cannot fit in with this the following words as they stand. Most editors rightly put a comma after διαφέροντι (Schneider and Wagner omit the comma, and take τούτο with the previous α'τρο το διαφέροντι). I would suggest that a δε has dropped out before δει, and that the comma should be replaced by a colon. The selection of tune and rhythm, being a matter for musical experts, may be left to them: the difference between men’s and women’s songs depends on a difference in nature between the sexes, which everybody can observe, “that is the principle on which our actual distinction must rest.”

e 10. κόσμιον καὶ σώφρον: cp. Gorg. 508 a καὶ κοσμίωτητα καὶ σωφροσύνην.—θηλυγενέστερον ὡς οἷς οὐ παραδοτέον ἐν τε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ: if παραδοτέον is sound, it must mean “hand it down” (as a matter of law and theory alike) that it is of a feminine character. The coupling of διδασκαλία and παράδοσις in the next line points to this interpretation of παραδοτέον. Ficinus translates “feminis esse accommodatius, et disputatione asseverandum, et legibus sanciendum.” Schneider “ut feminine magis, cum lege, tum oratione perhibendum est.” (Is it possible that Plato wrote παραδεικτέον?)

e 11. τὰξις μὲν δὴ τις α'τη: like the ταύτα μὲν οὖν δὴ ταύτα with which Bk. III. begins, this formula announces the conclusion of a subject—here that of the state regulation of musical education which has been under consideration since 798 e 4. τὰξις was thus used at 799 e 3, and is used again in a similar sense at 807 d 6. The τις marks the regulation as general—details are not to be expected here.

803 a 1. διδασκαλία καὶ παράδοσις form a hendiadys, “the way in which instruction in these (musical) subjects is to be conveyed.”

a 2. λεγέσθω τὸ μετὰ τούτο: he does not mean that he is going to discuss methods of teaching; only that directions on the subject ought to be drawn up by the proper authorities to accompany the legislation just described. So below at 804 c 7 νῦν εἰρήσθω τῷ λόγῳ is used of matter which the Athenian does not
mean to deal with, though he says "that is the place for it." (Ritter, pp. 194 and 205, says that the subject of 802 c is resumed at 804 c 2, after the "digression" which follows. But the meagre directions there given, as to the situation of school buildings and playgrounds, as to the residence of the teachers, and the equality of the education of the two sexes, have nothing to do with "methods of instruction," the choice of pupils (οἰς τωσιν—cp. also 804 b 1), and the school time-table.)

a 3. ὄνον δή κτλ.: the asyndeton marks this sentence as an explanation of the omission of the details just referred to. What he is trying to do is to determine the main lines which education is to follow. The key to the interpretation of the following simile is, I think, the perception that διαστήσασθαι has not quite its usual meaning of "separate into different classes," but is "set forth in their distinguishing points." The object of the shipwright in the simile is not to make a lot of differently shaped boats for different purposes, but to find the best shape and proportions for a ship in general. τὰ τῶν βίων . . . ψυχῶν then means "I am trying to set before you outlines of lives as fixed by types of character." As Ritter says (p. 195), the τρόποι τῶν ψυχῶν are not characteristics which already exist, but characteristics which are to be produced by the sort of life which men are to be made to lead.—τῆν . . . ἀρχήν: an adverbial acc. in apposition to the sentence (not, as Ast says, in apposition to τροποιδεία)—"by way of beginning his ship-building."

a 6. It is not to be denied that, as Stallb. and Peipers say, the sentence seems to gain by the rejection of δρᾶν; ταύτων would then be adverbial—"in like manner." Apelt, however (p. 13), well defends δρᾶν by a comparison of Gorg. 479 b, where καθοράν and ἔχειν are epexegetic to τοιείν, as καταβάλλειςθαι is here to δρᾶν. No one has proposed to reject τοιείν there, and to take τοιούτων τω, adverbially.

a 7. ὤντως: by this word he indicates that there must be a special significance in the similarity of the sounds of the words τρόποι and τροποιδεία—"I am really laying (life's) τροποιδεία, for I am settling what our proper τρόποι are to be on the voyage of life."

b 3. If σκοπεῖν is sound, we must not, with Ast, say it stands for ὁστε σκοπείν, for ὁστε is not final, as he makes it—"ad considerandum"; it must be connected by a very awkward asyndeton with καταβάλλειςθαι: I think Peipers (p. 79) is right in altering it to σκοπῶν; "passim confunduntur infinitiva et
participia,” Boeckh (on 643 e), who at 954 a 6 rightly alters ἐλπίζων to ἐλπίζειν.

b 3 ff. The use of the first person in διακομοσθησόμεθα prepares us a little for the moralizings on human destiny which follow. The author ceases for the time to be the director of others, and takes his place among the travellers on the “voyage of life.” “What,” he asks, “is the business of life?—There is no need to be in deadly earnest about anything, especially as men are prone to be in earnest about the wrong things.” As Shakespeare says (Measure for Measure ii. ii. 117)—

Man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he’s most assured, ...
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep.

b 4 ff. μεγάλης μὲν σπουδῆς οὐκ ἄξια: cp. Rep. 604 b ὡς ... οὔτε τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἄξιον ὑπ’ μεγάλης σπουδῆς. Cp. also Rep. 486 a 8, quoted by Marcus Aurelius vii. 35.—ἀναγκαῖον γε μὴν σπουδάζειν: τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ εὐτυχές. ... ἀν εἴη. “For all that we cannot help caring; that’s the pity of it. Being here, however, it is meet that we should try to care properly.”—διὰ προσήκοντος τινος, “through a proper medium,” “with a proper object.”—αὐτὸ πράττομεν: i.e. σπουδάζομεν.

b 7 ff. “You may well ask,” he says, “what I mean by that.”

c 3. μακαρίον, “beneficent.” The dictionaries, and all interpreters but Schneider, make this fem.—the only instance; similar isolated instances are μέτριον at Tim. 59 d, and the fem. σωτηρίαν at Rep. 465 d. (Schneider translates “omni seria beati cura esse dignum.”)

c 4. ἐμπροσθεν: at 644 d 8.

c 5. Probably εἶναι μεμηχανημένον stands for μεμηχανησθαι—“has been constructed as a plaything for God.”—καὶ ὄντως ... γεγονέναι: i.e. “the fact that man gives God pleasure is the noblest thing about him.”

c 6. τοῦτο δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ συνεπόμενον κτλ., “human beings, therefore, must accept this rôle, and make their diversions as perfect as possible” (παίζοντα ὅτι καλλίστας παιδίας).

d 2 ff. The true relation between war and peace, here under discussion, goes back to the discussion started at the beginning of Bk. I. (625 e 5). People, he says, must turn their notions upside down; must (on some points) think the opposite of what they do now. At first sight it looks as if he were going to say, “instead
of working in order to be able to play, men ought to play in order to be able to work”—and this is Aristotle’s practical—and rather shallow?—conclusion in the passage (Eth. N. 1176 b 28 ff.) in which he is clearly criticizing Plato’s words here. But when we come to the statement of what men ought to do, it is that they ought to think play itself the important thing, and not any object that may be secured by it; “what (e.g.) everybody has got to do is to make the part of his life spent in peace as long and as perfect as possible,” and not to devote his chief energies to war, in order to secure peace. παιδεία—which includes all Art—he hints, is the true παιδεία, because it develops our highest possibilities (cp. below 804 b 2 κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς φύσεως διαβιώσονται). Put into modern dress, it is as if he had said that Religion and Art should have more to say in education than professional requirements—perhaps, that Classics, even Latin verses, are better for boys and girls than Chemistry and Hygiene. (We may imagine that Plato’s special bète noire would have been a man who plays games for money.)—We may possibly translate (νῦν μέν . . . τιθεσθαι), “now they seem to think that the importance of ‘work’ is that it leads to ‘play.’ For instance (γάρ), they think that war is the important thing, and that it must be properly conducted in order to secure peace.”

d 4. τὸ δ’ : Heindorf on Theaet. 157 b 3 first restored this for the MS. (?) τόδ’.

d 5. ἤν: the “philosophic” imperfect; “was after all,” i.e. “is really.”—πεφυκών, “real.” (Ast “that has been,” and so links it with οἷς and ἐσομένη.)

d 6. Burnet rightly adopts Hermann’s δ for the MS. τό—“and it is just the diversion (and consequent edification) which I say really matters.” (Stallb. would put a full stop after ἐσομένη and proposes τόδε for τό.)

e 1. τινὰς δή, “quasdam”; an unusual and probably poetical variety of δή τινας (Phaedo 107 d 7, 108 c 1, 115 d 4). Op. below, 861 d 6 τινὶ δὴ ποτὲ, Eur. I.T. 946 ἐκ τοῦ δη χερῶν μιᾶςματος, Soph. Ant. 158 τινὰ δὴ μῆτιν (where Jebb writes τίνα δή). (Others here write τίνας δή . . . ; and Winkelmann would make two questions by inserting τί before παίζοντα; Ast would insert ὅ before παίζοντα, and make the τίς, τίνας and ὅποια (in e 4) dependent on εἰρηταί.)

e 2. θίόντα καὶ ἀδόντα καὶ ὄρχοιμενον: clearly, any sort of “display” is to be of the nature of a religious function.

e 3. δυνατὸν εἶναι: possibly a scribe’s addition.
e 4. νυκάν μαχόμενον: not by the favour of a placated deity, but as the natural result of a correct education which fully develops the bodily among other powers; cp. below, 942 d e ff.—οποία δὲ ζηδών: the general directions (το τών τύπων; cp. on τύπω τυνί at 802 e 1) already given, and the main lines already indicated in the matter of literature will suffice, especially as we may hope that Heaven’s inspiration will, as Homer’s words here quoted suggest, supplement our endeavours.—αμφότερα ταῦτα: i.e. please Heaven, and win victories.

e 6. For προσδοκώντα, “reckon,” cp. on 795 c 3.

804 a 4. τροφίμους: this word is evidently suggested by the τραφέμεν. It is passive, and a subst., as at Rep. 520 d and Politicus 272 b; at 845 d below it is active, and an adj.

b 1. οἴστωσι τε καὶ ὀπότε: a phrase similar to that used at 803 a 2.

b 2 f. The κατὸ τῶν τρόπων τῆς φύσεως, and the θαύματα ὀντες repeat and emphasize the doctrine of 803 c 5 f.—τὸ πολὺ is probably “for most of their time.” What follows—σμικρὰ δὲ ἀληθείας ὀττα μετέχοντες—certainly seems to mean “though they now and then get a glimpse of the truth.” The exceptional enlightenment is of the nature of the divine inspiration referred to in the Homeric quotation. Ritter well recalls 730 c 1 ἀλήθεια δὴ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοὺς ἥγεται, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπως. We may recall also, in connexion with what follows, the view, expressed at 709 b 7 ff., as to the very small part which human skill can expect to play in comparison with the greater forces at work in the world.

b 8. καὶ παθῶν: it is generally supposed that παθῶν is used absolutely here. The instances cited by Stallb. of ὁ παθὼν for “the sufferer,” or “the person affected,” do not help us, for it is in those cases always clear what the person is injured or affected by; whereas here it is not. It is generally supposed to mean “stirred by the vision,” “eaque re affectus” (Stallb.), “von diesem Eindruck überwältigt.” (Wagner). But for such a meaning we should require a much more significant word than παθῶν—such e.g. as τεθητικός. I would suggest that after all παθῶν is not absolute, but is meant to govern ὁπερ ἐιρήκα νῦν; “when I spoke, I had a vision of the Divinity, and I felt in his presence like one of the puppets I have just mentioned.” (Prof. Burnet agrees; to him I owe the suggestion that, by a slight zeugma (in the use of πρόσ), πρόσ τῶν θεῶν goes with παθῶν as well as with ἀπωδών; this I have rendered by inserting “in his presence.”) (Apelt would emend παθῶν to ποθῶν, with a reminder of Socrates’s expressed
longing παρὰ θεοῦς ἡκειν, Phaedo 63 b.—ἐστω δ' οὖν κτλ.:
this, taken with the preceding words, amounts to an admission
that the sudden overpowering sense of the greatness of God
and the nothingness of man has led the speaker into exaggera-
tion. At all events it is no good trying to explain his thoughts
to the commonplace Megillus.—I. Bruns (p. 97 ff.) declares
that the contradiction between the pessimism of this passage and
644 d ff. on the one side, and the strenuous earnestness of the
directions for the conduct of life at 807 c f, and the religious
view of life taken at 903 b–c and neighbouring passages, on
the other, stamps our present passage as non-Platonic. This is
as if we were to be told that the Prospero who said “we are such
stuff as dreams are made of” could not be the same Prospero who
was “all dedicated to closeness and the bettering of (his) mind,” or
who boasted to Ferdinand of his daughter’s perfections. (Bruns,
accepting the tradition that Philip of Opus was not only the editor
of the Laws, but also the author of the Epinomis, finds in passages
of the Epinomis—e.g. 980 b, 992 b, which express similar thoughts
in similar language—the proof that 644 b and 803 a–804 b are
Philip’s, not Plato’s. It is difficult to see why Plato should have
inserted such a digression here; but it is far more difficult to see
why an “editor” should have done so.)

c 2. τὸ δ’ ἐξῆς τοῦτοις: τοῦτοις is the subject dealt with just
before the digression; i.e. the τάξις of 802 e 11.—ἐρημταῖ: this
is a mistake. Such buildings and such “playgrounds” have been
mentioned or implied—e.g. at 764 c, 779 d, and 794 e—but nothing
has been said about their distribution and arrangement. The
words εἰ δ’ ἀρα μὴ τότε ἰκανὸς ἐρρήθησαν show that the author
has become conscious of the mistake.

c 7. νῦν εἰρήσθω τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ νόμον: see note on λεγέσθω at
803 a 2. For the succeeding words cp. παραδοτέων (? παραδεικτέων)
ἐν τε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ. λόγῳ does not at either place mean (as
Schneider, Wagner, and Jowett take it here) “our present con-
versation”; it means that, when the law is enunciated, it should
be supported by a reasoned explanation.

c 8. ἐν τοῦτοις goes with οἰκούντας.—The absence of the δεῖ,
which Eusebius has before διδασκάλους, may be due to haplography,
but it is more likely that Eusebius added it to the text to make
the construction clear.—ἐκάστων, “of each separate subject.”—
πεπεισμένους μισθοῖς: it is implied that the state was to find the
funds for paying the teachers; cp. below 813 e 4 where this is
stated definitely.

274
NOTES TO BOOK VII

804 d

1. οἰκούντας ξένους: possibly “living as guests,” i.e. “not at their own charges”; but more probably ξένους has its ordinary meaning of foreigners. It is strange, but he seems to lay it down that teachers, like artificers, are to come from other cities. The second hand in A, Cod. Voss., and a commentator on Eusebius conjectured that οἰκούντας was a mistake for οὔκ οὖντας; but it would be equally strange that teachers from other cities should be excluded. (It is unnecessary to suppose, with Ast, that τε is a mistake for δεί; the slight displacement of a τε is very common.)

3. οὖν μὲν ἂν, and οὖν δ’ ἂν μὴ continue and amplify φοιτώντας.

4. πάντ’ ἀνδρα καὶ παῖδα: a proverbial expression like our “every mother’s son”; cp. Euthyd. 307 c τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο, αὐτός τε καὶ τὰ παιδία; Ritter (p. 408) well cps. πατρὶ μη’ αὐτῷ at 810 a 2.

5. ὃς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν γεννητόρων οὖντας, παιδευ-τέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης: in advocating free compulsory state education Plato was far ahead of his time. The weighty principle on which he here defends it was doubtless excogitated by himself alone, but it is a question whether the recommendation itself was original with Plato. Boeckh and Bekker question Diodorus’s statement (xii. 12) that Charondas ἐνομοθέτησε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς νείς ἀπάντας μανθάνειν γράμματα χορηγοῦσι τῆς πόλεως τοὺς μαθηθοὺς τοῖς διδασκάλιοις; Hermann accepts it to a certain extent. Cp. Bekker, Charicles, ii. p. 25. Stallb. says that, acc. to Dion Cassius lxxi. (ii. p. 1199 ed. Reimar), Marcus Aurelius was the first to provide education at public cost. Ritter well cps. 923 a b ff. In the Crito (p. 50 d) Plato says that the laws told fathers to educate their sons, but we hear of no machinery of compulsion at Athens.

6. The δε δη (iam vero, “mind you”), and the three καὶ’s add emphasis to this pronouncement. Probably the τὰ αὐτά is to be taken adverbially, “in the same manner”; cp. 686 a 7, 751 d 3, 830 d 2, 873 a 3. (Before Burnet editors put a comma after πάντα as well as after ἀφρέων.)

2. οὐδὲν φοβηθεῖς . . . οὔτε ἵππεις οὔτε γυμναστικῆς: lit. “with no fear about any part of horsemanship or gymnastics (that it is going to be unbecoming).” The genitives depend on οὐδὲν (so at Rep. 367 d τοῦτ’ οὖν αὐτὸ ἐπαίνεσον δικαίοσύνης, δικ. depends on τοῦτο); πρέπον agrees quite normally with οὐδέν. (For a different account of the genitives cp. Riddell, Digest § 26. Thompson on Meno 96 a seems to take the same view as I do. Stallb. makes the genitives depend on τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, which, again, he takes
to be governed, not by εἴπουσιν ἀν, but by φοβηθεῖς—ὡς οὐκ ἂν εἴη being an explanation of λόγον.)


e 4. μεν . . . δὲ: there are two pairs of contrasted statements here suggested: (1) “there were women who rode and shot in the past, and there are such now,” and (2) “I have trustworthy tradition of the past, and knowledge of the present.” These contrasts are not fully expressed; we have only the first half of (2) and the second half of (1).

e 5. ὡς ἐπος εἴπειν is best taken as a qualification of μυριάδες ἀναριθμητοί—“what you may call a countless number”—for which Stallb. cps. Theaet. 175a and Aristoph. Vesp. 1010. (Interpreters generally take it with οἴδα, but the qualification is so very common with a numerical expression as to form a natural bond with it.

805 a 1f. αἰς . . . ἄσκειται: the construction is, “among whom familiarity with . . . weapons, having been enjoined upon them to just the same extent as upon men, is cultivated to the same extent”—For κοινωνία ὀπλῶν cp. Eur. H. F. 1377 λυγραὶ δὲ τῶν ὀπλῶν κοινωνίαι.

a 4. φημὶ κτλ., “I maintain that, if results such as these can be obtained, it is the height of folly . . . for men and women not to fall into line and engage in the same pursuits with all their might. What actually happens now is that, with the same expenditure, and the same effort, almost every state turns out, as near as may be, the half of what it might have been—a strange blunder, surely, for a lawgiver to make!”—οὗτως in a 8 is “as it is now” under the foolish régime just described. One way or other the women cost as much to keep, whether they do what we may call public work or not; also, seeing that we have to pay teachers for the boys, it would not cost much more if the girls learnt with them. On the other hand, if the women fed at συσσιτία, the expense would be less than that of separate home meals. ἐκ is “on an expenditure of.” (F.H.D. thinks ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τελῶν is “on the basis of the same tax-contributions.”) (Stallb. curiously understands the words ἡμ. . . . τόνων to mean (that the resulting state is half as great as it would have been) “as the result of not incurring the same expense and trouble (over again),” “per eadem tributa et exercitia neglecta (sive intermissa).” He cps. Homer’s εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέρφεται at A 65, and Euripides’s τὴν ἡμέραν ἐμέμψθη Ἡήρ. 1402. Apelt translates τελῶν by Ziele, and would read ἐναντίων for αὐτῶν—
“Instead of the double efficiency (which would result from) the opposite aims and endeavours.”}

b 3–c 1. The whole of this paragraph is spoken by Cleinias, but it is easy to see why the early editions gave more or less of the middle of it to the Athenian. Cl. says at the end that something the Ath. has said makes him rebuke himself for having said what he did at the beginning. Ficinus appears to have omitted εἰπὼν, to have read πάντα for ἐώςαυε, and to have changed δείν to δεί. This provides just what seemed to be wanted in the form of a speech of the Athenian’s. The first four printed edd. made the Ath. begin at ἔστι μέντοι, but kept the MS. εἰπὼν and δείν. Both they and Fic. made Cl. begin again at μάλα. Schneider first restored the whole speech to Cleinias, Wagner keeps the MS. readings, but gives ἄλλα γὰρ ... δείν to the Ath., supposing Cl. to have interrupted him and finished his sentence for him with the words μάλα εἰπές τε κτλ. This is ingenious, but εἰπές would not even then refer to something the Ath. had just said. Cleinias means, I think, “the memory of what you said once so reasonably makes me repent my words.”—A further difficulty occurs when we ask what previous words of the Ath. are here referred to? I think the answer is that Plato is here thinking of the statement, made at 739 a 7 ff., that the really right course is to explain what is best in theory, and what is second best, and third best, and to leave the practical statesman to choose between them. (Adam, on Rep. 484, thinks the reference is to 799 e 5.) Cp. also Cl.’s own words at 702 d ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἑκλέξαντες τῷ λόγῳ συντηρῶμεθα πόλιν. (Herm. and Zürr. follow Cornarius, Steph., and Ast in reading εἰπον for εἰπὼν and giving ἄλλα ... δείν to the Ath.)

b 5. A has doubtless preserved in διεξέλθειν the true reading. The noun διέξοδος is used for the course of a statement or argument. Cp. Critias 109 a ἡ τοῦ λόγου διέξοδος ... δηλώσει, and though λόγῳ διεξέλθειν, and λόγον of λόγους διεξέλθειν are more common, the verb is used intransitively of the proceeding or development of an argument; e.g. Rep. 484 a (Adam’s note).—The varying of the verb later in the sentence is quite in Plato’s style.

c 4. τῷ λόγῳ: λόγος is doctrine here, as at 804 e 2. The regular antithesis between λόγῳ and ἔργῳ accounts for his calling λόγῳ what he speaks of as τοῦτον τὸν νόμον in the next line.—It is to be noticed that it is only against the possibility of training women to do the same things as men that he imagines any argument would be brought. It was the same with the argument...
at 794 d about the training of the left hand. In each case it
must, he thinks, be folly to leave a half of the powers of man or
state untrained.—It would be interesting to know what Plato
would have said if his interlocutor had quoted against him the
words πλέον ἡμῶν παντός (cp. above 690 e 2 ff.).

c 5. ἀλλο τι παυν ἡγητέεν: not “he must look for some other
argument,” but “he must try to oppose the enacting of the law by
some other means than by arguing against it.” The phrase ἀλλο
ti ἡγητέεν was probably almost proverbial for “to give it up,” “to
try some other way.”

c 6. ἐν τούτοις with ἀποσβήσεται, “will not be choked off by
such means.” For this use of ἐν cp. above 660 a 4 ὁ ὀρθὸς νομο-
θέτης ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ ἑπιλέγοντος πείσει. (Wagner takes
ἐν τούτοις with διακέλευμα: “unsere Vorschriift aber hierin wird
nicht aufhören zu behaupten.”)

d 4. τάξιν, “Lebensordnung” (Wagner). The word is used in
exactly the same sense below at 807 d 6.

d 6. ἁποδεευγενένων (sc. τάξεων) is “established.” κοινωνίας
goes with ξημ προσθεν θέιμεν.

d 8. ἦν: at 785 b 7 and 868 b 7 we have ἦν χρείαν χρησθαι,
but it would be hard to find an instance like the present, where
another noun (τάξιν) has to be supplied with ἦν.

e 1. The infinitives are (conversationally) epexegetical of ἦν
(τάξιν).

e 4. εἰς τινα μίαν οἰκησιν κτλ., “we pack all our goods under
a single roof, as the saying is, and make our women purveyors
and head weavers and spinners.” In other words, “we in our
parts do not, like the Thracians, make our women do slave work
in the fields, but we confine them to the house, while giving them
there as ample a field of action as our means will allow.” The
proverbial saying, which seems to have much the same sense as
our “put all your eggs in one basket,” “venture all your goods
in one bottom,” is not used here with its own special significance,
but only because it is a familiar expression.

e 7. τὸ τούτων . . διὰ μέσον: the life of a Spartan woman
comes half-way between that of the barbarian, and that of the
non-Doric Greek in this respect; it is neither an entirely out-
489 c καὶ οὕτω φῶσιν, “and (if) these men bid.”

806 a 3. I think Ast is right in substituting δη τινα (cp.
above on 803 e 1) for the δῆ τινα of the MSS.—ἀσκητικόν, to
which Ritter takes exception, does not seem out of place, but I
think it means "cultured" rather than "laborious" (L. & S.).
Modified by δὴ τῶν it is "a life that is to some extent the result of training," "vitam solertiorem quamdam" Fic. The Spartan woman is, by the training she had as a girl, made capable of something more than mere household duties, though here again, the Ath. goes on to say, the process stops half-way: she has some share in home tasks, although she is not expected to work with her hands at spinning; and she does not put her athletic training to its legitimate use, and drill as a soldier.

a 4. διαπλέκειν: the metaphor suggested by the word is natural to the description of a life of varied interests. (Jowett can hardly be right in suggesting a contrast between "not spinning," but "weaving the web of life")—θεραπείας: a Greek wife was expected to be able to cook, also to tend the sick; Rep. 455 c τὴν τῶν ποτάνων τε καὶ ἐψημάτων θεραπείαν, Xen. Oec. 7. 37 ὅσ ἀν κάμη τῶν οἰκετῶν τούτων σοι ἐπιμελητέον πάντων ὅπως θεραπεύηταί. (Or does θεραπεία here stand for the super-intendence and provision of the "service" of the establishment?)—The genitives with εἰς τῆς μέσων ἀφικνεώνθαι are the same as that with πόρρω joined to a verb of motion; cp. 660 c 7 πόρρω προβεβηκότα ἄμαρτιας.

a 6. εἰ τίς ποτε ... ἀναγκαῖα τόχη γίγνοτο: no doubt Plato, when he professes to imagine a case in which Spartan women might help their country by merely looking like soldiers, is thinking of the occurrence referred to by Aristotle, Pol. 1269 b 37 when the Spartan women, after the battle of Leuctra, instead of being any help in a hostile irruption, θὸρυβον παρείχον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων. Cpr. also Xen. Hell. vi. 5. 28, Plut. Vit. Agesilai ch. 31, Grote ch. 78.

a 6 ff. ὡστε ... (οὐκ) ἀν ... δυνάμεναι stands by a conversational anacoluthon for ὡστε οὐκ ἀν δύνασθαι; cp. Tim. 56 b σμικρὰ οὕτως ὅσ ... οὐδὲν ὅρωμεν.—The earlier editors and Herm. and Zürr. are wrong in putting a (,) or a colon after ἀφικνεώθαι, for the acc. κοινονοῦσα belongs in construction to the previous infinitive.

b 1. μετὰ τέχνης: i.e. "like an expert."

b 3. ὡς stands for ὡστε and is followed by the regular acc. c. inf. construction.

b 4. The second hand in O has preserved the true reading in substituting γε for the δὲ of A and O.

b 5. Σαυρομάτειας δὲ μυκήσασθαι: to "copy Athene" the Spartan women would only have had to stand with shield and
spear and look like warriors; to copy the Sarmatian Amazons they would have had to be able to use the weapons.

b 7. παρὰ γυναῖκας αὐτάς, “as compared with ordinary women.”—ἐκείνων is the Spartans.

c 1. ταύτ᾽: adverbial, “on this account.”

c 2. τὸ δ᾽ ἐμὸν ὅν ἄλλως ἄν λέξθει: i.e. “I abide by what I said before”—that the lawgiver ought not to stop half-way. There is no need to change δεῖν to δεῖ with Stallb.; γάρ here is “I mean,” “that is to say.”

c 3. Schneider has doubtless recovered the original reading in writing διήμουν. The first hand of A may even have meant to write it so: οὐδὲ stands at the end of one line, and ἴμουν begins the next. The breathing may have been a careless addition of his own correcting hand. L and O have οὐ δὲ ἴμουν. (Stallb., followed by Herm., conjectured οὐχὶ ἴμουν, though he printed Schäfer’s οὐχ ἴμουν in 1850, and defends it in his note.) Three inferior MSS. have actually οὐδ’ ἴμι συνδείν.—In c 6 ἴμουν . . . καταλείπειν is epexegetical of διήμουν εἶναι.

c 4. διαίταις χρώμενον is equivalent to διωτώμενον (Herm.), and the MS. ἀτάκτως is undoubtedly right as against the early correction ἀτάκτοις (Ald. ἀτάκταις).

c 6. εὐδαιμῶν βίος is almost “resources”; like the Lat. beatus, and our word fortune, εὐδαιμῶν came to connote wealth.

c 9. καταδραμεῖν: probably both in Greek and English the meaning disparage for “run down” is an outgrowth of the use of the word as a hunting term, though in English the sense “to sink” (a ship) seems an earlier one.

d 1. ἐστέον: abs., “we must give him a free hand.”

d 7. τὸς δὴ τρόπος . . . τοῦ βίου; this question, which is further explained below at 807 a, and answered at 807 c, brings us back to the main subject of the book. “What,” he asks, “is the proper occupation for men who are not forced to do anything?” The answer is that the Education of the body and mind does not cease with boyhood, or even youth, but is more than enough to occupy a man’s whole time and energy through the whole of his life.

e 2–807 a 3. This description of the common mess-arrangements seems rather out of proportion in the description of the condition of perfect leisure. The detail was introduced partly, perhaps, to give us a realistic picture of a feature in the life; partly because for the women it was of vital importance—otherwise they would have all their time occupied with household affairs.
NOTES TO BOOK VII

3. ἔγγος δ’ ἐχόμενα: this might mean "at neighbouring tables," or, more probably, "in a neighbouring hall." We may conclude from 794 a ff. that both boys and girls under six were still in the hands of nurses. Boys over six would probably mess with the men.

5. λύειν: each table, we may suppose, would have a president; otherwise the supervision here described could hardly be efficient. Whether each of the presidents would be severally entrusted with the duty of "dismissing the table," as the old English phrase has it, or whether the sing, τὸν ἄρχοντα at 807 a 1 is a hint that the "grace after meat" was directed or started by one official for the whole hall, we are left to guess. (F.H.D. thinks λύειν may here be used in the sense of pay for, find the money for.)

7. All editors but Schneider now adopt Schulthess's emendation of the MS. συνοστίων to συνοστῶν, giving to διαγωγή the unusual meaning of "behaviour"; with Schneider διαγωγή means "management." The mistake was an easy one for a scribe to make, and συνοστίων would be very awkward after the συνοστία in the previous line.—L and some inferior MSS. actually have the nonsensical ταύτας πείσαντας, and the scribe of O thinks it worth while to give πεισόντας as a var. lect.

807 a. 2. κατὰ ταύτα oūtos, "in due course and order"; an amplification of a simple κατὰ ταύτα, in which the oūtōs is like that in ἄπλως oūtōs.

3. τοὶς ταύτη κεκοσμιμένους, "for men equipped with these advantages."

4. It looks as if all imperative duties had been cleared out of the way. Plato soon shows, however, what a mistake this is.

5. ἐν τρόπῳ: this unusual and more elaborate form of expression, if genuine, is perhaps chosen with reference to the previous use of τρόπος in the question τίς ὁ τρόπος ... τοῦ βίου; Cp. Ep. vii. 331 b 2 ἐν τινὶ τρόπῳ. Plato uses ἐν δίκη more often than the simple δίκη. Badham ingeniously suggests ἀλλ’ ἡ τρόπῳ β. ἐκ. πτ. αὐτῶν διαζήν.

6. τὸ γε: the τὸ is demonstrative; cp. above 684 b 5, and Euthydemus 291 a 2 (where, however, Burnet accepts Bernhardt's τὸδε γε for the τὸ γε or τὸδε of the MSS.).

7. ἀτυχήσαι τοῦ προσήκοντος: with a grim reference to the question above, whether there was no "manifest destiny"—παντά-πασι προσήκον—left. The man may try to avoid his duty, but he cannot escape his fate.

1. ἄργῳ καὶ ῥαθὺμως καταπεπισμένῳ ὥφ: these scathing
words suggest, as Ritter says, Glaucus's contemptuous ὑόν πόλις at Rep. 372d.—The καταπεπισεμένῳ of A and O is almost as exactly the wrong word here as the impossible τετραφωμένων of AL and O is in the next line. L has preserved the right reading in the former case, and Cod. Riccardianus 67 in the latter.

b 2 f. τῶν . . . πόνων, “one of the lean creatures who are worn to the bone thanks to their vigorous exertions” (cp. 654 e 10 ἀνδρικῆς ψυχῆς ἐν πόνοις ἐκοιμένης). μετὰ is here used in a quasi-instrumental sense. Cp. above 720 d 7 μετὰ πειθόου ἠμερούμενον, Theaet. 180 e 8 μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τοῖς πολλοῖς, Tim. 28 a τὸ μὲν δὴ νοῆσαι μετὰ λόγου περιληπτόν, τὸ δὲ αὖ δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἄλογον δοξαστόν. The contrast suggests that between the sans-culotte, and the noble of the ancien régime.

b 3 f. ταῦτα . . . γένοιτο: the first difficulty here is, what is ταῦτα? Certainly not the state of things last mentioned, which was the growing fat and being slaughtered like a beast; ταῦτα must be either the state of leisure described above (d 8—c 3 οὖν . . . τοπερενθεαί), or the proper employment of that leisure, i.e. the ideal τρόπος βίου. Prof. H. J., who has sent me valuable notes on this passage, takes it in the latter sense, and he gets round the extremely difficult ὃς καὶ νῦν, εἰ κτητοίμεν ἄν by accepting Badham's ννί for νῦν, εἰ, translating “on the lines of our present proposed inquiry.” Though in doubt, I certainly have nothing better to suggest than this. (Badham would also read κτητοίμεν ἄν for κτητοίμεν ἄν, and holds that a large passage has been lost before ταῦτα.) For the ideal and the second best see above, 739.

b 6. ἀπαντή in Steph.'s correction of the MS. ἀπάντη.

b 7. τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα: these words can hardly mean anything but (that the description) “just given”—more particularly of the συνορία arrangements—is of the “second best” kind. This assumption is borne out by the fact that at 806 c 3 one's “own belongings” are expressly mentioned.

c 1 ff. ἐργον . . . ὀρθότατα: this answer is in form an echo of the question at a 3 ff.; λειτεροσθαί corresponds to λειτομενόν ἐστι, and ἐργον has two attributes in both sentences. The first quasi-answer to the question (that at a 5 ff.) was pronounced οὐ δίκαιον, the present one on the contrary is an ordinance of a δίκαιος νόμος.

c 2. οὖν: i.e. in the possession of ample leisure.

c 3. εἴναι προστεταγμένον: i.e. προστετάχθαι.

c 7 ff. ὁ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος πάντως καὶ ψυχῆς εἰς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν βίος εἰρημένος ὀρθότατα: so the MSS. The insuperable difficulty here is that ἐπιμέλειαν has two prepositions, περὶ and εἰς
Ast obviates this difficulty by reading εἰς ἀρετήν, Stallb. by omitting εἰς (which may possibly have been due to the preceding -ης). Prof. H. J. prefers the latter emendation, while pointing out that ἢε εἰς ἀρετήν is right, τοῦ σώματος πάντως must balance against εἰς ἀρετήν—"of the body in all respects, and of the soul in respect of virtue." With εἰς ἀρετήν ἐπιμέλειαν we may compare μείζονι πρὸς ἀρετήν at 757 c 4. (F.H.D. ingeniously suggests that perhaps after ψυχῆς we ought (in sense) to supply νίκην to go with τὴν from νίκης in c 6.)

**c 8. εἰρημένος ὀρθότατα** I take with βίος alone. The different βίων σχήματα were alluded to at 803 a 6; this one is the only real βίος: cp. Phil. 62 c 3 εἶπερ γε ἡμῶν ὁ βίος ἐσται καὶ ὑπωσοῦν ποτε βίος. (There is no MS. authority for the early vulgate ὑρμένος.)—With a doubtful preference for Ast's εἰς ἀρετήν, I would translate the whole passage (c 1 ff.): "No; we hold that for those who live in this fashion there does remain no small or insignificant occupation: on the contrary we assert that, by a just ordinance, the most important occupation possible has been assigned to them. Compared with the life which yearns for Pythian or Olympian victory—a life which is a complete bar to all other activities—doubly and much more than doubly a bar to them is that real life which is devoted to the cultivation of the body in all respects and of the soul in virtue." The general sense of the comparison is clear; the athlete neglects everything for the perfection of his body. How much more than double must be the absorption necessary for a pursuit which aims at perfecting the far more important and complicated mind as well! "I hold that the value of life is to improve one's condition." Abraham Lincoln at Cincinnati 13th Feb. 1861.

**d 1. τάρεργον οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων:** i.e. "no task which does not conduce to this object"; lit. "no side-work out of the (many) other works."—Ast rightly says that διακόλυμα εἰς ἀπόδοσιν is equivalent to διακόλυμα τοῦ ἀποδίδοναι, and that we must supply εἰς ἀπόδοσιν with (τῶν) ψυχῆς (προσήκοντων) μαθημάτων τε καὶ ἐθίνων in d 3.

**d 4 f. οὐκ ἐστὶν ἰκανῆ... ἐκλαμβάνειν,** "is not long enough, for the man who is trying to do this, to get from them their complete and sufficient effect." αὐτῶν is the προσήκοντες τῶν καὶ τροφῆς, and the προσήκοντα μαθημάτα καὶ ἐθή.—With τούτῳ αὐτὸ πράττοντι cp. Crīto 47 b γνωμαχόμενος ἀνήρ καὶ τούτῳ πράττων. (L. & S. is surely wrong in giving ἐκλαμβάνειν here the meaning "understand.")
d 6 f. τάξιν δεῖ γίνεσθαι τής διατριβῆς κτλ.: i.e. the whole of the twenty-four hours must have a time-table; each period must have its fixed occupation!—ἐλευθεροις in a special pregnant sense, "free from all compulsory employment," "gentlemen at large" (cp. Theaet. 172 d 1).

e 3. ἄσχημων, "undignified." Above at 788 b 5 this descent into trivial detail has been described as ἀπρετῆς ἄμα καὶ ἄσχημον for the legislator.

e 5. φυλάξεων: this word reminds us of the φύλακες of the Republic.

808 a 2. εἴτ' ὅν ... χρεῶν: i.e. whether such a proceeding be prescribed by law, or only by custom.—A great English bishop (Creighton) has defined an energetic man to be "the man who gets up directly he wakes." Ast quotes II. B 24 f.:

οὖν χρή παννύχιον εὖδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα,

ὁ λαοί τ' ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσα μέμψε.


a 5. λέγειν χρή πρὸς αὐτοὺς: L alone has preserved the correct αὐτοῦς (so Ast) = ἀλλήλους.

a 6 f. ὅλην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν: a conversational redundancy which gives an air of mock-seriousness to the sentence; cp. above 734 ε τῷ παντὶ καὶ ὅλω, and 944 c 3 διαφέρει δὲ ὅλον πον καὶ τὸ πᾶν. Jowett takes οἰκία hyperbolically of the material part of the establishment. This gives a needful raison d'être to the "if it had been possible," and is perhaps the true explanation of this funny sentence. (The other explanation is that it implies that of course the slaves think the mistress ought to call them ; the difficulty is to make this view prevail with the authorities.)

a 7. Stobaeus's πάντως seems preferable to the MS. πάντας; δεῖ πάντως is "there is no doubt that people ought."

b 1. μέρη πολλά: as we should say, "a good proportion."

b 2. For the night work of the ἀρχοντες cp. the directions at 951 d 5 ff. for the νυκτερινός σύλλογος.

b 4. ταῦτα πάντα: i.e. the τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκονομικὰ of b 1. (Jowett takes ταῦτα πάντα to refer to σώματα καὶ ψυχαί.)

b 5. (οὔχ) ... ἀρμόττων ἐστὶν κατὰ φύσιν, "is not in natural harmony with," i.e. "is not good for."

b 6. ἀλλ' ὅσις ... κηδεμών, "anyone of us who cares greatly for the activity of body and mind."

c 1. τὸ πρὸς ύπείραν αὐτοῦ μόνον φυλάττων χρήσιμον, "only keeping for himself as much of it" (i.e. sleep) "as is conducive to
NOTES TO BOOK VII

health.” τολύ in the next line agrees with τὸ χρήσιμον. (Ast writes αὐτοῦ, making it depend on ὑγίειαν.)

c 2. καλῶς εἰς ἑθος Ἰν: Ἰν is not absolute, but is attracted into the gender of τολύ; it agrees, that is, with τὸ χρήσιμον τὸν ὑπνοῦ—“when it has well got into a habit.” The MS. variants καλῶς for καλῶς, and Ἰν for Ἰν point to the perception on the part of the scribes that ὑπνοῦ is understood; there is, however, no variant τολύ. (Jowett translates: “if the habit of not sleeping be once formed.”)

c 2 ff. ἐγρηγορότες . . . τολει: Ritter thinks this passage too rhetorical for Plato. The passage on sleep was often quoted in antiquity; it is possible that the later passage is an extract from another author on the same subject, which has coalesced, through juxtaposition, with the Platonic locus communis.

c 7 ff. νῦς μὲν ὤδ . . . ἂμερας δὲ ὅρθρου κτλ., “so much for the night—as to which I may add that short slumber tends to promote courage. With the first return of daybreak the day’s business begins with the dispatch of the children to school.” There is a jerkiness about the introduction and co-ordination of the subjects here which reveals the lack of a final revision.

d 3. ἄλλο οὐδὲν πω: so MSS. I believe that πω—which nobody translates—is a mistake for πῶν. The first letter of βωτέον had in many MSS. doubtless the form ὸ which is very like ν, and this may have caused the loss of the letter. (Most translators modify the statement οὐδέν ἄλλο by putting in some word for animal or creature, which certainly is not to be found in the Greek.) Plato may well have chosen the Epic πῶν from the sense of its etymological connexion with the preceding ποιμήν. (Cp. the assumed connexion below at 809 b 2 f. between μηνυθής and αἱφερμηνεύειν.) The fact that πῶν was (apparently) only used of sheep would not be enough to prevent Plato from suggesting that the cognate of ποιμήν might be applied to other flocks. (It is curious that at 811 e 1 the first hand of A apparently wrote πο for ποι.) Cp. the extraordinary phrase at Μίνως 318 a 1 τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀγέλην τοῦ σώματος (under the direction of the παιδοτρίβης).

d 5 ff. ὦσο γὰρ . . . γύνεται, “with his abounding intellect, as yet untrained, he is insubordinate and cunning and the most abundantly outrageous of creatures.” With this semi-humorous tirade against the human boy cp. Plato’s language above at 766 a about un- or ill-trained human nature in general: μὴ ἰκανὸς δὲ ἥ μὴ καλῶς τραφέν ἀγριώτατον ὡς φύει γη; and Theaet. 174 d δυσκολώτερον δὲ ἐκείνων ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐπιβουλώτερον ποιμαίνειν τε καί

285
THE LAWS OF PLATO

βοάλλειν νομίζει αὐτοῖς.—Stallb. takes ὅσοι μάλιστα as qualifying μὴ τὸ κατηρτυμένην, i.e. he understands Plato simply to be saying that the danger is due to the extent to which training or expression are deficient. For this we should need τὴν πηγὴν instead of πηγήν. Plato does mention the deficiency of training as a danger, but is also pointing out that the boy’s intellect makes him capable of worse mischief than the beast can do.—“Voc. δριμυῖν in malam partem de astuto usurpatum illustravit Wyttenbach ad Plutarchi Mor. p. 48 a” Stallb. At Rep. 535 b 5 δριμύτης is used of intellectual sharpness.

ε 3. παιδίας καὶ νηπιώτητος χάριν, “to help his childish incapacity.” Ficinus’s “ad puerilem lasciviam regendam” shows that he, like the first four printed edd., read παιδίας. Stallb. in his note sufficiently defends παιδίας, which seems to have been the original reading of A. Cp. L. & S. s.v. παιδεία.—τοῖς διδάσκοντοι καὶ ὁτιόν καὶ μαθήματι: the τοῖς goes with μαθ. as well as with διδ., and the καὶ ὁτιόν is meant in a way to qualify μαθήματι—as if he had said καὶ μαθήματι οἰστριώτων—“by teachers and studies of all conceivable kinds.” (Wyttenbach on Plut. Mor. i. 50 would reject the second καὶ, making διδ. qualify μαθ.)

ε 4. ὡς ἐλεύθερον, “as becomes a free being.” Education, that is, is the proper kind of bridle and fetter for the free. But, though literal bridles and fetters are to be banished, chastisement, which is another way of dealing with inferior creatures, is to be employed in education—and even to be extended to those educators who are faithless to their trust. (Ritter and Susemihl are surely wrong in thinking that the directions here given apply (1) to free children, and (2) to the children of slaves—whom they suppose to be at school with the children of citizens.)

ε 6. The omission of τῶν before διδάσκαλον is peculiar: possibly the liability to summary punishment is to be confined to the teacher who is also a paedagogus, and therefore a slave. Apparently Stallb., Wagner, and Hermann think the omission in ALO to be accidental, for they, like all the early editors, print καὶ τῶν διδάσκαλον.

ε 7. All editors but Schneider and Wagner retain the τὰ before τοῦτων, which is inserted as a correction in O. The correction probably represents a genuine tradition.

ε 8. τῇ δίκῃ: this seems to mean no more than the κατὰ τρόπον three lines below, i.e. “adequately.”—πρῶτον: two things are to happen to the man who has thus failed in his duty to the state: first he is to suffer in reputation—which, to a sensible
NOTES TO BOOK VII

809 a 2. In ὧς, for the ὦ of A and O, the corrector of O has preserved for us the right reading.

a 4 ff. βλέπων δὲ ἡμῖν ὦξον . . . κατὰ νόμους, “and this functionary of ours must be a man of keen insight, and must devote himself absolutely to the task of rearing the children—guiding their natures aright, and turning them always towards what is good and lawful.”

a 6. τούτων: again all editors have recognized in this correction in O the true reading, as against the τούτων of AO and Cod. Voss.

a 7. παιδεὺσειεν: in spite of Ast’s caution, Ritter and others suppose Plato here to be talking of some special training which will prepare this high official for his duties—as if he was to be caught young and destined, from the beginning of such training, to fill the office! παιδεὺσειεν is playfully chosen because the man in question is παιδεύας ἐπιμελητής, and only means “instruct” (him in his duties). There is a similar playfulness in the ὄ νόμος αὐτὸς, which is used because of the immediately preceding κατὰ νόμους.

b 1. εἴρηκεν: the personified Law takes the place of the author who is expounding it; εἰρήκαμεν takes its place at c 1.

b 2. μηδὲν παραλείπειν αὐτῷ: not, as Wagner and Jowett, “leave nothing to him,” but “omit nothing that concerns him”; the dat. is ethical.

b 3. The μηνυτής echoes the ἄφερμηνευεῖν, which we may assume that Plato regards as etymologically connected with it; so the τροφεὺς recalls the τροφής of a 5.

b 4. μελῶν τε: the τε is explanatory, “that is to say”; cp. 654 b 3 χορεῖα γε μὴν ὄρχησίς τε καὶ ὁδὴ το σύνολον ἔστιν.

b 5 f. ἐκλεκτέα . . . ἐπανορθώτεα . . . καθιερωτέα: the choice (of music, etc.) has been dealt with at 800 b 4 ff., and especially at 802 a 5–b 3; their correction at 802 b ff.; their consecration at 799 a 4 ff.

b 6 f. ἐν γράμμασι μὲν ὄντα, ἀνευ δὲ μέτρων: i.e. the subjects taught by the γραμματιστής; μέτρα stands for the musical part of education; cp. Symp. 205 c τὸ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ μέτρα. Translators are wrong, I think, in making these words mean merely “written matter which is in prose.”—Χρῆ σοι is Schneider’s
THE LAWS OF PLATO

admirable correction of the MS. χρήσοι; the earlier editions saw
something was wrong, and wrote χρήσει; Stallb., Zürr., Wagn.,
and Herm. stubbornly retain the inept fut. opt. The σοι is the
same "ethical" dat. which we have in αὑτῷ at b 2 and in σοι at d 8.

1. καὶ τοι ktl.: this sentence is a limitation of the οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν. He had treated one subject of education at least which
does not come under the head of music: i.e. the preparation for a
soldier's work, described at 794 c ff.

2. From τὰ δὲ to ἀπεργάζονται in d 7 is a string of subjects
summed up in the τὰ ὁμα of d 8.

3. τὰ γράμματα is here "reading and writing."

4. ἐφαμεν: he refers particularly to his notable encomium of
Mathematics at 747 b 1 ff., where he mentions its usefulness
πρὸς τε οἰκονομίαν καὶ πρὸς πολιτείαν.—I would follow Burnet
in rejecting the comma which all other editors place after δὲν,
and make the gen. δὲν depend on ὅσα—ὅσα χρήματι being the
reported-speech form of ὅσα χρήματι; we may translate, "of which
studies I said that we ought to have not only all that everybody
needed for soldiering and house management and public adminis-
tration, but also such of the information about the courses of the
heavenly bodies as is useful for these same purposes. I mean all
the knowledge about the stars and sun and moon, all the arrange-
ments that have to be made in connexion with them by every state."

1 ff. τίνον . . . ἀπεργάζονται: Stallb. was the first to see that
this is a parenthesis. Wagner believes the parenthesis to be
spurious.—L has in δῇ preserved for us the right reading as
against the δὲ of A and O.

3. εἰς ἐκαστὸν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, "into each recurring year";
the τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν of O 2 was clearly a scribe's correction.

4 f. τὰ προσήκοντ' . . . ἀγεσθαι, "receiving each their due
recognition because they fit in to nature's round."

5 ff. ἐγώναν . . . καὶ ἐγρηγορώναν . . . μᾶλλον ἐμφρόνας: Ritter
well compares the language at 747 b, 808 b, and 819 c.
Mathematics wakes up the sluggish mind; the necessity for the
due observance of the calendar keeps the public mind alert in the
same way.

8. Ficinus, and all edd. down to Ast, read οὐτῶ with no
MS. authority; Cod. Ric. 67 read οὐτῶ.

3. τί: Schneider was the first to see that this is a question
and τὸδὲ the answer.

4. ποτέρον ktl.: a repetition of the τοία καὶ τίνα τρόπον
of b 7.
NOTES TO BOOK VII

810 a 2. πατρὶ μηδ’ αὐτῷ: we owe the μηδ’ for the MS. μητ’ to Bekker. (Schneider keeps μητ’ and supplies ἐξεστῶ ποιεῖονθαι with πατρὶ)—Ritter (p. 408) well compares with this phrase the παντ’ ἀνόρα καὶ παῖδα at 804 d. Both doubtless were proverbial expressions for “everybody”; but the special reference here is to the possibility of the father’s wishing to interfere with the schoolmaster; cp. above, 804 d 3.

a 3. φιλομαθόντι: nobody according to Plato, however much he likes music, is to be a musical virtuoso, unless, we may suppose, he means to teach music. Cp. above 669 e 5 ff.—The epexegetic μείζω μητε ἐλάττω (διατριβήν) is superfluous and irregular after the previous μητε πλείω μητέ ἐλάττω (ἔτη), but possible in a conversational style.—F.H.D. believes μείζω μηδε ἐλάττω to be a “gloss”; also quite possible.

a 4. παράνομον: a proleptically used epithet of διατριβήν. Ficinus’s “contempta lege” looks as if he might have read παρὰ νόμον—which occurs below at 941 a 7.

a 5. παιδείων is probably “bestowed on school-children,” not, as L & S., “paid by children.” What these marks of approbation are he evidently means to tell us later, though he does not do so.

a 7. The sentence gains greatly in point if, with Ritter, we write αὐτός for the MS. αὐτό. “What the children have got to learn... you yourself have got to learn first.” Cp. above (809 a 6) the statement that the παιδείας ἐπιμελήτης has himself to be “instructed.” There is no point in the emphatic αὐτό here.

b 1. Ed. Lov. adopts the early correction μαινθάνειν for μαινθάνε. τὸ does not go with δυνατὸν εἶναι (as Stallb.), nor with διαπονεῖν, but with μέχρι, as in the phrases τὸ ἐπ’ ἐμοί, τὸ μέχρι ἐμεί (Hdt. iii. 10), τὸ μετὰ ταύτα, τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο (cp. Heind. on Gorg. 512 e). So, acc. to Ast (Lex. s.v. μετά), at Tim. 42 d τὸ μετὰ τὸν στόρον is merely “after the sowing,” not “what came after the sowing” (as Archer-Hind).—τοῦ, then, goes not with γράψαι and ἀναγγέλειν, but with δυνατὸν εἶναι.

b 2. διαπονεῖν, “practise” (cp. on 795 c 1).—Exceptional proficiency in speed or elegance would apply to writing more than to reading.
b 3 f. των, οίς μή: a variety for οὖσις μή.—οίς μη φύσις ἐπεστενέουν ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις ἔτεσιν, “whose natural powers do not, within the set period, develop specially fast.” Probably ἐπεστενέον is intransitive and a gnomic aorist.

b 4–812 b 2. The next two pages deal with the choice of literature to be used in the instruction of the young. We are told two things under this head: (1) that some of the literature available for such a purpose is harmful; (2) that teachers could not do better than take Plato’s Laws, or some book like it, for a reading-book.

b 4. πρὸς δὲ δὴ κτλ.: this sentence has been very variously translated. I would suggest: “Now with respect to instruction in literature which has no musical accompaniment—literature provided by composers either in verse, or without rhythmical partitions, which are treatises merely uttered as spoken words, destitute of metre or tune—some of the numerous authors of this kind have provided us with literature which is harmful.” With a we have to supply ἐστί; ποιητῶν depends on γράμμασι; ὑθυμῶν is a gen. of definition, and so = ὑθυμικῶν (Bywater on Ar. Poet. 1447 a 29 condemns ὑθυμῶν τιμημάτων, which seems a harmless variant for μέτρων, as a blundering copy of a gloss ὑθυμῶν τιμώμενα, the original text being τοῖς δ’ ἄνευ—Steph. says there was a reading ἄνευ τούτων); κατὰ λόγων is used in about the same sense as καταλογάδον below at 811 e 3; εἰρημένα is “spoken,” not “called”; the main sentence then is σφαλερὰ γράμματα ἐστιν παρὰ τίνοις καταλελειμμένα.

c 7. ὀρθῶς ὑπέλαβες: i.e. “you are right in supposing me to be ‘really’ at a loss.”

d 5. τί δέ; “you surprise me” (“hoity toity!”). Stallb. writes it τί δαί on the authority, he says, of O and a correction in A.—L gives us an easy reading in ὀλίγα, and most edd. have adopted it. But the ὀλίγου of A and O gives great probability to Hermann’s conjecture that the original reading was ὀλίγον (adv.). He refers to Stallb.’s note on Phaedo 79 d, where several instances are cited from Plato of adv. and adj. both accompanying the same verb.

d 8. τῆς αὐτῆς ὀδοῦ: Stallb. takes this gen. to be governed by ἀνείνατα in e 4. But τῆν νῦν τετμημένην ὀδόν must be the same ὀδός, and this means that there has been a complete break in the construction. That the sentence begins over again on a different pattern at μεθ’ ὅν is clear. Burnet marks off from ὄρως to χείροσι γε as a parenthesis. One question that has to be settled
is what τῆς αὐτῆς means. Is it, as apparently Stallb., Schneider, and Burnet take it, "the same way as that which we have travelled before," or, as I think Wagner takes it, "the way which is at once hateful to some and pleasing to others"? I believe that the latter is the true explanation, and that we ought not to mark the parenthesis as Burnet does, but, with Wagner, to separate off, by colons or parenthesis marks, only from εἶ δὲ to χείροσι γε.—L has preserved the almost necessary δ' after ἱσως; it was omitted by A and Ο, though mentioned in the margin of O.—We may translate: "Very true. In fact you tell me, as I understand, finding that the same road which is abominable in some eyes is favoured by perhaps as many—and if not by as many, at all events by men no worse than they—you bid me, I say, associate myself with the latter, and go venturesomely and bravely along the path we have now laid down as the result of our present discussions—to proceed, and not to flinch."

**e 6.** The τὲ is, as often, slightly displaced; strictly speaking it should come after ἐπών. There is no need, with Ast, to substitute γε for it.

**e 9.** All the edd. up to Steph. have δεινοὶ for Ο's δεῖν οἱ. Ficinus also read δεινοὶ, and so wrote the first hand of A, and the corrector of Ο. Ast restored the right reading by conjecture.—οἱ πολλάκις μυρίοι: in this repetition (see d 3) there surely lurks a hint of contempt for "the many-headed multitude."

**e 11.** πολυμαθεῖς, πολυμαθεῖς, "making them cultivated and widely learned by means of their readings." For ἐν used where we should say "by" or "with" cp. above on 660 a 4 and 805 c 6, and Ast, Lex. s.v.

**811 a 1.** I think ἐκμαθάνωντας is said of the pupils, not the teachers "(to the extent of) learning through whole poets by heart."—οἱ δὲ: as if we had had οἱ μὲν ποιοῦσι instead of ποιούντας; some teachers make their pupils learn all a poet’s works; others make them learn selected extracts only.

**a 4.** What Plato thought about the dangers attending πολυμαθία may be seen below at 819 a 5 and Phaedr. 275 a 7 πολυμαθεία γάρ σοι γενόμενοι ἀνεύ διδαχῆς, πολυγνώμονες εἶναι δέξομεν, ἀγνώμονες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὕτε, καὶ χαλεποὶ συνείναι, δοξάσομοι γεγονότες ἀντὶ σοφῶν. Cp. also Athen. xiii. 610 b, and Anaxarchus in Clem. Strom. i. 5. 35 πολυμαθής κάρτα μὲν ὑφελέει κάρτα δὲ βλάπτει τὸν ἔχοντα.

**b 2.** τοῦτον: i.e. τῶν τουτῶν.

**b 4.** κίνδυνον . . . εἶναι φέρουσαν, "is fraught with danger"
— a curious instance of preference of the participial periphrasis to the simple infinitive.

b 8. For the article qualifying an interrogative sentence cp. 
Rep. 352 d on γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δυντινα τρόπου χρῆς δήν. Steph. quite unnecessarily proposes to put a ; after τοῦ.

c 7. δεῦρο δὴ ALO, though the η in A is the result of an alteration. I think (pace Stallb.) that we must follow Porson on Eur. Or. 1679 and adopt the Lexicographers' reading δεῦρο δὲ: δεῦρο is local and almost always has δὲ with it when used of time. (Possibly at Tim. 21 d on διήρκεσε δεῦρο means "is not to be found surviving in the Athens of to-day."")

c 8 f. οὐκ ἀνευ τινὸς ἐπιπνοιάσ θεῶν: probably τινὸς goes with ἐπιπνοιάς, not with θεῶν; cp. Rep. 499 b ἐκ τινος θείας ἐπιπνοιας, and above 738 c 3.

c 9. ἀποβλέψας ... ἐδοξάσαν ... μου: cp. 686 d 8 ἀποβλέψας γὰρ ... ἐδοξεῖ μου.—δ' οὖν, "why !"—ποιήσει των προσομοίων: the similarity consists (1) in the fact that a poet's production and the present treatise are inspired; cp. Phaedr. 265 b Μουσῶν δ' αὐτοπνητικὴν (ἐπιπνοιαν), and above 664 d 4, where the old men who tell stories do so διὰ θείας φήμης, and (2) inasmuch as in it is attempted a (more or less close) μίμησις of the "ideal" polity—cp. below 817 b 3 πᾶσα ... ἡμῖν ἡ πολιτεία συνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀριστοῦ βίου; (3) it is technically a μίμησις itself. At Arist. Poet. 1447 b 11 οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι are mentioned as a kind of μίμησις; cp. Athenaeus xi. 505 e who quotes a similar definition from Arist. Περὶ ποιητῶν.

d 1. οἶον ἄθροίους, "making a whole, as it were."—"Compact," as Mr. Omer says, "in three separate and individual wollums."—μάλα ἡσθήναι: cp. Thackeray's "my favourite poet" (Snobs, ch. xxxiv.)

d 3. χύδῃν οὖτως εἰρημένοις has the same meaning as κατὰ λόγον εἰρημένα μόνον at 810 b 6, and the γεγραμμένα καταλογά-δήν of e 2 below.

d 4. μετριότατοι: μέτριοι here is "satisfactory," or "sufficient"; cp. Tim. 18 b μυσθὸν ... ὁσος σώφρον μέτριοι.—For τὰ μάλιστα as a variant for μάλιστα cp. above 794 d 1.

d 5. νομοφύλακα τε καὶ παιδεντῆ: not two persons (as Stallb. and Jowett), but one—i.e. the παιδείας ἐπιμελητής πάσης of 765 d 4 and 808 e 8. He was spoken of at b 6 as τοῦ νομοφύλακη; at 812 e 10 he is called ὁ παιδεντῆς, and at 835 a 3 παιδεντῆς τῶν νέων.

292
NOTES TO BOOK VII

7. ἡ ταυτά τε διδάσκειν παρακελεύσθαι τούτον διδασκάλοι τοὺς παιδέας, "(I cannot, that is, do better than tell him) to advise the teachers to teach the boys this book." Formally these words are an explanation of what is meant by τούτον, but really they are not; for τούτον is merely "this example," whereas the recommendation is of a course of action connected with the example.—This τε and that in the following line connect παρακελεύσθαι and μή μεθείναι. The Minister of Education is (1) to direct the teachers to use the Laws as a reading-book, and (2) to do his very best to search for, and provide other literature of the same kind and tendency.

e 4. ἀδελφά που τούτων τῶν λόγων: the simplest explanation of these words is that they qualify λέγομενα, and mean "a dialogue just like our present discussion"—the resemblance being in the point that they were only heard, and not written down.—περιτυγχάνῃ is used absolutely as at Symp. 221 a.—The νόμοι for λόγων of O's second hand—which the earlier edd. down to Steph. adopted—can hardly be a genuine tradition. It is a very natural suggestion for a commentator to make who realized that Νόμοι was the title of the λόγοι in question.

812 a 1 ff. διδάσκειν τε καὶ παιδεύειν: cp. below, b 7 διδασκαλίας . . . καὶ παιδεύειν: not a mere repetition of the same idea.

—οὖτὸς μοι μύθος ἐνταῦθα . . . τελευτάτῳ . . . εἰρημένος: one could fancy that Plato had in mind Θ 524 μύθος δ' ὅσ μὲν νῦν ύγιής, εἰρημένοις ἕστω. For μύθος as compared with λόγος see above on 645 b 1, and Ritter p. 13.

a 4. ἐπόθεσις and ὑποτεθήματι are here used rather in the sense of "task" and "to be undertaken," or "laid down," than in the usual meanings of "assumption" and "to be assumed"; so that Cleinias's words mean: "As far as our original intention goes, we seem to have kept within the bounds of the subjects we set ourselves to discuss." (So Ficinus and Schneider, and, apparently, Jowett—otherwise Wagner and L. & S.)

a 8. δ τολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν: e.g. at 718 b 2 ff, and 768 d 5.

b 3. προσφητέος preserves the lively tone of 809 b 7, where the Minister of Education was, in fancy, addressed.

b 5. ἡμᾶς δοκοῦ . . . ἀναμνησθέντας . . . νεύμαι: cp. Thuc. ii. 3. 2 καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαδίως κρατήσαν. So after ἐλπίζω and ἐλπίς ἔστιν (Burnet on Phaedo 67 b 8), and εἰκός ἔστιν (Classen on Thuc. i. 81. 6) we regularly find an aor. infin. of a future event. At Prot. 316 c 1 all the MSS. read τούτο δὲ οἴτεται οἶ μάλιστα γενέσθαι, εἴ σοι συγγένοιτο, though there
Burnet follows Steph. and Hirschig in inserting ἀν with γενέωθεν. In our present passage, as in Thuc. ii. 3. 2, the participle helps to fix the time of the action described by the infinit. If δικός νείμαι meant, as Schneider has it, “ut videtur, assignavimus,” then ἀναμνησθέντας must be “when we called to mind,” not, as he puts it, “si memores sumus.” Cp. above on 692 b 4 and Goodwin, M. and T. § 127.

b 9. ἐφαμεν: i.e. at 670 b 2.—ἐξηκοντοῦτα (A and O wrongly write -τείς): at 665 b, where the Διονύσου προσβυτών χορός is first introduced to us, its members are spoken of as—not “between 30 and 60,” but “over 30 and over 50 and up to 60.” There is a suggestion in this that the Dionysiac Choir contained two classes, the functions of the older class being mostly critical. This critical division—consisting of men between 50 and 60—is spoken of at 670 b 1 as τῶν πεντηκοντοῦτας, here, by a very intelligible variety of expression, as τῶν ἐξηκοντοῦτας. There is no need, with Bergk, to suppose a clerical error.

c 1. The συντάσεως of L, which attracted the corrector of O, is most likely not a mere clerical error, but the suggestion of a scribe who knew that σύντασις was a musical term, but was not clear as to its meaning. σύντασις here means “constitution,” almost “nature.”—İRα κτλ.: at 670 b we were told that these old men must have exceptionally quick musical perception, that they may be able to judge of the ὀρθότης τῶν μελῶν. Generally in the musical discussions of the 2nd Bk. ὀρθότης is used of a formal musical correctness or propriety. This correctness implies a higher faculty than that of merely “knowing your notes,” but a lower one than that which is needed for determining the moral effect of the different styles of music. But already in Bk. II. there is one passage which introduces the highest of these three considerations in connexion with the functions and capabilities of these older “singers” (670 d 6) ἵνα ἄδοντες αὐτοὶ τε ἥδονας τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀσινείς ἠδωνται καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἡγεμόνες ἥδων χρηστῶν ἀσπασμοῦ προσήκοντος γίγνωμαι. Here the use of προσήκοντος links the moral notion with that of mere formal ὀρθότης. In our present passage apparently the moral function of this critical class is alone considered. If so the ἐδ καὶ κακῶς of c 2 are to be interpreted, like the ἐδ of 669 b 1, as of moral, not musical significance—the ἐδ μεμιμημένη μῆμησις being identified below with τὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ψυχῆς ὁμολόγων, and the κακῶς with the opposite.

c 2. τῶν μελῶν is a gen. of “definition,” equivalent to musical or vocal.—In μίμησιν L, the 2nd and 3rd hands of A, and the
NOTES TO BOOK VII

812 c

margin of O have preserved the correct reading as against the κίνησιν of A and O. The early printed edd. read κίνησιν. Ficinus apparently read μίμησιν ("ut in cantibus affectus animi imitantibus, probi animi imitationes ab imitationibus inprobis secernere possint"). —εὖ and κακῶς are thus used in a moral sense.—ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὅταν ψυχῇ γίγνεται: another, and a loosely constructed qualification of μίμησιν: it is to be of a sort which stirs emotions (i.e. "ἐλέου καὶ φόβου")—lit. "when a soul is stirred by the emotions it (ἡ μίμησις) can produce."

c 5. ἰμνή καὶ ἐπάδη: cp. 666 c 5, where also a member of this Dionysiac Choir is the subject: ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄν ἐθέλοι προθυμότερον . . . ἥδειν τε καὶ . . . ἐπάδειν;

c 7. διὰ τῶν μιμήσεων: probably this goes with ἐπεσοθα.—"to join their company in pursuing virtue by means of the said μιμήσεις."

d 1. τούτων χάριν: i.e. "with a view to the attainment of virtue."

d 2. σαφηνείας ἑνεκα τῶν χορῶν, "in order to take advantage of the distinctness which the strings give." In other words, the lyre is to be used to emphasize the notes of the song. Therefore, as he goes on to explain, the music must follow the voice in unison, not taking a separate part (ἐτεροφωνίαν), nor with two or more shorter musical notes to one vocal one (ποικιλίαν). The following words (ἀλλὰ μὲν κτλ.) explain the particular ways in which this ποικιλία might be produced. The tune, as composed by the poet, is supposed to have comparatively few notes, to be in slowish time, and low down in the register; whereas the complicated variation, which he is condemning, has many notes, is in quick time, and high up in the register.

d 6. πυκνότητα: cp. πυκνώματα at Rep. 531 a, with Adam’s note. The proceeding here described is possibly the insertion between two notes of the song (which differed by one or more whole tones) of notes differing by half a tone, or even less.

e 1. [καὶ ἀντίφωνον]: these words are due to the third hand in A, and the second in O. Aristotle (Probl. 921 a 7 ff.) tells us that τὸ ἀντίφωνον is the technical term for συμφωνία διὰ παρῆν (between pairs of notes an octave apart). This is less technically expressed by Plato here as ὀξύτητα βαρύτητι σύμφωνον. The bracketed words are clearly the insertions of a musician, who did not see that they spoiled the sentence. If they are retained, σύμφωνον and ἀντίφωνον are confined to ὀξύτητα, whereas σύμφωνον alone will go with πυκνότητα and τάχος as well.
(Ficinus translates the words, though he misapprehends ἀντίφωνον as Hesychius does, who gives ἐναντίοφωνα as an explanation. of ἀντίφωνα; Ficinus’s translation is “dissonum.”—παρεχομένους and προσαρμόττοντας agree formally with τὸν τε κιθαριστήν καὶ τὸν παιδευόμενον, though applying really only to the former. As applied to music ρυθμός denotes the rhythm of the piece. This, he says, must not be complicated and elaborate.

e 4. τὸ τῆς μονσικῆς χρήσιμον ἐκλήψεσθαι διὰ τάχους, “to reap the benefit of a musical education without loss of time.”

e 5. τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία . . . παρέχει: (as we should express it), “inconsistency (in what is learnt) begets distaste in the learner, because it complicates the subject.” δισμάθεια is not a quality of the subject, but a state of mind of the pupil, as is shown by the following injunction to encourage docility above all things in the young, in view of the “many important things” which they must learn. Cf. the curiously contradictory doctrine of 816 d 9 and Rep. 524 d 3.—The Lexx. recognize no form but δισμαθία, though they give εὔμάθεια as the regular form and εὐμαθία as a poetic variant. The MS. evidence is conflicting. A.M.A. would prefer to translate ἐναντία by “diverse musical parts”—vocal and instrumental respectively.

e 9. ἄμα τῷ χρόνῳ is equivalent to “with the help of experience.”

e 10. ὁ παιδευτής: i.e. the Minister of Education.—μέλη and ρήματα are contrasted with the instrumental music; μέλη stands here for ρυθμός and ἀρμονία.

813 a 1. ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν: i.e. 798 d 7–802 d 6, especially 790 a and b.—δῇ, “you remember.”

a 3. (ηδονήν) εὐτυχῆ: the indulgence in pleasure would be “blessed” to them, because it would make them better men and women. This same notion recurs in ὀφελεῖν here, and in the μετὰ τύχης εὐμενοῦς at 6.

a 5. Schneider was the first to see that we ought to put a full stop after τούνων.

a 6. ὁ περὶ τὴν μοῦσαν ἀρχῶν αἱρεθεῖς: probably the official described at 764 c 3–6.

a 7. Here we pass to the subject of ἀρχηγοτική, which, as we were told at 794 c, is begun at the age of six.

a 8. ἀποδόμεν, “make a contribution”; the extraordinary absence of an object is partially compensated for by the parallel sentence which follows: there ἀπέδομεν has an object. In the same way the extraordinary “bald” genitive γυμναστικῆς in the
next sentence gets a little covering from the accompaniment of the preceding gen. μονικής. A final revision would certainly have mended this rough sentence. H. Steph.'s καί before καθάπερ does not help. The asyndeton is quite in place as an explanatory one. (I would propose to mend the text by placing a comma after εἰρημένοις, rejecting ποιωμεν and transferring ἀποδώμεν to the end of the sentence.)

b 1. μονικής τὸ διδασκαλικὸν: Plato makes it clear that, in the present book, he is concerned principally with the pedagogic aspect of his subjects.

b 7. αὖ εἶεν: all interpreters but Cornarius take this to mean "there will be" or "we shall have," making οὐκ ἀνεπιτηθείσετον qualify διαπονεῖν adverbially. Cornarius, however, makes οὐκ ἀνεπιτηθείσετον the predicate to αὖ εἶεν—"will be a suitable arrangement"; πρὸς τὸ διαπονεῖν (see above on 795 c 1) would then mean "for their practices." The ἔστω in the answer gives support to the singular predicate. Perhaps, however, it is safer to translate "must have dancing teachers so that their exercises may be serviceable to them."

c 2. οὐ πολλὰν ἔξει σχολὴν, "will have his hands full."

d 1. τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος: cp. above, 765 c 2.—λογισμὸς συνών: we might say "living in the conviction that..."; cp. 791 b 5 δείμασιν συνόνωσα ἐκ νέων, and Phaedo 84 a 7 ἐπομενή τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αἱ ἐν τούτῳ ὀνόμα. (Apelt, Progr. 1905, would emend συνών to συννοῦν.)

d 4. ἐπὶ καὶνή πόλει: to be taken with λέγομεν, "when there is a newly founded city in the case." (Some interpreters take it with σεβόμενοι.)

d 5. εἰρηματι: e.g. at 794 c-796 d.

d 8. τοῖς σώμασι διαπονῆμα, "bodily exercises"; διαπόνημα is here used as the noun to διαπονεῖν in the sense noticed at 795 c 1 and above at b 7.—The following genitives depend on διαπονήματα. In order to avoid a monotonous string of genitives, he varies the last from καὶ πάσης ἵππικῆς (διαπονήματα) to καὶ δόσα εἰς ἰππικῆ μαθήματα συντείνει, in which phrase the word μαθήματα confirms the educational connotation of διαπονήματα.

e 2. στρατοπεδεύσεως: if this is correct, we must supply with it πασῶν from the previous ἀπάσης, thus linking the arrangement of camps, with the arrangement of armies on the march. I believe, though, that Plato wrote στρατοπεδεύσεως, which would go naturally with ἀπάσης.

e 3. πάντων γὰρ . . . θηρῶν ἐστί: in this long and loosely
constructed sentence Plato repeats the injunction given at 804 c 8–806 c. It looks as if he had returned to the subject of bodily training (1) because he wished to insist that it must be continued for both sexes after they leave school, and (2) because he had thought of a further argument by which to recommend it in the case of women.

e 5. τούτων: probably masculine, though in e 7 we get back to the neuter of e 4.

e 8. γυναικας δε ... ἡμένας, “and when they have grown up (they must) have mastered (the art of) ...”

814 a 2. εἰ μηδενὸς ἐνεκα, ἀλλ' ... ικανοὺς εἶναι: lit. “if you cannot find a reason for doing it, still for the sake of their being able, etc.” We must suppose that ἐνεκα τοῦ has to be supplied in thought with ικανοὺς εἶναι. (Schneider, reading φυλάξοντας, would replace the τοὺς before it by τοῦ; H. Richards would insert τοῦ before τοῦς)—πάγη τῇ δινάμει looks very much like a marginal explanation of πανδημεί which has got into the text by mistake.

a 4. For the φυλάξαντας of A and O, L has φυλάξοντας, and all editors have followed L in this. But this does not remove all difficulties. Either (1), with Ast, we must suppose that τοὺς φυλάξοντας is “generatim positum,” and really means “the women”; or (2) with others, that “the young who are left to guard, and the rest of the city” (Jowett, ed. 2) are somehow to be made capable by the women’s training. It seems to me better than either of these assumptions to accept the φυλάξαντας of A and O, and transfer the comma from after στρατεύεσθαι to after πόλιν in a 4. The meaning would then be: “that if the special city-guard ever had to take the field outside, the women might at least be sufficient for this purpose (i.e. for guarding the city and the children).” We must further suppose, either (1) that the MS. ικανοὺς, like μακαρίον at 803 c 3, is here used exceptionally as an adj. of two terminations; or (2) that we ought to read ικανάς. I see that W. R. Paton also proposes the latter way out of the difficulty. (F.H.D. thinks it means that the city-guard would be able to take the field with the rest, trusting the city’s defence to the women.)

a 5. δὲν: for this H. Steph. would, quite unnecessarily, substitute a cacophonous δὲν.—ἀπώμοτον is used exactly as at Soph. Ant. 388—“δὲν τις ἀπωμότος μὴ δὲν γενέσθαι,” Etym. Mag.

a 6. The erroneous variant βαίς was probably due to a misread iota adscriptum; βλαίος is always an adj. of two terminations in Plato. (In Α βίς is written ωύν.)
a 7. \(\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\chi\epsilon\nu\) depends, by a zeugnia, upon \(\epsilon i \delta'\iota\sigma\iota\epsilon\epsilon\varepsilon\) : "or if—all of which is quite conceivable—it happened that there had to be a fight for the city's safety."

b 2. \(\omega\delta\varepsilon\) for \(\omega\omega\tau\varepsilon\) — Aristotle's (Pol. 1264 b 4) contemptuous rejection of Plato's similar argument from the analogy of \(\alpha i \theta\eta\lambda\varepsilon\varepsilon\iota\iota\tau\nu\phi\nu\lambda\acute{a}k\omega\nu\kappa\nu\nu\omega\nu\) (Rep. 451 d) amounts to this: "you might as well set men to work at oikonomia." As Adam's note on Rep. 451 d suggests, in any state of Plato's oikonomia is not a subject that anyone need work at much.

b 5. \(d\delta\gamma\nu\) . . . \(\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\), "fasten on mankind the reputation of being the most cowardly creature in the world." \(\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\nu\) is almost "bespatter"; cp. above 800 d 2. A's \(\kappa\tau\alpha\sigma\chi\epsilon\iota\nu\) is manifestly a thoughtless blunder.

c 1. \(\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\omega\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\), "to say nothing of the mischief of it."

c 2. \(\mu\acute{e}\chi\rho\iota\ \gamma\eta\tau\sigma\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\) : i.e. to the extent indicated above at a 1.

c 6. Stalib. cps. Rep. 603 b for \(\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu\nu\) in the sense of \(i\alpha m\ \nu\epsilon\omicron\omicron\). (At Gorg. 459 a—cited for this use by L & S.—we should probably read \(\tau\omicron\iota\ \nu\nu\nu\iota\).)

c 7. \(\sigma\omicron\upsilon\delta\gamma\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \rho\acute{a}\delta\iota\nu\ \kappa\tau\lambda\,) , "it is not easy (to do so) unless you demonstrate it in action while you explain it in words." Probably Plato was conscious that from the first introduction of the subject of \(\gamma\nu\mu\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\iota\) at the end of Bk. II. (673 b ff.), the treatment of the subject had been fragmentary, tautological, and unsystematic, and this is a sort of excuse for it; he cannot, he says, properly explain what he means, until he gets his hearers into a gymnasium, but the one thing he wants to impress upon them about \(\pi\acute{a}\lambda\eta\) is what he has already said at 796 a 8 ff., i.e. that not "profitless mastery," but "military efficiency" must be the trainer's object.

c 8. \(\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\) . . . \(\kappa\rho\iota\nu\omega\delta\acute{e}\mu\omicron\nu\) , "we will pronounce upon this"; \(\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\) is apparently the question foreshadowed above at 796 a 8 ff. in the words \(\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\tau\acute{a}\kappa\tau\epsilon\omicron\nu\ \mu\alpha\theta\tau\eta\tau\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \acute{a}m\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\acute{a}\zeta\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\iota\nu\), \(\acute{o}\tau\alpha\nu\ \acute{e}\nu\tau\alpha\nu\acute{a}\ \delta\omicron\uomicron\ \tau\omicron\iota\ \nu\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\). In other words he shelves the question of detail.

d 2. \(\tau\omicron\iota\nu\ \acute{a}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\) is governed by \(\pi\acute{e}\rho\iota\).

d 5. \(\omicron\acute{u}\kappa\ \acute{e}k\acute{e}i\nu\acute{e} \tau\acute{a}\upiota\upsilon\iota\ \acute{e}n\epsilon\kappa\alpha\ \mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{a}\iota\nu\) : there is doubtless some rhetorical exaggeration in the supposition that anybody would do military drill merely to win wrestling contests; but it adds point and explicitness to the converse recommendation only to develop the body so far as military drill requires.

d 7. \(\nu\omicron\ \delta\omicron\acute{h}\ \tau\omicron\iota\ \mu\omicron\varepsilon\ \pi\omicron\iota\iota\ \pi\alpha\lambda\iota\acute{a}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{e}\nu\acute{a}\acute{a}\mu\epsilon\omicron\nu\) \(\tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{e}\chi\rho\iota\ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\) \(\acute{h}\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\rho\iota\sigma\theta\omicron\) : i.e. "so much for the nature and efficiency of
wrestling!" τῆς δυνάμεως depends on τὸ μέχρι δεύτερο. For δύναμις in the sense of virtue, efficiency cp. Gorg. 456a πάλαι ἐρωτῶ τὸς ποτε ἡ δύναμις ἐστί τῆς ῥήτορικῆς. (Wagner takes τῆς π. παλ. δεύτ. to be "die Geschicklichkeit im Ringen," apparently supplying a περί before τῆς; Ast thinks a περί has been lost.)

e 3. With τῶν καλλιώνων we are meant to supply κίνησιν from the context.—ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνὸν and ἐπὶ τὸ φαύλον mean respectively "on the grand side," and "on the ridiculous side." The one representation tries to create admiration, the other ridicule. Cp. Politicus 293 e (πολιτείας) οὐ γνησίας . . . ἀλλὰ μεμιμημένας ταύτην, ὥς μὲν ὡς εὐνόμους λέγομεν ἐπὶ τὰ καλλίω, τὰς δὲ ἀλλας ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσχύνα; so Symp. 215 a 5 ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα of a caricature of Socrates, and Phil. 40 c 5, where sham pleasure and pain are said to be caricatures of real pleasure and pain—μεμιμημέναι μέντοι τὰς ἀληθείς ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα.

e 6 ff. τοῦ δή σπουδαίον, . . . εἰρηνικήν . . . τῆν πολεμικὴν δή . . .: in all three sentences we have cases of explanatory asyndeton. Ast was the first to punctuate more fully after ἐμμέτροι. Though right there, he is wrong in inserting ἦν before εἰρηνικήν and changing the δή after πολεμικὴν to δὲ.—All through these clauses the chiasmus is conspicuous. Wherever a pair of things is mentioned twice, their order is reversed on the second occasion.—Very likely ALO are right in reading ἐμπλεκέντων instead of the ἐμπλακέντων of L3 and the vulgate. Schneider is the only editor who follows the MSS.; cp. Curtius, Gk. Verb, p. 493 (Engl. trans.).

e 9. There is nothing to be gained by Stallb.'s ἐμμέτρου for ἐμμέτροι; cp. 649 e ἡδονῆς ἐμμέτρου.—κατὰ φίσις with ἀν λέγοι —"appropriately," like κατὰ τρόπον.

815 a 1. ἀλλὰν οὖσαν τῆς εἰρηνικῆς, "which is quite unlike the peaceful kind"; cp. Athen. xiv. 630 d καὶ ἔστων ὁμοία ἡ μὲν πυρρίχη τῇ σατυρικῇ ἀμφότεραι γὰρ διὰ τὰχους. πολεμικὴ δὲ δοκεῖ ἐναι ἡ πυρρίχη. ἐνοπλοὶ γὰρ αὕτην παῖδες ὀρχοῦνται. Cp. below on d 5.

a 2. ὀρθῶς: we learn from Athen. xiv. 629 f that the word πυρρίχη was also used as the name of a γελοία ὀρχησις; hence perhaps Plato's insistence on the "proper" use of the term.

a 3. εἰλάβεαι πληγῶν καὶ βολῶν, lit. "elusions of blows," stands for "movements by which blows are eluded," and so we can easily supply κινήσεις with the τὰς ταύτας (ταῖς κινήσεις) ἐναντίας in a 5.

a 4. (καὶ ἐκπροδήσεως) ἐν ὑψει καὶ σοῦ ταπεινώσει, "whether upwards or of a crouching nature."
a 5. τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ δραστικὰ φερομένας αἴ σχῆματα, “(motions) which tend on the other hand to postures of action.” For φερεσθαί ἐπὶ used to express a bent or tendency cp. Politicus 310 a 5 ἀρετῆς μερῶν . . . ἀνομοίων καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία φερομένῳ.

a 7. ἐπιχειροῦσας MSS., and so all editions. The τολεμικῆ ὁρχησις named πυρρήξη has two varieties, the defensive and the offensive. The former variety is described as μιμομένην τὰς εὐλαβείας, and the latter as μιμομένην τὰς ταύτας ἐναντίας (κινήσεις) “which,” he goes on, “aim at representing all kinds of blows.” This, as Stallb. says, involves a “mira quaedam connexionarum notionum confusio.” We should avoid this “confusio” if we adopted W. R. Paton’s ἐπιχειροῦσαν for ἐπιχειροῦσας. (Badham also suggests ἐπιχειροῦσαν, but he alters the rest of the passage out of all recognition.) The asyndeton after σχῆματα would be of the ordinary explanatory kind. But the τε is against this, and on the whole the “confusio” is perhaps preferable. (Schneider and Wagner connect φερομένας and ἐπιχειροῦσας, taking ἐν τε . . . ἀκοντίων with φερομένας, though differing widely in their translations of that part of the sentence.) [F.H.D. would end the sentence at ἀκοντίων and reject καὶ πασῶν . . . μιμοῦσθαι.]—τὸ τε ὀρθὸν κτλ.: in this passage I think we ought to put a colon after εὐτονον, and to take what follows as an explanation: “And the correct in dancing is also the physically bracing; (that is to say) when the representation is a representation of good bodies and good minds, it generally helps to straighten out the limbs of the body, and we regard such representations as correct, and regard one which imitates the opposite of these as incorrect.” The general idea of the passage, rightly grasped by Ficinus, is analogous to the rule laid down at 655 b: ἀπλῶς ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενα ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος, εἶτε αὐτῆς εἶτε τινὸς εἰκόνος, σύμπαντα σχῆματά τε καὶ μέλη καλά, τὰ δὲ κακῶς αἴ τούναντιόν ἄταν. (ἀποδεχόμενον (ἐστὶ)—ἀπ. being used as a passive—is equivalent to the ἀποδεχόμεθα which Ast would substitute for it.—Hermann would emend τούναντιόν to ποιν ἐναντίον; but, while it would be wrong to translate τὸ τούτος τούναντιόν as if it were τὸ τούτος ἐναντίον, there is a quite correct and much more suitable meaning to be got out of the words of the MSS. τούτος is not, vaguely, “that sort of thing,” but is “good bodies and minds,” and the words mean “the representation which copies the opposite of these,” μιμοῦμενον being easily supplied from the previous ὅταν μίμημα γίγνηται.—Hermann would also change
αποδεχόμενον to ἀποδεχόμενος, making it agree with the far-away τις ἢ τις ὡρθῶς προσπαθεῖν in a 2.)

b 3 ff. τῆν δὲ εἰρημικήν . . . διαστελεῖ: in this difficult, and somewhat clumsy, sentence it is best (1) to take μὴ κατὰ φύσιν as the opposite to ὡρθῶς—cp. 642 a 3 ἢ κατὰ φύσιν διόρθωσις; (2) to take διαστελεῖ closely with ἀντιλαμβανόμενος; (3) to make ἀντιλαμβανόμενος govern τῆς καλῆς ὀρχύσεως, and (4) to make the gen. εὐνόμον ἄνδρῶν depend on πρεπόντωσ—cp. Menex. 239 c 7 πρεπόντωσ τῶν πραξάντων: “When we come to the non-warlike style, the first question we must ask in each case is this: does the dancer succeed or not in persistently adopting graceful bodily gesture and movement in the dance, in a manner fitting a company of good citizens?”

c 2 ff. ὅση μὲν . . . ἐπανιέναι: the general sense of this passage is that the dancing usual in orgiastic and ceremonial representations is of a spurious and doubtful kind, and need not be made the subject of state regulation. The words from ὅση to ἀποτελοῦσιν present great difficulties. I would, with Steph., read περικαθαρ-μοῖς as one word (cp. below at e 3 the ἐπ' αὐξης of Α), and I would further suggest the substitution of αῖς for ἂς in c 3—omitting the comma after ἐπ.—translating: “All the dancing which is of a Bacchic character, and is practised by people who have to do with those dances by which, under the name of the Νymph, the ‘Pan,’ the ‘Silenus’ or the ‘Satyr,’ they ‘mimic,’ as the phrase is, people under the influence of wine, and (practised by) people who are performing ceremonies of so-called (τινας) purification or initiation—all this class of dances, I say . . .”
The genitives ἐπομένων and ἀποτελοῦσιν I take to be of exactly the same kind as τιμῶντων at d 6 and διαπεφυγόντων at e 2. The ἂς φασιν introduces the technical term μυκοῦσα, which means “represent in the form of a μύρος.” (If ἂς be retained it must be a “cognate” acc. with μυκοῦσα, and if the MS. περὶ καθαρμοῖς be preferred, ἀποτελοῦσιν must have τὰς ὀρχύσεις supplied with it.—Badham (whom F.H.D. would follow) would read ἂς Νῦμφας ἐπομενάζοντες, Πάνας κτλ., “and (is the dance of) the pursuers of those (Bacchanalian) women whom they (the dancers) call Nymphs, and (themselves) represent, as they say, drunken Pans, etc.”—Hermann and others think that the αἱ περὶ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἱάματα τελοῦσαι at 790 d is conclusive in favour of the MS. περὶ καθαρμοῖς here; but the analogy between that very doubtful passage and the present one is by no means so complete as to warrant this conclusion.)—I take οἱ ταύτας
ἐπόμενοι to be the professional mime-actors who personated various mythical characters, and also performed ceremonies of mystic purification or initiation. Cp. Xen. Symp. 7. 5, where Socrates suggests that the two dancers should, instead of contorting their bodies, adopt attitudes such as were to be seen in "pictures of Graces, Hours, and Nymphs."

c 6. τούτο τῇς ὁρχήσεως τῷ γένους: two things are strange about this phrase: (1) its early repetition at δ 2 below, and (2) the position of the article. At c 6 Ficinus translates by "hoc saltationis genus," at δ 2 by "hoc." This suggests that he may have read τούτο without the four following words at δ 2, and does not absolutely exclude the possibility that, as Badham held, τῇς ὁρχήσεως is a later addition at c 6.

c 8. μέν, as Ast says, takes the place of the δὲ to the μὲν of c 2; he eps. 663 e 4, 709 b 8, 721 e 5, 723 a 3, 862 a 4, and 903 c 7.

d 2. οὐκ ἔστι πολιτικόν, "is not fit for a civilized community"; cp. above 697 c 2 οὖθ᾽ ὁσιον οὕτε πολιτικῶν ἂν δρῶῃ πρᾶγμα, and below 854 c 7 ἀνόσια ἔργα καὶ πολιτοφθόρα.—ἐντάθη δὲ κείμενον ἓσαντας κείσθαι, "and having thus settled its position, to leave it alone."

d 3. άμα expresses the idea that both these kinds of dance are equally valuable to the state (ημέτερον being the opposite of οὗ πολιτικόν).

d 5. The second δὲ proceeds as if, instead of ἀπολέμου, we had had οὐ μὲν πολεμικῆς; the contrast is the same as that expressed by ἀλλὰν οὖσαν τῆς εἰρηνικῆς at a 1. (The early editors replaced the δὲ after τὸ by δῆ, Badham by μὲν οὖν.)

d 6. The τιμών of L is a natural correction, but the τιμῶντων of A and O is more in conformity with the other similar genitives in the passage.—ἐν μὲν . . . γεγνώμενον, "will all form a single class, distinguished by a consciousness of well-being."

e 1. I think the strange αὐτοῦ of the MSS. must be a mistake for αὐ. If not it must stand for τοῦτον τοῦ γένους, and depend on τὸ μὲν.—It is better to take τινῶν with πόνων, and διαπεφυγότων as parallel to τιμῶντων, than to make τινῶν διαπεφ. a gen. abs.

e 2 f. τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἀγαθῶν σωτηρίας οὕτης καὶ ἐπαύξης: the gen. abs. stands loosely for "the kind of dancing indulged in by people when existing blessings are preserved or augmented."

e 3. ἐπὶ αὐξῆς A; cp. above on c 5.

e 4. Whether we read κεκτημένον with A and O, or κεκτημένων with L, ἐκείνων goes with προτέρας, and probably stands for ἡ τὰς ἐκείνων ἴδιονάς. κεκτημένων would fall into line with
THE LAWS OF PLATO

tημώντων and διαπεφευγότων. κεκτημένον seems rather a tame parallel to ἔχων in e.2. I prefer L’s reading.

e 7. For γεγυμνασµένον προς ἀνδρείαν cp. above 626 b 5, and Politicus 266 c τῷ προς τὸν εὖχερη βίον ἀρµατα γεγυµνασµένο.—
In this enumeration of the contrasted mental characteristics, which are outwardly expressed in dancing, we have the usual chiastic arrangement. κοσµιώτερος contrasts with ἀγύµναστος προς τὸ σωφρονείν, and γεγυµνασµένος προς ἀνδρείαν with δειλός; the phrasing is further varied by the attachment of the notion of training first to ἀνδρεία, and next to σωφροσύνη.

810a 1. αὖ is “here again”; this is the second deduction as to mental condition to be drawn from the observation of the degrees of energy in dancers.

a 3 ff. ὁλῶς δὲ ... σῶµπωσαν, “every man, when he is making any kind of utterance, be it in song or in speech, is quite unable to keep his body motionless. From this source springs the representation of what is being said by gesture and attitude which has produced the dancer’s art in all its varieties.” The dance, i.e., is the artistic development of the instinctive movements which accompany any expression of feeling. (In the case of the mimes these movements are the only expression.)

α 4. οὗ πάνυ δυνατός: I think the πάνυ here qualifies οὗ and not δυνατός. So in effect Wagner, who translates οὗ πάνυ δυνατός . . . πᾶς by “durcaus keiner . . . ist im Stande.” (Prof. H.J. will not allow that οὗ is ever so qualified by a following πάνυ, and translates: “it is true of everyone that he is not quite capable of keeping his body quiet.”)

b 4. αὐτῶν is not, as Stallb. says, “ex abundanti illatum” (like the αὐτῶν at 625 a 3), but is emphatic; cp. above on 700 c 6. To ensure graceful dancing it is not enough that the dancers’ circumstances should be exhilarating; they must themselves have self-control and a sense of decency.—All printed texts adopt A’s δὲ, but the τε of LO and Cod. Voss. seems more natural. The two points are equally necessary, though it is particularly the μετριότης of character which is responsible for the grace of the ἐµµέλεια.—ὡς ὀρθῶς . . . ἐπωνόµασε, “(we must commend it when we consider) how correctly and like a true musician he gave the name, whoever he was, and how philosophically he assigned to the whole class the name ἐµµέλεια, or concinnity.” ὡς is not “perquam” as Ast says; it is the same ὡς as that in b 2, which is either ὁτι αὐτῶν after ἐπαυεῖν, or simply “how” after διανοουµένον—probably the latter. The ὡς must be repeated

304
“in sense” with κατὰ λόγον in b 5. (In Ficinus’s and Ast’s view of the sentence ἐν is not the subject of a suppressed ἐστι, or the object of δεῖ ἐπανεῖν, but an acc. of inner obj. with ὄνομασεν.)

b 5. For the connexion of the three ideas of “concininity,” “musical taste,” and “philosophic insight” cp. Soph. 259 e 1 ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἐμμελές καὶ δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀμοινὸν τινὸς καὶ ἀφιλοσόφου. Cp. also Tim. Locr. 101 b ἄ δε τεταγμένα ποτὲ λόγως μουσικῶς ἐμμελῆς, ἃ δὲ ἀτακτός τε καὶ ἄλογος ἐκμελῆς τε καὶ ἀνάμοιρος.

b 6. ἐμμελείας: Hesych. s.v. says καὶ Πλάτων ἐπαινεῖ τὴν ὀρχήσεως. So far Hesychius’s reference might be to our passage, but our knowledge of Plato does not enable us to follow him when he goes on: καὶ φησίν ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλους ὀνομασίας ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὰ μέλη γίνεσθαι.

b 8. ἐκατέρω ὁ πρόεπον τε καὶ ἀρμόττον ἐπιθείες ὀνομα: we are left to conjecture whence Plato derived πυρρίχη; perhaps from πυρρὸς “fiery-red,” or perhaps from πῦρ.

c 1–d 2. All this is a repetition of what has been said above about φιλοκ and ὀρχήσεως at 799 a and 802. This special chapter about dancing seems to have been an afterthought of the author’s, introduced here, perhaps, for the sake of the views on the philosophy of dancing expressed at 816 a. — With ἐξηγεῖσθαι τύποις cp. τύπῳ τινὶ δυομούμενον at 802 e 1.

c 4. ἐπὶ πάσας ἐορτὰς τῶν θυσιῶν ἐκαίστῃ τὸ πρὸσφορον: τφιά is here used as an alternative for ἐορτή; so at 799 a 9 καὶ χορείαις πολλαῖς γειράρειν τὴν τότε θυσίαν.

c 5. οὕτω καθιερώσαντα αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν τάξει: τάξις is the authorized list, “when he has thus given the authority of religion to the complete list.” (Badham ingeniously suggests ἄν τάξις for ἐν τάξει.)

d 1. ὀμοίων εἰς δύναμιν ὄντας: cp. above, 741 a 7 ff. τὴν ὀμοιότητα καὶ ἴσοτητα καὶ τὸ ταύτον καὶ ὀμολογούμενον τιμῶντες κατὰ φύσιν μὴ ἀνέτε.

d 3 f. τὰ μὲν ... διαπετέρανται, “as to the part played by comely bodies and virtuous minds in such choric performances as have been prescribed, no more remains to be said.” (Ast makes the οἷὰς clause the main subject of διαπετέρανται; but he translates as if he had δεῖ instead of εἴρηται δεῖν.)

d 4. The οἷα of A and O is probably a larpais xalami.

d 5 ff. καὶ τῶν ... κεκωμοφθημένα, “and (the part played by) those who devote themselves to the production of ridiculous effects,
secured by speech, song, and dance, and the mimic powers which all these possess."—τούτων πάντων is a subjective gen. (Apparently A originally wrote κατὰ τάδες τούτων τῶν πάντων. Schneider and Wagner take κεκομωθημένα with μιμήματα.)

**d 9.** With πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων we must supply ἄνευ from the preceding words.

**e 2.** All MSS. and all editions previous to Burnet's give οὐκ ἄν δυνατόν. No one attempts to translate or to justify the ἄν; the margins of O and L record an alternative reading οὐκ ἄδυνατον; this, though a quite untenable reading, weakens the position of the ἄν still further. Burnet's suggestion that what Plato wrote was οὐκ ἄν δυνατόν is a very likely one, and the echoing repetition of ἄν which this involves by no means impossible.

**e 3 ff.** ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ἑνεκα τούτων . . . οὐκ γελοῖα, μηδὲν δέον, "(so far from practising them,) the very reason for getting to know what they are like is just to prevent our inadvertently doing something ridiculous when we need not." This sounds dreadfully solemn, but perhaps he would after all leave us something to laugh at; for the μηδὲν δέον suggests that there are occasions when even the philosopher cannot avoid being ridiculous.

**e 5 ff.** δούλωις δὲ . . . προστάτευν: this infin. goes back, I think, to the ποιεῖν οὗ δυνατόν in e 2, some word denoting obligation being supplied in thought with it and the following infinitives.

**e 8.** μήτε γυναῖκα μήτε ἄνδρα: i.e. "no man any more than any woman." It is implied in these words that no woman would go to see a comedy; cp. on 658 d 3.

**e 9.** καὶνὸν δὲ ἀεὶ τι περὶ αὐτᾶ φαίνεσθαι τῶν μιμημάτων: this has been interpreted in two different ways; it has been taken to mean (1) that there ought always to be felt to be something unfamiliar and strange about all comic representation—"semper res nova esse quaebit harum imitationum videatur" Schneider, and so Wagner; (2) that such unedifying representations should be constantly changed, for fear that familiarity might give them too strong a hold on the public mind. The latter view is that of Stallb. and Jowett, and is emphasized by Ritter (p. 190)—cp. above on 797 d 9. On the whole it fits the words better than the former.—περὶ αὐτᾶ, like the περὶ γέλωτα in e 10, and the περὶ πραγμάτειν in 817 a 2, stands for a descriptive gen., and goes closely with μιμημάτων.—Plato had a personal reason for disliking the comic stage; cp. Apol. 18 d 1.

**817 a 1.** τῷ νόμῳ: this refers to the definite injunctions (1) that only slaves were to act in comedy, and (2) that no one comedy
was to be acted often; λόγῳ refers to the reasons given for them in
the lawgiver’s “preface.”

a 3. For the superfluous αὐτῶν cp. on 625 a 3.

a 5. φέρομεν τε καὶ ἀγομεν: an instance of Plato’s fondness
for familiar phrases, even where they are not used in the ordinary
sense; so too Phaedr. 279 c 2 and Plut. De frat. am. 486 e.

b 2. “All the world’s a stage.” Plato, however, is not here
thinking so much of the actors on the “stage” of real life, as of
the lawgivers as moulders of the community, and so as “creators”
of a “true story”; they have “a kingdom for a stage.”—κατὰ
δόναμιν goes, as usual, with the superlatives,—which are repeated
with βίων in b 4.

b 3. πᾶσα οὖν MSS. and all texts. Prof. I. Bywater (J. of
Phil. xxxi. p. 204) says “one would expect rather πᾶσα γοῦν—
which would make the second clause a modest confirmation of the
truth of the first statement.” Translators have all taken this
view of the relation of the clauses, but neither Ficinus’s nempe,
Schneider’s nimirum, Wagner’s nämlich, nor Jowett’s for can be got
out of οὐν. (In A a is so often written α—see above on 814 a 6—
and even αυ, that an α for αγ might easily pass for a simple α.
It is curious that at Phaedr. 262 b 4 all the early texts down to
and including Steph’s had γίνεται οὖν οὖτως, where all MSS.
have γ. γοῦν οὖτως.

b 6. τῶν αὐτῶν: i.e. “we are both creators of τραγῳδία.”

b 7. ἀντίστασιν τε καὶ ἀνταγωνισταί τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος:
the two nouns are generally taken to be synonymous (“rivals and
competitors”), and the gen. to denote merely the subject in which
they were rivals (cp. Eur. Tro. 1006 ἑρωτος ἀνταγωνιστήν, Arist.
Pol. 1338 b 37 ἀνταγωνιστᾶς τῆς παιδείας); but ought we not
rather to translate “rival composers, and rival performers (and) of
the noblest of dramas”? At Phaedrus 269 d Plato uses ἀγωνιστὴς
for “performer,” at Ep. iii. 321 a 3 for “performer in the theatre”;
so Arist. Probl. 918 b 27 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑποκριτὴς ἀγωνιστὴς καὶ
μυητής, ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἦττον μιμεῖται. It is not the same drama
which both are acting; τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος applies only to
the “work” of the lawgivers.

b 8. ἀποτελεῖν: used, like our “render,” of performances, and so
appropriately used of a δράμα; cp. above on 668 b 7. Here
therefore it is more than “bring about,” “compose”; it is “give a
representation of,” “produce.” A “true code of laws” is the χορηγός
of the Platonic δράμα.

c 4. ἐπιτρέψειν ὑμῖν: an unnecessary conversational repetition.
of ἐάνειν, rendered still more irregular by the following λέγοντας which goes back to ἃμας in c 2. Badham rejects the words as spurious.

c 5. γυναικας: cp. above on 658 d 3.

c 6. ἐπιτηδευμάτων: probably "pursuits"; Fic. translates by "rerum"; most interpreters take it to mean "institutions," for which sense cp. 780 e 2 τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν συνστιτίων.—It is strange that both A and O should omit the τὸ before πολὺ—manifestly a scribe's error—and that only O² should make the correction.

d 1. ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἀπασα ἡ πόλις, ἡτισοῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποι: all previous editors except Burnet write ἦτις ὁὖν as two words. I conclude from Burnet that A at all events writes it as one. There is no need, with Winckelmann, to write ἦτις ἂν: ἡτισοῦν ἐπιτρέποι might well stand, in conversational style, for "if there were a city so foolish as to . . ." (Badham would emend ἀπασα πόλις, εἰ ἡτισοῦν.) The opt. is the same assimilated opt. as at a 47 ὡς ἀπόλοιπο καὶ ἄλλος, ὃ τις τοιαύτα γε ἰέποι.

d 3. λέγειν εἰς τὸ μέδον depends on ἐπιτήδεια.

d 4 ff. ἐπιδείξαντες . . . δῶσομεν ὑμῖν: "a bold anacoluthon" (Stallb). All other interpreters make ἐπιδείξαντες agree regularly with the subj. of δῶσομεν. ἐπιδείξαντες describes much better the action of the poets than that of the city's representatives, though παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας makes slightly the other way, as the foreign poets would not be in the position to submit both productions to the judicial committee.

d 6. τὰ αὐτὰ γε ἡ καὶ βελτίω: in other words, "if your ideals are the same as, or better than, ours."

e 2. χωρίς μὲν . . . δεσποτῶν: this addition is surprising. It seems to imply that the necessity for making separate regulations for masters and servants had been already dwelt on at some length. The only recent passage to which it can refer is that at 816 e 5, where comedy-acting is assigned to δούλοις καὶ ξένοις ἐμμύσθους. The separation of the two classes is still in the author's mind at the beginning of the next section, as is shown by the words τοῖς ἐλευθέροις at e 5.

e 6. λογισμοί μὲν καὶ τὰ περὶ ἄριθμοις ἐν μάθημα: cp. Rep. 525 a 6 λογιστικὴ τε καὶ ἄριθμητικὴ περὶ ἄριθμον πᾶσα. For the distinction between λογιστικὴ and ἀριθμητικὴ see Adam on Rep. 525 a, and Thompson on Gorg. 451 c. The subject is an obscure one; anyhow Plato makes the two one science here.

e 7. βάθος, as Ritter says (p. 221 f.), is here used in the sense
of solidity, not merely height, or depth (which is merely lineal, like width). \( \pi \lambda \tau \omicron \sigma \) in the same way is surface, not merely breadth. The dictionaries recognize the latter meaning, but not the former.

818 a. \( \omega \) \( \acute{a} \kappa r i \beta \epsilon i a s \, \acute{e} \chi \omicron \omicron \nu e n, \) "in all their minute details"; cp. above 810 b \( \acute{a} \pi \kappa \kappa r i \beta \omicron \beta \omicron \omicron \sigma \tau a i. \)

818 a 1. \( \omega \) \( \acute{a} \kappa r i \beta \epsilon i a s \, \acute{e} \chi \omicron \omicron \nu e n, \) "in all their minute details"; cp. above 810 b \( \acute{a} \pi \kappa \kappa r i \beta \omicron \beta \omicron \omicron \sigma \tau a i. \)

a 3. \( \pi r o i \omicron \omicron \tau e s \, \epsilon \pi \, \tau \omicron \, \tau \acute{e} \lambda e \, \varphi r \acute{a} \sigma \omicron \omicron \mu e n: \) cp. above 812 e \( \delta \epsilon \xi e i \, \delta e \, \alpha u \tau \alpha \pi r o i \omicron \omicron \, \omicron \hookled \lambda \gamma o s \, \acute{a} \mu a \, \tau \omicron \, \chi \rho \omicron \nu \omicron \chi \).

(\textit{Badham argues} that when a man is at the end he cannot be going on, and therefore rejects \( \pi r o i \omicron \omicron \tau e s \). \textit{This argument would condemn} \( \epsilon \pi \) \( \tau \omicron \, \tau \acute{e} \lambda e \) \( \chi \omicron \omicron \nu e n \) \( \sigma \, \omega \chi \epsilon \chi \) \( \xi o n \tau a s \). \( \tau o u s \, \delta e \, \nu \omicron \, \acute{a} \pi \kappa \kappa a s \mu e n o u s \, \tau o u s \, \gamma \omicron \rho \omicron \omicron \tau a s. \)

—\( \acute{o} \omega \, \gamma \alpha r \, \pi r \acute{e} \tau o n \, \acute{a} \epsilon i \eta \): Burnet's parenthesis-marks before \( \omega \)\( o u s \) and \( \tau \omicron \, \pi \lambda \). seem to make these words apply to the reservation of the selection; so Wagner. Most interpreters make them apply to the statement that such a selection must be made; but Burnet's comma after \( \tau \omicron \, \pi \lambda \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicr...
—I am much drawn to Ritter’s interpretation, but am unable to decide.)

a. 7. τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶν τε ἀποβάλλειν: as Ritter says (p. 215) ἀναγκαῖον has here the absolute meaning. The truths of mathematics are in a sense necessary truths. The connexion of the sentence with what precedes seems to be this: “Whatever we leave out, there is one thing we cannot get rid of, and that is the binding nature of mathematical truth; in a sense (which is hard to understand) it is binding even on the Deity.”

b. 1 f. At Prot. 345 d Plato quotes Simonides’s words literally: ἀνάγκη δ’ οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται. The expression δ’ τῶν θεῶν πρῶτον παρομοιασάμενος seems to imply that Simonides himself was quoting what was already a proverbial saying.

b. 3. ὅσα θεία γε κτλ.: a grammatically irregular but quite intelligible explanation of εἰς ταῦτα. In translating we should put in “he meant, namely.”—Ritter (p. 213) points out that the θεία ἀνάγκη spoken of at 780 e is of a quite different kind from that here discussed. There the compulsion was exercised by gods on men: here it is felt by the gods themselves.—Porson on Med. 863 pronounces duplex γε to be valde invenustum, Jebb on Oed. Col. 977 says “there is no objection to a doubled γε where each of two words in the same sentence is to be emphasized” (Hdt. i. 187). Cp. Stallb. on Philebus 62 e 6, where T has γε for the usually received τι. The γε after τῶν here is due to Heindorf; it was previously suggested by Cod. Voss. Stoebaeus omits the word, and so would Steph. The MSS. have τῶν τε.—ἐπεὶ is whereas; cp. above on 794 d 7, and 669 b 6.

b. 4. τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν ἀναγκών: for this gen. with λόγος cp. Politicus 285 d τῶν τῆς υφαινηκῆς λόγον. He means that it is the height of folly to say that there is no fighting against such human necessities as the proverb generally has in view.

b. 7. αἱ μὴ τοιαύται stands for αἱ μὴ ἄνθρωποι.—ἀνάγκαι τῶν μαθημάτων: the limiting gen. is important. The question is not: “what kind of necessity in general is binding upon the Divine nature?” but “what intellectual, or scientific necessity is so binding?”

b. 9 ff. The answer is hard for us to understand, though apparently Cleinias did not find it so. The Ath. seems to say that if a superhuman being is to stand in any effectively beneficial relation to men there are certain intellectual necessities which he must not only μαθεῖν to some extent, but πράξαι. It is especially hard to see what πράξαι means here with ἀνάγκας as its object.
Ritter (p. 213) translates πρᾶξαι by schaffen: Plato means, he thinks, that God is the author of a necessity binding upon himself; and he further explains this by saying that "mathematical necessity—in other words the unchangeable fixed relations between the elements of mathematics—is a piece of the divine essence itself. I think Ritter is right in his translation of πρᾶξαι, but, in modification of his view, would suggest that while the μηδὲ αὖ μαθῶν τὸ παράπαν, "if he be utterly unconscious of," belongs to the δαίμων or ἡρως, πρᾶξας is said of the supreme Deity, and denotes the creation in us men of the faculty of realizing mathematical necessity. Cp. Epin. 978 c 4 παρὰ δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἑνώκως ὁ θεὸς ὥστε ἰκανοῖς εἶναι δεικνύμενον συννοεῖν. Possibly also the words οἶος δυνατὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπ. σ. σπ. ποιεῖσθαι apply only to the δαίμων or ἡρως. Mathematics, then, and Astronomy are with Plato a kind of consecrated ground on which the divine stoops to man, and man (c 3 ff.) rises to the divine. It should be noticed that the whole statement is introduced by δοκῶ μὲν. The speaker knows he is venturing on mysterious ground. (The question raised here is analogous to the early Christian speculations as to the inability of the Deity to do anything wrong, or leave undone anything right.)—(Previous translations of πρᾶξαι here are experiri Fic., vita et moribus exprimere Serranus, agere Schn., ausüben Wagn., have use of Jowett.)—F.H.D. believes πρᾶξας to be corrupt. Cp. Burnet, Gk. Philosophy, chap. xvi.

3. The subj. of ἀν δεησεῖν is not ἀνθρωπός, but the "being," the indeterminate τος of b 9, with which δυνάμενος in c 5 agrees. For ἀνθρωπος θεῖος γενέσθαι cp. Rep. 500 ε 9 θεῖον δὴ καὶ κοσμίῳ ὁ γε φιλόσοφος ὁμιλῶν κόσμιος τε καὶ θεῖος εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γίγνεται.

4 ff. It looks at first as if, of the three above-mentioned sciences of Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, he here specifies the first and last, omitting the second; but an examination of Epinomis 978 c 6 ff. suggests that he is here still talking only of Arithmetic. There the Ath. says God teaches us to count by forcing us to notice (1) the changes of day and night, and (2) the number of days it takes for the moon to go through her changes.

6. νόκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διαριθμεῖσθαι, "to mark off night and day as separate units."

d 1 ff. As Ritter says, we must lay stress on πάντα and εἰσεσθαί: "All these subjects must be studied by one who hopes to attain to any real knowledge of the highest kind." But the following words show that πάντα does not mean the whole of each subject.
d 3. There is no need to follow Stallb. in reading μωρία καί for καί μωρία: the καί is the same emphasizing καί which we had in καί ἑναντία at 817 c 7.

d 4 ff. τοῖα δὲ ... μανθάνειν, "what particular parts of these subjects should be studied, and to what extent, and at what times; which parts should be studied together, and what may be studied independently of the others, and all the ways of combining these three subjects, these are things which a man must find out clearly before he lets these studies lead him on to those which follow."—Ritter points to a parallel to τοῖα ἐκαστα in the οἷα δὲ ἐκαστα αὐτῶν εἶναι δὲι at 835 a 7, though he wants to read ἐκαστον here.—(ἐκαστον is unnecessary: the course of study here contemplated has only in view the higher intelligences who would make it an introduction to the highest study of all; cp. d 2 τῷ μέλλοντι κτλ. § such an imaginary person is what λαβόντα in d 6 agrees with.)

d 6. κράσιν: the acc. is "proleptic" (Stallb.), in view of the following λαβόντα.

d 8: κατειλήφεν, "has settled it."

e 1. If πράξας at b 9 was rightly interpreted, this is a re-affirmation of the fact that God was obliged to endue man with the mathematical faculty.

e 5. προταξάμενον τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: the προ- is the significant part of this clause: it is too early, the Ath. says, to map out in detail the course of mathematical study outlined at d 4–6.

e 7 f. τῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄπειριας ἔθος, "our country's habitual disregard of such subjects." For περὶ c. gen. after ἄπειριας—to which Badham objects—cp. 632 d 5 τῷ περὶ νόμων ἐμπείρῳ. ἔθος ἄπειριας stands for εἰωθήναν ἄπειριαν. "Hic usus nominum abstractorum in his libris longe frequentissimus" Stallb. (Bdh. would reject ἄπειριας—even though the word occurs at a 4 in the Ath.'s answer—on the ground that "you cannot form a habit of not doing anything."—τῆς ἡμετέρας is probably "our native land." Both Cl. and Meg. were Dorians, and mathematics was not studied much either in Sparta or in Crete.

e 9. ἄποκαρπτόμενος (pass.), which seems to have been what A first wrote, is quite as good a reading as ἄποκρυπτόμενος, to which it was corrected. The former is "and don't be deterred alone on that account," the latter "and don't keep anything back on that account." The simple passive κάμπτεσθαι is several times used by Plato in this sense.

819 a 1. φοβοῦμαι μὲν κτλ., "True," says the Ath., "I am afraid that your ignorance of mathematics may make explanation
difficult; but you are not in the worst case: those who have studied mathematics in the wrong way are in a worse.”

a 3 ff. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ κτλ., “in no case is complete ignorance formidable or serious, or the worst of evils: no: intimate and extensive knowledge got from bad teachers does far more harm than ignorance.”—The word ἀγωγὴ was specially used, we are told, in Sparta, of the Spartan system of education; Plut. Ages. 1 ἡχῶθε τὴν λεγομένην ἀγωγὴν ἐν Δακεδαίμονι. (Jowett’s “too much cleverness... accompanied with ill bringing up” gives ἀγωγὴ a moral meaning; but κακῶς ἡμένους shows that it is here used of intellectual training.—Badham rewrites the sentence in his Convivium thus: οὐδαμὴ γὰρ δεινότατον οὐδ’ ἡ σφόδρα ἀπειρίᾳ οὔτε μέγιστον τῶν πάντων κακόν, and in his Philebus thus: οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ δεινὸν οὐδ’ ἡ σφοδρὰ ἀπειρία τῶν πάντων οὕτω μέγιστον κακὸν.)

a 8 f. τοσάδε... ὀσα, “at least as much... as.”

b 2 ff. πρῶτον μὲν κτλ., “In arithmetic, to begin with, there have been invented, for the merest children, lessons for them to learn with amusement and pleasure, whether it is the distribution of a lot of apples, or garlands, so that the same totals are adjusted both to larger and to smaller groups” (i.e. the same totals can be made up in various ways), “or whether it is (the arrangement) of boxers or wrestlers both as ‘byes,’ and pairs, assigning to each their turn, and arranging the events in order, and according to the nature of such contests.” The first part of this passage is quoted and explained at Athen. xv. 670 f (§ 10).

b 3. Wagner plausibly suggests that μηχανήματα, and not μαθήματα, was what Plato wrote. Is it possible that it was σχήματα, and that the μα- is due to a faulty repetition of the previous -μα? Cp. Rep. 536 d ῥό σχῆμα τῆς διδαχῆς.

b 8. ταίχοντες: this and the following participles agree with the teachers (understood).—Sometimes they “mix” the various kinds of bowls indiscriminately; at other times they “divide up” the whole lot (putting each kind in a separate group).

c 1. Possibly ὀλὰς is “in complete sets.”—There is much in the details of these children’s games that is left to the reader’s imagination. Ritter suggests that the apples were, when necessary, divided into various fractional parts.—As to the bowls, or saucers, we are not told whether they were all of the same size—in which case e.g. one gold bowl would be worth ten silver ones (cp. Boeckh, Pub. Ec. of Ath. Eng. trans. pp. 21 and 27)—or of sizes in inverse proportion to their values.—Possibly in the κεραννύντες game the
value which each child was to receive was to be the same, the
question being in how many different ways the different metals in
each lot could be arranged; while in the διαδίδοντες game each
child only received one sort, and the question was how many?—
(Ritter thinks that ἄρμοστόντων ἀριθμῶν τῶν αὑτῶν means "so
that each child may receive an equal number."—He also suggests
that the genitives ἐφεδρείας and συλλήξεως may depend not—as I
have taken them—on διανομαί but on ἐν μέρει used as a pre-
positional phrase; or that ἐν μέρει may refer to totals which
could only be managed by allowing a certain number of "byes"
or "odd men," in which case the "byes" might alternate with the
pairs, and the ἐφεξῆς to the regular succession of contests where
no byes were needed. He thinks our text may be defective here.
Badham provides us with a new one, as follows: μετὰ παιδίας τε καὶ ἡδονής
μανθάνει μήλον τὲ τινον διανομαί καὶ στεφάνων πλείοσιν ἄμα καὶ ἐλάττωσιν ἀρμόστοντ᾽ ἀριθμῶν, τῶν τ᾽ αὖ
πτυκτὼν καὶ παλαιστῶν ἐφεδρείας τε καὶ συλλήξεως ἐν μέρει καὶ ἐφεξῆς, καὶ ὡς πεφύκαστι γίγνεσθαι.)

c 2. ὅπερ εἶτον marks a repetition of the μετὰ παιδίας τε καὶ
ἡδονής at b 3.—eis παιδίαν ἐναρμόττοντες τὰς τῶν ἀναγκαίων
ἀριθμῶν χρήσεως, "accommodating the applications of the ‘four
rules’ to a game"; i.e. "making a game out of the four rules." I
have taken ἀναγκαίων ἀριθμῶν to mean "indispensable
arithmetic." (Or does it mean "the fixed properties of numbers")

C 4. The variant στρατοπεδείας given in L and O for στρατείας
adds definiteness to the enumeration. Still, it is rather geometry
than simple calculation which is needed for στρατοπεδεία, whereas
calculation is necessary in all campaigns, even on the part of
private soldiers.

c 5. eis οἰκονομίας: cp. 747 b 1 πρὸς τε γὰρ οἰκονομίαν κτλ.

c 7. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα marks a later and higher stage in the
curriculum: the more elaborate study of "pure numbers" will
throw light, he says, on stereometry. (Cp. above 747 a 1 ff., and Rep.
528 a ff.)

d 2. ἄγνωιαν Ast, ἄνωιαν MSS. See above on 688 e 7; the
narrower and more definite word suits this passage better.

d 3. ταύτης ἀπαλλάττουσιν: this bold anacoluthon leaves the
acc. ἄγνωιαν "hanging." (This is better than to suppose ταύτης to
be τῆς πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως (so Schneider), or, with
Stallb., to emend to ταύτην.)

d 6. οἰκονύμας ὅτε ποτε: most likely Plato means that it was
quite late in his life—not merely at a late stage of his mathematical

314
NOTES TO BOOK VII

819 d

studies—when this ἄγνοια was pointed out to him. Ritter—
whose discussion of this passage (pp. 221–228) is most helpful—
says it is not necessary to suppose that Plato was abroad when so
enlightened; but I think the ἣμῶν of d 6, the ἀπάντων τῶν
'Ελλήνων of e 1, and the πάντες Ελλήνες of 820 a 9 make against
R.'s suggestion that Plato's informant was a "Greek from foreign
parts—perhaps Theodorus of Cyrene." The recent mention of
Egyptian mathematics suggests that Egypt was the source of the
revelation, and, if so, it was likely to have happened in Egypt.
On the other hand the discovery is of a kind which we associate
rather with the Greek genius than with that of the Egyptians.

d 7. All editions have adopted O's ὑπνών, which is supported
by Photius ὑπνών· σκαλών καὶ ἀμαθῶν· καὶ ὑπνία· σκαιότης καὶ
ἀμαθία· οὕτως Καλλίας. A probably had ὑεικῶν corrected to
vellων, L has ὑννών. — Pigs are taken by Plato at Rep. 535 e and
372 d as types of contented ignorance. At Polit. 266 c he calls
them γένος εὐχερέστατον τῶν ὑπνῶν.

e 2. καὶ adds the same emphasis to the question that a prefixed
"pray" would add in English.

e 6 and 8. Ritter is right, I think, in holding that πλάτος and
βάθος here do not mean the linear measurement of width and
depth respectively, but that πλάτος stands for a surface (something
in two dimensions), and βάθος for a solid (something in three
dimensions). βάθος, he says, must be so interpreted at Rep.
528 d ε τὴν βάθους αὐξῆς μέθοδον, and φορᾶν ὀδον βάθους.

e 8. τούτων probably stands for μετὰ ταῦτα and is the same
kind of gen. as is found after comparatives and δεύτερος and
ὕστερος.

e 13. The parenthetical οἴμαι has here the meaning "I mean,"
or "namely," which it bears at Rep. 372 d ἀπερ νομίζεται, ἐφή·
ἐπί τε κλίνων κατακείσθαι, οἴμαι, τοὺς μέλλοντας μὴ ταλαιπω-
ρεύσθαι, and at Rep. 564 a ἐξ, οἴμαι, τῆς ἀκροτάτης ἐλευθερίας
dουλεία πλείστη. It is better, perhaps, to put an interrogation
mark after φύσεi.

820 a 3. ἀλλά is illogical; not "but if" but "and if" is what
we want here in English.—The typical instance of incommensur-
able lines is that of the diagonal and side of a square; of surfaces
that of the square and the circle.—L alone has the right reading
ἡρέμα; O and A have ῥημα which O² altered correctly, and A² to
ῥήμα and a to ῥήματα. The latter is a good instance of the sense-
less correction which looks at the isolated word only.

a 8. Probably the stray [ὁστε πῶς] is to be explained by

315
supposing the scribe's eye to have wandered to the end of ἀμώς γέ πῶς in a 10, which also comes after πρὸς ἀλληλα.

a 9. μετρεῖονθαὶ πρὸς ἀλληλα may here be rendered "be expressed in terms of one another"; e.g. it might be thought that the proportion between the solid contents of two cubes corresponded to a certain proportion between the surfaces that bound them, or the lines which bound the surfaces.

b 2. εἰ δ' ἔστιν . . . δυνατά, "but if there are quantities which cannot in any conceivable way (be so measured)."

b 5. ἐφαμεν (if correct) must refer to 818 a 5; but (1) the following statement (connected by μὲν and δὲ) was not made at 818 a; and (2) it is unnatural to suppose that the βέλτιστοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων should have heard the conversation between the Ath. and his two hearers. It is therefore more likely that Plato wrote φαμεν here.

b 6. "Post αἰσχρόν ἐστι interdum simplex μῆ, frequentius multo μὴ οὐ cum infinitivo copulatum reperies." Heindorf on Prot. 352 d.

b 7. οὐδὲν πάνυ καλὸν, "there is not a particle of merit" (in knowing such things). I think πάνυ qualifies οὐδὲν, not καλὸν.

c 2. τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων: "hoc pro glossa habeo voci ἐκεῖνων adscripta." Ast (possibly).

b 4. πρὸς ἀλληλα goes with the preceding adjectives, not, as Jowett, with ἤτειν φυσει γέγονεν. The subject here introduced is the nature or, as we might say, the theory of incommensurability in general, as contrasted with commensurability. If a man, he says, cannot tell which is which, he is a poor creature; and if men want to pit their intellects against each other, it is much better to do it in problems of this kind than, e.g., at draughts.

b 6. With προβάλλοντα . . . φιλονικεῖν we must supply something like δεῖ from the previous ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι.

b 8. προσβυτῶν seems to stand for τῆς τῶν προσβυτῶν. (Fic. makes προσβυτῶν depend on διατριβῆ, and so Schneider and Wagner (and F.H.D.); but the suggestion is (I think) that, though draughts may be left to the old, young and vigorous intellects should find exercise in more "serious" problems.—τοῦτων I take to be the τοῖς ἐλευθέροις of 819 b 1, and the τοῖς νέοις of 820 d 3, translating ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἀξίαισι σχολαίς "on themes such as are meet for our pupils." (So Fic., I think; Ast takes τοῦτων to be this study, i.e. mathematics, Schneider, F.H.D., A.M.A., and, I think, Wagner take τοῦτων to be προσβυτῶν)—σχολαί stands, for variety's sake, in the sense of the previous διατριβῆ.
d 2. Badham would reject τὰ μαθήματα.—οὖ πάμπολν: this is the reading of all MSS. In the margin of the Florentine MS. o Stallb. found a variant καὶ for οὖ, and Steph. conjectures from Ficinus's translation that he too read καὶ πάμπολν. Ast would merely reject the οὖ. The confirmatory γοῦν is in favour of the MS. οὖ, as is also the fact that at Gorg. 450 d πεπευτικὴ is associated with ἀρθρωτική, λογιστική, and γεωμετρική. Cleinias recognizes the affinity with some surprise.

d 4 f. The chiastic arrangement is noticeable; the fact that the subjects are learnt μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἄμα confutes the suggestion that they are χαλεπά, and the words which follow negative the βλαβερά.

d 8. The φανήτατι of A and O appears in all the early texts, and even in those of Ast and Schneider. Bekker was probably right in altering it to φαίνητα. The only alternative seems to be φανή. The φαινόμενα in d 9 is in favour of φαίνητα. The accent of the φανήτατι is hard to explain, and so is the thoughtless φανείτα of L and O2.—οὕτω ἔχοντα is, in effect, ὀφελιμάτε ἐκαὶ ῥάδια.

e 2 f. οὐκοῦν . . . νόμῳν: this passage was correctly given by the MSS. and the early printed edd. to the Ath. Fic., however, gave the words to Cleinias—doubtless on account of the ὥξενε, which is usual in Cleinias's mouth, but not in the Athenian's—and Steph., Ast, Stallb., Zürr., Wagn., and Herm. follow him. As Badham says, κείσθω μέντοι must belong to the same speaker as κείσθω ταὐτα. B. thinks that an original ὅ Κλεινία was altered to ὥξενε after the mistake was made of leaving out the sign of the fresh person before οὐκοῦν. If not, the ὥξενε was an eccentricity or perhaps an inadvertence on the part of the author.—ἴνα μή διάκεναι ἥμιν ἑ τὰ τῶν νόμων, "that there may be no gap in our legislation." These words, and the preceding νοῦν, and the hint of a possible future abrogation, all indicate doubt in the author's mind as to how far he ought to go into detail in his treatise—how far, in fact, it is to be νόμων, and how far a πολίτειά.

e 4. λύσιμα seems to be used (like κείσθοι) punningly in a double sense—redeemable, or detachable; the former sense would naturally be applied to "deposited pledges." The suspicion arises that ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολίτειᾶς is a spurious addition, made by someone who did not understand the metaphor.

e 7. θέσω: Cleinias glances at the Ath.'s metaphor in his reply; "Lay them down, or deposit them," he says, "by all means."
e 9. The choice of the word λεχθείσα is probably due to the λέγεις in Cleinias’s last words; it does not mean more than “when recommended.”

e 11. καὶ μήν κτλ., “when I come to astronomy, I find a thing that fills me with wonder and the deepest indignation.”

821 α 2. φομέν: Cicero (De nat. d. i. 12) seems incomprehensibly to regard this as Plato’s real opinion, whereas it is quite clear that it is a “popular notion” which he is combating with all his might.

a 7. τὸ λεγόμενον, “what I am saying,” i.e. here “what I am trying, or going to say”—so above 800 a 1 τοῦ νῦν λεγομένον . . . ; what that is we are not told till b 5 ff. (O. Apelt p. 14 refers τὸ λεγόμενον to the Ath.’s previous words)—προσβύται: any startling novelty seems more in place as coming from a young man than from an old one.

a 8. The MSS. and most edd. read πρέπειν τῷ δὲ ἐπειδᾶν. Schneider was clearly right in altering this to πρέπειν τῷ δὲ ἐπειδᾶν. (Hermann actually prints Ast’s πρέπειν τῷ δὲ ἐπειδᾶν.)

c 3. ἱόντας έἰς τὸν αὐτόν δρόμον: έναί ές is not “to proceed along,” but “to take” a particular course. We may compare Tim. 38 δ εἰς [τὸν] τάχει μὲν ἵσοδορομον ἤλιω κύκλων ἱόντας, and, perhaps, Phaedr. 228 b εἰς περίπατον ἔμει (“he took to walking”).

c 5. The early edd. have δρόωντας ταῦθ' ἀ ἄεί πάντες συνεπιστάμεθα, and this is retained by Stallb., Schneider, Zürr., Wagner, and Burnet. Ast proposed ταῦτα ἄεί as an emendation (ταῦτ' ἄεί Badham later), and Herm. accepts it. The latter reading is supported by Ficinus’s “solem autem ac lunam errare omnes cognovimus,” and still more by the fact that it proves to have been A’s original reading. The sense suffers gravely if the former reading be adopted, for we have then to take δρόωνταs as governed by ἐν τῷ βίῳ πολλάκις ἐφόρακα καὶ αὐτός. Cleinias may well speak of his observation of the planets as occasional, but he would never so speak of his observations of the sun and moon. The δὲ . . . τὸν evidently introduce the verb συνεπιστάμεθα. (Orelli would read ταῦτα ἄεί; Wagner translates ταῦτα ἄεί though printing ταῦθον ἀ ἄεί in his text; Burnet defends the vulgate as a humorous protest against such shocking conduct on the part of a respectable luminary. We have no information as to the readings of O and L.)

c 6. ταῦτ’ ἐστι . . . νῦν ἃ δὴ φημι, “that is the very reason why I now say”; cp. Prot. 310 c 2 ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἡκὼ ταρὰ σέ, Symp. 174 a 8, Laches 179 c 6, and above, 700 d 1 and 686 c 4.
NOTES TO BOOK VII  

821 c

c 7 ff. περὶ θεῶν depends, in a way, on περὶ ἀπαντῶν τούτων in the next line—"to learn (so much of) all those facts about the gods in the sky."

d 5. ὧρθον, "true," as in the colloquial "that's right."

d 8. καὶντά ἐςθ' stands for καίει: the preference for such periphrastic forms is a mark of Plato's later style.

e 3. The ἀκήκοα of Α² must have stood in some MS. which read τούτων δὲν or δὲν alone, but even so it does not give so good a text as Α's original reading; O's ἀκήκοα is a mere blunder which strengthens the ἀκηκοῶς.—οὔτε νέος οὔτε πάλαι ἀκηκοῶς: the two points he wishes to bring out are (1) that he did not learn this new doctrine when he was young—and consequently docile and receptive; and (2) that it was not long ago, and consequently he had not had a long time in which to think it over and take it in. (Steph. and Ast would emend νέος to νέον, and Winckelmann to νέωστι; Fic. has "nec nuper nec iam olim."—For the collocation of adj. and adv. in νέος and πάλαι Stallb. cps. Phaedr. 234 e, Phaedo 79 d, Prot. 352 d.)

e 4. The omission of the ν of ἀν (before νῦν) in O and Cod. Voss. is a further mistake.

e 7. The καὶ shows that Cleinias was getting a little incredulous, if not impatient.

822 a 1. θαυμαστὸν λέγεις: this refers to the Ath.'s words at 820 e 11 and 821 a 8.

a 4. πειρατέον κτλ.: modern readers are naturally surprised and disappointed when they find that Plato gives only a negative account of the new astronomical doctrine. We naturally ask (1) why did he not say more? and (2) what indications can we find here or elsewhere of the positive nature of the doctrine he speaks of? As to the former question, Ritter—whose discussion of the subject, pp. 228-250 should certainly be studied—thinks that it did not fall within the author's plan to do more than indicate the nature of the various subjects of education. For instance, at 820 c he indicated the subject of commensurable and incommensurable quantities, but he did not express or explain any theory about them, the book being not a philosophical, but a political work. The astronomers Schiaparelli and Wolf (see Ritter p. 249) believe that Plato either had by himself arrived, or had arrived by the help of others, at the belief—which was certainly expressed by Aristarchus of Samos less than a century later—that not only did the earth revolve on its own axis once in twenty-four hours, but that it revolved annually round the sun. They believe further
that what sealed Plato's lips was the fear that the Athenian public would persecute him for such a heresy. (Cp. Burnet, *Gk. Phil.* p. 347 f.)

The discovery that the earth revolved daily on its own axis would account for much of the change here described in Plato's views, but we are bound to notice that, unless the καὶ ἡλίον in 822 a 5 is a spurious addition, he still held that the sun went round the earth. (For a further discussion of the subject see Ritter and the authorities mentioned by him, and also Sir T. Heath's recently published *Aristarchus of Samos, the ancient Copernicus*, which takes a much lower view than Wolf and Schiaparelli of the extent of Plato's astronomical insight.—There are two important Plutarch passages which throw some light on this subject: (1) *Quaestiones Platonicæ* 8 (Wyttenb. 1006 c) Θεόφραστος δὲ καὶ προσωπορεῖ τῷ Πλάτωνι πρεσβυτέρῳ γενόμενῳ μεταμελεῖν ὧς οὐ προσήκοιμαν ἀποδόντε τῇ γῇ τὴν μέσην χόραν τοῦ παντός; and (2) *Vita Numae* ch. 11 ταύτα δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα φασὶ πρεσβύτην γενόμενον διανεονθάδε περὶ τῆς γῆς ὁς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ χώρᾳ καθεστώτης, τὴν δὲ μέσην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἑτέρῳ τινὶ κρείττονι προσήκοιμαν.)

**a 7.** αὐτῶν depends on ἐκαστὸν.

**a 8 ff.** τὸ δὲ τάχιστον . . . αὐτὸ δοξάζεται . . . εναντίως, "and again the swiftest of them is erroneously regarded as being the slowest, and the slowest as being the quickest." The αὐτοί marks this as the second instance of deceptive appearances, the first having been expressed by the φαίνεται in the preceding line.

**b 2-c 5.** To Ast is due the correct reconstruction of this passage. He conjectured δοξάζομεν for δόξομεν, inserted δ before ἐκεί in c 2, and, with the MSS. and the two earliest printed editions—as against Fic., Bas. 1 and 2, and Steph., who make Cl. begin at γελοίον μὲν—reassigned the whole speech down to ὑμνοῦντων to the Ath. The two former conjectures are found to be confirmed by the Cod. Riccardianus. Hermann and Burnet adopt the two latter alterations, Stallb. adopts the first of the two only. Stallb. and Burnet, with Orelli, put the δ before γελοίον τε. (Fic. remodels the text by discarding ταύτ' ὁν . . . δόξομεν, and substituting for it "peccareque ita opinantes patet. Nam . . ." He also gives from γελοίον μὲν to ταύτ' ἑστίν all to Cl., though he puts a fresh Cl. before ἀληθεστατα.)

**b 2.** The second εἰ introduces a subordinate condition which soon becomes the principal one; perhaps it would be well to mark this, as Stallb. does, with a (—) before εἰ μὲν.
c 4. For οὐ κῆν οὐδὲ... γε Ast ezs. Eusebius's reading at 902 d ΚΑ. οὐδαμῶς. 'ΑΘ. οὐ κῆν οὐδὲ γε κυβερνήταις, and 906 e οὐ κῆν οὐδὲ στρατηγοίς γε.

c 5. For the use of ὑπερεῖν cp. above on 653 d 6.

We may translate: "Now if this is really so while we do not think it so—supposing it had been about horses, or long-distance runners racing at Olympia, that we had formed such opinions, and supposing we had saluted the quickest as the slowest runner, and the slowest as the quickest, and had composed odes, and sung the praises of the beaten man as if he had been the winner, I imagine we should not have bestowed our praises correctly, or pleased the runners, mere men as they were; but when we now make the same mistake about gods, do you not see that, what then and there would have been absurdly incorrect, is now, here, and on such a subject no laughing matter? No! It is positively sacrilegious that we should go on proclaiming lies about the gods."

c 9. καὶ τὰ τὰ ἡμῶν οὕτω συγκεῖσθω; with these words the Ath. leaves the subject of Astronomy, assuming that his hearers are content with his assurance that he could prove the new doctrine when the time came for so doing.

d 2 ff. This belated addition of θῆρα to the παιδείας μαθῆματα is doubtless due to Greek tradition. Field-sports formed the chief item in the curriculum at the ἀφθιτῶν ἀντρῶν Χείρωνος (Pind. Isthm. viii. 89), which was the Academy of the old Greek heroes. The Lacedaemonians in particular were conscious of the usefulness of hunting as a training for war (Xen. De rep. Lac. 4. 7).—The language of this section has a touch of the mock-heroic. (Cp. Sophist 222 b f.)

d 2. All editors have followed Steph. in his tacit alteration of the τε of the MSS. and early edd. to γε.

d 3. ὅσαύτως διανοηθῇ χρή, "the same view should be taken." What this view is is explained in the following re-assertion of the already so often urged necessity for the formation of a right-minded public opinion.

d 5. L has here preserved the correct reading in νομοθέτη; the νομοθετεῖν of A, and the νομοθέτην of O are independent mistakes, of which the former preserves the τ, and the latter the η, of the true reading.—Ast and Stallb. hold that ἐπὶ μείζον εἶναι (for which Steph. would read ἐπὶ μείζον ἐναι) could mean "ad maius quid(dam) spectare"; but the passages which Stallb. cites do not bear this out. ἐπει, the reading of A, slightly discredits ἐπὶ, but does not help us; ἐπι, which I take to have been the
original reading, was, I find, first conjectured by Mitscherlich, Zweibrücken edn. of 1787, vol. xi. p. 352.—All editors have adopted Aldus’s τοῦ for the MS. τοῦς.

d 6. ἐτερον δὲ τι... νόμον, “and (it seems) that there is another thing he has got to do besides making laws—something in the region that lies between admonition and legislation.”

e 1. ἡμῶν ἐμπέπτωκεν τοῖς λόγοις: for the position of the pron. cp. 631 a 2, 688 a 4.

e 2. Hermann acutely discerned that in the MS. γὰρ ἡμᾶς is perpetuated the mistake of a scribe who wrote αρ ὅτε, when he ought to have written it twice. Just so above at 820 d 5 the scribe of A wrote αμαμανθανομενα where he ought to have written αμαμανθανομενα.

e 3. For τιθεμένους εἶναι in place of τιθεσθαι cp. above on 821 d 8.—For the attraction of the gender to that of the pred. cp. Rep. 354 c εἶτε (τὸ δίκαιον) ἀρετὴ τις οὐθα τυγχάνει.

e 3 and 4. γέμειν, a certain correction for the γε μήν of the MSS., first occurs in the margin of L and O. It was conjectured independently by Cornarius.—There should be no comma after αυτά in e 3. γέμειν is connected by τε to εἶναι, and is thus dependent on φαμεν; λέγοντες is inside the oλίγα oratio, and is in the nom. because it refers to the subject of the principal verb φαμεν: “For we say that the things ought not to remain unsaid, and, at the same time (τε), that to imagine, when we say them, that they are being laid down as laws, is the height of folly”; i.e. “there is a right and a wrong about these things which go beyond the letter of the law: a man may be blamed for things which he cannot be punished for.” (Burnet puts a comma after αυτά, taking λέγοντες to agree with the subject of a repeated φαμεν.)

e 6. The αυτόν is superfluous. Is it possibly a mistake for αδ;?

e 8. With ὅς ἀρα we are meant to supply, in thought, οὖσις ἐστιν δ ἀγαθός.

823 a 1. ἀκρατον is predicative—“(passes his life) without a break,” i.e. “throughout.”

a 3. Here again L has in δεὶ preserved the true reading. The first three printed editions have δὴ for δεὶ μή. Acc. to Burnet A and O have δὴ μή.

a 4. νόμους ἐμπεπέλεγμένα: some such metaphor as “hand in hand with the laws” would express this. For the purposes of the law court it would doubtless be necessary that, in the code, the “higher morality” should be easily detachable from the positive enactment. The distinction between the two which is indicated
in the following words is this: the infringement of the former was to be only punishable by public disapproval, while that of the latter met with a tangible legal penalty. The really good man, Plato says, would dread one as much as the other.

a 5. With μηδὲν ἦττον ep. the stronger μᾶλλον τιμᾶν of d 1.

a 6. κατελημμένα, “enforced”; ep. above, 818 δ’ ὀντω γὰρ ἀνάγκη . . . κατελημμένα.—τὸ παρὸν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν is the subject of hunting.

a 7. It is very likely that Burnet has hit on the true reading by his insertion of εἰ before οἶνον; this reading is somewhat supported by his discovery that δηλοῖμεν, and not the previously accepted δηλοῖ μέν, is the reading of A.

b 5. ἀξίαν, the MS. reading, is a possible one; the accusatives in this clause would be under the government of a περί carried on from that before τὰ πελαθρεύματα. But the ἀξίαν of O² gives a more natural construction. The change to ἀξίαν might have been due to a thoughtless assimilation with τὴν . . . θῆραν. (Steph. and Ast would read τὴν γε for τὴν τε.)

b 6. ἡ μὲν ἔπαινον, ἡ δὲ ψόγον ἔχει, “sometimes deserves praise, sometimes blame.” This is generally taken to apply, not to θῆρα in general, but to the pursuit of fellow-men “in the way of kindness.” The whole passage is so carelessly put together that it is difficult to be sure.

b 7. ληστῶν and στρατοπέδων are probably both meant to be subjective genitives. If so, the dat. στρατοπέδων is hard to fit in. Fic. ignores it; Ast would reject it; Stallb. would insert ἐν before it. I suggest that the best way out of these difficulties is to strike out the καὶ between κλωπεῖαι and ληστῶν. Ficinus recognizes no καὶ here; his translation is “rapinae quoque latronum castrorumque venatus sunt.”

c 2. δηλοῦν τάνθ’ : probably this does not refer only to the expression of praise or blame, but also to the drawing of distinctions between the different kinds of θῆρα (for which see Sophist 219 ff.). In doing this, the Ath. says, he need not legislate about every detail. He must, however, select for praise the morally valuable discipline, and reprobate what is harmful.

c 4. τὸν μέν, τὸν νομοθετην : for this repetition, made for clearness’ sake, ep. above on 631 e 6. (All the early edd. omitted the second τὸν.)

c 5. πρός, “with an eye to.”

c 7 ff. τῶν . . . ἀπειληθέντων . . . καὶ νομοθετηθέντων: these genitives are governed by μᾶλλον in the next line. The law-
giver's praise deserves more careful observance than his threats. —"Threats associated with penalties" stands loosely for "threats of punishment."

d 3. ἐμμετρος corresponds here to our "judicious."

e 1. μὴ τε ἐγγρηγοροσιν μὴ τε εὐδοσιν : Wagner is surely right in seeing in these words a reference to the Greek proverb εὐδοσιν κύρτος αἱρεῖ. This makes for his and Schneider's view that these datives depend on διαπονομένους, and denote the people for whom the weels manage to secure their prey: "and not with weels which secure a lazily acquired prey, whether those for whom it is acquired are awake or asleep." The first μὴ τε does double duty. The passage is not only stilted in style, but awkward in construction. (For other interpretations see Stallb. and L. & S.) Plutarch, De sollertia animalium ch. 9, p. 965 f., explains the grounds of Plato's selection and rejection of different kinds of θῆρα. There is no educational profit, and no credit in hunting, he says, unless your prey is bold and crafty and swift.

e 4. ωμος καὶ ἀνόμους: Plato evidently knew what sort of men pirates were.

e 5. καὶ is or, as in 824 a 10 below.—In both this and the preceding cautions Plato is glancing at Spartan man-hunts, and the encouragement of clever thieving.—The ὑμῖν, which was expressed with ἐπελθὼν in e 3, is here left unexpressed. Stallb. is wrong in thinking that εἰς τὸν ἐσχατὸν νουν is meant to take its place. So at Isocr. Panath. 238 a τοῖς εἰκονα καὶ φορτικῶν καὶ χύδην δ' τι ἀν ἐπέλθη λέγοντιν, the person into whose mind the thought comes is left unexpressed—as we might say "don't let it occur to you, even in your dreams." (Ast, Stallb., and Winckelmann would emend the passage one way or another.)

e 6. πτηνῶν θῆρας αἰμύλος ἐρως, "a seductive fancy for bird-catching." This phrase attracted attention in antiquity. Stallb. cps. Eustath. on Od. a 56, Bekker Aneud. i. 363, and other authorities who quote it.—οὐ σφόδρα ἐλευθέρως: Plutarch l.c. calls fishing ἄγεννες and ἀνελευθερον. (Cp. Browning, The Ring and the Book x. 724—726.)

824 a 2—6. δὲν ἢ μὲν τῶν εὐδοντων αὖ κατὰ μέρη . . . οὔτε ἢ τῶν διαπαύματα πόων ἐχουσα . . . ρώμην: there are, as the μὲν indicates, two divisions of undesirable night-hunting of land quadrupeds, corresponding to the θῆρενες and ἄγρα of a 1. The first kind is that in which men post themselves to wait for an animal when it passes in the night—probably when coming to drink.—In this kind it is not necessary for all the hunters to be
awake at once; they take their turns to watch. The second kind of capture is satisfactorily described by the MS. reading if we adopt Adam's suggestion (in manuscript) that we ought to place a comma after τῶν in a 4. Ast shifts τῶν to before ἄρκυσι. Winckelmann would insert ἑρημορῶν, and Stallb. οὖντων after τῶν, Burnet replaces οὖν ή τῶν by οὖν ήττον—thus treating νυκτερεία as one kind of hunting—that with nets and traps.—Xen. Mem. iv. 7. 4 speaks of νυκτοθήραι as a class of men who could teach ἀστρολογία—as far, at least, as to knowledge of the phases of the moon, and the seasons of the year. This points to the selection by night-hunters of either a moonlight, or a dark, night. The watchers would want the former; the trappers the latter.

a 6–9. The points in which the satisfactory kind of θύρα is contrasted with the unsatisfactory are (1) the men do it themselves αὐτόχειρες—or at all events they are always hard at work, and have to run personal risks; and (2) their only “machinery” is the help of horses and dogs.

a 9. The ὀσοῖς goes back to the πῶσιν in a 6.

a 11. For a similar displacement of περί cp. above, 711 c 8 and 697 c 6.

a 12. The margins of L and O have preserved for us the true reading ἱεροῖς for the MS. ἱερεῖς. The qualifying οὖντως shows that ἱεροῖς is not used in quite an ordinary sense.

a 14. Grou's ἄρκυσιν for the MS. κυσίν is manifestly correct.

a 16. καί ἱεροῖς ἀγρίοις MSS.; O gives as an alternative reading καί ἱερατικοῖς. I would suggest that the latter was the original reading, and that the MS. ἀγρίοις is due to a misreading of the last three syllables of ἱερ-ατικοῖς.

a 17. We must suppose ἐνυγροθηρευτήν to be governed by a repeated μή κολνέτω from a 16.

a 20. ὀπῶν ἀναθελώσει (cp. Arist. Hist. anim. 592 a 6), "a making muddy by means of vegetable juices." In Aristotle's description the mud is stirred up from the bottom.

BOOK VIII

828 a 2. μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντεῖων, "as the Delphic pronouncements shall direct"; "per delphica oracula" (Fic.). The choice of deities and the nature of the sacrifices were to be settled for them from Delphi.—For the plur. μαντεῖων cp. below, 914 a 4.—
For μετά used—unlike that below at b 4—in a quasi-instrumental sense cp. above, 807 b 2.—αἰτινες θυσίαι . . . γίγνοντ’ ἄν: all the early editions have γίγνοντ’ for the MS. γίγνοντ’; to put all straight Steph. proposed to read ἀστινας θυσίας; but he did not know that the MSS. had γίγνοντ’—which is slightly supported by the πόσαι in the same line.—For the adverbial predicate with γίγνεσθαι cp. below, 968 c 1, and (with εἶναι) above, 660 d 6, and Plut. Mor. 127 b ὅσι ιπαρὰ Πλάτωνι δειπνόσαντες καὶ εἰσαύρων ἥδεος γίγνονται. (Stallb. supposes a complicated anacoluthon.)

a 3. For ἀμεινον καὶ λῶν Stallb. cps. Philib. 11 b, and Lobeck, Aglaoph. ii. 1093 ("a regular oracular formula"). Cp. also § 182 κρείσσον καὶ ἀρειον.

a 5. ἕνιά γ’ αὐτῶν: this parenthetical restriction seems curious. Is it not possible that ἕνιά γε is the spurious addition of a commentator who did not understand the αὐτῶν, and that the αὐτῶν goes closely with ἣμετέρουν, "we must legislate ourselves"?

b 1. In this reckoning of the length of the solar year Plato is ahead of his time. See Ritter p. 250.

b 3. καὶ αὐτῶν: coming after πόλεως this stands quite naturally for καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτῶν. (Wagner, as elsewhere, would read ἀστινας for it.)

b 4. ἔξηγηται: cp. above, 759 c 7.

b 6. αὐτοῦ τούτου . . . τοῦ παραλειπομένου: this committee, i.e., has first to find out what gaps there are in the lawgiver’s regulations, and then to supply the missing ordinances.

c 2. Schneider, Herm., and Burnet rightly place a comma after ἱερά.

c 4. The datives τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς and ταῖς ὁραις go with τὸ πρέπον.—L and Ο’s variant μοῦραι is probably a commentator’s conjecture, and should be written with a Μ.

c 5. ὁσαὶς χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν προσήκει: "Int. εἴναι, ellipsi rarior—Stallb.

c 6. καὶ ὁσαὶς μῆ: these words seem to imply that there were some women’s festivals to which men were admitted, either as partakers or as spectators.—τὸ τῶν χθονίων (θεῶν): this periphrasis for “the infernal deities and all the ceremonies connected with them” is the object—in the writer’s mind the main object—of ἀποδιδόντας in d 1 as well as of οὖ συμμεικτέον и χωριστέον, though, syntactically, ὁσαὶς . . . ἐπομένων is equally their object. The τούτοις in c 7 is the θεοὶ οὐράνιοι. (W. R. Paton proposes to read τὶ for τὸ in c 7.)

c 8. ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πλούτωνος μηνὶ . . . κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀποδε—
δόντας, “and we must put them” (i.e. them and their festivals) “by ordinance in Pluto’s month.” Scirophorion (June) seems to have been called Pluto’s month because it marked the turn of the year, when the fresh spring has lost its vigour.

d 2. οὐ δύσχεραντέον πολεμικοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν τοιοῦτον θεῶν, “there should be no abhorrence felt by good soldiers towards so great a god.”

d 3. ἁμιστον: cp. Coleridge, Complaint:

And three firm friends, more sure than day and night—Himself, his Maker, and the angel Death.

d 4. οὐκ ἐστίν ὑ κρεῖττον: lit. “there is no respect in which (this κοινωνία) is a better thing.” We must suppose that it is the interests of the ψυχῆς, as being the first mentioned, which are here in question. We must not, i.e., press the words to mean that the body is no worse off for being bereft of the ψυχῆς.—The whole of the Phaedo is a commentary on this text.

d 5. σπουδῇ λέγων, “in all earnestness.”—πρὸς τούτοις δὲ κτλ.: here he passes from these particular holidays to the consideration of leisure in general, and the best way to employ it. “Moreover, if the authorities are to arrange these festivals satisfactorily, they must get it into their minds that our city is exceptionally favoured, etc.”

d 8. περὶ χρόνου σχολῆς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔξουσιας, “for leisure time and for ample, supply of all that is necessary.” Cp. above, 806 d 7 ff., where the same question is asked about the εἰς ἀνθρώπον which is here raised about the πόλεως—τίς ὁ τρόπος τοῦ βίου;

829 a 2. μῆθ’ ἐαυτοῦς ἀδικεῖν: the scribe of A omitted these words—he doubtless looked back from his writing to μήτε instead of to μῆθ’; a correcting hand—possibly that of the original writer—put them in the margin; L and O have the words, but they have introduced ἄλλος after ἀδικεῖν; O’s margin, like A’s, has μῆθ’ ἐαυτοῦς ἀδικεῖν—without ἄλλος—and a third variant, i.e. μήτε ἀδικεῖν ἄλλος. O’s third variant occurs also in Stob. (Mein. iv. 13). Schneider, Stallb., and Burnet are right, I think, in regarding ἄλλος as an interloper: ἐαυτοῦς is the object of ἀδικεῖν, but it is not, I think, equivalent to ἄλλος (as Stallb.); we are here dealing with individuals, with whom, at a 6, states are compared. For happiness it is indispensable that we should “neither sin against ourselves, nor be sinned against by others.” The alternative presented here is not the same as that
presented at Gorg. 509 d between doing wrong to others, and
being wronged oneself; though there too we meet the curious
phrase δύναμις τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι.

a 3. οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν: πάνυ qualifies χαλεπόν, I think, not οὐ.
The same antithesis between οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν and παγχάλεπον
occurs at Philebus 16 e 1.

a 5. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸ τελεός σχεῖν ἀλλὸς ἢ τελέος
gενόμενον ἀγαθόν: so at Gorg. 522 d 2 it is said that “the best
of all possible kinds of self-help is to have never said ‘or done any
wrong either to men or gods.’” He does not promise us that this
behaviour will always secure immunity; it is the only chance.

a 6. ταῦτα δὲ τούτο: I think it is best to take these words
adverbially, to put a comma after ἀγαθῷ, and to treat βίως
eἰρηνικός and β. πολεμικός as the predicates to ὑπάρχειν. Cp.
Syngr. 178 e ταῦτα δὲ τούτο καὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὁρῶμεν ὡς
dιαφέροντως τοὺς ἑρωτάς αἰσχύνεται, ὡςαν κτλ., Prot. 310 e,
Demosth. Mid. p. 526 ταῦτα τούτο, ἵδις διαλυσόμενος . . . οὖν
ἐἰσίγγαγε τὸν Πολύζηλον.

a 8. τούτων δὲ ταύτῃ σχεδόν ἐχόντων κτλ.: i.e. “it being our
object to avoid war entirely, if we can, soldiers must get their
training in sham-fights and the like.” This will provide further
employment for leisure time.

c 1. μιμούμενοι τὰς πολ. ὅτι μάλ. ἕναργως μάχας, “which shall
furnish as lifelike a representation as possible of real warfare.”

c 3. τουεῖν here and τουητῆς in c 6 are of course technically
used of poetical composition, and δημιουργοὶ in d 2 keeps up the
idea of craftsmanship.

C 8. Such participial periphrases as κεκτημένοι εἰσίν and
δράσαντες (εἰσίν) are characteristic of Plato’s later style.

d 1. Valckenaeer (on Theocritus vol. i. p. 43), referring to 808 c 4,
conjectured ἄγαστοι for ἄγαθοι.

d 3. έὰν καὶ μὴ μονικὰ πεφύκῃ: above at 802 c 4 we were
told that to the demands of system and regulation even the delight
in poetry must, if necessary, be sacrificed. So here he deliberately
treats the poetical excellency of a composition as of small account
in comparison with the character and life of the poet. Below at
e 3 the μετρίως δράν shows that all poetical excellence need not be
sacrificed. (Schneider—of all men!—recklessly omits the μὴ.)

d 5. ἀποδιδόντων: the words παρὰ . . . τοῖς νομοφύλαξι are
equivalent to τῶν νομοφυλάκων, so he allows himself to vary the
dat. by a gen. So at Rep. 518 α δεταῖ γένονται ἐπιταράξεις
ὄμμασιν, ἐκ τε φωτὸς εἰς σκότος μεθυσταμένων a gen. takes the
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

place of a dat. (Badham would read ὃδτοι δ’ for τοῦτο; but the τοῦτο would be missed.)—γέρας: “praedicatum, perinde ac si scriptum legatur ὃς γέρας,” Stallb.

d 7. ἀδόκιμον: i.e. not having the official stamp; used above at 742 a of coin. The words μη κρινάντων τῶν νομοφυλάκων, if genuine, are explanatory of ἀδόκιμον; but they look suspiciously like a commentator’s explanation.

e 1. ιερὰ κριθέντα: i.e. καθιερωθέντα; cp. above, 802 a ff.

e 2. Burnet is probably right in preferring the ὄντων of the MSS. to the ὄντα of L² and O².

e 4 f. Not only are women to take an equal share in the training and the sham-fights, but they are to have just as good a chance as the men of being allowed to celebrate martial deeds in song. In the former point Plato goes rather farther here than he did at 794 c d. There some limitation accompanied the recommendation that girls should be trained in martial exercises; it was ἔαν δὲ τὴν συγχωρόσιν, μέχρι γε μαθήσεως καὶ τὰ θήλεα.

e 6. ἀναφέρειν: Stallb. refers to Wyttenbach on Plut. Mor. 126 f ὁ φοίτης ἀνοιστεόν ἐν ταῖς ἀρρωστίαις πρὸς αὐτοῖς, where he translates ἀναφέρειν by secum reputare; this intransitive use of ἀναφέρειν fits our passage well, and we may translate: “The lawgiver ought to consider, and argue with himself as follows.” (Fic., Schneider, and Wagner make ἀναφέρειν mean “put it to oneself repeatedly.”) Jowett makes ἀναφέρειν govern τὸν νομοθέτην—“represent the lawgiver as putting it to himself.”

830 a 4. τι τῶν τοιοῦτων ἔτερων ἀγωνισμάτων: for the separation of the pronoun and noun cp. 820 c 2 and d 2.

a 5. ἀπηντῶμεν: the speaker has tacitly put himself in the combatant’s place, though he does not do this explicitly till the next line.

b 1. διεπονοῦμεθα: cp. on 795 c 1.

b 2. εἰς τότε, “on that future occasion,” “when the time came.” (Not, as L. & S., “until then.”) Cp. 845 d 2. So Greek sometimes uses ἐκεῖσε or ἐκείθεν for ἐκεῖ.

b 3. ἀντὶ ἰμάντων σφαίρας ἀν περιεδούμεθα: Plutarch (Quo-mode quis s. i. v. p. sentiat, ch. 9 init. p. 80 b) describes pugnacious talkers as τοὺς λόγους ὀσπερ ἰμάντας ἡ σφαίρας ἐπιδούμενου. This suggests that, though the σφαῖρα was doubtless less formidable than the ἰμάς, the σφαιρομαχεῖν of e 3 was really a “punishing” kind of contest.

c 1 f. ἀπορμήσαντες τοτε ... οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἂν: the change from the impf. to the aor. perhaps marks the supposition as even

329
more inconceivable than the previous ones, or perhaps it is merely made for variety's sake.

c 3. αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σκιαμαχεῖν ὄντως, “to have literally nothing but our own shadow to fight against.” The ὄντως implies that this word for sparring or practice-fighting—St. Paul's ἀέρα δέξειν, Vergil's verberat ictibus auras—was often used metaphorically of a contest against unreal opponents; here it is used in the literal sense of “fighting with a shadow”—i.e., as the πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς shows, with their own. (Had St. Paul this passage in mind when he wrote 1 Cor. ix. 26 f.? He, too, says he fights ‘‘with himself,” but not with a shadow; it is his own body that he punishes.)—τί ποτὲ ἄλλο . . . γεγονέναι; “what else could you say the course of gesticulation is?” i.e. what else but a fighting with a shadow? Ast aptly quotes Pausan. vi. 10 σκιαμαχοῦντος δὲ ὁ ἀνδρᾶς παρέχεται σχῆμα, ὃτι ὁ Γλαῖκος ἦν ἐπιτηδείωτατος τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν χειρονομησάζει πεφυκὼς.

c 7. χείρον τῷ παραικευασάμενον, “after a less careful preparation.”

c 9. διαμαχοῦμενον, which is supported by Vat. 1029 and O2, and by Ficinus's translation “pugnatura,” was conjectured by Steph. for the διαμαχόμενον of ALO and the previous editions.

d 2. ταύτα δή: adverbial (cp. 686 a 7, 751 d 3, 804 d 6, 873 a 3). “And so, is the lawgiver to neglect his duty, because he is afraid that people will laugh at us for fighting against each other, and not to ordain (προστάτων), etc.?”

d 4. μᾶλλον μὲν, “if possible”; cp. above, 758 d 1.

d 5. εἰς ταύτα συννείνων: he must make this preparation for war the one aim and object of all the minor gymnastics, whether combined (χοροῦς) or individual.

d 6. τὰς δὲ οἵν τινας μείζον τε καὶ ἐλάττους γυμνασία: οἵν τινας, “a sort of,” as a qualification of the adj. μείζον as applied to γυμνασία, is quite in the style of the Laws. But when attention is specially being directed to some γυμνασία which are contrasted with the γυμνασία which are σμικρά (and χωρίς τῶν ὅπλων), it is disconcerting to find them described as “both the greater and the smaller.” Ficinus ignores τέ καὶ ἐλάττους, and Ast, perhaps rightly, proposes to omit the words. Stallb. leaves these words, but proposes to read ἐνοπλίους for οἵν τινας. I would suggest, as an alternative solution, a combination of these two emendations, which would give us τάς δὲ οἵν τινας μείζον τε καὶ ἐνοπλίους γυμνασίας. The ἐλάττους may have been due to the following ἐλάττου which caught the scribe's eye at the wrong time.
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

380d. In προστάξει he slightly changes the construction in mid course.

e 2. ἐνέδρας: acc. plur. as Stallb., not gen. sing. as Ast; it is governed by ἐπί: “eagerly vying with each other in the occupation of (the best) positions and the setting of ambushes.”

e 3. ὁντος σφαιρομαχεῖν τε καὶ βολαῖς ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῶν ἀληθῶν: the words τε καὶ βολαῖς are added as if σφαιραῖς μᾶχοςθαι had gone before: “to do real fighting both with σφαῖραι (cp. above b 4) and with missile strokes as like as may be to real ones;” ἐγγύτατα is used here in the sense of an adj., like ἐγγύς at Rep. 395 a 3 τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐγγύς ἀλλήλων εἶναι δῶν μυμῆματα.—The following words explain how they are to make their βολαί as near as possible to real ones. (Schneider prefers the ἀληθῶς of L and O to A’s ἀληθῶν, translating “jaculationibus, eorum qui vere pugnant quam simillimus.” ἀληθῶς gets some support, I think, from ἀληθῶν at 831 a 2, for it looks as if Plato preferred the latter adjective in the meaning genuine, of things.—Out of σφαιρομαχεῖν Ficinus gets “pila se exerceant undique se vertentes,” i.e. they are not only to use the “balls,” but to behave like balls in turning about.)

831a 1. In διανέμων he returns to the subject of προστάξει, i.e. ὁ νομοθέτης.

a 5 ff. ἀνθρώπων μὲν τελευτησάντων . . . φόβου δὲ οἰον τελευτήσαντος: if a few men are “put out of the way,” it will not matter much, but if fear of danger is “put out of the way,” so to speak, the city will suffer much more seriously. The οἰον saves the sentence from an un-Platonic rhetorical ring.

b 5. χορεία καὶ ἀγωνία: the former word refers to the lesser γυμνάσια, the latter to the “greater”; cf. d 4 and 6 respectively.

c 4. τὴν μὲν ὑπ’ ἐρωτός . . . ποιοῦντος: a very elliptical and conversational mode of expression; it is “short” for “one cause I would say is the fact that the love of money, etc.”—πάντα χρόνον ἄσχολον ποιοῦντος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεύσθαι πλὴν κτλ., “makes every hour incapable of harbouring a care for anything except one’s own possessions.”

c 6 ff. ἐξ δὲ κτλ., “the soul of every citizen is absorbed in these, and cannot give a thought to anything besides the day’s winnings. Whatever study or practice contributes to that object everybody sets himself with alacrity to learn and to practise; all other pursuits they scorn.”—ἰδίῳ πᾶς is “pro se quisque” (Schneider).
d.5. ὑπομένειν, "sulire" (Schn.) = "consent to employ."

d.7. πάντως here is "absolutely"; below at e 2 it is "without fail," as above at 665 c 5.—μηδέν δυσχεραίνοντα, "without a moment's hesitation"; μηδέν is adverbial.

d.8. καθάπερ θηρίω, "as if the recipient were a mere animal"; the dat. looks forward to παρασχείν.—The genitives τοῦ φαγεῖν and (τοῦ) πιεῖν and ἄφροδισίων depend not on δύναμιν but on πλησμονήν: "if he can only provide himself, as if he were a mere beast, (with) an unfailing and complete glut of all kinds of eating and drinking and venery."—Steph.'s alteration of θηρίω to θήριον, of which Ast approves, spoils the passage. Animals have neither the desire nor the opportunity of unlimited physical indulgence; the Ath.'s point is that the rich man's money is solely employed in gratifying appetites which every animal shares with man, "starving the soul" meanwhile (832 a 5).

e.4. διακωλύονσα αἰτία τοῦ μήτε ἀλλο καλὸν μήτε τ. τ. τ. ἐόσα ἀσκείν: ἐόσα shatters the construction, but is useful in leading up to ἀλλ' ἀπεργαζομένη. It is inconceivable that a subsequent hand should have put in ἐόσα—as Herm. thinks—when it was not there originally. Ast thought the τοῦ was spurious; but it is better, with Winckelmann and Stallb., to suppose a conversational anacoluthon.

e.7. πάντως ("mere") qualifies διακόνος; so above, 791 c 5 παντελῶς παιδών, and 639 b 11 σφόδρα γυναικῶν.

832 a.1. πολεμικοῦ is here used in a bad sense: "pugnacious, quarrelsome—? jingoes." Cp. Plut. Hygiëna præcepta ch. 9 ὁ Δημάδης πολεμικοὺς ἀκαίρους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄντας ἐλεγε μηδέποτε χειροτονεῖν εἰρήνην ἀνειν μελάνων ἵματίων.

a.3. τῶς λέγεις; i.e. "wherein lies their ill-fortune?"

a.5. οἰς γε ἀνάγκῃ διὰ βίον πεινῶσιν τὴν ψυχήν ἄει τὴν αὐτῶν διεξέλθειν: Ast, Stallb., and Wagner understand the "lifelong hunger of the soul" to mean no more than the insatiable craving for wealth described above (831 c and d). Cleinias, in his answer (a 10), shows that he too was satisfied with this explanation. But surely there is a further significance in these words. Plato says that the men of his time are entirely absorbed in the pursuit of wealth. Wealth can only satisfy the animal desires (831 d 8 ff.). The soul then all this time must be starved.—διὰ βίον—with ἄει—probably goes with πεινῶσιν, and διεξέλθειν is used absolutely, as at 805 b 5, and Rep. 484 a, in the sense of "to run their course" (though διὰ βίον διεξελθεῖν is not, as Ast thought, an impossible construction).—The τὴν αὐτῶν fixes the
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

responsibility for the neglect of their own higher interests on the seekers after wealth themselves.

a 10. The missing article, which was preserved in L, was conjecturally supplied by Ast.

b 4. μὴν οὐκ . . . δοκῶ; “I expect you think that.”

b 5 f. “No,” Cleinias answers, “but what I must call (οἶον) your hatred of the money-grubber has apparently led you into an unnecessarily lengthy tirade.”—τῷ παραπεπτωκότι λόγῳ is dat. with δὲντος—“than is called for by the subject of the moment.”

b 8. ἀκούστι ἂν, “you are ready to hear.”

b 10. τὰς οὐ πολιτείας, “sham communities”; cp. 715 b 5 οστασιώτασ ἀλλ’ οὖ πολιτάς τούτους φαμέν, and Rep. 422 c πόλεις παμπολλαὶ ἀλλ’ οὖ πόλεις, Polit. 303 e ὡς οὐκ ὑπατασ πολιτικοὺς ἀλλὰ οστασιωτικοὺς.

c 1. πολλάκις: e.g. 712 e 9 ff., 714 a b, 756 e 9 ff.

c 3. οστασιωτεῖαι, “not communities but disunities.”

c 5. καλὸν κτλ. are masc.

c 6. οὔτε τὸ παράπαν πολεμικὸν, “and least of all (will he allow him to be) a good fighter”; τὸ παράπαν qualifies the preceding negative.

c 7. ταῦτα οὖν τὰ δύο . . . ὑπατη διαφέρει, “now these two things are pretty well pre-eminent among the causes of all (evils); anyhow of these (evils) they are undoubtedly the pre-eminent causes.” The fact that ταῦτα τὰ δύο are evils makes it easier to understand πάντων and τούτων of evils also. The sentence is rather carelessly framed; possibly διαφέρει is a commentator’s addition.

c 9. I follow Badham in reading νομοθετοῦμεν, à for the MS. νομοθετοῦμενοι, with no comma after λέγομεν; the middle νομοθετοῦμενοι is suspicious.

d 2. ἐλεύθεροι: i.e. οἱ πολίται, “de qua synesi v. ad 828 b” (Stallb.).

d 3 f. ἕκ (τούτων τῶν νόμων), “as the result of.” Cp. Rep. 465 b ἕκ τῶν νόμων εἰρήνην πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες ἄξονοι;—ὤστ' εἰκότως ἀμα καὶ κατὰ λόγον κτλ., “so that it is reasonably to be expected that a constitution like ours would be the only one of those at present existing to find a place for what is at once the warrior’s training and—as above described—the warrior’s sport [duly set forth in detail in our discussion].” Ficinus for both διαπερανθείσαν and ἀποτελεσθείσαν ὰρθῶς τῷ λόγῳ gives “de quibus recte disserimus.” Both certainly mean much the same
thing, and I strongly suspect that the latter is a marginal interpretation of the former which has found its way into the text. Ritter rightly insists on the close connexion of παιδείαν τε ἀμα καὶ παιδιάν (as at 656 c 2). They refer to the same thing—the ἡ τοιαύτη χορεία τε καὶ ἀγωνία of 831 b 5—which is at once training and (holiday) amusement—πολέμου τ' ἐν χρεία καὶ ἐορτῶν ἑνεκα (796 c 3). (Schneider, Wagn., and Jowett sever this connexion by taking the former with διασπαρανθείσαν, and the latter with ἀποτελεσθείσαν.)

9. μνησθῆναι ποτε . . . ὡς, "to state, once for all, that . . ."

3. ἄ δ' ἕστιν, "which these are," i.e. "which among exercises are useful to the soldier."

5. καὶ τάχος ὀλως, "and activity in general"; ὀλως goes only with τάχος.

9. ὄξίτησι, "keenness, vehemence," is a little more general than τάχος.—ἄπο, "due to"; cp. Symp. 215 c τῇ ἄπο τοῦ στόματος δυνάμει.

833 a 1. φυγεῖν μὲν καὶ ἕλεῖν: out of the preceding πολεμικότατον we may supply a general word for "good for," "useful for," with these infinitives.—ἡ ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαίς μάχη καὶ σύντασις, "a hand-to-hand stand-up fight"; μάχη καὶ σύντασις is a hendiadys—"a set fight" (not "a keen fight"). (Where σύντασις seems to mean "excitement" we ought probably to read σύντασις—which Badham would read here.)

2. ἵσχὺς καὶ ῥώμης: cp. Symp. 190 b 5 ἣν οὖν τὴν ἵσχυν δεινὰ καὶ τὴν ῥώμην.

4. οὐ μὴν χωρίς γε ὀπλων οὐδετέρα τὴν μεγάλην ἐχει χρείαν, "but neither of the two faculties is seen to the full advantage unless its owner is armed."

8. παρακάλει: fut.

10. ὁ τὸ στάδιον ἀμιλλησόμενος: so also ἀγωνίζεσθαι and ἀσκεῖν are used with the acc. of the distance to be run.

1. It is open to us to guess what the length of the ἐφίππιος (δρόμος) was. That of the διάλειος cannot be fixed with certainty, but if we put that at (roughly) 1200 yards, 800 yards seems a likely length for the ἐφίππιος. Possibly it was the double διάνυσος, and got its name from its being much used for chariot-races.

2. πέμπτος: the fifth race seems to be that between the ὀπλιτῆς and the τοξότης, in which the former was handicapped by his full armour, and the latter by the (4½ miles) extra distance he had to traverse, and the rough nature of the ground. The πρῶτον
seems to stand for πρὸτον μὲν, and to go along with the following τὸν δὲ ἄλλων, and to mean "in the first case"—not that the ὀπλίτης had a slight start.

b 3. πρὸς ἵερον Ἄρεως τι καὶ πάλιν: the τι shows that Plato is not thinking of any particular temple, but chose to assume that there would be a temple of Ares about 3½ miles out of the town. This would make the distance "there and back" roughly 7 miles. The other temple in the hills would be about 5¾ miles from the city. (We owe the elucidation of this passage to Burnet, and more particularly to the comma which he has inserted after πάλιν; he also inserted commas after βαρύτερον, ἑπονομάζοντες, and ἄλλων, and expunged those after μηκὸς and τι. All former interpreters—except Müller, Jowett, and (perhaps) Ritter—held that there were two heavy-armed races—one "heavier" than the other—and one archer's race. That Burnet's interpretation of πρὸς ἵερον Ἄρεως τι καὶ πάλιν is correct is proved by the μενοῦμεν τοῦτοις ἐως ἄν ἐλθοῦσιν in c 1; "we will await their return." It is not clear whether there were to be separate prizes for the ὀπλίται and the τοξόται, or one between them. If the former had been the case we should probably have had τὸν δὲ ἐκτὸν instead of τὸν δὲ ἄλλων in b 5.)

b 4. ὀπλίτην ἑπονομάζοντες: the term ὀπλίτης was generally applied to the race between men in full armour; here it probably denotes the competitor.

b 5. πᾶσιν is adverbial, "equipped at all points as an archer should be."

b 7. τῆν: sc. ὅδόν.

c 2. ἐλάθωσι, "come back"; so below at 866 c 5 and 7.—τὸ νικόντι ἐκάστων, "to the victor among each class of runners"; i.e. "to all the respective victors."

c 4. τριττὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀθληματα διανοηθῶμεν, "let us devise contests in these three classes."

c 5. τοῖς: sc. ἀθληματι.

c 6. τὰ δὲ: sc. μέρη.

c 7. τὰ τούτων ἡμίσεα, "the halves of these (courses)"; i.e. in the case of each race the youngest class of competitors are to run half the full course; so that it is δρόμων or μηκῶν, and not μερῶν (as Fic. and Schneider) that has to be supplied with τούτων. —τοξόταις τε καὶ ὀπλίταις ἄμιλλωμένοις, "whether they contend as archers or as hoplites."

c 8. γυμνάσιοι: probably this means the same as ψιλῶ at a 9, and the contrasted πρεποῦση στολή at d 4 means the accoutre-
ments proper to either ὀπλίτης or τοξότης. It is immaterial whether the girl competitors were to have any clothing on or not. They are, however, only to run on the race-course, not across country. This limitation is some confirmation of the above-given explanation of προσοώγη στολή. No accoutrements are necessary for the little girls' races in the race-course, but they are needed for all the other races.

**d 3.** μὲν οὖσας MSS. and the first five edd. Boeckh (p. 180), when dealing with the faulty MS. μὲν οὖσαν of 692 b 7, calls attention to the fact that MSS. of Euseb. Prep. Ev. xiii. 707 b have, in quoting this passage, either μενούσης or μενούσας. The latter reading is the better attested in Eus., but Boeckh preferred the former, and all subsequent editors except Burnet have followed him. They take μενούσης κοινωνίας to be a direction that a taking part (in these contests) is to go on for such and such a time. Burnet rightly refuses to renounce the well-attested μενούσας. γάμον and κοινωνίας are manifestly to be taken together, as are γάμον and κοινωνία at 721 a 4. "But for girls who are over thirteen and are still unmarried, the contests are to go on to any age between eighteen and twenty; but this class must be fully equipped with the proper accoutrement when they compete in these races."

**d 7.** ἀντὶ μὲν πάλης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, τὰ νῦν ὅσα βαρέα, "in the place of wrestling-matches, and the like—all the present-day contests, that is, which require great effort."

**e 3.** Here (as at 832 b 10) the corrector of O (followed by the first five edd., though Steph. doubted) makes a very unintelligent correction, by inserting μὴ before ποιήσαντα; ἀ ποιήσαντα means "what things a combatant is to inflict on his antagonist," and ἀ μὴ παθόντα "what things he is not to let his antagonist inflict on him," in order to be victorious in the contest. (So below at e 8 ὅτι μὴ παθῶν ἤ δράσας.)

**e 4.** εἰς ὁπόσα: Schneider and Ritter are doubtless right in interpreting this to refer to the number of "hits" or "points" necessary for victory.—διενομωθετήσαντο: gnomic aorist.

**e 6.** τοῦτον δή: adverbial, "just so."

**e 7.** χρῆ τούτοις συννομωθετείν κελεύειν, "we must tell these (experts) to help us to settle."

**e 8.** It is better to remove the comma from after μάχας; τίς . . . ὅτι μὴ παθῶν ἤ δράσας is two questions rolled into one; "who, by avoiding or doing what?"

**834 a 2.** τάξις is "a set of rules and stipulations," the "code."
of the contest, spoken of as τὰ περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα at a 6.—καὶ περὶ τῶν θηλειῶν . . . τῶν μέχρι γάμου: i.e. the elder girls—those of whom we were told above at d 4, that they were to bear arms (not all girls up to a marriageable age).

a 3. πελταστική, as is indicated by the epithet ὀλη, is here used in a more general sense than that which it had at 813 e 1; it is used to denote all activities of such infantry soldiers as are not ὄπληται.—ἀντιστήσαντας is subordinate to διαθεμένους.

a 4. τῇ τοῦ παγκρατίου μάχη: not “the pancration” (Jowett), for this included πάλη, which has already found an equivalent (d 7), but the fighting part of the pancration—i.e. boxing.—All MSS. have τόξοι καὶ πέλταις καὶ ἄκουντίοις καὶ λίθων ἐκ χειρός τε καὶ σφενδόναις ἀμιλλωμένων. Fortunately the meaning is clear, though it is doubtful if we shall ever recover Plato’s exact words. Aldus concluded that βολῆ had fallen out in all MSS. after λίθων. Ficinus seems to have come to the same conclusion, for he translates “certeturque arcu, pelta, lanceis, lapidumque manu et fundae projectione.” This further suggests that he may have read σφενδόνης for σφενδόναι—a very likely emendation. Burnet alone has adopted Schneider’s simpler conjecture that λίθων is a mistake for λίθω; λίθω ἐκ χειρός makes a sort of compound phrase which could be set against σφενδόναις (though I prefer σφενδόνης). τόξοι ἀμιλλ. stands for archers, πέλταις καὶ ἄκουντίοις for peltasts proper, the rest of the words for slingers. (Badham would read παλτοῖς for πέλταις, “because pelasts do not throw their targets at the enemy.”)

a 6. τῷ κάλλιστα ἀποδίδοντι τὰ περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα, “to the man who best satisfies the requirements of the contest.”

b 2 ff. ἵππων . . . αὐτῶν, “in Crete there is not much use for horses, and there are not many horses to use; it follows that not much attention is paid there either to horse-rearing or to horse-racing.”

b 4. For ἐν following σπουδὰς γέγνεσθαι cp. Rep. 599 b ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἀν σπουδάσεεν—varied, in the next clause, by ἐπί, as here by περὶ.

b 6. For ἡμῖν Fic. seems to have read ἅμιν.—οὔτε τις φιλοτιμία πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν γίγνοιτ’ ἂν λόγον ἐχούστα, “and there will be no appreciable enthusiasm about them” (H.J.).

b 7 ff. Prof. Henry Jackson has kindly sent me a translation of this passage which, I think, sheds light on it for the first time. He calls attention to the μὲν in b 7 and the δὲ in c 1 as introducing two limbs of the sentence begun by ὀφεί—(1) οὐκ

vol. ii 337 2
THE LAWS OF PLATO

ἐπιχώριον ἔσται, and (2) ἀποδιδοὶμεν ἄν: he would put no stops between ὡστε and κεκτήσθαι, and only a comma after κεκτήσθαι; he translates: “and therefore, though it will not be the fashion [of the country] to foster competition of this sort, and so to be foolish and to have a reputation for folly, we shall notwithstanding, etc.” (Ritter (followed by Burnet), by putting commas before and after οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, shows that he accepts Schneider’s view of the passage, i.e. that it is literally “so that it will be that men instituting” (as if it were τοὺς τιθέντας) “competition in this (kind of race), it being an outlandish thing, would neither have nor seem to have their wits about them.” But is ὡστε ἔσται ἔχειν a possible construction as an alternative for ὡστε ἔχειν?—Ast would read δ ὦκ ἐπιχώριον ἔστι, Stallb. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριον ἔσται, Wagner regards the words οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ἔσται as spurious.)—The phrase ἀγωνιστὰς τιθέναι is an extraordinary one: ἀγώνας τιθέναι, ἄθλα τιθέναι are common, but the fact that they are common makes ἀγωνιστὰς τιθέναι the more remarkable. I would suggest that ἀγωνιστὰς is a mistake for ἀγωνίας; see d 1. (F.H.D. would cut out the word τιθέντας.)

c 1. As in the case of the human runners, the horses are to be arranged in three classes.

c 4. ἔστω κατὰ νόμον ἀμιλλα = νομοθετῶμεν ἀμιλλαν.—τούτων αὐτῶν is the competitors, i.e. the horsemen.

c 6. ἀπάντων τῶν τε δρόμων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν καταβαινόντων: i.e. this committee of cavalry officers is to decide (1) as to the lengths of the courses, and (2) as to which of the competitors is the victor.

c 7. οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς: he forgets, for the moment, the case of the little girls.—ἐνταῦθα is ἐν τῷ ἰππικῷ ἀγῶνι.

d 2. καὶ τούτων: i.e. for light as well as for heavy cavalry.

d 3. If παιδίας χάριν is the right reading, it is a mere repetition of the suggestion, of τῆν ἰππικήν παιδίαν (c 3), that these are all sports, and παιδίας χάριν would be = “sportive.” But the confusion in MSS. between παιδία and παιδεία is so common that it is almost open to the reader to choose the word of the two which best suits the passage. Ritter is strongly of opinion that we ought to read παιδείας here. If this kind of soldier is wanted he ought to be trained. At c 3 the first five printed edd. have παιδείαν.

d 4. The variant ἀξία of A and L is mysterious. Perhaps there was a late idiom in which the noun ἀξία was so used—like the French idiom “ce n’est pas la peine.” οὐκ ἀξία, “it isn’t worth
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

834 d

while.” Ast and most other interpreters take τῆς κοινωνίας along with περὶ τούτων, as if we had περὶ τῆς τούτων κοινωνίας. Stallb. takes the gen. closely with ἐπιτάξεως, as if it meant “orders to participate.”

d 6. εἰς ἔθος ἴόντων: i.e. in cases where, owing to previous training, athletic and quasi-military exercise has become an ingrained habit.—παῖδας ἡ παρθένος, “either as little girls or elder maidens.” (Some edd. prefer to put the comma after δισεραίνω instead of after κοινωνία.)

d 8. ἀγωνία describes the aspect of gymnastics dealt with in the present book, i.e. the public gymnastic contests as incidents in the religious festivals; μάθημα describes the educational side of gymnastics, as dealt with in Bk. VII. 813-816, and briefly noticed above at 830 d 4-6.

e 1. Almost all editors accept Winckelmann’s <ἐν> before διδασκάλων. Ast printed ὑπὸ διδασκάλων at Steph.’s suggestion. Schneider alone of modern editors retains the MS. διδασκάλων ἐκπονούμεθα.—ἐκπονεῖσθαί takes the place of the more usual διαπονέσθαι (e.g. 846 d 8), and has perhaps more the notion of the successful completion of the training.

e 2. καὶ δὴ καὶ μοντικῆς: “Music” too comes into consideration in this book as an adjunct to festivals.

e 3. καὶ τῶν τούτων ἐπομένων: probably these words refer to the reciters of πανηγυρικὸς λόγος.

e 5. τοῖς μετὰ θεῶν: i.e. δαίμονι καὶ ἕρωσι. Cp. 738 d 2 and 848 d 2.

e 6. τότε probably looks back to ταχθέντων (Ast and Stallb.).

e 7 f. εἰτε . . . διανεμηθῶσιν: those who take εἰτε . . . εἰτε as sive . . . sive are bound to follow Ast and insert ἐν after ὅπως; but Stallb. rightly points out that it is possible to take εἰτε . . . εἰτε to be used in the sense of πότερον . . . ἦ, and that διανεμηθῶσιν may be a deliberative subjunctive—“ob sie sollen angesetzt werden.” We have been told that all the contests will be arranged to take place at particular intervals; the following words mention one or two such intervals:—“it will be settled, that is, whether they are to be arranged to take place every two years” (as we should say) “or every four years, or in whatever way or manner the gods may suggest as to their order.”

835 a 1. For ἐννοεῖν διδόναι in the sense of “give a notion of,” “put an idea into someone’s head,” cp. Τίμ. 47 a μὴνες τε καὶ ἐνναυτῶν περίοδοι μεμηχάνηται μὲν ἄριθμόν, χρόνον δ’ ἐννοεῖν . . . ἔδοσαν. (Some festivals of Dionysus, e.g., were celebrated when
the intercalary month was inserted every two years at the winter solstice, and the mythologists provided various reasons why the god liked to have it so.)

a 2. τότε καί, "on these occasions too."—The dates of these greater festivals having been settled on religious considerations (ἐννοοῦν διδόντων τῶν θεῶν—cp. also 828 a 2), the authorities for the time being are to legislate (γενομένων νομοθετῶν αὐτῶν a 5) as to the order and rules of the several musical contests.—κατὰ μέρος, "each in its turn."

a 5. τοῦ goes with the dependent interrogative sentence πότε . . . ποιήσονται. Cp. above, 811 b 8.

b 1. πολλάκις: e.g. at 798–802 in Bk. VII.—τῷ πρώτῳ νομοθετῇ: i.e. the Athenian himself, the δεύτερος being the committee; cp. a 3 f.

c 1–8. "But there is a matter which is of great importance: about which it is so difficult to produce conviction that it would really task a god to do so, supposing it to have been possible that actual ordinances should come from heaven. As it is, our help must lie in a bold man—one who will make a virtue of plain speaking and declare his belief as to what is the true interest of the state and its citizens. In the face of a corrupt world he will make such ordinances as the whole constitution needs and demands: he must oppose desire at its strongest, and, with never a man to take his part, rely in his extremity on reason as his only guide." From here down to 842 a the Ath, deals with a thorny subject. The impressive words of the little preface just translated mark at once its difficulty and its importance.

c 2. αὐτάς, "actual," "explicit." The Athenian implies that, although we cannot have the actual words of the laws spoken by a divine voice, it is none the less from God that we must get them. As Ritter says (p. 256) the λόγος, which is to be the bold prophet's only guide, is of the nature of a revelation, and gives us assurance of divine approval, λόγος ὡσπερ παρὰ θεοῦ λεχθεῖς (861 b 6).

c 5. ἐν ψυχαῖς διεφθαρμέναις: ἐν denotes the tribunal before which the cause is to be judged; cp. Gorg. 464 d ἐὰν δέοι ἐν παισὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὑποτοιοῦν τε καὶ λατρόν.

c 6. ἐπόμενον is "becoming to," "in harmony with."

d 1. τίν αὖ νῦν . . . λόγον λέγομεν; "what subject have we got to now?"

d 3. ἀλλὰ δὴ πειράσομαι ἐγώ, "come! I don't mind trying."

d 4. L (with O²) seems to have here preserved the best reading
in ἐτι. Schneider alone gives the τι of A and O; all the early edd. down to Ast give us ἐτι τι.—ὡς γὰρ εἰς παιδείαν ἠλθον τῷ λόγῳ, εἰδον νέους τε κτλ.: as we might say, "our discussion about training brought before my eyes a vision of young people, etc." Cp. Rep. 536 c λέγων γὰρ ἀμα ἐβλεφα, and above, 804 b 7 πρὸς γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιδών καὶ παθὼν ... ὄπερ εἰρήκα νῦν. The form of expression reminds us of Bunyan's repeated "And I saw in my dream."

δ 6. δὲ (with a comma after ἀλλήλους), the reading of L, gives, I think, a better and more normal construction than the δὴ of A and O (with a colon after ἀλλα).—φοβηθήναι συννοήσαντα, "to reflect with apprehension"; better without the comma which Burnet has inserted between them.—τὶ τις χρηστεῖ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τόλει ...; "how is one to manage with a city so constituted that, etc.?" This question is repeated in a more explicit and intelligible form at e 2, where the special difficulty is explained.

ε 1. Here again L (with O²) has preserved in νβρων the right reading; naturally no editions have perpetuated the senseless νμῖν of A and O.

ε 2. μέλοντιν διὰ βίον, "are the business of their life."

ε 3. πολλά, which Winckelmann conjectured, is probably the correct reading, but it has no MS. authority; for (pace Burnet), A, like O, reads πολλαί. The mistake probably arose from the misreading of an a that looked like α. (Stallb. conjectured πολλάκις. Most early editors adopted Aldus's καὶ πολλάς.)

ε 4 f. ὁ λόγος ... νόμος ἐπιχειρῶν γίγνεσθαι: ἐπιχειρῶν adds a touch of personality to the λόγος. The words are a simple expression of the spirit of the whole treatise. It is to the binding power of Right Reason, when acknowledged by the human conscience in the form of a Law, to which Plato appeals in the present difficulty. Cp. Wordsworth (Ode to Duty):

The confidence of reason give,
And in the light of truth thy Bondman let me live.

ε 6. οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ κρατοῖ: a peculiar optative. Probably οὐ θ. εἰ κρατεῖ (which Ast would write here) is "the fact that they have the power is not remarkable"; while οὐ θ. εἰ κρατοῖ is "the idea that they have the mastery ought not to surprise us"; so that it is a variety of ὡς οὐκ ἄν θαυμαστὸν εἰ ἡ εἰ κρατοῖ. In a somewhat similar construction at Meno 91 d τέρας λέγεις εἰ ... is followed by an opt. with ἄν; at Rep. 428 d the MSS. have
... every step of their training is provided with good laws for securing such results"—i.e. laws favouring temperance.
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

(835 d–842 a) is the regulation of sexual passion in general. The Cretan vice of paederasty is an extreme instance of unregulated "sexual" passion. This horror must be got rid of before proceeding (as he does at 839 a 1) to regulate the natural sexual relation.

The τε after παίδων is significant. It goes with the καί before γυναικῶν. The suggestion is that it is not only the love of νέοι and νέαι, with the mention of which this discussion began at 835 d 5, which must be taken into account. Grown men and women are subject to the sway of this passion, and it is to these that the ὅθεν ὅῃ clause (b 1) refers. These passions have had far-reaching, even world-wide results—one thinks of the classical cases of Paris and Achilles, of Phaedra and Medea—possibly, if it is right to reject the Aldine κακά and all that it implies, of Alcestis, and of the chivalrous love of Achilles for the Euripidean Iphigenia at Aulis. Surely such far-reaching results could not be traced to paederasty.

b 1. μυρία γέγονεν, "untold happenings have befallen." Aldus, with no MS. authority, inserted κακά after the word πόλεσιν, and all editors but Burnet have followed him. Even without the κακά the Homeric passage, which it seems meant to recall, might suggest that μυρία ἀλγεα was meant; but there is no need to think that Plato meant that passionate love between adults causes nothing but evil, though the κυνδύνον in b 3 shows that evil might result.

b 2 f. τί τεμὼν φάρμακον τούτοις ἐκάστοις; he uses the same poetical metaphor below at 919 b 3, where it is followed by a genitive of the malady.

b 4. All edd. have followed the corrector of O in replacing the διαφυγεῖν of all MSS. by διαφυγῆν (and so Fic.).—καὶ γάρ ὁδόν κτλ., "the fact is that, whereas in other respects the Cretan nation and Sparta are kind enough to lend us material aid when we are framing laws which the world thinks eccentric . . ."

b 7. ἀλλοίων τῶν πολλῶν τρόπων: as Stallb. points out, the article in such cases does double duty; so at Gorg. 481 d τοῦ Πυρειάμτου stands for τοῦ τοῦ Πυρειάμτου.

b 8. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν: Stallb. cps. Cic. De div. ii. 12 "sed soli sumus, licet verum exquirere sine invidia."

c 1. A and O omitted the τρόπο before τοῦ, L preserved it; all the early edd. before Stallb. omit the τοῦ. For the subject cp. Athen. xiii. 602 f.—Badham would read ἀκολουθοῦν for -δῶν.

c 2. ὁρθῶς εἶχεν: the "philosophic" impf.; "it was, as you see," i.e. "it always was."
c 4. πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα: i.e. πρὸς μείζων ἀφροδισίων.

c 6. The MSS. have τάχ’ ἀν χρήστο πιθανῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ταῖς ἰμητέραις πόλεσιν υύδαμος συμφωνοῖ; I have some doubt that Badham is right in reading ἀπιθάνῳ, and I propose with some confidence to read συμφωνοῖ for συμφωνοῖ. (Stallbaun here, like most editors, is content with the MS. text, but he forces on καὶ the meaning "et tamen." Hermann would read εἰ καὶ for καὶ. The γάρ in c 1 promises a more positive statement than that of the MSS.)

c 7. πρὸς δὲ τούτως: i.e. "besides the argument from nature."

d 1. τοῦτο ἐν τούτωι οὐχ ὑμολογεῖ, "that result is not presented to us under such circumstances;" τοῦτο is the antecedent to ὑμεῖς, i.e. "such a state of things does not do what we expect our laws to do, i.e. promote virtue."

d 7. τὸ τῆς σωφρονος ἰδεὰς γένος, "the features of a temperate disposition."

d 8. I think it would be better to insert a comma after μᾶλλον δὲ—as well as, with Burnet, after τοῦναντίον—so as to mark ἀπαν τοῦτον τοῦναντίον as a parenthetic adverbial phrase. Otherwise the explanatory asyndeton is an unnecessarily harsh one.

e 2. τὴν τῆς ἐκόνος ὑμοιότητα, "his likeness (in character) to what he imitates"—i.e. "his effeminacy."

e 4. ἐχὼν γε ἐν τῷ νῷ νόμον ἀληθῆ, "if he does not forget what real law is."

e 5. πῶς οὖν φαμέν ἀληθῆς τοῦτο εἶναι; this is a rhetorical question, equivalent to "I will prove it to you;" lit. "how do we establish the truth of this?"

383 a 1. ἐπιθυμίας: so at Symp. 200 a ff. ἔραν is identified with ἐπιθυμεῖν.

a 2. δύο γὰρ οὖντα αὐτά: in the mind of the writer probably αὐτά stood for φιλίας εἰδή. The three εἰδή are (1) ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὑμοίων, (2) ἢ ἀπὸ ἐναντίων, and (3) ἢ ἐκ ἀμφοῖν τοῦτον μεικτῆ. It will not help us at all in understanding the argument here if we suppose, as Zeller (p. 105) suggests, that the Athenian had in mind the distinction drawn in Pausania's speech in the Symposium (180 d) between ἔρως πάνδημος and ἔρως οὐράνιος (or, again, of the two horses in the Phaedrus myth 246 b). Also, though there are points of similarity between Socrates's speech at Symp. 201 d ff., and the present disquisition, the two differ both in range and in object. More than that, the present disquisition amounts to a distinct recantation of many of the views expressed
in the earlier erotic discourses (Lysis, Symposium, Phaedrus), and
the inculcation of a far stricter code of sexual morality than that
of, e.g., Rep. 468 b c and 460 b.

a 6. φιλον . . . ὀμοιον ὀμοίω (Od. xvii. 218): this is one of
Plato's proverbial commonplaces, which occurs in its simplest
form at Lysis 214 b 3 τῷ ὀμοίον τῷ ὀμοίῳ ἀνάγκη δεί φίλον εἶναι.
(Cp. above, 773 b 6, Gorg. 510 b 2.) Here we have ἵσον added as a
synonym, and the qualifying κατ' ἀρετήν (cp. Lysis 214 d), which,
as Stallb. says, is to be taken both with ὀμοίον and ἵσον. The
likeness and equality must be a likeness or equality in excellence.
This is assumed below at c 6.

a 7. καὶ τὸ δεόμενον τοῦ πεπλουτηκότος: the change from
the dat. to the gen. is significant; the latter construction suggests
"fond of," rather than "dear to"—for instance we find φίλος
μονυσίκτης, but not φίλος μονυσίκτη.—The difficulties resulting from
the confusion between the active and passive senses of φίλος are
discussed at Lysis 212 a ff.—"Need casts a longing eye on
Wealth."

a 8. ἐναντίον δν τῷ γένει: so in the would-be scientific speech
of Eryximachus in the Symposium, we hear of the love between op-
posites—τὸ δὲ ἀνόμοιον ἄνομοιον ἐπιθυμεῖ τε καὶ ἐρῆ (186 b).—
ἐκάτερον: scil. εἶδος ἔρωτος.

b 2. δεινὴ καὶ ἀγρία: perhaps "violent and unrestrained."
The process of bringing into harmony things originally at variance
is apt to be a violent one.

b 3. τὸ κοινὸν is here "reciprocity," as κοινὴ in the next line is
"mutual." The whole question of beauty whether of body or soul
is swept aside, and the leading feature of desire for something not
yet reached is taken as the typical feature of physical love, and no
other feature is considered.

b 4. μεικτῆ δὲ ἐκ τοῦτων: he admits that what is called love
—he is thinking mainly of the mutual relations of men—is not always either of the one kind or of the other. So-called
love may be the product of both combined. The physical desire
may be awake, as well as the mental satisfaction that is felt in
excellence or goodness of some kind which the "friend" possesses.
—He goes on to point out that (1) it is not easy to distinguish
which is the ruling element in this mixed product; and (2) that
the two elements are mutually antagonistic.

b 8. This ὁ μέν and ὁ δὲ (c 3) is not the same as the preceding
τὸν μέν and τὸν δὲ; the words here denote not the two kinds of
passion but the two men who respectively feel them.
c 1. καθάπερ ὀπώρας, "as if it were so much ripe fruit"—with a punning reference to ὀρας.

c 2. τομην οὐδεμίαν ἀπονέμων τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ήθει τοῦ ἑρωμένου, "without giving a thought to the complexity of his darling's soul."

c 3. πάρεργον μὲν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχον, "brushing aside the bodily desire as immaterial."

c 4. ὁρῶν μᾶλλον ἡ ἑρῶν: i.e. to use St. John's phraseology, ἡ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ σαρκὸς is replaced by ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. The eye may be the instrument or handmaid of the "higher" nature, as well as of the "lower."—Plato was doubtless attracted by the assonance; Fic. "considerat potitus quam desiderat."

c 5. Schneider's beautiful emendation of the MS. ἑρῶν τῇ ψυχῇ, δεόντως to ἑρῶν, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ δεόντως has come to its rights in Burnet's edition (as in Wagner's), in spite of Stallb., Zürr., and Herm.

c 6. περὶ τὸ σῶμα is the equivalent of an objective gen. The early edd. omitted τὸ σῶμα. Steph. first restored the words, and thus the double ψυχῇ and ψυχῆ finds their counterpart.

c 7. The introduction of μεγαλοπρεπές takes from the passage the air of a stock philosophical list of virtues.

d 1f. The MSS. give us ὃ δὲ μειχθεὶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρίτος ἑρῶν οὖτος ἐσθ' ὅν νῦν διεληλυθάμεν ὥς τρίτον: it is hard to see what sense can be made out of this reading. I had been wondering whether we ought to read ἄκριτον for τρίτον in d 2—ἄκριτον being equivalent to the καταμαθεῖν οὐ ράδια of b 5—but I am now more inclined to accept a suggestion sent me by Prof. Henry Jackson, that the τρίτος of d 1 is a misreading of a MS. γ'. He says Phil. 66 b 8 where he holds that οὔδ' became οὐ τέταρτα, and 18 b, where ὃσα became ὃς πρῶτος.

d 2. ὁντῶν δὲ τούτων τοσοῦτων is another way of saying "now of these three . . ."

d 5. The καὶ introduces an explanation of ἄρετης ὅντα; it connects two aspects of the same passion: to desire what is excellent "is the same thing as desiring excellence to be as great as possible." Very likely the τε which O² inserts after ὅντα is the record of a genuine old reading; but the τῶν νέων of Vat. 1029 and A² is a short-sighted correction made either under the impression that ἐπιθυμοῦντα governed it, or that it was co-ordinate with ἄρετης.

d 9. περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων: as below at e 5, the αὐτῶν has not a strong emphatic force; "about these same ἑρωτεῖς"—τούτων being masc.
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

837 e

e 4. τὴν τῷ λόγῳ συγχώρησιν, "your assent to my argument"; for the government of a dat. by a noun cp. above, 657 e 4, 668 b 2, 670 a 1, 762 e 5, and 949 e 8.

e 5. μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς αἰθίς: probably μετὰ ταῦτα is spurious.

e 7. ἢ ὥσπερ, "let it rest there."—πάντως, "by all means."

e 9. τέχνην ... τοῦτον τοῦ νόμου τῆς θέσεως: these words are paraphrased below at 839 c 1 by τέχνην ... πρὸς τὸ τοῦτον τεθέντα ἐμμενᾶι τὸν νόμον. θέσεως then means "firm establishment."

838 a 1. εν τῷ νόν παρόντι: I think these words go with ξύω, and are equivalent to "ready to my hand."—τὴν μὲν ῥαδίαν ... τὴν δὲ MSS.; Stallb., Schneider, and Burnet are the only modern editors who retain this reading in the face of the τὴν μὲν ... τὴν δὲ of 839 c 1 (which Steph. was the first to propose to write here also). Stallb. defends τὴν as being another way of saying τῇ. It is true that such a construction is possible when the noun in question denotes a divisible mass—e.g. Thuc. vi. 100. 1 ἢ δὲ ἀλλὰ στρατία δίχα, ἢ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ... ἐξόρουν, ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σταῦρωμα, Dem. Πρὸς Φαίνυππον p. 1040 ὁ μὲν πεπραμένος εἴῃ τοῦ σίτου, ὁ δὲ ἐνδὸν ἀποκείμενος,—but no one could interpret Phaedo 93 b 8 λέγεται ψυχῇ ἢ μὲν ... εἶναι ἄγαθῷ, ἢ δὲ ... εἶναι κακῷ of the different parts or aspects of one soul; and it is difficult to imagine τέχνην so split up here. If we retain the acc.—which the MSS. make it hard to discard—perhaps we may translate "which is at the same time easy and ... difficult."

a 5. ὡς εἶ τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς, "how easily and perfectly."

a 6. οὐκ ἀκοντεῖς: i.e. no compulsion, or even persuasion is necessary.

b 1. ἀγραφὸς ὅν: i.e. although it is only one of the ἀγραφὰ νόμιμα described above at 793 a 10—although, i.e., there is no positive enactment or attendant penalty in the case.

b 2. μῆτε φανερὸς μῆτε λάθρα: i.e. it is not the fear of detection that restrains most men from such conduct; the thought of such a crime never enters their head.

b 4. τὸ παράπταν reinforces the preceding οὐδὲ.

b 7. σμικρὸν ῥῆμα: i.e. such a little thing as a mere word (not "a word of few letters").

c 3 f. ἀκομένι ... λεγομένη (so ΑΧ): there are two difficulties in this passage: (1) the τε after ἀκομένι; and (2) the λεγομένη of Α corrected by ΑΧ to λεγομένη. As to (2) we may, I think, follow Wagner and Hermann in accepting Orelli's λεγόμενα; after two
long words ending in η it is a natural mistake for a scribe to write a third. As to (1) we must suppose that when the sentence was first formed in the writer's mind, he meant to couple "hearing it said by all and sundry" with "often seeing it represented on the comic or tragic stage," but that the second limb grew long and unmanageable, and got out of shape. Instead of a ὁρᾶν τε we get a λεγόμενα governed by a supplied ἀκούειν, and the only hint of ὁρᾶν is contained in the ὁφθέντας in c 6. (Ficinus's translation is "et ioco simul et serio dicta et saepius in tragediis haec eadem audiuntur." Ast would read λεγομένων; Stallb. takes λεγομένη to be "quae vulgo dicitur.")

c 7. ἐτοίμος, "promptly,"

c 8. τὸ τῆς φήμης is the "vox populi"—public opinion, the world's verdict as expressed in its language. The word φήμη is so often used of an oracular or heaven-sent utterance that it has a hint of inspiration about it. Cp. 624 b 2, 664 d 4 and below at d 6.

d 2. ἀναπνεῖν is more particularly "to draw in breath" (Phaedo 112 b 6), and so in its figurative use denotes not "utter," like the English "breathe (a word about it)," but "form an idea of," "dream of," "aspire to"; Stallb. cps. Pind. Nem. vii. 6, and Suidas ἀναπνεόντες· ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. (Wagner "den Mund zu öffnen")—παρὰ τὸν νόμον: an exegetical tautology—conversational for ἀλλος ἢ κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

d 5. βάδιον: this refers back to the βαδίαν of a 1.

d 6. δὲν, "namely that . . . "; explanatory asyndeton.—καθιερώσας ταύτην τὴν φήμην, "if he can (only) give to this sentiment a sacred character."

d 8. κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, "likewise," or "indifferently."

e 2 f. ὅπως ὃ . . . παρασχεῖν—, "but how it is going to be possible to make everybody willing to say so—." The indirect form of the halting question, which the Ath. interrupts, suits the Spartan's modesty better than a direct question. (Herm. says that ὅπως δυνατὸν ἔσται would naturally be understood as a command—as equivalent to ὁρᾷ ὅπως κτλ.—and so Ast, and because Fic. translates by a direct question thinks he is entitled to substitute πῶς for ὅπως.)

e 4. καλῶς ὑπέλαβες: the Ath. politely admits that the question is quite opposite. He is going to admit (as he does at 839 b 3 ff.) the greatness of the difficulty, but, before he does so, he wants to enumerate the advantages which would attend the surmounting of the difficulty. This he does from e 5 to 839 b 3.

e 7. μὴ κτείνοντάς τε ἐκ προνοίᾳ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, .348
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

"whereby they will not only avoid putting an end deliberately to the human race."

e 8. μηδ’ eis πέτρας τε κτλ. : i.e. “and not try any fantastic new-fangled ways of producing the succeeding generation.” (The innuendo is that men who go so far against nature as the paederasts would fancy all sorts of enormities.)

839 a 1. oδ . . . γονίμον, “where it can never take root and get a natural reproduction.” γονίμος φύσις is a natural, or real, process of reproduction; cp. 892 c 2 φύσιν βούλουται λέγειν γένεσιν την περὶ τὰ πρῶτα. (Ast would make γονίμον neut. and = γονίμον ὄν.)—οδ μήποτε . . . λήψεται: after a rel. or rel. adverb introducing a quasi-hypothetical sentence, the simple μή (with past, pres., or fut. ind. or with an opt. or a subj. with ἄν) —see e.g. a 2—is the proper negative; therefore Ast’s oδ ὀῦ μήποτε, which Zürr. adopt, is not “elegant,” as Herm. says, but unlikely, as is also his λήψεται (!) for λήψεται—ἀπεχομένους δὲ: the δὲ takes us back to the μέν in e 6 above. The right sentiment in this matter enjoins not only absolute abstention on the one hand from unnatural indulgence but also on the other the strict confinement of the natural indulgence to its natural purpose. This, as we see here from the βούλουο ἄν σοι, and below in a 7, involves monogamy in such a community as that of the Laws—though not in that of the Republic.

a 2. ἐν ἑ ὑ μῆ βούλουο ἄν σοι: to Hermann belongs the credit of first printing βούλουο for the βούλοτ' of LO and the vulgate, though he only knew it as the reading of cod. Ricard. and as a correction in O. Now we know through Burnet that βούλουο is the original reading of A. As H. says, βούλουο not only suits the language of the sentence better, but it gives the only satisfactory sense. It is further confirmed by its restatement below at 841 d. (Fic. read βούλοτ', and he shows by his ἵλλο the perverse interpretation he put on the passage: “abstinendum quoque et ab agro illo feminino uben semen germina nolit producere.” Badham would read λήψεται, γονίμον δ’ ἀπεχομένους ἄρ. θη. πάνη; but, apart from the violence to the text, we want γονίμον for the preceding clause.)

a 3 ff. ὅ δ’ νόμος οὗτος . . . ἀγαθὰ ἔχει: the καθάπερ . . . δικαιώς clause is an explanation of the preceding κρατήσας: “if, that is, as is only right, it wins the day in the case of the other συμμείξεως as it does now in the case of those of parents (with children).” The purpose of the law is very similar in the two cases; hence he speaks as if ὅ νόμος οὗτος were the subject of
kratêi. It would be well then to put parenthesis marks after kratîsas and dikaios.

a 6. katâ phûsw . . . keîtau, “its ordinances are inspired by nature itself.”

a 7. In λυτΤÏς L has again preserved for us the right reading as against the αὐτÏς of A and O.

a 8. καὶ πωρᾶτων καὶ σύτων εἰργεσθαι ποιεῖ τῶν ἀμέτρων: it is easy to see how the restraint which the “law of nature” imposes would make for domestic felicity, but its effect upon excessive eating and drinking is not so evident. We are told at Phaedr. 238 a that ὑβρὶς is πολυώνυμον; that it consists in the pernicious indulgence of some appetite, and that that one among the “kindred” appetites which so over-masters a man gives the resulting ὑβρὶς its special name of, e.g., γαστριμαργία, or ἐρως. The same train of thought is visible at Tim. 73 a, where γαστριμαργία is said to make mankind ἄφιλόσοφον and ἄμονον and “disobedient to the highest part of our nature.” If then gluttony is hostile to σωφροσύνη in general, adversely anything which makes for any kind of σωφροσύνη may be supposed to be hostile to gluttony.

b 2. εἰ τοῦ νόμου τις τοῦτον δύνατο ἐγκρατῆς εἶναι, “if one could compass the passing of this law.” τις is the lawgiver. Cp. 841 a 2, where the law is said to elude the lawgiver’s grasp,” and, for ἐγκρατῆς, 840 c 5.

b 3. τάχα δ’ ἄν: the δὲ goes back to the μὲν in a 3.

b 4. πολλοῦ σπέρματος μεστός: this audacious phrase seems, from Plutarch’s quotation of it in Eroticus ch. 5, to have become notorious. Zeller, Plat. Stud. p. 76, found in the “indelicacy” of the phrase support for his (then) view that the Laws was not Plato’s work.

b 6. τιθέντων: for a similar detached gen. cp. Symp. 183 b τῇ δ’ ἐρωντι . . . δέδοται ἀνεν ὑνείδους πράττειν, ὡς παγκαλὸν τι πράγμα διαπραττομένου. The genitive here gets some support from the previous τιθεμένου τοῦ νόμου ἁκούων, for the τιθεμένου suggests τιθέντων.

b 7 ff. τέχνην πρὸς τὸ τοῦτον τεθέντα ἐμμείναι τῶν νόμων: not, as Schneider, “artem . . . ad huius legis, si lata esset, conservationem”—and so Stallb. and Wagner—but “a way of permanently establishing this as the law of the land”; τεθέντα and ἐμμείναι go closely together, and the participle is an important part of the expression. Ficinus’s “ad hanc legem observandam” recognizes this.
c 2–d 5. The following argument may be represented thus: “The method is of the simplest: you have only got to secure general respect for the law, and it will be implicitly obeyed; as is, for example, the law against incest. The difficulty is that public opinion is apt to stop half way, when the progress of the law in question is thwarted by some passionate feeling on the part of large numbers of the population. For instance, the difficulties attending the establishment of common meals were overcome in Sparta for *men*; but the obstinate hostility of the *women* made its extension to them seem an impossibility: ἀπωτέρται μη δυνατόν εἶναι. So with regard to incest the prohibition holds, but it can not be extended to the other kinds of sexual indulgence, owing to the same ἀπωτέρται (d 3). However natural and useful such extension can be proved to be, the passionate opposition of the pleasure-loving youth seems to block the way.”


c 6. οὐδὲ τότε, “even when he had got so far” (as to secure consent to part of his law). If the explanation of the argument given above is correct, τότε here means “when the legislator attempts to extend this law.” (Fic. would seem to have read πότε for τότε, and so all the earlier texts, which also had δοξῆ για τόκει.)

c 8. Ast (see also his note on 647c 3) and Stallb. are probably wrong in regarding the δύνασθαι after δυνατόν εἶναι as a simple case of “perissologia”; for the subject of δυνατόν εἶναι is ἐπιτήδευμα, while that of δύνασθαι is πόλιν ὀλην. The clause δύνασθαι τούτω is added as (asyndetic) explanation of δυνατόν εἶναι. (For the same reason Herm. is wrong in wanting to reject δύνασθαι.)

d 1. ἔλεγχθεν . . . ἔργῳ καὶ γενόμενον: a species of hendiadys; “although shown by experience to exist.”

d 2. τὸ γε γυναικῶν: adverbial, “as far as women are concerned.” (Stallb. takes τὸ γυναικῶν to be the subject of φύσιν ἔχειν, saying that γίγνεσθαι stands for ὡστε αὐτὸ γίγνεσθαι; so too Cornarius.)

d 3. φύσιν ἔχειν, “consentaneum esse.” For this (generally impersonal) expression Ast well cps. Rep. 473α φύσιν ἔχει πρᾶξιν λέξεως ἢπτόν ἀληθείας ἐφάπτεσθαι, and 489 b οὐ γὰρ ἔχει φύσιν κυβερνήτην νεαντὸν δεῖσθαι ἀρχεσθαι ὑψ. αὐτοῦ; cp. too Heind. Theat. 157d ὅν ἔχειν λόγον. Here (δοκεῖ) ἔχειν is not impersonal, but has τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα as its subject: “even in Dorian

351
communities it does not seem the natural arrangement to be made."—ταύτης δ' resumes the τῷ δ' of c 1.

d 4. ἀμφότερα ταύτα: i.e. (1) the law against paederasty and fornication, and (2) the establishment of συνοιτία for women.

d 5. μείναι κατὰ νόμον, "to get established as laws of the land"; cp. above, ἐμμείναι at c 2.

d 8. ἐχόμενον πιθανότητος: Ast, on 818 a 1 ὡς ἀκριβείας ἐχόμενα, collects nine other instances of this circumlocution from the Laws.

e 1. ῥᾶν: not "with greater (physical) ease" but "with greater (mental) alacrity." He is careful to point out at b 1 below that the mere physical temptation is greater in the case of the athletic than in that of the ἰδιώτης. So in the common phrase ῥαίνω χέρεν, ῥαίνω means not easily but readily. (I think Ritter's difficulty with the passage (p. 258) is due to his overlooking this.) The moral or mental effect of the ἀσκήσεως of the ἄθλητής is in favour of all kinds of σωφροσύνη. (Cp. above on a 8.)

e 2. μετρίως, "temperately"—proleptic, like δικαίως above at a 6.

e 3. ἰδωτικῶς ἐχὼν: Ast is clearly right in giving this the same meaning here as the word has at Xen. Mem. iii. 12. 1, i.e. that of being in an untrained, neglected state, as compared with that of the athlete in strict training—ἀν . . . τῷ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀκριβῇ at a 4 below.—φαύλως: at 766 d 8 φαύλους is used as equivalent to ἰδιώτας—of men who have not had a legal training.

e 5. ἄρ' οὖν: the following special case is introduced as a consequence of the general proposition just laid down.

e 5-840 a 4. The text and construction are doubtful here. Stallb. and Herm. accept Ast's rejection of the MS. τε before ἄλλους, and Heindorf's (on Prot. p. 489 of his ed.) alteration of οὖν in a 1 to ὡς, making the construction "does not tradition tell us about Iccus, how, etc." Burnet takes a different view from that of all other interpreters. He puts a (;) after ἄλλους, holding, I suppose, ἀφροδισιῶν ἀποσχέσθαι to be understood (with Ἰκκόν) from the preceding e 1. (Something like this is the case with the accusatives in a 5.) He changes the impossible τε (after τοῦς), as Stallb. had suggested, to γε, and preserves the MS. οὖν, making it begin a fresh sentence. He also (unlike Stallb.) puts a comma after φιλονικήν, thus connecting τέχνην with what follows, as the obj. of κεκτημένος. I follow Burnet, except that I should prefer, with Ast, to reject the τε rather than to change it to γε. The gen. οὖν (sc. τῶν Ὀλυμπίων) is then of the same kind as πάλης
below at b 5, and denotes the contests in which the man is ambitious to gain distinction.

a 2. With τὸ μετὰ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἄνδρεῖον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κεκτημένος Wagner well compares above, 696 b ff. What preoccupies the athlete's mind and thoughts to the exclusion of all else is the pride in his art, and the resolve to vanquish his own desires as well as his foe.

a 4. οὐδ' ἀδ' παιδός, "no, nor boy either"; for οὐδ' ἀδ' following οὔτε Stallb. cps. Phil. 22 e and Rep. 426 b.

a 5 f. Κρίσσωνα ... ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἐξεί, "you know there is the same story about Crison." With these accusatives too ἀφροδισίων ἀποσχέσθαι has to be supplied; ἐξεί is probably intransitive ("obtinet"), though Pindar, Pyth. i. 186 and Ol. vii. 18, uses κατέχειν transitively with φάτις or φάμα as subject.

b 1. τὸς ψυχάς: the implication is that a more extensive mental discipline would make self-restraint easier.—Most of these athletes came from Magna Graecia, and we heard above at 637 b an unfavourable account of the manners of Tarentum.

b 2. σφόδρα ... εἰρημένα, "confidently asserted"; cp. Apol. 25 a πάντα σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω.

c 2. In κηλίσσομεν (with which αὐτοῦ must be supplied) we have the idea so often expressed in the Laws by ἐπίθεται, e.g. 666 e 6, and 812 c 6.

c 5. Cleinias had asked ποίας (νίκης ἐνεκα); To this the words that follow in the MSS. fail to provide a direct answer. I suspect that ἢς has fallen out after νίκης, and that we ought to read τῆς τῶν ἡδονῶν νίκης· ἢς ἐγκρατεῖσ ὄντας κτλ.—From the previous λέγοντες καὶ ὃδοντες κηλίσσομεν we can easily imagine "we say" to be supplied with ἄν ὅτι.

c 7. φόβος: not a servile fear of consequences, but a kind of σέβας; cp. above, 798 b 3.—αὐτό is the τράγμα ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰδαίμον λεγόμενον of b 6.

c 10–841 b 5. "If most men are really in a state of worse than bestial depravity, and if none of the higher motives can be trusted to keep our citizens from following a wicked world's example, all the Law can do, in the second place, is (1) to foster feelings of shame and disgust in connexion with sexual indulgence of any kind, and (2) to make discovery punishable by disgrace."

c 11. ἐπείδη ἐνταῦθα ἐσμεν τούτου τοῦ νομίμου πέρι: the following δὲ clause is explanatory of this. The point reached by the discussion of the law regulating sexual matters was a deadlock caused by the national depravity. For this explanatory δὲ cp.
Aristotle, De mundo 395 a 19 καὶ μάλιστα ὀταν τὸ μὲν τάξιστον ἡ τῶν ὑπὸν, λέγω δὲ τὸ πυρόδες, τὸ δ’ ἑττὸν ταχύ.

d 1. With the κάκη τῶν πολλῶν cp. above, 835 c 5 ἐν ψυχαῖς διεφθαρμέναι, and below, e 3.

d 3. πορεύεσθαι λέγον: the νόμος is here personified in the same way as the λόγος often is; the “clear duty” of the νόμος is to “go forward,” pointing out meanwhile to its opponents their heinous depravity.

d 4. μεγάλας ἀγέλας: by a typical scribe’s error Α and Ο both omit the latter of these closely similar words; L alone kept it.

d 6. γάμων τε ἄγνοι explains ἀκήρατοι.—The plural γάμοι is used to denote sexual union in general, and not merely the marital union. So Eur. Hel. 190, Suidas s.v. ἄλητος calls irregular unions “γάμους ἄγαμους.”

d 7. κατὰ χάριν: Stallb. thinks that χάρις is here used in the special sense of what Plato at Phaedr. 254 a calls ἡ τῶν ἀφροδισίων χάρις, i.e. that κατὰ χάριν means “in mutual self-abandonment”; but it cannot mean anything more than it does at 740 c 6, i.e. “as a matter of personal preference.” (Fic. omits it.)

d 8 f. ἐμένοντες βεβαιῶς ταῖς πρώταις τῆς φιλίας ὁμολογιαί, “staunchly true to their first love-contracts.”

e 2. δῇ, “surely.”

e 3. I think τῶν πλείστων is only a stronger form of the τῶν πολλῶν of d 1, and goes with both Ἐλλ. and βαρβ.

e 6. κατακρατέων: used absolutely, “to gain the victory”—the victory, i.e., mentioned at c 5.—ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς: αὐτοῖς is the refractory citizens. For this use of ἐπὶ cp. Gorg. 488 d οἶ δῇ καὶ τοὺς νόμους τίθενται ἐπὶ τῷ ἑνί.

841 a 1. αὐτοῖς and αὐτοὺς (in the next line) are the νομοφύλακες.

a 2. ἐκφύγῃ: if the law “eludes their grasp”—cp. above 839 b 2 εἰ τοῦ νόμου τις τούτου δύναιτο ἐγκρατῆς εἶναι—i.e. if it is found impossible to win over public opinion to the right side, the νομοφύλακες are to step into the lawgiver’s place and frame a “second-best” law.

a 7. Burnet is the only editor who has ventured to print the difficult ἦν which A and O² (but not L) have after ὀμηον, though Steph. called attention to its existence in a MS. ἦν, I take it, refers back to something mentioned before: εἰ ἔτι δ’ ἂν, in a 8, to some effect which is to be produced in the future. “There was (mentioned) a way of spoiling the development of the powerful seductiveness of pleasure—by diverting the growth and nourish-
ment of this power by means of hard work into some other bodily channel. Now this same spoiling of its development would be produced by the association of shame with this particular indulgence (because it would curtail it).” The passage to which the ἡν refers is 835 d 8 where τόνοι σφοδροὶ were said μάλιστα ὀβριν ἁβενύναι.

a 9 f. The shame would make the indulgence infrequent, and the infrequency will weaken the desire.

b 4. ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ μή πάντως δρᾶν: this depends on καλὸν ἐστὶν παρ' αὐτοῖς above; “but they need not think it the proper thing never to do it at all.”—Burnet’s comma after ἐστὶν puts νόμιμον in its right place. πάντως strengthens the μή. (Stallb. and Herm. would reject νόμιμον, and Stallb. takes δρᾶν to stand for λανθάνειν, and τὸ μή πάντως δρᾶν to depend on a supplied οὐκ αἰσχρόν ἐστι. Badham, while agreeing to reject νόμιμον, would also reject τὸ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν αἰσχρόν. He would also (like Ast) read τὸ τε for τοῦτο in b 5.)

b 5. οὖτω ... δευτέραν, “if we do so, we shall have in this an established legal enactment (involving) a modified disgrace and commendation, and involving an inferior kind of correct behaviour.” αἰσχρόν and καλὸν are used predicatively. (Stallb. removes the comma after κέιοτο. For δευτέρας, “second best,” cp. above, 710 d 3, 739 a 4.

b 7. οὖς ἃττους αὐτῶν προσαγορεύομεν: cp. above, 626 e ff.

c 1. περιλαβόντα: this emendation of the MS. περιλαβόν τά, which occurred independently to Stallb. and Herm., has been adopted by all subsequent editors. περιλαβόντα is metaphorical, and is used in a military sense, like our circumvent. There are three “kinds” of influence which will restrain the one “kind” of sinner.

c 4. These three influences may be described as (1) piety—the καθιερωθείσα φήμη of 838 d 6; (2) ambition (and respect for the state’s verdict); and (3) the conviction of the superior attractiveness of “spiritual” as compared with bodily beauty. The phrase τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν τρόπων τῆς ψυχῆς δυτῶν καλῶν—“that which has arrived at the passion for spiritual excellence”—recalls Sympr. 210 b τὸ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς κάλλος τιμώτερον ἡγησάθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι.—The ἀμα indicates that the motives of the first and second γένη act much in the same way: they are (1) the fear of God, and (2) the fear of man and respect for his opinion. The third is a seed of good action from within the (possible) sinner’s mind.

355
c 6. ταύτα δὴ καθάπερ ἰσως ἐν μῦθῳ τὰ νῦν λεγόμεν ἐστὶν εὖχαῖ κτλ., “that which I now describe is an aspiration, may be, of the imagination, but there is no community which would not find it a priceless blessing if it actually came to pass.” ταύτα τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα is the forming in the soul of the love of and desire for beauty of character.—For this significance of εὖχη cp. above on 736 d 2 εὖχη δὲ μόνον ὡς ἑτεῖν λεπτεὰ, and Ar. Pol. 1326 b 38 διὸ δὲι πολλὰ προϋποτεθεὶσθαι καθάπερ εὐχομένους. —μῦθος is used here, much as we use the word dream, to denote an imagined, not a real state of things (“romantic,” Jowett). (Perhaps Ast is right in taking ἰσως with εὖχαῖ ἑστὶ.)

c 7. With the phraseology cp. Rep. 502 c ἐνυμβαίνει ἕμιν περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀριστα μὲν εἶναι ἢ λέγομεν, εἰ γένοιτο, θελετά δὲ γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι ἀδύνατα γε. Ritter and Burnet are clearly right in putting a comma after γένοιτο.—L alone preserved the words γένοιτο . . . πόλει; a late hand added them in the margin of A.

c 8. With τάχα δ’ ἂν, he passes, I think, from the region of aspiration to that of what he may hope for as possible in the actual present “with God’s help”; even though the love of spiritual beauty should not generally develop.

d 1. In βισασάμεθα ἂν he resumes the βιάζοιτ’ ἂν of c 1. The alternatives introduced by ἥ . . . ἥ (d 5) represent a state of society in which the fear of God and the fear of man either (1) kept men altogether straight in sexual matters, or (2) both (a) confined their unlawful connexions to those with women, and (b) made them hide even these from the rest of the world.

d 2. μηδενός is probably neuter, and τῶν γεν, καὶ ἐλ. depend on μηδένα.

d 3. ἄθυτα is opposed to μετά . . . ιερῶν γάμων at d 6; Ast well cp. Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. § 195 ἄθυτος καὶ νόθη συνυστία. The genitives παλλακῶν and ἀρρένων are, as Stallb. says, “rather bold.”

d 7. ὄνηταις εἴτε ἄλλῳ ὅσῳν πρῶτῳ κτηταις: at first sight these adj. seem to belong to ταίς ἐλθοῦσαι, but the sense demands that they should describe the class referred to in γυναικῶν τῶν in d 6. (Serranus actually takes from ὄνηταις to πᾶςα to be a description of the wedding ceremony.)—For the omission of the first εἴτε cp. below, 844 d 8 βοτρίμων εἴτε καὶ σύκων; it is noticeable that in both passages there follows a fully expressed εἴτε . . . εἴτε. e 4. ὡς ὄντως ὄντα ἐγενόκον: cp. Matth. xviii. 17 ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ, ἐστω σοι ὡσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης.
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

—εἶτε εἶς εἶτε δῦο αὐτοὺς χρῆ προσαγορεύειν: the two laws are one inasmuch as they try to secure the same end, but differ in that the second threatens only dishonour, not a definite penalty for the minor offence.

842 a 2. A and O omitted the words τε καὶ οὖκ ὀρθῶς which are added in the margin of A. We are not told whether L had them.

a 5. ὅ δὲ δὴ: O omits the δὴ and O2 writes ὅδε δὲ.

b 1. L alone preserved in μὴν the right reading; A and O drop the τ. —σχέδον ἔσμεν ἐν τῷ κατεσκευάσθαι μὲν συστίτια: i.e. “we may fairly suppose συστίτια to have been instituted.”

b 3. Here a corrector of L alone has the right reading in ἄλλος; Fic., who translates it by frustra, adopted the correction, but the MS. ἄλλος survived in some early printed edd.—e.g. Ed. Lov.

b 6 f. ὦ τε: ... καλεπὸν ... μέγα τε ἀγαθὸν ... οὐδὲν: cp. the very similar expression above at 835 b 5 ὦ τε καλεπὸν γνώναι ... οὐδ' αὖ ... μέγα ... κέρδος ἡ ζημίαν ἄν φέρου.

A 8. The corrector of O, like H. Steph., recognized that A’s ἀπεργάσεσθαι was right, as against the ἀπεργάσεσθαι of L and O. —With ἔχειν we should probably supply ὑμᾶς or ημᾶς as subj.; those who take ἔχειν to be intrans. ignore the κατεσκευασμένα.

c 1. τίν' αὐτοὺς ἄν τρόπον ἐποιεῖ: αὐτοῖς refers to the same matter as τοῦτοι, i.e. the common tables, the arrangements of the συστίτια. Many interpreters take it to be the citizens, and translate ἐποιεῖ ἄν as if it merely meant “is to be supplied.” Stallb. and Schen, rightly give it the more definite meaning of consentanea esse, convenire; cp. below, d 2 ἐλευθέρους ἄνθ. μᾶλλον πρέπουσι. There is a certain dignity about the public feeding arrangements, and this must not be compromised by the vulgar associations of e.g. a port-town market.

c 3. παντοδαπῶς: Fic., and the early editions, as late as Ast’s, read παντοδαπὸς, in spite of MS. authority. (? Perhaps the MSS. are wrong.) —μάλιστα δὲ, “at all events,” or “at least.”

c 6. τῷ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτη τοῦτο ρῶν: τοῦτο is the present case for which laws have to be made—“well, that makes the lawgiver’s task all the easier.”

d 1. μέτροι: predicative, “adequate.”

d 2. ἐτι δ’ κτλ., “and besides, those that are made will be of a more dignified nature.” This second sentence goes on as if the first had been οὖ γὰρ μόνον ἥμους γίγνονται οἱ νόμοι.

d 3 ff. ναυκληρικῶν μὲν γὰρ ... νομοθέτης, “the lawgiver of our
city turns away with great relief from all the endless turmoil of ship-masters, merchants, tradesmen, taverns, dues and tolls, mining-rights, loans, compound interest, and the like.” This clattering jumble of mercantile terms is an echo of the “busy hum” of a sea-port market-place.

\textbf{d 4. χαλλειον:} the leasing and working of mines was a commercial as opposed to an agricultural activity. Not only would much mine- and quarry-produce come by sea to the port, but much would be heard there of mining-rights and the hiring of mine slaves.


\textbf{e 1. τὰ μέγιστα ἡδὴ νενομοθετηκός:} in English we should begin a new sentence here; “He has already settled the main points.”

\textbf{e 2.} If a comma is wanted anywhere, it would surely stand after παιδείας rather than after τροφᾶς, where Burnet puts it. These plurals are used with the force of abstract nouns; e.g. τροφᾶς here is nurture in general; τρόφην in e 4 is actual food.

\textbf{e 3. ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν τροφῆν:} as Steph. suggested, we must supply a participle (δια)ποινοῦντας (or παρέχοντας?) from the following συνδιαποιουόντων. (Fic. took τοὺς to be τοὺς νόμους. Ast would write ἐπὶ τὴν τροφῆν καὶ τοὺς ὅσοι; is it not possible that we ought to reject the τοὺς ?)

\textbf{e 6.} It is best to take ἔστωσαν λεγόμενοι together as the verb of the sentence. (L. & S. and all other interpreters take λεγόμενοι with τοῦνομα.) The verb is repeated in εἰρήνηθω in the following line.

\textbf{e 8.} Not content with merely saying μήτε ὁμοτέρμονος ζήνον, he thinks it necessary to specify the particular conditions under which a man could have a foreigner for a neighbour; he must “own land on the frontier, and adjoin a neighbour who is a foreigner.”

\textbf{843 a 1.} We have already had the proverbial (μή) κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα at 684 e 1, and it occurs below at 913 b 9. It applies to the present subject in the most literal sense (ἀλήθῶς).

\textbf{a 2. ἄλλον πλὴν ὅρον:} Ficinus ignores these words completely, and Cod. Ricard. 67 omits πλὴν ὅρον μᾶλλον. Ast, in his text, brackets πλὴν ὅρον μᾶλλον, but his note seems to follow Ficinus, and bracket ἄλλον as well. If the Cod. Ricard. be followed, the
sentence runs smoothly enough, if we suppose η to stand, as it does elsewhere after βούλεσθαι, for μᾶλλον η (specially likely after ἄλλον); but it is difficult to see how πλὴν ὁρον μᾶλλον should ever have been added to such a straightforward reading. If we reject ἄλλον πλὴν ὁρον, we miss an important characteristic of the big stone; i.e. that it does not mark a boundary. The two stones are doubly contrasted: (a) one is big and the other little; (b) one marks a boundary and the other does not. It is unlike Plato to leave out any of these four points. (The smaller stone has a stability greater than that given by size.) I would suggest either that ἄλλον πλὴν ὁρον is a careless expression for ὁχὶ ὁρον ὡντα—“other than a boundary”—or that it is a commentator’s explanation of some rather out-of-the-way expression meaning the same thing. (F.H.D. would follow Cod. Ricard.)

a 3. φιλίαν τε καὶ ἔχθραν: these are generally taken to be nouns, but it is more likely that they are adjectives, qualifying γῆν understood.

a 4. ἐνορκὸν παρὰ θεῶν, “consecrated by an oath to heaven”; i.e. the stone. (L & S. take ἐνορκὸν with φιλίαν and ἔχθραν.)—τοῦ μέν is the stone separating two plots of φιλία γῆ, τοῦ δὲ that separating φιλία γῆ from ἔχθρα.

a 5. οἱ μετὰ πολέμων τῶν ἔχθιστων ἐγείρονται, “and when they are roused, deadly hostility follows.”

a 6. τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κακῶν: i.e. the law’s penalties.

b 1. μηδὲς γάρ: γάρ introduces the actual words of the νόμος.

b 2. τοῖς γεωργοῖς: a corrector of O, thinking doubtless that the first persons with whom information should be lodged would be men in an official position, preferred to write γεωρμόροις—in later Greek the name of officials who portioned out land to Roman colonists (Dion. Hal. ix. 25). Some official term certainly seems wanting. We should have expected τοῖς ἀγρονόμοις (see below, d 3).

b 4. ὃς ἀνάδαστον γῆν λάθρα καὶ βίῳ ποιοῦντος τοῦ ὁφλοῦντος: this (somewhat clumsy) clause expresses the considerations which are to influence the tribunal in assessing the penalty. ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν is (of land) to make redistributable—as we might say, “to throw into the melting-pot”; of laws it is “to rescind.” καί is not and (as Schn. and Wagner) but or; βία implies resistance, and resistance publicity. (Is not the clause, possibly, a commentator’s explanation of τοιαυτῆν ι)

b 7. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο: equivalent to a simple English “then,” Lat. item.
b 8. διὰ τὸ θαμίζειν . . . μέγαν: "many a little makes a mickle" is especially true of petty acts of annoyance on the part of a neighbour. Aristotle, *Nich*. 1395 b 9, says οὖδὲν γειτονίας χαλεπώτερον. On the other hand a reminiscence of Alcman's proverbial μέγα γειτονία γείτων (echoed in c 2) may have made the following πυρκάν γειτονία sound like an oxymoron.

Cf. Thuc. ii. 27. 2 κατὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον, "out of enmity towards the Ath." (Ast and Schneider take it to be "incommodum.")

c 2. διάφορον: rather "inimical" than (as L. & S.) "injurious." The following γάρ clause explains the need for this special watchfulness: "though it is hard to help a man, it is easy to hurt him."

c 4. διενλαβείσθαι does not, as L. & S. say, govern the gen. (see below on c 2); ἐπεργασίας συμπάσης is governed by πέρι: τῶν τε ἄλλων πέρι goes with διενλαβούμενον, not with the preceding words: "particular and constant care being taken not to encroach on his territory." The following γάρ clause explains the need for this special watchfulness: "though it is hard to help a man, it is easy to hurt him."

c 7. τῆς δὲ ἀναδείας ἁμα καὶ ἀνελευθερίας ιατρευόμενος: cp. above on 728 c: "to cure him of his boorish impudence."

d 2. ἄλλο, "in addition."

d 4. εἰ τοῖς πρόσθεν: the reference is to 761 e 2, where it is laid down that the five φρούραρχοι are to have their sixty subordinates as assessors when trying the more important causes.

d 5. τάξις, "staff."

d 6. οἱ φρούραρχοι τούτων, "those among them who are φρ."—The ἐπί- in ἐπινέμη has the same force as that in ἐπεργάζεσθαι above, c 6.

d 7. ὄρωντες κρινόντων, "decide by inspection."

d 8. τὴν τῶν μελιττῶν ἴδον συνεπόμενος: Wagner and Susemihl take this to mean "in pursuance of his delightful in bees"; i.e. "as a bee-fancier." Other interpreters (rightly) take it to mean "by humouring the delightful felt by bees (in noise)."

e 1. For the οὕτως in κατακρούων οὕτως οἰκεῖωταί cp. Prot. 310 d εὐθὺς ἀναστάς οὕτω δένυ ἐπορεύομην.—οἰκείουσθαί has the notion of "making the bees like him"; it is more than σφετερίζειν: "sich befreundet" (Müller). The καὶ connecting σφετερίζῃ and οἰκείωταί is explanatory. (Ritter thinks κατακρούων is not "by beating (pans, etc.)," but "knocking or shaking the swarms down."

E 2. ἐὰν πυρεών τὴν ὀλην μὴ διενλαβηθῇ τῶν τού γείτων: so the MSS. L. & S. tells us that πυρεῖν is transitive, and that διενλαβεῖσθαι can govern a gen. As neither εὐλαβεῖσθαι nor
δευλαβείωσαι not εξευλαβείωσαι are ever found elsewhere govern-
ing any case but the acc., and as πυρεύω occurs here only, and verbs in -έω are prevailingly intransitive, it is best to make δευλα-

βηθγον govern την ὕλην and translate πυρεύων, "when he is

making a bonfire." I think that Steph. was right in changing

the MS. τῶν to την. If not, τῶν is partitive: "does not take

care to avoid the inflammable matter among his neighbour's

property."

e 3. With ἔαν φυτεύων κτλ. ἡμιούσθω is supposed to be

supplied from the preceding sentence.

e 4. ἀπολείπειν is the technical word for leaving an open

space—e.g. at Xen. Anab. vi. 5. 11, between troops.—τὸ μέτρον τῶν

tοῦ γείτονος χωρίων is "the proper space between the trees and

the neighbour's land." At Plut. Sol. ch. 23 φυτεύων μέτρα are

the spaces to be left between various trees and a neighbour's

land. It is there explained that some trees spread their roots

further than others.

844 a 1. ἐπεί, "for instance."

a 2. οὐκ ἄξιοι παροχετεύειν λόγοις, "are not important

enough for us to let them percolate through our discourse," οὐκ

ἄξιοι (εἴσι) is an echo of the μὴ ἄξιον four lines above; the use

of παροχετεύειν (derivare) is playful. (Ast and Stallb. make the

sentence mean "do not deserve to be passed over.")

a 3. ἀλλα': though the laws are not all to be given in detail,

he proceeds to give samples which will explain their main

principles.

a 4. τὰ κοινὰ νάματα: all rivers; brooks, and springs were

public; wells were private.

a 5. ὑποτέμνειν is "to tap"—lit. "to cut into from under-

neath."—φανεράς: i.e. such as are above ground.—From ναμάτων

in a 4 to ἄγεν in a 6 is unaccountably omitted in the first four

printed edd., and (acc. to Stallb.) in Ξ. Fic. translates the missing

words, and Steph. first recalled them to the text, but, as usual, he

does not say where he found them.

b 1. ἀνδρία δὲ . . . νάματα, "in case any districts are affected

by a natural droughtiness, and the soil fails to hold the water

that comes from the sky." All interpreters naturally take ἐκ γῆς

with σύμφωνος, but ἀποστέγει is very variously interpreted. I

think Ficinus's "non retinet" is right: στέγειν ὑδωρ is the

correct expression for "to hold water," and ἀπο- has here an adver-

sative force. (Schneider "humores non recipit," Wagner "die

Wässer verschwinden lässt, L. & S. "keep in," Jowett "absorb,"

361
Stallb. "aquas continet"—he thinks it means that there is no surface water in the shape of streams or pools or springs, because it has all been absorbed by the soil.—All editors have accepted Aldus's correction of the MS. ἀποστέγειν to ἀποστέγειν.

b 3. μέχρι τῆς κεραμίδος γῆς: the Solonian law referred to by Plutarch (Solon ch. 23) says a man must dig down ten fathoms in his own land before he asks neighbours to supply him with water: ἀπορία γὰρ ἑτοὶ δεῖν βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἄργιαν ἑφοδίαζεν.

b 5. μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πώματος: Solon would allow about 8½ gallons a day.

b 6. ἐὰν δὲ δεὶ ἀκριβείας ἔγινεν, "if there is a stringency (in the water-supply)," lit. "if it" (i.e. the water-supply) "is under stringency," i.e. "if the neighbours also have only a bare sufficiency." Similar prepositional phrases are δὲ ἡσυχίας εἶναι Hdt. i. 206, οὐκ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ τὰ σα Εὐρ. Πτερού. 1276, οὐκ ἐν ἀβρότητι κεῖσαι πρὸς τὰ νῦν πεπτωκότα Εὐρ. Πτερού. 1. 4. 1343.

b 7. τάξασθαι is here used in the sense of "getting a thing settled," as in c 6, and (probably) at Rep. 416 d; at Meno 91 b it means "to fix it in one's own interest," or "for oneself."

c 1. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ Δίως ὑδατα γεγυμένα: the acc. ὑδατα supposes a following (μη) μεθεῖς, or some synonymous transitive participle; when the place of this part. is actually taken in c 3 by (μη) διδόως ἐκροήν, the acc. is left stranded.—This law about injury done to a neighbour's land, either by obstructing the outflow of flood water, or by letting it flow violently on to his land, was (acc. to Stallb.) said by Cujas (Obss. Libr. xxiv. 24) to have been the source of a law in Pandect. Lib. i. § 13. 1 de aqua et aquae pluviae arcend. etc.

c 4 f. περὶ ταῦτα . . . κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλως, "to help each other in the matter," i.e. to take steps in common to deal with the flood; διὰ ταῦτα is "owing to the mischief thus inflicted" (and the consequent anger of the injured party). (Ficinus ignores both περὶ ταῦτα and διὰ ταῦτα—"et convenire inter se nequeunt." Schneider translates "ideoque nonunt inter se haec communia habere.")

c 5. ἐὰν ἀστεῖ: i.e. in the case of the ὄμοτοιχος of c 2.

d 4. ὁπώρας κοινωνίαν: i.e. a generally accepted fruit-harvest law.

d 6. παιδείαν Διονυσιάδα ἄθησαύρωστον: whether or not this is, as Winckelmann thought, a quotation, it is certainly a poetical form of expression. The first mention of the "gracious gifts of the goddess Autumn" is the "ungarnereud nursery of Dionysus."
Eur. (Troc. 128) calls ropes πλεκτάν Διγύπτου παιδείαν, “because,” as the scholiast says, “Egypt nourishes the byblus”; why should the phrase in the text be thought impossible? It is just such a high-flown phrase as a gourmet would use playfully in describing a choice viand. The two kinds of fruit Plato speaks of were (1) the coarse (ἄγροικος), common kind, which was stored in bulk for drying, or made into wine; and (2) the chooser sorts (γενναίαι) which were grown for the table. (Stallb., Sussemihl, Ritter, and Burnet accept Grou’s emendation of παιδείαν to παιδιάν.)—εἰς ἀπόθεσιν γενομένην κατὰ φύσιν, “made to be stored”; γενομένην, rather than γεγομένην (which H. Richards would read), carries us back to the time when the fruit was first “produced by nature.”


e 1. ἀρκτούροφ σύνδρομον: the fixing of the autumnal equinox (when Arcturus rises) as the time for the vintage is older even than Solon. Hes. Op. et D. 607 says εὖτ᾽ ἄν δ’ ᾽Οριών καὶ Σελίριος ἐς μέσον ἐλθυ oὐρανόν, Ἀρκτούρον δ’ ἐκβή βοδο- δάκτυλος Ἡμῶς, ὡς, ὧν Πέρση, τότε πάντας ἀπόδρετε οἰκάδε βότρυς; but probably Solon was the first to make it illegal for anyone to begin his vintage before that time.

e 3. ἓρας μὲν πεντήκοντα ὀφειλέτω τῷ Διονύσῳ δραχμάς, “he must be fined 50 drachmas in honour of Dionysus,” i.e. “in the interests of fruit-culture.” Διονύσῳ goes rather with ἓρας than with ὀφειλέτω.

e 4. δρέπη: probably Plato used this poetical word because he had Hesiod’s ἀπόδρετε in his mind.

e 5. τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην, “the σταφυλή called γενναία which we mentioned just now.” (Ast, who reads γενναίαν for παιδείαν at d 6, of course translates “the σταφυλή just now called γενναία.”) Dio Chrys. Or. vii. p. 108 M. (236 R.) εἰσὶ δὲ γενναίαι σφόδρα (αἱ ἀμπελοί) καὶ τοὺς βότρυς φεροῦσι μεγάλους.

e 9. All editors but Schneider and Bekker have adopted Steph.’s ἐπομένως for the MS. and Eus. ἐπόμενως. Similarly ἐκείνως in the next line, which was preserved by L (and all edd.), appears in A and O and Eus. as ἐκείνος.—ἐπομένως τῷ νόμῳ, “on the principle of the law that says . . . .” We are told by Diog. Laert. i. 57 that ἄ μη ἔθους μη ἄνέληδυ, εἰ δὲ μη, θάνατος
THE LAWS OF PLATO

η ἔμια is a law of Solon’s. We may therefore conclude, with Herm. Vestig. p. 64, that the rest of the laws here given, like those above about water-supply, are modelled on Solon’s laws (cp. also below, 913 c).

845 b 1. The τῶν τουοῦτον of LO and A² is a simple scribe’s error like τῶν . . . δοῦλων in b 3. It is curious that A or A² should have five mistakes of this kind in three lines: ἀϊςτορότων A² and τῶν μὲν δοῦλων Α.

b 3. αὐτοὺς ἡ δοῦλος, “whether master or slave.”

b 5. τῆς εἰς ἀπόθεσιν ἀσταφίδος οἶνον τε καὶ ἔηρῶν σύκων ἀναπτυγμένην κεκτήσθαι, “which is not fit to be held in store as raisins, or wine, or as dried figs.” (Modern interpreters take ἀσταφίς οἶνος to be “raisin wine”; but (1) ἀσταφίς is not elsewhere found as an adj.; (2) if it were an adj. the τε would more naturally come after it than after οἶνον; (3) Photius apparently took it as a subst. s.v. ὀσταφίδα: ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων ἡ νόμῳς τῆς δ’ εἰς ἀπόθεσιν ὀσταφίδος; (4) in the extract given above on 844 d 8 ἀπόθεσις and οἶνοποιία are distinguished.)

c 1. μὴδὲν is adverbial.—λάθρα λαμβάνειν (cp. above, 841 b 2 and e 1): you must consider the feelings of the owner. If you take his fruit before his eyes, you must expect a moderate beating if you are under 30.—The outspoken denunciations of thieving at 857 a and 941 b are a proof that this is not a concession to the Spartan admiration of the clever undiscovered thief.

c 2. τυπτέσθω καὶ ἀμυνέσθω: the καί is explanatory; he is to be struck by way of stopping the thief.

c 6. According to Ast, αὐτοῦ is a partitive genitive (“partaking of it”), but all other editors regard the word as an adv. of place, “on the spot.”

c 7. µὴ πειθόμενος δὲ τῷ νόμῳ: i.e. if he “pockets” as well.

d 1. ἀναγινώσκεις περὶ ἀρετῆς: as we should say, “disqualified for every public distinction.”

d 2. εἰς τότε, “when the time comes.” Cp. above 830 b 2; the time, namely, when the question of the man’s merit is publicly canvassed before οἱ τότε κρίνει.

d 4. This little paragraph about injury to water-supply by witchcraft or drugs seems out of place here. Some of the language is of the same high-flown kind as was observable in the chapter on hunting at the end of Bk. VII.

845 d 6. τοῖς ὑδασι σύντροφα τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστανόντων, “joint-nourishers of all that grows out of the earth.” The recent use of τρόφιμον in an active sense no doubt helped to make it

364
clear that σύντροφα too was used actively. In any other con-
nexion τῶς ὁδασὶ σύντροφα would have been taken to be “akin
to the waters,” “ sharers of the waters’ nursery.” L alone
preserved the right reading in οὔτε ἥλιον; A and O have οὔτε
Τῶν ὁδοπριν.

d 8. ή ὁδας φύσις is a periphrasis for ὁδοπριν equivalent to our
“such a thing as water.” Cp. below on 862 d 8.
e 2. Possibly L is right in reading ἄλλοτρυν ὄν.
e 5. τὴν ἄξιαν τῆς βλάβης ἀπογραφόμενος, “entering a claim
for compensation.”
e 7. οἱ τῶν ἐξωγηγτῶν νόμοι: we were told at 759 c 7 that
ἐξωγηγταῖ were to be appointed as exponents of the Delphic
laws about divine things. The φαρμακεία here mentioned was probably
not commonplace poisoning, but witchcraft, and to get rid of such
spells was a religious business.
e 8. ἀφηγόνται, “prescribe.” Above at 672 a 2 ἀφηγεσθαι
was “to give directions,” “to take the lead.” Ast would, both
here and there, substitute the more ordinary ὑφηγεῖν ὄν. Plato
may well have preferred the more out-of-the-way form for some
reason. In the earlier case the ἀφικοντο of L and O is some
corroborating for the ἀφ-. Fic. translates, as if he had read οἱ
τῶν νόμον ἐξωγηγταί, by a simple “interpretes.”

846 a 2. ἡ τριπλάσιον αὐτὸς κέρδος . . . κερδαίνη: e.g. if a
cart carrying fodder or fuel could save two miles out of three by
going through a neighbour’s ground. In any case it would be a
hard matter for the judge to compare the benefit of one with the
damage done to the other. The principle is clear, though nowa-
days weight would hardly be allowed to it in the decision of
“rights-of-way.”

a 4. οἶσα τις ἀν: cp. on 890 a 5.
a 5. ἐκῷν ἄκοντα: this makes the damage malicious.
a 6. διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κτημάτων: these words limit the damage
to that done by a man’s goods, and so it comes in well as a
generalization of the case of damage done by the passage of crops.
(Ast thinks αὐτὸς η has fallen out before διά; Fic. translates “vel
per se vel per illa quae possidentur”—τοῖς ἀρχοντε: probably
either the ἀγρονόμου or the ἀστυνόμου.

b 5. The MS. ἐκαστῶν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων is difficult; it must
depend on ἀδικήματα: “the magistrates’ unjust decisions about
any of the charges.” Ast’s ἐκαστον provides ἐπανάγειν with a
more natural object, but leaves τὰ τῶν ἄρχ. ἀδικήματα only
translatable as “as regards the magistrates’ unjust decisions.”

365
b 6. The νόμιμα here mentioned are evidently methods of legal procedure.

c 1. προσκλήσεων: here probably the citation of the defendant. —ἐπὶ δούνα: i.e. κλητῆρον. At Athens the witnesses to a summons were generally two.

c 3. οὐκ ἄξια: cp. οὐκ ἄξιοι at 844 a 2.

c 4. οἱ νεόι: cp. below, 855 d 2 τοῖς νεωτέροις νομοθέταις χρη μέλειν.

c 5. τῆς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῶν χρείας ἐμπείρως ἵσχουντες, "they are to treat the cases in which they have to employ them as experiments."—i.e. they are not to try to legislate in advance. (Not "according to their own experience of the usefulness and necessity of them" Jowett, or "necessarium istorum usum experientia cognoscentes" Fic.)

c 8. ἦδη goes closely with μέτρον ἔχουσι: "which by this time have got into their right shape."—The MSS. and all editors except Hermann, Wagner, and Burnet read μέτρον ἔχουσι; L. & S. s.v. μέτρος B. II. state that μέτρον is used as an adv., but they only give this passage as an instance of such a use. Clearly μέτρον ἔχειν could not be used in the sense of μετρῖως ἔχειν, and Baiter must be right in holding that μέτρον here—as, in Ξ and the first five printed edd., it is at 698 b 1—is a scribe's mistake for μέτρον. Cr. 836 a 6, 957 a 4, 959 a 3.

d 1. τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δημιουργῶν ποιεῖν χρή κατὰ τόδε, "as to the class of artificers this is what we must do."

d 2. In connexion with this remarkable prohibition cp. below, 920 a ff.

d 6. οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ: the implication is that the work of any δημιουργικὴ τέχνη would be so engrossing as to leave no time or energy for the πολλὴ ἀσκήσεως necessary for the πολιτικὴ τέχνη. As he says in the next sentence, no ordinary man can satisfactorily practise more than one τέχνη. —δεόμενον agrees with κόσμων. (F.H.D. compares the reluctance to include "business men" in the British Cabinet; and notes that to Plato as to all Greeks the duties of a πολίτης ἀνήρ included government—i.e. taking part in the actual administration of the state.)

e 1. οὐδ᾿ αὖ κτλ., "what is more, he cannot satisfactorily oversee the work of a craftsman in another τέχνη as well as do that of his own." This justifies the μηδὲ οἰκέτης of d 3.—Burnet is the first editor to restore the MS. ἰκανὸς for the vulgate ἰκανῶς.

e 2. ὑπάρχειν γίγνεσθαι: in periphrastic style for ὑπάρχειν;
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

846 e
cp. 670 b 10 γεγονασι διηναγκασμένοι, 700 d 3 ἄρχοντες ... ἔγγυνοντο, 737 c 7 γέγονον ἀν ἱεροθεῖς.—πρῶτον, “to start with,” strengthens the ὑπάρχον γέγνεσθαι. “Ne sutor supra crepidam” is to be the guiding principle from the first. Cp. Rep. 370 b, 374 a, 394 e, and Arist. Pol. ii. 1273 b 9 ἐν γαρ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἔργων ἄριστ' ἀποτελεῖται. δεὶ δ' ὅπως γίγνηται τοῦ θ' ὀρᾶν τὸν νομοθετήν, καὶ μὴ προστάτευν τὸν αὐτὸν αἰλεῖν καὶ σκιτσομεῖν.

e 3. μηδ' αὖ: it follows, in the next place, from this principle, that overseers and employers of labour shall only have workmen of their own kind under them. (It is assumed that to overlook another man’s work you must understand it thoroughly yourself; and we have just been told that no man can thoroughly understand more than one craft.)

e 4. μᾶλλον ἦ, “potius quam,” as at Prot. 317 b 6. As at a 5 below, it is here used with the further sense of “instead of,” “to the neglect of.”

e 6. εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖται δι' ἐκεῖνων MSS. The δι' was early suspected (“τὸ δι' ἐν τισιν ὅβελωσται” marg. O), and all editors but Burnet omit it. It looks as if the utmost that can be got out of the MS. reading is the statement that the workers of a different kind furnish the employer with an additional title to ownership, because the profits from his own craft are thereby increased — lit. “he oversees more reasonably thanks to them.” This absolute use of ἐπιμελεῖται is very awkward, and the argument itself is by no means conclusive. Enlarged profits do not give any better title to an overseer. I would suggest that δι' is a mistake for δὴ (cp. 849 a 3), which would come in very naturally after πρόφασεν ἔχων: “on the plea that, being the employer of many slaves who work for him, it is clearly more reasonable for him to employ the second set of workers because it increases the profits from his own craft.” The answer of the Nomothetes to this would be: “you may make more money, but the quality of the work of both kinds of craftsmen would suffer, and that is what the state cares about.”

847 a 2. I take τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης to stand for τῆν τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης. (Most interpreters take τέχνης as depending on the comparative πλείω, and to stand for τῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης. F.H.D. would reject this second τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης.)

a 3. ἀπὸ ταύτης ᾧμα καὶ τὸ ἐὰν κτάσθω: i.e. however much he might increase his income by employing workmen of another craft, he must not do so; ἀπὸ ταύτης is emphatic.

a 5. μᾶλλον ἦ: see above on 846 e 4.—τῆν stands for εἰς τῆν.
—Above at 846 d 4 the word τέχνη was similarly used in a metaphorical sense.

a 7. κατευθύνωσιν εἰς τὸν αὐτόν δρόμον: we use the same metaphor in "running wide," and "off the course."

b 2. αὐτοῖς: i.e. the handworkers.

b 3. τῶν ἀναίρεσεων is now generally understood to mean "the undertakings" to perform certain works. Ficinus apparently took it to mean "the acceptance," i.e. the way the work is received, for he translates "de mercede autem opificium, de operis ipsorum approbatione vel improbatione." Ast argues that as ἀναίρεσις meant the abrogation of laws, it must mean the rejection of works, and holds that some word meaning acceptance has fallen out before ἀναίρεσεων. Of these interpretations Ficinus's seems the best. Is it possible that we ought to read ἀνακρίσεων?—The four questions about workmen which might come into court then were: (1) did they get a proper wage? (2) was their work satisfactory? (3) had they any complaints against third persons? or (4) had any third persons complaints against them?

b 7. τέλος . . . μηδὲν μηδέν τελεῖν: nothing but superfluities would be allowed to leave the state, and nothing but absolute necessaries would be allowed to come in. Further repression of either export or import by means of a toll would therefore be superfluous.

b 8. καὶ ὅσα . . . θυμιάματα, "and any suchlike foreign spices as concern the worship of the gods." For πρὸς θεοὺς cp. Soph. Phil. 1441 εὐσεβεῖν τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς, Arist. Pol. 1272 a 19 τέσσαρες μέρος τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς.

c 2. ἡ περὶ τινα ἄλλην τέχνην: i.e. καὶ ὅσα περὶ τινα ἄλ. τέχ., "anything that belongs to any other art or craft."

d 2. εάν τινος ἡ τέχνης εἰσαγωγήμον δέη γίγνεσθαι ἡ φυτοῦ κτλ., "if we need the introduction either of any handcraft or of any vegetable product or etc." The construction is a curious mixture of εάν τινος τέχνης δέη and εάν δέη τινα τέχνης εἰσαγωγήμον γίγνεσθαι.

d 3. ἕνεκα τῆς τοιαύτης χρείας = "for military purposes."

d 6. τῆς πόλεως: no private individual was to have any of these things as his property; the state was to be the only dealer in such wares.

d 8. τούτων is "war material."—For a modification of this edict against κάπηλοι cp. below, 849 d and 919 c πρῶτον μὲν ὅπει σμικροτάτη χρήσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν τῶν καπήλων γένει.

e 2 ff. τροφῆς δὲ . . . γίγνεσθαι, "as to supply and the distribu-

368
tion of the produce of the soil, if a good system approaching that of the Cretan law were adopted it would meet the case." For a reference to the Cretan system of distribution and supply cp. Arist. Pol. 1272a 15—21, where we learn that in Crete ἑκ κοινοῦ τρέφεωσθαι πάντας.

e 4. δόθεκα μέρη: i.e. one for each month; see below, 849 b 4 ff.

e 5. ἦπερ καὶ ἀναλωτέα: i.e. each twelfth is to be consumed in its own month.

e 6. Burnet is the first to mark off οἶνον ... ἦ as a parenthesis.

e 7. The τά before ἀπαντά is difficult. Stallb. would reject it.

848 a 1. For ὅσα with the subj. without ὅν cp. above on 737 b 3. (Ast would read ἄν for ἦν, Stallb. ὅσ' ἄν or would reject ἦ; he rightly remarks that ἄν, of which Ast says "sensum non habet," would be "badly missed"—that it is "in singulis illis duodenis partibus.")

a 2. κατὰ λόγον: in proportion, that is, to the size of each of the three classes mentioned.

a 4. All editors up to Burnet followed O² in reading ἄν τῶν, though A and O have αὐτῶν (Cod. Ric. ἄν αὐτῶν). τῶν is manifestly right and αὐτῶν wrong. Out of respect for A and O Burnet reads ἄν τῶν. But ἄν seems out of place here. The οἷ τέ τινες and ὅσοι clauses seem to provide a twofold classification of the "foreigners in general," which has gone before, into permanent residents and casual visitors. If we read ἄν we assume that the μετοικοῦντες ξένοι are a fresh kind, separate from the δημιουργοὶ ξένοι. From 850 b 1 and c 3 we must conclude that the δημιουργοὶ were μετοικοὶ, and that the latter word did not denote a separate class of rich merchants or capitalists. Besides, Burnet's reading would embarrass us with a fresh instance of rel. with subj. without ἄν.

a 5. τροφῆς ἀναγκαίου δεόμενοι: this would be the case with all foreigners, whether rich or poor; for no foreigner would be allowed to possess land.—χρεία τοι τόλεως, "on business with the city."

a 7 ff. οἶνον ... πωλεῖν: Ritter (p. 266 n.) cannot be right in thinking that μηδὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐστώ πωλεῖν stands for ἐπάναγκες ἐστώ μηδὲν πωλεῖν. The analogy of Symp. 176 e 5 by itself compels us to translate "there must be no compulsion to sell anything." In the previous sentence τοῦτο μόνον goes more closely with ἐς ἀνάγκης than with οἶνον: "only this part can be forced on to the market."

b 2. τῷ μὲν ἱγα, τῷ δ' οὐκ ἱγα: i.e. a division which would be

VOL. II 369 2 b
equal in one way would be unequal in another; e.g. a skin of wine from a good soil would count for more than a skin from a poor vineyard.

b 7. τῶ μὲν τοίνυν τοιούτων, "in this respect," i.e. in quality, or value. The genitive τῶν μέρων depends on μηδὲν (μέρος).

b 8. μὴ... μὴ: the two shares that go to the burghers—of which shares they are to decide the distribution as between themselves and their slaves—are treated as one lot, and the share for the ξένοι as the other.—Most editors have adopted the τό of O² before τοῖς: Steph. proposed independently to insert it. It is not necessary: νεμόμενον is "if" or "when assigned."

b 9. τὴν τῆς δομοφόρου ἴσοτητα: care must be taken that the ξένοι are not left with inferior stuff. (The three μέρη are not to be thought of as equal in quantity, but κατὰ λόγον (a 2).)

b 10. λαβὼν: the asyndeton marks the transition to the legal style of the actual enactment; the δ' which all editors before Burnet insert has no MS. authority.—We may suppose that each citizen, "takes" a (monthly) supply either (a) proportional to the size of his household or (b) proportional to the amount he had contributed to the common stock. (Probably the former.) Between (a) and (b) we are left to guess, and the same is the case with several other details of the scheme of distribution of supply. So much is clear: free burghers were to get enough to keep themselves and their households, slaves included, out of the public stock into which they had brought all the produce of their lands.

c 2. τὸ δὲ πλέον τούτων: this might mean (a) whatever stores (out of shares 1 and 2) were left over after each burgher had taken his share; if so, we are to understand from what follows that this remainder was to go to the animals, and was to be distributed among the burghers according to the number of (tame) animals kept by each. We are moreover told that in this division value was not to count—only numbers and bulk. Or (β) τὸ πλέον τούτων might mean all that was left out of the whole stock after the burghers had taken shares 1 and 2; in other words it would mean "the third, or foreigners' share." This latter supposition involves not only the assumption that there would be nothing over out of shares 1 and 2, but also that the third share was to be given back to the burghers (by a rough, quantitative division) to sell to the middlemen (ἐπίτροποι)—each burgher receiving a quantity in proportion to the number of animals he kept. There are difficulties in either view: the latter is certainly the more far-fetched of the two, and has, I think, the greater difficulties.—Perhaps we
NOTES TO BOOK VIII

848 c

may assume that a register was kept of the amounts supplied by each citizen: on assumption (α) this register would show what proportion of the money received from the ξένοι each citizen was to receive; on assumption (β) no such register would be necessary.—Further, we may suppose that the city authorities would endeavour to keep the numbers of the whole population proportional to the yearly supply of provisions.

c 4 f. οἶς ἐκ τῆς γῆς δεὶ τὴν προφήτη γάγνεσθαι, “who have to be fed from the soil.”

c 6. μετά is “beside” here, as below at 875 b 3 and elsewhere.—αὐτοῖς is probably not the foreign δημομοργοί but the whole population.

c 7. τοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς: not masc. (as Wagner), but nent.— “for matters of such a kind,” i.e. “for town-planning.”

d 1. ἤερα καὶ ἄγοράν ... θεῶν: Ficinus gets over the difficulty by translating as if Plato had said ἄγοράν καὶ ἤερα θεῶν; Wagner insists on reading ἤερα κατ’ ἄγοράν, referring to 778 c 4 f. and 849 a 3 and 5, and pointing out the difficulty of seeing how the ἄγορά could be said to belong to the gods. But about Wagner’s reading there is this difficulty, that it assumes that the site for the ἄγορά had been already chosen; and this is not the case. It is better to suppose that ἤερα καὶ ἄγοράν is a loose phrase for “an ἄγορά with its surrounding temples,” or “temples round an ἄγορά.”—Unlike Ἰφιμένος at 809 a 1, ἐξισσοῦθαί is middle here.

d 2. δαμόνων is possibly a spurious addition, cp. 834 c 5 τοῖς θεοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ θεῶν; τῶν ἐπομένων θεοῖς would then include ἤμοιες as well as δαμονες.

d 2 ff. εἶτε ... ἀνθρώπων, “and, in case there are either any local deities of the Magnetes, or shrines of other deities of ancient memory, we must pay to these the honour that the men of old paid”; i.e. such sites must still be occupied by temples.

d 3. Μαγνήτων: cp. above 704 c 5. There was a tradition that the Magnetes who founded Magnesia on the Meander had migrated from Crete. At 860 c Plato calls his imaginary city ἡ Μαγνήτων πόλις.

d 6. τῶν ἄλλων (sc. θεῶν) depends on ὅς ἄν, and does not, as Ritter (p. 266) holds, mean “of the other tribes.”

d 7. παντάχοι: i.e. in every one of the twelve κώμαι.—πρῶτον δὲ ... ὕψιλοτάτος ὃ: this describes the same arrangement as was recommended for the central city at 745 b 7 θέμενον Ἕστιας πρῶτον καὶ Δίως καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἀκρόπολιν ὑπομάζοντα κύκλον περιβάλλοντα. These four temples then were not to be round
the ἀγορά, but in the village acropolis. Very few cities can, like Homer’s Troy, have had their ἀγορά inside the acropolis.

e 2. τὴν δὲ . . . διελομένους, “and we must provide all the outside country with handicraftsmen, whom we shall divide into thirteen portions.”

e 5. τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς πόλεως: cp. 745 c 1.—ἐξω τε καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ κατανεμηθέντας: i.e. the craftsmen were to live in the suburbs.

e 7. L has here preserved for us the right reading in γένη τῶν —so too O²—in the place of the inexplicable μενοητῶν of A¹ and the μὲν ρητῶν of A².

849 a 1. ἐπιμεληθήναι καὶ ἐπιμελεύσθαι: a remarkable conjunction of aor. with impf. inf. Perhaps we may translate “take in hand and keep in hand.”

a 2. τὴν . . . ἀρχὴν stands for τοῦς ἀρχοντας; cp. above, e 8.

a 3. L alone has preserved the full reading. The corrector of O put in the missing words, but A reads τοῖς δὲ δι’ ἀγοράν ποι.

a 4 ff. η δὲ ἐπιμέλεια . . . κολάσεως: this somewhat freely constructed sentence was spoiled in all the early editions by the insertion of a δὲ before δεύτερον—due probably to a mistaken doubling of the first two letters of that word. Even Stallb. retains it. Wagner, Herm., and Burnet are the only editors who get the sentence right, as even Zürr. and Schneid. put no comma after τι, and connect μὴ τις ἀδική τι with the following instead of with the preceding words. The duty of the ἀγορανόμος is first to protect the temples round the agora from violation, and “in the second place to superintend the human business that goes on in it, watching to see who behaves well and who ill, and inflicting punishment where it is needed.” I think τῆς τῶν ἀνθρ. χρείας depends on a “supplied” ἐπισκεψις rather than on ἐπιμέλεια; the ἐπισκόπους ὄντας points to this: the inf. κολάζειν is then an exepgetic description of that in which the ἐπισκεψις consists; so that the construction, if fully expressed, would be (ἡ δὲ ἐπιμέλεια) ἐπισκεψις ἀν εἰν τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατ’ ἀγοράν χρείας, ὡστε σωφροσύνης τε καὶ ὑβρεός ἐπισκόπους ὄντας κτλ.

a 5. χρεία is generally translated by necessitates or needs here, but the context points to its being used in the sense of business, though, unless 848 a 5 χρεία τινι πόλεως be allowed to furnish one, it is hard to find a parallel use of the word in classical Greek.
(Wagner translates "in Betreff der für die Menschen nothwendigen Lebensbedürfnisse." A.M.A. would translate it by intercourse here and at 848 a 5.)

a 7. τῶν ὄνιων does not stand for περὶ τῶν ὄνιων, as Stallb. says, but depends on ἐκαστα in b 1.

a 8. τὰ περὶ τοὺς ξένους ταξιθέντα πωλεῖν τοῖς ἀστοῖς, "what the citizens have been told to sell to the foreigners"; i.e. the ἀπονεμηθέν τρίτον μέρος ὄνιων ἐξ ἀνάγκης of 848 a 7.—περὶ τοὺς ξένους stands in the place of a dative.

b 1. Schneider and Burnet are the only editors who venture to print the MS. δ' ἐκαστα. Stallb. is content with the unauthorized vulgate δὲ ἐστω. Hermann emends to δ' ἐκάστου, which gives an even easier reading than the vulgate, but fails to account for that of the MSS. ἐκάστῳ is probably a repetition of the immediately preceding ἐκαστα, and is neuter: "for each of the salable articles the law is that on the first of the month the ἐπίτροποι are to bring out the portion of things to be sold to the foreigners."

b 3. ὅσοι τοῖς ἀστοῖς ξένοι ἦ καὶ δοῦλοι ἐπιτροπεύοντες, "I mean those foreigners or slaves whom the citizens employ to supervise the supply." The dative τοῖς ἀστοῖς, "on behalf of the citizens," is a pregnant one; the implication is that the citizens appointed them for this purpose. We are told below (c 7) that no citizen or citizen's slave is to engage in this traffic.

b 5. ὅσα περὶ σῖτον: perhaps "food-accessories."

b 6. A few inferior MSS. (possibly) and the printed edd. down to Ast have δωδεκάτη for the MS. δεκάτη.

b 7. δι' ὀλου τοῦ μηνός ἰκανήν, "enough to last for the whole month."

c 1. τρίτη δ' εἰκάδι: L. & S. tell us that τρίτη εἰκάδι means the same as τρίτη μετ' εἰκάδα, or τρίτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι, i.e. "on the 23rd of the month." This seems unlikely; it is also unlikely that, when the first and second market-days were the 1st and the 10th, the 3rd should be the 23rd, instead of the 20th. This difficulty is met by W. R. Paton's suggestion that we should read τρίτη: this τρίτη might qualify πρᾶσις—"the third sale," i.e. that of live stock; or it might qualify ἀγορά understood—"let the third market—on the 20th—be the sale of live stock." But perhaps it is better met by Schneider, who appears to think that this market was to take place on every "third twentieth of the month," i.e. on the 20th of every third month.

c 2. αὐτοῖς δεομένοι: it will be remembered that at 848 a 1
the language implies that only such live-stock as could be spared from the farms was to be brought to market.—(There is no need, with Steph. and Ast, to change αὐτοῖς to αὐτοῖς.)

C 3. οἶνον δερμάτων κτλ.: Ritter (p. 260) sees in this a modification of the law mentioned at 846 d 2 f. Evidently, he says, the γεωργοί employed their slaves in the manufacture of these articles sold by them at the third monthly market. But what is to prevent the farmers from employing the services of τὰ πρόσφορα γεωργοίς γένη τῶν δημιουργῶν (848 e 6) who lived in their midst? It was doubtless these κένοι who were to make the leather etc. The spun and woven articles would be thought of as household products of the women of the family, not as the productions of a τέχνη.

C 5. παρ’ ἄλλων κτωμένοις: this is only a way of saying that they could not provide these things out of their own property. Even the country δημιουργοὶ did not own the articles they made up for the farmers.—κατηλείασ must be “acc. of inner object” with μήτε τις πωλείτω μήτε ὄνεισθω in c 8.

C 6. κρυθῶν ἡ πυρῶν εἰς ἀλφίτα νευμηθέντων, “barley or wheat flour.”

C 5–8. No citizen is to engage in retail trade either as buyer or seller: he must make no money by buying wholesale and selling retail.

D 1. αἱ τῶν κένων ἀγοραὶ are evidently distinct from ἡ κοινὴ ἀγορά (c 3); in the latter both citizens and κένοι might traffic.

D 2. οἶνον μεταβαλλόμενον πρᾶσιν: πρᾶσιν, like κατηλείας at a 5, is “acc. of inner object,” μεταβαλλόμενος being used absolutely in the sense of “trading.” These κένοι bought wholesale and sold retail.

D 4. μάγευροι: the butchers, like any other craftsmen, would of course be κένοι.—διαστηθαί, like our “dispose of,” is a synonym for “sell.” Cp. Eryxias 394 d 4 and 5. The beasts would doubtless be in the butchers’ charge between the market-day when the citizen sold them and the time when they were killed.

D 5. ὥλην καύσιμον: firewood was not to be brought into the market. The country ἐπίτροποι buy it wholesale (ἀθρόων) from the producers and would act as middlemen between them and the tradesman who sold to the consumer.

E 1. καθ’ ὅσον ἄν βουλήται, “in whatever quantity he likes.”

E 3. τὴν κοινὴν ἀγορᾶν: see above on d 1.—φέροντας: we are not told who the sellers are. In the case of raw material they might be citizens; the sellers of manufactured articles would
certainly be ξένοι; in some cases it would perhaps be the ἐπίτροποι.

4. Schneider takes ἐκαστὸν to be neuter—"each article"—and so would provide something for the genitive τῶν ἄλλων χρηματων to depend on. If, as is more likely, it is masc., τῶν ἄλλων must be attracted into the case of ὀπτόσων, or else depends on it.—ἐν οἷς ἄν... ἐν τούτοις: this clause, with its following amplifications, is an explanatory asyndeton to εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκαστὸν, and ἀλλάττεσθαι κτλ. explains πωλεῖν. The early editions—not so Ficinus—have an inexplicable θεῶν in the place of the MS. θώνται. Steph. corrected this, apparently as a conjecture of his own. He also pointed out that ἐν τούτοις is correlative to ἐν οἷς, but all subsequent editors except Ast (possibly) and Burnet ignore this, and spoil the passage by putting a colon after οἷῶν. This connexion of ἐν τούτοις with ἐν οἷς forbids us with Ficinus to take οὖσι τῶν οἷῶν θώνται to mean "premia venalibus imposuerint." The οὖσι must be local, cp. 915 d 7. ἐν χώρα τῇ τεταγμένῃ ἐκάστοις κατ' ἀγοράν.

5. τεκμηρίαμενοι is rightly explained by the scholiast as σημειωσάμενοι; it means "appoint," "peg out."

7. μὴ προίμενον ἄλλων ἐτέρω τὴν ἄλλαγήν, "and a man must not hand over to the other part his part of the transaction (whether it be goods or money) without getting the equivalent." Cf. προδόσει πίνειν, "to drink on credit" (L. & S. s.v. πρόδοσις).

850 a 1 ff. τὸ δὲ ὑπηρέτεων ἢ πραθέν... τὸ ἐναντίον: i.e., the extent to which the sale or purchase brings a man's property above or below the legal limit—if, that is, a man gets (by purchase) more than he ought to have, or pays more than he ought away—the excess must be recorded then and there (τὸν ἕδη) in the court of the νομοφύλακες—this means "confiscated"—and the deficiency (either in goods or price) made good—lit. "must be crossed out, annihilated." The words μηδέτερα τούτων πωλεῖν must mean "neither buy nor sell." At first sight it looks as if the νόμος in question were merely a law fixing the limits of price for the market in question. This is how Ficinus takes it ("lex qua rerum venalium mensurae et pretia constituta sunt"); but Ast, Wagner, Stallb., and Jowett rightly assume that the νόμος in question is that enunciated above at 744 d ff. which lays down limits of wealth and of poverty beyond which no citizen is to be allowed to go. If a particular sale brings a citizen's property above or below these limits, in the former case the surplus is con-
fiscated; in the latter it is made good—we are not told by whom. (Perhaps ἐξαλειψεσθω means “the transaction is to be annulled.”)

a 5 f. τὰ αὐτὰ . . . ἔστω . . . οὕσις, “the same rule is to hold about the register of the property of ξένου,” i.e. there are to be no foreign millionaires or paupers either. At 745 a 6 we are told of the arrangements for the register of citizens’ property παρὰ φύλαξιν ἀρχονσι. Evidently there was to be a similar register for the ξένου (cf. d 1).

a 7 f. ὡς οἰκήσεως οὐγής . . . κατακείν, “it being understood that residence is permitted to any foreigner who wants to take up his abode here and is able to do so.”

b 1. κεκτημένῳ: this and the two following participial clauses give the terms (ἐπὶ ῥήτοις a 7). We should translate by separate verbs: “he must have a craft; he must not stay in the country more than twenty years,” etc.

b 2. ἀφ’ Ἰῆς: sc. ἡμέρας.

b 3. πλὴν τοῦ σωφρονείν: this metaphor reminds us of the way in which at 846 d 4 and 847 a 5 he called τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελείαν a τέχνην; so here “good behaviour” is a τέλος.

b 5. For the plural χρόνοι cp. above, 769 c 5 ἐὰν τι σφάλληται τὸ ξύφων ὑπὸ χρόνον.

b 6. λόγου ἄξιον πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι τινὰ ἰκανὴν: a very involved form of expression; “to have become noteworthy in the direction of some considerable service done to the state.”

b 8. πείσειν, “that he will establish his claim.”

c 1. αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι κυρίος, “should be officially granted him.”

c 6. ἐπὶ τούτους: the “terms” are that he must have a craft, and must start his twenty years’ residence at the age of fifteen.

d 1. ἐξαλειψάμενος τὰς ἀπογραφὰς: as he is taking his property away with him (b 5) there is no need any longer that the record of it should remain. The duty of having it cancelled falls on the departing ξένου.

BOOK IX

853 a 1 ff. δίκαι . . . νόμων, “the next place in a systematic list of laws naturally falls to judicial processes arising out of all the activities hitherto described.” (Stallb. and other interpreters take
NOTES TO BOOK IX

The text in the image is a page from a classical Greek text, likely discussing political and legal matters.

**a 5. τὰ μέγιστα:** Not “the most important cases about which men might go to law,” but, as the following words show, “the most important points about the lawsuits themselves”—i.e. the penalties, and the tribunals.

**a 6. ἐρθέν:** Ast, followed by Herm. and Wagner, rightly rejects this word. Possibly Plato first wrote ἐρθέν, but changed it to λεγόμενον when he saw he had ἐρθέν at the end of the sentence—without however erasing ἐρθέν. λεγόμενον is an absolute impersonal, and on it ἢν...τυχάνεν depends. (Schneider and Burnet take ἐρθέν to be the absolute participle on which the following clause depends, and B. makes this clearer by shifting the comma from ἐρθέν and putting it after λεγόμενον—and so F.H.D. But should we not in that case have had λεγόμενα? Stallb. and Winckelmann independently proposed to read διαρρήγην for ἐρθέν, and Orelli ἐρηφήν.)

**b 1. ἐκείνα** is the description in Bk. VIII. of the farming and kindred activities.

**b 4. The καὶ before νομοθετεῖν, and the καὶ before ἄξιοὺν** in b 7, both emphasize the following infinitive: “the very act of legislating; the very act of assuming.”

**b 5. τοῦτο δρὰν** goes with μέλλομεν, and stands for νομοθετεῖν. Schneider and Burnet make this clear by their comma after δρὰν (Stallb. puts the comma after μέλλομεν, and Ast follows H. Steph. in inserting a καί before τοῦτο.)

**b 6. ὀρθότης,** as above at 847 e 3, is “a good system,” “an efficient organization.” Reference is to the legal enactments as to government and education which the previous books have explained.

**b 7 f. ἐν δὲ...μεθέξοντα,** “the mere assumption that there may arise in such a state a man who will be guilty of the most flagrant manifestations of the wickedness of other states.” τῶν μεγίστων is neuter, and goes directly with μεθέξοντα; this is better than to make it, like ἄλλων, agree with πόλεων (understood). Cp. below, 854 e 3 ἡδυκήκως τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἀδικιῶν.—Steph. is possibly right in reading ἦν for δὲ.

**b 9. προκαταλαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀπειλοῦντα** form a kind of hendiadys; “(legislate) by anticipatory threat (against any such as may arise).”

**c 1 f. τούτων, γενομένων, and αὐτοῖς are, I think, all masc.**

**c 3. ἐσομένους** (for which Steph. would substitute ἐσομένους) is

377
an absolute acc.; the case was probably chosen to suggest an object to προκαταλαμβάνοντα. For a similar acc. after ὁς cp. below, 874 b κηροῦζα τῷ κτεινατί . . . μὴ ἐμβαίνειν ἱερῶν . . . ὃς . . . ἀποθανούμενον; also 643 d 8, Rep. 426 c, Xen. Mem. i. 2. 20.—ἐπειδή . . . τὰ νῦν: the order in which we should take the words is: ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ τὰ νῦν νομοθετοῦμεν καθάπερ οἱ πολῖοι νομοθέται ἐνομοθέτουν, θεῶν παισίν νομοθετοῦμενοι τῶν ἱρωσίν, ὃς ὁ νῦν λόγος, αὐτοὶ τ᾽ ἐκ θεῶν ὄντες ἄλλοις τε ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονόσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνθρώποι τε καὶ ἄνθρώπων στέρμασιν. There is, at first sight, much to attract in Badham’s νομοθετοῦμεν, οἳ (with a comma after νομοθέται) for the MS. νομοθετοῦμεν, but a review of the whole sentence condemns it; (1) the οἳ would naturally be taken to refer to θεῶν παισίν, whereas Badham meant it to have νομοθέται as its antecedent; (2) in B.’s construction τοῖς ἱρωσίν is worse than useless; it blocks the direct connexion of ἐνομοθέτουν with ἄλλοις. The curious middle νομοθετοῦμεν is perhaps an indication that the lawgivers were legislating for their own class.

d 2. οἷον κερασβόλος, “what you might call horn-struck.” The word is applied to beans of any sort which have such hard outsides that they will not soften when boiled. An ordinary synonym for this seems to have been ἀτέραμος, for which Plato here, and below at 880 e, prefers the form ἀτεράμων. For the childish etymologies given for κερασβόλος see Plut. Symp. Quaest. vii. 700 c ff., Ruhnken, Tim. s.v., and Ast’s note here. Fic. seems to have taken κερασβόλος to mean “struck by lightning, so as to become hard as horn.” Ast thinks that τῆκεσθαι and ἄτικτοι (L ἄτακτο) are mistakes for τέγγεσθαι and ἄτεγκτοι.

d 3. I adopt Steph.’s addition of καὶ before καθάπερ.—ἐκεῖνα τὰ σπέρματα: i.e. the seeds which were implied by the use of the term κερασβόλος.

d 4. ἵσχυροῖς of course does not apply to the severity of the law now about to be made, but to the efficacy of the existing laws.

d 5. γίγνονται: the somewhat harsh asyndeton by which οὖν γίγνονται is appended to the ἐγγίγνηται after µὴ τις in d 1 was ignored by the correctors of A and O, who changed the word to γίγνονται (and so the first four printed edd., which put a full stop at πυρί). Steph., to remove the asyndeton, proposed to insert καὶ before καθάπερ. This is perhaps the best way out of the difficulty. —οὐν δὴ χάριν οὐκ ἐπίχαριν λέγοιμ’ ἀν πρῶτον νόμον ἱερῶν περὶ συλῆσεων, “it is for these men’s sad sake that I shall begin with a law about temple robbery.”
NOTES TO BOOK IX

854 a 3. δυσίατα καὶ ἀνίατα, "desperate, or nearly so." Cp. Phaedo 113 e.

a 4. ἔμπροσθεν: i.e. 772 e 4 ff., where the principle of prefixing προόμια to laws is first "approved of."—ἀπατεῖ τούτοις: i.e. to all these laws against desperate offences—such as sacrilege, parricide, or high treason.

b 2 ff. οὐσία σὲ τις ἐμφύσεοις ἐκ παλαιῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀδικημάτων, περιφερόμενοι ἀληθηρίωδης, "but an infatuation which springs up in men as the result of wrongs done in old time and not expiated—and so the infatuation still runs its accursed course." οὐσία is a picturesque substitute for the ἄγος or ἀτη of the tragedians, and it suits Plato's theories better. The nature of the inherited mischief is, in Plato's view, not so much the liability to vengeance as the tendency to commit crime. In his view, no doubt, the only really effective κάθαρσις for the original crime would have been the due punishment of the offender, because that would have checked the original tendency towards evil. Cp. Sophist 229 a ff. ἡ κολωστικὴ τέχνη is a κάθαρσις which purifies the soul from ὅβρες and ἀδίκια. Now that this tendency has survived, and appeared in a descendant, all that can be done is to pray heaven to cure it, and to keep good company.—The mention of an evil influence which is neither ἀνθρώπινον nor θείον—it is the result of the accidental absence of punishment—reminds us of the celebrated passage below at 896 e where the Ath. speaks of the existence of a ψυχὴ that does harm "residing in all things that move and guiding them, both in heaven and in earth," and may perhaps be considered along with that passage. The use of κυνεί here in b 2 shows that he is thinking of a world-force; and περιφερόμενοι ἀληθηρίωδης suggests the πλανώμενον aitia of Tim. 48 a, and the ὑπεναντίον τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν which τῶν τόπων περιπολεῖ ἐξ ἄνάγκης of Theaet. 176 a.

b 6. The meaning "thought" which δύγμα has here and at Tim. 90 b is not given in L & S.—ἀποδιοτομητηρίς (much like ἀποτομητηρίς) means "the averting of an incurred punishment by sacrifice"; the verb ἀποδιοτομητεύωθαι, from which it is formed, is used below at 877 e for "to free from pollution" (later "to reject"). Acc. to scholium quoted by Ruhnken, Tim. s.v. the δύν

379
was the skin of the victim (sacrificed to Zeus) on which the sacrificer stood who was to be freed from the curse.

c 1. λεγομένων... ὑμίν, “reputed among you.” The correctors of L and O were probably right in altering the MS. ὑμῶν to ὑμίν, and the latter probably owes its universal acceptance to the fact that the first printed texts adopted it. Ficinus ignores both λεγομένων and ὑμίν.

c 2. πειρω λέγειν αὑτός, “get into the way of saying yourself”—a curious recipe for inducing belief.

c 5. The same ellipsis of εἶ ἔχει occurs at Prot. 325 d, but apparently not elsewhere in Plato.—σκεφάμενος: L & S, and nearly all interpreters give σκέπτεσθαι here the exceptional meaning of νομίζειν—“make up your mind that death is nobler, and get rid of life”; but probably Schneider is right in translating by spectans, “fix your eye upon the greater nobility of death.”

c 8. τῷ μὲν πειθομένῳ τὸν νόμον ἐὰν σιγῇ δὲ, “in the case of the man who takes this advice” (whether he is cured or commits suicide) “we must leave the law unspoken.” Cp. below, 938 a 6 πειθομένου μὲν σιγή, ἀπειθοῦσιν δὲ φωνῇ νόμον ἡδε; cp. also 870 e 4.

c 9. μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον, “besides the prelude.”

d 2. γραφεῖς τὴν συμφορὰν: as below at 934 b 3 συμφορά is euphemistically used for a criminal inclination; “let him bear his infirmity written on his face and hands.”

d 4. There is an awkwardness in the separate dependence on one verb γένοιτ' ἂν of the two participles δοὺς and σωφρονοσθείς. Cobet would read σωφρονοσθεῖς, and reject “languidum illud γένοιτ' ἂν βελτιῶν”; the doubled ἂν is slightly in favour of this. Cobet’s sentence certainly seems the better of the two.

d 5 f. οὖ γὰρ ἐτὶ κακῷ δίκη κτλ.: cp. above on 728 c 2. Plato does not here (as below at e 7, and as at 862 e 4 ff.) allude to the benefits to the community, only to the “sophronizing” effect on the criminal himself of δίκη: either it does him some positive good, or it lessens the evil in him; cp. 934 a 1 σωφρονοστύχος ἐνεκα, and 934 b 1-3 ᾧ τὸ παράπαν μυηῆσαι τὴν ἁδικίαν... ᾧ λωφῆσαι μέρη πολλὰ τῆς τοιαῦτης συμφορᾶς.

d 7. Like our word wretch, μοχθηρός in Greek means sometimes miserable, and sometimes noxious, wicked. Ritter (p. 268) tries to think that μοχθηρότερον ἤττον here may mean “less miserable,” though he admits that the Platonic use of μοχθηρός does not bear him out; but “less unhappy” is not an alternative to better. Schneider translates “aut quominus peior fiat impedit.”
NOTES TO BOOK IX
854 e

5. oîas παιδείας . . . τυγχάνων οὐκ ἀπέσχετο: the participle is the principal verb in sense. "What an education he had to keep him from committing crime, and yet he committed it!" The argument is "if such an education did not keep him from crime, nothing could!"

7. ἐλάχιστον τῶν κακῶν, "the least of (all) those evils of his!"

855 a 1. Schneider and Burnet alone put a comma after γενόμενος. From Fic. downwards all other interpreters take γενόμενος with ἀκλεῖς, and either put a comma after ὠνήσει, or put none at all; moreover they give ἀκλεῖς the meaning of δυσκλεῖς. Surely S. and B. are right: ἀκλεῖς and ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς χώρας ὀροὺς are both subordinate to ἀφανισθεῖς; the καὶ marks them as two distinct results: the malefactor's fate is to perish (ἀφανισθεῖς) both from (1) the mouths, and (2) from the sight of men; his name is never to be heard, and even his tomb is not to be in his native land. See further below, 873 b. Cp. 862 e ἐπαράδειγμα μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἀδίκειν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενοι. Stallb. cites Xen. Hell. i. 7. 22, where it is stated that the Athenians did not allow men guilty of sacrilege or treason to be buried within their native country.

2. πασι δὲ καὶ γένει κτλ.: "Lex sanequam humanissima, atque tanto magis digna admiratione, quo latius per vagata fuit apud veteres opinio illa, qua maiorum delicta adeo a diis etiam in posteris puniri credebant," Stallb.

3. καὶ λόγος ἐντιμος λεγόμενος, "and let it be told to their honour." (Stallb. would translate "let there be what is called honourable recognition.") This addition to the neutral κλέος "repute" gives it a favourable significance; so above, 663 a 3 κλέος τε καὶ ἑπανος πρὸς ἀνθρώπων.

5. δημόσια . . . τῷ πολιτείᾳ . . . γίγνεσθαι, "be forfeited to the community." χρήματα is property both in land and money; so Aesch. Eum. 757 ἐν τε χρήμασιν οἴκει πατρῴως.—τῷ πολιτείᾳ and ἐν ὑπο go closely together: "not if it is a community which is bound always to have the same and an equal number of holdings."

8. With ἐκτίνεων we may suppose either πρέπον ἂν εἴη or δεῖ to be supplied in thought from the preceding sentence.—ἀν ὑπὸ τι τῶν τοῦ κλήρου κατεσκευασμένου περιπτευόν: so the MSS. If the awkward τῶν is correct, we must supply χρημάτων with it and translate "if there is anything left over beyond the property belonging to the estate as equipped." But it is probable that W. R. Paton is right in substituting ἂν ὑπὸ τί τῷ for ἂν ὑπὸ τι τῶν,
"if a man has anything left over after the estate has been duly equipped," τοῦ κλ. κατ. being gen. abs. The effect of placing κατέκευσαμένου just before περιτεθένον is to give the impression of "over and above the (due) equipment."

b 2 ff. τὰς δὲ . . . δικασταίς, "the νομοφύλακες must ascertain the exact facts about the matter from their registers, and reveal the true state of the case to the Court as occasion may arise."—For the registers of property (ἀπογραφαί) see above, 745 a 6, and 850 a 4 and d 1.—When the Court is correctly informed about a man's property, it is in a position to save his holding from losing its equipment and so falling out of cultivation. (Fic. and Ast make a curious mistake about ἀργὸς, translating ne quis . . . sua sorte privat.)

b 6. πλέονος: i.e. greater than he has money enough to pay. —ἐὰν ἄρα, "unless of course."—All editors have adopted the αὐτόν of L and O² as against the αὐτῶν of A and O. One inferior MS. has αὐτά.

c 1 f. ἀτιμὸν δὲ παντάπασιν μυθένα εἶναι μυθέτο τοῦ ἀμαρτημάτων, μηδ' ὑπερορίαν φυγάδα: there are many obscurities here: (1) no modern editor but Burnet has ventured to print the MS. ὑπερορίαν; they all adopt O²'s (and Steph.'s) correction to ὑπερόριον; (2) though other interpreters take φυγάδα to be the subject to ἀτιμὸν εἶναι, Ritter suggests that it might be predicate to εἶναι (and so Jowett); (3) the scholiast, followed by Fic., Ast, Wagner, and L. & S., takes ἀτιμὸς to stand for ἀτιμώρητος in the sense of imprunitus, whereas Stallb., Schneider, Ritter, and Jowett give it its ordinary meaning of outlawed. As to (1), the MS. reading cannot easily be explained away; we are thus driven to suppose that it is used as an adverbial acc. equivalent to εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν of 866 d 4 and 936 c 5 (so Steph. and Ast would read here). The other two points are far more important, especially (3). All who take ἀτιμὸς to mean imprunitus must take course the usual view of (2)—i.e. that φυγάδα is subj. to ἀτιμὸν εἶναι. But how is the state to punish, in any other way than by exile, the criminal who has escaped to another country? (2) As against Ritter's suggestion that φυγάδα may be predicate, and, with a supplied παντάπασι, mean "exile for good," there stands, as he recognizes, the fact that below at 877 a 7 μετάστασιν εἰς τὴν γείτονα πόλιν διὰ βίου is ordained as a penalty, and at 871 d 6 we have φευγέτω διὰ φυγάδαν. One of the consequences of complete ἀτυμία at Athens was that the property of the culprit was confiscated and his
NOTES TO BOOK IX

family therefore impoverished.—they even shared the ἀτυμία. The immediately preceding passage seems to suggest that this is what Plato wanted to avoid. We may translate then: “But for no offence whatever is a man to be made a complete outlaw, not even if he has sought exile in a foreign land.” Either, as stipulated at 877 b 1, he is to be allowed to retain his property, or, at all events, his family is not to be deprived of it. (Stallb., who was the first to print O's emendation ὑπερφόρτων, thinks that the particular ἀτυμία which is deprecated is the becoming liable to be ἀτυμώρητος in the sense of “liable to be killed with impunity.” But how could one state secure such impunity if the slaying took place in another?)

c 2 ff. θάνατον δὲ ... γιγνέσθω: Stallb. makes a vigorous and mainly successful defence of the MS. reading. The accusatives θάνατον κτάλ. would have been, he says, nominatives—subjects to γιγνέσθω—for the number of which see Heindorf on Euthyd. 302 c, Adam on Rep. 363 a—but they were attracted into the acc. to suit the καθάπερ εἴπομεν γίγνεσθαι δεῖν. Unlike Burnet, he, like most editors, puts a comma before, not after τὴν δίκην ταύτην: this he takes to be an adverbial acc. and translates it in hac causâ (though in his note he says it is κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον). These words, however, go better as the subject to ἐκτίσεις γίγνεσθαι, the case referred to being one where the offence was ἢξία χρημάτων.

c 3 f. ἀμορφον is “degrading.”—These are some of the προ-πηλακισμοὶ spoken of at b 8.—παραστάσεις, “exposures”; there seems to be a sinister force in the παρα-: the lexicographers explain the word by the obscure στάσις πάρα τινα ἀτυμον; so παράδειγμα is used for warning (Thuc. iii. 40. 8). Ruhnken cites a passage from Dio Cassius lv. 790 which seems to be an echo of this one: ἔφη τε ἀτυμοι καὶ στάσεις ἐπονείδωστοι ... συνχοῦσ βελτίων ἐποίησε. (With παραστάσεις: εἰς ἱερὰ may be compared the punishment to be seen in some modern schoolrooms of being made to kneel before a crucifix.) There is much to attract in Ast's suggestion that we ought to transpose ἦ παραστάσεις and put it after ἱερά. The neighbourhood of temples might be places of penance, and so might the boundaries of the land, but there seems no point in combining the two. If Ast is right, the παρα- would only have a local signification. “But the penalties of death, or of imprisonment, or of being made to sit or stand in disgrace, or of exposure at temples on the frontier, or the payment of a fine which we just said was to be the punishment in that case—let these be inflicted.” In other words “where death, etc.,

383
ought to be the penalty, let those penalties be inflicted.” (Herm. would end with τὴν δίκην ταύτην γίνεσθαι, Schramm would read τινέσθω (as passive of the mid. τίνομαι) for γινεσθω, Steph. γιγνέσθων, Ast prints . . . δει. Τὴν δίκην ταύτη γίγνεσθαι.)

c 7. νομοφόλακες: the court to inflict a death sentence was to consist of the pick of the last year’s magistrates (cp. above, 767 d e ff.) with probably an equal number of νομοφόλακες added—the numbers to be settled by the “younger legislators” (cp. above 846 c 4).

d 1. τούτων: whether this is neut. or fem. it probably is equivalent to τούτων τῶν δικών.

d 4. πρὸ τούτου: i.e. “before the voting takes place.”

d 5. κατὰ τὸ στόμα: not “at the beginning” as the scholiast explains it, but “face to face with.”—ὁ δικαστὴς ἐξῆς: the analogy of παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίω (Thuc. i. 20. 1) and πάντ᾽ ἄνδρα ἐφεξῆς (Dem. Phil. iii. 128) suggest that ἐξῆς is perhaps not merely “in a row” here, but that ὁ δικαστὴς ἐξῆς means “every single judge.”

d 6. ἐγγύτατα: probably not “close to the accuser and accused” but “close to each other.” The close unbroken order of the judges would make their appearance imposing.

d 8. σπουδῆς, “diligenter” Fic.—ἐνα λόγον: while the above regulations coincide generally with those of the Athenian court of the Areopagus, Plato differs from it in this, that in the Areopagus both accuser and accused were allowed two speeches each. (Herm. Vest. 46 f.)

e 2. The terms ἀνακρίνειν and ἀνάκρισις (e 6) seem to be here used not in any of the technical legal senses but to describe a process of testing the case on both sides, which would nearly correspond to our judge’s summing up.


e 5. (ὅτι ἄν) . . . ῥήθειν ῥηθεῖν ἐπιποθή: the ἐπι- strictly refers only to the ῥήθειν; μὴ ῥηθεῖν τι ποθεῖν is “to wish something unsaid”—i.e. to find it redundant, or even wrong, so that the whole phrase means “omissions or mistakes.”—τινὰ τροπον goes with ῥηθεῖν μὴ ῥηθεῖν.

e 7. δια ἂν καίρια δόκη, “whatever (the judges in their pronouncements) find to be relevant.”

856 a 2. ἐτὶ τὴν ἐστίαν: apparently the court is supposed to sit in a building corresponding to the Athenian Prytaneum, in which there was an altar of Hestia—the most sacred spot in the state.

a 5. παραλαβόντας is almost “allowing due weight to.”
NOTES TO BOOK IX

a 6. ψήφον ἱερὰν ἐκαστον φέροντα καὶ ύποσχόμενον πρὸς τῆς ἔντλας: the fact that each judge has sworn "by the altar" makes his vote ἱερά; καὶ is explanatory, like the καὶ after the πολλοί before another adj., and in καὶ ταῦτα.—Though all MSS. have πρὸς the first five edd. have πρό—Fic. "per Vestam."

a 7. For the tense of the MS. κρίνειν, for which Steph. and Ast would read κρίνειν, see Goodwin, M. and T. §§ 100 and 136, and Stallb.'s note on Crito 52 c.

b 2 ff. ὅς ἀν . . . παρανομῇ: the asyndeton marks the style of the legal enactment. "Whosoever, in reducing them to subjection to men, masters the laws, and makes the state the slave of a party, and uses unlawful force to effect all this, and stirs up civil strife . . ." Both νόμον and τόλον are to be thought of as objects of ἄγων; ἄνθρωπον is a subjective gen. like ὀλίγων ἄρχῇν at Polit. 302 c. The reading ἄνθρωπον, adopted by Fic., and by all texts except those of Winckelmann and Burnet, is due to a correction in A and O; that reading would confine the offence to the attempt to establish the rule of a τύραννος, whereas the plural would apply either to an oligarchy or a tyranny, or even to a democratic faction.

b 3. The MSS. have ἑταρείας, though in A it looks as if the ει might have been altered from η. All editions but Burnet's print the quite unwarrantable dat. plur. (Fic. "factionibus"). Either a gen. or a dat. may be used with ὑπήκοος, but the sing. "party" suits the context better than the plur. "actions," or "political clubs."

b 7. λεληθότα τε . . . μὴ τιμωρούμενον: Burnet's comma after δειλίᾳ δ' helps to mark this unpatriotic failure to punish such proceedings as due either to blindness, or to cowardice. It is a mistake to interpret τε . . . ή by sive . . . sive as Stallb. does; the τε is wanted to connect μὴ τιμωρούμενον with μετέχοντα, while ή μὴ λεληθότα, δειλίᾳ δ' is in form a parenthesis. (Ast saw the meaning of the words, but thought it necessary to its expression that τε and δ' should be struck out; whereby the main sentence is spoilt.)

c 3. ἐνδεικνύω ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς κρίσιν ἄγων: this is not two actions but one. The information to the authorities is conveyed in the form of a prosecution.

c 4. μεταστάσεως is gen. of the charge.

c 5. ἀμα καὶ παρανόμου: the violence was an offence in itself, but its illegality makes it worse.

c 6. ὀντερ: here the corrector of O has L on his side in reading ὀντερ for the mistaken ὀσπερ of A and O.
c 7. τὴν ψήφον θάνατον φέρειν: the most important feature of the proceedings is added in the form of an explanatory asyndeton. Only Schneider and Burnet preserve the MS. reading; all other texts follow the corrector of O (as at 855 e 2), who inserted a δὲ after ψήφον, to remove the asyndeton.—θάνατον φέρειν is "to have the power of inflicting death."

c 8. ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, "once for all."

d 2. ἐφεξῆς, "without a break."

d 3. πλήν ὅσον κατεσκευασμένον τοῦ κλήρου παντελῶς, "except just enough to equip the 'lot' fully." The gen. means "belonging to, necessary for." Cp. above, ἂν τῷ τῷ κλήρου κατεσκευασμένον περιπέτευον, and ὑπὲρ τῶν κλήρων below at 857 a 6.

d 4. εἰς τὴν αὐτὸς πατρίδα: this is said with special reference to the contemplated colony of Magnesia, whose inhabitants were to come from the majority of Cretan states (702 c).

d 6. Ast would insert η before δέκα, but cp. Apol. 17 d where ἦς γεγονός πλείω ἐβδομήκοντα, and Thuc. iv. 44. 6.

d 7. τούτων refers to the sons, and is antecedent to the following ὅσοι. Either the father or the paternal or maternal grandfather, as the legal guardian of the son in question, was to "nominate" (ἀποφαίνειν). From those thus nominated the state chose ten by lot, and out of those ten Delphi was to select the future possessor of the derelict property.

e 5 f. κοινὸς ὃς ἐτε... δικόν, "there is yet a third case in which there must be one law like the last, both as to judges who are to try the men—and there must be a like procedure in the court." καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῶν δικόν— with which we must supply κοινὸς εἰς ἐστίω from the preceding sentence—goes on as if ὃ τέ νόμος περὶ δικαστῶν had preceded it.—κοινὸς is "common to this case and that just mentioned," i.e. "like the last."—The anacoluthon is made more awkward by the tautological κοινὸς and εἰς. We do not want both words; possibly εἰς is a mistake for τίς, for which the following εἰς ἐστίω at e 8 is partly responsible. Cp. above, 722 e 7 δύο μέν τινε.

e 6 f. ὅς ἀν προδόσεως αἰτιάν ἐπιφέρων τίς εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγγλ stands for ἐκείνων ὅσο ἀν, προδ. αἰτ. ἐπ. αὐτοῖς, εἰς δικ. ἄγγλ.

e 7. πρόδοσις is a variant for the more normal προδοσία.—Cp. Rep. 443 a καὶ ἱεροσυνιῶν καὶ κληπτῶν καὶ προδοσίων ἡ ἰδίᾳ ἐταίρων ἡ δημοσία πόλεως.

e 8. μονῆς ἐκγόνως καὶ ἐξόδου: cp. above, c 8—d 5.

857 a 1. For the pleonastic περὶ ταύτα cp. Rep. 353 d τὸ ἐπιμε-
NOTES TO BOOK IX

λείσθαι . . . καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ἐσθ' ὅτε ἀλλῷ ἣ ψυχῇ δικαίως ἀν αὐτὰ ἀποδοῦμεν; — Ὁ2 has περὶ μονής for μονῆς.

a 3. The ἐπικείσθω of Eusebius (also given as a variant in O) well suits the dat. σύμπασιν: cp. Hdt. ii. 38 ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἢ ζημία ἐπικέπται and vi. 58.

a 4. δίκης τιμωρία, “legal penalty,” lit. “the penalty belonging to the case.” Later hands in the margins of A and O give as variants δίκη and τιμωρίας. This led Ast to conjecture δίκη τιμωρίας “ultio poenae,” and Winckelmann δίκη τιμωρός comparing 716 a 3, 872 e 3, and Epin. 988 e 5; but both of these emendations suppose an original δίκη instead of the MS. δίκης, which Eusebius confirms.

a 5. πρῶτον marks off the case of the man who can pay from that of the man who cannot.

a 6. καὶ ἰκανή . . . κληρον, “and has enough property over and above his land” (and its equipment) “to pay with.” Though τοῦ κληροῦ is read by A and O and Eusebius (and defended by Stallb.), Ast, Zurr., Wagn., Herm., and Burnet accept Steph.’s alteration to the acc. The gen. was probably a thoughtless scribe’s mistake.—ἀποτίνειν = ἀστε ἀποτίνειν.

a 7. τὸν καταδικασάμενον, “the successful prosecutor.”

b 1. πέισας τὴν πόλιν: the authority which could thus give absolution on the part of the state would probably be the sitting committee of thirty βουλευταί who represented the βουλή for the month. Cp. 758 b ff.

b 4. The λέγομεν of A2 and O2 suits the sentence better than the λέγωμεν of ALO, and all texts adopt it. λέγομεν is used in the sense of κελεύμεν—“How can we order no difference to be made between, etc.?”—ἡ is used after διαφέρειν even when it does not mean “be superior to.” Cp. Xen. Mem. iii. 7. 7 τί δὲ οἷος διαφέρειν ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὑπάρχει κρείττον τῶν ἱδιώτας φοβεῖσθαι;

c 1. Steph. was the first to call attention to the reading πρῶτερον for the ἐτέρον of ALO; it occurs in the margin of L and O. Fic. had adopted it, as do all modern editors.

c 2 ff. τὰ περὶ . . . λέγειν, “the business of legislation has so far not been at all thoroughly worked out, as may be concluded from the matter in hand.”

C 3. O has ὡς, ALO2 have ὡς—the τέ in A having been altered from something else; all printed texts read ὡς γε.

C 4. πῶς δ’ αὕτα καὶ τούτο λέγομεν; “what again do I mean by this?” This is a rhetorical question, and not of the same kind as
the πῶς δὴ λέγομεν of b 4, though the αὖ seems to refer to it. Fic. and Ast assign the question to Cleinias. (See below, e 2, where Fic. makes the converse alteration.)

c 5. δὲ ... ἀπηκάζομεν: i.e. above at 720 c f. This reminder confirms the ἐννενοηκότα καὶ πρότερον of c 1.—The correctors of A and O and the early texts, and also Herm., give the un-Attic forms ἀπεικάζαμεν and ἀπεικάζομεν for the Attic ἀπηκ. of the MSS.

c 6. νομοθετομένους is clearly passive here; cp. 701 d 8 ἢ νομοθετομένη πόλις.—The early texts down to Steph. had ἐπίστασαι δὴ for the MS. ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ; Fic. translates the MS. reading.

d 2. L alone of the MSS. has here in χρωμενον preserved for us the right reading; A had χρω*μενο, A 2 and O χρωμένω, which O's margin pronounces to be "the bad reading of all the copies."
—For μὲν ... τε see L. & S. s.v. μέν A ΠΙ. 6 c.—"and, just like any philosopher, using arguments, and tracing the source of the disease, on (the basis of) a complete review of the nature of the body."—With ἐς ἀρχής and περὶ φύσεως cp. above, 720 d 3 καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων ἀν᾽ ἀρχής καὶ κατὰ φύσιν.

d 5 f. προσέρισος ὡτας τῶν πλείστων λεγομένους ἰατρῶν, "which come readily to the mouths of most professed physicians." Cp. Tim. 88 a τῶν λεγομένων ἰατρῶν ἀπατῶσα τοὺς πλείστους.

d 6 ff. στὸ μῦρο ... γίγνεσθαι, "how silly of you! you are teaching your patient instead of curing him; he doesn't want to be made into a doctor, he wants to be made whole." Cp. 720 d 6 διδάσκει τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα αὐτὸν.

e 2. Fic. (alone) takes this to be a rhetorical question of the Ath.'s.

e 3. τάχ' ἂν, εἰ προσδιανοίτο γε ὃς, "maybe he would be right if he further came to the conclusion that ... ."

e 5. πρὸς τρόπων: so above, 655 d 7.

e 8. τὸ παρόν, "praesens nostra condicio" (Stallb.).

858 a 1. The γενόμενος of A and O was probably due to a misunderstanding of an abbreviation for γενομένος (as read by A 2 and O 2).

a 2. τὸ τε ἀριστον καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαίοτατον, "both the best possible, and the irreducible minimum."

a 8. κατεχομένους, "constrained."

b 1. ἡδή, "this very moment."—In the MS. οὖκ ἐστιν we have the converse mistake to that made in a 1, ἐτ being misread as an abbreviation of ἔστι; the mistake was corrected in the margin of L and O, but not in A.

b 3. Plato evidently chooses λιθολόγος rather than the more usual οἶκοδόμος (see Ruhnken, Tim. s.v. λιθολόγοι) so as to lead up to his simile of the picking and choosing of stones for building.—έτερας . . . συνιστάσεως, “other kind of construction” (than that of a building).

b 5. συνιστάσει is possibly used here in the concrete sense of structure.

b 7. τὰ μὲν παρατιθεμένους, τὰ δὲ συνιστάντας, “accumulating some of our material for future use, and using some of it to build with.”

c 1. The usual chiasmus; τιθέμενα corresponds to συνιστάντας.

—Here again Plato chooses words of double suggestion: παρατίθεσθαι is “to lay by a store,” “to accumulate material,” τιθέμενα is here used as the passive of τιθέναι with νόμον in the sense of “to enact.”—The use of the neuter is remarkable.

c 2. κατὰ φύσιν μᾶλλον, “more scientific.”

c 7. γράμματα καὶ λόγοι, “literature.”

c 10—d 3. This passage is variously punctuated. Steph. and Ed. Bipont. put commas after συγγράμμασιν, after ποιητῶν, and after συγγράφαντες; Ast after ποιητῶν and συγγράφαντες, Bekker, Stallb., Zürr., Schneider, and Burnet after συγγράμμασιν and συγγράφαντες, Herm. and Wagner only after συγγράφαντες. If any commas are put in they ought to be at Steph.'s three places, but it is better still to put none at all—ποιητῶν . . . συγγράφαντες stands for “authors in general,” and subdivides them into (a) creative, and (b) didactic (whether in verse or prose).

d 1. The αὐτῶν of ALO is an ordinary scribe's error. The earlier texts adopted O²'s αὐτῶν; Steph. first gave the correct αὐτῶν.

d 6 ff. ἀλλὰ δῆτα . . . ἐσευθαί: whether interrogative or not, this sentence is ironical—either “do you mean to tell me that the lawgiver alone is not to, etc.? ” or “a pretty thing if the lawgiver is not to . . .” ἀλλὰ δῆτα is used thus ironically at Sophist 249 a 9 and Sophocles, O.T. 1375, in both of which passages there is the same doubt about the interrogation mark. Fic., Ast, and Stallb. strain μόνον to mean pre-eminently (among authors). But Plato evidently did not claim such an exclusive privilege as that for the lawgiver author, as the following words show.—Jowett (ed. 2) unaccountably makes πέρι govern γραφόντων, and pays no attention to μόνον.—No one but Steph. (and Ed. Bipont.) knows anything
about a variant γραφέντων for γραφόντων; Stallo. says Ven. Ξ has γραφθέντων.

7. οἶδα τε ἐστι καὶ ὡς κτλ., "wherein they consist, and how necessary their pursuit is to happiness."—We are reminded, by this claim of the lawgiver to rank as an author, of the recommendation (at 811 d) to employ the present treatise as a school reading-book.

e 1ff. ἀλλὰ αἰσχροῦ δὴ μᾶλλον . . . κακῶς θέωμαι γράφαντας, "pray is it more disgraceful for (poets like) Homer (etc.) if they make a bad pronouncement on life and its aims, and less of a disgrace to Lycurgus, etc.?"—For the acc. γράφαντας cp. above, 806 e 6.

e 3. A and O wrongly wrote καλῶς for κακῶς. L has the right reading, and so have O² and all printed texts; Ficinus's "probe" and Serranus's "praeclar" follow A and O's error.—θέωμαι is chosen as a word constantly used with νόμον, and so specially suitable for the case of a νομοθέτης.

e 4. τὸ γε ὅρθον, "by rights"; cp. 659 b 3 ὡς γε τὸ δίκαιον.

e 5. There appears to be no MS. authority for the δὴ which the early texts have in place of δεῖ.

e 6. διαπτυτόμενα, "when we open them"; cp. Soph. Ant. 709.—The erasure of the ττ in A gave rise to many variants and emendations; the early texts have διαπτυτόμενα, the margins of the MSS. have διαπτυόμενα. Steph. read διαπτυόμενα.

e 7. ἡ κατ' ἐκεῖνα συνεπόμενα, ἡ διαφωνοῦντα αὐτῶς εἶναι καταγέλαστα, "either to be in harmony with them, or to provoke ridicule by their divergence from them." The second ἡ was omitted in all MSS. and restored by O². Herm. thought it was the first ἡ which was omitted, and hailed the omission as an improvement. The sentence is forcible enough without the first ἡ, but not quite the same. Plato seems here to suggest that literature falls into two classes, of which the latter ought to be "placed on the index."

859 a 4. We must supply δεῖν with φαίνεσθαι.—ἡ . . . γράφαντα . . . ἀπηλλάχθαι: in the second alternative the form of expression is varied by the personification (cp. below 881 a 6) of τὰ γεγραμμένα, which are represented as "bidding and threatening like a tyrant, and then washing their hands of the business when once they have issued the decree"; and the personification involves the author in the curious statement that "what is written" writes itself up on the walls. Some-what so at 881 a 6 πόνοι are spoken of as λέγοντες. (This is, I
NOTES TO BOOK IX

859 a

think, better than taking τάξαντα etc. as masc. acc. with τινα understood. Wagner tries to make (a supplied) τύραννον the subj. of ἀπειλάχθαι. Stallb. thinks that ἦ is “rather than,” comparing Hdt. ix. 26 οὕτως οὖν ἡμᾶς δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἔτερον κέρας ἦ τερ Ἀθηναίοις. If he is right, there should be no interrogation mark after ἀπειλάχθαι—and he puts one.)

a 6—b 4. ὅκοπόμενον οὖν δὴ κτλ., “this then is the question we have now to face: are we to adopt this persuasive tone in our discussion on laws—or at all events do our very best to adopt it—and are we ready to endure any inconvenience that such a course may condemn us to? I pray God we may succeed; if he wills, we shall.”

b 3. I think that we ought to read γε for the MS. τε; cp. Meno 92 b καὶ εἰγόν γε.

b 6. We here return to the consideration of penalties which was interrupted at 857 b 4. The digression has prepared us for a discussion of the principles on which the penalties are to be assessed.

b 7. The omission of νόμον with τὸν is unusual. No editors but Schneider and Burnet have ventured to print the τὸν, though it is in both A and O. The correction given in the margin of O omits both τὸν and τῶν. The MS. reading makes a distinction between the law punishing sacrilege, which has been settled—τὰ μὲν ἔθεμεν—and the case of theft etc. which is still under discussion, and this reading should certainly be preserved.

c 1. ἔθεμεν: possibly a gnostic aorist; “we enact once for all.” Cp. 858 b 7 τὰ μὲν παρατιθέμενοι, τὰ δὲ συνυπαντάτας.

c 2. The separation of πέρι from its case by three words is unusual.—νομοθέτων γὰρ γεγονόμεθα ἅλλ’ οὐκ ἔρμεν πτω: in other words “we are feeling our way, and we cannot adopt a definite method of procedure without a good deal of preliminary investigation.”

c 3. ὅσ εἰρήκα, “in the way which I have pointed out.” The margins of L and O tell us that these words were suspected by some. The “way pointed out” was to search out the origin of the evil, and the principles of the method for its removal. Therein is involved the nature of virtue and justice (858 d 7). Cp. 857 d 2 ff.

c 6. συμπάντων, “in general.”

c 7. κατιδεῖν . . . ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς: i.e. “we must clear our minds of misconceptions, and mutually destructive theories.”

c 8 ff. ἡμεῖς τε . . . οἱ πολλοὶ τε: the implication is that, for all their efforts after superiority, they, as well as the common
public, need to get clearer ideas. — Plato, in his usual way, links the sentences by the various meanings of διαφέρωμεθα and διαφέρειν — "disagree," and "surpass." (Jowett ed. 2 translates διαφέρειν by "contradict.")

_d 3._ ἐγὼ περάζομαι φράζειν, "I think I can explain." Cp above, 835 d 3. This self-assertive ἐγώ is common in the _Epistles._ Cp. vii.324 b περάζομαι δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτήν ἐγὼ πρὸς ύμᾶς διεξέλθείν.

_d 6._ For the repeated εἴναι at d 8 cp. the repeated δοκεῖν at Rep. 601 a. (Herm. would reject the first εἴναι, and Wagn. and Stallb. agree.)

_d 8._ ταύτη is an emphatic repetition of κατ' αὐτό γε τὸ δικαίο-τατον ἡθός. For the statement cp. Gorg. 476 b ὀνχὶ τὰ γε δίκαια πάντα καλά ἐστίν, καθ' ὦσον δίκαια;

e 5. Schneider, Ritter, and Burnet rightly put a comma between ἐστίν and σχεδόν: "clearly what is suffered is included by us in the 'all' just as much as what is inflicted." — ἵσα being ἵσος. (All other interpreters make ἵσα the only predicate of ἐστίν, giving it the meaning of ὄμοια.) — For the doctrine of the similarity between πάσχον and ποιοῦν cp. Gorg. 476 a 6 ff.

e 6. τί ὦν δή; "what then?"

_860 a 1._ ὀμολογοῦμενον (pass.) agrees with πάθος — "the acknowledgment that it is καλὸν in exact proportion as it is δίκαιον will not involve any contradiction in terms." — The διαφωνοῦντα refers to the ὄτη διαφερόμεθα of 859 c 7.

_a 5._ λέχθεντων κτλ., "for we should be calling what is just most abominable." Again, for emphasis, the same thing is said thrice over, the adj. being changed into the superlative.

_b 2._ καὶ μέλλοντες δὴ κτλ., "and just as we were on the point of enacting a great many (more) laws of the same kind, we stopped, because we saw two things: one was that these penalties were immeasurably heavy, and the other was that of all penalties they were not only the most just, but the most degrading (αἰσχροτα)." The former of these two reasons was the one which influenced Cleinias (857 b 4 ff.), and we must suppose that it was the latter that caused the digression on the part of the Athenian. The only intimations, however, that have been given us of this line of thought are the coupling of ὀνείδη with τιμωρίας at 856 c 8, the προ-πηλακισμοῖς of 855 b 8, and the ἀμόρφοις ἔδρας of 855 c 3. As Ritter says, the workmanship of this part of the dialogue is faulty.

c 4. For τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔχει standing for ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν cp. on τὸ ἐμὸν at 688 a 6. — L is clearly right in reading ἦμ. for the ἦμ. of Α and O.
NOTES TO BOOK IX 860c

c 5. τῆς συμφωνίας: the article to which Matthiae and Ast object has its definite meaning: it is the agreement or disagreement which has been considered all along.

c 6. It is hard to account for the fem. ποιαν by any theory of attraction other than that of the attraction of the scribe’s eye to ποιας; Ast would read ποιον, Baiter ποίω, Schneider ποι’ ἄν.

d 1. εἰς πάντα κακοί: cp. Charmides 158 a 7 εἰς πάντα πρῶτον εἶναι, above 677 b 7 ἀπείρους ... τεχνῶν ... εἰς πλεονεξίας, 775 a 7 τῷ μὲν εἰς χρήματα μεγίστῳ.

d 1 ff. The doctrine here enunciated occurs often in Plato’s works: e.g. above at 731 c 2 and 734 b 4; three times in the Republic—382 a, 413 a, and 589 c; at Gorg. 509 e, and Tim. 86 e 1; it is partly explained at Meno 77 d. As Adam says, in his note on Rep. 382 a, Plato’s view of punishment as remedial is in close connexion with the Socratic conception of vice as involuntary, and a form of ignorance—a view to which Plato evidently held fast to the end of his life. In his latest works, however, he lays increasing stress on the importance of reinforcing enlightened views on right and wrong, of public opinion, of good company, and the careful formation of good habits. Cp. Archer-Hind on Tim. 86 e 1: “Soul, as such, is good entirely. ... No evil therefore can arise from the voluntary choice of the soul. Evil then must of necessity arise from the conditions of her limitation, which takes the form of bodily environment. And it is clear that all defects in this respect are due either to physical aberrations or faulty treatment.” Cp. especially Tim. 87 b. Aristotle combats this Socratic and Platonic view,—e.g. at Magna Moralia 1187 a 5 ff. It amounts, he says, to holding that a wrongdoer cannot help doing wrong. If so, what right has the Law to punish him? Cp. also Eth. Nic. 1145 b 21 ff., and Mag. Mor. 1200 b 25 ff.

d 6. ἄκουσίως δὲ ἐκούσιον οὐκ ἔχει πράττεσθαι ποτε λόγον, “to say that a willing act is done unwillingly is nonsense.” “Everyone,” he goes on to argue, “who holds—as I certainly do—that wrongdoing is done unwillingly, must hold that every wrongdoer does wrong against his will.”

d 9. εἰ καὶ τίς κτλ.: it looks as if Plato has here some particular dissentient philosopher in view. (It seems rather hard that he should call him “opinionated and self-assertive.”) Teichmüller (acc. to Ritter, p. 280) says it is Aristotle who is meant. At Eth. Nic. 1145 b 31, when discussing this Socratic doctrine, Aristotle says εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ τὰ μὲν συγχωροῦσι τὰ δ’ οὐ; further on at 1146 b 22 ὅ μὲν γὰρ ἀγεται προαιροῦ-
THE LAWS OF PLATO

μενος, νομίζων άδει δείν το παρών ήδη διώκειν, δ' οὐκ οἴεται μέν, διώκει δέ.

e1. ἀκοντας μέν ἀδίκους εἶναι, “that there are wrongdoers who do so against their will.”

e3. τίνα οὖν: Burnet, by his parenthesis marks after πάντας and οὖν, points out that this οὖν goes back to σύμφημι γὰρ κτλ. at d 9.

e4. Aldus is responsible for the change of εἶ με (Fic. sì me) to οἶμαι in the first four printed editions.

e6. νομοθεσίας τῆς . . . πόλεις: for the government of one noun in the dat. by another ep. 633 c 2 αὐτοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακονήσεις.

e7. φύσις: the apodosis to εἰ ἐρωτῶτε. (Ast and Stallb. say there is none.)

861a1. πάντων: with this we must supply τὰς ζημίας θέσκομεν from the previous sentence.—οὖκ is qualified by the subsequent τὸ παράτατον, just as οὐ or οὐδέν often is by a subsequent πάντα, or as μή is by the subsequent ὁ λόγος in the N.T. μὴ ὁμόσαι ὁ λόγος.

a8. For the doubtful ἐμπροσθεν by the side of νυν ὅμη ep. above, 683 e 5 and 717 b 2. The reference is apparently to 859 c 6 ff. and 860 c 1 f. (Stallb. says it is to 857 c).

a10. τούτο δὲ λαβόντες: we should say “bearing this in mind.” In this sense λαμβάνειν generally has a dative like νῦ with it; so, e.g., below at 898 e 2 f.—πάλιν: the first question, begun at 859 c 6 ff., was “wherein do we contradict ourselves?” the second question, now put, is “how are we to reconcile the contradiction?”

b1ff. ἄρ' οὖν . . . οὖτ' ἐξευπορήσαντες οὗτε διορισάμενοι κτλ.: this sentence begins as if the verb were to be in the first pers. plur.; but at b 6 the ἵμεις is replaced by ὅ παρ ἡμῶν ῥήθεις λόγος, and so the verbs are in the third sing.—τούτων is “about these,” i.e. τῶν δικαίων.—ἐξευπορεῖν is “obviate.” The ἀπορία is the practical difficulty of the philosophic legislator when asked to distinguish intentional from unintentional offences. As a philosopher, the legislator is unable to admit that any offence can be intentional; but he recognizes the force of the popular view of the distinction so drawn, and is not going to legislate in the face of it (κατανομοθετεῖν) on the strength of his philosophical pronouncement, as if it were a divine revelation. The distinction he proceeds to draw is that between the “crimes” and “torts” of modern law.

b5. ταύτη καὶ νομοθετεῖται, “are so laid down in their enactments,” i.e. are laid down as two distinct kinds of offence. 394
c 1. κατανομοθέτησει: not merely (as L. & S.) “lay down laws,” but “legislate (the objection) down”; cp. καταδικάζω, καταδοκέω.

c 2 ff. δηλώσει δύο τε οντα καὶ την διαφοράν ἀλλην (οὐσαν), “to show not only that they are two (distinct) things, but that the difference between them is other (than that popularly supposed)”; cp. below, d 6 ἀλλὰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ δῆ ποτε (διαφέρειν). Hermann prints ἄλληλων for ἀλλην, referring to Heindorf’s note on Phaedr. 237 c. There some MSS. have οὖτε ἄλλοις for the correct οὖτε ἄλληλοις, and at Alc. I. 112 a the MSS. have ἐὰν ἄλλοις, where Proclus has preserved the probably correct ἐὰν ἄλληλοις. But here ἄλληλων, though it might stand, would greatly impoverish the argument, as Ritter emphatically says (p. 282). (Stallb. also rejects Herm’s emendation, but explains ἄλλην as merely— “praeterea.”)

c 5. ἀμφη γε πη κρίναι: the ordinary man’s (πᾶς) decision may not be based on the same grounds as that of the philosopher, but it will be demonstrably rational and sensible.

c 8. Here and at d 3 μη λέγειν is probably “to deny.” It would be hard to take it otherwise at d 3.

d 1. πρῶτον διορίσαντας: i.e. “before we prove that all ἀδική-ματα are unintentional, we must make some distinction between them (even if it is not the popular one”). (The common interpretation, from Fic. downwards, is “show by a process of definition, before we go further.”) The active διορίζω (as here and above at 860 c 7) seems to be used in a more abstract philosophical sense than the more practical middle (as at b 2), which is rather more usual in Plato and elsewhere. At b 2 the speaker was thinking of the best way to escape the dilemma—“helping himself to a distinction.”

d 2. τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐμοὶ πάντως πον γίγνεσθαι: πάντως qualifies the previous οὐκ just as πᾶνυ or τὸ παράπαν often qualifies a previous negative: “one is a thing which I cannot possibly allow to happen . . .” (On the other hand at Rep. 454 c 8 πάντως qualifies the following verb ἔτειθέμεθα.)

d 3. From the ἐμοὶ of the previous line we may supply in thought an ἐμε with οἴομενον. (Stallb. would supply τίνα.)

d 4. νόμιμον, which is printed in all texts except Bas. 2, Wagner’s, and Schneider’s, is given in the margin of A and O as a variant for the ἐμον in their text. Fic’s “nec mei offici id esset neque pium” shows that he adopted the reading ἐμον—which was probably due to misreading of the last two syllables of
νομίμων. νόμιμων καὶ δόσιον is a variety of the common δίκαιον καὶ δόσιον, said of what is allowed by both human and divine law; cp. Aristoph. Thesm. 675 δόσια καὶ νόμιμα ἐμφομένους. At Phaedo 108a 5 one reading is ἀπὸ τῶν δόσιον καὶ νομίμων.

d 4–7. κατὰ τίνα δὲ . . . δηλοῦν: the usual, and, I think, correct punctuation of this passage puts commas after ἐκάτερον and ποτε, making τίνα . . . ποτε an indirect question dependent on δηλοῦν. Burnet puts an interrogation mark after ἐκάτερον, and begins a fresh sentence with ἀλλά—supposing διαφέρειν to be supplied in thought with ἀλλὰ τῷ. This punctuation does not give a good balance between the μὲν and δὲ clauses. (On the other hand Burnet’s reading of the passage forms a better introduction to what follows, which is an attempt to show that the real distinction is other than most people think.)

d 8. Cleinias’s answer probably means no more than that he quite agrees with the Athenian on both points, the μὲν clause, as well as the δὲ clause.

e 1. τὰῦτα ἔσται: i.e. δηλοῦν ἐπιχειρήσω.

e 4. ἄφθονον ἐστι, "are of constant occurrence."

e 6 ff. The mistake is to take all injuries to be offences. Injuries may be either intentional or unintentional, but there are no intentional offences. On the other hand, the fact that an action benefits, instead of injuring, you, does not save it from the possibility of its being an offence.

e 9. τῶν πάντων is the same in effect as ἐν αὐτάσι at e 7— "out of the whole number (of injuries )."

862 a 2. οὐ φημι is not “deny” here, but "I do not say."

a 4. μὴν is equivalent to an emphatic δὲ, and with ἄκοντα we must supply ἄδικειν; the οὐ of a 2 extends to νομοθετήσω.

a 7. πολλάκις, “in many cases”—an example of its use which shows how πολλάκις came to mean “perhaps.”—It is possible to regard ὄφελιαν as “acc. of inner object” to ἄδικεῖν, but better to suppose that when the speaker began he meant the predicate to apply to ὄφελιαν, but changed the construction so as to make it qualify the doer.

a 8. εἶν ᾿ῃ ᾿ῃ ἐμὴ νικᾶ: the MSS. have εἶν ᾿ῃ ᾿ῃ γε μὴν καὶ, with ἐγεμονικαῖ in the margin of A, and ᾿ῃ γε μὴ νικᾶ in the margin of O. This last Ficinus seems to have read, and Steph. prints. Aldus however had the perspicacity to divine the true reading, and Lov., Bas. 1 and 2 followed him. ([ἡ] γε μὴν καὶ is almost as remarkable an instance of the right letters wrongly joined as is presented by the MS. and early edd. reading at Eur. Herc. Fur.
For the ellipse of γνώμη cp. above 653 c 3 κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν.

b 1. τι τῶν ὀντῶν, “any mortal thing.”

b 3. αὐτὸ qualifies ἀπλῶς, which means “in so many words.”—

ηθεῖ καὶ δικαίω τρόπῳ: δικαίω is to be understood to go with

ηθεῖ as well as with τρόπῳ; the real question is not “is the

action (of giving or taking) right or wrong?” but “is the spirit

and manner of the action a right one?”

b 6. The MSS. have τὸ μὲν ἀβλαβὲς ὑγιὲς: in the margin of

A and O is written γρ. βλαβὲν and this led to the substitution in

printed texts of βλαβὲν for ἀβλαβὲς, and so we get the vulgate,

in which the ὑγιὲς is very lame in view of the ὑγιὲς which follows

in c 2. Winckelmann was the first to suspect that ὑγιὲς was a

“gloss” on ἀβλαβὲς (showing that it was here used in a passive

sense), and proposed to read καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀβλαβὲς. Stallb., Herm.,

and Wagner follow him. Badham (on Phil. 56 d), and Ritter

(p. 282), independently concluded that the βλαβὲν of the margin

must have been originally in the text, and so arrived at the clearly

correct reading καὶ τὸ μὲν βλαβὲν ἀβλαβὲς.

c 1. καὶ τὸ θανατωθὲν ἦ τρωθὲν ὑγιὲς: for the construction

of this clause we must go back to τοπητέον in b 7, which is

naturally enough connected by μὲν and δέ with πειρατέον in c 3.

The two tasks which the legislator has to perform are (1) to

remedy the various kinds of harm done, and (2) to get rid of the

enmity caused by the harm. (Ast wants either to reject ἦ τρωθὲν

ὑγιὲς as a marginal gloss, or to transpose it after the vulgate

βλαβὲν—καὶ τὸ μὲν βλαβὲν ἦ τρωθὲν ὑγιὲς.—Burnet inserts a

comma after τρωθὲν, taking, i.e., ὑγιὲς as secondary predicate to

ἐξορθοφυτα.)—θανατωθὲν is joined by a bold zeugma to τρωθὲν.

The only way by which the laws can “restore” the dead is by

imposing “blood-money.” (Winckelmann would transpose θανα-

tωθὲν and place it before ἀποίνοις, omitting ἦ.)

c 2. τὸ δὲ ἀποίνοις ἐξιλασθὲν τοῖς δρῶσι καὶ πᾶσχονυν

ἐκάστας τῶν βλάψεων, “the relation between the doers and

sufferers of the several injuries, which has been soothed and set

right by compensation.” The philosopher recognizes that there is

some—the Cynic would say a greater—hostility on the part of

the offender, which has to be removed. δρῶσι and πᾶσχονυν are

datives of the “people interested.”

c 3. The MSS. all have ἐκ διαφοράς εἰς διαφορὰν, with the

variant φιλίαν in the margin of A and O. This variant has been

accepted by all texts and all interpreters. I would suggest that it
is more likely that Plato wrote ἐκ διαφερόσ εἰς διώλλαγήν. Two words beginning with διω- might well have been confused; but how explain the change of φιλάν to διαφοράν?

c 6. Ed. Lov. does not, as Ast says it does, leave out the ΔΘ before τὰς τούνν—nor does Ficinus—The δὲ after κέρδη (cp. 665 b 5), which we owe to L and the correcting hand in A and O, is so apposite and idiomatic, that it is strange to find Zürr. and Herm. rejecting it.

c 7. τινα is acc. sing.—“in case a man, when wronging somebody, makes him the gainer by it.” (Stallb. says τινα is acc. pl. neut. and, like Ficinus and, I think, Jowett, supposes the gain to belong to the wrongdoer.)—ὡς οὖσών ἐν ψυχῇ νόσων, “for you must remember that they are diseases of the soul.” We were told at b 3 that it was ὡθὸς and τρόπος that constituted the ἀδικία, and ὡθὸς and τρόπος are purely dependent on the ψυχή of the doer, therefore ἀδικία is a νόσος of the ψυχή. To cure this disease is an important part of the work of the lawgiver.

d 1. For ὅτε τις ἀν cp. below on 890 a 5

d 2. τὸ παράπαν qualifies only the subsequent μιθέποτε, notwithstanding the intervening ἦ, just as διαφερόντως qualifies ἤπτον πολύ—“either never at all to venture to do so again, if he can help it, or to do so very much less often.”—For πολύ after a comparative see Stallb. on Alc. II. 143 d μᾶλλον πολύ. (Wagner makes τὸ παράπαν qualify εἰς αὐθίς—“überhaupt für die Folge.”—Jowett translates as if we had ἦ μὴ τὸ παράπαν, and makes three alternatives. Fic. takes τὸ παράπαν with the preceding words) — All the edd. before Ast adopted the διδακτή καὶ ἀναγκάς of L and O² for the correct futures of Α and Ο: ὅπως is modal, not final; cp. Soph. Aj. 556 and Phil. 55 where the MSS. have subjunctives after a modal ὅπως.

d 4. πρῶς τῆς βλάβης ἐκτίσει, “besides making the damage good.” (Fic. curiously connects this with the preceding διαφερόντως ἤπτον πολύ—“vel rarius admodum, poenae impositionalis deter- ritus.”)—ταῦτα is adverbial, “therefore,” or “and so.” The whole sentence is in an eager conversational style; after εἰτε we must suppose the ποιήσει, which only comes in the οὖν clause, to be supplied in thought. (Ast says ταῦτα—with which he supplies ποιεῖν, from ποιήσει—is τὸ διδάκειν καὶ ἀναγκάζειν.)—For ἦ after εἰτε cp. above, 739 d 6 εἰτε ποιον θεον ἦ παιδεῖς θεών.

d 5. μεθ’ is quasi-instrumental; cp. above on 710 d 7.

d 7. τις, as Wagner says, stands for “the legislator.”

d 8. τῆν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν: cp. above, 845 d 8 τῆν ὑδατος
NOTES TO BOOK IX

862 d

φύσιν, below, 869 c 2 τὴν ἑκεῖνον φύσιν, 942 e 1 πᾶλων τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν, 968 d 1 πρὸς τὴν τῆς φυλακῆς φύσιν, and especially Rep. 401 c 5 τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ εὐσχῆ-μονος φύσιν (“the true beauty”); see Adam’s note on Rep. 476 b 6 αὐτοῖ δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ . . . τὴν φύσιν.

e 2. It is not clear whether to Winckelmann or to Schneider belongs the credit of restoring what is clearly the right reading τίνα; in place of the vulgate τινά’ or τινά’. Wagner adopts τίνα; but does not, as Schneider and Burnet do, complete the correction by changing the full stop after πόλιν in e 6 into a comma. (Winckelmann would also change καὶ νόμον θήσει into κατανομθετήσει—a propo-al as attractive as it is bold.)

e 3. γυγνώσκων ποὺ κτλ.: not only will the exchange of such a life as theirs for death be a boon to the incurable criminals themselves, but it will be a double benefit to the state; for (a) it will deter others from crime, and (b) the number of criminals in the state will be diminished. Cp. Rep. 410 a 2 ὄκον . . . τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν κακοφυὲς καὶ ἀνιάτους αὐτοῖ (οἱ δικασταί) ἀποκτενοῦσιν; Τὸ γοῦν ἁριστοῦ, ἐφη, αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς πάσχοσιν καὶ τῇ πόλει ὁὕτω πέφανται. Above at 728 c 5 and 854 e 7 he speaks of this useful warning to the survivors; and at 735 e 3 ff. of the mischief such men do while living; and at 942 a 3 and 958 a 1 he repeats that for such incurable cases death is the only remedy. Our present passage states the whole case more fully than any other.

e 5. For παράδειγμα γενόμενοι ep. above, 855 a 1.

e 6. ὁὕτω δὴ resumes the γυγνώσκον ποῦ; the μέν which Α² and the vulgate insert after ὁὕτω was evidently put in by someone who thought that there was a full stop after πόλιν.

863 a 1. κολαστὴν: even in the case of the punishment of death the κολαστικὴ τέχνη is λατρίκη, and that not only when viewed in its connexion with the state. Cp. Rep. 410 a 1 where Adam in his note quotes Plut. Apophth. Lac. 231 a κράτιστον δὲ ἔλεγε (sc. Pausanias) τοῦτον ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν μὴ καταστήσοντα τοῦς ἀρρωστοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα θάπτοντα.

a 5 f. τὸ τῆς ἀδικίας . . . διαπεισοῖκται: the ὡς clause explains the ταῦτα in a 4, and a διάφορον has, I think, to be supplied in thought after ἀκοουσίων: “how the distinction between wrong-doing and injury, and that between intentional and unintentional acts have got mixed up together in these cases.” For this use of διαπεισοίκλῳ ep. above on 693 d 7. (Most interpreters—and so F.H.D.—do not suppose διάφορον to be supplied after ἀκοουσίων,

399
and make Cleinias ask the Ath. to explain first the distinction between ἄδικα and βλάβη, and then the way in which this distinction complicates or is complicated by the other question. I would submit that the subsequent context agrees better with the translation given above. What follows is a careful classification of ἀμαρτήματα according to the springs of action in each case; this classification will help us to what is. guilt (c 5 ff.), and what is not, and what the plea of "not on purpose" amounts to.)

a 7. καὶ is explanatory.

b 2 ff. ὃς ἐν μὲν . . . ἀνατρέπει, "that there is innate in it one affection or, if you like, constituent, called θυμός, which, being a pugnacious and formidable creature, often works havoc by blind violence."—We have no word corresponding to θυμός as used here: it denotes almost any kind of glowing feeling that cannot be described as an appetite.

b 8. The MS. βιαίον after ἀπάτης is a difficult word here. We are told (1) that the pugnacious θυμός works havoc by violence, and (2) that the ῥόμη of ἡδονή is of the opposite kind, working by persuasion and trickery. It is strange, when contrasting it with violence, to call this trickery violent! ἁβιαστόν or λαθραίον would be apt epithets of ἀπάτης here, but I would suggest that what Plato wrote was οὐ βία, that the οὐ, having been accidentally omitted, was put in over the line, and then, by a further blunder, tackled on to the end of BIAI—or ὑμα. Cp. below, 864 c 5 where τὸ δὲ μετὰ σκότους καὶ ἀπάτης λαθραίοις γιγνόμενον is opposed to τὸ διὰ βιαίων καὶ συμφανῶν πράξεων πραττόμενον. Burnet's comma after δυναστεύοντας is possibly a misprint. (F.H.D. thinks that βιαίον is merely an amplification of the idea of ῥόμης—the "violence" is now that exercised by ἀπάτη. Bdh. on Phil. 41 e thinks it a mistake for a compendiously written βιαζεσθαι.)—αὐτῆς ἢ βούλησθε: the personification of ἡδονή goes so far as to suppose her to have a will. In this way the will to do wrong is represented as belonging not so much to the wrongdoer as to the tempter Pleasure.

c 1. τρίτον, αὐτὸ in c 2 and αὐτοῦ in c 3 all speak of ignorance as a thing.

c 2. διεχὴς μὴν διελόμενος αὐτὸ ὁ νομοθέτης ἀν βελτίων εἰπ, "the lawgiver will, however, do well to distinguish between two kinds of ignorance." βελτίων ἐστὶ ποιῶν and βελτίων ἐστὶ ποιεῖν can stand in Greek for βελτίων ἐστὶν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν; cp. Lobeck's note on Soph. Af. 635, where many instances are given—among them Dem. Ol. iii. 38. 6 οἴκοι μένων εἰ βελτίων—and below,
NOTES TO BOOK IX

902 a 9 βελτίως πράττειν. (So Falstaff says “I were better to be eaten to death with a rust than to be scourged to nothing with perpetual motion.”).

c 3. τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦν αὐτοῖς, “when it occurs in a simple form.” —The participles ἡγούμενοι in c 4 and τίθεις in c 7 resume and explain the διχύ διελόμενοι of c 2, but when he gets to the clause corresponding to the τίθεις clause, he ignores the previous construction, and goes on with θύσει instead of with a participle.—κοῦφων ἀμαρτημάτων: it is implied, but not said, that in such cases the lawgiver will impose no penalty.

c 4 ff. τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν ... ἔχομένους, “but where it is a complicated condition, and a man’s folly is the result not only of ignorance but of his belief that he is wise—wherein he imagines that he knows thoroughly things about which he knows nothing at all—and supposing the ignorance is accompanied by strength and power, he will account such cases the causes of great and disgraceful offences” (and will legislate accordingly), “but when the ignorance is coupled with weakness, since the offences are of a childish or senile kind, he will count them as offences indeed, and make laws against those who perpetrate them, as though they were offenders, but they will be laws of the mildest and most indulgent kind possible.”

c 6. μετὰ μὲν ἱσχύος καὶ βάμης ἐπομένης: the higher the rank of the conscientious but wrong-headed offender, the more serious the crime. Cp. Phil. 49 b 3 for a precisely similar distinction.

d 1. There is no authority for the παίδων which Fic. and all edd. before Bekker read for παίδεια.

d 2. It would be well perhaps, with the earlier editions, to put in the comma after γιγνόμενα which Schneider, Wagner, Herm., and Burnet omit.

d 6 f. ήσονής ... καὶ θυμοῦ ... ὁ μὲν κρείττων ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ ήττων: above at 626 d and e the contest was represented as being against oneself; here it is represented as being against pleasure (or desire), and anger. The same metaphor is used in the τυραννίδα of e 8, and the δυναστεύοντος of b 7.

d 10. It cannot be said that, in the same sense, there is a contest going on between ourselves and ignorance; we do not either successfully combat or yield to the seductions of ignorance.

d 11. οὐκ: the οὖν of O 2 adds emphasis, but is by no means necessary.

e 2. πάντα δὲ γε ... ἀμα, “and yet we say that all of these often take each man when his own will is dragging him one way and urge him all the time (ἀμα) in the opposite direction.” eīs vol. ii 401 2 d
THE LAWS OF PLATO

tην αυτοι βουλησιν επιστομενον is lit. "being drawn towards his own wish." The suggestion is that what is done against a deliberate wish is done unintentionally. Even ignorance, though, as we have just been reminded, it cannot be represented as an active antagonist, can yet be the condition under which we are induced to move in a direction contrary to that in which we really wish to go. "If I had known that," a man says, "I should never have acted so." His ignorance conduces to his fault.

e 5. τὸ τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον, ὅ γε ἐγὼ λέγω, "just what I mean by right and wrong."

e 6. οὔδεν ποικίλλων, "without mixing up with it any irrelevant matter." διαποικίλλω is used in the same sense as above at a 6 and 693 d 7. He wants to strip the distinction between right and wrong of any other complication with any other possible pair of opposites. (See on a 5 above.)

e 7. ἰδιονήσαι καὶ λύπης: pleasure and pain are counterparts of each other; both stimulate ἐπιθυμίαι; they both act at once in the same person sometimes, as Socrates shows at Gorg. 497. It is rather startling therefore to find below at 864 b 3 that λύπη is used to give a common title to the first class of stimulants or incentives—i.e. θυμός and φόβος, as distinguished from the second class which is an εἴδος ἰδιονήσας. Ritter (p. 283 f.) stoutly declares it to be impossible that Plato wrote λύπης at b 3. He tries in vain to think of any word for which λύπης is a writer's error. It is not easy—as Ritter admits—to find a common term to denote the εἴδος consisting of θυμός and φόβος. Are we to presume to condemn Plato for discerning an element of pain in both mental affections or conditions, and calling them therefore an εἴδος λύπης? They are not pure pain, but they are nevertheless painful.

e 8. εάν τε τι βλαβήτη καί εάν μὴ, "whether it does any damage or not."

864 a 1. πάντως, "emphatically."

a 2. ὕπηρεν ἀν έσεσθαι τούτων ἡγίσομέν ταί πόλεις εἴτε ἰδιωταῖ τρῖτε: so the MSS. No interpreters have been able to make anything of τούτων; the philosopher Cousin was doubtless on the right track when he saw in it a mistake for τούτο—i.e. τὸ ἄρωστον—but Α's equally untranslatable variant τούτων makes it seem more likely that Hermann's τούτο γ᾽ was the original reading.—Fortunately the difficulty about the reading τούτων does not touch a vital point in the doctrine, which doctrine is this: that when personal feeling is the dominating spring of action, wrongdoing must result (quite apart from the question whether anybody is damaged or not by

402
the action); while if the will to choose the best course—what we should call conscience—has supreme sway, all action so regulated is right, even though damage should arise from it, and such sway will make for a man’s true interest all his life through.

a 4. καὶ σφάλληται τι: a comparison of 862 a 5 ff., and more particularly of 863 e 8, to which this passage directly corresponds, forces us, I think, to translate σφάλλειν here as at 769 e 4 (ἐὰν τι σφάλληται τὸ ζῷον ὑπὸ χρόνου) and (probably) at 648 e 2 (μηδὲ ἐν σφάλλεσθαι μέγα), i.e. to translate σφάλλειν by to damage. The dictionaries do not give this meaning, and this passage is usually taken to mean “even if he—or it, i.e. the δόξα—makes some mistake” (and consequently does some harm). σφάλληται, then, I would take to be an impersonal passive—“even in case some damage is done.” This damage is the τοιαύτην βλάβην of a 7.—The variant καὶ for καὶ lays too much stress on the βλάβη, and would suggest that damage generally followed conscientious action.

a 6. δοξάζωσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀκούσιον ἀδικίαν: cp. above, 862 a 5 ff. “No,” Plato would say, “the damage is unintentional, but it is not an ἀδικία; it is a tort, not a crime—as we should say in modern legal phraseology.

a 8. δίσερεις λόγος, “a contentious argument.”

b 1. ἀμαρτανόμενα, “errors,” is an even milder term than ἀμαρτήματα, “offences.”

b 2. ταύτα εἰς μνήμην ἐτι μᾶλλον ἀναλαμβάνειν is “to get a still firmer mental hold of them”; so μνήμη ἀναλαμβάνειν at Pol. 294 d 7, ἀναλαμβάνειν alone at Phil. 34 b 7.

b 3. λύπης: see on 863 e 7 above.—The genitives λύπης, ἤδων, and ἐπιθυμιῶν are assimilated to the gen. ἀμαρτανομένων, and depend on εἰδος. With ἐφεσις the construction changes to a nominative.

b 5. Only L and the corrector of O preserve Cleinias’s interposition.

b 6. The MSS. have ἐλπίδων δὲ καὶ δόξης τῆς ἄληθοῖς περὶ τὸ ἀριστον ἐφεσις, “(the) impulse of expectation of and the right opinion about what is best.” Clearly Plato never wrote that. In this enumeration the above phrase takes the place of the ἀγνωστος, which was mentioned at 863 c 1 as the third αἰτία ἀμαρτημάτων, and nothing but the direct opposite of ἄληθοῖς can fit the phrase to represent ἀγνωστος. It is not enough then to reject τῆς ἄληθοῖς as spurious (or, with Ast, to reject τῆς . . . ἐφεσις). We are driven to some such emendation as Ritter’s τῆς <μῆ> ἄληθοῖς (cp. 667 e 11
δόξα, or Grou’s ἀφεσις (in the sense of loss) for ἀφεσις, or Prof. H. Jackson’s ἀφεσις. As a third such emendation I would suggest reading ἀμαθοῦς for ἀληθεῖα. Cp. 863 c 4 ὅταν ἀμαθαίνη τεις, and Theaet. 170 b 9 τὴν δὲ ἀμαθίαν ἤφειν δόξαν. This ἀμαθοῦς I would take to qualify ἐλπίδων as well as δόξας. The meaning impulse, incitement, stimulus which I give to ἀφεσις is doubtful, but it accords with the meaning “to set on” which is found for ἐφιέναι. F.H.D., like H.J., thinks that the mistake is in the word ἀφεσις.

b 8. There is no MS. authority for the vulgate (τοῦτον δὲ) αὖ τοῖς τρίτον, which survived with Ast’s text, and is still found in Zürr. and Herm. Schneider, Stallb. (1860), and Burnet print the perfectly sound MS. reading τοῦτον δὲ αὐτῶν τρία διξαγγυπηθέντος. Usually διξαγγυπηθήναι means “to be cut in two”; here, as Ritter saw (p. 285), it means “to be cut twice” (“durch zwei Schnitte getheilt werden”). The passage is an exact parallel, as Prof. Burnet kindly points out to me, of Timaeus 36 d 2 τὴν δ’ ἐντὸς σχίσας ἐξαχγυπηθήναι ἐπτὰ κύκλως ἀνίσους. As six cuts in a body or a line produce seven separate parts, so two cuts would produce three. (L & S. s.v. ἐξαχγυπηθήναι cite the Timaeus passage for the meaning “in six parts,” and Archer-Hind ignores ἐξαχγυπηθήναι both in his translation and in his notes.)—That τρία can stand for εἷς τρία is established by Stallb’s note on Philebus 23 e 4 τολλᾶ ἐκάτερον ἄχξομένου, where he cites Politicus 283 d 4, Laws 737 e 4, Phaedr. 253 c 8, and Xen. Cyrop. i. 2. 4, vii. 5. 13. To these Prof. Burnet adds Thuc. ii. 47. 2 οἱ σύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη ἐσέβολον.—What the τρία μέρη are has been clearly explained above at 863 c 1–d 4. Sins of ignorance are there divided into three classes: (1) those of pure ignorance, (2) those of highly-placed and powerful ignorance which thinks itself knowledge, and (3) those of impotent ignorance which thinks itself knowledge.

c 4. All modern editors—except Zürr. who, appealing to the ἀμοίσων of 863 c 7, prefer to emend to ἀνωμοίσων—adopt Fahse’s (Syllog. p. 392) ἔμμαθανον for the MS. ἔμμαθανον. The (chiastic) contrast of βιαίων with μετὰ ἀπάτης, and of συμφανῶν with μετὰ σκότους is exactly what we should expect here. Ficinus tacitly assumes this by translating “quod vi et aperte committitur.” All this classification is merely an instruction to the judges of the various shades of criminality or illegality.

d 1. All texts have adopted L’s τὲ as against the δὲ of O. O² has τὲ, and A has a gap of three spaces.—Ast would assimilate the construction of the two clauses by omitting τὰ.
NOTES TO BOOK IX

864  

\[d 2. \tau \nu \nu \text{ stands for } \pi \epsilon \rho i \tau \nu.\]

\[d 4 f. \varepsilon \nu \nu \nu i s o u s \ldots \delta i a \phi e r o v, \text{ "or when he is so ill in body, or at so advanced an age, or so much of a child as to be no better than a madman." (Ast and Stallb. take } \pi a i d i a \text{ to be "puerilis imprudentia" on the part of an adult, and } \tau \nu \nu \tau o i o u t o n \text{ to be equivalent to } \pi a i d o n - \text{ such an adult, e.g., as Mr. Harold Skimpole. The } \pi a i d i a \text{ and } \tau \nu \nu \tau o i o u t o n \text{ would easily bear this interpretation, but the nature of the classification almost compels us to assume that } \delta i a \phi e r o v \text{ covers } \sigma \nu e \chi \omicron \mu e n o s \text{ as well as } \chi r \alpha \mu e n o s; \text{ i.e., applies equally to the infirm from sickness, age, or infancy. It is hard to suppose that the lawgiver would have to admit all Mr. Harold Skimpole's excuses for his pecuniary irregularities.) } \tau \nu \nu \tau o i o u t o n \text{ then is equivalent to } \tau \nu \nu \mu a n \epsilon \tau o n; \mu a n e i s \text{ denotes mental infirmity, while all the other three states supposed are bodily.} - \text{ We have seen at 808 e 2 that } \pi a i d i a \text{ was used in the sense of } i n f a n c y, \text{ as well as in that of } c h i l d i s h n e s s. \text{ Both there and here the MS. testimony varies between } \pi a i d i a \text{ and } \pi a i d e i a. \text{ Steph. was the first to print } \pi a i d i a \text{ here, and } A \text{ seems to have had it originally at 808 e 2, where all texts' print it.}\]

\[d 6. \text{ L preserved, in } \epsilon \kappa l e y \chi \theta e i o u s, \text{ more of the correct reading than } A \text{ and } O \text{ did in } \epsilon \kappa l e y \chi \theta e i o u s; \text{ the corrector of } A \text{ was the first to get it right.}\]

\[d 7. \alpha n a \phi e r o n t o s \tau \nu \nu \delta r \alpha s a n t o s \varepsilon \tau \nu \nu \sigma k r p t o m e n o u \nu p e r \tau \nu \nu \tau o i o s a n t o s, \text{ "on the representation of the criminal or his advocate."}\]

\[e 2. \pi a n t o s, \text{ "by all means," qualifies } \alpha p o t i n e t o; \text{ cp. below, 865 c 1 } \pi a n t o s \varepsilon \sigma t o \mu e n \varepsilon x a i o t e p. \text{ (Some interpreters take it with } \alpha p \lambda h i s.) - \tau \nu \nu \alpha l l o n \delta i k a i o m a t o n, \text{ "the rest of the sentence."}\]

\[e 4. \sigma u t o, \text{ "in that case."}\]

\[e 6. \pi a s t h s, \text{ "any part of."}\]

\[e 8. \sigma u t o s, \text{ "only then."}\]

865 \text{ a 1. All texts have adopted } L \text{'s } \phi o n o u \text{ for the unexplained } \phi o n o u \text{ of } A \text{ and } O, \text{ and they have also, on the authority of the correcting hand in the margin of } A, \text{ inserted the word } \pi e i r o \mu e t h a \text{ after } \eta r \xi \alpha m e t h a. \text{ It may be worth while to suggest that what Plato wrote was } \alpha p \varepsilon i t \varepsilon \phi o n o u \delta i, \kappa a \alpha \tau \pi e r \eta r \xi \alpha m e t h a, \delta i a \tau e l o u s \pi a n t o s \epsilon \delta o u n \pi e r i \phi o n o u \theta e i n a t \tau o u s \nu \mu o u s, \text{ "there can now be no objection to our going on to the end, as we began, with our ordinances about every kind of murder." (Herm. would reject the second } \phi o n o u \text{ of the ordinary text. Ficinus makes short work of the passage, but there is no hint of the } \pi e i r o \mu e t h a \text{ in his translation, which is: } \text{ "Sed, ut incepimus, de unaquaque specie caedis leges absolutius conscribamus."} \]
a 3 ff. ἐν ἀγώνι . . . ἦ κατὰ πάλεμον: for this law Ast cps. the νόμος and explanation at Dem. Contra Aristocratem p. 637.

a 5. φίλων: cp. below, 876 c 6.

a 6. ὤσαύτως: i.e. "unintentionally."

a 7. Burnet is clearly right in rejecting τῶν ἀρχόντων; it involves (1) the confusion of ποιομένων with ποιοῦντων, and (2) an impossibly harsh change of subject between ποιομένων and ἀπομυμουμένων. Both ποι. and ἀπομ. are gen. abs. with αὐτῶν or τῶν ἀνθρώπων supplied in thought as their subject. Cp. Parm. 137 c 3. (Wagner translates ποιομένων rightly, and supplies an αὐτῶν with it (from the foregoing τις) as subject, and he says τῶν ἀρχόντων depends on ἀσκησίν—"die von der Obrigkeit anbefohlene Übung"; this is very far-fetched.)

b 1. The καθαροσία of A is an instructive scribe's error—οὐκ for ἐν—and the corrections by the διορθωτής to καθαρός τις and καθαρῶς τις, and that of O to κάθαρσις are instructive instances of correctors' methods; they are capable of looking at the word alone, without considering the context at all. καθαρθείς we owe to L.—For Delphi in this connexion cp. 738 c, 759 c, and 831 a.

b 3. ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκόντων τελευτᾶ, "dies at their hands when they are trying to save him"; αὐτῶν is emphatic. Cp. below 870 c 3 ὑπ' ἀλλού τελευτᾶσαι τὸν τότε βίον. (Wagner and Jowett take ὑπ' αὐτῶν with θεραπευόμενος; in that case ἀκόντων would be gen. abs. with its subject unexpressed.) Ast quotes Antiphon iii. 3 § 5 (p. 127. 39) εἰ δὲ τοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερόν ἀπέθανε . . . ὁ μὲν ἱερός οὐ φονεύως αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀπολύει αὐτόν.

b 6. ψιλῶ, "unarmed."

c 3. νομίζων is subordinate to παρεξέτω. He must represent to himself that it is just as if one of his own slaves had been made away with, and must compensate the loser (by giving him one of his own, or else the price of that one). Ritter cps. 879 c 8 for a similar use of νομίζω: νομίζων ως πατέρα διευλαβείσθω. To judge by their punctuation, all editors before Burnet make νομίζων subordinate to κτείνῃ—a fantastic notion indeed—that of a man's accidentally killing another man's slave under the impression that it was his own.

c 4. ἦ: i.e. if the compensation is given voluntarily, it is simple; if at the compulsion of the court, double.

c 5 ff. τίς δὲ . . . ἀποκτεινόντων: it is not clear, but probably the two following provisions apply to all cases of slave-killing, not only to the last mentioned case in which compensation has been refused. As to (1), the value of slaves would be extremely

406
variable according to their character and accomplishments, and
the only satisfactory decision of such a question would be that
of a disinterested court or arbitrator; as to (2), the making the
purification in the case of a slave's accidental death more elaborate
than in that of a fellow competitor at the games has apparently
in view the praiseworthy nature of the latter homicide's activity.

d 2. καθηράμενος: for this use of the middle cp. Phaedo 114 c
οἱ φιλοσοφία ἵκανως καθηράμενοι. καθαρθήτω in d 4 is middle
in sense.

d 7. ἐν ἠλευθερῷ φρονήματι, "in the pride of freedom." (O2's
variant, βία, ὡς ἐν ἠλευθερῷ φρονήματι, is worthy of consideration.)
e 3. ἐν τοῖς ἦθεσι τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνιδέας, "in the haunts
that he has learnt to call his own." (Ficinus curiously takes this
second ἑαυτοῦ to be the homicide.)
e 5. μυπήμην σύμμαχον ἔχων, "finding an ally in the homicide's
memory." There is the germ of a tragedy in this phrase.
e 7. τὰς φρας τόσας τοῦ ἑναυτοῦ: "verba . . . videntur
linguam antiquissimarum legum referre," Stallb.
e 9. καὶ, "even so."

866 a 3. ἐπίσκοπος ἀν τούτων πάντων γενομένων: Ficinus's
interpretation of this clause—"qui utrum paruerit attendet"—is
preferable to that of Schneider and Wagner—"ad quem factorum
horum omnium observatio pertinet"—because it takes better account
of γενομένων, and provides a more intelligible ground for the
reconciliation which is immediately recommended.

a 4 f. The coupling, by τε and καὶ, of μέτριος ἃν εἰ ἐν
κυγγυνώμην ἐχέτω is singular. μέτριος ἃν εἰ ἐν would seem to be a
suggestion with a hint of command in it: "besides, he would
undoubtedly (πάντως) be doing the right thing in being on good
terms with him." From Dem. Cont. Arist. p. 644 it may be
inferred that in Attic law the consent of the nearest relative was
necessary, even after the time of exile had expired, before the
homicide could return to his country. Plato goes further, and
lays it down that the consent ought to be given.

b 2. τὸ ὀφλόντε, "if he be found guilty"; but of what? of
murder? or only of not having completed his year of exile?
Apparently what is meant is that, if it is proved that the year of
exile has not been completed, this changes the legal position of
the homicide into that of a murderer.

b 3 f. μὴ ἐπεξεῖν τῷ παθήματι: i.e. "fails to prosecute the case."
—τὸ μᾶσμα ὡς εἰς αὐτοῦ περιεληλυθός: absolute neut. acc. with
ὡς (cp. 626 b 1); "on the assumption that the pollution (of the
crime) has come round to him"; the following gen. abs. clause being subordinate.—Herm. Vest. p. 52, says that, though many of Plato's laws about homicide are taken from Attic law, this last law, which gives "anyone" the power of prosecuting the defaulting next of kin, was certainly not to be found there.—A and O have περεληφθότος as though τοῦ μαςματοσ had preceded; L and the corrector of O have the correct reading.

b 4. τοῦ παθόντος προστερπομένου τῆν πάθην, "inasmuch as the slaughtered man makes his death a matter of atonement"; makes it so, i.e., for the next of kin.

c 2. ἀπενιαυτησάτω: the MSS. here and below at 868 c and e give the verb as ἀπενιαυτέω and the noun as ἀπενιαύτησις; this is made quite clear by the ἀπενιαυτεῖν at 868 c 8, for which the early texts give ἀπενιαυτεῖτω on no MS. authority. The form ἀπενιαυτάτω is supported by Ruhnken, Tim. s.v.—We may conclude from the following regulations for the case of the ξένος that the μέτοικος had to undergo the καθαρμός.

c 4. τῆς τῶν νόμων τοῦτος κύριας, "which is the legitimate owner of—which has the right to—these laws"; i.e. which can demand their execution. (Fic. boldly assumes that κύριος can be used in a passive sense, translating "in qua leges huı̃smodi dominantur"; and so Jowett—"which is under the dominion of our laws.")

d 1. Stallb. says ἐκπίπτηθι means "is driven out of its course," "loses its way," but clearly most other interpreters are right in taking it to mean "is shipwrecked."—A fantastic corrector of O changed χώραν into πρώαν.—σκηνησάμενος ἐν θαλάττῃ τέγγων τοῦς πόδας πλών ἐπιφυλαττέτω, "he must establish himself with his feet in the sea, and so wait for a ship to take him away." In England in the fourteenth century the felon who, having taken sanctuary, was allowed to abjure the kingdom, promised in his oath that if, when he reached the port, he had to wait for a ship, he would every day advance into the sea up to his knees, to show his intention to depart from the kingdom.

d 4. ἀσυλον, "under safe conduct."

d 6. δι' ἕν' δὲ πρώτον τὸ τοιοῦτον διαλαβεῖν, "we must first distinguish between two cases (of wrathful action)"; i.e. there is (1) the unplanned blow dealt in the anger of one moment and repented of the next, and (2) the deliberate and determined vendetta.

d 7. γάρ ἐν' after this θυμῷ is balanced by ἐν after the θυμῷ in e 3; while the μέν after ἐξειφης is balanced by the τε after μεταμέλεια (as above at 838 e 6); H. Richards would make the
construction quite ordinary by putting the μέν after the first θυμῷ.—For τοῖς ὅσοι cp. above, 714 c 3 and below, 871 e 3.

e 3. It is possible that, as Ast suggests, an ἄν has fallen out somewhere between this ὅσοι and ἀποκτείνωςι, but far more likely that the writer was unconsciously influenced by the omission of the ἄν with the previous γίγνηται, especially in a sentence where πέπρακται and τοῖς had already to be supplied in thought from the parallel clause above.

e 5. Α²'s ἀποτίνωςι is probably due to some scribe's unintentional omission of the κ; it cannot have been suggested as an improvement on ἀποκτείνωςι.

e 7. καὶ σχεδόν ἀμφοτέρους θυμῷ γεγονότας, "and you may fairly say that both are prompted by anger"—for both are cases of provocation.

867 a 1. μεταξύ δὲ ποιν τοῦ τῆς ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου: the argument is that, as both murders are prompted by anger, neither is quite deliberate (though the latter is far more deliberate than the former).

a 2. οὖ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰκὼν ἔσθ᾽ ἐκάτερος, "for all that, each of them resembles (one of the two)," ἐκάτερος stands for ἐκάτερον ἐκάτερον; the latter word is not necessary, because the immediately following explanation (with the usual asyndeton) replaces it. Though both can fall between the two extremes, one case is much nearer one extreme, and the other much nearer the other.

a 3. ὁ μὲν τὸν θυμὸν φυλάττων, "the one who nurses his anger."

a 5. ἀταμμεύτως: not "prodigally," as L. & S., but "uncontrollably."

a 7. L alone has preserved the right reading ἄκουσιος, in the face of the absurd ἐκουσίως of A and O.

b 2. τινάς ὃς ἀκουσίους: τινάς is "in a sense"—the Lat. quosdam.

b 3. εἰς εἰκόνα μὲν ἄμφω θεῖναι, "to class each under its like," Stallb. well cps. Tim. 57 e κίνησιν δ' εἰς ἀνωμαλότητα ἀκ τιθῶμεν.

b 7. τὸ γὰρ εἰκός . . . ἐλαττώνως: variety between the two parallel clauses is characteristically secured by the omission of τιμωρητέον in the former, and the omission of εἰκός in the latter. —All texts before Burnet’s adopt the ἐουκός of the correctors of A and O instead of the less ordinary form εἰκός which is found in A and O.

b 7 f. δύο . . . θυμὸν, "let him be made to find in a two years’ exile a bridle to his wrath."

409
d 3. μεγέθει θυμοῦ πλείώ, "longer because of the greatness of the anger"; the dative is a loose extension of the dative which marks, with a comparative, the measure of excess or defect. It could hardly have been so used with τιμωρηθεῖς alone.—καθόδου δὲ περὶ τούτου MSS.; Steph., Ed. Bipont., and Ast have καθόλου δὲ περὶ τούτων, and so Ficinus. Ald., Ed. Lov., and Bas. 1 and 2 have καθόδου δὲ περὶ τούτων. Bekker first restored the MS. reading. The origin of the error is obscure. It is particularly strange that Fic. should have read the καθόλου which does not appear elsewhere until Ed. Steph. His translation is "universalis autem istorum haec dispositio sit."

d 4. From χαλεπῶν μέν to γιγνόμενα in e 1, is a parenthesis, and the explanation of the δοκε is taken up at τούτων οὖν in e 2.

d 5–7. The τούτων, the ó . . . χαλεπώτερος, the ó δὲ ἠμερώτερος and the ó δὲ ἠμερωτέρως all refer to the authors of the crimes. (Fic., Schneider, and Jowett translate as if they referred to the φόνοι.)—χαλεπώτερος is "dangerous."—εἰ δὲ has to be supplied from the second clause to the first, and ταχθεῖς from the first to ἠμερώτερος in the second; ó μέν has to be supplied with the former of these other two clauses, and τὰ περὶ τῶν φόνων ἀν πράξειν with the latter.

e 1. κατὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρήμενα: i.e. the murder in cold blood is generally the worse of the two.

e 2. τούτων πάντων: i.e. the considerations mentioned in the parenthesis.

e 3. ἐπειδὰν δὲ; with these words begins the real explanation of the δοκε in d 4.—δ χρόνος ἐλθη, "the period elapses"; cp. 958 b 3. Ast would read ἔξελθη, comparing 909 a 5, where the MSS. have ἔξελθη in a similar case. Fic. translates "cum vero restitutionem exulum tempus advenerit."—With πέμπτων χρῆ has to be supplied from the previous sentence.—αὐτῶν is partitive; i.e. τῶν νομοφυλάκων. (Wagner takes it to be an objective gen.—"of the murderers.")

e 4 ff. ἐσκεμμένους . . . γίγνεσθαι, "who, having, during this period" (i.e. that of the exile), "investigated with still greater care the conduct of the exiles" (i.e., the circumstances of the murder), "may even (καὶ) pronounce judgement on the question of the pardoning and receiving back of the culprit." The καὶ before τῆς αἰδοῦς is the same καὶ which occurs below at 869 b 5.—For the τε . . . καὶ cp. 868 d 5.

e 7. τῶν δὲ possibly includes both the showers and the receivers of the αἰδοῦς.
868 a 1. ἐμένειν: there is to be no appeal.—ὀπότερος is used just as τότερος is above at 628 b 7 and below at 914 d 1; cp. Heindorf on Theaet. 143 a.

a 3. κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ξένου ἀφίξειν ταύτῃ πωσχέτω: i.e., like the returned ξένοις at 866 c 5, he is to be put to death.

a 4. The θυμῷ, though only expressed in the second clause, is implied with the ὁ κτείνας of the first; otherwise the former clause merely repeats the case of 865 d 1.

a 7. ἀθλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερά: light is thrown on this passage by a comparison of 935 b 6 μηδ' ἐν τοῖς δημοτελέσι θυσίαις, μηδ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἀθλοῖς, μηδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ. These two enumerations probably correspond: τὰ ἄλλα ἱερά will then mean, not "sacred places" (as Wagner), or "temples" (as Jowett), but public religious ceremonies; and ἀθλα will not be "gymnasia" (as Fic.), nor "the arenas" (as L. & S.), but "the public games." The concourse in the marketplace was made sacred by the temples round it. The other two assemblies which the ἀκάθαρτος would pollute by his presence are the gatherings of spectators (1) at the public games, and (2) at the public sacrifices, both of a religious character.

b 1. τὸν τε ἐπιτρέποντα: the person whose connivance would leave the murderer free would of course be ὁ τοῦ τελευτασάντος γένει ἐγγύστα.

b 3. τὴν διπλωσίαν τῶν πράξεων πράττειν probably means that the purification ceremony would be twice as elaborate, and therefore twice as costly.—Ast calls attention to the chiasmus in the enumeration.

b 5. αὐτὸς αὐτῷ κομιζόθω: such a stimulus to the will of ὁ βουλόμενος is unusual in this legislation.

b 6. Ritter points out (p. 287) that we are not told what is to be done to a slave who accidentally kills his master, or another citizen. Judging from the fact that the καθαρμοὶ were the same for the slaughter of slave or free (865 d 4), he concludes that the punishment also would be similar. You could not banish a slave though; probably he would be imprisoned instead.

b 7 f. χρωμένους τῷ κτείναντι χρείαν ἦν ἄν ἐθέλωσι; πλὴν μηδαμῇ μηδαμὸς ἄγροιντος, καθαροὺς εἶναι, "however they like to treat the murderer they are to be guiltless, provided they do not leave him alive in any shape or form"; cp. c 4 f. (Ritter maintains that the words only mean that they "must not make him a prisoner before they kill him").—Herm. Vest. p. 57, note 238, quotes Antipho, De caed. Her. § 48 to show that in Attic law the executioner in such a case must be a public functionary.
Here, and at c 5, the MSS. have ἀνέλωσεν(ν) corrected by Ο² (and at c 5 by A² as well) to ἀν ἐθέλωσι(ν). In the former passage ἀνέλωσι survived in print as late as Ed. Bipont. in spite of Steph.'s protest, whereas in the latter the correction to ἀν ἐθέλωσιν was printed from the first.

c 2. ἄλλος τις δοῦλος: this is a possible expression for "any slave who is not the murdered man's own"; so also is ἄλλον . . . ἐλέυθερον (as Fähse, Ast, and Zürr. would read here) for "any free citizen who is not the slave's master." But the latter seems no improvement on the former. If any alteration is necessary I should prefer to read ἄλλοτρος for ἄλλος. Ficinus translates: "sin vero servus non dominum suum sed alium liberum per iram necarit;" this looks as if he had read ἄλλον τις δοῦλος ἐλέυθερον.

c 3. oι δεσπόται: a curious general plural, like the τῶν φυγόντων of 867 e 5, and the τῶν κτεινάντων below at d 1; or does it possibly mean the master and mistress of the slave?

c 4 f. oι δὲ . . . ἐθέλωσιν: this sentence says almost exactly the same things as were expressed above at b 7 by χρωμένοις . . . καθαροὺς εἶναι.

c 5. The MSS. read ὅ δὲ γίγνεται μέν, ὀλιγάκις δὲ, διὰ θυμὸν. Aldus (apparently) was the first to mend this by inserting ἀν before διά, and so all the early edd. and even Stallb. and Schneider; Zürr. and Herm. follow the quotation in Eus. P. E. p. 712 a in reading ἄν δὲ, ὅ γίγνεται μέν, ὀλιγάκις δὲ, διὰ θυμὸν; Burnet's ἄν δ' ὅ comes nearer the MS. reading than Eusebius's ἄνν δὲ, ὅ; Fic. translates "si pater aut mater (accidit enim, quamvis raro) per iram, etc."

c 6. Ritter (p. 287) calls attention to the fact that nothing has been said of the case where a son or daughter has accidentally caused a parent's death. No doubt, as he says, the penalties would have been milder than in the case of a death caused διὰ θυμὸν (cp. 869 a). Possibly, besides the religious purification, the unlucky son or daughter would have to be separated from the family for a time.

c 7. καθαρέσεις μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις: apparently the ceremonial impurity incurred by the taking of a life is the same in any case; cp. below, e 2. Where double purification was enjoined—at b 3—a double pollution had taken place—the purification enjoined had been omitted.

c 8. There is a harsh change of construction from the MS. καθαίρεσθω to ἀπεναντεῖν; it is obviated if we adopt, as Herm. does, Eusebius's καθαίρεσθαι for καθαίρεσθω. There is no MS.
authority for the ἀπενιαυτέατω which was printed in all editions down to Ed. Bipont.; still less, of course, for Ast's ἀπενιαυτιζέτω. (See above on 866 c 2.)

d 3. δὲν ἐκγόνον ᾧ ἀδελφὸν ἀπεστέρηκε: it is very unusual to find ἀποστερεῖν governing an acc. of the thing taken and gen. of the person robbed. L. & S. cite this passage and Plut. Aem. Paul. ch. 26 τῶν ἔλεον ἀπεστέρησεν ἐκντοῦ as instances of such usage. It is best, though, with Fic., Schn., and Wagn., to take δὲν as possessive here, as at c 10 below. ἀποστερεῖν often takes an acc. of the thing stolen when the person robbed is not mentioned.

d 4. All texts before Bekker had κοινωνείν for the MS. κοινωνόν.—δὲ ἀσεβὸν τε περὶ ταύτα καὶ ἀπειθῶν: the τε . . . καὶ is explanatory, as above at 867 e 6.

e 1. ὡσαύτως: i.e. δι’ ὅργῃν.

e 2. τριετεῖς ἀπενιαυτήσεις: the same generalizing plural as at c 3 and below at e 8 in ἀπενιαυτήσεων.—A has τριετίς, in which the second ι has been altered from something else. O has τριέτεις. Probably A had originally τρίετες (Stallb. gives τριέτες as the reading of O).

e 5. ὁ γεννήτωρ ᾧ ὁ γεννηθεῖς: the ᾧ is not to be pressed to the logical conclusion. It does not mean that the guilt might lie either with the one or the other, but that both would be equally liable to prosecution.

e 7. From ᾧ ἀδελφή to ἀδελφήν are missing in A and O1 "propter ὁμοιότελευτον," Stallb.

e 9. The δὲν γέγνεσθαι has to be supplied from the second clause to the τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις of the first.

e 10 ff. τούτοις: again the same generalizing plural.—δὲν . . . ἵερῶν: this is the law referred to, given in the form of an explanatory parenthesis. As Stallb. says, it would be easier to translate this if we had οὗς instead of δὲν. δὲν is a possessive gen. to be taken with ἀδελφῶν: "(he must not live with those) whose brothers he has robbed brothers of, or whose children he has robbed parents of."—The resuming τούτοις δὲ is not necessary to the sentence, but adds clearness.—αὐτοῖς too seems unnecessary; is it a mistake for ἃ; (Ast says αὐτοῖς "propter sequens ἵερῶν apposítmum est"; but the eating with them is more a personal connexion than the joining with them in a sacrifice.)

869 a 1. εἰρημένω: i.e. above at 868 b 1–5.—νόμω νύμφικος: the dat. with νύμφικος indicates the injured or prosecuting party— as which here νόμως is personified.

a 3. γίγνηται: Apelt, in his review of Burnet's Laws (Berl.
Phil. Woch. (1908) p. 131) notices that Fels (in Peipers’ Quaest. Crit. d. Pl. Legg. p. 122) gives γίγνοιτо as the reading of A here. I have since inspected the passage in A, and found it to be γίγνηται, as Bekker and Burnet have said.——μανίασ: this plural occurs in the same metaphorical sense above at 783 a 2 and at Polit. 310 d 8; below at 881 b 4 and at Theaet. 158 d 8 it is used in the literal sense.—For the gen. ὤργης Stallb. cps. ὑπὸ λαμαργίας ἡδονῆς below at 888 a.

a 5. ἀφιῇ ἐκών: Stallb. cps. Demosth. In Pantaen. 983. 20, according to which Attic law allowed any murdered man’s forgiveness to act as a bar to prosecution.

a 6. The ἐκοῦσιον of the MSS. is clearly a mistake. Cornarius was the first to correct it to ἀκούσιον.

a 7. τάλλα ὄσατερ ἐκεῖνοι: i.e. having gone into exile for a time; cf. e 3 above.

b 1. πολλοὶς νόμοις: i.e., as he explains, the laws against violent outrage, against impiety, and against sacrilege.

b 2 ff. ἐνοχος... ἱεροσυλίας, τὴν τοῦ γεννητοῦ ψυχῆν συλήσας: so Shakespeare in Macbeth ii. iii. 73:——

Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope
The Lord’s anointed temple, and stole thence
The life o’ the building.

Was Plato the first to speak of the body as the temple of the soul? and was St. Paul consciously or unconsciously recalling Plato’s metaphor when he wrote (1 Cor. vi. 19) ἦν οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἀγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν;?

b 4. Schneider alone of all editors preserves the τοῦ of the MSS., as against the τό to which it has been altered. We should be better off without either τοῦ or τό. I have bracketed τοῦ, believing that it was due to the τὴν τοῦ in the line above.

b 6. δικαίωτατον... ἴν: ep. above, 744 b 1 ἴν καλόν, and Goodwin, M. and T. § 416.

b 7. Is not μέλλοντι... τελευτήσεσθαι a commentator’s explanation?

c 2. τὴν ἐκείνον φύσιν: perhaps we may translate “him and all he is” φύσις, ἔκς, and γένεσις are all used by Plato—e.g. Tim. 72 a and b—to form circumlocutions such as are formed in English with substance, essence, quality and nature.

c 4. τὸς τούτῳ δίκης γε ἄλλως προσήκον τυγχάνειν ἄν γίγνοιτο ἐν νόμῳ: lit. “how is it fitting for that man to meet with punishment under the law in any other way?” ἐν νόμῳ is not simply
juste, as Fic., Ast, and Jowett take it—neglecting προσήκον—but looks back to the νόμος παρέξει and νομοθετήσει of the former part of the question. Cp. 874 c 6.—O joins ἐν νόμῳ to the following sentence, but writes ἐννόμῳ; this led Stallb. to conjecture ἐννόμως, though he connected it with the previous sentence.—L's variant ἄλλης for the ἄλλως of A and O—also noted by the corrector of O—sounds natural; but could it ever have been altered to ἄλλως if it had stood there originally?

**d 4.** κατὰ ταυτὰ ἔστω τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι: this genitive is more usual with ἔχειν; cp. Rep. 456 d πῶς οὖν ἔχεις δόξης; Gorg. 507 d, Phil. 62 a.

**d 6.** καθάπερ ὁ κτεῖνας πατέρα: we are told above at b 7 that a man must not use violence to his father, even in self-defence.

**d 8.** πατρί, "on the part of a father"; a genitival dative, which goes closely with ἀφέσεως.—τῶν τοιούτων is "of such offences."

**e 1.** ἐὰν ὀστισοῦν: the same explanatory asyndeton in the statement of the law as above at c 5; it is better to mark this by printing a colon after ἀφέσεως.

**e 2.** ὃς ἀκούσιον γεγονότος τοῦ φόνου: apparently the possibility of such forgiveness when the injury was thought to be entirely intentional, and not θυμό—κατ' ἀδικίαν πᾶσαν γεγονόμενον—is not contemplated. (Herm., Wagn., and Schneider omit the comma after φόνου; this implies that the purification and the year's exile were the regular punishment of every ἀκούσιος φόνος, which was not the case.)

**e 4.** ἐν νόμῳ probably goes with οἷς καθαρμοὶ γεγονέσθωσαν as well as with ἐναυτῶς εἰς ἐστώ τῆς ἐκδημίας.

**e 5 ff.** τὰ δὲ . . . λέκτεον, "the next thing we have to describe is the measures to be taken against acts perpetrated intentionally and with right-down wickedness—in this sphere and that of deliberate design—acts due to the yielding to the seductions of pleasure and desire and envy." τούτων πέρι καὶ ἐπίβουλής is obscure; apparently we must supply περί to govern ἐπίβουλής, so that it will mean "in the matter of murders and plotting," i.e. in the matter of murders deliberately planned—or is it "in the matter (1) of direct violence, and (2) of indirect, plotted violence"?

—It will be remembered that above at 864 b 6 the second class of ἀμαρτανόμενα was said to be due to the prompting of ἡδονή and ἐπιθυμία, while, in a previous enumeration at 863 e 7, φθόνοι were added. We are now therefore passing to the consideration of this δεύτερον εἶδος τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων.—For δὲ ηττας ἡδονῶν cp. below, 902 b 1 διά τινας ηττας ἡδονῶν ἡ λυπῶν.
870 a 2 ff. τῶν δ’ ἐστὶν ... κακήν: we are told in the margin of L and O that some MSS. rejected the ἡ in a 4. It was actually omitted in all texts down to that of Bekker. This was doubtless the result of a desire to make τῶν χρημάτων depend on ἵμερος (as Ast does).—It is difficult to find one’s way in this tangle of genitives—especially as, by an almost unpardonable looseness of construction, Plato put ἡ δύναμις in apposition to ἵμερος. The power of wealth to generate the lust of its possession may explain the existence of ἵμερος, but it certainly is not the same thing as the ἵμερος. In English we may be allowed to begin a fresh sentence with ἡ . . . δύναμις: “Now this is chiefly to be found where in most men there is greatest and strongest longing. Wealth is able to generate in men, thanks to natural inclination, and its disastrous misdirection, innumerable lusts after its never satiating and boundless possession.”—It will be remembered that at Rep. 580 e φιλοχρήματον is used as a synonym for ἐπιθυμητικόν.

a 4. ἀπληστὸς is not elsewhere found in the active sense of “not satisfying”; if it be thought inadmissible here, we must suppose the word insatiable to be “improperly” used to qualify κτήσεις, when really it is the ἐρως which is ἀπληστος.—I think Stallb. is right in supposing κτήσεως to be equivalent to κτήσεως ἐαυτοῦ; wealth has the power of inspiring a passionate longing in us for itself.—With this passage we ought to compare the eloquent indictment of ἕρως πλοῦτον above at 831 c 4 ff.

a 6. That ἀπαιδευσία—like ἀμαθία—is not used in the purely negative sense of “want of training,” but “mistraining” is evident from what follows.

a 7. ἡ goes with φήμη, and αἰτία is predicate: “the great vogue enjoyed by the ill-advised praise of wealth.” φήμη is a pervading report, or tradition, the way in which a thing is usually represented; φήμη here corresponds to τὸ λέγεσθαι three lines below. (Stallb. perversely denies that πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων goes with ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Ast would, with Steph., reject ἡ and take φήμη πρὸς Ἑλ. κ. βαρβ. to be “the high esteem in which wealth is held by both Gr. and Barb.”)

b 1. τούς τ’ ἐπιγεγυμνόμενος λαβῶνται: reference to 729 a ff. will, as Wagner points out, explain how the injudicious praise of wealth does harm to the following generation. It is better, he says there, for children not to have much money left them.

b 2. τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές λέγεσθαι, “that a right view should be expressed” (is κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον). (τὸ is, however, by most
interpreters taken to belong not to λέγεσθαι but to ἀληθές.) What the right view is we are told in the words ὡς κτλ.

b 4. ἀγαθῶν μὲν οὖν ὄντων δὲν ἐνεκα ὁ πλοῦτος εἶναι πέφυκε, “since then there are certain desirable objects which it is wealth's natural function to subserve.”—For different classifications of “goods” cp. above, 631 c. (Fic. and Stallb. think we are meant to supply τούτων with ὄντων: “quære cum bona ea sint quorum caussa, etc.”)

c 1. δικαίως πλούτειν καὶ σωφρόνως, “only to get as much riches as justice and self-command will allow.”

c 2. ὄντως refers back both to the τὸ ἀληθές λέγεσθαι and the resulting δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως πλούτειν. If the right view, and the consequent right principles of action, prevail throughout the world (κατὰ πάσας πόλεις), then there will be in that world no murders of the kind which can only be expiated by the perpetrators' execution.

c 3. νῦν δὲ is in strong contrast to ὄντως: “whereas, with things as they now are.”

c 4. ἐκονιστὶν is here used in the popular sense, not the philosophical.—τὰς μεγάλτας δίκας, “the extreme penalty of the law”—that i.e. of death. (Jowett, “the worst trials.”)

c 5. φιλοτιμὸν ψυχῆς ἔξις: Ritter (p. 289) remarks that, whereas in the Rep. (e.g. 548 c) Plato counts φιλοτιμία as belonging to the θυμοειδές μέρος of the ψυχῆ, here he counts it under the ἐπιθυμητικὸν μέρος. It is not clear, however, that the Plato of the Laws would deny that there is a good sort of φιλοτιμία just because the kind of grudge that is borne to another on account of his superior rank and estimation is a mischievous feeling. At 863 e 7 and 869 e 8 he certainly classes φθόνοι along with ἐπιθυμίαι as being both the causes of violent deaths. But φθόνοι are not the necessary products of φιλοτιμία.

c 8. δειλοὶ καὶ ἄδικοι φόβοι, “cowardly and guilty fears.” ἂδικοὶ as applied to φόβοι is not “mistaken,” but, like δειλοὶ, qualifies rather the fearer than the fear: fear is not always cowardly, any more than it is always guilty.—All texts have corrected the natural scribe's error of φόβους for φόνους which was perpetuated in all MSS.

d 2. βουλονται: Ast in 640 a 11 gives many instances of the substitution of “plural for a generalizing singular.” We have the converse change in Simon. v. 19 πάντας δ' ἐπαίνημι καὶ φιλέω ἐκὼν ὡστὶς ἐρθη μηδὲν αἰσχρόν.
THE LAWS OF PLATO

5. ταυτ': i.e. the moral judgements incidentally included in the above classification.

6. των ἔσπονδακότων does not depend (as a partitive gen.) on πολλοί, still less (as a possessive gen.) on λόγον, but goes with ἀκούοντες, to denote the source of the λόγος. οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα ἔσπονδακότες are the professional μυσταγγοί; below at 872 e 1 the ultimate authorities for this λόγος are said to be παλαιοὶ ἰερεῖς.—λόγον seems to have been A's correction of an original νόμον. Cp. 872 e 3.

2. Schneider's ἐκτείσαι for ἐκτείσαι seems, at first sight, to improve the construction, but it does not really; ὑπ' ἄλλου τοιαύτῃ μοίρᾳ τελευτήσαι goes better as an alternative expression for that in which ἐκτείσαι occurs than as a main verb to which ἐκτείσαι is subordinate, because ὑπ' ἄλλου and τοιαύτῃ μοίρᾳ are also a repetition of what has gone before, and in Schneider's sentence they would be out of place. The same objection holds against Steph.'s insertion of a καὶ to connect the two infinitives.—Ast and Stallb. place a comma after παθόντος; ἀπερ ἐδρασεν would doubtless go very well with the following words, but τοῦ παθόντος cannot do without them.

4. καὶ τάντως φοβοῦμένω, "and if he has a proper dread of."

5. "as the result of."

Wagner well calls attention to the musical significance of the words προοίμων and νόμος, with which the metaphorical ὑμνεῖν is quite in keeping; cp. above, 700 b and 722 d.

1. εἰρήσθω τῇ γραφῇ, "it must be proclaimed on a law-tablet that, etc." For the following asyndeton cp. above, 869 e 1.

2. ἐμφυλίων: as at Rep. 565 e ἐμφυλίως is used in the general sense of "fellow-citizen."

3. τῶν νομίμων εἰργήσθω: cp. Antiphon, De choreuta, p. 1451. 31 ὅ γὰρ νόμος ὑπὸς ἔχει, ἐπειδὰν τίς ἀπογραφῇ φόνου δίκην εἰργήσθαι τῶν νομίμων. In the case there referred to the practical result of this exclusion is the not being able to come into a court of justice to prosecute. Taken along with the context here this seems to point to a local meaning for τὰ νόμιμα, "the places which the law allows us to visit," as opposed to τὰ ὅσια; or perhaps "customary resorts."—Stallb. gives many quotations from the orators which refer to this προαγόρευσις or πρόρρησις—the public proclamation of the excommunication of those accused of murder.

4. κοινὸν σύλλογον μηδένα μιαίνων: cp. above, 868 a 7.
NOTES TO BOOK IX

a 5. τες . . . ἀνθρώπων is made more emphatic by the position of the ἀνθρώπων; it is contrasted with the following νόμος.

b 1. ο δὲ μὴ ἐπεξίων δέον . . . τῷ τελευτήσαντι, "while any man within the limits of cousinship to the deceased, on the male or female side, who evades the obligation to prosecute, or fails" (when prosecuting) "to pronounce the accused man to be excluded from public life."—Acc. to Demosth. In Euerg. p. 1161, Attic law said μέχρις ἀνεψαδὼν, which seems to go a generation further, but, acc. to Herm. De vest. note 197, means the same as ἔντος ἀνεψιότητος.

b 4. δέχομαι: the wishing or imprecating optative here takes the place of the imperative; so below at 879 d we have ἀπέχουσα and ἀπεξηγοῦσα following διευθαραχήσωμαι. —δς ἢ τοῦ νόμου ἄρα τὴν φήμην προστρέπεται: in effect these words are equivalent to "in accordance with the law's curse"; lit. "for the curse (which forms part) of the law brings the ominous with it"—"has the virtue of an omen." Winckelmann thinks that a comparison of 866 b 4—προοπτερομένου τὴν πάρῃ—should induce us to read προστρέπεται here—"brings its ominous effect on a man." (Stallb. translates φήμην by "famam et opinionem vulgarem"; Jowett "the voices of men.")

b 5. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον: in the first place the relative of the murdered man who fails to prosecute and to declare the murderer an outlaw is to be an outlaw himself; in the second he is to be liable to prosecution on the charge of having connived at the murder.

b 6. ό ἔθελον τιμωρεῖν—i.e. ἐπεξίων—is not the same as τῷ ἔθελοντι τιμωρεῖν in the last sentence; we have now gone back to the relation of the murdered man, and are supposing that he is not a defaulter; hence τὸν δρᾶσαντα in c 2 is the real murderer.

b 7 ff. τῶν τε . . . προσαγορεύων: before proceeding to the prosecution at law of the guilty man, the prosecutor must (1)—in view of his own possible contact in court with the murderer—go through a religious purification, and all other ceremonies provided as proper (νόμιμα) for such cases, and (2) he must make the statutable proclamation of outlawry against the accused.—The construction is difficult. In its first conception, and in its simplest form, the sentence would stand πάντα ἀποτελῶν ὅσα ἄν ὁ θεὸς περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα παραδῷ, but it occurs to the writer to specify that these ceremonies consist mainly of washings, and he expresses this by saying "in the matter of attention both to the proper washings and to other things." Since λουτρῶν is in the gen., depending on
THE LAWS OF PLATO

 φυλακής, ἑτερα has also to go into the gen., and, by attraction, ὅσα becomes a gen. too. The use of φυλακή (attention to) is much the same as in the παιδείας φυλακή of 654 d 8. (Jowett translates ἀποτελέων πάντα τῶν . . . λοιπῶν φυλακής πέρι by “observe all the precautionary ceremonies of lavation”—as if the gen. λοιπῶν depended on πάντα and was qualified by φυλακής πέρι.)

c 2. ἰτω ἀναγκάζων: “Non opus est conjectura Stephani ἀναγκάζων, quam Astius complexus est” Stallb.

c 3. For δίκης πράξεως in the sense of exactio of the penalty cp. below, 958 a ὅ ταίς πράξεως . . . αὐτῶν (i.e. τῶν δικῶν).

c 6. ράδιον ἀποφαίνεσθαι νομοθέτη: i.e. “we need not go into such details here.”

c 7. If we keep the MS. ὅ, τίς is predicate to γεγυμeneos ἄν εὖ, “as” or “being what the process of bringing such prosecutions would most duly satisfy the religious requirements.” It would be much easier to translate if there were no ὅ. Is it not a scribe’s mistaken insertion?

d 2. εἰσάγειν is used not only of the bringer of a suit, but also of the presiding magistrates who allow it to be brought before them; here εἰσαγόντων is said of the νομοφύλακες in the latter sense.

d 4. κυρίως qualifies διωδικάζειν—“to have full authority to pronounce sentence on temple-robbers.”

d 5. ἀναίδειας ἐνεκα πρὸς τῷ ἀδεσβεῖν: i.e. “besides the desecration involved (in burying the murderer in his victim’s native land), there is this further motive: we want to show that the man is not pardoned.” αἰδῶς and αἴδεσις, in connexion with a crime or a criminal, mean mercy (cp. 867 e 6), and ἀναίδεια has (probably) here the meaning which it has in the phrase λίθος ἀναίδειας, i.e. that of “unforgivingness.” (It is generally taken here in its ordinary sense of “impudence”; “quoniam non impie solum sed impudenter quoque peecavit” Fic.; i.e. like most other interpreters he supposes the objections to the burial to be drawn from the nature of the crime. Jowett alone takes the objection to be drawn from the nature of such a burial, though he, as I think, translates ἀναίδειας wrongly; “for this would be shameless, as well as impious.” This puts too much strain on ἐνεκα.)

d 7. Cornarius’s emendation of the MS. ποιν τῶν τοῦτων seems clearly right. Not only is τῶν very hard to justify, but the gen. τοῦτων much improves the significance of τίς. “Any of these exiled criminals” is quite in place, but “anybody” is meaningless. (Stallb. would persuade us that τὰ τῆς χώρας is a possible
alternative for ἰ χώρα. Winckelmann thinks that τόπων has fallen out after τῶν; he cps. 705 e and 747 e. One late MS. omitted the τῶν; none of these alterations gets rid of the awkwardness of making a bare τις the subject.)

e 1. Bekker is very likely right in supposing that κτεινάτω originally stood for the κτεινέτω of the MSS.

e 2. ὁ δὲ ἐπισκηπτόμενος: here again, as at b 6, we go back, from the subject of the immediate context, to the general case. ὁ ἐπισκηπτόμενος is not the man who has caught the returned exile, but any prosecutor of a charge of murder.

e 3. τὸν ὅ ἄν ἐπισκηπτήται: cp. 714 e 3, 866 d 7.—ἀμα: i.e. at the same time that he begins the prosecution; cp. 872 b 4.

e 3 ff. δὲ οὐκ εἰς δίκην: the old punctuation put the comma after the first ἀξιόχρεως, Stallb. and Burnet put it before it. In the former case we must translate: “the sureties produced by the accused must be substantial men in the judgement of the proper court”—for κρίνῃ of course means “judge to be so”—in the latter “the accused must produce his sureties, men whom the proper court judge to be substantial.” Then he goes on as if he were quoting the actual words of a well-known enactment—probably of Attic law—“three substantial sureties pledged to produce him for trial.” (Ast rewrites the passage: ὁ δὲ παρεχέτω τρεῖς ἐγγυητάς, οὐς ἄν ἰ τῶν περὶ ταύτα δικαστῶν ἀρχῆς κρίνῃ ἀξιόχρεως. To Ast belongs the credit of seeing that παρεχέων depends on ἐγγυημένον; Steph. puts a comma after παρεχέων. Winckelmann and Herm. would omit τοὺς ἐγγυητάς ἀξιόχρεως as involving a “lunguiddissima iteratio.” The objection to the last arrangement is that it makes “the proper court” choose the sureties, instead of deciding whether they were substantial enough. It was clearly the accused who had to find his bail—see below, e 6 ἀν δὲ ... ἀδυνατῶ τις καθιστάναι. No change is necessary and the old punctuation seems rather better than the new.)

872 a 1. τις ἄλλος ἐτέρω: so the MSS. Below at 933 e 6 the MSS. read τις ἄν ἐτέρον ἄλλον, and there all texts correct ἐτέρον to ἐτέρος. I would suggest that the MSS. are right there, and wrong here; and that we ought here to read ἄλλο τις ἐτέρω. See note on 780 d, and below, 875 d 8, where this same pleonastic ἐτέρον ἄλλον is used in just the same connexion as here.

a 4. τούτῳ: this is the same dative which we had above at 871 d 3 in διαδικάζειν τοῖς τά ἱερὰ συλλόγων.

a 5. πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης, “except in the matter of bail.” Does 421
this mean that such a crafty and possibly cowardly man is not to be trusted out of safe custody? or that this kind of murderer is not to be compelled to find bail because the presumption of his guilt is not so strong as in the other case? Probably the latter.—

ταφῆς τῆς οἰκείας ἐξέστω τυχεῖν: because though not καθαρὸς τὴν ψυχήν he is καθαρὸς τὸ σῶμα.

a 6. τὸ πρόσθεν ῥηθέν is the procedure arranged in the case of an ἐκούσιος αὐτοχείριος φόνος.

b 2. πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης: in the case of ξένοι and δοῦλοι there was no question of their being allowed a tomb in the country of the murdered man, so the question of bail was the only point in which any difference could arise.

b 2 ff. ταύτην δὲ . . . καὶ τοῦτος: if the δὲ after τὸν was originally in the text, it was there through inadvertence, and should be ignored, as Fic. ignores it, in translation. Two classes are spoken of: (1) the αὐτόχειρες, and (2) the ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, and what we are told here is that in the case of ξένοι and δοῦλοι bail is to be taken for both classes. Therefore the comma which stands after εἰρήται in all texts but Schneider's should be removed, and τὸν προαγορέοντα must lose its δὲ. ταύτην is an acc. of inner object with κατεγγυάν. Fic.'s translation is "nisi quod fideiussionem praebere istos quemadmodum illos qui propria manu interfecere semens." (The original Fic. has interficere, a manifest misprint.) Schneider preserves the δὲ after τὸν as well as the main sense of the passage by placing the comma after αὐτόχειρας, but this involves saying almost the same thing over again.—προαγορέων τὸν φόνον is probably a loose description of the πρόφρησις whereby the murderer was declared an outlaw; ep. 871 a 3, b 1 and c 2.

b 6. ἄγων πρὸς τὸ μνήμα τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὅθεν ἄν ὅρα τὸν τύμβον, "the executioner must take the culprit towards the tomb, to a place from which he can see it." (Fic. and Serranus translate as if there were an ἦ in the text before ὅθεν; and Ast actually introduces this ἦ into his text.)

c 1. ὁ ἔλων is the man who has secured his conviction, not "the person who took him," as Jowett.

c 3. The μὴ before μηνυτῆς was haplographically omitted by both A and O, and only restored by the corrector of O.

c 4. καθάπερ ἄν εἰ πολίτην κτείνας ὑπείχε φόνου δίκας, "just as if he had been standing his trial for the murder of a citizen." The ἄν is otiose—consopitum—as above at 684 c 3, and as it often is in κἂν εἰ and ὅστερ ἄν εἰ.
NOTES TO BOOK IX

872 c

c 6. οὗτως, after the ὁσαύτως, is not strictly necessary, but it rounds off the sentence, and balances the κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ.

c 7. The first hand in A wrote γέγυται: Burnet, as against Fels, is right in saying that the η added below the line after ν is the work of the second hand. M. Henri Omont, who examined the passage in A with me, confirms Burnet's view.—The scribes who in A and O wrote ἐφοίκι for ἐφ' οὕτω cannot have been thinking about what they were doing; the mistake must have been made early by someone who read oic as ok.—δεινὸν καὶ οὐδαμῶς προσφιλέσ, "a horrible and repulsive task." As Stallb. says, Plato doubtless had in mind the tradition that Solon deliberately omitted laws against parricide from the code because he refused to contemplate the possibility of such a depth of wickedness at Athens. —Another unaccountable mistake in A and O—which O² again corrected—is προσφιλέσ.

d 1. φόνους is a very "loose" accusative; the writer either professes to assume, under cover of the break in the construction caused by the preceding words, that some word governing an acc. has gone before, or boldly uses the acc. φόνους in the sense of φόνους λέγω, as if the ellipsis of λέγω was an ordinary thing.

d 2. ἀδικοὺς πάντως means the same as the κατ' ἀδικίαν πάσαν of 869 c 6; the murders are assumed to have been altogether without provocation or excuse.—τὰ μὲν πολλά: not "plurimum" (Fic.) or "often" (Jowett), but "generally," or "mostly," and contrasted with the following ποὺ τι.

d 3. γένοιτο . . . τι: if the MS. text is sound, τι is subj. to γένοιτο, and means "something of that sort." If Ast's emendation to γένοιτο is adopted, it is of course adverbial.

d 4. λέγειν μὲν δὴ χρεῶν: the force of this μὲν δὴ is made clearer when it is resumed below in the δὴ . . . μὲν of 873 a 3; the first step is to state the religious view of the matter.

d 5. ἐμπροσθε σμικρῷ: i.e. at 870 d 5 ff.—ἀν ἀρα . . . ἀνοσώτατων, "in the hope that some may listen to us, and be the more inclined; for such reasons, to renounce of themselves the idea of the most abominable of all kinds of murder."

e 1. ἐκ denotes the ultimate source of the λόγος; cp. Phaedr. 244 d παλαιῶν ἐκ μνημώτων.

e 2. ἣ τῶν συγγενῶν αἱμάτων τιμωρῶς Δίκη ἔπισκοπος, "the watchful justice which avenge the shedding of kindred blood." The word ἔπισκοπος, whether as substantive or adjective, seems to have been confined in classical Greek to the poets and to Plato's Laws. With its use here (and for the personification of
THE LAWS OF PLATO

Δίκη) cp. 717 d 2 πᾶσι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος τοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐτάχθη Δίκης Νέμεσις ἅγγελος; there ought to be a capital initial here as well as there.

e 6. The reading κἂν εἰ, adopted by all editors—except Stallb. ed. 1860, and Herm., who read καὶν—is due to the corrector of O. It is assumed that we have here another otiose ἀν, like that in καθάπερ ἄν εἰ above at c 4. But (1) κἂν εἰ has nearly always a concessive force—except perhaps at Phaedo 72 ε; cp. Heind. on Soph. 247 ε, and E. S. Thompson on Meno 72 ε—and a concessive force does not suit this passage; and (2) even granting that it is equal to καὶ εἰ, how came it that, κἂν εἰ being very common, the MSS. had either κἂν ἥ (Δ) or κἂν ἥ (LO)? I would suggest that what Plato wrote was κἂν κτάνῃ, and that the scribe who first wrote κἂν ἥ let his eye slip to the wrong ἀν.

e 8. γενόμενον: it is a question whether this ought not, logically, to have been γενομένην.

e 9. τοῦ γὰρ κοινὸν μιανθέντος αἴματος: κοινὸν αἴματος means "the blood which these two share," not "the family" (as Jowett)—not the τὰσα ἥ συγγένεα of three lines below; the shedding of this "common" blood entailed the "pollution" of what was left of it in the survivor. The rest of the family are wrathful but not polluted.

873 a 1. τὸ μιανθέν is not "the thing polluted," but "the polluting which has been done," i.e. the pollution itself—the stain on the offender.

a 2. πρὼ ... τείσῃ ... κοιμῷ: cp. Goodwin, M. and T. § 648. L and O² have impossible futures.

a 3 ff. ταῦτα δὴ παρὰ θεῶν μὲν τίνα φοβοῦμενον τὰς τιμωρίας εἰργεσθαι χρῆ τὰς τοιαύτας, εἰ δὲ τίνας οὕτως ἀθλία συμφορὰ καταλάβοι, "and so, while a man ought to be held back by the fear of such punishments inflicted by the gods, still, to meet the case of men's possibly being overtaken by such a dire calamity (etc.)." χρῆ, I think, resumes the χρεών of d 4 above: the duty is that of the νομοθέτης. χρῆ εἰργεσθαι is in effect "we ought to try and deter him." εἰργεσθαι is passive, not, as Schneider and Wagner take it, middle (in the sense of a se prohibere); ταῦτα is not the object of φοβοῦμενον (as Schneider and Wagner), but is adverbial. Ficinus, while rightly translating the rest of the sentence (as against later translators), seems wrongly to connect ταῦτα δὴ with εἰργεσθαι; he translates "ab his ergo sceleribus. (If this ergo represents ταῦτα δή, and if ab his sceleribus is only added in explanation of εἰργεσθαι, there is nothing to be said against it, but

424
NOTES TO BOOK IX

873a

probably he meant it as a translation of ταύτα). Even supposing ταύτα could mean "in this matter," the μέν cuts it off from εἰργεσθαι; ταύτα δή, whatever it means, goes with the δὲ clause, as Prof. H. Jackson has pointed out to me in a valuable note on the passage. (Possibly the coercere in Finicus's text is a misprint for coerecerī.)

The further question arises: if "for this reason" is a correct translation of ταύτα δή, what is the "reason"? We must go back, I think, to the μὴ νομοθετεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατον of c 8 above and the statement at d 3 that parricide does sometimes occur in a well-regulated state. Prof. H. J. thinks that ταύτα δή means "for this reason," but interprets it as "in order to save men from such an awful fate (as the μυθος promises)." He also regards the duty expressed in χρὴ as one falling on the prospective criminal—"he ought to be deterred, but in case some are not etc."

a 5. We owe the ἡ μητρὸς to the corrector of O; A and O omitted it.

a 6. ψυχὴν . . . ἀποστερεῖν σῶματος: this looks like a vivid means of expressing belief in the immortality of the soul. (Zeller objects to the expression as strained and outlandish in Plato's mouth.)

b 1. τὰς περὶ τῶν νομίμων εἰργεσθαι: the τοῦ which should strictly follow περὶ is omitted for euphony's sake; Stallb. ventures, at Matthiae's suggestion, to insert it in his text.

b 2. ἐγγύας τὰς αὐτὰς: i.e. bail is to be demanded only when the accused was said to have actually committed the murder, or when he was a foreigner or a slave.—καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τοῖς ἐμπρόσθεν: not "as was said in the previous passage," but "as was laid down in the case of" (or "for") the murders above mentioned. For this use of ἐρρήθη cp. below, 879 b 4.

b 4. οἱ τῶν δικαστῶν ὑπηρέται καὶ ἀρχοντες: apparently some magistrates, as official representatives of the whole state, must take part in the execution—as afterwards in the stoning of the murderer's head—if the community is to be freed from the stain. On the latter occasion every magistrate is to bring a stone. Wagner, perhaps rightly, understands by ἀρχοντες the officials who generally presided at executions.

c 4. τήν τῆς εἰμαρμένης βία ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν, "violently barring the fulfilment of Fate's decree" (H.J.). Destiny is personified as at Phaedo 115 a ἐμὲ δὲ . . . καλεῖ . . . ἡ εἰμαρμένη ἀποστερεῖν, with only the acc. of the thing, has the sense of steal, appropriate, withhold; as at Aristoph. Nub. 1305 and Soph. O.T. 323.

425
(The usual translation of this passage is "violently depriving himself of his allotted span of life.")—μήτε πόλεως ταξιάσης δίκη, "though his country did not judicially require it of him." For δίκη the early texts substituted δίκην. Fic. apparently read δίκη, but took it with ἀναγκασθεῖς, ignoring ταξιάσης.

c 6. ἀπόρου, "desperate," as above at 698 b 8.

c 7. ἀνανδρίας is a gen. of definition, and is equivalent to an adj.; "unmanly." (Winckelmann would emend to ἀνάνδρω.)

d 1. τούτω: for the dat. cp. above, 871 d 3, 872 a 4, 873 b 2, 874 a 6, and three lines below αὐτοίων.

d 2. δν is τῶν νομίμων.

d 5. τάφως δ' εἶναι κτλ.: the mention of the δωδεκα μέρη shows that this is an injunction of the writer's own, not a quotation from the προστατέομενα.

d 7. τῶν ὀσα ἄργα: cp. above, 871 e 3. The τῶν is a partitive gen. depending on ὀρίουσι, just as τῶν τιθεμένων below at e 2 depends on ἀγώνι; τὸν cannot go with μερῶν, for none of the μέρη can have been uncultivated or un-named.—ἀνώνυμα means not included in any definitely named local division.

e 2 f. ὀσα ... δράσῃ: it is not likely that ἂν has fallen out both here and from ὀσα ... κτείνη a few lines below. Stallb. says the omission is in both cases due to the fact that the main sentence begins with ἓαν, from which ἂν "tanquam sponte intelligitur."

e 5. ὁ προσήκων is only a variety for οἱ προσήκοντες.

e 6. The change from the imperative to the (ace. c.) inf. to express a regulation is again made for variety's sake, and it occurs again six lines below.

e 7. κεραυνὸς η τι παρὰ θεοῦ τοιοῦτον: modern religious sentiment regards death by any agency other than human as "death by the visitation of God."

874 a 3. With ἐρρήθη we must supply ἑσορίζειν.

a 5. μὴ ἄμελδος: by meiosis for σπουδιαίτατα.—ἀνεύρετος: it is curious that, while ἀνευρίσκω and ἀνεύρεσις are only used in the positive sense, ἀνεύρετος should only occur in the negative.

a 7. ἐπιδικασάμενον = "after establishing his claim." The prosecutor is, of course, the next of kin.

b 4 ff. From σῶτος to καθαρὸς εἰ is an occurrence in A in a mutilated and quite unintelligible form.—This sentence and the next mark a division of subjects—the conclusion of one subject, and the introduction of another. Therefore νόμος εἰς cannot refer only (as Fic., Wagn., Schn., and Jowett take it) to the immediately preceding
law about the unknown murderer. νόμος, as Stallb. says, must here be used in the sense of "legum pars." So we might talk of the "law of murder" in the sense of "the body of enactments dealing with murder." Below at e 4 νόμον is used for "law in general."—"Let this then be the established law on the subject—i.e. that of murder"; lit. "let this be one established law, made about murder." (A and A² and O² have κυρίως for κύριος, and Schneider and Zürr. have printed it; Stallb., Herm., and Burnet retain the κύριος of L and O. Herm. rightly points out that περὶ φόνου κείμενος is in apposition to εἰς. Ast spoils the sentence by inserting (in his note, not in his text) ὅ before νόμος.—All edd. down to Ed. Bipont. omit ἡμῖν, though Fic. translates it.)

b 6 f. ὅν, like τὰ τοιαῦτα, is neut. plur.; its antecedent is the following τάδε, and it depends on καθαρός. "The murders of which the slayer will rightly be held guiltless, and the conditions on which he will be so held, are the following." (The first four edd. have ὅν, which Ast and Schneider reinstated; A has ὅν.)

b 8. ἐὰν ἐλένω κτείνηγ: the absence of a τις is due to the fact that the ὅ κτεινας of the previous sentence is supposed to be the subject of this one. The τις was supplied by L and by the corrector of O with κτείνηγ, but not with the ἀποκτείνη of c 2. The τις is, of course, in place with βιάζονται, because the subject is no longer ὅ κτεινας.

c 1. The variant ἄμυνόμενον of A² and O² must have originated in a scribe's careless mistake.

c 4. βιάγ goes with ὅβρωσθέντος, not with τεθνάτω.—τε . . . καί is "not only . . . but also."

c 5. The subject being ἀνήρ it is unnecessary to put in the equivalent of "his" with γυναικί.


c 7. βοηθῶν θάνατον: a remarkable accusative: since in the intransitive βοηθῶν there lurks the idea of repelling some danger, the conversational style of the Laws admits an acc. with it. (Ast's suggestion of an inserted ἄμυνόμενος would make a clumsy sentence; Fic.'s connexion of θάνατον with δρόντι, and still more Winckelmann's δρόν τι, are impossible.)—μηδὲν ἀνόσιον δρόντι: a distinguishing mark of all these cases is that the action avenged is totally unprovoked.

d 2–e 2. These nine lines contain (1) a classification of personal injuries into fatal and not fatal, and (2) a fanciful connexion of the two classes with previous parts of the work. (1) Injuries
which produce death are injuries to the ψυχή; injuries which are not fatal are injuries to the σῶμα. (2) The soul needs nurture and education, without which the life perishes—so there are other ways of destroying life than murder, and both ways have now been dealt with. The body too, as has been shown above, needs nurture and training in order to realize its perfection. Its imperfection is produced, not only by the lack of this training, but by physical injuries inflicted by its fellows.

This idea that the enumeration and classification of bodily injuries inflicted by one’s fellow-man (ἐν’ ἄλληλων) is a subject connected with and following naturally upon the consideration of the nurture and training needed by the body, seems to us far-fetched. It would be easy for us to believe either that the whole nine lines, or at all events the two passages περὶ τροφήν . . . τούναντίον, καὶ τὰ δὲ περὶ . . . εἴρηται were not from Plato’s hand at all. (But see below on e 4.) Ast and Stalib. leave the passage severely alone. Ritter (p. 290) exclaims that the introduction to the mention of the new subject is “ganz sonderbar und ungeschickt.”

d 5. νευνομοθετήσθω, “so much for that branch of our code.”

e 3. τὰ γε δεύτερα μετὰ: pleonastic—“next after”; the τὰ is like the article in τὸ γε εἰκός, ὡς γε τὸ δίκαιον.

e 4. καὶ ὁ φαυλότατος: when he says that this connexion between deeds of violence and murder is one which even the most inefficient of lawmakers must recognize, is there a hint that it might take a more philosophic mind to see the connexions, just maintained, between the building up of the body, and its damage by violence?—The MS. νόμον for νόμου is an ordinary mistake of assimilation. Winckelmann thinks that τάξιν may have fallen out before νόμουν. νόμον for “law in general” is certainly unusual; cp. on b 4 above.

e 6. The first six editions printed ἐκούσια for the MS. ἄκοςια.

e 7. προρρητέον: this formal word promises a προοίμιον of importance.

e 8. περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων: it is especially in connexion with deeds of violence that the restraining power of law is seen to be salutary.

e 9. νόμοις ἀνθρώπως ἀναγκαῖον τίθεσθαι, “it is a necessity for mankind to make themselves laws”—not “it is necessary to give men laws” as Fic. and Wagner.

875 a 1. ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων: in Eur. Cyc. 338 that “θηρὸς πυρόφρος” the Cyclops bids all makers of laws “be hanged,” thereby confirming the wisdom of the philosopher’s πρόφρησις.
NOTES TO BOOK IX

a 3. τὰ συμφέροντα ἄνθρωποι εἰς πολιτείαν: for a definition of a true civic community or πολιτεία cp. Arist. Pol. 1279 a 28 ὅταν μὲν ὁ εἷς ἢ ὁ ὀλίγος ἢ ὁ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἄρχωσι, ταύτας μὲν ὀρθὰς ἀναγκαίοι εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τῷ ἐνδό τὸν ὀλίγον ἢ τοῦ πλῆθους παρεκβάσεις.

a 5. πολιτικὴ καὶ ἀληθεία: hendiadys; cp. ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύθερός τε below at d 1.

a 6. τὸ κοινὸν: cp. 697 d 1 τὸ φίλον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, and the whole passage there. τὸ κοινὸν includes all that we mean by “comradeship,” “esprit de corps,” “loyalty to the constitution.” “The social cement consists of the measure of free will which each individual surrenders to society” (L. March Phillips in Land and Water July 17, 1915—a modern translation of τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνδεῖ . . . τὰς πόλεις).

a 8. Burnet first put a comma, as Ritter suggests, both after and before τῶν ἀμφοῖν.

b 1. μάλλον ἢ τὸ ἴδιον: probably this stands for μᾶλλον ἢ ἢν τὸ ἴδιον (τιθήται καλῶς), but possibly it means “in preference to” (i.e. “at the expense of”) the interest of the individual.” We may translate προρρητέαν . . . ἢ τὸ ἴδιον, “as to violence in general there is an admonition to be given, and it is this. You see it is necessary for men (either) to make laws, and to live by laws, or to be no better than the most utterly savage beasts. Why? Because there is not a man among us whose natural equipment enables him both to see what is good for men as members of a community, and, on seeing it, always to be both able and willing to act for the best. To begin with, it is hard to see that a genuine science of political society must concern itself not with the individual but with the community—for loyalty to the community’s interest binds a state together; the pursuit of the individual’s interest tears it asunder—hard to see also that the interests of both alike, that of the community and that of the individual, are better served by the community’s prosperity than by that of the individual.”

b 2. ἐν τέχνῃ λαβεῖν probably differs from the more common τέχνῃ λαβεῖν, which Winckelmann proposes to substitute for it, as our “to attain to as a matter of theoretical knowledge” differs from “to attain to by the help of theoretical knowledge.”

b 3. μετὰ here means “besides,” as above at 848 c 7 and elsewhere.


429
b 5. kai is explanatory.

c 1. ἄρμφω τούτω: i.e. the avoidance of pain and the enjoyment of pleasure.

c 2. σκότος ἀπεργαζομένη ἐν αὔτῇ: cp. St. Paul, Eph. iv. 18 διὰ τὴν πῶρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, αὐτὶν ἀπηλγηκότες ἐκατον παρέδωκαν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ εἰς ἔργοις ἀκαθαρσίας πᾶσις ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ; and, by contrast, Eph. i. 18 πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας.

c 3. ἔπει is here concessive—"of course," "I grant you"; cp. on 686 b 2, 769 b 5, 794 d 7.

c 4. φύσει ἰκανὸς θεία μοῖρα γεννηθεὶς, "providentially endowed at birth with a native capacity." ἰκανὸς is predicate to γεγονηθεὶς—"born competent," i.e. able γνώσει τὰ συμφέροντα ἄνθρωποι εἰς πολιτείαν, and not likely to be perverted, because divinely endowed.—ταύτα παραλαβεῖν, "attain to this position," i.e. the power and possession of an irresponsible autocrat (b 3 ff.). (Fic., Wagner, Jow., and A.M.A. take it to mean "apprehend the truth.")

c 6 ff. ἐπιστήμησις γὰρ ... ἀδυνατεῖ, "for no law or order can dictate to insight: the intellect must not be the subject or slave of any creature, but the ruler of all—if, that is, it is in its essence really genuine and free. But really, as it is, such capacity nowhere exists, except to a small amount. That is why we have to take the second best—law and order, which can see and look to most things, but not everything."

d 5. ταῦτα δὴ τῶνδε εἰσεικεν εἰρήται: Herm. and Burnet rightly put only a colon after these words, as they are of the nature of a transition to what follows. τῶνδε does not here refer to something to come, but to the truth just established—i.e. the need of law.

d 7. For the pleonastic ἐτέρον ἀλλον cp. 780 d 8 and 933 e 6.

e 1. Ast, Schn., Stallb., and Burnet adopt the πότε of the margin of O for the MS. πότερα; Herm. and Wagner adopt Orelli's emendation of it to πότ᾽ ἄρα.

e 3. πάντα ἦ μοὴν: it is equally impossible for the lawgiver to leave all these questions about personal injury to be decided by the courts, and to leave none. Questions of fact, for one thing, must be left to the courts; besides this they must also have large powers of assessing fines and penalties.—To Ast belongs the credit of recovering the right reading here. The MSS. have μοὴδεν δυνατον, the early edd. μοὴδεν αὐτόν. Fic. seems to have had, or divined, the right reading, for he translates: "Haec autem iudicio cuncta vel nihil horum committere impossibile est."
NOTES TO BOOK IX

875 e

e 4. κατὰ πάντων, "in all cases."

876 a 2. αὐτῶν here, like the αὐτῷ in 1 5 and the αὐτόν in c 2, is the lawgiver, who was the implied subject of ἐπιτρέπειν.

a 4–8. A note in the margin of O tells us that a corrector of the Πατριαρχὸς βιβλίων gives the whole of this passage to the Ath., (1) making τίς ὅν ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον λόγος; a rhetorical question of the Ath.'s answered by himself, and (2) joining ποία δὴ νομοθετήτευν to the previous νομοθετήτευν as a dependent question. The question at a 4 does sound rather more natural as a rhetorical question than as put by Cleinias; but the extremely awkward repetition of the word νομοθετήτευν forbids us to make ποία δὴ... τοῖς δικαστηρίοις; anything but an independent question, probably put by Cleinias. It looks as if the above-named corrector of π (the codex Patriarchae) had been offended by the fact that τάδε δὴ... ἂν εἰπεῖν εἶη is not an answer to Cleinias's question. To remove this stumbling-block he not only rearranged the passage as far as the speakers went, but also changed τάδε into τὸ δὲ (as O tells us he did), so as to better use a fresh beginning. Fic. gives only the first question to Cleinias; with him the second is no question: he translates "ceterum ut intelligatur quae... relinquenda sunt (sic), etc." This gives a more satisfactory connexion of ideas, but there is nothing in any MS. we know which corresponds to his "ceterum ut intelligatur."

a 9. τάδε δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρθῶσατ' ἂν εἰπεῖν εἴη, "properly, the next thing to do is (not to answer that question, but to state some preliminary qualifications which must be possessed by any law court which can be suffered to settle such questions at all)."

b 1. ἐν τῇ δικαστηρίᾳ φαίλα καὶ ἀφώνα, κλέπτοντα τὰς αὐτῶν δόξας, κρύβον τὰς κρίσεις διαδικάζει, "where the courts are mean-spirited and inarticulate, where the judges never tell each other what they think, and never tell the public what their verdicts are." Fic. is doubtless right in taking αὐτῶν to be equivalent to ἀλλήλων—"opiniones iudicum invicem occultae manent."

b 2. καὶ is "or."—"Cf. acerrimam reprehensionem qua procul dubio turbulentam Atticorum iudiciorum licentiam persequitur ix. p. 876 b" (Herm. Vest. p. 44 note).

b 3. μὴδὲ συγώντα ἀλλὰ θερίζου μεστά: this clearly means "not merely not silent, but full of noise." This is like the Latin non modo (followed by ne... quidem or sed vix) which stands for non modo non. The same idiom occurs below at 891 d 2 μηδὲ εὕ...
THE LAWS OF PLATO

αλλ' ἡμαρτημένως; but no translator that I know of has ventured so to translate it here.—καθάπερ θεάτρα, “just like audiences at a theatre.”

b 5. κρίνη is here used absolutely, and corresponds to the κρίσεις διαδικάξις in the former description.—O²'s τό for τότε is a plausible correction, but τότε better suits the immediately preceding ὅταν: “τότε... ὅτε [or ὅταν] is a collocation frequently used in the Laws” (Hackforth, Plat. Epist. p. 184).

b 7. ληφθέντα, like its variant εἰλημμένον in the next line, agrees with an implied τῶν νομοθετην.—οὐκ εὕτυχες μὲν, “is a piteous task”; cp. 803 b 5.

c 1. ὅτι περὶ σμικρότατα, “(only) for the most insignificant of offences.”

c 2. τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα, “plurima vero et maxima quaeque” (Fic.).

c 3. ἀφα, as often, corresponds to a modern oath or other expletive: “if a man, for his sins, ever has to legislate for such a community,” or “for such a god-forsaken community.”

c 6. ὀρθῶν καὶ ἔχων ἐδ καὶ καλῶς: very pleonastic.—O²'s τά for τό is a very attractive correction: τὰ πολλὰ ἐπιτρέπειν κρίνειν would form an admirable antithesis to τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτῶν νομοθετείν above at c 2; but it is not necessary, and the τό best suits the preceding neut. adj. and participle.

c 8f. ἤμιν δὴ τὰ νῦν ἀνεμέσητον τὸ μή, “in the present case it will be forgiven us if we do not.”

d 3f. τοῦ πάθους τε καὶ πράξεως, “of what is at once injury and guilt”; i.e. the judge must look at the question from both points of view.

d 4. ἐπειδὴ δὲ: the δὲ—“on the contrary”—goes back to ἀνεμέσητον (ἐστὶ).

d 5. οὐχ ἕκκωτα ἐμελείς, “particularly capable.”

d 7. πολλὰκις ἐμπροσθεν: e.g. 718 b 7 ff., and 800 b 6, where such παραδελγματα were called ἐκμαγεία.

e 1. For περιγραφῆ cp. above, 768 c 5.

e 3. The τε which A, O, and L omitted after τότε was restored by the corrector of O.

e 4. ἐπανελθόντα ἦδη πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους, “and that will bring me back to framing laws again.” It is possible that the early editions were right in reading ἐπανελθόντας, so as to fall into line with εἰπώντας at e 2; but αἰδούμενον, σεβόμενον, and διδόντα below are singular.

e 6. φίλιον: i.e. “a fellow-countryman,” as at 865 a 5.

e 7. πλῆν δὲ τὸ νόμος ἑφίσσιν: δὲν, as Ast says, is masc.—i.e.
unless he is a criminal condemned to death, or such as those mentioned at 874 b 6 ff.

877 a 1. οὐδὲ αἰδοῦμενον . . . ἀναγκάζειν, “but you must make him stand his trial for murder without any more compunction than if he had killed him.”—Ast cps. Lys. Adv. Simon. 159, where we see that this was Attic law.

a 3. τὸν δαίμονα comes as near as possible to our personified Fortune, worshipped in Greece under the names Τῦχη, Αὔσματια, and Καιρός.

a 5. τῆς πόλεως καὶ συμφοράν: hendiadys. We have the same μείωσις of using the word συμφορά to denote a crime at 854 d 2, 873 a 5, 877 c 8, 878 b 3, and 934 b 3.

a 6. μὴ ἐναντιούμενον stands almost, by a sort of μείωσις, for συμμαχοῦντα.

b 1. τὴν γείτονα is equivalent to τὴν ἐγγυτάτην. (H. Richards would, plausibly, read τινα for την.)—Herm. (Vest. p. 38) cps. Lys. Adv. Ανδοκ. § 15 ἀν μὲν τις ἀνδρὸς σῶμα τρώσῃ . . . αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ εὖ Ἀρείου πάγου φεύξεται τὴν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος πόλιν.—καρποῦμενον presupposes a μεθύστασθαί.

b 2. ἄπασαν: i.e. without any reduction by way of provision for his family. This privilege is to be denied to one who has wounded a wife or husband.—καταβλάπτειν appears to be used in the sense of “inflict permanent injury on.”

b 4. The second ἄν, which is necessary to the sense, was omitted in all MSS., and first added by Ald.

b 3. τὴν δὲ κτήσιν κτλ.: Ritter (p. 290) assumes that Plato meant this regulation to apply only to the case of a criminal who was the male head of a family. It would doubtless, as he says, be hard on a husband whose wife had tried to kill him, if guardians were to be appointed over his property. But why may we not suppose that the wife may have property of her own? If she had, it would be dealt with as the law directs.

b 5. ἐπιτροπεύειν: this implies taking the κτήσις into their hands during the children’s minority; the criminal was to have none of it.—The ὄς of the MSS., which the first five edd. omitted, seems to have been omitted in Ficinus’s MS.; he translates “qui eos orbos tutentur.”

b 6. Victor Jernstedt (as noted in Berl. Phil. Woch., 1908, No. 37) admirably conjectured ἡδή, for μὴ (with the comma after it, instead of before); this involves a weighty alteration in the law, but a not unlikely one. The following words would well accord with such an alteration.
c7. The corrector of O proposed to insert ἐὰν after οὐσίαν; probably a guess made on the same grounds as his insertion of τε after τότε above at 876 e 3, but it is clearly a mistake here; the ἐὰν was inserted in all edd. down to Ast, and was translated by Ficinus.

d3. τῇ πόλει: the filling of the vacant place was primarily a duty owed to the state, on the principle explained below, and above at 740 a 3 ff.

d4. Ast pointed out the faulty punctuation of all previous editions, which placed a comma after βουλευομένους, as if καταστήσατε depended on it; καταστήσατε βουλευομένους is “they are to appoint in consultation” (with the νομοφύλακες and priests).

d5. ἵερεων: the priests were probably needed for the religious part of the ceremony—the καθήρασθαι καὶ ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι of e 8. At all events their presence is not again mentioned at 878 a 2, when the religious ceremony is supposed to be over; there it is only ἀμα νομοφύλαξεν.—τρόπῳ καὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε: the καὶ is explanatory—“in the following way, that is to say, on the following principle.”

d6. οἶκος, as here used in the legal sense, is even more general than κλήρος; according to the definition given by Xen. Θεc. i. 5, it includes πάντα ὤσα τις κέκτηται.

d7. οὕτως ὡς τῆς πόλεως δημόσιος καὶ ἔδωκα, “to the same extent as it belongs, by every right of property, to the state.” δημόσιος καὶ ἔδωκα is a general and comprehensive term including all kinds of property rights; it is as if he had said “it is the state’s very own.”

e2. διωστυχηθῆ = an English “is unfortunated”; to make a passive out of the entirely intransitive διωστυχεῖω is a bold distortion; the parallel ἀσεβηθῆ helps it out. The speaker wants to express forcibly that the οἶκος itself is a passive recipient of the misfortune and the impiety. It is a question, however, whether we ought not, with H. Richards, to read διωστυχήσῃ.

e3. ὡστε, “to such an extent that”; the absence of offspring comes under the head of διωστυχηθῆ, the incurring the death or perpetual exile penalty under that of ἀσεβηθῆ.

e4. γεγαμηκότα and ἀπαίδα go closely together; “married without having children.”

e5. ἄλλον: again we owe the true reading to the corrector of O; A and O have ἄλλα’ οὐ.

e7. By a curious attraction to the construction of the previous subordinate ὅν ἄν ... ἡ κειμένη the form of sentence is changed
from ὡστε c. infinit. to (ἐὰν) φεύγῃ.—We owe the retention ὅ γεμεν ᾧ καὶ ἐν to the corrector of O; the other scribes went on after the wrong final ν.—τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπαίς is a variant for ἀπαίς ἀρρένων παιδών as Stallb. says. (Schneid., Wagn., and Jowett make τῶν ἀνδρῶν depend on τίς; Fic. omits it.)

878 a 3. καὶ ἅμα εὕτυχές, “provided that there is no ill-fortune attaching to it.” (Wagner connects it closely with the following words: “so fortunate as to have many sons.”)

a. 5. φήμης ἑνεκα ἐπνομάζοντας: i.e. “naming him after one of them” (not after the absconding criminal) “for the sake of the omen.”

a. 6. γεννήτορά τε αὐτοῖς... γίγνεσθαι depends on the following ἐπευξαμένους. This passage has been spoiled in all editions by the comma placed in them after τοῦ πατρός. Schneider even rejects the necessary comma after ἐπνομάζοντας, and makes γίγνεσθαι depend upon it: τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ he translates by “haec.” Stallb., though taking γίγνεσθαι with ἐπευξαμένους, is led by the intruding comma to take τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ as Schneider does (“praying to this effect”). τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ surely goes, as Ast says, with γίγνεσθαι, and means in effect “by adopting him”—“praying that in this way he may be to them a propagator of their stock, etc.” (Fic. eludes the difficulty by altogether ignoring in his translation both φήμης ἑνεκα ἐπνομάζοντας and τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, but he gets the rest of the words right—“deum precati hunc... prolis propagatorem, successorem domus sacrornmque et reliquorum omnium cultumore fore.”)

a. 7. With ἀμείνουι τύχαις τοῦ πατρός cp. 856 e 2 κληρονόμον εἰς τὸν οἴκον καταστήσαι τὸν τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τὺχῃ ἀμείνου, and below, 924 a 2.

a. 8. The emphatic αὐτῶν serves to point the contrast between the position of the newly constituted burgher and τῶν ἐξαμαρτότα.α.

b. 3. For this use of συμφοραί cp. above on 877 a 5.—Herm. (Comparatio, pp. 24 f.) states that this method of appointment of an heir by the family was regular at Athens in all cases of a derelict inheritance, and not only in such cases as we have here and at 856 d.

b. 6. πρότερον ἐκατέρῳ προσβάλλον, “touching each of the two regions in advance”; πρότερον means “in advance of,” or “in front of,” the two frontiers. We may translate (ἀλλὰ οἷς... μεταξὺ) “but where there is a border-land, that space, advancing up against either of the two districts [and between the frontiers] will lie between the two.” I have bracketed the words
They look suspiciously like a commentator's gloss on μεθόριον and are awkwardly pleonastic.

b 8. ἔφαμεν: i.e. at 867 b 1 χαλεπῶν διορίζειν κτλ.—The corrector of O here led Fic. and all printed texts (before Burnet's) into reading ἐνεστῶτων for the ἔστω τῶν of A and O. Steph. mentioned the MS. reading favourably, but Burnet is the first to print it. Fic. and the rest place no stop at γενομένων, and either ignore ἐνεστῶτων, or take it to mean "lying before us (to be dealt with)," or "which are now in question." Stallb. expressed doubts about the vulgate reading: Herm. (pref. to vol. vi.) proposed to add ἦ πηρόσεων to τραυμάτων, comparing 874 e 3. The MS. text is certainly preferable to O's correction, though it puts rather a strain on ἔστω—making it stand in the sense of δο νόμος ἔστω, "let the law be." The following asyndeton, which is common in legal phraseology, helps to suggest that a νόμος is in question. A very similar phrase is the ὅδε οὖν ἔστω at 879 c 5, where Fic. has sanciamus for ἔστω, and that too is followed by the words ὄν νόμος.

c 1. τρώτων μέν: this "firstly" extends to ἐκτίνειν in c 5; the second part of the enactment begins at ὅσα δὲ τις.

c 2. ἄν, left out in the MSS. by haplography, was restored by the corrector of A.

c 4. Hermann rightly adopts Orelli's τριπλασίαν for τετραπλασίαν here: his comment is "ex coniect. Orellii, qui aliquid inter ἱάσμα et ἀνίατα medium requiri intellexit, praeertim quum ipse Plato mox τριπλῆν inter διπλῆν et τετραπλασίαν βλάβην enumeret." Instances of the three classes would be (1) a cut which healed without leaving disfigurement; (2) the loss of an eye or a limb; (3) a cut which healed leaving a disfiguring scar on the face.

c 5. ὅσα . . . βλάπτῃ: even apart from the omission of ἄν the construction is somewhat strained, but the sense is unmistakable. (L reads βλάπτει; cp. 932 e 1.)—A makes two curious slips, here and at d 7, reading τρώας for τρώγας, and τοντωμη for τοιντρ πρῶγη; the errors were corrected by A 2.

c 7. τοῦτον δὲ: the "resuming" δὲ in αποδοσι.—μετά here is "besides"; cp. above, 875 b 3 where it has that meaning when governing an acc.

c 8. A and O have a variant βλάβη for the πόλει of L and O 2; probably due to a scribe's inadvertence.

d 2. καὶ is explanatory; it is as if he had said "by taking his place in the ranks."
NOTES TO BOOK IX

878 d

d 6. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τούτῳ: these words are meant to cover all the sorts of wounding above distinguished, so that they are equivalent to "in any of these ways." Fic. "similiter."

d 7. For the MS. γεννητας ("contribules" Fic.), Stallb. after Herm. (Comp. p. 26 n.) reads γεννητὰς "parents"; Herm. in his text (1852) reads γεννητας; Steph., while printing γεννητας, would translate "pareantes." Ast also mentions the variant. Certainly it seems as if only the family (or families) of the two kinsmen were concerned. If they were not brothers, γεννηται, and γεννήσασαι at e 2, would include the parents of both.

e 2. κατὰ φύσιν is added to show that the children in question must not be adopted ones; cp. below, e 7.

e 3. εἰναι τιμώντας κυρίους, "are to have full powers to assess the penalty."

e 4. αὐτοῖ: we should have expected οὗτοι here; if αὐτοί is correct, it must mean "by themselves."

e 7. μη ποιητοί, ἀληθεῦοι δὲ: presumably because a man who had never been really a father, could not properly feel the heinousness of the offence. The following stipulation is also made in the injured father's interest.

879 a 5. ἐξιάσθω: cp. Gorg. 447 b 1 ἐγὼ γὰρ καί ἱάσομαι. Probably the injury would be "made good" by the payment of twice the money value placed on the injury, as in the case mentioned at 878 c 2.

a 6. The τοῖς calls attention to the fact that the subject of αἰτιᾶται is not the same as that of the verb in the preceding sentence. (Ast wanted to change it to τινα.)

a 7. ἀμφοτερωσάτω, "he must maintain the charge (in a court of law)."—With this whole law we should compare the similar case of injury done by a slave to a slave, discussed below at 936 c 8 ff.

a 8. ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ὑπόδικον ἐχέτω: like the Latin reus, ὑπόδικος can be used with the genitive (1) of the charge preferred, or (2) of the guilt, or penalty, admitted. There is a serious difference of opinion as to the meaning of ἀνδραποδισμοῦ: Fic. and Jowett (ed. 2) take it to mean sentence of slavery; Herm. (Vest. p. 58), Schneider, and Wagn. rightly, I think, translate it by plagium — the crime of kidnapping. The analogy of the case described at 936 c suggests that the penalty for kidnapping would be twice the value of the slave.

b 1. For ἄλλος ἄλλου cp. below, 932 e 1. (Ast afterwards regretted having adopted Steph.'s ἄλλως for ἄλλος.)

437
b2. τύχης γὰρ νομοθέτης οὔδεὶς ικανὸς ἄρχειν: i.e. chance lies outside the lawmaker’s sphere. L and Stob. have preserved the right reading as against the ικανὸς of A and O.

b4. ἔφρηθησαν, “were prescribed,” as at 873 b 2.

b6. βίας: the scribes of A and O by haplography left out the second ια; the corrector of A obscured the original reading still further by writing βία; Fic. apparently, like all printed editions, read βίας.

b7. αἰκία is a mixture of personal injury and personal insult, in which the latter is the more important element.

c1. ἐν, the Lat. ar uid, denotes the court which judges, as at 631 b 4.—τοῖς μέλλουσι συζήσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν, “if they hope to live long and happily”; cp. Rep. 427 d τὸν μέλλοντα εὐδαιμόνα εἶναι, and 543 a τῇ μελλοντῇ ἄκρως οἰκεῖν πόλει.

c2. ἐν πόλει, “in public.”

c3. οὐκεῖν is used in the sense of πρέπει, a rare use, as L. & S. says, in Attic Greek. (Stallb. cites Xen. Anab. vi. 5. 17 τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων οὖν εἰς καλὸν οὐκεῖ, but possibly καλῷ there is neuter.)

c5. αὐτῷ τιθεμένῳ τιμῇς ταὐτήν εἰς γῆρας, “thereby laying up for his own old age a store of that honour”; i.e. the honour in which he has held the old man who beat him.—δὲ ὁ ἄγνωστος, “sic itaque sanciamus” Fic. This ordinance, though in the form of a νόμος, is only an admonition of the προσώπου.

c7. Eusebius, in quoting this passage, weakens the effect by substituting λόγῳ for ἔτει.

c8. διευθεῖσθω: Ficinus translates this by reveretur, and so L. & S. and Jowett. On the other hand Schneider has metvitio for it, while Wagner translates “zurückhaltend behandeln.” The previous αἰδεῖσθω clause is a positive injunction to show respect to age in general; the three following sentences, in which the verbs are διευθεῖσθω, ἀπέχοιτο, and ἀπέλργοιτο, are commands to abstain from some kind of wrongdoing, to special classes of people. Schneider and Wagner therefore are to be followed here. All three verbs are various ways of expressing “keep your hands off.”

d1. ἀπέχοιτο, and ἀπέλργοιτο (in d 3), show the same substitution of the opt. for the imperative which was noticed at 871 b 4.

d2. For θεοὶ γενέθλιοι in the sense of gods presiding over procreation cp. 729 c 7.

d4. μῆτε ὑπάρχων μῆτε ἀμνόμενον: cp. 869 d 1, 880 a 4, 935 c 3.—τὸ παράπταν strengthens the previous negative, as πάννα often does; at 935 b 5 we have the reverse order in τὸ παράπταν μηδείς.
NOTES TO BOOK IX

\[\text{879d}\]

d 5. \(\text{ἐσελγαίνοντα καὶ θραυσνόμενον}\): these participles are subordinate to \(\text{τύπτοντα}\), and are equivalent to adverbs: "who strikes him wantonly and audaciously." (The corrector of A thought, an explanatory \(\text{καί}\) was needed before \(\text{εαυτόν},\) and put it in.)

d 8. Wagner is the only interpreter who takes the sensible view that the \(\text{ζένος}\) is the subject of \(\text{γίνεται},\) \(\text{τὸν τύπτειν} \delta ᵗ \text{εἰργέσσω}\) being more or less parenthetical. The foreigner is to be carried before the \(\text{ἀστυνόμοι}\) that he may learn not to strike a citizen. (Cp. e 4 \(\text{τὴς θραυσίζενίας πανόντων,}\)) All other interpreters understand \(\text{ίνα πόρρω γίνεται κτλ.}\) to give a reason for the citizen's forbearing to strike the \(\text{ζένος}\)—i.e. that he may be made even less inclined than before to think of striking a citizen. But (1) it is not clear that if he held his hand in the one case he would be the more likely to do so in the other, and (2) this interpretation implies that it is a worse thing to strike an \(\text{ἐπιχώριος}\) than to strike a \(\text{ζένος},\) whereas we are distinctly told in the previous passage that the \(\text{ζένος}\) is under the same kind of special protection as the \(\text{γέρων}:\) to strike him therefore would be a specially impious action.

e 2. \(\text{τὸν ξενικὸν αὖ θεὸν εὐλαβούμενοι}\): i.e. they must be careful to see that the \(\text{ξένος}\) has every justice done him; e.g. if guilty he must only receive just as much as he gave in the way of stripes.

e 4. \(\text{θραυσίζενία}\) is a strange compound; in this connexion it implies that \(\text{θραυσύνης}\) in a \(\text{ξένος}\) is particularly out of place, and must therefore be Knocked out of him—"give the saucy outlander a lesson."

e 5. \(\text{ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἄδικη}\): i.e. if it turns out either he never struck the citizen, or had enough provocation to justify the blow.

e 6. \(\text{ἡλιξ} \delta ᵗ \text{ἡλικὰ κτλ.}\): the two combatants are to be left to fight it out "with nature's weapons" (1) when (whether old or young) they are of the same sort of age, and (2) when the person attacked, though belonging to an older generation, is not yet the father of a family. A comparison of 721 d 4 and 774 b 5 suggests, as Ritter says, that Plato is thinking here mainly of men who have remained bachelors.—We must give a liberal interpretation to \(\text{ἡλιξ}\), even though we do not insist that \(\text{προέχοντα ἡλικία} \) means the same as \(\text{προέχοντα εἴκοσιν} (\text{ἡλικία})\) \(\text{ἔτεσιν}\) of 879 c 7 and 880 b 1.

880 a 3. \(\text{ὁ δὲ ὅπερ τετταράκοντα κτλ.}\): this comes as a sort of side comment—"of course it is disgraceful for any man over forty to be so fighting, and he must expect to be thought a boor if he

439
THE LAWS OF PLATO

does." "A man of that age," Plato would say, "would better consult his dignity by not returning the blow." This is not, as Ritter thinks, a contradiction of what has just gone before.

a 6. τοιούτοις παραμυθίαις: cp. παραμυθία at 720 a 1, and Burnet on Phaedo 70 b 2. The "admonitions" in question are not the immediately preceding comment, but the whole προοίμιον—as he calls it two lines below—beginning at 879 b 7.

a 7. εἴηνιος ἄν εἶη, "we shall have no trouble with him."

a 8. δέχοντ' ἄν τὸν τοιόνδε ἐτοίμως νόμον, "shall have the law ready for him" (as follows) (Jowett). For ἐτοίμως where we should have expected ἐτοίμον cp. 754 c 2 ὑπάρχειν ἐτοίμως γεγονότα.

b 2. ἐὰν μὴ ἡλίξ μηδὲ νεώτερος ὑ τῶν μαχομένων: I think we are bound to take these words literally, and to take τῶν μαχομένων with both ἡλίξ and νεώτερος. If the bystander is older than the senior of the two combatants, he cannot be expected to intervene as a combatant himself; on the other hand if he is younger than the youngest, he cannot expect to have any weight as a verbal mediator, and, besides that, it will be his duty, as explained in the following words, to intervene as a combatant on the senior man's side. (The scribe or corrector of O mentions a would-be correction of the first μὴ into μέν. Ritter (p. 291) thinks that τῶν μαχομένων here, and τοῦ πληγέντος in b 4, have changed places by a mistake; we gain nothing by this transposition, and lose the suggestion that a younger man than the aggressor would have no weight as a verbal dissuader.)

b 3. διεργέτω: the contrasted ἄμυνέτω in b 5 shows that this means "let him do his best to part them (by adjuration and persuasion)."

b 6. δίκην ὑπεχέτω: cp. 872 c 5; "he must be put on his trial." Below at c 6 the δίκη seems to be spoken of as the act of the bystander—so apparently it was the bystander's duty to prosecute.

c 7. σύνοικος is evidently here used as another word for μέτοικος.—ταύτην αὐτήν τὴν δίκην MSS.: I think we ought to read ἄδ for αὐτήν—"this sentence he must work out by going to prison for two years."

d 6. After ταξιαρχοὶ Α and O have καί, as Bast, Stallb., and Fels inform us; I have seen the καί in Α myself. Burnet omits it.

d 8. ὃς ἔσκειν is put in here, as above at 878 b 4, at the beginning of a philosophic generalization. Laws, he says, fall into two classes: (1) those that serve to bind together in society men of
good will, and (2) those that are made to repress intractable and obstinate wrongdoers.—The \( \varphi i l o f o r \varrho o s \) recalls the \( \varepsilon a u t \varphi \varphi \varphi \varphi \) of 693 b 4.

**e 2.** Cp. 853 d 2 ὃς ἀτεράμων εἰς τοσοῦτον φύσει γίγνοιτ' ἀν ὡστε μὴ τήκεσθαι.

**e 3.** For the \( \mu \eta \) of the MSS, all texts but Burnet’s have adopted the \( \mu \eta \) οὐκ of the corrector of O. For the absence of οὐκ in similar sentences cp. Tim. 20 c οὔτε ἔστιν οὐδεμία πρόφασις ἡμῖν τοῦ μὴ δρᾶν ταῦτα, Thuc. iii. 39. 3 οὔτε ἡ παροῦσα εἰδαμονία παρέσχειν ὁκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινά, and Soph. O.T. 1387. Kühner-Gerth ii. 2 (p. 216) calls ὡστε μὴ οὐ a rare construction, though he quotes five passages, besides this one, in which it occurs. I cannot see what difference the ὡστε makes to the decision between \( \mu \eta \) οὐ and \( \mu \eta \). The MS. reading is supported here by one MS. of Stobaeus.

**e 4.** 

**e 5.** Εἰς ἀνάγκης: cp. above, 872 c 8 μὴ νομοθετεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατον. The “compulsion” is in both cases the same. The fear of the vengeance of Heaven or of the retribution promised after death is not enough to keep men from crime, and therefore the human legislator is bound to be ready with a penalty.—βουλόμενος here is almost “while hoping all the time.”

**e 7.** ἐτι is just our “before them.”

**880 a 1.** Both Winckelmann and Ritter would prefer to read \( \tau i m o r 6 \), so as to form a better counterpart to \( \theta 6 \omega \nu \); \( \tau i m o r 6 \), however, suits λεγομένων better.—ὁς εἰδὼς ἢ μηδαμώς οἶδεν: so at 701 a 6 it is the σοφίας δόξα which leads to \( \pi a r a n o mία \); there we are told that the transgressors against musical taste ἀφοβου ἐγίγνοντο ὃς εἰδότες.

**a 2.** τῶν παλαίων καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων εἰρημένων: cp. 872 e 1 ἐκ παλαίων ἵερών εἰρηταί.

**a 5 ff.** ἐτι τε . . . εἰσι . . . καὶ . . . οὐδέν ἀνύτουσιν: an extraordinary adversative use of \( \tau e \) and \( κα \). Cp. 885 b 1.—τούτων seems to stand here for τῶν ἐνθάδε πόνων—the troubles and pains of this life, of which death is generally supposed to be the worst. (Ast put a full stop after πόνοι; he thought that the subject to εἰσι was the criminals—who were said to be “wickeder than Hell” —“so excessively bad that no penalties could deter them.” This interpretation involves a change of subject when we come to ἀνύτουσιν, besides straining the meaning of μᾶλλον ἐν ἐσχάτως.—Stallb. says τούτων means “death’s pains.”)—The λέγοντες in a 6 suddenly and boldly transforms the λεγόμενοι πόνοι into threaten-
ing personalities (cp. above 859 a 5). We may translate: "although the troubles which are said to be reserved for these men in Hades are yet more excessive than those of this life, their most veracious promises have no deterrent effect on souls such as these."

8 a. πληγών τόλμαι counts as a sort of compound noun, meaning "flagrant assaults." — ἐνθάδε, as often in Plato, means "on earth." — cp. Gorg. 525 b καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν "Αἵδου, Rep. 496 e τῶν ἐνθάδε βίων; this is further indicated by the following τὰς ἐν τῷ ἔδρα.

1. τοῦτοι bears the same relation to the noun κολάσεις that the τοῦτωι in a 4 does to τόνοι; they are both genitival datives, while περί c. acc. stands for an objective genitive.

2. κατὰ δύναμιν is equivalent to "if we can."

3. καθάπερ ἐν τοῖσ ἐμπροσθεν refers to the directions given at 880 b as to the methods of interference which various ages were to adopt.

4. I think the ἦ is certainly the mistaken addition of a scribe, and I understand Schneider to hold this view, as he brackets the vel in his translation. Wagner bracketed ἦ ἔνθα, but the slighter alteration gives an even better sense; with ὁ μέτοικος ἔνθα is contrasted at c 1 ὁ μὴ μέτοικος — ἔνθα being supplied from the former expression. There would be not much point in condemning a non-resident alien to perpetual exile; nor would the addition of "blame" make much difference to him, if so condemned.

5. τῶν ἐπιδημοῦντα: this phrase — "the ἀστυνόμος in residence" — implies that a single official of the kind was, for judicial purposes, enough, at a time, either for the whole city, or for a district.

6. τῶν ἀνόσιων: as in τὴν γεῖτονα πόλιν at 877 b 1, the article gives the adjective almost the force of a superlative. Its use is common with terms of disapprobation; Stallb. cps. Eur. Heracl. 978 πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν θρασείαν . . . λέξει. Cp. also 870 a 4 and 6, and 882 a 2.

7. Δῶς ὀμογνίον καὶ πατρίφοι: i.e. the God who watches over the sanctities of family relationships. Ruhnken, Tim. s.v. ὀμογνίος quotes as follows from Musonius Rufus (in Stobaeus): ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ περὶ ἔνθα ἄδικος εἰς τῶν ἔνθα ἀμαρτάνει Δία, καὶ ὁ περὶ φίλους εἰς τῶν φίλων, οὕτως ὡστις εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ γένος ἄδικος εἰς τοὺς πατρίφοις ἀμαρτάνει θεοὺς καὶ εἰς τῶν ὀμογνίον Δία τῶν ἐπόπτην τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τῶν περὶ τὰ γένη. So πατρίφοι is not the patron of the race, as at Euthyd. 302 b 5 ff., though, as Porson says in his note on Eur. Med. 1314, Socrates's
NOTES TO BOOK X

881 d

d 7. κατελθών: i.e. from the country into the αστυ. Like πάνυ, ὅλως can intensify a preceding negative; cp. Ep. vii. 347 e πρὸς ἐμὲ δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐφθαγέγετο περὶ αὐτῶν, Aristotle, Cat. 13 b 18 οὕτε γὰρ τὸ νοσεῖν Ὑσκράτην οὕτε τὸ ὑμιαίνειν ἐστὶν ἀληθεὺς αὐτοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὅλως τοῦ Ὑσκράτους, St. Math. v. 34 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὄμοσαι ὅλως.—πρώτερον ἡ καθήρτηται: for this rare construction cf. Goodwin, M. and T. § 653, who from Attic Greek cites only Thuc. vii. 63 and Antiphon, Tettr. i. 1. 2.

e 4. νομιζὼν κεκοιμωνηκέναι ἀλητηριώδος τύχης, “for he must be conscious of an accursed contagion with crime.” τύχη is, like συμφορά at 854 d 2 and elsewhere, used by μείωσις for crime.

e 6. In the case of a judicial magistrate ἔταγεν δίκην τινι seems to mean “to summon a man to appear before him.”

882 a 1. All editors since Bekker have adopted his beautiful emendation of the MS. ἐν τούτῳ to ἐν τοῦτο; it brings a dark place at once into a brilliant light: the ἐν gives additional emphasis to the superlative, and τοῦτο furnishes a subject to ἔστω. Fic. passes over the words. Ast translates ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῷ, “hanc ipsam ob causam.”—τὸν ἔλεύθερον: the same emphasizing article as at 881 d 1 and 877 b 1; cp. also 870 a 4 and 6 τῆς ἀπλήστουν and τὴν κακὴν.

a 3. τὴν εἰρημένην, “the prescribed”; cp. 880 d.

a 4. συνυόσαντες . . . μετὰ τοῦ πληγεύντος, “shall help the beaten man to bind (the aggressor).” (Jowett ed. 2 takes μετὰ τ. πλ. with οἱ προστυγχάνοντες, “the companions of the wounded man.”)

b 2. μηδὲν βλάπτων τὸν δεσπότην, “so far as respect for his owner’s interests will allow”; i.e. he must not so injure the slave as to make him useless.—ἐκεῖνῳ is of course the slave’s master.

BOOK X

884 a 1. περὶ παντὸς ἐν, “quite universal”; i.e. of universal application. ἐν strengthens the περὶ παντὸς just as εἰς does a superlative. The three words are almost equivalent to συλληβδόν. —τοίοντε τι νόμιμον βιαίον πέρι, “the following established
principle in respect of violence.” This general law about theft is in effect a proclamation of the sanctity of other people’s property, rights, and beliefs. It follows the laws on αἰκία, and deals, like them, with acts of violence, but the νόμμον here proclaimed is not, as Jowett and others suppose, “a single law which sums up all acts of violence.” We are told below that disregard for a neighbour’s rights of property leads to and involves all other kinds of violence, but the sanctity of a neighbour’s property and rights is not the leading principle of laws against violence.

a 4. ἐκ γὰρ ὅτι τοῦ τοιούτου: i.e. from the contempt of one’s neighbour’s rights.

a 5. τὰ τέ εἰρημένα: some early scribe rejected this τέ, and he is followed by Zürr. and Herm. Ficinus and the earliest editions put a comma after ἡρτημένα, making τέ connect ἡρτημένα (ἐστὶ) with τὰ εἰρημένα κακὰ γέγονε. Heindorf (on Crat. 406 ε) changed the full stop after ἐσται to a comma, and claimed this passage as a case of δέ standing for τέ (cp. Soph. Phil. 1312). Ast substituted a quite meaningless γε for the τέ. The text is probably sound, only the τέ has been used out of its proper place; it belongs after γέγονε.

a 6. αἱ τῶν νέων ἀκολασίαι τέ καὶ ὑβρεῖς: it is the respect for something outside oneself to which the law against theft and all other violations of personal and civic rights appeals. It is the absence of this respect, especially common in unbridled and overbearing youth, which is the greatest danger.

a 7. εἰς μέγιστα δέ, ὅταν εἰς ιερὰ γέγονται: i.e. that danger attacks the most vital part of the body politic when religion is attacked, and sacred places and sacred things are outraged. εἰς is the usual preposition for against with ὑβρίζειν. (Ast takes εἰς μέγιστα to be an adverbial phrase meaning “in the highest degree.” Matthiae thought εἰς was an error, due to the repetition of the preceding syllable.)

a 8 f. κατὰ μέρη κοινὰ φυλετῶν . . . κεκοιμωνηκότων, “ἄγια which are separately venerated by members of a φυλή who share them”; the δημοσία καὶ ἄγια being venerated by all citizens alike.

885 a 2. χωρίς τῶν ἐπιπροσθέν εἰρημένων, “in other ways than those specified in the last book”; these words go closely with ὑβρίζειν, and it is best to remove the comma before ὅταν.

a 5. τὸ πολιτικόν . . . ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρισθέν: the previous reference in ἄγια ἦ φέρη ἦ χρήται to the property of magistrates indicates that the “civic right of individual citizens” here referred to is their right to private property.
NOTES TO BOOK X

885 a

6. δίκην ἐπικαλοῦμενον, "which calls for legal vindication" (not "retaliation" as Jowett). These five grades of offences depend for their heinousness on the dignity of the owners whose rights have been outraged.

7. εἰς κοινὸν: an adverbial phrase meaning, "so as to be applicable to them all." (Stalib. proposes to reject εἰς.)—εἴρηται συλληβδόν: a general statement has been made in the previous book of the penalties awaiting all kinds of sacrilege, but a special "prelude" is needed, we are told, which will impress upon men the importance of the spirit which would restrain them from any act of impiety.

b 1. τε καί, "whether . . . or"; cp. 881 a 5.

b 3. τὸ παραμύθιον ὑποθεμένῳ κτλ.: the participle is, as often, the most significant word in the sentence; "and, before the law-giver ordains penalties, he must introduce our usual admonition." At 880 a 7 παραμύθιον was used as a descriptive synonym for προοίμιον, and at 923 c 2 both words are applied to the same thing.

b 4. ἔστω δὴ τόδε, "huiusmodi vero prohoemium sit." Fic.—θεοῦς εἶναι κατὰ νόμονς: the mere belief in the existence of gods is not enough; it must be held, we are told in 887 b 7, ὃς θεοί τι εἰσὶν καὶ ἀγαθοὶ, δίκην τιμῶντες διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπων, and this is what is meant here by the addition κατὰ νόμονς. This idea is further emphasized by the almost synonymous use in the immediate context of the words ἀνομοῦν and ἄσεβης. We should have expected ἀνομοῦν to be applied to ἔργον and ἄσεβη to λόγον; their reverse uses helps us to realize their interchangeability—"such as laws declare them to be." Cp. below 890 a 6 and b 7, and Rep. 365 e 2.

b 6. ἀλλὰ is equivalent to "if he does, it is because . . ." The order is οὐ(δεῖς) θεοὺς ἡγούμενος ἔργον ἄσεβες ἀργάσατο, ἀλλὰ ἐν δὴ τι προν τριῶν πᾶσιν.—This threefold attitude of mind among the ἄσεβεσ is described again at 888 c, and often elsewhere in this book; also at 948 c.


c 2. ἐπακούσωμεν κτλ.: i.e. "let us first get to hear how, as I imagine, our scornful opponents state their case."

c 3. H. Richards would read λέξειν for λέγειν.

c 5. L and O² and A³ preserve the correct εἴποιεν as against the εἴπομεν of A and O.—ἐρεσχηλοῦντες: the sceptics are satirical;
their demand for proof is ironical—merely their way of saying "you can't prove: you only rely on authority."

\[c\ 7,\ 8.\] Fic. adopted the alternative νομίζοντων of the corrector of O and A for the νομίζομεν of AO.—In the following line Fic., in translating οἱ δὲ οίον ὑμεῖς λέγετε which stands in the MSS., and in the first four editions, expands it into "alii nihil nostri curare, alii numeribus facile placari existiment." He thought, probably, that these two classes of ἀσεβεῖς were not specified enough by οⅰον ὑμεῖς λέγετε. Cornarius professed to have found in a MS. the Greek of these words in the form οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ἡμῶν φροντίζειν, οἱ δὲ εὐχαίς παράγεονθαι, and these words were introduced into Steph.'s and some subsequent texts; these texts however still preserve the οἵον ὑμεῖς λέγετε, of which they are a manifest expansion. No known MS. has Cornarius's addition.—καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ἡξίωκατε: i.e. above at 719 e 9 ff. and 885 c 4 ff.

\[d\ 3.\] λέγοντες: nom. κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον; cp. below, 908 a 4 and Heindorf and Stallb. on Phaedr. 241 d. Zürr., Herm., and Schneider put the comma after ὑμᾶς instead of before it. Steph. and Ast alter it to ἡμᾶς.

\[e\ 1.\] ἔξακειόθαι: sc. τὴν βλάβην or τὸ ἀδίκημα; cp. the use of ἔξιάσθαι with βλάβην at 879 a 5. Steph. says ἔξιάσθαι is a var. lect. here. Cρ. the scholiast's ἔξακειόθαι : ἔξιάσθαι, θεραπεῖν.

\[e\ 2.\] μὴ ἀγρίων ἀλλὰ ἡμέρων: a further reference to the two kinds of physicians of 719 e ff.

\[e\ 4.\] ἀλλ' οὖν βελτίων πρὸς ἀληθείαν: i.e. "we do not ask you to excel the poets and orators in magnificence of language, only to convince us of the truth of what you say." Fic. translates "ita doceatis ut etiam si non multo sublimiora quam alii, tamen veriora loquamini."

\[e\ 7.\] ἀληθεύοντας; Cleinias catches at the πρὸς ἀληθείαν; his ἀληθεύοντας is the most significant word in the sentence: "is it not the easiest thing in the world to speak the truth when you are saying that gods exist?" in other worlds "what truer thing could possibly be said?"

886 a 1. πώς; "how (would you say so)?"

\[a\ 2.\] The καὶ before τὰ σύμπαντα, which the earlier texts reject, has the authority of Fic. and all the MSS. τὰ σύμπαντα here corresponds to the πάσης τῆς περιφορᾶς in the similar passage at Phil. 28 e 4.—Cleinias’s argument is: “there are all these marvellous and perfect celestial arrangements; they are not men's work. Besides, there is the fact that all the world believes in gods.”—γὰρ καλ. are exclamatory nominatives.
a 7. άιδοῦμαι: he will not use this word, as it would imply respect for the evil-doers.

a 9. Cornarius's emendation διαφθοράς for διαφοράς gives a possible sense—"the cause of their downfall." The MS. reading is equivalent to "the ground of their objection (to our belief)."—

b 3. τὸ δὲ τί: the τὸ δὲ must be taken adverbially, as an alternative for ἀλλὰ. Cp. on 630 d 8. (Apelt, Progr. 1901, would read τί δ' ἔτι).

b 4. παντάπασιν probably qualifies οὖκ, and not ἐξω (as Schn. and Wagn.).

b 7. ἀμαθία . . . φρονησις, "a very dangerous kind of folly which is counted the highest kind of wisdom."

b 10 f. οἱ παρ' ūμιν οὖκ εἰσὶν δὲ ἄρετὴν πολιτείας, ὡς ἐγὼ μανθάνω, "which are not, I am told, to be found among you, thanks to the excellence of your civic life."

c 2. οἱ μὲν παλαιότατοι: the two chief hindrances to a true theology are (1) the old mythology, and (2) the new philosophy.—

b 8. ἐγὼ γέγονεν ἡ πρώτη φύσις, "how the first substance (of heaven and all else) came into being."

c 4. γενόμενοι τε ὅς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμήλησαν: the subject is a θεός which is supplied in thought from θεογονίαν.

c 4 ff. ἀ τοῖς ἀκοιόουσιν . . . παλαιός οὖσιν: many commentators have followed Heindorf in comparing this passage with the curiously similar passage at Soph. 243 a (where Plato is talking of what Aristotle, Met. 1000 a 18 calls τὰ μνθικὸς σοφιζόμενα—

the fanciful descriptions of ἡ πρώτη φύσις and its method of working): ταύτα δὲ πάντα εἰ μὲν ἀληθῶς τις ἢ μὴ τούτων εἴρηκε, χαλεπῶν καὶ πλημμελῶν οὖτω μεγάλα κλεινοῖς καὶ παλαιοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν (where Heindorf must be right in taking μεγάλα to be an adverbial qualification of κλεινοῖς). We may translate our present passage: "as to whether these descriptions do any other sort of good or harm to their hearers, it is not easy to pass judgement, in the case of men of such antiquity." παλαιοῖς probably belongs to the mythologizers, not to their hearers.


c 8. οὕτε ὡς τὸ παράπαν ὄντος εἴρηται: it is difficult to decide whether τὸ παράπαν qualifies οὐ̓(τε) or ὄντως, i.e. whether he means to say distinctly that the descriptions are not in any respect
true (entirely untrue), or to say that they are not entirely true. The former suits the passage better; the nearest English to it in that case would be "nor that they are at all true."

**d. 2.** τὰ δὲ τῶν νέων ἡμῖν καὶ σοφῶν αἰτιαθήτω  ὀτη γακῶν αἰτία, "but our men of modern times and their philosophers must be brought to book for the mischief they do." Schneider alone among translators rightly takes ὀτη to be the dependent interrogative.

**d. 4.** ἐμοὶ γὰρ καὶ σοῦ, ὅταν ... λέγωμεν: a bold-faced anacoluthon for ἐμοὶ κ. σ. λεγόντων.

**d. 6.** ἡμῖν τε ... καὶ γῆν ὡς θεῶς καὶ θεῶν ὀντα: Stallb. is wrong in putting a comma after γῆν; the construction is the same as that at d 8 and 643 d 8; the one side say that the sun, etc., are ὅψιν, the other that they are earth and stones.

**d. 7.** The subject of λέγομεν is οἳ νέοι (from τῶν νέων at d 2).

**e. 2.** περιπετευμένα: see Starkie's note on Ar. Vesp. 668, where he cps. Hamlet's "with devotion's visage And pious action we do sugar o'er The devil himself."

**e. 4 f.** νῦν δὲ ὄντες πάμπολλοι τυγχάνονσιν ἐτι χαλεπώτερον ἀν ἐν ἐπὶ: this is the reading of A and O, and of the corrector of L. All texts but Schneider's adopt L's ὄτε for ὄντες—probably rightly. The account given of ὄντες is that some scribe thought that τυγχάνονσιν demanded ὄντες, and put it in; that subsequently it ousted ὄτε. Cleinias's πάμπολλοι instead of a simple πολλοί seems to be a little bit of pettish exaggeration. He has only just learnt the existence of such λόγοι, and nothing in the Athenian's words has hinted that they are very numerous. (Fic. translates by plures)—ἐτι χαλεπώτερον ἀν ἐν ἐπὶ, "it will be a more troublesome business still." (Ritter, keeping ὄντες, would read ὀτὲ ἐτι χαλ. ἀν ἐπὶ.)

**e. 7.** Ast rightly takes ἐν to be the usual ἐν (apud) of the court which judges. Stallb. apparently thinks τινος ἐν ἀσ. ἀνθ. means "one of the impious ones."

**e. 8.** φεύγονσι περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας λέγονσιν: the text is doubtless sound (as against Winckelmann's φέγονσι or Orelli's περιττάσ), but is not to be defended either in Ast's way (who translates φεύγονσι by "qui nos aversantur") or Stallb.'s (who translates "qui effugere student"). Schneider was the first to see that φεύγονσι does not agree with ὀνεβέσιν, but is dat. after λέγονσιν—"men who tell those who are on their defence against the Law that we have no right to lay it down that gods exist."

**887 a. 1.** ὡς ὄντων θεῶν: doubts have arisen about this con-
struption. Ast takes it as we must undoubtedly take λέγεις ὡς ... φοιτῶντας at 624 a 7, i.e. as = θεοῦς εἶναι. Schneider translates: "quod ita leges feramus quasi dii sint" (and so Stallb.). Here I think Ast right.

a 4. ἐκταθεῖς: Stallb. says this is equivalent to εἰ ἐκταθεῖῃ; in that case the following εἰ clause is an (informal) expansion or explanation of ἐκταθεῖς. Schneider more correctly treats ἐκταθεῖς γίγνοτο as equivalent to ἐκταθεῖῃ.

a 4-8. εἰ τῶιν . . . νομοθετοῖμεν, "if we were, to begin with (τὰ μὲν), duly to expound in argument to the would-be impious the points on which they said we ought to speak—and were (so) to put the fear of God into my accuser—and then only after making the accuser shrink (from impiety) were to start making the necessary enactments" (reading τὸν δὲ in a 6). Ast, Bekker, Schneider, Zürr., Wagn., and Stallb. retain Steph.'s τὰ δὲ for the MS. τὸν δὲ which Burnet alone, of editors since Steph., preserves. If the MSS. are right, we must suppose that τὸν δὲ refers to the κατηγορήσαντος τίνος of e 7 above; but Winckelmann's τὸν δὲ (i.e. τῶν νόμων), while it comes much nearer the MSS. than Steph.'s τὰ δὲ, is otherwise attractive; for it gets rid of the necessity for distinguishing between the accuser and τῶιν ἐπιθυμούον ἀπεβείν. We should then translate: "and converted them to the fear of the laws, and only after making them shrink from what they had wanted to do, etc." I would certainly accept τὸν, as Herm. has done.

a 7. Fic., Corn., Steph., Ast, Stallb., and Burnet are doubtless right in taking ὧσα πρέπει with νομοθετοῖμεν; the earliest texts, and Schneider and Wagner take it with δυναχραίνειν; Herm. leaves the comma out altogether.

b 3. τὸ λεγόμενον: we may conjecture that οὐδὲις σὲ ἐπείγων διόκει was a proverbial saying in the general sense of "there's no hurry."

b 5. διαφέρει δ' οὖ σμικρόν, "it is of great importance."

b 8. ὑέρ, "for," "in the interest of." To put it another way: "Not only are the gods κατὰ νόμον, but the laws are κατὰ τοὺς θεοῦς."

2. μηδὲν δυναχράναιντες μηδὲ ἐπειλθέντες: two things they must avoid—repugnance to work, and impatience.

c 3. μηδὲν ἀποθέμενον, "unreservedly" (Jowett); i.e. devoting our whole energies to the task.

c 5 ff. εὐχήν μοι . . . λέγειν, "as you are so enthusiastic about it, we had better ask a blessing and fall to without delay." Stallb.
cites Phil. 61 b 11 and Tim. 27 c as instances of the practice of invoking divine aid at the beginning of any undertaking. Cp. also 893 b 1 ff.

**c 7.** 

The reference is to the \( \pi \rho \theta \gamma \mu \omega \) in the preceding sentence, though the speaker knowingly uses the expression with a change of meaning.—From here on to 888 a 2 he is saying: "how can we speak politely to those who contemptuously (and irrationally) reject the heartily cherished beliefs of all the world around them, of which beliefs they are perfectly conscious?"

**d 2.** 

\( \nu \nu \nu \sigma \nu \) is the reading of all extant MSS., and of the first printed editions. Steph. says he found somewhere (probably in Cornarius) the reading \( \nu \nu \nu \sigma \nu \sigma \nu \). This opened his eyes to the fact that \( \nu \nu \nu \) belongs to \( \gamma \iota \gamma \nu \nu \tau \tau \alpha \iota \), and that \( \sigma \nu \nu \) is a mistake for \( \sigma \nu \). Fic. and others, who began the fresh sentence with \( \nu \nu \nu \sigma \nu \), had of course to put in "at vero" before their translation of \( \tau \sigma \tau \tau \omega \nu \delta \eta \ldots \) καταφρονήσαντες κτλ. at c 7, and translate \( \pi \varepsilon \theta \omicron \varphi \omicron \varepsilon \nu \omicron \nu \) by "induce animum potuerunt." (Stallb. puts a colon instead of a comma after \( \nu \nu \nu \), holding that \( \sigma \nu \pi \varepsilon \theta \omicron \varphi \omicron \varepsilon \nu \omicron \nu \) does not furnish a qualification of the action described in the words \( \alpha \gamma \tau \iota \omega \gamma \varepsilon \gamma \varepsilon \nu \gamma \nu \tau \tau \alpha \iota \), but puts a fresh point. This, however, does not fit in well with the resumption of the main sentence at \( \tau \sigma \tau \tau \omega \nu \delta \eta \) (c 7)."

**d 4.** 

\( \sigma \nu \nu \nu \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \delta \alpha \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \varepsilon \tau \alpha \varepsilon \omega \varsigma \) καὶ \( \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \sigma \pi \omicron \nu \delta \gamma \varsigma \) \( \lambda \varepsilon \gamma \omicron \mu \varepsilon \nu \omega \nu \), "when they were as good as chanted over them, sometimes in sportive, sometimes in serious mood." Apparently for variety's sake, the speaker abandons the grammatical construction, and instead of the regular \( \omega \sigma \varsigma \nu \kappa \omicron \omega \nu \nu \lambda \varepsilon \gamma \omicron \mu \varepsilon \nu \omega \nu \varsigma \) substitutes a one-sided gen. abs., like the \( \theta \nu \nu \tau \omega \nu \) ("when sacrifice is being offered") in d 7. (Steph. alters it into the more regular \( \lambda \varepsilon \gamma \omicron \mu \varepsilon \nu \omega \nu \varsigma \)."

**d 6 f.** 

\( \delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \varsigma \ldots \varepsilon \omicron \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varsigma \alpha \iota \tau \iota \iota \varsigma \): as Stallb. says, these words describe the scenic or mystic representations often accompanying sacrifices. He refers to the ceremonial eating of honey and a fig at the festival of Hermes, described by Plut. De Is. et Os. ch. 68 (p. 378 b), where he talks of the \( \delta \rho \omicron \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \nu \alpha \) as well as of the \( \lambda \varepsilon \omicron \mu \varepsilon \nu \omega \nu \) accompanying sacrifices, and the mystic sacrifice of the pig described at Rep. 378 a.—\( \pi \varepsilon \rho \rho \tau \rho \omicron \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \nu \alpha \tau \omega \nu \), "acted during the sacrifice." (Stallb., Schneider, and Wagner take \( \theta \nu \nu \tau \omega \nu \) to be a possessive genitive depending on \( \sigma \pi \omicron \nu \delta \gamma \varsigma \)."

**d 7 f.** 

W. R. Paton conjectures, with great probability, that \( \tau \varepsilon \) has been lost before \( \tau \delta \), and Ast would insert \( \kappa \alpha \iota \) before \( \omega \varsigma \). Both omissions are palaeographically explicable, and the conjunctions—especially the \( \tau \varepsilon \)—would make it easier for us to feel that the
accusatives γονέας, ἐσπονδακότας and προσδιαλεγομένων are
governed by the previous ἀκούοντες and ὀρώντες. Correcting
hands in L and O changed these accusatives into genitives (and so
Steph. and Bekker). The scholiast’s note directs us to suppose
these accusatives to be governed by the repeated ἀκούοντες τε
καὶ ὀρώντες at ε 3. (Herm. brackets ἐσπονδακότας, invoking the
analogy of the spurious ὅρας at 900 a 5. Schneider brackets
ἀκούοντες τε καὶ ὀρώντες at ε 3.)—ἐν σπουδῇ <τῇ> τῇ μεγίστῃ
. . . ἐσπονδακότας is an intensification of the μετὰ σπουδῆς of
d 4—“in a mood of entire seriousness.”

e 2. ἀνατέλλοντος τε ἡλίου: Stallb., besides comparing Hes.
O. et D. 339, reminds us how Socrates, on emerging from his twenty-
four hours’ meditation at Potidæa, said his prayers to the rising
sun.

e 9. Cobet would read νοῦν for νοῦ.

888 a 3. τοὺς μέν: i.e. the οἱ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀσεβείν of 887 a 4.
It was mainly, though not solely, the ἀκρατεῖα ἡδονῶν τε καὶ
ἐπιθυμῶν (886 a 9) which drove them to impiety.

a 4. There is nothing wrong about ἡμῶν, to which Corn., Steph.,
Ast, and Winckelmann object. It pleases the Ath. to represent his
hostile audience, and his partizans, as forming one body, actuated by
two kinds of infatuation. Wagner cp. the similar ἡμῶν of 917 b 5
and 959 a 7 and b 1. (Jowett translates ἡμῶν by “mankind”; Ast
changes it to ἡμᾶς, omitting the following τοὺς; Winckelmann
changes ἡμῶν to ἡττωμένων.)

a 5. πρόρρησις: like παραμύθιον at 885 b 3, a variant for
προφύμιον.

b 1. μεταβαλόντα τίθεσθαι is more expressive than a simple
μεταβαλεῖν, or μετατίθεσθαι.

b 2. εἰς τότε: i.e. “till you are a good deal older.” This mean-
ing of εἰς τότε is derived from the words ὁ προϊόν χρόνος; ep.
830 b 2.

b 4. The ἡ μή, which Fic. and Jowett omit in translation, we
may suppose to have been spoken after a slight pause, and in an
ominous tone. It is short for “or, if your mind is not right on
the subject, ill.”

b 6. πρῶτου καὶ πρῶτον: a pleonasm like the ὑπερηφα
and ὑστέραν of 889 c 7, and the common τάυτῃ καὶ κατὰ τὰυτα of
889 c 2.

b 7. ταύτῃν δόξαν . . . ἐσχετε: Cod. Ric. and Ast would read
ταύτῃ τήν 8. as at e 2 below; Stallb. rightly protests. The
omission of the article makes δόξαν predicative: “to come to this
as your opinion"; cp. Rep. 338 e ἰθεμέναι δὲ ἀπέφημαν τοῦτο δίκαιον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις εἶναι, τὸ σφύσι ἔγιμφέρων.

b 9. An early mistake of παραγεγονός for παραγεγονοῦς caused confusion here. The early editions—as late as Ast—altered τὸ δὲ to τὸ δὲ. According to the margin of O some MSS. wrote παραγεγονός, leaving αὐτῶν πολλοὺς to take care of itself. Fic., and other early interpreters, translate "quod vero plurimis illorum contigit tibi narrabo." Bekker first restored the MS. παραγεγονός. Even Stallb., in his early edd., preserves παραγεγονός.

c 1. Burnet prints πολλοῖς. Bekker says he found the final i in A, but it is not there; the last letter of the word is written σ.

c 4. τὰ δόμο . . . πάθη, "those two other states of mind"; τά is strongly demonstrative. Fic. translates πάθη by morbi.

c 6. τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο: μετά is next to, or besides, and the whole phrase is equivalent to "thirdly."

c 8 f. κατὰ δύναμιν goes closely with σαφές. The δύναμιν is going to become "as clear as possible" to him.

c 9. Burnet's comma between περιμενεῖς and ἀνασκοπῶν would be better away. The time of waiting for enlightenment (during which no impiety can be committed) is to be spent in investigation.

d 1. πυνθανόμενος is subordinate to ἀνασκοπῶν, and explains the process in detail.—The mention of the legislator in d 2 and 3 regularizes the position now to be assumed by the Ath. of a lecturer on the philosophy of religion.

d 8. λειθαρμεν δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν: the first person is "rhetorically" used. The Ath. had not really forgotten the following infidel argument. A less polite controversialist would have said "you don't see, etc."—eiς θαυμαστὸν λόγον ἐμπεπτωκότες: ἐμ-πίπτειν εἰς is much like the familiar modern English "to be up against," i.e. "to find ourselves confronted by."

e 4 ff. γεγονόμενα and γεγομένα and γεγενσόμενα are not merely (as Jowett) adjectival qualifications of πάντα ("past, present, and future"). ἐστὶ γεγονόμενα stands for γίγνεται, and so with the other participles.—At the similar passage above at 709 b 7 ff. θεός takes the place occupied by φύσις here, and more than that; for τύχη and καὶρός on the one hand, and τέχνη on the other, are there declared to be auxiliary subordinates of the divine power.—τέχνη is design, and we may represent the main subject of the following disquisition to be "is design in the universe confined to man?" If so, all products of τέχνη, including law and religion, take a very low position in the universe. Cp. Sophistes 265 e.

e 6. Eusebius and O² have τύχη where the MSS. have τέχνη.
and τέχνην where they have τόχην. This squares better with the following arrangement, but it is probably a scribe’s correction.

889 a 1. τοὺς ἐκείθεν: Stallb. cps. τῶν ἐκείθεν at Crat. 403 d 8, but perhaps there is more than a mere “on that side” in ἐκείθεν. Wagner translates “jene die von dieser Ansicht ausgehen.”

a 6. παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσαν: Anaxagoras’s Νοῦς has no place in the philosophical system here combatted. Φύσις is as ἀψυχός—as blind in its working—as τόχην.

a 8. Eusebius’s σμικρότατα (for the MS. σμικρότερα) makes the statement too strong. (Fic. “minora omnia.”)

b 3. τὰ μετὰ ταύτα σώματα are the composite bodies made out of the original physical elements—still by the same blind soulless agencies.—πέρι with γῆς κτλ. is only a variety for the simple genitive. Stallb. cps. Tlnm. 35 b 4 τῆς τε ταύτου φύσεως αὖ πέρι, where Archer-Hind and Burnet reject αὖ πέρι. In both passages the simple genitive would be a quite possible reading, but the two πέρι’s support each other.

b 4. Probably διὰ τούτων stands for διὰ φύσεως καὶ τόχης, though Stallb, like all other interpreters apparently, says διὰ τούτων refers to the primary elements—fire, water, earth, and air. Fic. even translates by “ex istics.”—The mention of the four elements suggests that it was not the Atomistic system, of either Leucippus or Democritus, against which the Ath’s arguments are specially directed. It is against any system which denies ψυχή or νοῦς to have had any share in creation that he is fighting, and though the arguments put into the mouths of his opponents remind us now of one school, now of another, he probably had no particular school in mind.

b 5 ff. τῷ χεὶ... τῇ τῆς δυνάμεως: these words include all the chance circumstances under which the natural vigour or impulse of the separate elements—or secondary bodies—might act or react on each other. The state of motion (φέρομενα) is assumed. It is also assumed, in the οἰκείως ὑσ, that each individual is looking for and needing its opposite. Cp. Hippocrates, De flatibus 1 (iv. 92) ἐνὶ δὲ συντόμῳ λόγῳ τὰ ἑναντία τῶν ἑναντίων ἐστὶν ἵματα. The juxtaposition of ἐκαστα and ἐκαστῶν suggests the interplay of forces and affinities. A further assumption is made, perhaps unconsciously, in the εξ ἀνάγκης of c 1.—γῆ is as, and its antecedent is ταύτη in c 2. (Wagner makes τῷ χεὶ its antecedent.)

c 2. Schneider and Burnet alone print οὐτως—the reading of AL and Eus. All other texts give οὐτο—presumably the reading of O.
THE LAWS OF PLATO

3. oūρανόν, "universe."—τὸν οὐρανόν κτλ. "resumes" the ἐκαστα of b 5.

5. οὐ διὰ νοῦν, "no thanks to mind." διὰ c. acc. here comes very near in meaning to διὰ c. gen.—Eusebius's simple οὐ seems far more in place than the MS. οὐδε, and is even preferable to the οὐ δὲ printed by Stallb. and Burnet. Fic. "non per intellectum."


1. The adverbial οὐστερα does not seem to occur elsewhere in Plato, and is rare elsewhere (Od. π 319). It seems to be used here so as to avoid the repetition of the οὐστερον of the preceding line.—Eusebius avoided the common mistake of transcribers of writing—as did the MSS. here—παιδείας for παιδιάς.—οὐ σφόδρα: Fic. translates "non penitus," Schneider "non admodum?"; Wagner sees that this is not strong enough, and renders by "gar nicht sehr." If Wagner had left out the "sehr," he would, I think, have been quite right. As at Phaedo 100 a 9, οὐ σφόδρα means "very much not," "not at all." There is absolutely no reality about these productions of art, if considered as the things they represent; there is no φῶς in them.

2. συγγενή ἐνυτῶν: Schneider and Jowett take ἐνυτῶν to be equivalent to ἀλληλῶν—"having an affinity to one another"—but clearly ἐνυτῶν refers to τεχνῶν. The Ath. forgets that he has only spoken of "Art," in the singular, and has in his mind the separate "arts," which he is just going to mention. The productions of Art are akin to the arts which produce them, in being θνητὰ ἐκ θνητῶν, and not φύσει. It is not relevant to the present argument to say that the productions of the different arts are "akin to each other."

4 f. συνεργοι: the other arts, such as the dramatic, and the descriptive, are "fellow-labourers" with painting and music, inasmuch as, like them, they aim at representing, or imitating something in a sportive humour—to amuse, that is, either the artist or his public. The artist is not making anything, he is only copying. This notion is further emphasized here by the contrasted σπουδαῖον, which denotes a real, serious, business-like something done.—αἱ δὲ . . . γυμναστικῆ: Ast was the first to see that we ought to read αἱ and not αἶ. "But it is only those arts which
help Nature with their power—such as the arts of medicine, agriculture, and gymnastic—which do (ἀριμ) produce some real result." a' τι κ. σ. γ. τ. τ. is predicate, = συνδαίμονας, and ταύτας (as Kitter says) is subject; the comma after τεχνίν should be removed.—ἀριμ is equivalent to "as they certainly do."—

êkoivosan is a gnomic aorist. The same three arts are classified together at Symp. 186 e 4.—Probably the εὶ (before τι) of O² and Eus. was inserted by a scribe who did not see that a' was a relative.

d 7. Nobody but H. Richards has challenged the impossible τὴν πολιτικὴν. He would read τῆς πολιτικῆς. This provides a perfectly natural construction for both συμικρόν τι μέρος, and τὸ πολυ.—συμικρόν τι μέρος: men's bodies and minds are φύσει, and statecraft concerns itself with these, but the school whose arguments the Ath. is here giving represent most of the statesman's system as a mere ποικιλμα of human life. Cp. Eur. Cycl. 338 οἱ δὲ τῶν νόμων ἢθεντο ποικίλλοντες ἀνθρώπων βιόν | κλαίειν ἄνωγνα.

e 1. πᾶσαν is not "in the main" (as Wagner), but "altogether." Whatever branch of πολιτική had a "natural" foundation—on that point cp. above, 690 b 8, where the rule of the stronger is emphatically pronounced to be κατὰ φύσιν—νομοθεσία, the statement that certain things are right and certain things wrong, has none at all.—θέως is probably not used in its legal sense of enactment, but (as at Rep. 335 a 2) in the philosophical sense of affirmation, definition, assumption.

e 3. πρῶτον φασίν, "begin by asserting." It is just this νομοθεσία which, the Ath. feels, needs the divine sanction (cp. 885 b 4 ff.), and the first step taken by the opponents of law is the removal of the belief in the divine.

e 4. ἀλλή: Fic. and all texts, except those of Schneider, Herm., Wagn., Zürr., and Burnet, have adopted the reading of the first hand of L, which is ἀλλως, whereas ἀλλή is supported by the authority of AO, Eus. and the second hand of L. Cod. Ric. has ἀλλως.—καὶ τοῦτος ἄλλως ἄλλῃ, "and that these gods are different in different places." (Jowett makes τοῦτος refer to νόμων, so turning the statement into an empty truism.)

e 5. Another ill-attested variant is the εἰκάστοις of the margin of L and O, for εἰκαστόι. The Zürr. editors actually print this. As Herm. says, there is no question of an agreement between the various states, but only of one between the lawgivers of each single state; εἰκαστόι is equivalent to ἀλλήλοις.—The man-made
Justice, the sceptics said, was provided with an equally man-made Divine Protector.

**e 6.** φύσει μὲν ἀλλὰ εἶναι: physical beauty is assumed to be φύσει, but when καλὸς is used in a moral sense, it is a matter of θέσις.

**e 7.** The δῆ, which all texts print except those of Schneider and Herm., has the support of Eus. and the second hand of O. It is significant, as calling special attention to the sceptics’ claim that δικαιοσύνη is θέσις, not φύσει, and is more likely to have been omitted by mistake than inserted.—οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν seems to be a strengthened form of οὐ τὸ παράπαν. Cp. οὔποτε and οὐδέποτε.

—ἀμφισβητοῦντα supposes the previous construction to have been τοὺς νομοθετομένους φαύλ θεωθαί, “are disputing together and changing their opinions all the time.”

**890 a 1.** τότε κύρια εἶναι: i.e. the laws of morality have no authority whatever until such time as they happen to be decided upon by this quarrelsome and vacillating crew of legislators. (Cp. Theaet. 172 b 5.)

**a 2 f.** νόμοις ἄλλ' οὐ δὴ τινι φύσει: Diogenes Laertius ii. 16 tells us that Archelaus ἔλεγε . . . τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει ἄλλα νόμῳ. While accepting many of the doctrines of his master Anaxagoras, Archelaus made νοὸς not an external power but an energy inherent in nature. (Ritter and Preller, §§ 169-171, Gomperz, Griech. Denker, vol. i. ed. 1, p. 304.)—ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, . . . ἀπαντά ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν παρὰ νέοις ἀνθρώποις: if this reading is sound (and I believe it is), we ought to take σοφῶν closely with παρὰ νέοις ἀνθ. ; “all these pronouncements come from men whom the young think and call wise.” For this use of παρὰ (“in the judgement of”) cp. Prot. 337 b 5 εὐδοκιμεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν παρὰ ταῖς φυσικῖς τῶν ἀκούοντων ἄνευ ἀπάτης, Aristoph. Lys. 10 ὅτι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἀνδρᾶσιν νεομισμέθα εἶναι πανούργως, and Isocr. Enag. § 74 παρ' οἷς κρείττον ἐστὶν ἥ παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπαιτών εὐδοκιμεῖν. Wagner, however, and Stallb. and Ritter much prefer Schneider's emendation ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, . . . ἀ ἀπαντᾷ, ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν παρὰ (so Schneid. and Stallb.), νέοις ἀνθρώποις. (The anastrophe is doubtful; Ritter reads παρὰ.)

**a 4.** ἰδιωτῶν: as at Phaedr. 258 d and Symp. 178 b, ἰδιώτης means a prose-writer.

**a 5.** ὅτι τις άν: J. Wackernagel (Über einige antike Anredéformen, reviewed Berl. Ph. W., 6 Sept. 1913, p. 1140) establishes it that the order of the words εἰ τις άν, ὅν τις άν, ὅτι τις άν,
for ἐὰν τις, ὅν ἂν τις or ὅτι ἂν τις is a Dorism (αἵ τις καὶ), to be found however in late Greek—e.g. Plut. Tib. Gracch. 15 εἴ τις ἂν ἀμάρτη αὐτῶν, ζῶον κατορύσσεται. It occurs at Arist. Rheit. 1358 a 23 ὅσο τις ἂν βέλτιον ἐκλέγηται; cp. above, 862 d 1, below, 920 d 1, and 933 e 6. Possibly Plato owes this temporary lapse to his residence in Syracuse.—ὅτι τις ἂν νικᾷ βιαζόμενος: ὅτι is very general; “any claim that violence can enforce.” It may be a possession won (though Fic. is wrong to take that to be the definite meaning of the words) or it may be a position of command over others, or an arbitrary demand of any kind. It is, in other words, the τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον of Rep. 338 c ff. The Ath. evidently has in mind the Pindaric passage already twice referred to by him—690 b, and 715 a—where he tells that Pindar legalized club-law, and declared it to be κατὰ φύσιν.—ὁδείον, as Stallb. says, is “as the result of this teaching.”

a 6. ἐμπίπτειν is the regular word for the incidence of a disease.—οἴνοις ... δεῖν, and οἴνοις φησιν ὁ νόμος at b 7 are expansions of the κατὰ νόμον of 885 b 4.

a 7. στάσεις τε διὰ τοῦτα ἐλκόντων: all texts but Burnet’s put a comma before ἐλκόντων (Winck. would put it before διὰ); i.e. they treat ἐλκόντων as a gen. abs. with which τοῦτον (i.e. τῶν σοφῶν) has to be supplied. It is simpler, with B., to regard it as depending on στάσεις—“factious oppositions (to the laws) of men who on this ground tempt (the young) etc.”—The δὲ (for τε) in L and O was probably due to the following syllable.

a 8. ὃς ἔστιν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, “qua re vera ... sit” (Schneider); the subj. elegantly replaces quotation marks.

b 2. δημοσίᾳ πόλεσιν, “to cities as communities,” δημοσίᾳ and ὀίνοις are parallel in idea, but not in grammatical construction.—τε has been attracted out of its natural position by the καὶ.

b 4. πάλαι: the fact that this condition was already of long standing made it the more dangerous to neglect.

b 5. L’s πάντα for στάντα is a curious mistake; if it was written intentionally, why did not the writer reject the ὃς in the next line?

b 6. διανοηθούνται δεξάγοντες is a notable pleonasm.

b 7. τοιοῦτοις οἴνοις φησιν ὁ νόμος: cp. 885 b 4 and 890 a 6.

b 8. ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος: for variety’s sake he says in a parenthesis (from καὶ περὶ to γράφων, as Burnet makes it) that “the case is the same” with the great questions of aesthetics, philosophy, and conduct. This arrangement, however, seems to necessitate agreement with Steph. that Plato wrote ὅσα τι, and not, as all the
THE LAWS OF PLATO

MSS. have it, ὅσα δὲ. This last reading seems to have sprung from the idea that the great philosophical questions, which were spoken of in b 6 f. as questions of διάνοια or δόξα, are put into a different class from questions of right and wrong, which are questions of conduct (πράττειν c 2). Conformably to this idea Schneider (the only editor besides Burnet who has failed to adopt Steph.'s emendation of δὲ to τε) puts only a comma after νόμος, and a colon after λόγος. With Burnet’s arrangement the δὲ is inconsistent. (F.H.D. prefers γε.)

1. ὅσα τε stands for καὶ περὶ πάντων ὅσα.—οὕτω, the antecedent to ὁστίπτερ, qualifies διανοούμενος, not πράττειν (ταῦτα); men are to act from a conception which accords with that of the lawgiver.

3. ὅσ δὲ ἄν . . . δεῖν resumes, in an irregular form, the sentence begun at b 6.

7. ἐξεῖν προσάπτοντα: a periphrasis for προσάπτειν (? reject ἐξεῖν).

8. ήμεροῦν stands for ὅστε ήμεροῦν; cp. 756 c 3 and 917 e 6 ἐν στήλῃ γράφαντες νόμοις ἔδω ... μηνυτὰς σαφεῖς.

2. κάμνειν, “to faint.”

3. τῶν γε ᾧτου καὶ σμικρῶν νομοθέτην: for the phrase cp. 630 c, 647 a, and 663 d.—For τάσων φωνῆν ἐκείνη cp. Euthydem. 293 a, Demosth. De cor. 301 ὡς τότε ἡφίει φωνᾶσ ὁ Φίλιππος, and for an imitation of it Lysis 222 b δ ἐκ Ἰπποθάλης ὑπὸ τῆς ἴδονῆς παντοδαπὰ ἡφίει χρώματα.

4 ff. τῷ παλαιῷ νόμῳ ἐπίκουρον γίγνεσθαι λόγῳ ὡς εἰσίν θεοὶ . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμῳ αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι καὶ τέχνην, ὡς ἐστῶν φίλου: Winckelmann must be right in rejecting νόμῳ in d 4. Is it possible that, after saying (τῶν νομοθέτην δεῖ) τῷ παλαιῷ νόμῳ ἐπίκουρον γίγνεσθαι, he could immediately add καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμῳ αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι? The sceptics have attacked (1) the gods, and said that they do not exist, and (2) Law, and the τέχνη which produces Law, and said that they are both inferior to φύσις. Cleinias says that what the νομοθέτης has to do is (1) to prove that the “old traditional gods” exist, and (2) that νόμος and τέχνη spring from φύσις, or something not inferior to φύσις.—αὐτῷ in d 6 is added to mark νόμος as the special protégé of the νομοθέτης who makes it. (O. Apelt, Progr. 1901, would for παλαιῷ νόμῳ read παλαιομου-μένῳ “antiquated,” “suffering from old age.”—Stallb., Jowett, and Wagner make the ὃς clause depend on νόμῳ—for which Orelli would read νομίμῳ—Fic. and Schneider make it depend on λόγῳ.)

6. ὡς ἐστῶν φίλου ἡ φύσεως οὐχ ἤττον MSS.; the neut. sing. is a strange predicate to ἐστῶν. Hermann’s ἤττον for ἤττον not
only mends the grammar, but improves the sense, as providing a
better alternative to the statement that νόμος and τέχνη are φύσει.

d 8. I am strongly inclined to accept Stallb.'s ὅς for ὅν; it
suits πιστεύω better, and brings this passage exactly into line with
the two similar passages which he quotes—Rep. 424 c 6, 530 d 8.
—φαίνη: Cleinias seems to be referring to the οὐ διὰ νοῦν of
889 c 5, which suggests a view antagonistic to that of the sceptics.

e 1. δ... Κλεινίω, τί δ'; to the instances given by Stallb.
on Theages 127 e of a δὲ coming after a voc. may be added Aesch.
P.V. 37 Ἡφαίστε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολάς.—The οὐ belongs to
both clauses; he gives two objections: (1) it is difficult to make a
mere popular statement the basis of a philosophical argument, and
(2) such an argument must needs extend to a great length.—
The dependence of συνακολουθεῖν on χαλεπά is peculiar, inasmuch
as it is an intransitive verb, and it has an instrumental dat.
accompanying it. (In the interpretation of συνακολουθεῖν λόγοις
I follow Fic. and Wagn.—"prosequi rationibus," "mit Gründen zu
begleiten." Other interpreters take συνακολουθεῖν to be used as at
Phil. 25 c 2 in the sense of follow, grasp an argument. They, none
of them, however, give a satisfactory account of λόγοις—Stallb.
dificilliora quam ut omnes assequantur et intelligant disputa-
tionem.")

e 2. πρῶς πλήθη occurs at Soph. 268 b in the same sense as εἰς
πλήθη here.

e 4. All the old texts, and all the new ones except Zürr.,
Wagn., and Stallb., prefer A's δὲ to the δαί of LO and A².

e 6 ff. The usual chiastic arrangement: Cleinias's first remark,
down to ὑπομενοῦμεν, answers the second of the Ath.'s objections,
that of the excessive length of speech demanded. He then turns to
the former objection. "Such a philosophical argument," he says,
"would be of the greatest assistance to the wise lawgiver. When
once the ordinances of Law are put on record in writing, they stay
written (ἡρεμεῖ). Never mind if a man misunderstands them
at first sight, he can study them till he does understand them;
and however long the sermon on this text, if it does good, every-
body is bound to help to provide it."—A's δὴν for μὴν must be
due to familiarity with καὶ δὴ.

e 7. Jowett takes διὸτι to stand for δ'τι "the fact that"; the
only Platonic (?) instance of such use is Ep. i. 309 d 5.

891 a 2. Ast, Wagn., and Stallb. understand ἡρεμεῖ to state a
circumstance which is a disadvantage to the λόγοι, and translate
by "silent."—"they can't answer questions"; Stallb. quotes Prot.
THE LAWS OF PLATO

329a, and Phaedr. 275c to that effect. Ritter points out that Cleinias evidently mentions the trait, whatever it is, as an advantage: "they are always there, and always the same." The general sense of the passage is: "neither difficulty nor length ought to deter us; difficulty may be overcome, in the case of what is written, by repulsion, length ought not to be urged in the face of the importance of the subject." Hence neither can Phaedr. 275c be regarded as a forerunner of this passage, nor Ep. vii. 344c as a re-echo of it. (Cp. Shorey, Class. Phil. vol. ix. p. 270.) Also it is not Plato, but Cleinias who is speaking.

b 2. οἱ τοιούτου λόγοι are the sceptical arguments detailed above.

b 3. L and O\textsuperscript{2} have preserved the correct reading in οὐδὲν ἄν as against the οὐδένα of A and O.—L has the less expressive pres. part. ἐπαμινώντων.

b 8. For Eusebius's ἀλλά γε δὴ ought we not to read ἄλλα ἀγε δή?

c 2 ff. The important words in this preliminary statement of the sceptics' view are πρῶτα and ὑστερον. They lead up to the definite charge of error made at c 4–9.

c 3. τὴν φύσιν ὄνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτά: Burnet (Early Gk. Ph.\textsuperscript{2} p. 12) says "it has never been clearly laid down that the early cosmologists by φύσις meant 'a permanent primary substance.'" In support of this proposition he refers to this passage, and to Arist. Phys. 193 a 9 ff., where we read διόπερ οἱ μὲν γῆν, οἱ δὲ πῦρ, οἱ δὲ δέρα φασίν, οἱ δὲ υδωρ, οἱ δὲ ἔνια τούτων, οἱ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα τὴν φύσιν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, also to Met. 1014 b 26 ff. At 892 c 2 below, however, Plato shows that he at all events credits his opponents with a more extended use of the term—implying generative power.

c 4. οὐ κινδυνεύειν: he here corrects his former κινδυνεύει . . . ἰγείσθαι at c 1 f.

c 7 ff. ἄρ’ οὖν . . . ἐγκαταστάων, "have we really found what you may call the fountain of error on the part of all the men who have ever investigated the origin of matter?"

c 9 f. οὐ γὰρ δὴ σμικρόν γε τὸ διαφέρον, "it would make a great difference."

d 2 f. μηδὲ εὖ τοῖς λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐξημαρτημένως χρώμενοι, "not only did not argue well, but argued badly." Cp. above on 876 b 3 μηδὲ συγώντα ἀλλὰ θορύβου μετά.—Eusebius has fortunately preserved for us the right reading εὖ as against the senseless ἄν of the MSS. Fic. and all printed editions made the correction, either independently or on Eusebius's authority.

460
NOTES TO BOOK X

891 d

d 5. Eusebius, who left out the δὴ in d 1, here puts δὴ in after ὅπως; it improves the sentence.

d 6. ἀνθεστέρων: not "singular," as Jowett, but "unfamiliar," "foreign to our subject"; cp. οὐκ εἴωθότα at e 4. He hints also that perhaps his interlocutors are not used to such discussions.

e 1 f. εἰ δὲ ... ἡ ταύτη: it is not surprising that doubts should early have been felt, as the scribe of O tells us, as to the genuineness of the word θεοῖς, for the word presents difficulties. Perhaps, however, the objectors to θεοῖς hardly paid proper attention to the νῦν, which seems to mean "in our present discourse." "It is only by so doing that we can accept as rightly described the gods whom we now pronounce to be in accordance with Law:" — συμφωνήσαι too is hard. It is strained rather to mean "to agree to," rather than, as usual, "to agree with." (Stallb. would substitute συμβοηθήσαι for it.) — ὡς ὄρθως ἔχουσιν (participle) helps us to understand συμφωνήσαι—"as correctly so described"; i.e. "to agree that it is correct to describe the gods as what we see Law declares them to be." Fic.'s translation is "recte se habere quae de diis secundum legem modo dicuntur." (Herm. takes ἔχουσι to be indic. and derives from it an argument in favour of θεοῖς—if λεγομένους had been neut., he says, we should have had ἔχει. Zürr. and Wagn. reject θεοῖς, and so F.H.D.; Ast emends it to λόγους, Orelli to θεσμοῖς.) — A and O read ἔτέρω, corrected by the second hands to ἔτέρως.

e 4. οὐκ εἴωθότα, "out of the way," i.e. "not of the nature of the arguments you are in the way of hearing." He says below (892 a 3) that nearly everybody is unfamiliar with the subject he is going to treat.

e 6. ἀπεφήναντο is probably a gnomic aorist.

e 7. There is a lurking irony in his choice of the word ἀπεργασάμενοι to govern ζυγοῖν; he thereby calls attention to the absurdity of regarding ζυγοῖ as a "production" of dead φύσις. We may perhaps translate "the philosophy of which the soul of the ungodly is the finished product."

892 a 1–7. The two points here insisted on are (1) the precedence, and (2) the superior authority of Soul as compared with Body. The two points are again stated at b 7—ὡστερα καὶ ἀρχόμενα.
a 8. In using the words τὰ ψυχῆς συγγενῆ he postulates an “order of things,” as we should say—a kind of incorporeal, suprasensual existences and phenomena, which would include soul and God, and all belonging thereto.

b 1. Burnet rightly deduces from Eusebius’s γε αὐτῆς that the initial of the M.S. ταῦτης is a mistake for γ. Ast alone of former editors had the taste to prefer Eus. γε αὐτῆς to the vulgate ταῦτης.

b 5. τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πρῶτα ἔργα: “non tantum parva, sicuti volunt adversarii v. p. 889 a” Stallb.

b 6. τέχνης ἂν γίγνοιτο, ὀντα ἐν πρώτοις, “must be those of design just because they are of the primal order.”

b 7. Eus. has preserved the reading φύσις, for the φύσεις of the MSS.—an ordinary scribe’s error.

c 1. The first five editions make οὖν ὄρθωσ begin the following speech of the Athenian. Fic.’s “cur non recte?” shows that he had a rightly divided text. (One of Grynaeus’s “corrections” of Fic.’s translation was to alter it to “Cur?” Ath. “Non recte etc.”)

c 2. φύσιν βούλονται λέγειν γένεσιν τὴν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα, “when they use the term φύσις they mean to describe the way the first things come into being.” The Ath. is here speaking of the use of the word in the term φύσις, not of its use to denote the primeval substance (891 c 3 καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὄνομάζειιν ταῦτα αὐτά); he is here concerned to prove that ψυχή is more φύσις than any kind of bodily substance. (Cp. c 5 διαφερόντως φύσει.) This, he admits, depends on his power of proving that ψυχή is ἐν πρώτοις, and consequently προσβυτέρα σώματος.

c 5. The ὅτι inserted before φύσει by the corrector of O, to the ruin of sense and construction, survived in printed editions till Ast (1814) ejected it, and put a full stop after φύσει. Even then it survived in Bekker (1817), and Stallb. 1st ed. (1824).

(Ritter would read φύσις for φύσει here, as if Plato had meant to say “ψυχή is your real φύσις.”)

c 9. στέλλομεθα, “address ourselves to”; cp. Phil. 50 e τὰ νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ βούλομαι στέλλεσθαι.

d 2. φυλάσσομεν δὴ παντάπασιν ἀπαγολῶν λόγον, “we must be on our guard; we have to meet an argument of desperate deceitfulness.”

d 3. νεοπρεπῆς ὅν, “notwithstanding its immaturity.” [A.M.A. “because of its youthful vigour.”]

d 6. I follow Burnet in putting a full stop after ὅν in d 5, and only a comma after λέγειν in e 5. That is, I take τί . . . ὅν

462
NOTES TO BOOK X  892 d

é dokou as a protasis to which the real apodosis is dokei . . . emé in 893 a 2 f. This involves the assumption that kathaper in d 6 does duty for kathaper ei. A second ei would have sounded harsh here, while the emphatic position of the ei that begins the sentence enables it to count twice. (Schneider takes kathaper to be put in, with no strict grammatical justification, to show that the case is an imaginary one—like an interjected “suppose” in English; Steph. would change ei kathaper to kathaper ei—Stallb. agrees; Ast would read ei, kathaper ei.)

d 7. neýstatos δ’ éγω τυγχάνων: another instance of τυγχάνω for τυγχάνω ὁν; cp. 918 c 4 and Adam on Rep. 369 b.—It is not necessary to suppose that the Ath. was really younger than his two companions; the neýstatos is part of the imaginary case.—The υμῶν of the early edd. has no MS. authority; Fic. has “junior vosia.”

d 8. The superfluous δτι is another loose conversationalism.—Probably πειραθήναι is used absolutely, as at Euthyphro 3 d 4—“to make the experiment by myself.” Though σκέψασθαι might be read as dependent on πειραθήναι, it is better, with Fic., to take σκέψασθαι as a quasi-asyndeton = ὡστε σκέψασθαι. The three following infinitives, of course, depend on χρήσαι. (κατ’ ἐμαυτόν goes better with πειραθήναι than with σκέψασθαι; also a mere σκέψασθαι does not clearly involve κίνδυνος.)

e 4. ἄβατος ὃς υμῖν, “out of your depth” (Jowett).

e 7. μὴ δῆ: the two asyndetons—here and at ei’t’ in 893 a 2—give animation to the style.

893 a 1. καὶ ἐρωτῶν: the Ath. talks as if the personified Logos were responsible for the difficulties he foresees, and conceals the fact that it is he himself who would have been the questioner of the other two.

a 6. διαπεράνασθαι is here used absolutely as in Tim. 89 e.

b 1. θεόν κτλ.: this curious fancy seems to represent the gods as threatened by the sceptics with annihilation.

b 2. ἀποδείξεν ὃς εἰσὶν τῆν αὐτῶν: “their own demonstration of existence” stands for “demonstration of their own existence.” (Herm. prefers the vulgate αὐτῶν; Eus, puts τῆν αὐτῶν before ὃς εἰσὶν.)

b 4. In πεώματος and ἐπισβαίνωμεν he still glances at the metaphor of the river; the latter word, as given in all MSS. and Eus., loses point in the ἐπισβαίνωμεν of all texts down to Bekker. It is by fording, not on a raft (as Ast who quotes Cic. Tusc. disp. i. 30), that the river is to be crossed; the rope would keep the
forder from being swept away by the current. Though Steph. mentioned the correct reading, no text before Stallb. ventured to print it. The πεύσμα is the invocation.

b 6. Ens. has preserved the correct reading in κατὰ τάδε, which corresponds to Fic.'s "sic securissime respondere videor." The MSS. have κάτα at the end of one line, and δὲ at the beginning of the next. Ast first corrected the vulgate κάτα τάδε δὲ ξένε.

c 3. τοῦτο ἄν δρόφη: i.e. move.

c 4. τὰ τὴν τῶν ἑστῶτων ἐν μέσῳ λαμβάνοντα δύναμιν, "those which have the gift of immobility at their centre"; i.e. their centre never changes its position in space.

c 6. ἑστάναι λεγομένων: a spinning top, or a revolving wheel with fixed axle, is not at rest in itself, but it may be said to be at rest with regard to surrounding objects.

c 7. "We are told that, in the case of this circular motion, this kind of movement carries round the largest and the smallest circle at the same time, distributing itself proportionally to both small and great, and is less and greater in (that) proportion. This it is which has made it the source of all kinds of marvels, for it imparts at once to small and great, slowness and swiftness proportioned to their size, and that one would have thought an impossible process." Plato must have had some special reason for enlarging on this peculiarity of circular motion. It is clear from 897 c ff. that he has the motions of the heavenly bodies in mind. In that passage he first says that νοῦ κίνησις is the cause of the motion of the heavenly bodies, and then finds an analogy between νοῦ κίνησις and the ἐν ἐνι κίνησις there described. Cp. also above, 822 a 6 τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὀδὸν ἔκαστον καὶ οὐ πολλᾶς ἀλλὰ μίαν ἀεὶ κύκλῳ διεξέρχεται.—The chias tic arrangement of the various words for great and small, slow and quick, is twice noticeable in this passage.

d 6–e 1. τὰ δὲ γε κινούμενα ἐν πολλοῖς κτλ.: in the kind of motion just described the moving body occupied the same space all the time; in the second kind of motion the body moving is all the time occupying fresh spaces, and this kind is of two sorts: either (1) the body glides, while preserving the same position in itself, or (2) the body revolves at the same time that it occupies a fresh space.

d 8. τοτε μὲν ἑστὶν ὦτε: the ἑστὶν ὦτε must be taken to be a conversational superfluity. Schneider translates "nunc . . . interdum."

e 1. κέντρου: the subsequent πλεῖονα must stand for πλεῖονα
kéntpa; this forbids us to understand kéntrop to mean centre (of a circle). kéntrop seems here to be used in the sense of point—the point, namely, at which a body touches the ground on which it rests; βάσις kéntrop then is “the point of support.” Possibly the former kind of movement is that of a spinning top.—Cobet holds that the by-form κυλινδέω for κυλίνω is a copyist’s error.

3. τοίς δ’ ἄλλοις: Wagn., Stallb., Herm., and Burnet rightly prefer the variant ἄλλοις of L and the margin of O to the ἄλληλοις of A and O, which all other editors adopt. The dative goes with εἰς ἐν γεγυμένα. (Schneider and Wagn. take εἰς ἐν with φερομένοις.) τοίς ἄλλοις means such as are not stationary. With these, if they are moving in the opposite direction, they coalesce.

4. μέσα τε καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τοιούτων συγκρίνεται: the subject to συγκρίνεται is no longer the original τὰ ἐν πολλοῖς κινούμενα of d 6, but the new formations resulting from the process of σύγκρησις, and τῶν τοιούτων are (1) the original κινούμενα and (2) the κινούμενα which meet them—“betwixt and between” which the new formation arises. Disruption, then of single bodies, and the conglomeration of two (or more) bodies into one, are here regarded as modes of motion. We are reminded that at Theaet. 181 d ἄλλοιωσις is mentioned as ἔτερον εἴδος κινήσεως, and one which is consistent with “remaining in the same place.”

7. ἡ καθεστηκυία ἐκάστων ξίσ is a very obscure expression. It seems to denote some condition or internal power of a body which preserves it from dissolution when subject to the shocks of colliding bodies—whether these shocks result in σύγκρησις of mutually approaching bodies, or in the διάκρισις of a moving body which strikes a stationary one. The words δι’ ἀμφότερα διόλυσται must mean that (under certain circumstances) both σύγκρησις and διάκρισις can be causes of dissolution or destruction. Decrease in size, then, or division into smaller pieces, may go on indefinitely without destruction, while increase in size is no guarantee against it. The most likely guess about ξίσ is that it describes such a condition as solidity, liquidity, or evaporation.

894 a 1 ff. Plato here attacks the main difficulty attending his doctrine that the essence of soul is the power to move itself. The difficulty is to prove that the soul can in any sense be said to move. Aristotle, as Plato no doubt knew, boldly denied that the soul moved in space. It might move, he said, κατὰ συμβεβηκός; i.e. when the body which contained it moved. It might even move itself κατὰ συμβεβηκός by causing its body to move with itself.
inside it (De an. 408 a 30 ff.). Plato cannot be contradicted when he says that the impulse which gives rise to bodily movement in space comes from the soul. His next step is to declare that movement of any kind must originate either in the body moved or outside it. The next is to deduce from this that the source of motion must be motion. Therefore the soul must move. All he can supply as to the nature of the movement of the soul (898 a), and the obscure process or processes by which the soul's impulse (which he calls an ἀρχή) is transmitted to the moving physically discernible body (894 a 1 ff.), are images (εἰκόνες) which may more or less convey some actual truth.

It seems to be generally assumed that destruction is another form of motion. With the introduction of its opposite, γένεσις, the obscurity deepens. έσις was hard, but ἀρχή is harder. Is the ἀρχή something or nothing? This description of γένεσις is not meant to be a historical account, but a logical deduction from Plato's doctrine of space. It is a kind of geometrical allegory. Geometry postulates a thing "without parts or magnitude" (Arist. Met. A 992 a 21 ἀλλ' ἑκάλει (Πλάτων στιγμήν) ἀρχήν γραμμής). The first transformation by which this grows (λαβοῦσα αὐξήν) is its elongation into a (still imaginary) line; the second (ὁπόσαν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἐλθη μετάβασιν) is the extension flatwise of the imaginary line into the imaginary surface. With the third transformation (εἰς τὴν πλησίον μετάβασιν) we pass into the region of sensible objects, for now thickness is added to length and breadth; the transformed ἀρχή "furnishes perceivers with perception"—αἰσθησιν σχῆ τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις. The ἀρχή, then, would seem to be thought of as an invisible point, and, at the same time, as movement, which in its first two stages or directions is insubstantial. How an intangible, invisible movement of an intangible invisible being could by any changes of direction give rise to sensations remains as mysterious as ever. In the following passage of Aristotle, De an. 404 b 18, the allegory becomes arithmetical and psychological as well as geometrical; ὄμοιος δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας λεγομένοις διωρίσθη, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ζῷον ἕξ αὐτής τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς ἱδέας καὶ τοῦ πρώτου μῆκος καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους, τὰ δ’ ἀλλὰ ὀμοιοτρόπως. ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος νοῦν μὲν τὸ ἐν, ἐπιστήμην δὲ τὰ δύο· μοναχῶς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐν τὸν δὲ τὸν ἐπιπέδου ἀριθμὸν δόσαι, αἰσθῆσιν δὲ τὸν τούτῳ στερεῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρίθμοι τὰ εἴδη αὐτὰ καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἔλεγχον, εἰσὶ δ’ ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων. κρίνεται δὲ τὰ πράγματα τὰ μὲν νῦ, τὰ δ’ ἐπιστήμην, τὰ δὲ δόξα, τὰ δ’ αἰσθήσεις· εἴδη δ’ οἱ ἀριθμοὶ οὗτοι τῶν πραγμάτων. The Neo-
Platonic commentators on this passage of Aristotle associate the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 (which added together make the sacred 10) with the point, the straight line, the plane surface (the simplest plane surface is the triangle—suggesting the number 3) and the solid respectively, and further regard these as representatives respectively of the activities of νοῦς, ἐπιστήμη, διάνοια (the straight line, they observe, may move either way to make a plane surface), and αἰσθήσεις. Hicks on De anima 404 b 22 says: “the world of objects which the soul knows having been derived from ideal numbers, it remained to show that the faculties which soul is assumed to employ for apprehending these objects admit of a similar deduction, in other words that soul has νοῦς in it from the idea of Unity, ἐπιστήμη from the idea-number Two, δόξα from Three, Sense-perception from Four.”

As F.H.D. points out, light is thrown on this account of γένεσις by Timaeus 52 a b. We are there told that all γιγνόμενα (and ἀπολλύμενα) come into (or pass out of) being in a ὑποδοχή or substratum, i.e. τῷ χάρας δεί, φθοράν οὐ προσδεχόμενον, εἴδραν δὲ παρέχον ὅσα ἑξει γένεσιν πάσιν. This ὑποδοχή is not perceptible by the bodily senses but only λογισμῷ τινι νόθῳ, which last word “the compiler of the Timaeus Locrus (94 b) seeks to explain by the words τῷ μήπω κατ’ εὐθυναρίαν νοήσθαι ὀλλὰ κατ’ ἀναλογίαν” (Archer-Hind’s note). Our minds, then, cannot fathom the mystery of γένεσις in all its aspects, but what we know of space enables us to form an image of one aspect of the process at least, i.e. the spatial one. This account is not produced by such a λόγος (reasoning) as that by which νοῦς (mind) arrives at beliefs about absolute existences, but it is a mental process—νόθος τις λογισμός (“a sort of bastard reasoning”).

(Ritter, pp. 298 ff., will have nothing to do with the geometrical explanation. He holds that the key to the problem is to be found in the right interpretation of 896 e ff. The ἄρχη in the γένεσις passage (894 a 1 ff.) is the ψυχή—ψυχή . . . ἄρχη κινήσεως 896 b 2.—First it gets under way (ἀκόμη λαβοῦσα) in the form of a βούλησις; the second μετάβασις is (say) the movement of an arm of the body inhabited by the ψυχή; the third μετάβασις (μέχρι τριών ἐλθοῦσα) is the impulse given by that arm to an external body. A serious objection to this view is that Ritter’s second μετάβασις is no longer invisible; the arm can be seen moving, whereas we may surely conclude that it is not till Plato’s third μετάβασις occurs that the senses can be in any way affected. What is still more important is that it is no more clear on Ritter’s
hypothesis, than on the geometrical one, how any γένεσις comes about, or, in other words, what is produced. It may be conceded to Ritter, however, that the notion that an unseen action in the mind is the necessary preliminary to bodily activity gives a pattern for Plato’s description of cosmic γένεσις.

a 2. A and O had ἄν τι πάθος ἤ: this was so far corrected that down to Ed. Bipont. the reading was ἄν τι πάθος ἤ. To Ast we owe the further correction of ἄν τι into ἄν τί, and the note of interrogation after ἤ.

a 6. γέγνεται: it is not clear whether the actual γένεσις is supposed to take place during all these three μεταβάσεως or μεταβολαὶ, or only on occasion of the third. In the latter case γένεσις and φθορά do not denote absolute coming into and passing out of being, but only the becoming or ceasing to be subject to human perception.

a 7. εἰς ἄλλην ξένην: as conjectured on 893 c 7, this may possibly refer to a process of liquefaction or evaporation.

a 8. ὅς εἰς εἰδέσειν λαβεῖν μετ’ ἀριθμοῦ, “duly classified and numbered”; cp. διαρκῆ ἵστασθαι . . . δηλοῦντα 633 a 7–9, where the μέρη ἀρετῆς are enumerated, with a view to clearness.

b 8. As at 892 b 7 A and O have -εις for -ης; O² gives the correct κίνησις.

b 9. The comma in Burnet’s text after ἄδυνατοῦσα apparently means that the ἄεί goes with δυναμένη as well as with ἄδυνατοῦσα; that this is so is made more likely by a comparison of the ἄεικίνητον in the Phaedrus passage quoted below; there is no πᾶλα κινήσεως in the case of the ἄρχη κινήσεως.

b 10. An important point here is whether the words κατὰ τε συγκρίσεωι . . . φθοράς apply equally to both the two kinds of motion. The parallel ἐναρμόττουσαν κτλ. below at c 5 suggests that it belongs only to the latter. The added words, that is, indicate that the direct action of ψυχή is to be seen in ἀλλοκώσεις as well as in φορά.—Cp. Phaedrus 245 c ψυχή πᾶσα ἄδανατος. τὸ γὰρ ἄεικίνητον ἄθάνατον: τὸ δ’ ἄλλο κινοῦν καὶ δ’ ἄλλον κινοῦμενον, παύλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παύλαν ἐξει ἔως. μόνον δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ κινοῦν, ἄτε σύν ἀπολείπον ἐαυτό, οὕτως ἀλλὰ ἀλλοις ὅσα κινεῖται τοῦτον τὴν καὶ ἄρχη κινήσεως ἄρχη δὲ ἀγένητον. Cp. also Macrobius, Comm. in Somn. Scip. ii. 15 "illa igitur magis probanda est in decimo de legibus motuum prolata divisio. Omnis motus, inquit, aut se movet, et alia, aut ab alio movetur et alia movet; et prior ad animam, ad omnia vero corpora secundus refertur. Hi ergo duo motus et differentia
NOTES TO BOOK X

894b

separantur et societate inunguntur; commune hoc habent, quod et prior et secundus moveant alia, hoc autem differunt, quod ille-a se, hic ab alio movetur."

c 4–7. Stallb., Herm., and Zürr. rightly follow Cod. Ric. (and Steph.'s conjecture) in reading ἐδὲ for τέ. (Ast is surely wrong in saying that the τέ corresponds to the following καὶ)—Burnet is to be followed in reading ἐτερον for the MS. ἐτέραν. ἐτέραν is more likely to be a scribe's mistake for ἐτερον than for the vulgate ἐτερα. (Schneider alone preserves the MS. ἐτέραν—i.e. ἐτέραν κίνησιν)—ἐναρμόττουσαν is a metaphorical expression, meaning that the power of ψυχή manifests itself—is active—in all kinds of material movements and transformations.—May we not further conjecture that the ἐδὲ after καλουμένην in c 6 ought to be τέ, and that the ἐδὲ before δεκάτην should be rejected as being a mistaken dittography of the following syllable?

c 10. δέκα μάλιστα: it will be seen that, if to the six kinds of motion mentioned at b 10 f. there be added (1) motion ἐν μιᾷ ἐδρᾷ (893 c 3), (2) gliding motion ἐν πολλοῖς (d 8), (3) rolling motion ἐν πολλοῖς (c 1), and then the two kinds of motion now under discussion, we have, not ten kinds, but eleven. Either then we must suppose the μάλιστα to mean that ten is only a "round number"—the precise ἐνάτην and δεκάτην of c 4 and c 7 are against this—or we shall have to suppose that one of the eleven has been wrongly included. The above-mentioned eleven are not parallel homogeneous classes or kinds, but a set of dichotomies, such as Plato loves, some of which include all the others. If I understand Ast's note, he omits the dichotomy of τὰ ἐν πολλοῖς into (1) gliding, and (2) rolling, and counts τὰ ἐν μιᾷ ἐδρᾷ and τὰ ἐν πολλοῖς as the first two members of the series. This is probably right. (Schulthess and Wagner leave out γένεσις and φθορά, and substitute for them "the change into another ἔξις" (894 a 7). Stallb. leaves out γένεσις, but—as against both these views—Plato expressly includes this at b 11 as one of the six.)—Zürr., Stallb., Herm., and Burnet adopt Ast's τὰν ἄν for the τίνα of the MSS.

d 3. The αὐτήν of the MSS. was omitted in all edd. before Bekker. So below at 895 b 1 all MSS. dropped the αὐτήν which was preserved by Eusebius.

d 8. τὸ τῆς δεκάτης ῥηθεῖν, "when I spoke of the tenth" (Jowett). τὸ τῆς δεκάτης is a periphrasis for ἡ δεκάτη. (Not "quod de motu decimo diximus" Fic.)

d 10. γενέσει τέ καὶ ράμψι: γενέσει is not merely the γένεσις of

469
894 a; in connexion with ῥώμη it suggests the kindred γένει—
cp. e.g. Tim. 20 a οὐσία καὶ γένει οὐδενός ύστερος ὃν τῶν ἐκει. Both in origin and distinction of birth the self-moving motion must come before the movement it causes.—κατὰ λόγον, “demonstrably.”—τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξομεν τοῦτον δεύτερον, ἀρτί ρηθὲν ἀτόπως ἔνατον, “while we hold the next movement to be inferior in order to that one—and yet it was just now absurdly called the ninth.”

τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο is probably not an adverbal “then” (Jow.), or “hienächst” (Wagn.), but “the (properly speaking) next kind of motion”; “alteram” (Schm.); in gender it follows the τὸ τῆς δεκάτης of d 8, as do πρῶτον, and δεύτερον, and ἕνατον.

e 4 ff. The argument here begun and developed in 896 is quoted at length and treated with great respect by J. S. Mill at p. 146 of his Autobiography.

e 4. ἐτερον ἄλλο: as below at 896 b 4, these two words refer to different things—one being object, the other subject of μετὰβάλγ̃̃; but in the ἄλλο ἐτερον in the following line, and in e 8, both refer to the same thing, and are objects—being instances of the pleonastic expression explained above on 780 d 8.—μεταβάλγ̃̃—so A for the μεταβάλγ̃̃ of L and O—is used to express any kind of κίνησις, whether transporting or transforming.

e 6. I feel sure that Apelt is right (Eisenach Progr. 1901) in substituting ὅ γ′ λιν for the MS. ὅταν. The previous ὅταν, and the subsequent ὅταν no doubt contributed to the error.—Editors have properly refused to adopt Ast’s suggestion that καὶ πῶς . . . ἀδύνατον γάρ should be given to Cleinias, though only Wagn. and Burnet have accepted Hermann’s restoration at 895 b 1 of τῆν αὐτῆν . . . μεταπτώσεως, which the MSS. give to Cleinias, to the Ath. as a “second” instance—πάλιν at 895 a 5—of his answering his own question. Fic. also gives τῆν . . . μεταπτώσεως to Ath., but he also gives him the ἀληθετατα λέγεις at 895 b 8.

e 8. τὸ δὲ is demonstrative and, like the τοῦτο of e 4, is the subject of the (supplied) verb, ἐτερον ἄλλο being again the object.

895 a 6. εἰ σταῖν τῶς τὰ πάντα ὅμοι γενόμενα, “if the universe were somehow brought to a uniform standstill.” Cp. Theaetetus 153 d εἰ δὲ σταῖν τοῦτο ὀσπερ δεθέν.

a 7. τῶν τοιούτων: the atheistical physical philosophers first referred to at 888 e; cp. Theaet. 180 e and 183 e Μέλισσον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐ ἐν ἐστώς λέγοντι τὸ τᾶν, also Soph. 248 e 6 τί δὲ πρὸς Διὸς; ὥς ἄληθος κίνησιν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ φρόνησιν ἢ βαθὺς πεισθησόμεθα τῷ παντελῶς ὄντι μὴ παρεῖναι
NOTES TO BOOK X

μηδὲ εἰν αὐτῷ μηδὲ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ σεμνὸν καὶ ἁγιόν, νοῦν οὖν ἐχων ἀκίνητον ἑτὸς εἶναι, and Iphaedr. 245d 8 οὗτοι δὴ κινήσεως μὲν ἀρχὴ τὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ κινοῦν. τούτο δὲ οὔτ' ἀπόλλυεθαι οὔτε γέγυνεθαι δύνατον, ἢ πάντα τε οὐρανὸν πᾶσαν τε γένεσιν συμπεσοῦσαν στήματι καὶ μάπτοτε αὕθιες ἔχειν ὢθεν κινηθεῦσα γενήσεται. συμπεσοῦσαν here corresponds to our ὅμοιο γενόμενα.

b 1. See above on e 6 for the attribution of this answer to the Ath. himself.—Burnet alone prints Eusebius's τὴν αὐτὴν ἑαυτὴν, which is better than the τὴν αὐτήν of the MSS. and previous editions. Ed. Lov. has τὴν αὐτὴν δὴποτο.—ἐπ' ἄλλον γὰρ . . . μεταπτώσεως: in other words, you cannot have an imparted motion unless there is something to impart it; therefore the first motion must be an original one.

b 2. The subj. to μεταπέση is the αὐτά (αὐτοῖς) of a 8, and that is τὰ πάντα (a 6).

b 3 ff. ἀρχὴν . . . μεταβολῶν πασῶν, "as therefore the beginning of movements" (this was settled in the previous paragraph, e 4–a 3), "and the first to rise among stationary bodies, and the first in rank among moving ones, we will assert the movement which sets itself in motion to be of necessity the oldest and the most powerful of all movements." (Fic. and Wagner wrongly make ἀρχὴν . . . καὶ πρώτῃν predicate.)

b 4. πρῶτῃν ἐν τε ἐστῶσιν γενομένην καὶ ἐν κινομένοις οὖσαι: πρώτῃν with γενομένην has a different meaning from that which it has with οὖσαι; it is the first to come into being, and when in being (οὖσαι) it ranks highest. These two expressions correspond to the following πρεσβυτάτην and κρατίστην respectively (cp. 892 a b).

b 6. It is probable that Eus. was right in reading μεταβολῶν where all MSS. and editions have μεταβολῆν.

b 7. Ast is probably right in printing τὲ for the MS. δὲ: Fic. translates it by et.

c 4. ταύτην is of course τὴν ἑαυτὴν κινοῦσαν κινησιν.—It is perhaps worth suggesting that we ought to read ἐν τῷ for ἐν τῷ.

c 6. Eusebius's ἐνεῖναι for the MS. εῖναι is a very likely reading.

c 10. The e. l. before Ast (but not Fic.) altered the attribution of this ξήν, and added it to the Ath.'s ναι.

c 11. A fresh examination of A has led to the conclusion that Burnet is right, as against Fels, in assigning the reading δαι to A². —ψυχῆν: it will be remembered that we started at 892 a to prove that ψυχῆν was (1) σωμάτων πάντων ἐμπροσθεν γενομένη, and (2) held supreme command over change of every description

471
—was, in the words of 896 b 5 f., πρεσβυτάτη καὶ κρατίστη πασῶν μεταβολῶν.

C 11 f. μῶν ἄλλο ἢ ταύτων τούτω; ἕνω όμολογητέον; Stallb. restored the MS. reading to its own by inserting a ; after τούτω. (All previous interpreters had somehow made the previous words go with ζῆν.) “Must we not admit that the same thing happens as in the case of that thing? (Must we not say) that they are alive?” (Schneider and Wagner, like Herm., preserve the MS. reading and the old punctuation—taking ταύτων adverbially, and making ζῆν ταύτων τούτω mean “live just as much as that does.” Zürr. and Burnet follow Stallb.—I would suggest that perhaps the sense would be better given by a different punctuation still, i.e. μῶν ἄλλο ἢ, ταύτων τούτω, ζῆν όμολογητέον).

D 4. τῆν οὐσίαν: οὐσία—the τὸ ὅν of the next line—is “the thing itself,” “the reality.” Ritter translates it (Darst. p. 98) by “Erscheinung oder Thatsache.” Thompson (on Phaedr. 245 e), in commenting on this passage, says οὐσία is “the objective counterpart of (the λόγος or ὁρισμός).” The word “essence” (Jowett) will not help us. Most likely Cicero, in inventing the extraordinary essentia, meant it to stand for the “metaphysical” sense of οὐσία, and the word has always retained something of that sense. Cp. Burnet on Phaedo 65 d 13. The ordinary Athenian only knew the word in the sense of property. The Pythagoreans gave it the philosophical meaning of “reality,” or “existence”; Plato further used the word sometimes (metaphysically) of the eternal and changeless being of the world of ideas. Cp. also Ep. vii. 342 a ff., with Prof. A. E. Taylor’s exposition in Mind of July 1913.—τῶν λόγων: for an explanation of the “definition” of a word, of its use, and of its relation to ονόματα cp. Theae. 201 e—202 c. Cp. also below, 964 a 6 ff.

D 5. εὖ δὲ ονόμα: Ens. (very likely rightly) has τὸ ονόμα; we must supply τῆς οὐσίας from the preceding line.

D 10 ff. Schneider rightly assigns ᾧρά γε... λέγειν, and ἔστιν τοῦ... μέρη to Cleinias, making the Ath. then answer Ναί: τὸ τοιοῦτον ὕφασα, “Yes, that is what I mean.” In itself this division is quite possible, and it has further the external support of the MSS. in one point; for they mark no change of person before τὸ τοιοῦτον—only before Ναί and before Μῶν. I think them right as regards Ναί, but wrong about μῶν. Further, the οὖν which comes after the μῶν is, on Schneider’s hypothesis, quite intelligible, but not if the Ath.’s τοιοῦτον looks forward. (Stallb. would reject οὖν.)
e 1. The context shows that δίχα διαιρούμενον means divided into two equal parts. Such a loose expression is more likely in Cl.'s mouth than in the Ath's. Eus. adds εἰς ὑσα (δῖο) μέρη.

e 2. τοῦτο— which all edd. before Ast wrongly joined to ἀριθμὸς— stands for τῷ δίχα διαιρομένῳ, and the whole expression = τῷ κατ᾿ ἀριθμὸν δίχα διαιρομένῳ.

e 4. ταύτων: i.e. τὴν οὖσίαν or τὸ ὑπ’ “the thing itself.” We may, he says, indifferently use the name or the definition in speaking of the thing, i.e. the name and the definition are identical. The argument is of the nature of Euclid's “things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other.”

896 a 3. All MSS. have τοῦτον κινεῖν; a late hand in A gives τὸ ἐάντο as a variant for τοῦτον. Eus. also has τὸ ἐάντο, and so all edd. except Herm. who reads τὸ αὐτήν, both because it is nearer to τοῦτον, and because it maintains the Ath.'s reference to κίνησιν.

The question asked is rather in the same strain as that which Schneider at d 9 ff. (probably rightly) assigned to Cleinias. Its object is, by repetition, to emphasize the fact that ψυχή means “that which moves itself.” Cleinias's “that which moves itself” is vaguer than the Ath.'s “the motion which moves itself.”

a 4. Herm. would reject ὁ, taking τοῦνομα to be used adverbially. This certainly gives προσαγορεύομεν a more natural and usual meaning. In the usual text we have to supply ψυχή ἔχειν between ἡ κίνησι και τοῦνομα; the ἐν, however, comes more naturally after ὁ than after τοῦνομα, and the sense of the difficultior lectio suits the context rather better—“that the same thing has so-and-so as definition as has the name which we call soul” fits better than “that the same thing has so-and-so as definition which we call soul by name.”

a 6. ταύτων ὑπ' καί, “is the same thing as”—ὑπ' being attracted into the gender of ταύτων.

a 8. καὶ πάντων αὖ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῦτως: Ritter is probably right in saying that the ἐναντία are τὰ μὴ ὑπτα καὶ διεφθαρμένα καὶ διαφθαρμομένα, i.e. he means that the Ath. says that the reduction of a particular thing to a state of non-existence is as much the work of ἡ ψυχή as the calling it into being. In that case πρώτην goes both with γένεσιν and κίνησιν. Cp. Phaedo 95 e 9 ὅλως γὰρ δεῖ περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τὴν αἰτίαν διαπραγματεύσωσθαι. (It is hardly likely that the idea suggested is the
same as that expressed more clearly below at d 6 ff.—i.e. that every character and quality has its opposite, and that there is a bad member as well as a good to each pair.)

b 3. The τε, which survived, in all edd. down to Bekker’s, in the place of the MS. γε, may have been a deliberate correction made by Aldus, though there are traces of the same correction in the MSS. of Eusebius. Fic. knows nothing of it.—Zürr. and Herm. have adopted L and O’s marginal variant φανεύσα for γενομένη. The former looks more like a correction than the latter.—Schneider alone has adopted A’s (and Cod. Voss.’s) ἀρχική for the ἀρχή of LO and Eus.

b 5. αὖτοι ... μηδέν, “but never gives anything the power to move of itself.”

b 7. πολλοστή: i.e. however many kinds of motion you may reckon, this comes last in order, so that πολλοστὴ τοσούτων means “last on the list.”—όντως ἄψυχοι: ὀντως claims a special propriety in the use of the adj. ἄψυχοι; its use is an indirect argument in favour of the contention that ἄνεφή is itself the self-moving motion. Ritter (p. 304) raises the question whether, under the term ἄψυχος, Plato would include the bodily part of a living man. In one sense this would not be ἄψυχος, because it is animated by a soul of its own; on the other hand, if ἄψυχον σώμα be understood of inanimate matter only, this δευτέρα κίνησις would not include the movement of one man who was pushed by another.

b 10. ὁρθῶς καὶ κυρίως ἀληθεστάτα τε καὶ τελεωτάτα reminds us of the similar emphatic agglomeration of adjectives—μέγιστος καὶ ἀριστος κάλλιστός τε καὶ τελεωτάτος in the final paragraph of the Timaeus.

c 2. ἡμῖν: probably an ethic dat., “as our argument started to show.” Eus. had ἡ μῆ for it.—ψυχῆς ἀρχοῦσης and the following words represent the κρατίστη of 895 b 6, as the προτέραν in c 1 does the προσβουτάτη.

c 5. ἐν τοῖς πρώτον: i.e. at 892 a 7 ff.


d 5. Here is introduced the question of the origin of evil. ψυχή is described as the αἰτία πάντων—good and bad alike. Prof. H. Jackson, in his paper on Laws 896 d (Camb. Phil. Soc. Lent Term 1912), compares with this aspect of ψυχή the description of the πλανωμένη αἰτία at Tim. 48 a—there identified with the ἀνάγκη which produces evil in the world of bodily existence—
what is called σώματος φύσις at Pol. 269 d. Having identified ψυχή with the αἴτια ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ he is bound to talk of the αἴτια κακοῦ as a ψυχή; but there is no hint of such a name for the πλανωμένη αἴτια in the Timaeus. The question is also treated at Theaet. 176 a ἀλλ' οὖτ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατὸν, ὁ Θεόδωρε—ὑπεναντίον γὰρ τι τῷ ἄγαθῳ ἄλλος ἂναι ἀνάγκη—οὔτ' ἐν θεοῖς αὐτὰ ἱδρύσθαι, τὴν δὲ θεντὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸν τότον περιπολεί ἐξ ἀνάγκης (cp. Phil. 30 d 1–3). Here, as in the Timaeus passage, ἀνάγκη is named as the source of evil. This idea, that evil is confined to bodily existence, and our earth, is in agreement with all that is said about evil in the Laws. In the later work the peculiar mark of the αἴτια κακοῦ is said to be ἄνοια (897 b 3, 898 b 8), while that of its opposite is νοῦς and φρόνησις (897 b 1, c 5). Another distinguishing mark of evil is its opposition to the divine, and its god-forsaken nature. All godlike souls are ἄγαθαι πάσαν ἄρετὴν (899 b 6).

e 1. καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν: the mention of τὰ πάντα κινούμενα naturally leads up to the mention of the heavenly bodies. Probably Plato, if pressed, would have included the earth in these (cp. below 897 b 7 f, and c 8), but the καὶ suggests that he was here thinking mainly of sun, moon, and stars; and was therefore not here using οὐρανὸς in the sense of universe, as at Tim. 28 b, and below at 897 c 4. This view is supported by the expression πάντα τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν at e 8.

e 4. μιᾶν ἡ πλείους; the question of the plurality of souls is raised below in the same words at 898 c 7, and in the words ψυχὴ μὲν ἡ ψυχαί at 899 b 5. The question is naturally suggested by the mention of the revolving heavenly bodies (cf. Tim. 41 d διειλεῖς ψυχὰς ισαρίθμους τοῖς ἀστροῖς), though he does not discuss the nature of the various connexions of ψυχή with σῶμα, nor the extent to which these multiplied ψυχαί are separate existences. The following distinction between the soul which is the cause of good and that which is the cause of evil is more distinctly made at 898 c 4 in the words ἦτοι τὴν ἀριστήν ψυχήν ἡ τὴν ἐναντίαν, and is implied at 897 b 3 and c 7, and at 899 b 5. As before said, the κακή ψυχή is κακή because it lacks the godlike character of νοῦς, and is ἄνοιας πάσης συγγενιός (898 b 8). In the course of innumerable discussions to which this passage has given rise this αἴτια κακίας has been called a "world-soul," and has even been raised to the dignity of a full-blown Devil. Such titles are seriously misleading, and are at variance with the context and drift of the passage. The distinction is introduced as a somewhat
perfunctory proof of the plurality of ψυχαὶ. There is here no virtue in the number two except as it is inconsistent with unity. The Ath. reckons on ready assent to the proposition that good and bad cannot be the work of the same agency. Ορ. Xen. Cyr. vi. 1. 41 δύο γὰρ σαφῶς ἔχω ψυχὰς . . . οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε ὀδὸν ἀμα ἀγαθὴ té ἐστι καὶ κακὴ. All the instances given of the “bad soul’s” activity are confined to the sphere of bodily existence, and we are told that it is akin to ἄνωιā, and incompatible with the divine—νοῦς being the divinē element in man. Further than that the question of its nature and origin is left untouched. (“Von zwei Welteelen kann ich nichts in den Wortern finden,” Ritter, p. 307.)

897 a 5. παραλαμβάνονται, “bringing in their train.”

b 1. To γλυκύ L and O² add πικρόν.—καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ψυχῆς χρωμένη κτλ.: the dat. πᾶσιν is of the same kind as κινήσεσιν in e 9 above, and πᾶσαις in a 3. The word sums up all the secondary (mechanical) processes (physical, or chemical, we should call them) by which soul produces its effects. Even for these processes the guidance of νοῦς is needed. (Cornarius rejected καὶ and made χρωμένη govern πᾶσιν οἷς, perhaps rightly.)—The subj. ψυχῆς is repeated from e 8 because so much has intervened. He goes on to say that these effects are orderly and happy if νοῦς is ψυχῆς’s guide, and quite the reverse if it allies itself with ἄνωια.—The words between προσλαβοῦσα and ὀρθά are uncertain. The first is always given as ἀδει, the second is given by A and O as θεόν, by L and Ens. and the margin of O as θείον. In the following ὀρθως θεως it is hardly possible to find any sense. Fic. has “recte cuncta diis recta feliciaque perducit.” In A the ὦς is in an erasure; in the margin of O and A (probably) late hands wrote θεῶς ὦς σα ὀρθὰ. The favourite modern emendation is Winckelmann’s ὀρθῶς θέους. Herm. and Wagn. accept this reading, also θείον for θεόν; Stallb. (also reading θείον) would emend ὀρθῶς θεῶς ὦς (a Homeric use of ὦς); Schramm had previously proposed ὀρθῶς, ὦς θεῶς; Asł proposed κατὰ for ἀδει and ἰὼνα for θεώς, comparing Phaedr. 253 b κατὰ τὸν θεόν ἰὸντες. Stallb. appositely cites Proclus, Theol. Plat. i. 12, p. 30 νοῦν γὰρ ὕποκ θεῶν προσλαβοῦσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ὀρθὰ καὶ ἐμφρωνα παιδαγωγεῖν.—Is ἐμφρωνα the true reading, instead of εὐδαιμόνα?

—Ritter sides with Schramm and Stallb.
NOTES TO BOOK X

b 8. τὸ φρόνημον καὶ ἀρετῆς πλῆρες: the connexion of νοῦς with the good and regular is assumed to be self-evident; so, in the next paragraph, νοῦ κύνησεi stands for the activity of the good soul. Cp. Wordsworth, Prelude, xiii. 26 ff.:

I had been taught to reverence a Power
That is the visible quality and shape
And image of right reason.

c 8 f. τὴν τοιαύτην: i.e. ὁμοίαν νοῦ κύνησεi (Stallb. says it is i.q. ἀριστην).—ἐκεῖνην, i.e. τὴν ἀριστην ψυχήν, is the subj. of ἀγεῖν. (Wagn. makes ἐκεῖνην agree with ὁδόν.)

d 4. ἐμφρόνως: the Ath. explains below that the might and dignity of νοῦς is such as to dazzle contemplation. All that mortal intelligence can contemplate is a reflexion, an image, which will give us a vague idea of the nature of νοῦ κύνησεi. In other words, he cannot do more than show us points of resemblance between νοῦ κύνησεi and κύνησεi ἐν ἐνι τόπθ. ἐμφρόνως εἶπειν on the other hand would be "to describe with complete understanding" or "with scientific accuracy." Wagn. well translates ἐμφρόνως by "mit Einsicht." (With Fic. and Schneid. it is merely "prudenter respondere.")

d 5. προσλαμβάνειν, "to take a hand at (in addition)." Cp. Xen. An. ii. 3. 11 and 12; it is not elsewhere found with a genitive of the task undertaken, though with συνλαμβάνειν in that sense it is a common construction. (L. & S. "support me in finding an answer," apparently making ἐμε the object of προσλαμβάνειν.)

d 9. νύκτα ἐν μεσημβρία ἐπαγόμενοι: cp. Rep. 516 e ἄρ' οὖ σκότως <ἀν> ἀνάπλεσε σχοῦ τοι ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξαίφνης ἥκων ἐκ τοῦ ἥλιον; cp. also Phaedo 99 d διαφθείρονται γὰρ τον ἐνιο ὁμοματα ἐὰν μὴ ἐν ὀφθατ ἐν τοι τινοῦτῳ σκοπόντω τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτού (i.e. τοῦ ἥλιον).

e 4 f. ἦ... λάβωμεν, "let us take as our 'image' that one of those ten motions which νοῦς resembles."

e 8. ἔτι, because the fact here recalled is in addition to the previously recalled statement about the ten motions.—The MSS. here give us the object of μεμνημέθα twice over, first as γε τοσοῦτων (after τοινυν), and next as τοῦτο γε (after ἔτι). Ens. and the margin of A and O give τὸ γε τοσοῦτον τῶν τότε, leaving out ἔτι τοῦτο γε. The vulgate accepted Eusebius' reading and added ἔτι after τότε; Schn., Herm., Stallb., Wagn., and Burnet rightly omit γε τοσοῦτον, but otherwise keep to the reading of the MSS.

898 a 2. Ens. has ταύτη, a less likely reading than the MSS. ταῦτα.
a 3. The ἐν before ἐνί, which is established by L and Eus., was omitted by the first hands of A and O, and inserted in both by correcting hands—a good instance of a common scribe’s error, the omission of one of two similar consecutive syllables.

a 4. The construction is changed from ἔθιμον to ἀνάγκη (ἐστὶ), and this suits the further ὑμοιαν ἐλναι τῇ τοῦ νοῦ περιόδῳ.—The mistaken οὐσίων of the MSS. and Eus. survived till Ed. Bipont., though Steph. preferred the correct οἰσαί, which was first printed by Ast. The early edd. also printed τοῖν for the MS. τὴν in a. 3. Fic. made neither mistake.

a 8 f. For the τὸ κατὰ ταυτὰ ep. note on 810 b 1.—προς τὰ αὐτὰ means “in the same direction.”—For the MS. ἔνα λόγον καὶ τάξιν μίαν I think we ought to read ἀνὰ λόγον καὶ τάξιν μίαν—“on a uniform system and plan.” Cp. the ἀνὰ λόγον and κατὰ λόγον in the description of this kind of motion above at 893 d 1 f. Ast suggested that καθ’ had fallen out before ἔνα.—The opposite of this motion is said below to be μηδ’ ἐν κόσμῳ μηδ’ ἐν τάξιν μηδὲ ἐν τειν λόγῳ.—At Timaeus 34 a Plato says that to the spherical body of the universe its framer gave κίνησιν . . . τὴν περὶ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν μάλιστα ὄνομαν, διὸ δὴ κατὰ ταυτὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ἐαυτῷ περιαγαγὼν αὐτὸ ἐποίησε κύκλῳ κυνείσθαι στρεφόμενον. Aristotle’s criticisms of Plato’s attempts to describe the mind’s activity by the “image” of a stationary revolving sphere ignore the fact that it is an image and not an actual description. (De an. i. 3, 407 a.)

b 2. I think that σφοιχας ἐντὸν ὑπεικασμένα φοράς is the addition of a commentator who failed to see that we have the εἰκών already in τὴν ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένην κίνησιν. The ὑπεικασμένα has only ἄρειφω to agree with. It is as if after saying that B is an εἰκών of A one should say “both A and B have been likened to A.”

b 5. Eus. has αὐτὴ γε ἦ (for αὐτὴ γε), evidently a writer’s mistake.

c 1–5. Either (1) the text of this passage has suffered mutilation or dislocation, or (2) the mind of the author was in a temporary confusion, or (3) we must suppose the sentence to have been suddenly interrupted by Cleinias’s outburst at c 6. On the third supposition the verb, to which ὅς in e 1 was to be the introduction, was never uttered: φατέον (ἐστὶ) must be construed with ἐπειδ’ἡ. For the following reasons I believe (3) to be the true view: (i) There is a suspicious pleonasm about “There is no longer any difficulty about expressly declaring that it must of
NOTES TO BOOK X

898 c

necessity be asserted that etc." (ii) Stallb.'s lame defence will not justify the μεν and δε, if φατέον is construed with ως.—Ast does not mend matters by substituting γε for δε. Fic., Schneid., Wagn., and Jowett ignore μεν and δε. I would put a (—) instead of a full stop after ἐναιτίαν. Probably the statement the Ath. was going on to make was just that which Cleiniias makes for him, i.e. that the guiding ψυχή must in this case be the best one. The Ath.'s κάλλιστα ὑπήκοουσα is equivalent to "just what I was going to say." Cp. the very similar sentence at 899 b 5 ff.—τήν ἀρίστην ψυχήν is "the best kind of soul."

7. μίαν ἡ πλείους: the repetition of these words in this connexion shows that at all events Cleiniias did not understand the Ath. to mean that there was merely a duality of world-souls—one good and one bad.

d 1. προσυπάκουσον: Eus. has in this the support of L and the correctors of A and O, as against the προσάκουσον of A and O. Herm., Schn., and Wagn. prefer the reading of A and O. Herm. cps. Euthyphro 14 a where ἐργασίας (with a variant ἀπεργασίας) follows ἀπεργάζονται, and the (hardly parallel) case of Laws 810 c, where τάξει εἰς follows προστάξας. See also Adam's note on Euthyphro 1bc.

d 8. Eus., Fic., and all editors but Schneider read τίνος; ΑΛ and O however have τίνας; Wagn. is so sure that τίνος; is right that he presumes Schneider's τίνας; to be a misprint. It is not an important point, but, on the face of it, τίνος; is not so far preferable as to discredit the MSS.

d 11. ἐλπὶς πολλῆς, "there is every reason for believing." He does not claim to be positive, about disembodied spirits, and all spirits, that they are all, always, indiscernible by our bodily senses.—τὸ παράπαν goes with ἀναίσθητον. Schneider and Wagner take it with τὸ γένος—in the sense, I suppose, "in every case," "speaking generally"—Schn. translates "universum hoc genus." The use of (τὸ) παράπαν is against this. For τὸ παράπαν seems to have a natural affinity for a negative, or a negative expression.

e 2. περιτεφωκέναι: the word which he chooses to describe vaguely the attachment of soul to body means "to envelop, to cling to"; cp. Rep. 612 a where it is used of the earthly "in-crustations" which the soul contracts on earth, as a ship does at sea. It shows how remarkably unfettered Plato's mind was by the letter of a metaphor, that he should in one place treat the soul as the enveloped, and in another as the enveloping element.
(Ast, seizing on the fact that Eus. has μόνον after εἶναι, would put commas after τοῦτο and αἰσθήσεως, and a colon after μόνον, and give περιπετευκέναι the meaning superesse, relinquuit—a meaning not found for it elsewhere.) The main statement is contained in τὸ παράπαν ἀναισθήτων τάς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεως, as the contrasted νοητὸν δ᾽ εἶναι shows; ἡμῖν is dat. ethn., and we must supply τοῖς σῶμασι in thought with περιπετευκέναι—"it adheres to bodies without being discernible by the bodily senses." (Stallb. takes περιπεφ. directly with the dat. αἰσθήσεως.)—Eus. has μόνον ὃ in the place of the asyndetic νὸ μόνος of the MSS. Zürr. and Herm. adopt Baiter's νοητὸν δ᾽ εἶναι νῷ μόνῳ. <μόνος> δῆ, comparing Phaedr. 247 c (ψυχῆς) κυβερνήτῃ μόνῳ θεατή νῷ. Fic., though leaving out some points, gives the main sense of the passage clearly: "Idque genus cum nullo corporis sensu percepierat sola mente comprehenditur. Quare et nos de ipso hoc sola intelligentia capiamus."

e 5. That Eus. gives us ei περιάγει for the MS. εἰπερ ἀγεῖ is disturbing. Ast, Zürr., Wagn., and Herm. follow Eus.

e 10. It is best to put a comma after εἴσωθεν, to show that it does not go with πορισμαένη, but with ὤθει. (Jowett, on the other hand, translates "provides herself with an external body ... and violently propels.")—Schneider is the only editor since Ast who has not followed him in adopting Eus.'s αὐτῇ for the MS. αὐτη.

899 a 1 f. ὤθει βία σώματι σῶμα: Ritter well cpsi. Critias 109 b θεοί ... οἶνον νομῆς ποίμνα ... ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφον, πλήν οὖ σῶματι σώματα βιομένοι—"the motive power being persuasion."

a 3. ὑπερβαλλοῦνας θαύματι, "miraculous," and so inexplicable. Plato's own hypothesis was clearly the first of the three.

a 4. ποδηγεῖ: Stallb. remarks that, though Ep. vii. 340 c 7 is the only other place where Plato uses this word, it and ποδηγεστείν were great favourites with the Neoplatonists.

a 5. Herm. rightly gives τοῦτο ... διάγεν to Cleinias. In so doing he follows Ficinus, and is followed by Wagn., Stallb. (1860), and Burnet.

a 7. Schneider rejects the otiose and barely intelligible αὐτοῦ δὴ ἄμεινον, and inserts a δὴ after ταῦτην. Those who defend the words either take ἄμεινον to stand for ἄμεινον ἑστι (so Fic.), thus rendering χρεῶν in a 9 superfluous, or take it to be equivalent to ἄμεινον ὅν (Wagn. and H. Richards suppose ὅν to have been lost) —"and this soul of the sun which is therefore better than the sun," Jowett. But what does this add to the sense of the passage?
I would offer the conjecture that the sentence possibly began, as Schneider has it, ταύτην δὴ τὴν ψυχήν, and that a commentator, not liking the asyndeton, and wishing to substitute αἲ for δὴ (either here or at b 3), wrote at the side αἲ τοῦ δῆ ἀμείνον.

a 8. ἐν ἀρμασίν ἔχουσα: at Tim. 41 e the body of a star is represented as the ὀξημα into which its soul is placed. If Fic., Stallb., and Jowett are right, we have quite a different metaphor here, for they represent the soul of the sun as carrying about its body in a chariot. In that case the chariot is something exterior to both. But surely Ast, Schneider, and Wagn. are right in taking ἐν ἀρμασίν ἔχουσα ἅγει to mean “drives it as it would a chariot.” This extension of the use of ἐν in the sense of among to that of under the head of, and so like, is supported here by the exigencies of the sense of the passage, but hardly by ἐν οὐσίᾳ at 913 b 8, to which Ast appeals; for there ἐν οὐσίᾳ is the counterpart of ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. (Such a use is exactly that of the French en in the sense of en qualité de.)—ἡμῖν is the ethic dat. of the people whose point of view is being considered.

a 9. Stallb. proposes to read καὶ for the second εἴθε; this change would bring the phrase into the form in which it occurs elsewhere, but it does not seem impossible that a repeated εἴθε should take the place of the usual καὶ—which occurs at b 8 below. The formula is of the same pleonastic kind as the πάντως καὶ πάντη of Phil. 60 c 2. See Burnet on Phaedo 100 d 6.

b 3. ἀστρων δῆ: the asyndeton suits the solemn enunciation of the conclusion of the whole matter. All editors, however, except Burnet have adopted O2's insertion of a δέ before the simple δῆ of ALO.—ἐναυτῶν κτλ.: we need not fancy that Plato’s poetic imagination carried him so far as to postulate souls for years, months, and seasons; they are only mentioned as being the form in which the heavenly bodies “arrange” (κοσμοῦσιν) our life for us; they are the πάντα ταὐτα of which the ψυχαί of the moon and stars are the αὐταί.

b 5. τὸν αὐτὸν: i.e. the same as in the case of the sun.—ψυχῇ μὲν ἡ ψυχαί: again he leaves open the question whether it is one divine soul which moves the universe, or several.

b 7. εἴτε ἐν σώμασιν ἐνοῦσαι κτλ., “whether, in their direction of the whole universe, they occupy bodies like ordinary animated beings, or however they do it.” Fic. and Schn. translate κοσμοῦσιν by (ex)ornemnt; i.e. they suppose Plato to be using οὖρανδος in the sense of sky. (Fic.’s “tanquam animalia quaedam” suggests that he
was thinking of the constellations and signs of the zodiac with bodily forms.)

b 8 f. L and O² are clearly right in reading ὅτως for the ὄλως of A and O. Perhaps this ὄλως was the reason why Fic. interpolates an "Omnino" from Cleinias, as an answer to the Ath.'s question. —The MSS. have εἰθ’ (ὀστίς); further, A and O have ὀμολογῶν (and so the corrector of L), while L and O² have ὀμολογεῖ; all MSS. have for the next word ὑπομενεῖ. The vulgate, till Steph., was εἰθ’ ὀστίς ταῦτα ὀμολογεῖ ὑπομενεῖ . . .; Steph. saw that we ought to read ὑπομενεῖ. Boeckh wrote εἰθ’ for εἰθ’ . Then Ast, finding (from Cod. Voss.) that the MSS. probably had ὀμολογῶν, and not ὀμολογεῖ, divined what all subsequent editors except Bekker, Schn., and Wagn. hold to be the right reading, i.e. ἔσθ’ ὀστίς ταῦτα ὀμολογῶν ὑπομενεῖ . . . (Schn. and Wagn. read εἰθ’ . . . ὀμολογῶν, Schn. reads ὑπομενεῖ and Wagn. ὑπομενεῖ. Fic’s translation is "Ita ergo istis concessis poteritne aliquis negare?"

b 9. θεῶν εἶναι πλήρης πάντα: it is difficult to decide whether πάντα means πάντα τὰ ἄστρα, or "all the universe." It is generally taken in the latter sense, and compared with Aristotle's statement (De an. i. 411 a 8) καὶ Θαλῆς φήθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι. Cp. also Stob. Ecl. Phys. i. 3. 28 Θαλῆς νοῦ τοῦ κόσμου τὸν θεόν τὸ δὲ πάν ἐμύχυον ἕμα καὶ θεῶν πλῆρες.

c 3. εἰπόντες ὅρους ἀπαλλαττῶμεθα, "these are the final terms which we will offer him."

c 8. τούτων συνετόμενα: for the gen. with ἐπόμενον Stallb. cps. Politi. 271 e, Rep. 504 b (where see Adam's note). O² has τοῦτῳ for τούτων.

c 9. L and the corrector of O preserved the right reading ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν; Α has ἡμῶν ἡ δν, with ἡμῖν in the marg.

d 1 f. ὀρώμεν οὖν εἰτε ἰκανῶς . . . εἰτε ἐπίδεως: this looks more like an alternative clausula to the disputatio, than a continuation of the remark about "final terms." Probably Plato did not mean both to stand.

d 4. τούτοις, "as far as these men are concerned."—ἡμῖν τὸ λόγων, "our argument." For the bare gen. with the article Stallb. cps. τὰ πολέμου at 628 d 8 and τὸ γε φίλων καὶ ἐταίρων at 729 c 8.

d 6. ὃ ἀριστε δὴ φῶμεν: for the hyperbaton of the δὴ cp. Stallb.'s note on Phaedr. 258 a ἐδοξεῖ ποῦ φησι, and Ast's on 715 e 7 ἀνδρὲς τοίνυν φῶμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, where he cps. 772 e 7.

d 7. ὃτι μὲν ἡγηθείς: not "because you believe in gods" (as Wagn.), but "as to your belief in gods."

482


NOTES TO BOOK X

899 d

d 8. τιμᾶν καὶ νομίζειν εἶναι stands for ὡστε τιμᾶν κ. v. εἰ; αὐτό (i.e. τὸ σύμφωνον, i.e. τοὺς θεούς) is to be supplied in thought as the object of the infinitives. Fic. translates as if he had read πρὸς τὸ τὸ σύμφωνον ἄγει τιμᾶν—“ad rem tibi coniunetam affirmandam colendamque ducit.”

e 2. O has preserved for us the right reading εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι, to which an ordinary scribe’s error had in AL and O² added a σ. The early edd. down to Steph. and Ed. Bipont. read δόξαι δὲ εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι. Ast gives from Theodor, δόξη δὲ εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι.

e 3 f. ἐν μούναις ὑμνοῦμεν κτλ. is subordinate to and explanatory of δόξαι εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι. The lot of these men is falsely reputed a happy one, and the reputation is expressed in, or springs from, the mistakes of poets and talkers of all sorts. (Wagn. brackets ἐν τε . . . λόγοις as spurious.)—Burnet puts a full stop after λόγοις, others only a colon.

e 4 ff. ἦ καὶ . . . ἀφικομένους: this passage has suffered many alterations from scribes and critics. Burnet has done better service to his author by printing the text which has the best authority, than have those editors who aimed more at intelligibility and style. A late hand in A prefixed ἀνοσίας to ἀνθρώπως (in the margin), but though it occurs in no other MS. Burnet alone of all editors rejects it. Eus. and the margin of O insert ὅταν, Burnet says before, others after τὸ νῦν in 900 a 2; ὅταν was first printed by Ast, but placed by him before ἰδὼν; A seems to have at first written αἰσθανόμενος for αἰσθόμενος, and πᾶσιν for παντάπασιν, and to have omitted the αὐτός before αὐτόπτης (for which word Eus. has αὐτῶν τινι); the generally adopted προστυχὸν for the προστυχῆς of the MSS. and Eus. has only the authority of the corrector of O; finally the early editions introduced ὀρίσ— to govern the acc. ἀφικομένους—before ἐκ in a 5. Other suggested alterations are εἰδῶς for ἰδὸν in a 2 (Winckelmann); Ritter would reject ἰδὸν and (reading προστυχῶν) change ἀφικομένους to ἀφικομένους (to agree with the dat. instr. τινι). The punctuation has also been variously arranged. Schneider’s and Burnet’s texts agree except that Schm. adopts the vulgate ἀνοσίας in e 5, and αἰσθανόμενος in a 2, and that Burnet inserts a comma after αὐτόπτης in a 3. Herm. rejects αὐτός in a 3 (as well as ὅταν and ὀρίσ), but adopts προστυχῶν for προστυχῆς. The general sense of the passage as Burnet prints it is this: “You see old men ending their days in high honours, which pass to their descendants; and yet you are dismayed to find, either on the evidence of others, or may be by your personal experience of such crimes as you witness, that,
among these honoured names, some had used these very crimes to raise them from obscurity to the summit of power.” τοῦτος in a 2 is masc. ἰδῶν, which governs ἀφικομένους, is general—“finding”; the two alternative ways of “finding” are then parenthetically described. προστυχίης goes directly with τισίν.

900 a 6 f. δήλος εἰ . . . διὰ συγγένειαν οὐκ ἄν ἔθελον, “I can see that your kinship with them would make you unwilling to . . .”

a 8. ἀγάμενος ὑπὸ τε ἀλογίας ἁμα καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος δυσχεραίνειν θεοῦς: the τε and καί connect two logical but not grammatical equivalents; i.e. the two concurrent (atatype) motives by which the young half-sceptic ἀγεται—(1) he is the victim of his own short-sightedness, and (2) he cannot bring himself to find any fault in the gods. All editors but Schneider and Burnet adopt the τινος of L and A 3 for τε.—Stallb. prints ὑπὸ τέ τινος.—The ἀγάμενος of A 2 looks like a clever person’s bad guess.

b 3. ἀμελεῖν: cp. the “careless of mankind” in Tennyson’s Lotos-Eaters, and the picture there given of the gods of Epicurus.

b 4 f. ἐάν πως γενώμεθα δυνατοῦ is a very insufficient grammatical equivalent to ἴνα μὴ ἐπὶ μειζὸν ἐλθῃ σοι πάθος πρὸς ἀσέβειαν. Would it be best to accept O. Apelt’s ἐναντίως for ἐάν πως? (Eisenach Progr. 1901). We get thereby an improved sense as well as an emended construction: “In order then that the belief you now hold may not make your state a worse one in the matter of impiety, but that we may fight it and be able by (our) arguments, as it were, to rid ourselves of its pollution when it approaches us.” F.H.D., perhaps rightly, regards ἐάν πως as a parenthetic idiomatic “if possible,” taking ἴνα with γενώμεθα as well as with ἐλθῇ. Cp. εἰπερ at e 6. προσκύνην, as at Phæædo 102 e and 103 d, has a suggestion of a hostile encounter (Ast, and Viger in Eus., conjectured the less apposite προκύπνον for it).—(Wagn. regards προς ἀσέβειαν as a “gloss.”)

b 6. τὸν ἔξης λόγον is more than “the following argument”; ἔξης denotes an already existing connexion between the two topics—“deinceps dicenda” (Schn.).

c 2. ἀποκρινόμενοι διαδέχεσθε, “take his place in answering”; cp. 758 b 1 φρονοῦντας τε φρονοῦσιν διαδεχομένους.—Eus. and O 2 are clearly right in reading -όμενοι, as against the -άμενοι of A and O.

c 4. ἐγὼ σφόν . . . δεξάμενος διαβησθῶ τὸν ποταμόν, “I will take over the task from you, and so get (you) across the river.” (Cp. 892 d 6 ff.) Fic. translates as if he read σφώ— the reading of
Steph, Ast, and Zürr. The obj. of δεξάμενος is not “you,” but “the task of answering”; it continues the idea of διαδεχεσθε in the previous line. For the dat. with δεξάμενος cp. Porson on Eur. Hec. 533, “Aristoph. Lys. 204 τὰ σφάγια δέξα αἰ-taiς γυναιξίν εὑμηνής; ubi ταῖς γυναιξιν non minus regitur a δέξαι quam ab εὐμηνής.”

c 6. For the γε of A and O Eus. and the corrector of O have the more natural τε, which all modern editors but Schneider adopt. The vulgate, down to Ast, prints neither.

c 7. Ed. Lov., by a common error, omits εἰς.

c 9. τοῦτῳ γε MSS. Again Eus. and O² help the text by preserving the γε which A and O omit. Ed. Lov. makes here an emendation, which merits more attention than it has received, by reading τοῦτῳ γε. In view of the following ἦκουε it seems very likely that this is correct. τοῦτῳ is the τοῦ νέου of c 2.—οὐχ ἦττον, μᾶλλον δὲ, ἦ τῶν μεγεθεὶ διαφερόντων: Burnet alone ventures to print Eusebius's addition of μᾶλλον δὲ; L's ἄλλων δὲ before ἦ τῶν goes a long way to prove that the addition is not due to Eus. alone, but the context speaks against it. That the gods care for all things (d 3) is in no way a proof that they care for small things more than for great. Fic. apparently knew nothing of μᾶλλον δὲ, though he translates ἦ τῶν μεγ. διαφ. I would suggest that certainly μᾶλλον δὲ, and possibly all from οὐχ ἦττον to δια- 

φερόντων, was the addition of some early Christian scribe. (F.H.D. would retain μᾶλλον δὲ; he points out that the Ath. does not say that the gods do so care—only that it could be argued that they do.) (We may in this connexion recall Pasteur's salutary reminder of the importance of the “infiniment petits.”)

d 1. ἦκουε: i.e. ο νέος. The vulgate down to Ast (including Ed. Lov.) adopted a foolish correction, of the correctors of A and O, to ἦκον (and in d 4 to ἐπήκον). Ast gives the whole speech, from ἀλλ' οὐδὲν down to ἐπήκον, to Megillus.

d 5. If συνετακόντων, which is the sole reading of all MSS., and of Eus., is correct, we must suppose that Plato suddenly imagines himself confronted in argument by several opponents, in place of the single νέος. Steph. thought we should read συνεξετάζωμεν, and so Ast, Herm., and Wagn.; Fic. translates “communiter investigemus,” but as “let them examine together with us” comes to the same thing as “let us examine together with them,” this does not prove that he read συνεξετάζωμεν. He departs more than from this Greek in the former part of the sentence.
e 6. ἐπερ is equivalent to "when they do belong to anyone."

e 10. ἀμέλεια: cp. "Don't-care came to the gallows."

901 a 2. L and O² give Cleinias's answer as εἰς τούναντίον; O and A² as τούναντίον; A and Eus. omit it.

a 4. κηφής κοθούρους: the passage of Hesiod to which Plato refers is Op. et Di. 303 τῷ δὲ θεόν νεμεσώσι καὶ ἀνέρες ὃς κέν ἀφρός ζῷη, κηφήνεσσι κοθούρους εἰκελος ὄρμην.

a 5. [ὁ] τοιοῦτος: by the rejection of the ὦ Burnet reduces the sentence to order. The predicative τοιοῦτος is the antecedent to ὦ, just as τοιοῦτον in a 7 is antecedent to ὦ in a 8. I would further suggest that we ought to replace the (;) at the end by a full stop: "Every man who is τρυφόν etc. must be pronounced such a one as the poet likened to drones." Burnet also takes his own line in preferring the πᾶς of Eus. and the correctors of A and O to the original and commonly printed πᾶσιν. (Stallb. also prints πᾶσι, but he wants to change it to κακοῖς.) Fic., Ast., Wagn., and Winckelmann believe that some word like ἔχθρος or μοσητός has fallen out after πᾶσιν ἡμίν. This view they support by recalling Hesiod's νεμεσώσι, and pointing to the αὐτὸς μοιεῖ at a 8. To say nothing of the violence of the supposition of the loss of so important a word, the ὦ τοιοῦτος is awkward and unnecessary: moreover Cleinias's answer—"and he was quite right to call him so"—by no means fits in with that question. (Herm. would read πᾶσι ἐν ἡμίν, and Wagn. follows him. Schneider boldly makes ὦ τοιοῦτος a predicate, "nonne omnium nostrum judicio talis sit?" (where is the nonne?) Jowett's interpretation is very ingenious; he takes ὦ τοιοῦτος to mean "one who takes care of great and small," referring to 900 c 9. But who could be expected to go so far back for an explanation of ὦ τοιοῦτος?)

a 8. ὦ γέ τοι αὐτὸς μοιεῖ: for the τοι we are indebted to L and the margin of O. The first hand of O wrote it τι, and A and Eus. omitted it. (Steph. conjectured that we ought to read τοι.) We must suppose that the Hesiodic quotation was so familiar that the Ath. could rely on his hearers remembering τῷ δὲ θεόν νεμεσώσι. —Even if, with Winckelmann, we had read πᾶσι νεμεσητός at a 5, that does not amount to the statement that "God hates sloth."

b 1 f. ὦ μὲν . . . ὦ δὲ τούτου γέ νοῦς κτλ.: for the change in the construction cp. Stallb.'s note on Polit. 306 c 7, and Gorg. 454 b 10 ὦ δοκεῖ μὲν δῆλον εἶναι, ἐγὼ ὦ δ' ἐπανερωτῶ.—The scribe of Eus., or Eus. himself, misread γέ νοῦς into γένους, and prefixed τοῦ to it.
NOTES TO BOOK X

b 3f. κατά τίνα ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν τοιούτον λόγον ὁυκ ἀν παντα-
παῖσι πλημμελοῖμεν; “to praise such a man on any grounds would
be an inexcusable mistake.” The hyperbaton of the λόγον is
noticeable.—As did Δ at 900 a 3, Δ and O first wrote πάσι for
παντάπασι.

b 5. ἀρ’ οὗ κατὰ δύο εἶδη τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττει ὁ πράττων, εἶτε
θεὸς εἰτ’ ἄνθρωπος; “are there not two sorts of such an action,
whether the doer is God or man?”

c 1. εἰ διαφέρει, ὃ δὲ ἀμελεῖ: we should say “if, notwithstanding
their importance, he still neglects them.”

c 4. δν goes with δυνάμει; it is the same gen. that we have
with δύναμις at d 8, and with αἰσθήσεως and ἑπιστήμην at d 5.
(Ast and Jowett govern δν by the following ἐπιμελεύσθαι.)

c 5. δυνάμει...ἐλλιπής: another curious hyperbaton, which
marks the intervening words as a parenthesis; “whether he be a
god or some insignificant creature.” Stallb. thought that ἄνθρωπος
must have fallen out before τε; but the words in the text, coming
so soon after the parallel εἰτε θεὸς εἰτε ἄνθρωπος of b 6, are surely
significant enough as they stand. So below at 903 a 2 ἀργῶν ἢ
δειλῶν τίνα is contrasted with τὸν θεόν.—The καὶ is explanatory,
μὴ δυνατὸς ἐπιμελεύσθαι being an alternative expression for
δυνάμει ἐλλιπής.

c 8. Here begins a strict investigation of the questions (1) Do
the gods neglect men? and (2) are they παραίτητοι? The dis-
cussion of the first repeats and resumes some of what precedes.

d 4. Eus. omits αἱ, and so Matthiae and Herm. Stallb. says
it is “eae quas novimus.” Is it not “our”?  
d 5. A and O’s λέγεται for λέγετε is an example of a very
ordinary scribe’s blunder, corrected by O². Eus.’s δὲ γε for λέγετε
is less ordinary.


e 5. τὸ παράπαν goes with the negative in ἀδύνατον, “is it
not absolutely impossible?”—Eus. and L² and O² have a plausible
variant for ὀμολογοῦμεν in λέγομεν.

e 6. δειλίας ἔγχονος is predicate. F.H.D., comparing 903 a 2,
points out that δειλία denotes a feeling of shrinking, comparing
ἀργία to the American phrase “lying back.”

902 a 1. οὐκοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν is repeated in τὶ τὸ λοιπὸν...; 
at a 3—“the conclusion then is... what is the conclusion?”—
καὶ is “or.”

a 2. ἡ γεγυμωσκοντες ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιοῦτων
ἐπιμελεύσθαι ἔδι, ἥρων ἀν τούτο... τοῦναντίον; “either they

487
would do this with a knowledge that there was not a single one of such things which they were bound to care for, or—what is left (for us to suppose) except (that they have) the opposite of knowledge?" i.e. "either they know that they have no such duty, or they do not know it." Ritter (p. 310) says that Plato must have meant to say "either they know that they are bound to neglect nothing." It is true that he does put it that way in what follows, for he goes on to say "do you say that they do know, or do not know that it is their duty to care?" Anyhow, Ritter is ill-advised in proposing to emend ἐπιμελεῖσθαι to ἀμελεῖσθαι (mid.), for there is no such word.—The author of the variant ὁδὲν δὲι mentioned by O seems to have thought that the statement would be clearer if the negative were doubled.

a 4. τῷ γνωσκείν (taken by some as dat. instr. with δρᾶσιν) is governed by τοῦ ἀναγίν. —The vulgate was τῷ γν. ; Eus. has τοῦ γν., which Ast adopts. For such a gen. (which is unlikely) cp. Laches 188 e 3, Rep. 362 e 2.

a 9. ποιεῖν, which Herm. would reject (along with the comma after it) is only awkward if οὐ ποιεῖν, at the end of the sentence, is taken with λέγονταί. The λέγονταί clause finishes at πράττονον (as Burnet's comma indicates); οὐ ποιεῖν depends directly on λέγοντα in a 7. ὥς . . . γνωσκοντας will not (as Schn. and Jowett) make a sentence by itself; Jowett translates as if we had εἴδοτας in a 9. (Schn. puts a colon after ποιεῖν in a 9.)—For βελτίων πράττειν cp. above, 863 c 3; Eus. has βέλτιον.

b 1. διά τινας ἤττας ἡδονῶν ἡ λυπῶν: cp. 869 e 7 δι' ἤττας ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ φθόνων.—τινας, like the τινά below at d 8, is slightly contemptuous.

b 3. πῶς γὰρ ἂν; i.e. "it is equally impossible to say either (1) that the gods neglect what is their duty through ignorance (901 d 3), or (2) that they neglect it because they are too weak and self-indulgent to do it." This is not (as Ritter 310 f. says it) a repetition of what was said at 901 b 8. There the alternative to sloth was the belief "that small things do not matter"; here it is proved that, if they do matter, a god must know it.—Plato goes on to hint that perhaps man is not so small a matter after all; but even if he is—and perhaps he is—small things have a special dignity and usefulness of their own.

b 5. For the dignity of ἐμπνεύσεως φύσεως cp. above 896 cf.; for man's being "the very god-fearingest of creatures" cp. Tim. 41 e.

b 8. θεῶν κτήματα εἶναι: cp. Phaedo 62 b 8, and below 906 a 7, and Critias 109 b 6 f.
NOTES TO BOOK X

b 9. \(\delta\nu\tau\rho\varepsilon\) : Burnet tells us that \(\eta\ \nu\nu\rho\\nu\) took the place of \(\delta\nu\tau\rho\varepsilon\) in Eusebius's text—was this a scribe's misreading?—Wyttelenbach (on *Phaedo* 62 b), Ast, and Stallb. assume it to have been inserted by Eus. between \(\zeta\phi\alpha\) and \(\delta\nu\tau\rho\varepsilon\). W. moreover, like Ast, would read \(\omega\nu\tau\rho\varepsilon\) for \(\delta\nu\tau\rho\varepsilon\). \(\delta\nu\tau\rho\varepsilon\) (\(\phi\alpha\mu\varepsilon\nu\)) is equivalent to \(\kappa\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\nu\ \phi\alpha\mu\varepsilon\nu\).—\(\tau\omicron\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\) is "the universe." (Stallb., perversely comparing *Tim.* 69 c, where the universe is called a \(\zeta\phi\omicron\nu\), supposes \(\delta\nu\tau\rho\varepsilon\ \kappa\tau\lambda\) to mean "one of which is the universe." This ignores the point that \(w\epsilon\), as well as the universe, are \(k\tau\omicron\mu\omicron\alpha\tau\alpha\).)

b 11. The \(\eta\) which Eus. has before \(\sigma\mu\iota\kappa\rho\alpha\) does not alter the sense.—The doubtful form \(\pi\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\omega\) of \(L\) and \(O^2\) seems to be meant as an active, corresponding to the passive \(\pi\epsilon\phi\alpha\sigma\theta\omega\) of *Tim.* 72 d.

c 1. The \(\gamma\rho\) follows on an implied "it does not matter," or "I care not."

c 2. \(\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\) : this suggests the analogy of the good farmer, and his care for his stock.

c 3. The \(\gamma\rho\) to which Steph. and Ast object, and for which Eus. has \(\delta\epsilon\), is used in its literal sense: what follows gives a reason why the gods should be expected to care for the small things; i.e. the difficulty of perceiving small things adds dignity and importance to their discovery and comprehension.

d 2–5. "Take a physician who has to treat a patient as a whole: if he is willing and able to look after large members, but pays no attention to the small parts, will his subject as a whole fare well?" \(\pi\rho\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\) is an absolute, impersonal construction. Burnet's text follows the best authorities, and gives a good sense. All other texts adopt \(O^2\)'s correction of the MS. \(\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\) to \(\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\). Both that, and the \(\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu\) of \(L\) and \(O^2\) (for \(A\) and \(O^\prime\) \(\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota\)) were doubtless due to the desire to regularize the \(\mu\epsilon\nu\) and \(\delta\epsilon\) clauses. The abnormally late position of the \(\mu\epsilon\nu\) was probably due to the author's desire to keep \(\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\) and \(\delta\nu\omicron\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\) together (cp. below, ε 8). Possibly the \(\tau\omicron\nu\) and \(\mu\epsilon\nu\) have been accidentally transposed; probably \(\tau\omicron\nu\) should be rejected. In sense the \(\mu\epsilon\nu\) goes with \(\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \kappa\dot{\nu}\nu\). (Eus. has \(\delta\eta\) for \(\delta\epsilon\) in d 2, and has altered \(\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\) to \(\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\), and \(\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota\) to \(\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota\); he also puts in \(\epsilon\iota\theta\) before \(\xi\epsilon\iota\iota\). Fic., Ast, Wagn., and Jowett make \(\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota\) depend on \(\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \kappa\dot{\nu}\nu\), but then \(\pi\rho\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\) as a mere epithet of \(\omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\) \(\iota\iota\) is otiose, and so is \(\alpha\nu\tau\dot{\nu}\) in d 4.)

d 9. \(\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\) are, of course, the subject to a mentally repeated \(\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\ \xi\epsilon\iota\iota\).—\(\sigma\nu\delta\epsilon\) : even such humble \(\delta\nu\mu\omicron\nu\rho\gamma\omicron\omicron\iota\) as
"wallers" know the importance of the small stones—a singularly apt analogy.

e 1 and 8. We have here two curious examples of the omission by scribes of a passage owing to homoioteleuta; O left out φασίν λιθολόγοι λίθους here, and at e 8 both A and O omitted τ' ἐπιμελείσθαι καὶ δυνάμενον.

903a 1. ἤν (which Eus. omits) is the "philosophic" imperf. Cp. 668 b 6.

a 7. "I believe we have now reasoned perfectly satisfactorily with the man who charged the gods with neglect." Cp. above, 885 c 8. —μάλιστα μετρίως is a strengthened form of μᾶλα μετρίως; more usually μάλα is strengthened in Plato by a prefixed καί, e.g. above at 648 a 8, Phaedr. 265 a καί μᾶλ' ἄνδρικῶς. Eus. has καί μᾶλα μετρίως here—a variant mentioned in O, and adopted by Zürr., Herm., and Wagn.

a 10. τῷ γε βιάζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις, "yes, (we have done so) by forcing him by our arguments." To win him thoroughly over to our side we want more than argument; we must appeal to his soul as well as to his reason; we will use ἐπωδοὶ μῦθοι—put the case in such a way as to charm him into full agreement with us. Cp. above, 671 a 1 and other similar uses of ἐπωθός and ἐπάλευν. (Jowett translates ἐπ. μῦθ. by "consolation.")—Herm. gives δοκοῦμεν . . . θεῶν to Cleinias, and begins the Ath.'s answer Ναί, τῷ γε βιάζεσθαι.—A unaccountably gives ὄρθως by itself to Cleinias; so too the vulg., but not Fic.

b 4. παύσωμεν τὸν νεανίαν τοῖς λόγοις: i.e. "instead of compelling him by our words?"—the βιαζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις of a 10—"we will use our representations to win his voluntary assent."

b 5. All editors, including the correctors of A and O, accept Eus.'s δλον for the unintelligible λόγον of A and O.

b 6. The συν- in συντεταγμένα conveys the notion that all things are fitted into a consistent system.—εἰς δύναμιν implies that the perfection of the system is limited by the powers of individual creatures; so below, 904 c 2 it is implied that the formation of character depends on the nature of the individual's aspirations.—"And each single member of them all, as far as its powers allow, receives its proper experience, and produces its proper effect."

b 7 ff. τούτοις δ' εἰσίν ἄρχοντες προστεταγμένοι ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ τὸ σμικρότατον ἀδύνατον πάθης καὶ πράξεως, εἰς μερισμόν τὸν ἐσχάτον τέλος ἀπειργασμένοι, "all of these arrangements have for every act or experience—even the most insignificant—their appointed
controllers who have achieved perfection in the minutest details,” ἀρχοντες presents much difficulty. Probably the name includes, besides man, such creative powers or divine artificers as are imagined in the Timaeus (41 aff.), to whom are entrusted by the supreme being the constitution of man and his environment. (Personified Laws of Nature.) Renan’s words sound like an echo of this passage when he says (Dial. phil.), “Nous sommes tous des fonctions de l’univers. Le devoir consiste à ce que chacun remplisse bien sa fonction.”—(Ritter p. 318 seems to take τέλος ἀπειρασμένοι to mean “having had arranged for them the end for which they must strive.” Another idea is that τέλος is used in the sense of authority.)

c 1. ὁ σχέτλιε, “stubborn man” (Jowett).—συντείνει βλέπον, “has its whole energy directed towards.” The man himself does not realize this (σ’ ἔδε λέληβε), but such is the inflexible flat of his ἀρχοντες; such is his only raison d’être.

c 3. ὃς γένεσις ἕνεκα ἐκείνου γίγνεται πᾶσα, ὃπως ἡ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς βίω ὑπάρχουσα εἰσαίμων οὐσία: all MSS. have ὃπως ἡ τῷ, and so the first four printed editions. Eus. acc. to Burnet has ὃπως ἡ τῷ. Fic. and all editors but Burnet from Steph. onward accepted O²’s amalgamation of these two readings in the form, ὃπως ἡ ἡ τῷ. Burnet alone refuses to accept O²’s conjecture, and prints the text which Eusebius gives, and which the MS. reading partially confirms. With Eusebius’s and Burnet’s text the subject is εἰσαίμων οὐσία, a paraphrase for εἰσαίμωνία; the verb is ὑπάρχουσα ἡ, which stands for ὑπάρχῃ (cp. 774 c 6), and the words mean, “in order that happiness may attend” (or “may be secured by”) “the life of the universe.” In c 3 ἐκείνου introduces the ὃπως clause, but probably in c 5 it stands for τοῦ παντὸς. γένεσις πᾶσα includes the birth, production, or creation of the individual man—i.e. it is “every single individual creation—even so insignificant a one as yourself.” Probably γνωσμένη refers to γένεσις, not to εἰσαίμων οὐσία; “the act of creation does not take place in your interest; it is you who are created in the interest of the universe.”

. . . With this whole passage cp. Philebus 54 c 4 σύμπασαν δὲ γένεσιν οὐσίας ἑνεκα γέγνεσθαι συμπάσας.

c 6. παντὸς μὲν ἑνεκα πάντα ἐργάζεται: παντός is generally translated here as if it were τοῦ παντὸς, and the fact is ignored that the following μέρος μὴν ἑνεκα ὅλου is strongly contrasted by the μὴν (cp. 860 c 1 f.) with the previous μὲν clause. The πᾶς, παντός and πάντα, thus accumulated, sound like a proverbial phrase, the meaning of which seems to be: “all kinds of crafts-
men have all kinds of ends in view." He goes on to say that there is, however, one point in which they are all alike—you will never see a craftsman who makes a whole with a view to the advantage of a part: it is the other way round. For a similar line of thought cp. Rep. 420 b—421 c. (Ritter would read τινὸς for παντὸς, but this ignores the contrast indicated by μὲν . . . μὴν.)

c 7. Eusebius and all MSS. have συντείνον, but all editors since Steph. (except Schneider and Burnet) have adopted Steph.'s συντείνων for it. συντείνων πρὸς τὸ κοινῷ βέλτιστον ("so as to serve the general good") agrees with μέρος. Burnet emphasizes this connexion by omitting the comma which other editors have placed after βέλτιστον.

d 1. σὺ δὲ ἄγανακτεῖς . . . γενέσεως, "whereas you are discontented—you don't see how that condition of your affairs which is best for the universe is a success for you too, in virtue of the power of your common origin," συμβαίνει probably has the fuller meaning which it bears above at 744 a 4 εἰ μοι συμβαίνει τοῦτο, but it may merely mean "is equally so (i.e. best) for you too." (Stallb. makes only τὸ περὶ σὲ ἀριστον the subject of the sentence: "quomodo quod habita tui ratione optimum est universo conveniat itemque tibi.")—The soul that recognizes this truth is more useful in the universe than one that does not; and so, Plato goes on to tell us, the Disposer of all things takes occasion, when souls change bodies, to promote the useful soul to a good place, and degrade the useless one.

d 5. δὲ ἐκατῆν ἡ δὲ ἐτέραν ψυχήν: he has here in mind the two kinds of physical motion described at 894 b c, and finds it applicable to animi motus as well. The influence of one soul upon another is again noticed below in the διὰ τὴν . . . ὁμιλίαν at 904 d 5.

e 3. All editors have adopted the ἢπερ of LO² and Ens. for the impossible εἰπερ of A and O.—The MSS. and Ens. have ἄν ἔχοι ῥαστῶνης, and so apparently Fic. Aldus (?) inserted λόγον before ἔχοι, and Steph. further changed ῥαστῶνης to ῥαστῶνη. All editors but Schneider and Burnet reproduce Steph.'s text. Schneider goes half way back to the MSS. by recalling ῥαστῶνης (while keeping λόγον), Burnet rightly goes back all the way. The vulgate makes Plato say: "I believe I can point out to you how reasonable is an easy supervision of all things by the gods"; the MSS. "I believe I can point out how the supervision of all things by the gods is easy." ἦπερ ἄν ἔχοι ῥαστῶνης has the same idiomatic gen. as πῶς ἔχεις δόξης; at Rep. 456 d.
The "case" had already been indicated by the words οὐδὲν ἄλλο ... πάλ· at d 5 f.

e 3 ff. The main idea of the two following paragraphs seems to be that ἥ εἰμαρμένη (cp. 904 c 8) has ordained that certain types are unalterable. On the one hand dead matter does not change arbitrarily from one kind to another, and on the other ψυχή cannot enter any kind of matter—it must be a certain kind of body. Some kinds of body have greater powers and opportunities than others of advancing the interests of the universe, and some souls have more inclination than others to advance those interests: in other words, some souls are better than others. At each fresh γένεσις the πετρευτής has only to assign body to soul, and in so doing considers the inclination and character of the soul in question.

e 4. πρὸς τὸ δῶν ἄνθρωπον, "in his constant endeavour to serve the whole." Stallb. and Ritter accept the correction of Cod. Laur. lxxxv. 9 which inserts a μὴ before πρὸς, thus making it "instead of keeping always in view the interests of the whole." Either reading would make sense, but one is as possible as the other. The important word is the part. μετασχηματίζων.

e 5. τίς is some divine agency spoken of as a person.

e 6. ἐμψυχων, "with a soul in it." (Badham, Phil. p. vii., would read ἐκ προσ ὄνομ καὶ μη. It must be admitted that the received text is very mysterious.)—καὶ μη σύμπολλα ἐξ ἐνδο ἐκ πολλῶν ἐν: i.e. "instead of being confined to the increase or reduction of the numbers of fixed types." (Cornarius, followed by Ast, would read καὶ ἐκ for καὶ μη—as if the change were a complication of those previously mentioned.)

904 a 1. The three γένεσεις are not the same as the three transformations mentioned above at 894 a as steps in the process of γένεσις, but are generally assumed to be separate incarnations of an individual soul. (Cp. Tim. 42 b c.)

a 2. By removing the comma placed after μεταπολιθότα by other editors, Herm. and Burnet indicate that it goes closely with πληθεσιν ἄπειρον ἄν εἰς (so too Ritter). By the time that souls had reached their third incarnation the boundless multiplicity of kinds would render a purposeful rearrangement very difficult, if not impossible.—The ἄπορον of Α2 and Ω2 gets some slight support from Eus.'s ἄν ὅραν, and the ῥεστώνη in the next line; but we want a stronger word here.—τῆς μετατιθεμένης (pass.) κοσμήσεως is a gen. denoting that in relation to which the adj. ἄπειρον is applied; the privative ἀ- helps the use of the gen. Cp.
THE LAWS OF PLATO

Rep. 619 d πόνων ἀγνιμάστους, Theaet. 175 a ἄτοστα . . . τῆς σμικρολογίας. (Herm. and Ritter make τῆς μετ. κοσμ. depend on πλῆθεσιν; Schneider and Wagn. give the participle an active, and Ritter a reflexive meaning.)—Eus. and the second hands in L and O rightly substitute μεταπλεμένης for the διατηρεμένης of A and O. Schneider keeps the latter, translating adornantnis dispositionis.

a 6. ἐμψύχους οὐσάς τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας: no greater stretch of language is involved in talking of the soul of an action than in talking of its virtue or vice; the actions are the result of, or inspired by, the soul that started them.

a 8. ἀνώλεθρον δὲ ὑν γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ οὐκ αἰώνιον, ψυχήν καὶ σῶμα: ἀνώλεθρον is predicate, the verb being not ὑν but ὑν γενόμενον, which takes the place of γενόμενον just as γεγονόμενον ἐστι can stand for γίγνεσθαι—and it is neut. sing. because when the two come together, the embodied soul makes a unity. (Herm. would insert τὸ before γενόμενον; he says, if ἀνώλεθρον were predicate to ψυχήν καὶ σῶμα, it would be in the plur.; but cp. above, 732 ε ἐστιν δὴ φύσει ἀνθρώπεων μάλατα θέων καὶ λήπατι καὶ ἐπικυρ. — The unity is indestructible in both its parts, but, as a composite unity, not indissoluble, and that appears to be the sense in which οὐκ αἰώνιον is used.

a 9. καθάπερ οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὄντες θεοί: it is simplest to understand these words as applying only to αἰώνιον. The gods of the established religion were, like men, souls with a bodily shape, but in their case no dissolution of the union was possible. Cp. Tim. 41 b οὗ τίς μὲν δὴ λυθήσεσθε γε οὐδὲ τεῦξεσθε θανάτου μοῦρας, and 43 a 2 οὗ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς αὐτοὶ ἐξειδόχως δεσμοῖς.

b 1. By a kind of chiasmus, on the other hand, the parenthetical γένεσις . . . θατέρου is a comment on ἀνώλεθρον only. At Tim. 37 d Plato says, in his Creation Mythos, that it is impossible for τὸ γεννητὸν to be altogether αἰώνιον.—Here, as at Tim. 40 ε θεῶν πισοῦν . . . ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον, the κατὰ νόμον θεοί are, as contrasted with ὁ βασιλεύς (a 6)—ὁ τὸς τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας (Tim. 41 a 5)—the numerous inferior gods of the Greek mythology. Above, however, at 885 b, 890 a b, and 891 e the "gods as by law established " seem to include the highest, as well as the lower ones. (Stallb. and Zeller would reject the words here as a commentator's gloss. Schulthess and Ast, comparing c 8 κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον, take νόμον here to mean the "destiny" or "law of fate" which conditions their existence. Ritter, while agreeing with Stallb. that the words are a gloss,
holds that the glossator meant by νόμον what Ast says it meant.)
—Eus. and O² have preserved the correct ἦν for A’s ἦ and A³’s ἤ.

b 2. Eus. and the correctors of A and O have θατέρου; A and O had the scribe’s blunder θατέρου.—Eus. and the margin of L and O give ὅν ἀγαθόν for the ὅσον ἀγαθόν of all the MSS. It would be difficult, if we read ὅν, to justify the genitive ψυχῆς, which is natural after ὅσον; cp. Theaet. 157 e ὅσον ἐλλείπον αὐτοῦ.

b 3. διενοήθη resumes and repeats the κατείδευ of a 6, and συνιδόν resumes them both.

b 4. ἐμμαχάνοντο . . . ἄριστα, “contrived where each individual portion of soul should be posted so as most thoroughly, easily, and triumphantly to further throughout the universe the victory of virtue and the defeat of vice.”—With the use of μέρος for an individual soul cp. above, 903 b 6 and the subsequent phrases εἰς τὸν ἔχασαν μερισμόν, and τὸ σὸν μόριον. (Jowett makes τῶν μέρων depend on τοῦ.)

b 6. μεμηχάνεται δὴ κτλ., “he has devised in fact, in this general interest, what kind among the developments of character ought to occupy what kind of place, and in what regions.” With πρὸς τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο—which is, in effect, “with a view to the universally salutary victory of virtue and defeat of vice”—cp. below, 923 b 5 ἄτι δὲ τῇ πόλει τε ἄριστον πᾶσιν καὶ γένει, πρὸς πᾶν τοῦτο βλέπων νομοθετήσω. (Fic. separates τοῦτο from πρὸς πᾶν and makes it the obj. of μεμηχάνεται.)

b 8. Again Eus. has preserved the correct reading in τοῦ for the MS. το.—τῆς δὲ γενέσεως τοῦ ποιοῦ τινὸς . . . ὡς τὸ πολὺ: the plur. τὰς αἰτίας is significant; the second sentence makes its significance clearer: it is successive acts of volition, and repetition of the state of mind thus evolved, that gradually mould the character. (The αἰτία ἐλομένου in Lachesis’s speech at Rep. 617 e would suggest that ἀφῆκε τὰς αἰτίας here may mean “threw upon us the responsibility”; but the plur. number is against that.)

c 2. ὄπι and ὄποιος τίς ὃν τὴν ψυχήν are parallel complements of ᾧν ἐπιθύμη. (Schneider and Wagn. translate as if ὃν were εἶναι, Fic. and Jow. as if ὃν were ᾧν ἂν. Fic. moreover curiously understands ὄπι in a local sense—“each man gets the habitation which he desires, and the state of mind which suits him.” With the same idea Cornarius proposed to read οἰκίζεται for ἐκάστους.)—“He left it however to the wills of each one of us to provide the causes of the formation of character. For all of us, as a rule, develop in character, more or less in all cases, according to the tendency of our desires, and to our state of mind when so desiring.”
Plato does not think it necessary here—as he does above at 860 d ff., and at Tim. 86 d ff.—but not in Lachesis's ἀλήθεια ἐλομένου speech referred to above—to reconcile this statement with his inflexible belief that the natural, enlightened, human will was incapable of preferring evil to good.

c 6. μεταβάλλει: the change here spoken of goes on all through the lifetime of the ζῶν, but the φέρεσθαι and μεταπορείεσθαι, of which this change determines the direction, takes place, apparently, only after the separation of the ψυχή from the σώμα, and at the reincarnation of the ψυχή. According to the present account this reincarnation may take place in Hades.

c 8. μεταβαλλόντα: for this Stallb. says Eus. has μεταβαλόντα—both here and in the following line. Fic.'s translation, the following μεταπορεύοντα (d 1), and the sense of the context, all support this reading. Perhaps, however, the pres. part. is "as surely as they change."—κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον: these words seem here to describe the decision and will of the supreme Deity. Elsewhere (ἡ) εἰμαρμένη denotes a "Fate" independent of the Deity—particularly e.g. at Pol. 272 e in the case of the εἰμαρμένη τε καὶ ξύμφωνος ἐπιθυμία.

c 9. σμικρότερα μὲν τῶν ἡθῶν μεταβαλλόντα ἐλάττω, "if they make lesser changes, in unimportant characteristics." σμικρότερα τῶν ἡθῶν is an "acc. of inner object" with μεταβαλλόντα; ἐλάττω (adv.) μεταβαλλόντα is parallel to πλεῖω (adv.) μεταπορεύοντα. (Fic. and Schneider make ἐλάττω qualify μεταπορεύεται; Ast, Herm., and Wagn. reject ἐλάττω as a "gloss" on the unusual form σμικρότερα.)—For the adverbial use of ἐλάττω and πλεῖω cp. Crito 53 a ἀλλὰ ἐλάττω ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπεδημήσας ἢ ἢ χωλοὶ τε καὶ τυφλοὶ, and Rep. 417 b 4.—κατὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτεδον: i.e. the ψυχή obtains an incarnation, for its next period of bodily existence, in some body on earth.

d 3. διαλυθέντες τε τῶν σωμάτων: this seems to mean "when in sleep or trance"; ξώντες, in that case, goes specially with φοβοῦνται.

d 4. μείζω δὲ δὴ ψυχή κακίας ἢ ἀρετῆς ὑπόταν μεταλάβη: A and O left out δὴ, and L and Eus. left out δὲ. No doubt Ald. and all subsequent editors are right in retaining both.—μείζω (adv.) is "to a larger extent." The soul here imagined, being acted on by stronger forces (d 6 γεν. ἵσχυραν), excels both kinds previously mentioned, either in good or evil. (Steph. altered the μείζω of all the MSS. to μείζων.)—μεταλάβη, which governs the genitives, was written μεταβάλη in L and μεταβάλλη in Eus., and
the first four printed edd. (Herm., Zürr., and Wagner, read μεταβάλη. The chief objection to this reading is the construction of the two genitives, which Wagner and Fic. make depend on ψυχή.)

d 5. διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς βουλήσεις τε καὶ ὁμολογείν ἵσχυράν: ὁμολογείν is the difficult word here. The confirmation of the will in the right direction is naturally conducive to virtue; but what is the ὁμολογείν, which is also “confirmed”? Is it familiarity with virtue, or familiarity with the virtuous? Probably the latter. (Fic. translates—evidently reading μεταβάλη—“quando propria voluntate et assidua consuetudine vehementius permutata.”)—Interpreters are also divided on the question whether γεν. ἵσχυράν goes with both βουλ. and ὁμολογείν (Fic., Wagner, Jowett), or only with the latter (Schn. and—I think—Stallb.). Surely the latter are right.

d 6 ff. The ὁπώταν μὲν and ὅταν δὲ clauses correspond respectively to the ἀρετῆς and κακίας of d 4; the arrangement, as usual, is chiasitic. “When, through close contact with divine virtue, it becomes in an exceptional degree divine, so surely (καὶ) does it pass to an exceptional region, one altogether holy, being transported to a better kind of region elsewhere.” It is impossible quite to dismiss the suspicion, expressed by Winckelmann and Wagner, that ἀγιον ὅλον is the addition of a Christian commentator.—The μετακομισθείσα clause seems, as Stallb. says, to have been introduced as a parallel to the μεθιδρύσασα clause, which was already in his mind. The parallelism of these two clauses enables the writer to dispense with the full description of the lot of the exceptionally vicious; it is left to be supplied by analogy from the previous sentences. Eusebius’s μεθιδρύσατο, which Ast has adopted, spoils this parallelism. (Badham, Phil. p. iii., would read διαφέροντα καὶ μετέλαβε τόπον, ἀγιόν ὅδον μετακομισθείσα, rejecting the following εἰς . . . ἔτερον.)

e 4. This Homeric quotation (τ 43) is strained to serve Plato’s purpose. In the poem δίκη meant “way, wont,” but he gives it here the meaning of “judgement, justice.”

e 7. ἐν τε καὶ ἐν πᾶσι θανάτοις: the moral effect of ὁμολογείν, described above at 728 b, is inevitable in all states of existence. Death, whatever its date, or whatever its sequel, makes no difference.

e 8. προσήκον . . . ἔτι stands for προσῆκει (cp. 774 c 6, and 903 c 3)—“things which like cannot help doing to like.”—Unlike the other early editions Ed. Lov. puts καὶ ποιεῖν after προσφερεῖς; Steph., Ast, and Zürr. (like the early edd.) put it after πᾶσχειν τε; the former arrangement is that of the MSS.

VOL II 497 2 κ
905 a 1. οὐτε εἰ ἄλλος: Eusebius omits the εἰ, and so would Steph., Ast, Stallb., Herm., and Wagn. It seems more likely that εἰ ἄλλος is a conversational, elliptical variant of ἄλλος ὡστὸς ὧν, than that the εἰ should have got in subsequently, either by accident or design.

a 2. ἀτυχῆς γενόμενος, "if he gets into trouble," i.e. falls into bad ways.—ἐπευζήται περιγενέσθαι, "claim to have escaped."—δικής . . . θεῶν: a repetition of the δίκη θεῶν above. It is singular that, with θεῶν in this emphatic position, the following ἔταξαν should have had the subject οἱ τάξαντες provided for it. (Is it possible that Plato wrote θεῶν? Cp. Ἀπολ. 39 b1 θάττον γὰρ θανάτοι θεὶ.)

a 5. The asyndeton adds solemnity to what follows.—οὖτω σμικρός is a conversational expression like our "ever so small."

a 7. αὐτῶν, for which Eus. had αὐτῷ, is the οἱ τάξαντες of a 3.

b 1. The "place that is still more forbidding than these" is that implied in the ἐπὶ τάξιντα of e 2 above.—By a curious mistake, or misappreciation, ALO and Eus. have ἀγιώτερον instead of ἀγριώτερον. The corrector of A gives the right word in the margin. Cp. 908 a 6. O's margin has ἀτώτερον καὶ ἀγριώτερον, and L's ἀτοπώτερον καὶ ἀγριώτερον. Fic. translates O's marginal version by "sive ad remotiemque aliquam inaccessibilemque locum translatus." The four first printed edd. read ἀγιώτερον. Wyttenbach compares Hdt. iv. 132, Eur. Hipp. 1290, Med. 1296. Eus. compares Psalm 139, vv. 7, 8, 9.

b 2. σοι is ethic dat., "you will find."

b 4. The participles ἀνοσοιουργήσαντας and πράξαντας are subordinate to γεγονότας; it is these wicked deeds that have made them great.

b 5. ὡς ἐν κατόπτροις αὐτῶν ταῖς πράξεσιν: the ἐν is not repeated with ταῖς πράξεσιν, but it goes with both. In his note on a similar sentence at Θεατ. 170 a 11, Heindorf says "Alterum πρὸς post ἔχειν omissum est constanti fere Graecorum more."—τὴν πάντων ἀμέλειαν θεῶν: πάντων is neut.; for the double gen. cp. on 648 e 4.

b 7. οὐκ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν συντέλειαν ὅτι ποτὲ τῷ παντὶ συμβάλλεται, "because you did not know how their contribution comes to the help of the universe" (i.e. did not know their (subordinate) place in the organism). The meaning, "joint action," which L. & S. and Badham give συντέλεια is foreign to the passage.

c 1. πῶς οὐ δεῖν δοκεῖς; "how can you possibly doubt the necessity of . . . ?" Eus. has πρὸς οὔδεν δοκεῖς, "you think
NOTES TO BOOK X

905 c

nothing of,” which is weaker. ποσου δειν δοκείς; the version of the second hands in A and L, and the margin of O, is “How far do you think you are from?” (Badham, Phil. p. v., argues that this last yields the only admissible sense.)

c 2. ἤν τις μὴ γιγνώσκον, “why! if a man does not know it . . .”

c 3. λόγον συμβάλλεσθαι: some take this to mean “to say a word” (Fic., Stallb., Jow.); others “to form a notion” (Schneid., Wagn.). The latter goes better with τύπον ἔδω, the former better suits the ordinary use of συμβάλλεσθαι, and makes the more forcible continuation here. (Zürr. adopt L and O’s marginal variant οὖν ἄν λόγους)—περὶ βίου εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν, “concerning life in respect of its happiness” is a periphrasis for “concerning the happiness of life.” The main-difference between the disputants is “ought we to call the successful villain happy or not?”

c 6. καλῶς ἄν σοι θεοὺς αὐτῶς συνάλλαβανον, “thank God for it.”


d 1. τρός τόν τρίτον: the third opponent represents the class first spoken of at 888 c 6.

d 4. The reading αὐθ θεούς has the authority of all three MSS., but L and O mention a variant αὐτοῦς for the two words, and Zürr. have adopted it. It is a quite unobjectionable reading, but the ἀὐθ adds significance. For the vulgate ἀὐθ τῶν θεοῦς, which survived into Ast’s text, there is no MS. authority.

d 5. L and O2’s τ’ (following οὔτε) is evidently right, as against the δ’ of AO and Stob. (Schneider, however, accepts δ’, though translating it by a simple et.)

d 8. This recalls the semi-humorous appeal to Heaven’s help made at 893 b.

e 3. Burnet refuses to accept L. & S.’s verdict that the MS. ἐντέλεχος is here a falsa lectio for Stobaeus’s ἐνδελεχος: “effectively” suits the passage much better than “perpetually.”

e 6. δὲν δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀπεικάζοντι τυγχάνειν μείζονι ἐλάττονας, “whom we can manage to compare, small (though they be) with great.”

e 7. τοιοῦτον is, in effect, προσφερέις τοῖς θεοῖς.

e 9. εἰη δ’ ἄν καὶ . . . ἐσκένει, “it might even be possible for them to be like . . .” For the construction cf. Pind. Pyth. ii. 175 ἀδόντα δ’ εἰη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁμιλεῖν. In the case of all these
functionaries to whom the gods are likened, the conflict with evil and danger is a prominent feature of their activity.

906 a 1. γένεσιν, as at Polit. 265 b, is used almost in the sense of φύσις; φυτων γένεσιν is merely a stylistic variant of φυτά, as contrasted with σώματα. (Schn., Wagn., and Jow. take γένεσιν to mean “growth”; Fic. translates “orientibus stirpibus.”)—διὰ φόβων: Stobaeus and the first six editions have διὰ φόβων; Steph. knew of the reading διὰ φόβων—which is that of all three MSS.—and preferred it. Ast also saw that the genitive was needed, and read διὰ φόβων.

a 5. τῶν μὴ (sc. ἄγαθῶν): Stallb, is alone in thinking that he means τῶν μὴ ἐναντίων—i.e. τῶν ἄγαθῶν; the negativizing of an already negative expression would be clumsy. The things of body and sense, which exceed in number on earth, are always regarded as sources of error in Plato’s philosophy.—η ουκώτη μάχη, “that kind of fight,” is the conflict already suggested by the words νόσων πόλεμον, and the “being on one’s guard against dangerous times.” This conflict we now see to be part of the general war between good and evil referred to above at 904 b 2 f.—A and 0 originally had ἐστι ουκώτη, but the erasure in A in which ἐστι stands is some evidence in favour of Eusebius’s ἐσθε η; the corrector of O, and Stob., saw that the article was needed, and read ἐστιν η.—The contest is “never dying” because the forces of evil are so numerous.

a 7. ἦμεῖς δ’ ἄθ: the ἄθ marks a fresh aspect of the relation. The gods are not only our allies, they own us, as a farmer owns his stock, and so have a direct interest in our “condition” (cp. above 902 b 8). This consideration brings into special prominence the last of the comparisons made with human ἄρχοντες; the gods watch over us like shepherds.

a 8. ἄδικια καὶ ὑβρίς μετὰ ἀφροσύνης, “wrongdoing and mad arrogance”—our own, as well as other people’s. The word φθείρει suggests the ravages of disease—whether in human bodies, cattle, or crops; σφιχεί marks the efficacy of strengthening and curative treatment.

b 1. ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐμψυχοῖς οἰκοῦσαι δυνάμεων, “whose home is in the mighty minds of the gods.”—They are attributes to god himself.

b 3. σαφές ἄν ἰδοῖ, “may distinctly see.”—O²’s δὴ for the δὲ of ALO appositely emphasizes the irony expressed in the ἀρα of b 5, but authority is against it, and the asyndeton is harsh. (Perhaps we ought to read δὲ δὴ.)

500
NOTES TO BOOK X

b 4. ἰδίκον λέμμα κεκτημέναι δήλον ὅτι θηριώδεις: Ast's substitution of λέμμα for the vulgate λέμμα has apparently the support of the first hand of A, and all modern editors except Heru, Wagn., and Burnet have followed him. But the better supported λέμμα makes better sense. These souls are "clearly shown to be beasts of prey" because they are "in the possession of something which rightfully belongs to someone else."

b 5 f. κυνὸν . . . νομέων . . . δεσποτῶν: a well-marked climax.

b 6. For this use of προσπίπτειν cp. Ep. vii. 349 a 7 προσπέσων δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Θεοδότης, λαβόμενος τῆς χειρός, ἐδάκρυσέν τε καὶ ἴκετεν.

c 1. ὅσ αἱ φήμαι φασίν αἱ τῶν κακῶν, "such is the story told by the wicked."

c 2 ff. φαμὲν δ' εἶναι ποτ . . . νόσημα καλούμενον: if, with Ast and Stallb., we see in εἶναι καλούμενον a periphrasis for καλεῖσθαι, the statement that emerges is "we assert that πλεονεξία is called νόσημα." It seems better to translate εἶναι . . . νόσημα καλούμενον "is a thing called disease."—φαμὲν . . . ποτ does not necessarily mean that Plato has himself discovered the analogy. It was probably part of current medical theory (1) that disease was due to the usurpation or encroachment of one part of the body on another—supported possibly by the observation of the phenomena of local swellings—and (2) that epidemics were due to the "encroachment" of warm or cold seasons.—ποτ is perhaps a parenthetic "don't we?" (Ritter p. 327 suspects the genuineness of this passage φαμὲν . . . ἰδίκων. He likens the identifications to the "thöricht ausgekramte Sophistenweisheit" of Protagoras.)

c 4. εὖ δὲ ὡραῖς ἐτῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶς: the foolish variant ἐνιαυτῶν, which is found in all editions before Burnet's, has no MS. authority. It was defended by the statement that ἐνιαυτὸς is used for "a period of years."

c 5. τοῦτο αὐτῷ, ῥήματι μετασχηματισμένον: here again we owe to Burnet the recovery of the MS. reading. All previous editions print ῥῆμα (A² and O²) for the first-hand ῥήματι of A and O. The alteration of ῥήματι to ῥήμα was evidently the result of A and O's previous mistake of αὖ τό for αὐτό, corrected by Cod. Voss. The sentence means then, in effect, "presents itself under the changed name of ἰδίκια."—If all he meant to say was that πλεονεξία was called ἰδίκια, he need not have added that its name had been "refashioned."
906c

THE LAWS OF PLATO

c 8. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον does not refer (as Schneider and Jowett make it) to any previous assertion, but to that which follows (as Fig.). The Ath.'s final question (d 5) makes this clear.

d 2. καθάπερ κυνίν λύκοι τῶν ἁρπασμάτων σμικρὰ ἀπονέμοιεν, οἱ δὲ . . . συγχωροῦσι: these optatives with καθάπερ are obscure. Ficinus doubtless gets the sense of the passage, which is that a man who holds the view that the gods are bribable by his gains is likening them to dogs who should consent to let wolves prey on the flock, provided that they got some of the mutton. But we cannot get "necesse est eum dicere . . . eos esse veluti canes, etc," directly out of the Greek. Either, as Herm. supposes, an ει has been lost at the end of καθάπερ, or καθάπερ is used in the sense of καθάπερ ει. The suggestion of Ast and Stallb. that we should read σμικρ' ἀν ἀπονέμοιεν does not meet the case, for it assumes that dogs would behave so; whereas the "ridiculousness" of the assumption lies in making out that gods are more immoral than dogs.

d 4. No parallel instance is given in the dictionaries of this use of συγχωρεῖν διαρπάζειν in the sense of "allow them to plunder," "agree to the plundering."

d 3 ff. τίων οὖν δὴ κτλ.: it is implied, clearly, that by θεοὺς in this question we are to understand the gods as they are represented in the φήμαι τῶν κακῶν (c 1)—bribable gods, that is.

d 9. φύλακας here takes the place of ἀρχοντας; the title is justified above at a 6 f.

e 1. λοιβῇ τε: the two τε's reproduce the phraseology of the Homeric λοιβῇ τε κνύσῃ τε of Il. ix. 500. The corrector of O altered the first τε to γε, and all editors down to Bekker followed him.

e 2. The αὐτοῖς directs attention to the paronomasias in παρα- and ἀνατρέπω.

907 a 5. διαφέροντας φυλακῇ πρὸς ἀρετήν, "who excel in skilful guarding."

a 6 f. κυνών . . . καὶ ἀνθρώπων μέσων: it is a valuable testimonial to the average Greek of that day that Plato believed that he could not be bribed to connive at wrongdoing, but the coupling
of κόνες with μέσου ἄνθρωπου gives a cynical flavour to it. —

The μέσον of A² and Stob. must be a scribe's error.

b 1. οὔτε ἄνεκτὸς λόγων: λόγων is the same gen. as that used
with superlative adjectives, and in the Homeric δία γυναικῶν; a
similar use of this gen. with a positive adj. occurs above at 716 d 1

δ μὲν σωφρόν ἤμων θεὸς φίλος. Again the corrector has been at
work, and all edd. from Aldus downwards altered λόγων to

δ λόγος. Burnet has had the courage to print the MS. reading
for the first time.—τῶν τε περὶ πᾶσαν ἄσεβειαν ὄντων . . . , “and
out of all kinds of transgressors . . . ” The repetition πᾶσαν

. . . πᾶσ . . . πάντων is a frequent feature of Plato's emphatic

style; cp. 903 c 5 πᾶς . . . πᾶς . . . παντὸς . . . πάντα, and
above at a 3 f. But here again comes the corrector. In all
printed editions but those of Zürr. and Burnet πᾶς (in b 2) has
been altered, on no MS. authority, to πῶς.

b 6. παρὰ τῷ δίκαιον goes, of course, only with the positive

element in ἀ-παραίτητον.

b 10 f. καὶ μὴν εἰρηνται γέ πως σφοδρότερον διὰ φιλονικίαν
tῶν κακῶν ἄνθρωπον, “I confess that they have been spoken in a	
tone of rather violent hostility against wrongdoers.” For διὰ
c. acc. expressing the intent cp. Thuc. iv. 40. 2 δ' ἀχθηδόνα.—It is

very strange that A should have left out σφοδρότερον.

c 1. Again the corrector suggests, in the margin of O, that we
ought to read τοῦδε for τοῦτο.

c 3. ἃ δὴ καὶ ὅσα καὶ ὅσα περὶ θεοῦ διανοοῦντα, “since they

cherish so many strange views about the gods.” For the relative
clauses cp. Phaedo 117 c 9 ἀπέκλαιον . . . τὴν ἡμων τύχην,
ὁποὶ ἄνδρας ἑταῖρον ἐστερεμένος εἰην. (Fic. puts in an “and”
to connect ἃ δὴ etc. with ἃ βούλουται, making both the obj. of
πράττειν, and translating περὶ by “adversus”; Wagner takes ἃ δὴ
etc. to be in apposition to ἃ βούλουται; Stallb. virtually does the

same.)

c 5. νεωτέρως, “vigorously,” is a milder term than the νεανικῶς
of Theaet. 168 c 6, but is used in much the same sense. It
re-echoes the σφοδρότερον of b 10.

c 6. τοὺς ἄνδρας: i.e. τοὺς κακοὺς ἄνθρωπους of c 1.

d 1. τὸ προοίμιον ἄσεβειας περὶ νόμων, “our prelude to laws

about impiety”—a curious instance of the way in which Greek
can leave it to common sense to sort out a tangle of genitives.

d 2. L and O had from the first what every editor has
recognized as the right reading, i.e. εἶ δὲ μὴ; A has ἦ δ' ἐμη; L

and O mention this reading in the margin; A² altered ἦ to ἤ, and
wrote η δ' ε in the margin. All this looks as if neither L nor O were here copied from A.—οὐκ αὐτιάσεται is "will not discredit" (Jowett), but το τοδ λόγον γένος is more likely to have meant "the nature of the subject" than "the style of the argument" (Wagn and Jow.)—"Anyhow it is a cause which the lawgiver may be proud to have defended." (Ast takes the words to mean that the weight of the argument has been such that, even if it failed, no fault could be found with the lawgiver who used it; the fault would lie with the depravity of the unconvinced transgressor.)

d 4. λόγος οἷος ἀν τῶν νόμων ἐρμηνεύς ὑθὼς γέγονεν ημῖν, "(there follows) a speech of such a kind as to be the (fitting) mouthpiece of our laws." L. & S. (s.v. ἐρμηνεύς) take λόγος here to mean reason, and the meaning to be that "reason is the interpreter or expounder of (the) law." Reasoning and arguing, however, is the function of the προσώμων. This λόγος is of the nature of a dignified authoritative public proclamation. (Perhaps L. & S. adopt L's ὁ λόγος for λόγος—a reading adopted nowhere else.)

d 6. εἰς τοὺς ἐνσέβεσθαι: sc. τρόπους—not ἀνθρώπους as most interpreters have it.

d 7. ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν καθ ἐν ἐρμηνεύσουσι τίμημα: a remarkable instance of the separation of an anastrophized preposition from its case.—As Stallb. says, διέ is the subject; he cps. 874 b ὁ νόμος δή νόμος εἰς ημῖν ἐστὶν περὶ φόνου κείμενος.

e 1. ἀμφιστῇ: i.e. τῷ νομῷ. (Fic. says τοῖς θεοῖς.)

e 3. το τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἀποδεδειγμένων κρίνων δικαστήριων: a comparison of 754 ε 4 ff. with 855 ε 6 ff. suggests that the court described in the latter passage is the one meant here.

e 6. τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων: cp. 692 d 5 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀμῖνα.

e 7. ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν καθ ἐν ἐρμηνεύσουσι τίμημα: before Ast all editors were content with the MS. ἐν ἐκάστῳ, though Fic. seems to have divined the correct reading, for he translates "judges hunc pro singulis impie commissis singulis quibusque afficiant" (afficiatur is a misprint) "suppliciis." It is an amplification of a simple ἐν καθ ἐν;—lit. "to each of the sacrilegious offenders who offend in a particular way, a particular penalty." Ast proposed to write ἐν ἐκάστῳ, taking τῶν ἐρμηνεύσων as a neuter, but Schneider and Herm. saw that all that was needed was the one change of ἐν to ἐν.

908 a 2. This first prison is said to be κοινὸς τοῖς πλείστοις—"for the general use of the large majority (of offenders)"—and to
NOTES TO BOOK X

908 a

subserve merely the safe-keeping of the persons of large numbers (τοῖς πολλοῖς)—or is τοῖς πολλοῖς only a repetition in a less emphatic form of τοῖς πλείστοις? The public prison at Athens was sometimes called τὸ δημόσιον, and the above description amounts to giving it such a name, and it so corresponds to the more or less definite naming of the second and third prisons.

a 3. περὶ τῶν . . . σύλλογον: it is not necessary to give this περὶ the same local significance as in περὶ ἀγοράν. The σωφρονιστήριον would be connected with, and under the command of the νυκτερίδως σύλλογος, but need not be close to the place of its meeting.—For the constitution of this assembly, mentioned here for the first time in a curiously offhand manner, cp. below 951 d and 961 a ff. It is also casually mentioned at 909 a.

a 4. σωφρονιστήριον ἐπονομαζόμενον: a careless anacoluthon. For a nom. participle thus added κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον cp. above 885 d 3 λέγοντες, and Stallb.'s note on Phaedr. 241 d 6. (Ast and Schneider think ἐπονομαζόμενον agrees with σύλλογον.) A great laxity of construction is allowed to participles.

a 6 f. τιμωρίας ἔχον ἐπωνυμίαν φήμην τινά: φήμη τις τιμωρίας is "a word suggestive of punishment"—one of those words spoken of above at 904 d 2—"Αἰθην τε καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπονομάζοντες.

a 7. περὶ ἀοδεβείαν δὲ ὄντων αἰτίαις μὲν τρισίν, "seeing that people are guilty of impiety from three causes." The subject of the gen. abs. is left unexpressed, and περὶ ἀοδεβείαν is made conversationally to stand for ἀσεβείαν. For the dat. αἰτίαις cp. Ep. vii. 345 a 6.

b 1. δόν δὲ . . . γενομένοι: it is not clear whether we are meant to supply γενῶν or αἰτιῶν with δόν; in either case the effect is the same.

b 3. As Stallb. remarks, ἀξίος is one of the adjectives with which ἐστὶ is frequently omitted.

b 5. τὸ παράπαν goes with the preceding μῆ, "completely disbelieving in."—μισοῦντες γίγν.: another anacoluthon.

c 2. τῇ θεῶν ἔρημα εἶναι πάντα: the insertion of a τοῦ after τῇ would make an awkward conglomeration of articles; its omission is a bold tribute to the (occasional) superiority of rhythm to grammar.

c 3. μνήμαι τε ἵσχυροι καὶ μαθήσεις ὀξεῖαι παρόσι: for these men to work the λόγος of their fellows, it is necessary, not only that their morals should be weak, but that their intellects should be strong.
THE LAW'S OF PLATO

5. ἀμφοῖν: sc. τοῖν γενοῖν.—O made here the converse of the blunder at e 7 above, writing ἐν ὑπάρχου for ἐνυπάρχου.

c 8. Ο² has rescued for us the τε after θυσίας omitted in A and O.—ὡς τῶν ἄλλων καταγελῶν, “by his attitude of ridicule for the other side.” (Winckelmann would read ὦσ for ὦς; Wagner brackets ὦς.)

d 1. δίκης μὴ τυγχάνον, “as long as he is not punished for it.” It is implied that the danger would cease as soon as punishment was applied.

d 2. εὐφυὴς δὲ ἐπικαλοῦμενος, “but (along with his mistaken view) having the reputation of being very clever.” One consequence of his aiming at pleasure and shunning pain at all costs is the need for concealing his theoretic atheism. He must have the public approval. This, being δόλου καὶ ἐνέδρας πλήρης, he is able to do. ALO read εὐτυχίας, for which L² and Ο² in the margin give εὐφυὴς. This Fic. and all editors after the first four have adopted. (Ast, Wagner, and Herm., perhaps rightly, reject the δὲ after δόλου.) In the following passage Plato “lets himself go.”

d 3. ἕξ δὲν: another ἀνακόλουθον; “that is the class of men from whom etc.”

d 4. περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μαγγανείαν κεκαυμένοι: this strange phrase seems to mean “expert in all kinds of trickery.” Fic. translates κεκ. by “prompti ad,” Schneider by “furiosi ad”—“madly devoted to.” It is best taken as an attribute of the men who are μάντεις, and not (as in most translations) a designation of a separate class (like the ἐπιβεβουλευκότες below).

d 5. We may conclude from the ἐστιν ὁτε as compared with the preceding πολλοί that Plato thought that there were more hypocrites among μάντεις than among τύραννοι καὶ δημηγόροι καὶ στρατηγοί.

d 6. καὶ τελεταίς δὲ ἰδίαις ἐπιβεβουλευκότες, “and moreover plotters of hole-and-corner ‘mysteries.’” ἰδίαις denotes the schismatic nature of such ceremonies.

d 7. σοφιστῶν τε ἐπικαλομένων μηχαναί, “and the arts and resources of so-styled ‘wisdom-men.’”

e 2. τὸ εἰρωνικὸν (εἴδος), “the hypocritical variety,” that, namely, which conceals its own impious thoughts. (Ast would make εἰρωνικὸν predicate. Stallb. absurdly explains it by “quod omnem ridet et aspernatur religionis pietatem.”)—ἀμαρτάνον, like the following δειομένων, is predicate (with ἐστι understood).

e 3. A’s reading δειομένων provides a quite reasonable construction, but is probably a scribe’s error.
NOTES TO BOOK X

908 A. Again εἰδος must be supplied with τὸ . . . νομίζον.—A variant γεννάν for γεννᾷ occurs in O and (by a late hand) in A.

909 a 2. νόμῳ probably goes with τιθέσθω, not with τιθέμενος.

a 7. ἐὰν δὲ μή: with this we are probably meant to supply σωφρονή, not δοκῇ σωφρονεῖν; i.e. if a man, who has apparently been brought to his senses in the σωφρονιστήριον, and been accordingly released, proves to be really impenitent, and is then duly convicted of impiety, he is not to have a further chance; he must die. By implication this explanation supposes that, if a man after five years is not thought to be cured, his imprisonment continues.

a 8. θηριώδες: the notion of this epithet seems to be the same as when the word was used above at 906 b 4—i.e. that of a beast of prey. These creatures “despise mankind” (b 2), and “bring men, families, and states to utter ruin for the sake of their own monetary gain.”

b 1. πρὸς τῷ θεοῦ μὴ νομίζειν: on the ground that the first of the three classes of atheists have already been “done with,” Stallb.—with Herm.’s and Wagn.’s approval—deletes the μή. But the previous treatment of class 1 at 908 c d was only with a view to subdivide it—like the others—into two classes, and e 5 ff. deals with penalties for both sorts.

b 2. ψυχαγωγῶσι is first used in its sense of inveigle, and in the following line in that of “calling spirits from the vasty deep,” i.e. this particular class of μάντεις are νεκρομάντεις. (Ficinus translates “necnon defunctos se trahere consolarique dicunt.” Was he thinking of masses for the dead ?)

b 4 f. ὡς . . . γοητεύοντες, “pretending to bewitch them” (i.e. the gods).

b 6. κατ’ ἀκρας ἐξαιρεῖν: this strong epic phrase for “root-and-branch” destruction marks Plato’s view of the deadly influence of impiety, especially that of the so-called religions kind.—A and O had an inexplicable ἐξαιρεῖν for ἐξαιρέεν, a blunder not shared by L. A3 corrected it in the margin.

b 7. δὲ “I say.”

c 1. μεσογαίων is recognized by O, L & S., Bekker, and Burnet as the correct form, as against the μεσογαίων of A (“sed ai in ras.”), and the μεσογείων of O2 and all other texts.

c 2. αὐτοῖς is the reading of ALO, and Schneider and Burnet
have the courage to print it. Fic. and all others adopt O²'s facile correction αὐτῷ; ὃς ἂν (b 7) is quasi-plural; ἀποθανόντα in c 4 is not conclusive—"when one of them dies." This implies that the imprisonment is for life.

c 5. συνθάπτῃ, "has a hand in burying."—δίκας . . . ὑπεξέτω, "he must stand his trial on a charge of impiety, at the hands of anyone who is willing to take proceedings." The plur. δίκας (of a single suit) is unusual in Plato; cp. Thuc. i. 28 (and elsewhere) δίκας δοῦναι. Possibly it is a mistake for δίκην, due to the attraction of the following word-ending. (Not, as Jowett, "let him pay the penalty . . . to" etc.).

c 6. The τυγχάνειν of A for λαγχάνειν was a mistake of the eye, not of the mind.

c 7. τῷ πόλει ἰκανοίς, "fit to be citizens."

d 1. L has in ὃς ἄντων preserved the right reading, as against the ὃς ἂν τῶν of A and O, and this was recognized by the correctors of A and O.

d 3. κοινῶν . . . ἐπὶ τούτους πάσι, "extending to all these alike." πᾶσι is masc.; they are the αὐτῶν of d 4, and αὐτῶν depends, not on θεοῖς, as Stallb., but on τοῖς πολλοῖς.—L has preserved the right reading in πάσι νόμον, as against the senseless πάσιν ὀμοιον of A and O.

d 5. ἀνοίγτων ἰττον: i.e. men and women would be less tempted to superstitious excesses if there were no opportunities for private ceremonies.—For the apparent contradiction between this passage and 717 b 4 ff., and 885 a 1 see Stallb.'s note on 884 a 6. There is no intention of banishing the ancestral household gods. Ast quotes the old Decemvirs' law given by Cicero, Legg. ii. 8 "Separatim nemo habessit deos neve novos, sed ne advenas nisi publice adscitos privatim colunte." The subsequent context suggests that what is here forbidden is the erection of shrines in private houses at which public, state-established deities could be worshipped. Stallb., referring to Wachsmuth, Antiq. Hell. ii. p. 210, says the Athenian law only forbade private worship (1) when the deities were unauthorized or foreign, and (2) when it was to further nefarious projects.

d 8. The corrector of O is manifestly right in altering the impossible εὖ of A and O to ἵ.

e 1. οἶς ἄγνεια τούτων ἐπιμελείς: A and O had ἄγνεια and ἐπιμελεῖς; L's ἄγνεια shows where the fault was, and O² followed him (but also suggested a correction of ἐπιμελεῖς to ἐπιμελεῖν); A² suggested ἐπιμελεῖς as a way out of the difficulty. Winckelmann
NOTES TO BOOK X

would read οἷς ἄγνείας τούτων ἐπιμελέσ — cp. 763 e 2, 824 a 9. All other editors before Burnet print οἷς ἄγνεία τούτων ἐπιμελής. Burnet restores the MSS. to their rights.—The impossible συνενεξάσθω of A and O looks as if some MSS. had read συνενεκέσθω, and some συνενεξάσθω.

e 2. Again all previous editors adopted O2's facile correction of the οὖν of ALO to οἷς, and again Burnet restores the MS. reading. The worshipper may very likely "wish" for a companion in his prayer, but what interest can the general public have in it?

e 3. γιγνώμενα ἔστω = γιγνέσθω.

e 4. μεγάλης διανοίας τινός: there is no need, with Winckelmann, to insert ἰδί to before διανοίας; "is a matter for somewhat deep thought"—such, i.e., as an ordinary man could not give to it.

e 6. ὅτι τό ἀν: cp. above on 890 a 5.

e 8. καθιερόν ἄν τό παρὸν ἰδί, "to dedicate the first thing to hand."—A's mistaken καθιεροῦνται for καθιερόν τε is a striking instance of the common confusion of the similarly pronounced ε and αι, inasmuch as the result is quite unintelligible.

910a1. ἐν, here and in the following line, denotes the exciting, or inciting, medium in which the φόβοι spring up (cp. Xen. Cyrr. viii. 7. 3 ὅτι ἐσμήνατε μοι καὶ ἐν ἰεροῖς καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φύσεις); "prompted by fears born of portents seen when waking or by dreams." The construction is ἔθος τε (ἔστιν) . . . ἐγρηγοροῦσα . . . ὡς δ' αὐτῶς . . . ἀπομηνυομενοῦντας . . . ἐπιμυπλάναι. The change from the dat. to the acc. is almost normal in this style.

a 2. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς κτλ., "and similarly affected when they recall many (such) visions."

a 3. For the fem. ἐκάσταυσι of A and O, O2 suggested the nent. so as to include φάσματα and ὀνείροι as well as ὀψεῖς.

a 4. βωμοῖς καὶ ἰερά are probably in apposition to ἀκη. If so, the comma which Burnet puts after ποιομένους ought to stand after ἰερά; with B.'s punctuation the two sets of accusatives get sadly in each other's way.

a 5. ἐν τε καθαροῖς ὅρνουμένους . . . καὶ ὅτι τις ἔτυχε τῶν τοιοῦτων, "by setting them up (not only in their houses but) also on open spaces, or wherever a man in that state of mind (τις τῶν τοιοῦτων) happens to 'do so." (Stallb. inclines to the view that καθαροῖς means "free from pollution." Fig. leaves the clause out.)

a 6. ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸν . . . νόμον, "to act upon the law." Fig. either neglects the κατὰ or had a MS. from which it was absent. His version is "lex ista ponenda est."
b 1. ταῦτα is difficult; it probably stands for τὰ ἀσεβήματα (implied in ἀσεβοῦντων) in the sense the word bears below at e 7, that i.e. of crime in general, "that they may not keep their crimes too in private by their contrivances, and . . ." (ταῦτα seems generally to be taken to be the setting up of shrines.)—The ταῖς of L and O² may well have fallen out in Α and O as the result of the previous -τες (cp. on e 8 above).

b 5. οὖν αὐτῶν βελτίωσιν: although the general public are to blame for allowing it, they are not as bad as the criminals.


b 7. μὲν δὴ, "anyhow" (though the public may be to blame, the lawgiver will take care that he does his part, by forbidding the thing to be done).

c 1. καὶ ὁργιάζοντα: the position of these words makes them seem added as an afterthought. For the meaning Stalb. cps. Suidas s.v. ὁργεὼν ὁργίζειν δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὁργα τελεῖν, τουτέστι μνητήρια καὶ νόμιμα. Νόμων δεκάτῳ μὴ κεκτήσασαι ἐσῳ ἐν ταῖς ἱδίαις ὁικίαις ἱερά κτλ. (the ἐσῳ is peculiar).

c 4. L and O² omit the καὶ of Α and O; καὶ εἴσαγγελλέτω implies that the discoverer might be inclined to think he need not go so far as to inform the authorities.

c 6. ἐὰν δὲ τις κτλ.: here we get back to the third main error about the gods—that of thinking that they are παραίτητοι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. As long as these supernumerary religiosities are merely outgrowths of folly and "sensibility" (909 e 5 ff.), a fine will meet the case, even when the offence is persisted in; but when worship is associated with crime, and fosters the belief that Heaven condones a favourite’s wickedness, these—and all public ceremonies performed in a like spirit (c 8)—are a blasphemy only punishable by death.

d 2. (Burnet calls it e 2. Steph. did not divide p. 910 by letters, but only numbered the lines.) Α and O read παθίδιον, and so the first four edd. Steph., Ast, Bekker, and Stalb. adopt the παθιόν of the margin of Α. L and O² are probably right in reading παθίδειον; it is a favourite form of the adj. in the Laws; also Fic. translates by puerilem.—O mentions a variant προκρίνατες; probably the corrector thought only the δικαστήριον could κρίναι.—All editors down to Ast followed O in omitting οί; Α has it, and so has the margin of O.

d 3. οὖτως, "accordingly."
BOOK XI

913 a 1. No editors have adopted O's δέ for δή.—The construction is δεύμενα διν εἰη προσθήκουσις τάξεως συμβολαίων πρὸς ἄλληλους, “there will be a need for the due ordering of our transactions with each other.” For the impers. plur. δεύμενα (ἐστι) cp. 828 a 1 ἐχόμενα ἐστιν. (Herm., in order to provide a subject for δεύμενα διν εἰη, altered το τά, “the sequel will need.” Steph., followed by Ast, Bekker, and Zürr., changed the MS. συμβολαίων to συμβόλαια.)—For the general sense of συμβόλαια cp. Gorg. 484 d.

a 2. The δέ which A omits is preserved by L and O (Schneider rejects it).

a 5. ἐμὲ μηδαμὴ μηδαμῶς πείθων, “without some sort of an assent on my part”; or, as we should find it more natural to say, “unless he has my absolute consent.” (H. Richards would insert μή before πείθων—cp. below c 5; but the position of the ἐμὲ compels us to take μηδ. μηδαμῶς with πείθων and not with κινήσειν.)

a 6. ἐγὼ δρόμην: this optative, like the two preceding ones, is quasi-imperatival; “nor must I act otherwise by them, if I have the sense to understand.”—Cod. Voss. mentions a variant εἰφρόνα.

a 7. [λέγωμεν]: this disturbing word was, I believe, put in by some scribe who did not see that πρῶτον (“in the first place”) goes with εὐξαίμην. It breaks the thread of the 1st pers. opt. which began with δρόμην and is kept up by ἐμὼν, and spoils the construction of the sentence in which it occurs. (Stallb. and Ast put a colon after τοιούτων; Burnet changes the comma after πατέρων into a colon.)

a 8. μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ὡν πατέρων, “provided he (the storer) was not an ancestor of mine.” For the MS. ὡν πατέρων the early edd. from Ald. to Ast have ὡν πατρίων.

b 2 f. For the connexion of μάντεις with θησαυροί Stallb. cp. Ar. Av. 599 ff.—Some interpreters take ἀμῶς γέ πως with συμβουλεύσονσιν, others with ἀνέλειν; if it goes with the latter it is “to appropriate it in any case”; if, with Ast, Zürr., Herm., and Wagn., we adopt Steph.’s very likely emendation of συμβουλεύσονσιν, it goes best with the participle—“who are certain to advise me.” The latter gives more significant advice.
b 3. γυνακαταθήκην: one of the bold datives of the Laws; the noun παρ. retains the power of the verb from which it is derived. Cp. 633 b 7 ταῖς χερώι μάχαις.—For γυνακαταθήκην A suggests γυνακαταθήκην, and this was adopted by the earliest edd. Steph. wanted to read ἐν γυνακαταθήκην.

b 3 ff. οὐ...τοσοῦτον...ἀφεληθείην ἀν...δοσον εἰς ὅγκον...ἐπιδιδοιήν: lit. “I should not benefit to an extent as great as the bulk to which I should swell”; εἰς χρημάτων κτήσεως is parallel to πρὸς ἄρετην ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

b 6. δίκην ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πλοῦτον προτιμήσας ἐν οὐσίᾳ κεκτήσατε πρότερον, “for I should have chosen to possess righteousness in my soul in preference to riches in my belongings” or “to possessing riches in my property.” Is this sentence possibly a commentator’s addition?

c 1. ὡς ἐνδός ἐκείνων ὅντος: another curious pleonastic addition.

c 2. εἰς παῖδων γενεάν ὦν σύμφορα, “brings disaster upon one’s descendants.” (Jowett takes it to mean “prevent a man from having a family.”)

c 4. τοῦ θέντος τῶν νόμων: cp. above on 844 e 9.

c 6. ἀπλούσῃστατον: all editors but Burnet have adopted O’s suggestion of inserting καὶ before this word so as to connect it with κάλλιστον. Burnet puts a comma after διαφθείρων. This arrangement not only follows the text of the best MSS., but gives a better justification of the καὶ after ἀπλούσῃστατον; “a straightforward enactment, and that of no common man.”

c 7. For ὃς εἴπεν we should have “which says.”

d 1. Zürr., Stallb., and Burnet mark by a (—) after ἀνέληψιν the change of construction from ὃς ἀν...γένηται καὶ...ἀνέληται to the aces. καταφρονήσαντα καὶ ἀνελόμενον as subjects to πᾶσχειν. —Herm. and Burnet, like all the early edd., assume that the omission of τοῖν after τοῦτον by A was a mistake. Bekker, Stallb., and Schneider rightly, I think, hold that it is a mistake to insert it. Without the article δινοῦν νομοθέταν—“two lawgivers, that is”—comes in as a natural supplement to τοῦτον. The two lawgivers are of course (1) the author of the proverbial saying and (2) Solon.

d 3. The early vulgate, Ast, Zürr., Herm., and Burnet rightly put a (;) after πᾶσχειν. Wagner wrongly claims Fic. as evidence

512
for the punctuation of Bekker, Stallb., and Schneider, which puts no stop at all after πάσχειν.—O2 gives χρήμα in the margin as a variant for χρη.

\[d 4. \delta \kappaατιδὼν πρώτος, "the first to be aware of it"; there would hardly be any eyewitnesses of such an act.—The form ἀγγελέτο, which occurs in the vulgate down to Ast, has no MS. authority here, though forms of this second aor. are found in MSS. at Hdt. iv. 153 and Lycurg. § 85.\]

\[d 6. All edd. before Steph. omitted the words ἕαν . . . ἀγορανόμους; Fic. has them. Burnet says the first hands of A and O omit ἕαν δὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας ἀγορανόμους. Stallb. says O omits from πόλεως to τῆς.\]

\[914 a 1. τοῖς τούτων ἀρχουσι: cp. above, 760 b 5 ff.\]

\[a 6. It is typical of the extra-anacoluthic style of the Laws that μὴ μηνύσας δὲ goes on as if δὲ κατιδὼν ὑπὲρ καὶ μηνύῃ had stood in the previous line.\]

\[a 8. τὴν τιμὴν, "his price."\]

\[b 2. The somewhat pleonastic συνακολουθεῖν is equivalent to ὁστε συνακολουθεῖν.\]

\[b 5. ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς θεοῦ καθερωμένα, "for the law has put them in the goddess’s sacred keeping." It seems strange to us that the divine protection should be spoken of as depending on the Law. It is of a piece with the recurring οἱ κατὰ νόμους θεοί of the previous book.\]

\[b 7. σμικράς τιμῆς ἄξιον: i.e. not a θηρανύρός or anything of comparable value. (Wagner and Jowett ed. 2 inadvertently translate "if he be a slave of little worth").\]

\[c 2. ἀκοινώνητος νόμων: this probably means not "an outlaw," but "the opposite of loyal and law-abiding"; by itself the adj. means "unsociable" above at 774 a 4.\]

\[c 5. μὴ τὸ ἐκείνου δὲ, "but does not allow the ‘of his’"; i.e. he admits the ἐχεῖν but not the ἐκείνου.—ἄν μὲν: this μὲν corresponds to the δὲ in d 5.\]

\[c 6. ἀπογεγραμμένον παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν: for the statutable register of private property cp. above, 745 a 6 ff. From our present passage, though not from the earlier one, it appears that this register of personal property was not merely a list of sums of money, but was an inventory of all kinds of property. Cp. the inventory of property in Dem. Contra Aphobum, p. 816.\]

\[c 7. δὲ καθυστάτω: this must mean "and the other man must produce (the thing in court)." However, Ast, Stallb., Wagn.,\]

\[513 \text{ VOL. II} 2 L\]
and Jowett say we must supply ἐαυτόν with καθιστάτω and translate “and he must appear in court.”

c 8. γενομένων δὲ ἐμφανοῖς, “and when (the piece of property) is brought to daylight”; not “and when the matter is cleared up” (Wagn. and Jowett), for this process is still to come. Its production would be necessary for the identification with the description in the register.

d 1. The προτέρου of L and O (and possibly of Α originally) looks like an unintelligent correction of ποτέρου.—Α’s possible οὖτως for οὖτος makes a respectable variant (cp. e 8), but the verb requires a definite subject.

d 2 ff. ὀπότερος ἀν . . . ἀφαίρεσθω: all texts down to Ast’s follow Ven. 184 and a few other inferior MSS. in inserting μή after ἀν. The same editors print παράσχοι, on no MS. authority, for παράσχῃ. These early editors all took ἀφαίρεσθω to be passive, in the sense of “let him be mulcted.” The punctuations of later editors indicate a variety of minor differences of interpretation. Stallb. puts a comma after ἐκεῖνος, Schneider and Burnet after ἀξίωχρως; Herm. puts commas after ἀπόντος and ἐκεῖνος. We can hardly connect ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπόντος with ἀξίωχρως, for the bail would be surety, not for the absent owner, but for the litigant who was allowed to carry away the property in dispute. We may translate Schneider and Burnet’s text “whichever of the two (litigants) can find satisfactory surety” (i.e. “whichever of the two offers the more satisfactory surety”) “is to carry the property off on behalf of the absent owner, in pursuance of his right to take it, to restore it to him.”

d 4. In translating the difficult κατὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον ἀφαίρεσιν, I have followed Schneider’s “ex illius jure abducendi,” ἀφαίρεσις being used pregnantly for “right of removing.” (Stallb. takes it to mean “just as if he were going to carry it off.”)

d 7. The apparently late fashion of saying μεσεγγυνῶ instead of μεσεγγυνάω probably coincided with a general substitution of ἔγγυος as a subs. for the original ἔγγυη. L and O mention a variant μεσεγγυνθέν, which the earlier texts adopted.

e 1. All editors have adopted the more significant διαδικαζειν of L and O² for the δικάζειν of Α and O.

e 3. ἀγέτω: this use of ἀγεῖν—“to lay violent hands on”—is akin to that in the commom ἀγεῖν καὶ φέρειν (cp. above, 885 a, and the βία ἀγεῖν of Gorg. 488 b).—In ἐὰν ἔμφρων ὑ τhere seems to lurk a hint that some masters behaved like madmen to their slaves.
e 5. τὸν ἀφεστῶτα, “the runaway”; cp. Lysias, Or. 23, 7 δοῦλον . . . ἀφεστῶτα,—ἐπὶ σοτηρίᾳ: i.e. he must not punish him, only keep him from running away.

e 6. ἀφαιρηται and ἀφαιρούμενος in the next line are conative. —For ἀφαιρεῖσθαι εἰς ἐλευθερίαν Stallb. cps. Dem. Adv. Theocrinem 1327. 22 ἤπεινα αἰχμαῖα . . . ἀς προοφέλειν ἀφελόμενος τὴν Κηφισοδόρου θεράπαιναν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, and Lysias, Or. 23, where there is a case of disputed ownership of a slave. The similarity of procedure and phrasing suggests that Plato is here following the lines of Attic law.

e 9. τὸν βιαίων ἐνοχὸς: cp. Lysias, Or. 23, 12 ἐνόχους . . . τοῖς βιαιοῖς. Plato has ἐνοχὸς with the dat. below at 917 c 7, and at Theaet. 148 b 4. The gen. may be due to the analogy of the gen. with ὑπόδικος, or it may be that γραφή or δίκη was understood with it.

915 a 1. ἐπιγραφέωντος: i.e. the value of the slave as entered in the state register.

a 3. Herm. (De vest. disp. p. 64 and Juris Comp. p. 18) conjectures that in these regulations for the behaviour of freedmen, as for those about slaves, Plato follows closely the course of Attic law.

a 4. The nom. θεραπεία is far superior to Α’s variant θεραπεία.

b 2. καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔνοις: cp. above, 850 b 2.

b 5. Ast was the first to print τῷ for τῶν (before ἔνοι) at the suggestion of Matthiae. Schneider alone retains the MS. τῶν.

b 6. τοῦ τρίτον τιμήματος: cp. above, 744 e and e. The third was the lowest but one; cp. 756 d 1. This restriction of the property of ἔνοι and freedmen seems to have been Plato’s own. He apparently disapproved of the generous treatment accorded to μέτοικοι by the Athenians. In this his relatives Critias and Charmides would have agreed with him. Cp. Grote, viii. p. 38 (chap. lxv.).

c 5. τούτων: this word probably refers to the suits about all subjects mentioned between 914 e 3 and 915 d 6—slaves and freedmen. φυλετικά δικαστήρια are mentioned above at 768 c 1. (Ritter, p. 414, thinks τούτων cannot include the condemning to death of a freedman who overstays his time. Probably not; but the tribal courts might even here be wanted to decide as to the facts of the case.)

c 8. ἐφάπτηται, “claims,” lit. “lays hold of”; the subj. is τις as in e 2.—καὶ ὄστονόν, “belonging to anybody whatever” (καὶ ὄστονόν A and 0).—The vulgate down to Steph., also Herm., 515.
Zürr, and Burnet, read τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων. I would, like Schneider and Stallb., follow Ast in reading τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων, αὐτοῦ being the same person spoken of as καὶ ὄτονοῦ—the ὀ ἐχον of the following line. It is true that our first impulse is to make καὶ ὄτονοῦν agree with ἥφων; but on the other hand it is difficult to suppose that Plato should have called it, or anything else, “the claimant’s own property,” when ex hypothesi the claim is in dispute. It was probably this perception which led to the early correction of ὄτονοῦν to ὄτρων which is the reading of A and O. If it were not, indeed, for the consensus of all texts I should prefer to read καὶ ὄτρων. It is not stranger than many datives in the Laws. (A.M.A. prefers αὐτοῦ.)


d 2. ἀδιάλευκον τε καὶ ἐνίκον, “as its substantial and lawful owner”; κυρίως with παραδόντα expresses the same qualification.

d 4. εἰς δὲ ξενικὴν παράδοσιν, “foreign delivery,” stands for “a foreign deliverer”; a curious instance of abstract for concrete.

d 5. It is, however, too much, after stretching the meaning of παράδοσιν one way, to ask us to believe that ἴς—“of which delivery”—stands here for “of which delivery-period.” I would suggest that ἴς is a mistake for ἰς. The utmost limit of time allowed for restitution would thus be two and a half months after the summer solstice.

d 7. For ἐτερος ἀλλω cp. 849 e 7 μὴ προϊέμενον ἀλλον ἐτέρῳ τῇν ἀλλαγήν, and 945 d 7.—τεταγμένη ἐκάστοις, “assigned to each separate commodity.” (Wagner wrongly makes ἐκάστοις masc. and takes it with διδόντα.) Cp. above, 849 e, where the fixing on certain parts of the agora for dealings in certain commodities, and also the prohibition of credit are both ordained. The former regulation was Attic, the latter not.

e 6. φίλον παρὰ φίλοις, “as among friends.” There were to be no legal obligations for ἐρανοῦ, and consequently no ἐρανικά δίκαι.

916 a 3. ἡ κατὰ νόμον ἀναγωγὴ καὶ μὴ ἀναγωγὴ (redhibitio) is used frequently for “power of return,” so that μὴ stands for “refusal of return.” Cp. below on c 5, and 709 e 2.

a 5. φθόγη: cp. Lucian, Ep. Sat. 28 ἡ φθόγη ἡ περιπενεμοίαν ἡ ἐδερον οὐ χαλεπῶς συνελέξαντο ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς τρυφῆς.—λιθών : Photius (s.v. λιθώντας) cites this passage, and teaches us that
λιθάω, not λιθιάω, is the correct form of the verb. ALO have λιθων; all early texts have λιθιών. Winckelmann (in Zürr.) first restored the correct form.

a 8. L preserved the τοῦτον which A and O omitted, though it was added in the margin.

b 2. ἰδιώτη: i.e. one who has no professional knowledge or skill in the matter; δημιουργός (b 3) is "a professional man."—Of the words ἐὰν δὲ τις ἰδιώτη τι A left out δέ and O left out δέ τις; late hands in A wrote the δέ above the line and ἐὰν δὲ τι ἰδιώτη in the margin; O gives a marginal variant τι ἰδῖως.

b 3. πλήν τῆς ἱερᾶς: abstract for concrete, cp. b 5.

b 5. τῆς νόσου = τοῦ νοσοῦντος.

b 6. οὕς ἄν κοινὴ προβαλόμενον ἔλωνται, "to be selected by the joint nomination of the two parties."—Bekker first restored the προβαλόμενον of A for the προβαλλόμενον of O, A², and the vulgate.

c 5. Stallb. alone of later editors retains the μη εἰδοτε δέ of O for the μη δέ εἰδοτε of A and O².—Although the τότε has but slight MS. authority (a late hand in the margin of A), all editors (including Fic.) have adopted it. (Is it possible that Ficinus's "tunc reddetur quando senserit emptor" was the origin of the τότε? The Greek could do quite well without it. But cp. on 876 b 5.)

c 6. There is a curious difference of reading here: L and a late correcting hand in A have αὐθηται, which all editors have adopted; A and O have αὐθησις.—τις τῶν πρισμένων may stand for "any buyer," or it may mean "any member of the buyer's family"; Fic. translates by a simple emptor.

c 7. εἰδός δὲ ἀν κριθῇ: i.e. if the seller be proved to have known.—τάς τε οἰκίας . . . καθηράτω . . . τῆς τιμῆς τε ἀποδότω . . . τριπλάσιον: the purification would probably be necessary, even though the seller had not guilty knowledge, but it is not clear that it would then be the seller's duty to purify it.

c 8. κατὰ τῶν τῶν ἐξηγητῶν νόμον: cp. above, 759 c 6 ff., for the position of these repositories of Delphic ceremonial.

d 1. It is significant that the penalty for palming off a ceremonially unclean slave is 50 per cent greater than that for palming off a physically defective one.

d 3. ὀτιοῦν belongs to τῶν ἄλλων, and ζων ἦ καὶ μη ζών go together; the insertion of ζών between ἄλλων and ὀτιοῦν is a good instance of the hyperbaton which is a common feature of this style. —ἀκίβδηλον τῶν διδότω, "must give full value in every case."

517
d 5. The word δεξώμεθα represents the speaker as “adopting” the preamble provided by the νομοθέτης. — The word ὀλης prepares us for the following statement that “fraud, lying, and deception are all of one kin.”

d 7. φήμην ἐπιφέρειν is “to confer reputation—credit or discredit—upon.” “Slimness,” such as made part of the character of the hero of the Odyssey, was, as Plato hints, admired too unreservedly by the Greeks. There is no reason to think that, because at c 6 f., he especially bars the breaking of an oath—i.e. the lying in the face of Heaven—or lying to a “superior,” he has relaxed at all in the positive enthusiasm for truth in itself which is expressed above at 730 c 1 ff. He is here considering the social effects of deceit, and is speaking as a lawgiver. Cp. below on 917 a 8.

917 a 1. πράξειν: for the imperative or hortative use of the independent optative cp. above on 730 c 3.—οὔτος is predicate, and is used almost in the sense of τοιοούτος—cp. Pind. O. 4. 38 οὗτος ἐγὼ ταχυτάτη—and stands here in the place of θεομοσέστατος.


a 3. δεύτερον: i.e. in only a less degree θεομοσής.

a 7. ἀρχή is here used of any sort of authority, and includes all the kinds of superiority just mentioned. In the next line ἀρχαῖς stands for the concrete “authorities” in the sense of officials. Wagner notices the play on words.

a 8. L has ὁ νῦν, A and O have οὖν corrected to ὁ νῦν (in A by a late hand in the margin). Ast, Zürr., and Stallb. think that the original reading was οὖν ὁ νῦν, but, as Hern. says, we don’t want the οὖν.—The first four printed odd. had ὅθεν οὖν παρὼν ἦμιν ὁ λόγος. A wrote παρ’ ὅν for παρὼν, but Α² marked it as a mistake.—The sentence ὅθεν . . . ἐλήλυθεν means that the speaker is now looking at the matter of deceit and falsehood from the state official’s point of view, not from that of the moral philosopher; his object is to find how far such acts can be punished by law.

a 9. πᾶς γὰρ κτλ.: this sentence confirms the statement that it is the official view that he is now taking. Such acts, he says, are done “in the teeth of the regulations and limitations of the market officials.” Thus the offender sins both against Heaven and against his earthly superiors.—τῶν is neut., and depends on τῷ. (Schneider and Wagner make it masc.—depending on πᾶς;
Fic. rightly translates "quicunque enim aliquid in foro adulterat."

b 2. Though the oath is a false one ἐπόμνυσιν does not (as Fic. and Jowett say) mean πειρατεῖν; it is merely "adds an oath," "swears to it."—This εὖ is a variety of the ἐν used to denote the tribunal before which a case is tried; we may translate by "in the face of." The man not only cheats, but he calls God to witness it, and does it also in the face of human authority.

b 4 ff. πάντως μὲν δὴ κτλ., "undoubtedly it is a good habit not lightly to take the name of gods in vain, and to behave as the generality of us behave more or less in the matter of purity and guiltlessness towards Heaven." ἐχοντα agrees with an unexpressed τινά which is the subj. of χραίνειν. The Ath. enjoins as great care in avoiding impiety in business dealings as we use in the ordinary affairs of life. (Jowett understands it to mean the opposite of this; he translates "after the fashion of men in general who care little about piety"; i.e. he puts the ἐχοντα with χραίνειν alone and not with μὴ χραίνειν. Fic. is no guide here; he translates: "Aequum profecto est nomina deorum non facile inquinare nec ea hac atque illuc devolvere, sed omnia quae ad deos pertinent pure casteque servare.")—For the use of ῥαδίως cp. below, 919 d 2.

b 7. The subj. of πείδοιτο is the same person as the subj. of χραίνειν.

c 1. ἀποφέρων ὤρθῶς ἄν ἀποφέροι πάλιν, "it would be his bounden duty to take it away again." The two points of market law are (1) a price when once fixed must not be changed on the same day, and (2) no statements about goods are to be supported by rhetorical flourishes or oaths. Athenaeus p. 226 a quotes a comedy of Alexis where it is said that since Solon there has been no better lawgiver than the rich Aristonicus, who, among other laws regulating the proceedings of fishmongers in the market, ordained that when a fishmonger has once fixed a price he will be sent to prison if he sells it for less, ἵνα δεδουκότες | τῆς ἀξίας ἀγαπώσων, ἤ τῆς ἐπιτέρας | σαπροὺς ἀπανταῖς ἀποφέρωσιν οἰκίας. Bekker (Charicles ii. 154), in quoting this, hazards the conjecture that by "Aristonicus" Alexis meant Plato "the son of Ariston." Stallb. agrees with him. The two following "laws" in Alexis's comedy are pure burlesque. (Stallb., perhaps rightly, takes ἐπαινοὺς ὤρκος τε as a hendiadys, "praise supported by oaths.")

c 6. Herm. follows Schmidt (Emend. Plat. p. 8) in defending the τίς which the MSS. have after τυπτεῖτω, but which, in deference to a marginal note in O, previous edd. had omitted. Stallb.
accepted τις later, and so Schn. and Burnet. Herm. cites Rep. 412a δεύσει τοῦ τωκότου τίνος αἰτί επιστατόν for a similar apparently superfluous τις. Stallb. cites Soph. O.C. 288 and O.R. 107. The τις means in all these cases "whoever he be."

c 8. μὴ δυνάμενον τοῖς νῦν πείθονθαι λόγοις: so we may say "he cannot be persuaded" when we mean "I cannot persuade him." The λόγοι are the "prelude," 916d 6—917 b 7.

d 1. τῶν γεγνωσκόντων, "ex numero intelligentium" (Schneider); not merely "those who are aware of the occurrence" but those who understand the trade in question—the τῶν ἐμπείρων of e 4 below.

d 5. ἀγορευέσθω, "he must be pronounced"; cp. 950 e τᾶς δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον . . . ἀποδημίας οὐκ ἐν ἐκδημίαις πολιτικαῖς ἔξιον ἀγορεύειν ὡς τούτων οὗτας. (Stallb. thinks that ἀναγορεύειν (cp. 730 d 7), which denotes a public official proclamation of the charge, is the word wanted here.)

d 6. ὁ φανερὸς γενόμενος: i.e. ὁ ἔξελεγχθείσ.

e 1. For this use of ὑπό cp. above, 784 a 7, below, 928 d 8, Rep. 461 a 6, and the πάνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπυγως of Aristoph. Ach. 1001. It denotes not the agent or instrument, but a benevolent and encouraging accompaniment.

e 4. I think Stallb., Schneider, and Wagner are right in taking περὶ ἐκαστα with ἐμπείρων; other interpreters either leave περὶ ἐκαστα untranslated, or take it with πυθόμενοι. (Serranus "singulatim intelligunto.") The comma which Herm., Wagn., and Burnet place after νομοφύλακες should be omitted, κιθᾶ and κακ. being the direct obj. of πυθόμενοι. The authorities must learn all possible tricks of the trade before they can draw up their table of regulations for buying and selling.—Ficinus for some reason does not translate ἀ τε χρή τοιείν τῶν πωλοῦντα καὶ ἀ μὴ τιλ the end of the whole sentence. This led Ast and Wagner to the conclusion that these words originally came after σαφεῖς. Fic. probably felt that some further definition of μυντάς was needed in his version, and allowed himself the transposition. His version of ἀναγραφάντων . . . σαφεῖς is "et in columna conscriptas in foro proponent ut plane ex his pateat quid oportet" (sic) "et quidnon vendentes facere." There is compression and omission as well as transposition here.

e 5. The MSS. have ἀγορανόμου, but all editors have rightly accepted Steph.'s emendation of this to ἀγορανομίου; cp. below, 918 a 4 εἰς ἀστυνόμου θέμων.

e 6. εἶναι stands in the sense of ὡστε εἶναι; cp. 756 e 3, 759 d 8, 857 a 6, 890 e 8.
918 a 1. χρεία is "business," as at 849 a 5.
a 2. εν τοίς πρώσθεν: i.e. 759 a, 763 c-e, 849 a 2, 881 c 5.
a 3 ff. τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκλιπεῖν: so the MSS. Herm. truly says that ἐκλιπεῖν is used of a falling away from fulness, ἐλλείπειν of a falling short of it. Hence manifestly ἐλλείπειν is the more likely word here. If Plato wrote ἐκλιπεῖν it means that he carelessly ignored the distinction.—τὰ τε πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα τεθέντα αὐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμιμα, "both the earlier and the later rules made for their official activities."
a 6. This is not a flattering introduction of the κάτηλοι, whether as shopkeepers, peddlars, or innkeepers. Again at 920 c 1 he pronounces κιβδηλεία to be a συγγενῆς πράγμα to κατηλεία. — The κατὰ πολλά of L and the margin of O is clearly a scribe's error. In three inferior MSS. κατὰ τόδα is explained in the margin by παραντά and κατὰ τάξιν.
a 7. συμβουλὴν καὶ λόγον: a periphrasis for the usual προοἰμον.
b 1 f. τὸ γε κατὰ φῶσιν: i.e. "if you consider its real nature and function apart from its evil associations in actual life."
b 3 f. ἀνύμμετρον seems to denote the disproportion between stock possessed by the individual and his needs; ἀνώμαλον the inequality in the distribution of stock throughout the community. To both the chiastically arranged ὀμαλὴς and σύμμετρον are respectively opposed.
b 4. τοῦτο, "the very thing which." The explanatory asyndeton gives further emphasis to τοῦτο. Aristotle amplifies this hint about the function of money and ἡ μεταβλητικὴ at Pol. i. 1257 a b.
b 6. ἐμπορος seems here to be used in a general sense, including both great and little traders.—ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ τετάχθαι, "has had this task assigned to him."
b 7. ἄλλα: sc. ἐπιτηδεύματα, in the sense of "trades."
c 2. ἐξευπορεῖν has here an object (two, in fact); above at 861 b 1 it was used absolutely. (Stallb. makes it intransitive—"ut ... et opibus aequalitas contingent.")
c 3 f. There is a violent zeugma here; δοκεῖν needs some such word as πως to govern it, and we have to get it out of τὸ διαβεβληκὸς τυγχάνει, which means "that which happens to have made it unpopular."—For τυγχάνει without ἐν ep. above, 892 d 7.
c 5. The early edd. down to Steph. have ἐξιασώμεθα, ALO have ἐξιασώμεθα; A² corrected this to ἐξιασώμεθα, which Ast was the first to print.
c 6. οὗ φαῦλον means more than "non leve" (Stallb.), which would come to the same thing as οὗ σμικράς δεόμενον ἄρετῆς; it is rather "worth doing."—These words are given, in the first five printed edd., and even in Bekker, to Cleinias, and the Ath. is made to go on πῶς λέγεις; κτλ. It is even more ridiculous to suppose the Athenian surprised (πῶς λέγεις;) at the statement than to suppose Cleinias capable of making it. The French scholar Grou first saw this, and Ast was the first to print the correct arrangement. The cause, as Stallb. says, was probably the asyndeton after νόμῳ. Apparently the MSS. did not make the mistake.

c 9 f. ὀλίγον is no repetition of σμικρόν, as at first it appears. The two reasons why the γένος is σμικρόν are (1) that only a few are born capable of reaching the standard, and (2) that of these only the strictly trained reach it.

c 10. The addition of χρείας to ἐπιθυμίας shows that it is not merely desire for what is unnecessary which is here considered.

d 1. καρτερείν πρὸς τὸ μέτριον: there is something of an oxymoron in this phrase. The result desired is not a persistent endeavour—whether of action or resistance—such as καρτερείν usually describes, but a deliberate restraining of endeavour at a certain point. The resistance is to oneself, and is analogous to the paradoxical "victory over oneself" described in 626 e ff. So we talk of having the strength of mind to renounce.

d 5. Stallb. is doubtless right in treating δεόμενα κτλ. as an emphatic explanatory asyndeton; τε then is both, not (as Schneider) and. To make this clear a colon should replace the comma after τοῦτοις.—ἐξὸν κερδαίειν τὰ μέτρια, "when they have the option of stopping short at a moderate gain."

d 7. Here and at e 1 A and O made the mistake of writing χ for κ in πανδοκείαν and πανδοκεῦσαι, though in the former word the letters χει are in an erasure in Δ; L and O² give κ.

d 8–e 4. ἐπεί ἐὰν τις... μετασχεῖν τρόπον: ἐπεί is probably "although," "and yet."—ἀρίστους goes in sense with γυναῖκας as well as with ἄνδρας ("mulieres quoque sanctissimas" Fic.)—εἰ τις προσαναγκάσειν would be translated in English by a passive. (Winckelmann, comparing 806 a 6 f. and Rep. 579 c 7, would add τοῦχη to τίς.)

e 1. Schneider alone is bold enough to support A and O in the omission of δε; it is possible, but unlikely, that we have here a μέν with no δε to follow.

e 3. εἰμαρμένης, "inevitable."

e 5. κατὰ λόγον ἀδιάφθορον, "on incorruptible principles."
919 a 3. Steph. and Ast thought ἐλαυνομένως (with παρασχόν) and not the acc. (with δεχόμενος) was the right reading.

a 4. It is doubtful whether we ought to take πνίγεσιν to stand for ἐν πνίγεσιν (“in suffocating heat”)—cp. γαλήνη Thuc. iv. 26. 7—or to supply ἐλαυνομένως with it.

a 5 ff. ὁδ' ὦς . . . λύτρων, “does not, as if he had been entertaining friends, make them genial presents in keeping with his previous reception of them, but asks his mighty, extortionate, and abominable price for letting them go—as if they had been enemies who had fallen into his hands as prisoners.” τῶν in a 7 assumes that everybody knows how high innkeepers' charges are.—μακροτάτων is rather an out-of-the-way epithet for λύτρων, but by no means impossible; so Arist. Pol. iii. 1278 a 23 talks of τιμήματα μακρά; cp. our “a long price.” (There is no need for Herm.'s μαρωτάτων. He thinks it would go better with the following adjs., but it would be superfluous alongside of ἀκαθάρτων.)—The corrector of O saw what was wrong with A and O's ἔτερους for ἐταίρους; cp. below 935 c 6, Symp. 183 c 7 and Ep. vii. 325 b 6.

b 1. ἐν σύμπασιν τοὺς τοιούτους: sc. κατηλείας γένεσιν.

b 2. ὀρθῶς (“deservedly”), if correct, is, by a very harsh hyperbaton, separated from παρεσκευακότα, which it must qualify, and itself separates ἀμαρτανόμενα from ἐν σύμπ. τ. τ. Some scribe, as recorded in the margin of L and O, thinking that ὀρθῶς could only qualify ἀμαρτανόμενα, proposed to alter it to αἰσχρῶς, which Herm., Zürr., and Stallb. accept. Steph. and Ast would place ὀρθῶς before παρεσκευακότα. Wagner, whom I follow, thinks that ὀρθῶς was a marginal comment which got by mistake into the text. We could certainly do very well without it, and we can easily imagine a commentator expressing approval of the sentiment. Ficinus's “turpiter acta” may be merely a translation of ἀμαρτανόμενα; if so, he neglects the adverb, whether ὀρθῶς or αἰσχρῶς.—Ought we possibly to read τὰ for τὰς?

b 5. πρὸς δύο . . . καὶ ἐναντία: at Phaedo 89 c and Euthyd. 297 c, where this same proverb is quoted, there is nothing to correspond with the καὶ ἐναντία. The scholiast on the passage in the Phaedo quotes our present passage as merely ὡς πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι χαλεπτόν. It is evidently not of the essence of the proverb, and is only introduced here because the particular two—πενία and πλοῦτος—are opposites; it is then “especially when they are opposites.” The implication is that different and perhaps inconsistent methods would be needed to combat each.

b 8 f. τὸν μὲν ψυχήν . . . αὐτῆν: in other words, “luxury —
undermines our self-command, and misery robs us of our self-
respect."—Again a hyperbaton, separating ψυχήν from τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων.—The usual chiasmus.—προτετραμμένην all take to be
middle here, but it would be hard to find another instance of this
tense used actively. Besides, Plato inclines to the active of this
verb rather than to the middle for the sense urge—cp. Glithro
408 d 5 τοὺς μὴ πω προτετραμμένους προτρέπειν.—The reading
προστετραμμένους (cp. above 866 b 4), which all editors down to
Ast adopted, was due to the corrector of O, and does him no
credit. Is it perhaps passive after all?—" while poverty is driven
to utter shamelessness."

c 2. A² corrected what was manifestly a scribe's mistake of
ἀγωγή for ἀρωγή in A and O. (Winckelmann would retain
ἀγωγή.)

c 3. ὅτι σμικροτάτω; how the number of κάπηλοι was to be
restricted we are not told.

c 5. καπηλείαν has to be supplied as the direct object of
προστάττειν from the previous τῶν καπηλῶν γένει.

c 7 f. ἀνέδην ... μέτοχα: possibly ἀνέδην qualifies μέτοχα. The
grammarian in Bekker, Anecd. i. p. 400 seems to make it qualify
ῥαδίως; Schn., Wagn., and Jow. better translate it as if it qualified ἀνασωχ like an adj.—" unbridled shamelessness."

d 1. ἀνελευθέρων ψυχής: cp. Rep. 422 a 2 πήδε (πενίας
ἐμποιούσης) ἀνελευθεριαν καὶ κακοεργίαν πρὸς τῷ νεωτερισμῷ.—
L alone has the right reading; A and O and L's margin have
ἀνελευθέριον, an illiterate late form, which, however, Schn.
retains.

d 2. ῥαδίως: cp. above, 917 b 5 μὴ χραίνειν ῥαδίως.

d 3. The gen. Μαγνητῶν depends in a loose way both on ὅσοι
and upon μηδείς. The sense is, "let no one of all the 5040
Magnetian householders ..."—The vulgate down to Steph. has
οὐς ἂν ... κατοικίζῃ. Ast first printed the correct MS.
reading οὐς ... κατοικίζει (which alone makes sense) from cod.
Voss. O² reads κατοικίζει, but with no ἂν after οὐς.

d 4. ἄνορθῶν πάλιν: cp. below, 946 b 6 Μαγνήτων ἡ κατὰ θέον
πάλιν τυχόντα σωτηρίας πόλις. The original Μαγνήτες had left
their city in Crete to decay when they migrated to form the
colony of Μαγνησία on the Meander. The imaginary new
Magnesia was to be built on their Cretan territory.

d 6. μηδ' ἐμπορος, "no, nor even an ἐμπορος" (who belonged to
a higher class than a κάπηλος). Bekker thought that the MS.
μηδ' was a mistake for μητ' ; Herm., Zürr., and Wagn. agree with
NOTES TO BOOK XI

him, and so did Stallb. in his earlier editions; but in his later he, like Sch. and Burnet, follows the MSS.

d 7. τοὺς μὴ ἑξ ἰσον ἑαυτῷ, “who do not equally (render the service) to him;” διακονοῦσιν must be supplied from the previous διακόνιαν κεκτημένος, and ἑξ ἰσον (cp. 931 c 7) qualifies it. (Ast and Jowett quite irrationally translate “who are not his equals.” Ast says ἑξ ἰσον stands for ἑξ ἰσον τιμήματος.)

e 1. τοῖς ἐτὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ ἀνώ γένεσιν: this phrase evidently means the same as τοῖς ἀνω τοῦ γένους at 878 a 5, and τούτων ἐτι προγόνων at 880 e 7. Stallb. and (apparently) Schn. take γένεσιν to be “by birth”—plur. because there were several ages—“to those who are still further back by birth than these”; is it not better to take τοῖς with γένεσιν—“and to the generations still further back than these”? Cp. εὖν γένει 925 a 2. (O. Apelt suggests that we should read γονέως.)

e 2. Jowett rightly separates ἐλευθέρως in translation from ἐλευθεροι. All previous interpreters make it qualify ἐλευθεροι (“qui liberaltur sunt liberi,” Schn.); Jowett translates “who are freemen, and whom he serves as a freeman.” διακονεῖτω must be supplied with ἐλευθέρως from the preceding μὴ διακόνιαν κεκτημένος ἐστω. The ἐλευθέρως means that the service must not be such as to derogate from his character as a gentleman. There should be no comma after πρεσβυνέρους.

e 4. τῶν τὰ ἀριστεία εἰληφότων τῷ ἐκείνῳ μίσει τε καὶ ἀσπιασμῷ, “men whose hatred of the former and devotion to the latter have won them public recognition.” The same men are called below τοὺς ἀρετῆς πρώτους κεκριμένους. From the occurrence of the phrases τὰ ἀριστεία ἀποδόντας and the like at 946 b and e and 948 a, in the account of the election and functions of the εὐθυνοι, Susemihl concluded that the εὐθυνοι were the authorities referred to here. But is it likely that the ἀρχόντων ἀρχοντες ὑπερβάλλοντες πρὸς ἀρετήν, the θείοι εὐθυνοι who were to keep the magistrates within the bounds of virtue, should be at liberty to decide every citizen’s doubts about what was gentlemanly conduct? Ritter (p. 414) shows that ἀριστεία and τὰ ἀριστεία are used of the public recognition of all kinds of merit. Here the merit was not, as in the case of the εὐθυνοι, of a general kind: the judges here were to be recognized authorities on etiquette—leaders of bon ton. Probably, as in the case of the soldiers described at 943 c, all these privileged ranks of citizens would bear some badge or mark of their superiority.

e 5 f. καπηλείας τῆς ἀνελευθέρου: what ἐλευθερικὴ καπηλεία is
has been suggested in general terms above at d 7. Reciprocal entertainment at private houses would be an instance of it.

e 6. τέχνη τινος, “by any artifice”; cp. below, 936 d 5. There were doubtless ways in which a citizen might make money out of trade without letting his name appear.

e 9. δεθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποσχέσθω τοῦ τοιοῦτου, “he must give up the pursuit and be imprisoned for a year.” The implication is that the imprisonment is not only a penal but a preventive measure.

920 a 2. τοῦς δεσπούσ, if sound, is a curious acc. “He must go on doubling the previous period for his imprisonment.” It is a sort of acc. of inner object, such as might stand with δεθήτω, of which the succeeding words are a sort of equivalent. Steph., Ast, and Wagn. think that one of the two accs. is a mistake for a gen., and Ast prints τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν χρόνου. Is it not possible that τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν χρόνου ought to be rejected as a marginal interpretation of τοῦς δεσπούς?

a 6. Both A and O first wrote φύλας for φύλακας. It is not likely that both scribes should make such a mistake independently. Either one was copied from the other, or both were copied from an original which made the mistake. The corrections in A (in text and margin) are by late hands. See on b 1.

a 8. The ὁσοι clause is explanatory of the ὁσος clause; hence the asyndeton. So Stallh. (“hoc est eorum qui,” etc.); Schn. and Wagner understand the ὁσοι clause to give a reason for the previous statement.—A wrote πεπαίδευται, and it was corrected by a late hand.

b 1. There are many mistakes in the MSS. about this place. Both A and O joined the -οντας of ἐπιτηθεύοντας on to the - εν- of ἐπιτηθεύματα, omitting all that came between; a mistake of the same significance as that noticed on a 6.

b 2. A wrote ἄποτροπιν, altered by a correcting hand to ἄ βοπην, O wrote ἄποτροπιν, for which the margin gives a variant ἄ τροπην. All editors but Zürr., Herm., and Burnet print the Aldine ἄ προτροπιν. Zürr. prefers the variant of O ἄ τροπην; Herm. (like A2) conjectured ἄ βοπην, which he and Burnet print. Bauber conjectured ἄ ποτε βοπην, and Herm. thought of ἄ πον (or ἄπερ) βοπην, but did not print either. τροπην goes ill with ἰσχυράν and, as Herm. says, “προτροπη πρὸς τὸ προτρέπειν misere friget.”—A further mistake made by both A and O in this line was writing τρέπειν instead of προτρέπειν.

b 3. ταύτη δή, “in pursuance of this object,” “to secure this.”
NOTES TO BOOK XI


b 5 f. ὀσπατερ ἀν αὐτῶν... δεῖν εἶναι (like the ὁσοί clause above at a 8) is a further, and limiting, definition of the πολλὰ—"all the trades, that is, which have been pronounced absolutely necessary for the state and have been allowed to remain in it." This is the only hint of legislative action directed towards the first of the objects expressed above at 919 c 2–d 1, i.e. ὅτι σμικροτάτῳ χρήσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν τῷ τῶν καπέλων γένει. All the rest of the laws are directed to the second and third objects there enumerated.—(Wagn. curiously takes λειψθῆν to mean "are lacking")—A and O omitted the ἀν.

b 6. ἀδ marks this fixing of prices as a second function of the νομοφόλακες, the first being the decision what trades, and how many trades, were to be allowed to remain in the state.

C 1. ἔμπροσθεν: i.e. 917 e 2 ff.

C 2 f. λῆμμα τε καὶ ἀνάλωμα, which stand in the reverse order in the following line, are equivalent to "profit on expenditure," and so take a singular verb, and a singular interrog. pron. τί. At Lysias, Κατὰ Διογ. § 20 λῆμμα καὶ ἀνάλωμα seems to mean "excess of expenditure over income," or perhaps "debit and credit account."

C 4. γιγνόμενον, "resulting"; i.e. resulting from the inquiry—"inventam" Schn., "sich ergebende" Wagn.—Probably the γράφαντας θείναι as well as the φιλάττειν has for subjects the three next mentioned classes of officials. All the νομοφόλακες had to do was to regulate the market prices. The subordinate officials had to post and enforce them.

C 5. A and O are again at fault; they omit the words τὰ δὲ ἀγρονόμους, which are inserted by a late hand in A.

C 7. ἐκάστοις is "all—citizens and traders alike," while τῶν χρομένων (sc. τῇ καπήλεϊ) is "those who practise it"; i.e. the traders.

D 1. Here we come to συμβόλαιοι proper (cf. 913 a 1); contracts and binding agreements.—For the "Dorism" in the order of the words ὁσα τις ἂν cp. 890 a 5, 933 e 6.

D 2. For ἀπείργειν in the sense of "prevent a thing from being done" cp. above, 837 d 4, where also the law is the preventing cause.

D 3. The ὑποδίκου of Α and O for ὑπὸ ἀδίκου was a mistake of the eye and hand, rather than of the mind, and was doubtless soon corrected in Α.—With ὁμολογήσῃ we have to supply ἕν
from the previous ὅν ἂν.—καὶ is, in sense, as much "or" as the η which introduces the second just impediment.

d 4. Zürr. and Herm. adopt O²'s correction of the MS. ἀπό to ὑπό. For this use of ἀπό cp. Rep. 411 b ἀπὸ σμικρῶν ταχὺ ἔρι-
θιδόμενον τε καὶ κατασβενύμενον. τῶν ἄλλων (neut.) is all cases (ὅσα κτλ.) not included under the three specified exceptions;
"actions for breach of contract in other cases than these will lie
in the tribal courts" (in case friendly arbitration fails).

d 7. The asyndeton is of the usual explanatory kind.

e 1 ff. The somewhat slight grounds for thus grouping together
the military and the artizans are (1) they are both under special
divine protection; (2) they both serve continually the interest of
the land and its inhabitants (χώραν καὶ δῆμον θεραπεύοντες); and (3)
they both practise τέχναι, and may both, in a sense, be called
δημιουργοὶ (921 d 4), the latter being δημιουργοὶ σωτηρίας. He
admits, however, that they only count so ἐν παρέργῳ.

e 3. The omission of τὸ before τούτων in A and O is an
ordinary case of haplography.

e 5. ἄρχοντες τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἄγώνων: this might perhaps
be spoken, not of officers only, but of all soldiers as a class,
inasmuch as they "preside over, have charge of fighting" (cp.
ἔρετμῶν ἐπίσταται Eur. Ἁελ. 1267 and 1413), but the limitation
at 921 d 5 of his remarks there to στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι περὶ
tαῦτα τέχνικοι points the other way.

e 6. οἱ δὲ ὥργανον τε καὶ ἔργων ἀποτελοῦντες γένεσιν ἐμμισθὸν:
wages are the form in which day-labourers are recompensed, but
they are not the form in which e.g. the shoemaker gets paid for
his work. It is possible that Plato wrote ἐμμίσθων, but even
ἐμμίσθων which, as Stallb. says, is equivalent to ἐπὶ μισθῷ, can
only be felt as applying to ἔργων, although both ὥργανον and
ἔργων depend on γένεσιν. The language is of the dithyrambic
kind which Plato sometimes affects.

e 7. ψεῦδεσθαι is "break their word."

921 a 1. θεῶν προγόνος αὐτῶν: so at Euthyd. 302 d 6 the θεοὶ
πατράκτα are called πρόγονοι καὶ δεσπόται. Stallb. and Burnet
follow Baiter in reading αὐτῶν; other edd. retain the vulgate
αὐτῶν.

a 2. διὰ κάκηρ, "culpably," i.e. where none of the three excuses
specified above at d 2–4 apply.

a 3. The word βιοδότης, as being to the scribe a more unusual
form than the poetical βιόδωρος or βιοδώτης, is repeated in the
margin of A.
NOTES TO BOOK XI

921 a

a 4. *οίδεν τῷ νῷ βλέπων: cp. Mark iii. 5 συνλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πιτρωσίᾳ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν.

a 5. ἐπόμενος αὐτῷ νόμος κείσθω: ἐπόμενος is used absolutely in the sense of "suitable"—"let a suitable law be ready for him."

a 6. δοφελετῶ: he is to owe his employer the value of either the "chore" or the utensil ordered. This debt he discharges by rendering or producing it προίκα. As Ritter says (p. 331) those who, like Ficinus and Wagner, make Plato say that the defaulter must pay the money-price, represent the penalty on the δημιουργὸς as twice the penalty inflicted on the defaulting employer.

b 1. συνάθρολευέων: i.e. at 920 c 3 ff. The δημιουργὸς who undertakes a piece of work of any kind is in the same position as the κάτηλος who has anything to sell,—μὴ πλέονος τιμᾶν διαπερώμενον, "not to take an advantage (of the buyer) by asking too high a price."

b 3. Schn., Stallb., and Zürr. put a colon after ἀναρπομένως and a full stop after ἄξιαν. This is better than either Herm.'s or Burnet's punctuation. The former puts colons at each place, and the latter parenthesis marks. γιγνώσκει... ἄξιαν belongs to the preceding words: "if you ask how the correct price is to be fixed, I answer that the artificer must be the ultimate authority on that point."

b 4 ff. ἐν ἐλευθέρων οὖν πόλεσιν... δίκας δὲ εἶναι κτλ., "in communities of gentlemen then it will never do to allow the craftsman unchecked (αὐτὸν) to use his craftsmanship, which in itself is honest and above board, as a means of craftily imposing on the general public. There must be legal remedies, etc."—The φύσεως reminds us of the τῷ γε κατὰ φύσιν of 918 b 1. In both cases he is speaking of a calling which has accidentally fallen into disrepute. The punning use of τεχνάζοντα after τέχνης is a sufficient hint of this in the latter case.

c 1. ἐννοοῦν γενομένην: this does not mean that the price was fixed by law, as in the case of the κάτηλοι (920 c). It is the agreement of which the law takes cognizance.

c 3. λύῃ μεγάλας κοινωνίας, "overthrows the foundations of society," Jowett. The plural heightens the dignity of the expression. Such an act even concerns a higher than human tribunal, he tells us; for human society is the work of God.

c 4. ὁ βοηθῶν... τῷ τῆς πόλεως συνδέσμῳ μετὰ θεῶν, "to champion the divinely ordained civic tie."

d 1. δανεισμῷ συμβάλλειν, "to contribute as a loan"—"to lend."—τῷ δραχμῇ... ἐπωβελίαν, "an extra obol (a month) on
every drachma." It will be seen that the result of this is that the customer will in a year pay the price twice over. I take this to be an (informal) explanation of how the double price is exacted. We cannot suppose that a day's default involved the double price, and that 200 per cent interest was then charged on that.—For the prohibition of usury cp. above, 742 c μη δὲ δανεῖζέν ἔπι τόκῳ, and Boeckh, *P. Ec. of Athens*, Eng. Trans. p. 131 ff.

*d. 4.* ὡς goes with δίκαιον εἰπεῖν, and δίκαιον stands for τὸ δίκαιον. Schn. translates "ut vero . . . (de salutis in bello opificibus)—dicamus quod justum est." (Stallb. takes δίκαιον εἰπεῖν to be "dicere consentaneum est," and so all other translators but Schneider; but, so far as mention of military "specialists" goes, it has been done already at 920 e 1 ff. What the Ath. does here is to give them their due. This paragraph then deals with the *pay* of this kind of δημιουργῶς.

*d. 5.* The δὲ of A and O was rightly corrected by later hands to τε.

*d. 6.* ὅτι τὸ παράπαν ἐμνήσθημεν δημιουργῶν, "since we have come to talk of craftsmen in general." τὸ παράπαν is not often thus used without a negative.

*d. 6–e 3.* The MS. reading starts this passage with ὡς and leaves ἀποδίδω without a subject. Those correctors who would put in καί after ἐξεργάσηται, or τε after τὰς not only leave τούτως out in the cold, but absurdly suppose the man who does the martial deed and the man who honours him for it to be one and the same. Herm. thinks that if he is allowed to put in ὃ δὲ δῆμος after ἐξεργάσηται all will be well. But it will not; for it is of the honour paid by each citizen in his private capacity that the law expresses approval, not of the honour paid by the populace as a body. Schramm would read ἄν τις τιμᾶς instead of τὰς τιμᾶς. Wagner puts in ἄν before ἀποδίδω and makes ὧ νόμος its subj. But, as Stallb. says, Schneider's simple substitution of ὡς for ὡς in d 6 best saves the situation. He and Burnet rightly adopt this, and further change the comma after δημιουργῶν (in d 6) to a colon, to show that what follows is the utterance of the Law. That ἀποδίδω has no ἄν with it is to be explained in the same way as the similar absence of ἄν with the subj. δράσῃ and κτείνῃ at 873 e 3 (cp. also 737 b 3 and 848 a 1). A.M.A. suggests reading ἄν for ἄδ in d 7.—(In Burnet's text the (,) after δημιουργῶς is of course a misprint for a comma.)

*d. 7.* ἑτέρους is almost "another class (of craftsmen)"; ἑτέρος,
with which τοιοῦτος is often joined, is not, like ἀλλος, used of things which are totally different.

e 1. τὸς τιμᾶς: we hear more at 943c below of honour paid to warriors.

e 5. νόμος ὁ δὲ ... μερευγμένος κείσθω, "therefore let the following enactment be associated by us with the praise of these exploits."

922 a 1. A and O have ὅς ὁι by mistake for ὅσοι. If Schneider is right about 921d 6 this is the second instance, within a small space, of the same mistake in A and O—i.e. writing ὅς for ὅς.

a 3. δευτέρον ... πρῶτον: we are not told how these two highest "ranks" were to be conferred, or marked. Clearly rank was to mean merit, not wealth or official position.

a 7. All editors regard the ὄρφανικά of ALO as a mistake for ὄρφανικον. Aldus was the first to make the correction.

b 2 ff. τούτων δὲ ἀρχαὶ πάντων ... τύχαι, "the foundations of the whole subject are (1) the desire, in the face of death, to settle the subsequent disposition of one's property, and (2) the situation when no such disposition has been made"; i.e. the two lines which must be followed by the legislator are (1) he must restrict the power of the testator, and (2) he must fill the gap left by intestacy.

b 5. βλέψας ... χαλεπόν, "for I saw what troublesome and difficult tasks the subject involved." περὶ αὐτῶν is a recognized substitute for the simple gen. (cp. above on 676 c 6). Herm. (unnecessarily) suggests that the περὶ should be rejected. He thinks it may have arisen from a temporary misreading of the following πρός.—The hyperbaton of the τε and the omission of the art. with χαλεπόν are both noticeable, as is also the change to the sing. in αὐτό in the following line.

b 6 ff. The dangers, he says, of unrestricted testamentary disposition are the possibility (1) of a bewildering and unsettling variety, in the principles of the different wills, (2) of conflict of wills with the laws of the state, (3) of the shocking of healthy-minded men.

b 8. τρίν διατίθεσθαι μέλλειν is a further specification of what is meant by ἔμπροσθεν.

b 1. ἀπλῶς οὕτως, "without exception," "absolutely."

b 2. ὀπωσοῦν ἔξων, "whatever be the state of his health."

b 3. ἀνοίτως ... οἱ πλεῖστοι, "in most of us the mind is cloudy and somewhat enervated."

b 8. μεστὸν ... δύσχερον, "possessed by an idea which fills the lawgiver with dismay and perplexity."
d 1. ἐγνών εἶναι κύριος ἀπάντων, "in this desire to have everything his own way."

d 4. A and O have ei τε ἄμα, which is absurd. Editors generally from Ald. downwards have concluded that the scribes transposed ε and α by a mistake of the eye or hand, and that Plato wrote ei τὰ ἦμα. Herm. acutely suggests that what was originally written was τὰμά.—What the moribund man here says is the λόγος mentioned above at e 8 and below at e 5.

d 6 f. τῶν ὀπόσοι, "out of those who . . . " The arrangement of the subsequent items is chiastic, as usual—φαῦλοι applying to ἐλάττωνα, and ἄγαθοί to πλείω.—Both the περὶ ἐμὲ and the φανερῶς go with both φαῦλοι and ἄγαθοί in sense. The same applies probably to βασανοσθέντες.—οἱ μὲν has to be supplied in sense before εἰ νόσοις.—In this short paragraph there are four instances of the way in which Greek shuns the repetition of a word, even when strict grammar demands the repetition (δοῦναι περὶ ἐμὲ, φανερῶς, and οἱ (μὲν)). Cp. on 728 a 7.

e 1. μαλθακοῖ, "soft-hearted" ("too good-natured" Jow.).

e 2 f. ἐπὶ συμκρόν . . . νομοθετεῖν, "to have taken as legislators too short a view and too shallow an estimate of human conditions."

e 6. τῶν ἐξείναι, "which allows"—lit. "the (law) that it should be allowed." This out-of-the-way but idiomatic construction was spoilt by the correction of τῶν to τῶνδε by A² and O². We are expressly told by the margin of O that the codex patriarchae had τῶν.—Stalb. notes that Attic law at any rate did not allow a parent to leave his property away from his lawful children, referring to Isaeus, De Pyrrh. hered. § 68. Plutarch (Solon ch. 21) tells us the same thing about Solon's legislation: ὅ δ' ὅ βούλεται τις ἐπιτρέψας, εἰ μὴ παῖδες εἶναι αὐτῷ, δοῦναι τὰ αὐτοῦ, φιλίαν τε συγγενεῖας ἐτίμημεν μᾶλλον, καὶ χάριν ἀνάγκης.

923 a 1. A further instance of τὸ παράπαν ("altogether") used in a positive expression. Cp. above, 921 d 6.—There is humour in the καὶ σὺ, spoken just after Cleinias's question at d 9.

a 2. Burnet has rightly restored the reading of A by joining πως as an enclitic to ἐμελέστερον. All other edd. (and Fic.) make the word πῶς;—a question put by Cleinias. The asyndeton is a natural one.

a 3. ἀτεχνῶς, "literally." The near prospect of death makes the adjective ἐφήμεροι especially significant; ἀτεχνῶς is often added to proverbial expressions to denote a special applicability to the case in hand.

a 4. For καὶ πρὸς γε cp. above, 746 d 8.
NOTES TO BOOK XI

923 a

a 5. τὰ νῦν: i.e. "on your deathbed."—The gist of this passage is that true self-knowledge involves the recognition that a man cannot stand by himself. Both he and his property belong (1) to his family—dead, living, and to come—and (2) his family and all his property belong ultimately to the state. Cp. above, 804 d 5 ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας (of children).

a 6. τίθημι, like κατατιθέοι below (b 6), is probably regard; Fic., Schn., Wagn., and Jowett take it to mean "pronounce" or "ordain."

b 2. θωπείας ὑποδραμόν: cp. Eur. Or. 670 κούχ υποτρέχων σε τούτο θωπεία λέγω. This, the reading of L and O, is much more apposite than the ὑπολαβόω of A and O (and Schneider); Fic's "aggressus" shows that he did not read ὑπολαβόω.

b 5. τὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κατατιθέοι ἐν μολαρὶς ἐλάττωσε δικαίως (cp. 875 a 6 τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνθά, τὸ δὲ ἓδων διαστά ὦς πόλεις), "for I rightly hold the individual's feelings in lower estimation." For μοῖρα in the sense of estimation cp. Crito 51 b 1 τιμιώτερον πάτρις . . . καὶ ἐν μείζονι μοῖρα καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπως.

b 7. πορεύουσθε: the imperatival opt.; cp. above, 730 c 3, 917 a 1. "Go on your way in peace and charity with us—on the way which you are now travelling as the common lot of all mankind."

b 8. τῶν ἀλλῶν: i.e. "the things you leave behind you."

c 1 f. οὐ τῶν μὲν, τῶν δὲ οὐ: i.e. "in fact we shall be able to take a more comprehensive, and so a juster, view of your interests than you can yourself."

c 2. παραμύθια τε καὶ προοίμια: cp. above on 885 b 3.

c 7. τοιεύσθαι stands for ὡστε τοιεύσθαι, as is common after verbs of giving and receiving. Cp. Eur. Phoen. 966 οὐκ ἂν τὸν αὐτὸν παῖδα τις δούσι κτανεῖν, Thuc. iv. 19. 1 διδόντες εἰρήνην καὶ οἰκείότητα ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπάρχειν.—δεχομένως is subordinate to τοιεύσθαι, "to take and adopt."

d 1. The κλῆρος which appears in all editions was apparently preserved by the corrector of O, and by some inferior MSS. A and O omit it.

d 2. πεποιημένος is here the passive of the τοιεύσθαι ("adopt") of c 7—"nullam in sortem adoptatus" Schn. Fic's "nulla hereditate munitus" and Jowett's "who has not had any portion assigned to him" are hardly adequate. This forbidding of the division of the citizen's κλῆρος is peculiar to Plato's legislation. Cp. Herm. De vest. 25 f., and Juris dom. p. 23.—δν. . . ἐκπεμφθῆ-
σεθαι: for adoption and colonization as a means of absorbing superfluous sons cp. above, 740 c 4 and e 6.

d 5. For the κατασκευή of the κλήρος cp. above, 855 a 8.—πρὸς μέρος ὑπὸ ἄν ἐθέλη, “in any proportion he likes.”

e 1 ff. ἑάν δὲ τῷ . . . καταλειπέτω, “if, after the will is made, a son or daughter he found possessed of a κλήρος in the state, he (or she) is to leave (the money) in the hands of the testator’s heir.” The subj. of καταλειπέτω is the son (or daughter) who has come to be possessed of a κλήρος, and the obj. is the money which the will directed to be paid to him. Fic. translates relinquatur, as if he had read καταλειπέσθω. Stallh. and Jow. absurdly make τὸν κλήρον the obj. of καταλειπέτω. This would contravene the first principle of inheritance in Plato’s state; two state κλήροι would then be in one owner’s hands, and the number 5040 be diminished.

e 5 f. The μέν and δὲ mark off clauses which are not grammatically parallel, but are so regarded in substance; on the one hand he is to select which daughter he likes for the purpose, on the other hand he is to make her husband his heir.

e 6. A and O made the senseless mistake of writing υἱῶν for ἵν. —L and O² are doubtless right in giving κληρονόμον for the κληρονομεῖν of A and O. Ast, Stallh., and Burnet recognize this; all other editors preserve κληρονομεῖν.—This regulation is pretty much the same as the Attic law on the subject.

924 a 1. καὶ περὶ τῆς τουαυτῆς τύχης, “to meet this case too”; it is the second case of adoption.—This again follows Attic precedent (Herm. Jur. dom. p. 24).

a 2. ἐπὶ τύχαις ἁμεῖνοιν, “melioribus auspiciis”; cp. 856 e where also adoption is in question.

a 3. τῆς ἐπικτήτου: sc. μοῖρας or (as Ast and Stallb.) οὐσίας; any property beyond the κλήρος and its κατασκευή.

a 5. τῷ ποιηθέντι: it is assumed that an adoption has been made.

a 6. ἁμεμπτοσ ἱλεων: to be taken together like ἐκὼν ἐκόντα; the one must be irreproachable, and the other well-disposed. Indeed, the reason of the above severe and probably novel restriction of the right of free disposition by will seems to be to secure good feeling on the part of the heir towards his adoptive father. (Cp. Herm. Jur. dom. p. 24, note 84.) As Ritter says (p. 333) one must presume that this restriction applied equally when there were children; i.e. that only a tenth of the superfluous property could be estranged from the family.

a 7. ἐπιτρόπων (οἱ παῖδες) δεῖωνται: i.e. where there were no
NOTES TO BOOK XI

relations near enough to claim the position by right, the testator might (with their permission), name in his will even non-relations as ἐπίτροποι.

b 2. The omission of τά by the first hand of A and O is an ordinary case of haplography; A² inserted τά in the margin.

b 4. A and O omitted τῆς, but all editors have inserted it. A and O also wrote ἐλλειπής for ἐλλιπής.—τῆς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων αἰρέσεως ἐλλιπής: these words might be taken to imply that there was some other process by which a man might appoint guardians to his children, besides naming them as such in his will. Probably, though, the words only contemplate the case of a man who has made a will but has named no guardians.

b 7. A and O left out the δέ before οἶ, but all editors insert it.—τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὥρφανῶν, "for the guardianless orphan."

c 2. L and O² (as often) have preserved the right reading πάντων for the πάντα of A and O. Fic. takes πάντων with ὥρφανῶν here; all other interpreters make it depend on πρεσβύτατοι.

d 1. ἤ χρεία τῶν παιδῶν: abstract for concrete; cp. below, 930 c 7 παιδῶν ἵκανότης. "His defenceless children shall have the protection of the same laws."

d 3. αὐτοῦ: probably this word depends on τῶν τριῶν—"of the three points which he holds to be important."—a vague "ethical" gen. The hyperbaton would be too harsh if it belonged to θυγατέρων.—πρὸς τὰ δύο ἐπισκοπῶν: it is very unusual to find the transitive ἐπισκοπεῖν used like βλέπειν, as it is here. ἐπισκόπησαθαι is used with περὶ at Soph. 261 d 2, and Prot. 348 d 7, ἐπισκεπτόνων with περὶ occurs at Crat. 424 a 7, and at Tim. 28 c 5 we have τὸ ἐπισκεπτόν περὶ αὐτοῦ; Thuc. vi. 59. 2 has πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἀμα διασκοπεῖτο εἰ ποθὲν ἄσφαλείαν τινα ὀρφοῦ, but this should not be given (as L & S. gives it) as an instance of the construction διασκοπεισθαι πρὸς τι; πρὸς τὰ ἔξω goes best with ὀρφοῦ. Perhaps Plato was influenced by the punning reference to ἐπίσκοποι.

d 6. ἕξ ἀπάντων . . . βλέπων εἰς ἡθη . . . τῶν ἐπιτηδείων . . . ὄν . . . εἰναι: to put this clause (which is epexegetical of ὁπερ ἄν διασκέψαιτο), grammatically speaking, in order, we need something like ζητοῦ ἄρ ἄν (supplied in thought from διασκέψαιτο) for it to depend on.—L and O originally, and A after a correction in an erasure at αὐθ, have διασκέψασθαι τὸ ἔξο. This looks like a (short-sighted) correction of the reading given by A², which is διασκέψαιτο, ἕξ. The βλέπων is enough to decide in favour of the latter reading. Another curious (and very imper-
pect) attempt to emend the construction of the sent. is the κλέπτων of Cod. Voss. for βλέπων. If, as Stallb. says, we had ζητῶν in the place of βλέπων, all difficulty would vanish.

d 8. τούτω δὲ: the δὲ—"I say"—resumes the δὲ in d 6.

e 1. διὰ τὴν ἀδύνατον σκέψιν: unlike the case in d 1, this is one in which we in English should prefer the abstract to the concrete. —Probably the εἰς δύναμιν goes with κείσθω, and not closely with ὃδε—"let us do our best to get the following law passed"—not "as like this as possible."

e 3. Stallb.'s τούτω for the MS. τοῦ δὲ gets rid of an impossible δὲ. The vulgate simply omitted the δὲ, Herm. bracketed it, Burnet rightly adopts Stallb.'s emendation. (Ritter, p. 414, would read τοῦ δὲ ἀποθανόντος . . . <ἐ> ἢ ἀκλήρος κτλ.)

e 4. ἀκλήρος is added in the case of the maternal brother, because, while it would be likely that the dead man's "paternal" brother had no κλήρος, it would be likely that a "maternal" brother had one. This inclusion of the maternal brother is contrary to Attic law (Herm. Jur. dom. p. 28). (Jowett ed. 2 ignores the ὦμοπτάτω ἦ of the text.)

e 5. The δὲ after ἀδελφοῦ, though not absolutely necessary, improves the construction. We owe it to Α'^, and it is universally accepted.

**e 6. ἔαν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄσιν: i.e. if the boy is old enough. It evidently did not matter how much older the bridegroom was than the bride.—Though he does not say so explicitly, we may conclude that, in the case of several orphan daughters, only one, possibly the eldest, would be chosen, as there was only one κλήρος. The τὴν θυγατέρα of e 4 points to this.—In d and e there are five instances in which a present tense is corrected by a later hand in 0 into an aorist—καταλίπη (d 2), θέντα, παραλίπη, λίπη, and καταλίπη (e 10). Most editors accept these corrections; Stallb., Schn., and Burnet do not.**

**e 9. τὸ γένος . . . πορευέσθω, "let the family proceed"—as if it were a procession in rank.**

**925 a 1. ἐμπροσθεὶς μὲν τῶν ἀρρένων, ὑστερον δὲ θηλειῶν ἐνὶ γένει, "in in eodem genere mares feminis anteponuntur." Fic. γένει then means "generation," and ἐνὶ γένει is a genitival dat. Ast suggests that ἐν may have been lost through haplography before ἐνί. (Stallb. takes ἐνὶ γένει with ἐπανίων, "going up a step at a time." Herm. and Wagner take it with ὑστερον—"one step later," Jur. dom. 29 note 98 "γένος enim gradum propinquitatatis significare docet Schömann ad Isaeum p. 277.")** —The τε after
\( \text{NOTES TO BOOK XI} \)

\( \text{925 a} \)

\( \text{άδελφων} \) of LO\(^2 \) and Eus. is clearly right as against the \( \text{δέ} \) of A and O.

\( \text{a 2.} \) All editors before Burnet have \( \tau\eta\nu \ \text{δέ} \ \tau\omicron\upsilon \ \tau\omicron\upsilon \ \gamma\acute{\alpha}m\omegaν \chiρσ\nu\nu\), but \( \gamma\acute{\alpha}m\omegaν \) is only a correction of O\(^2 \) for the \( \gamma\acute{\alpha}m\omegaν \) of A and O. Burnet saw that O\(^2 \)'s correction arose from the fact that some early MS. mistook \( \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \) for \( \tau\omicron\upsilon \ \tau\omicron\upsilon \), and prints \( \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \) and \( \gamma\acute{\alpha}m\omegaν \) accordingly.

\( \text{a 4.} \) \( \gamma\nu\mu\nu\nu\nu\ \mu\epsilonν \ \kappa\tau\lambda. \) : Herm. (\textit{Juris dom.} p. 27), judging that it is such an occasion as this which is referred to at Aristoph. \textit{Vesp.} 578, concludes that Plato here, in his legislation as to the marriage of \( \epsilon\tau\etaκ\lambdaηροι \), is following Attic precedent.

\( \text{a 5.} \) The \( \text{oικείοι} \) are what we should call “the family”—in this case the more distant relations—those outside the \( \alpha\gamma\chi\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha \) defined in the following words. Stallb. cites Hesych. \( \text{oικείοι} \). \( \text{oί κατ'} \ \epsilon\pi\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\nu\ \alphaλλήλους \ \piροσ\acute{\iota}κοντες \), καὶ \( \text{ίδιοι} \), καὶ \( \text{oί κατ'} \ \text{oικίαν} \ \pi\acute{\alpha}ντες \); also the schol. on \textit{Tim.} 20 ἐ λέγονται \( \gamma\acute{\alpha}r \) \( \text{oικείοι} \) καὶ \( \text{oί} \) \( \text{συγγ γενεύεις} \). It is used so below at 926 c 5.

\( \text{a 6.} \) \( \mu\acute{\epsilon}χρι \ \text{δέ} \ \pi\acute{\alpha}πττον \ \pi\alphaίδων : \) with this we should, as Herm. tells us (\textit{Jur. dom.} p. 26, note 91), supply \( \upsilon\text{ίδιον} \) from the preceding clause. The effect of this addition is that it would include descendants in the female line. The \( \alpha\gamma\chi\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha \) then is equivalent to that described above at 766 c 7 and 878 d 7 as \( \mu\acute{\epsilon}χρι \ \text{άνεψιμων} \ \pi\alphaίδων \).

\( \text{b 1.} \) \( \text{έκοισυνον} \ \text{έκοισία}: \) the amount of choice allowed by Plato to the bride was probably much in advance of Attic custom.

\( \text{b 2.} \) \( \text{πολλά} \ \text{πολλών}: \) here and at \textit{Tim.} 29 c 4 these two words, standing by themselves, have generally been found inexplicable. Schneider translates them here “cum multa multorum fieri possunt,” and Jowett by “circumstances vary.” Wagner tries to find some sense by making \( \text{πολλών} \) depend on \( \text{άπορία} \); Fic. omits them. Herm. accepts Ast’s substitution of \( \text{πολλή} \) for \( \text{πολλά} \). Winckelmann would prefer \( \text{πολλαι} \) (\( \text{άπορίαι} \)). Stallb. thinks the passage corrupt. In the \textit{Timaeus} passage three quotations, and all MSS. but Y (Bekker’s Y) have \( \text{πολλά} \ \text{πολλών} \ \text{περὶ} \ \text{θεών} \ \kappa\tau\lambda. \) Y inserts an \( \epsilonι\πόνττον \) after \( \text{πολλών} \), and this is generally adopted in the text. Burnet, however, follows Diehls in reading \( \text{πολλών} \ \text{περὶ} \), making the following genitives a parenthetical explanation of \( \text{πολλών} \). (This is surely awkward, and also weak—making the great subjects \( \text{θεών} \) καὶ \( \text{τῆς} \ \text{πάντων} \ \text{γενέσεως} \) only selections out of a number.) I would suggest, in the first place, that Greek liked to have two different cases of \( \text{πολύς} \) (as of some other words) put side by side—e.g. below, 934 d 5 \( \text{πολλοὶ} \ \text{πολλῶς} \)
trópous, Rep. 467 d παρὰ δόξαν πολλὰ πολλοίς δὴ ἐγένετο, Eur. Med. 579 ἦ πολλὰ πολλοίς εἰμὶ διάφοροι βροτῶν, Ion 381 πολλαί γε πολλοίς εἰσι συμφοραί βροτῶν; and, secondly, that in the words πολλὰ πολλῶν here we have a truncated proverb, and that Eur. Iph. Taur. 759 πολλὰ γὰρ πολλῶν κυρεῖ gives us some indication of its meaning. I would put a comma after πολλῶν and translate "moreover 'many needs, many deeds'"—"many cases need many resources." In the Timaeus passage, which is still more difficult, I would mark off πολλὰ πολλῶν as a parenthesis—"'many needs, many deeds,' you know"—i.e. "since it is many efforts which effect many results."

b 3. τῶν τοιούτων is not (as Ast and Jowett) "cognatorum," but "of such men as the heiress would like to choose for a husband"—ὀντιν' ἂν κτλ. in a 7.—ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, "in the state itself"; i.e. "when you go beyond the family and search through the whole state."

b 4. ἀπορουμένη τῶν αὐτόθεν, "being at a loss for a husband from the spot." (Schn. and Wagn. make τῶν αὐτόθεν depend on τινα.)

b 6 f. κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ νόμου: apparently the law as to nearness of kin, explained just above, renders the permission of the ἐπίτροποι in this case unnecessary. Such a relative has a right to take the inheritance.

b 8. τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντων ἄξω τῆς συγγενείας: i.e. "provided there are no relations in the state." συγγενής at b 6, and συγγενεία here are apparently used of the nearer kinship—the ἀγχωστεία defined above at a 5.

c 4. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα... νόμου: this obscure direction, taken in connexion with συνοικίζειν δὲ ταύτας ἐκείνους... ἐνομοθετήσαμεν at d 4, seems to mean that the ἀγχωστεία on the male side is to be that described above at a 6. What needs further specification is the following list of female relations in order of precedence; and this is done at d 1 ff.

c 6. L and O2 have preserved for us in ἐτωσαν the correct version of A and O's senseless πολοὶ ἂν.

c 7. For κυρίως, "iure," "legitime," cp. 949 c 1.

d 5. ὅσ ἐμπροσθεῖν ἐνομοθετήσαμεν: the reference seems to be to the directions given in Bk. V. for the tenure of the κληρον—perhaps in particular those given at p. 740.

d 8. μὴ δοκεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν, "while seeming to overlook." The μὴ goes with σκοπεῖν, otherwise it would be ὄν; doubts as to the μὴ were probably the reason why the correctors of A and O
altered δοκεῖ to δοκῇ, as if ἣν προστάτη had gone before.—A respectable variant in O leaves out the ἐν before ἀνθρώποις.

e 1. ἐπιτάγμασιν probably goes with πείθεσθαι; so Fic. (Schu. and Wagn., however, take it with ἐμπόδια.)

e 2. οὐστινας ὄτι δόν: cp. Ἑραμ. 516 a 8 ὁ δοκεῖ σοι κακὸς εἶναι ἑπιμελητής ὀστισοῦν ὄτονούν ἥξον ὡς ἀν κτλ. At Ἡρρ. Μαῖ. 282 d 4 (and possibly at Aristoph. Ran. 39) the simple ὀστις is used, as here, in the sense of ὀστισοῦν.

e 4. From γαμεῖν down to τούτων was omitted by the scribes of A and O, and inserted in the margin of A by A².

e 5. A, by simple haplography, has τάχα in the place of τάχ’ ἀν ὤ; i.e. the scribe wrote νο once instead of twice. It was probably this mistake which led, in the next line, to the reading δόξει ἐν in A, instead of the correct δόξειν. The case is, however, complicated by the fact that the ε of δόξει is in an erasure, and that O reads δόξη ἐν. (Possibly some ancestor of A mistook ἀν with ἀ for ἀν with ὡς, and altered δόξειν to δόξη ἀν. O copied this, and A first copied it and then altered it to δόξει ἐν when he found he had written τάχα νομοθέτης.)

e 6. οὐκ ὦρθὸς δοκοῦν, "but it would be a mistake"; a bold use of the neut. absolute participle.

e 7. νομοθετομένου is masc. as we see from νομοθετομένοις below.—A further carelessness on the part of the scribes of A and O led to the omission of the words νομοθέτου καὶ ὑπέρ.

e 8. τοὺς ἐπιταττομένους: sc. γαμεῖν ἡ γαμεῖσθαι; cp. above, e 4.

e 9. οὐκ ἀν ποτε δύνατο διοικεῖν, "he could hardly be expected to control."

926 a 2. εἰκότως qualifies οὐ δύνανται. (Wagner makes it qualify τελεῖν.)

a 3. It was seen by correctors of A and O that the πράττει of ALO and the first four editions is due to a mistake of an abbreviated προς for π. All edd. from Steph. downwards read προστάτει. Fic. has "quae singularum calamitatum ignarus conscripsit."

a 5. ἐμμετρότατος ἀν εἴη, "would be acting most fairly." A and O have ἐμμετρότατος, and so Zürr. and Schneider.

a 9. πλουσίων πατρὸς ἀδελφίδων, "a nephew whose father is a rich man."

b 1. τρυφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ μείζονι γάμοις τῇ ἤν διάνοιαν ἐπέχων, "because he is fastidious, and aspires to a greater match."

b 4. Probably the subject to be supplied with ἄναγκάζοιτ' ἀν is "any legally appointed bridegroom."
b 6. ἀσ ἀβίωτον ξην κεκτημένω, “inflictions which would make life unendurable.”—δ η νῶν λόγος ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων ὑδε νόμος κείσθω, “what we now proceed to urge on this matter shall count as a law”; cp. 933 d 1.

b 7. περὶ διάθηκης goes with κειμένοις, “the laws about the disposition of property.”

c 2 f. All editions before Ast omitted the τῶν after αὐτῶν, though the MSS. had it; and by a like haplography in the next line A and O omitted the ἄν before ἀναγκαίως.

c 5. φύ: Stallb. tells us that it was Engelhardt (Anacoluth. Platon. spec. pp. 32 sq) who first saw that φύ (with a comma after it) makes by itself an independent statement—“maintains it”—“asserts that it has to be done,”—and that φάναι, which does duty for an imperative, resumes the λόγος of b 6—“we must represent that etc.” (Jowett’s “assents to this” ignores the antagonism between the woman’s family and the protesting bridegroom.)

c 6. τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα: cp. above, 924 c 1.

d 1. With διαδικασθοῦν the Ath. abandons the quasi-oblique inf. construction of φάναι at c 5, and proceeds with a direct imperative.

d 2. κύρια τελοῦσα, “carrying out as final,” i.e. “regarding them as final and carrying them out.” Possibly τελοῦσα is fut.—“with the intention of carrying (their verdicts) out as final.”—μείζων, “too great.”

d 3. τὸ τῶν ἐκκρίτων δικαστῶν δικαστήριον: cp. above, 767 c ff. and 855 c 6.

d 5. παρὰ τοῦ νομοθετοῦν: we are to infer from this that the lawgiver devised some special mark of disgrace or disability for the man who was so wrong-headed as to press a legal point too far.

d 8. γένεσις οἴον δευτέρα τις: a fantastic description of the new condition into which children are launched by the premature death of their parents.—A and O omit τις; all edd. have it; probably it is due to Ald.

e 2. The παιδευσις of A and O has generally been considered a mistake for παιδεύσεις. Schneider is the only editor who preserves the sing.; perhaps he is right. Fic. has “educatio disciplinaque.”

e 4. ὅς ἦκιστα ἔλεον ἔκει τῆς συμφορᾶς: ἔκει is used in a pregnant sense—“(how the bereaved state of the orphans) may be made to call for the least pity for their misfortune.” (Ast says ἔλ. ἔκει τῆς συμφ. = ἔλεινην ἔκει συμφορᾶν.)
5. There is no φαμεν in A or O. It is due to a late hand in the margin of A. It would be possible to do without it, by making νομοθετείν depend on προστάτομεν, or taking it to stand for an imperative, but its insertion improves the construction. Fic. translates "Legum ergo custodes quasi alteros istorum parentes ... constituiimus, et ... quasi suis providere jubemus." The easiest reading for us would be νομοθετούμεν, which would correspond to Fic.'s version.

6. There is μείωσις in οὐ χειρός—"at least as good."

7. καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν: at 924 e it was settled that three of the fifteen νομοφόλακες were to take charge of orphans for a year at a time. The text as it stands would refer vaguely to that arrangement, and give a possible sense of "year by year"; but it is very likely that, as Susenmihl supposes, a γ', i.e. τρεῖς, may have fallen out of the sentence. He would put it in before καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν; it might have come after it perhaps more probably. (Quite unnecessarily, Schmidt, Emend. Plat. p. 8, proposes to read καθ' ὅσον ἐνι αὐτῶν, and Stallb. καθ' ἑνα ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ... )

8. A and O have ἐν μελέτη and all editions before Ast follow them, and so do Schneider and Wagner. By all these editors these words are joined to ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, and translated "studiose" (Schn.), mit Eifer (Wagn.). Ast was the first to adopt (from Cod. Voss.) the reading ἐμμελη, which is to be found in the margin of A and O and in some inferior MSS., and to take it with προοιμιασάμενοι. Stallb., Herm., and Burnet follow Ast. (Zürr. read ἐμμελη but still take it apparently with the preceding words. Ficinus takes the expression with προοιμιασάμενοι, translating by "sed imprimis"). That ἐν μελέτη was used in the sense of "diligently" in classical Greek is doubtful. It looks like a Byzantine interpretation of ἐμμελη, taken with the preceding words. As the object of προοιμιασάμενοι, ἐμμελη seems to fall into its right place—"and we add a preamble, suitable both to the officials themselves and to guardians, on the subject of orphan children." The preamble is what follows.

927 a 1. τοὺς ἐμπροσθέν λόγους: i.e. the passage at 865 e, where the Ath. describes the indignation felt by the spirit of a murdered man at the presence of his murderer in his accustomed haunts, and his "worrying" of the murderer κατὰ πᾶσαν δύναμιν ... αὐτών τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν.

a 3. ταῦτα δὲ ἄλληθεσ μὲν μακροί δ' εἰσίν περιέχοντες λόγοι: εἰσίν περιέχοντες stands for περιέχονσιν—"the legends which contain this belief are true but long." I would put a colon
after λόγοι and remove the comma commonly placed after ἀληθεῖς μὲν.

a 7. ἀντερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἄφρονες φαίνωνται: meiosis; “who” (i.e. οἱ νομοθετοῦντες) “you will admit are no fools.” (Ficinus and Susemihl take μὴ π. ἄφρονες to be spoken of people in general, Ritter of λόγοι καὶ φήματι.)

a 8. ταύτῃ δὲ, “and so,” i.e. “on this showing.”

a 8–c 7. The first thing to decide about this passage is how we stand towards the transposition, suggested by the French jurist Hérault, of the words καὶ τὰ . . . ἱερωτάτην (b 7–c 3). He would place these words between ἔχοντιν and εἶτα in b 2 on the ground that ὁδὲ μὲν ἀκούοντιν Βλέποντιν τε ὁδὲ and νεμεοῦσιν must have been spoken of the gods, and not, as the text has it, of old men. But, even if it were granted that they fit in better so, this very fitness would make it difficult to conceive how any scribe could transpose them to a less fit connexion. As to the fitness of ὁδὲ κτλ. as said of old men cp. above, 715 d νέος μὲν γὰρ ὁν πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμβλυτάτα αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁρᾷ, γέρων δὲ ὁδὲ ὁδὺτατα. There is not a particle of external evidence for the transposition, though the passage is quoted, with some slight verbal alterations, by Eusebius, Theodoret, and Stobaeus. Ast, however, and Hermann follow Hérault, though Herm. finds it necessary further to emend ὀπουπερ in b 6 to ὁποῦ γάρ. I feel no hesitation in following Schneider, Stallb., and Burnet, who leave the MS. order unchanged.

b 5 ff. Here I would punctuate as follows: ἐν γῇρα, δὲ ὄντων καὶ ἐν μεγάστωσιν τιμαῖς, ὀπουπερ πόλις . . . εἰδαίμονει, τούτων κτλ., and put a full stop after ἱερωτάτην. I do not, as do Herm. and I believe most other interpreters, take τᾶς τῶν ξώντων to be governed, like τοὺς θεούς and τᾶς τῶν κεκ. ψυχάς, by φοβεισθων, but by φιλοστοργοῦντες. The one irregularity of the sentence is that the obj. τᾶς τῶν ξώντων (ψυχάς) is “resumed” by the more intelligible τούτων in b 5. The mention of the affectionate regard in which the younger generation hold the very old is naturally used to enhance the value both of their approval and of their wrath. I would translate: “and then there are the souls of those who are living, but at a great age” (i.e. those of the generation previous to that of the fathers of the orphans) “and enjoy great honour where a state is blessed with good laws—these old men their grandchildren take delight to cherish with their affection, and they” (the old men) “have sharp eyes and ears in such matters” (i.e. where orphans are concerned). (Stallb. would like
to have found a γάρ after ὀποντερ, but is content to regard the clause as an explanatory asyndeton. Wagner would reject τοῦτον, to ἣδον̣̂ς as a "gloss." Burnet marks off ὀποντερ . . . ἱερωτάτην as a parenthesis. Héralt himself thought that τοῦτον . . . ἣδον̣̂ς was the remains of a sentence most of which was lost.)

c 2. Ast first saw that the MS. αὐτοῖς was a mistake for αὖ τοίς.—παρακαταθήκην ἱερωτάτην: the trustees of this deposit are possibly the old men—or they may be the guardians and state officials. Ast well cps. Demosth. Contra Aph. ii. p. 840, where παρακαταθήκη is used of entrusting children into the hands of guardians.

c 3 f. Possibly too ὦ . . . πᾶσι only refers to the old men. The gods and the spirits of the departed parents are to be feared by the religious mind, while "the most feather-brained of guardians or officials" can hardly neglect the approval or disapproval of these living trustees of their wards.

c 4. The καί, which much improves the sentence, we owe to O². A and O omit it. All editors accept it.—With ἐνεῖη Stallb. cps. Phil. 60 c 2 ὃ παρεῖη τοῦτο . . . μηδενὸς ἐτέρον . . . προσ-δείσθαι; but the parallel is not complete, for there the main verb is ἤμιν ἀν συνομολογοῦτο, here it is δεῖ. An exact parallel is Soph. Ant. 666 ἄλλα ὅν πόλις στήσειε τοῦτον χρή κλύειν, and so is Plato, Euthydem. 292 e, though there Burnet adopts Heindorf’s emendation of the MS. πουίσειε to πούίσει.

c 5 f. ὡς ἔρανον εὐσφέροντα ἐαυτό τε κτλ., "just as if he were conferring a benefit upon himself and his family." (Héralt took it to mean "as he would thereby secure the same treatment for his own orphans, should they come to need it.")

c 7. It will be remembered that at 880 a 7, 885 b 3, 923 c 2, and 773 e 5 παραμύθιον was used as a synonym for προοίμιον. This παραμύθιον is here expanded into τοῦ προῦ τοῦ νόμου μῦθο. Fic. recognizes this in his translation of it by "hoc ante legem exordio"; he also translates ὃ (δε) ἀπειθής by "praefationem hanc aspervatur.

c 8. εἰσεται ἐναργῶς; a poetical expression—it might be Pindar.

d 2. ἣ μητρός: this is the first mention of the mother in connexion with orphans. For all that has been said hitherto she might not have existed. We are still left in the dark as to a widow's legal relationship to her children.—ἀδεικών: he is here speaking of any wrong done by anybody, not guardians alone, to an orphan.
THE LAWS OF PLATO

4. τὴν δὲ ἀλλήν νομοθετίαν: an absolute acc. "As for further legislation."—A and O have καὶ for the περὶ of L and O² and Α³; clearly καὶ is an error.

5 ff. The MSS., Fic., and all editions without exception down to Ed. Bipont. read εἰ μὲν δῆ... ἐκέκτηντο... ἐτὶ δὲ... εἶχον, εἰχέν τινα λόγον ἅν. Grou seems to have been the first to see that there must originally have been a negative in the εἰ clause. He proposed to read εἰ μὴ δῆ, and Ast adopted this reading. Baiter preferred to read εἰ μὲν μὴ, and this reading Herm. and Burnet adopt. Stallb. and Wagner print the MS. reading while condemning it, apparently because they cannot make up their minds between the two corrections proposed. Bekker, Zür., and Schneider are content to print the impossible MS. reading without comment.

6. Fic. has exemple for the MS. παράδειγμα. Hence Steph. conjectured that we ought to read παράδειγματά τε. Stallb. (1860) says, on Bast's authority, that both A and O have the plur. Zür. (giving O as an authority), Schneider (!), and Stallb. (ed. 1860) print παράδειγματά τε.

1. μετρίως διειρήμενος, "satis explicitas," Schn. διείρημα and διείρημαι are of common occurrence in the Laws, and are constantly confused in MSS. and the early edd. with the corresponding parts of διαρέω. Here A has διηρήμενος (the first η being in a correction; while in O the same letter is corrected above the line to εἰ).

2. ὡς δόντας ἰδία διαφέροντας πολύ, "as having a very distinct character of their own." διαφέροντας counts as a simple adj., and is predicate to δόντας. (Schneider, however, translates "tutorias quasdam leges ut per se constantes proponere multum differentes").

3. ποικίλλοντας ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἰδίοις, "marking off in detail, by means of special observances."

5. οὐ πολύ διαφέρον ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ὀρφανία τῆς πατρονομικῆς: the idea of this whole passage (d 4—e 6) is the same as that of e 5—ὡς ἔρανον εἰσφέροντα ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖ; i.e. that the guardian ought to take just the same care of his orphan charge, and of the orphan's property, as he does of his own children and of his own property. πατρονομικῆ is "a house-father's duty," and ὀρφανία is used pregnantly for "the claims of orphanhood." Hence no separate set of rules and laws is needed.

6 ff. τιμαῖς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμίαις ἁμα καὶ ἐπιμελείαισιν οὐδαμῶς ἐξουσιοθεῖ φιλεῖ: (1) in public estimation the guardian's duties
rank far lower than the father's, and (2) guardians as a rule are far more remiss than parents in their performance.

928 a 1. Consequently, as he goes on to say, the lawgiver addresses himself to the stimulating of a sense of these duties both in guardians and in the public at large.

a 6 ff. μη δὲ τῶν οἰκείων κτλ.: I suspect that ἦ τῶν αὑτοῦ, in b 1 is a spurious addition on the part of a scribe who did not see that τῶν οἰκείων is gen. after χειρον, and means "than he does of his own." As a further qualification of τῶν τοῦ τρεφομένου χήματος τῶν οἰκείων is otiose; and so is the second τῶν.

b 1. ἐνα δὲ τοῦτον νόμον ἔχων: ἐνα is emphatic, "under this one and only law." Cp. below, 929 a 4 ὑπὸ ἐνὸς πατρός.—A had τουτον νομων corrected to τοῦτων νόμων, which is the reading of O. All editions print τοῦτον νόμον.

b 5. τῷ δὲξαντὶ τιμῆματι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ: the court had to estimate the extent to which the guardian or official had been remiss, and to assign to the defalcation a money value; and the plaintiff had to exact twice this sum from the offender.—A and O omitted the τῷ before δικαστηρίῳ.

c 4. μέχρι τέντε ἐτῶν ἐξηκουσάς τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, "throughout a period of five years from the termination of the guardianship."

d 4. The addition of τῷ χώρας is doubtless due to the desire to give the text of the νόμος a dignified conclusion.

d 6. ἐν αἰσ, "quarum causa." Fic. For the instrumental use of ἐν, which is to be seen here and at e 3, cp. above on 660 a 4.

d 7. ἥγοιντ' ἅν, "facile crediderint." Stallb.

e 3. ὄντως qualifies παγκάκων, "they are wont to arise out of the temperaments of men who are thoroughly bad all through."

e 4. Α's ἐπὶ has been universally taken to be a mistake for ἐπεί.

e 8. ταύτης: Ast treats this as a simple case of the assimilation of the antecedent to the relative; i.e. that it stands for ἐν ταύτῃ. Schneider more correctly makes it governed by the ἐκ in ἐξοικείωσθαί. ἑκ is not prefixed to ταύτης, as it is at 929 b 3 to τοῦ γενός, because an ἐκ has come three words before.

929 a 3. τὸν ταύτα πεισόμενον ἐν δίκῃ: evidently Plato was prepared both to allow sons to be disinherited, and fathers to be pronounced incapable, by legal process.

a 4. ἐνὸς, "alone"; cp. 928 b 1.—ἀπορρηθηκαί: schol. ἀπαγορευθήκαί.

a 5. μηδαμῶς εἰτυχῆς, "most pitiful"; cp. above, 803 b 5.

a 8. φαιλός οὕτως: cp. Theaet. 147 c 3 φαιλός καί βραχέως ἀποκρίνασθαι (and ἐν φαιλόν τοῦ καί ἀπλοῦν), where Heindorf's
note is "φαύλως autem hoc loco idem quod ἀπλῶς de legg. xi. p. 929 a μὴ φαύλως οὐτως κτλ."

b 2. μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν: Herm. (Jur. dom. p. 26, note 90) thinks that we ought to read μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παῖδων here, to bring the expression into line with other definitions of οἱ ἐγγός γένει, 766 c, 877 d, 878 d.

b 4. λόγους τοὺς ἀνευόμενος, "equal opportunity of speech."

b 6. A's δυτικοί for δι is an irrational scribe's error due probably to a misreading of the adjacent π.

b 7 ff. πλὴν πατρὸς διαψήφιζομένου ... ἀνδρῶν τέλειοι: so MSS. I would suggest that the simplest emendation of the latter part of this passage is to suppose that μή has been accidentally omitted after ἀνδρῶν or after ἄν. In either case the final μ might have contributed to the omission. The existence of τε in c 1 is a stubborn fact. Ast proposed to read διαψήφιζομένους and δέ for τε. Baiter, with more probability, proposed διαψήφιζομένων, and this was adopted by Herm., who further changed τε to γε. Schneider (like Burnet) prints the MS. text unaltered, but he has no comma after φεύγοντος, and his translation is "exceptis patre et matre sententiam ferente etiam accusato et de reliquis quotquot sunt mulierum vel virorum adulti." It is extremely unlikely that the most interested person of all should be allowed to vote; the position too of διαψήφιζομένων forbids us so to take it with τοῦ φεύγοντος instead of with πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς.—I would then accept Baiter's διαψήφιζομένων and insert μή as explained above.

c 5. τὰ τῶν νέων ἡθη κτλ.: Stobaeus quotes this (52. 16) and adds Sympos. 181 e 1 ff., and, from Theophrastus, χαλεπῶν καταμαντεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν νέων ἀστόχαστος γὰρ ἥλικια καὶ πολλὰς ἔχοντα μεταβολὰς ἀλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλο φερομένη.

d 1. The term ἐπίγονοι is used, as above at 740 e 7, to denote any children born in addition to the heir.—τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποκίναν, "in coloniam destinatorum." Schn. Cp. above, 740 e 6 and 923 d 2.

d 2. In the plur. τούτων he generalizes the particular case of the ἀποκηρυχθέως of whom he has been speaking.

d 4. ἐκφρονα ἀπεργάζησαι διαφερόντως τῶν πολλῶν, "is more than usually effective in unhinging the (father's) mind."—δια-

φερόντως τῶν πολλῶν—lit. "more than in the case of most (old men)"—does not merely qualify ἐκφρονα. (Jow. translates "more out of his mind than the rest of the world are.")

d 6. οἰκοφθορῇ ὡς ὅν τῶν ἀντοῦ κύριος, "uses his right (of ownership) to ruin the family property."—Λ2 and Ο2 are probably
right in adding the τῶν, which was omitted by the first hands, perhaps owing to the previous ὅν.

e9. μηδαμῇ συμφέρωνται τρόπων ἀτυχίᾳ χρώμενοι: this implies more than mere "incompatibility of temper"; it supposes a case where ill temper on both sides (cp. below, a 5) has produced a complete rupture.

930 a1. τῶν μέσων: at 916 c 6 a tribunal was constituted of "the five youngest nomophylakes." At 924 c other duties were assigned to "the fifteen oldest nomophylakes"; what can the class of μέσων be but the middle-aged ones—the class most suitable for the purpose in hand? And yet Ast, Stallb., Wagner, and Jowett give μέσος here the meaning impartial. Is it likely that there should be a class of officials out of a body of thirty-seven who were either partial or impartial to certain members of a particular family out of 5040 households? The only support for such a meaning of μέσος is derived from a solitary Greek passage (Lucian, Conv. chap. 43), where the context helps greatly to give it that meaning, and copious instances of the use of the Latin medius in that sense.

a3. ἔαν αἱ ψυχαὶ κυμαίνοσιν μειζόνωσι αὐτῶν, "if the storm of their passion is unabated."

a4. ξυνοιωσοσιν is the MS. reading, and that of Ficinus. The fact that τὴν συνοίκησιν at b 1 undoubtedly refers back to the fresh union here described led almost all editors from Aldus downwards to change this to συνοικήσοσιν. Only Herm. and Burnet retain the MS. reading. This reading ("qui utrisque conveniant" Fic.) leads naturally up to what follows. (Winckelmann ingeniously suggests συνύσοσοιν.)

a6. κεχρημένους: κεκραμένους, an early and idiomatic MS. variant, was adopted by all editors but Herm. and Burnet. The former has the best MS. authority and is a quite possible reading. —Plato would not only make the process of divorce more elaborate and difficult than that of the Attic law, but would add the deterrent prospect of a forced union with a probably unsympathetic partner.—βαθύτερα is sedate, with perhaps a hint of heaviness.—Cp. 773 c 5 for similar precepts as to the choice of opposite temperaments in marriage.

a8. καὶ here, as below at c 7, introduces a further reason for the union.

b1. ὅσοι is subj. of a διαφέρωνται supplied from the former sentence.

b6. μὴ μητριῶν ἐπαγόμενον: the participial clause here con-
tains the more important verb; "spare the children a step-
mother!" Fic., or his MS., made the common mistake of missing
the μὴ before μητρών. Schanz and Burnet in the Laws write
this word without the ι.

c 2. αὐτοῦ: i.e. in her old home.

c 3. αὖ is almost "in her new state of life."

c 7. παῖδον ἰκανότης ἀκριβῆς, "the barely sufficient number of
children." Ritter (p. 335) cps. 844 b 6 where ἀκριβεῖα denoted
the smallest supply of water that would suffice.

d 1. The MSS. have γενόμενον, but all editors down to Bekker
preferred Aldus’s correction to γενώμενον, as being slightly more
explicit. The vaguer expression, however, suits the passage better.
Cp. also d 6 τὸ γενώμενον.

d 2. τὸν πισομένον: all early interpreters took this to mean
"those who claim it." The only doubt was whether (with Steph.
and Ast) it should be changed to προσπισομένων, on the ground
that ποιεῖσθαι means "to adopt." Latterly, however, Müller and
Ritter (p. 335) have called attention to the fact that ποιεῖσθαι
παῖδα means "to produce a child" even more often than "to
adopt a child," and interpret the sentence to mean "if the child
is recognized as the child of its (real) parents"; in other words
"if there is no doubt about the child’s parentage." The former
interpretation supposes a doubt to have arisen, and to have been
set at rest by some unexplained process of investigation. It is
much simpler, and more natural, to suppose that Plato only means
to deal with cases where there never was any doubt. The only
decision needed, he goes on to say, is with which parent the right
of ownership lies.

d 3 ff. The guiding principles of these decisions is that of
preventing any chance of a slave’s offspring getting a footing in a
free family.—L and O²’s εὐεσθαι for A and O’s ἐπεσθαι looks like
a commentator’s correction.

d 6. τοῦ δεσπότου ἐστω τὸ γενώμενον: so apparently the MSS.
tοῦ δεσπότου is clearly "the slave’s master," and Fic. puts in servi
in his translation: "servi dominus nati dominus similiter esto."
Probably it was Fic.’s translation which led Aldus to add a quite
unnecessary τοῦ δούλου after γενώμενον. All texts have followed
him, but it is surely time to eject the added words.

d 7. καὶ περεφανὲς τοῦτ’ ὡς: i.e. "and the paternity (in each
case) is discovered." This refers more particularly to the latter
case, but applies to the former as well. The house-mistress must
be spared the presence of such an inmate—A’s ridiculous ταύτη
was well corrected by A² to τοῦτ’ ἦν. We are not told what L and O had.

d 8 f. The chiasmus in the arrangement of the two injunctions is noticeable.—The omission of τοῦ by A must have been subsequent to the establishment of the mistaken τοῦτγ. It is to be concluded that L and O had τό as well as τοῦτ’ ἦν.

e 4. φρονήσαι seems to be used as a stronger word for εἰδέναι —"to have the sense to see"—carrying on the idea of the νοῦν ἐχων of the preceding sentence. Cp. Rep. 505 b 2 ἡ πάντα τάλλα φρονεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ νοήσαι, which Stallb. suggests as a substitute for it here, is a more colourless "discern" (that). The object of φρονήσαι is τοιόνδε προοίμιον ἣν γενόμενον ὅρθως συντεταγμένον εἰς κτλ.: “one must realize that the following prelude (on divine worship) is likely to prove well adapted to the subject of respect for parents or its reverse." (Schneider takes συντεταγμένον (ἐλαίς) to be the main verb of the dependent sentence, and γενόμενον ἣν to mean "si exstet.") As to the construction φρονήσαι τοιόνδε προοίμιον ἣν γενόμενον (for ἣν γενέσθαι, or ὅτι γένοιτο ἢν) cp. Thuc. i. 120. 4 and vi. 78. 1 where ἐνθυμεῦσθαι, a word of much the same meaning as φρονήσαι here—which also usually has ὅτι—is followed by the participial construction.

e 7. The παρά which correcting hands in A and O prefixed to πᾶσιν looks like a commentator's explanation.

931 a 1. ὀρῶντες: cp. 821 b 6 μεγάλων θεῶν, Ἡλίου τε ἁμα καὶ Σελήνης, and the whole of the passage there about the planets. —ἀγάλματα, ἀγάλλειν: Ast suggests with much probability (1) that the root meaning of ἀγάλλειν is to worship, and that the meaning adorn is derived from this; (2) that ἀγαλμα meant first an object of worship—stone, column, or image—and that the traditional derivation of the meaning object of delight or pride from the mid. or pass. ἀγάλλεσθαι, to take delight or pride in (πάν ἐφ' ὃ τις ἄγαλλεται), is mistaken. If so, ἀγαλμα was originally an object of worship, then of pride and delight. ἀγάλλεσθαι (mid.) was originally to respect oneself; pass. to be respected.

a 4. L, A² and O² and Stobaeus are clearly right in reading χάριν for the χαράν of A and O.

a 5. κεῖναι κειμήλιοι: Plato doubtless is recalling the Homeric πολλὰ δ’ ἐν ἀφνειόν πατρός κειμήλια κεῖναι Z 47.—The fanciful comparison of aged relatives to statues would gain verisimilitude with the Greek reader, because the presence in the house of ancestors’ busts was familiar to him.

a 6 f. Schneider and Burnet follow Baiter in reading αὐτῷ—
Ficinus's *sibi*. The early printed edd. had *αὐτῶν*; Stallb. and Herm. read *αὐτῷ* with the MSS., but if *μηδεῖς* and *αὐτῷ* do not refer to the same person, should we not in that case have *ἐχοντι* instead of *ἐχων*?—Cobet would reject *ἐν οἰκίᾳ* as a commentator's explanation of *ἐφέστιον*. It certainly seems superfluous, and is the less likely to have been used by Plato because he had used *ἐν οἰκίᾳ* two lines above. (µηδέν for *μηδεῖς*.)

**a 7.** κατὰ τρόπον ὅρθως: a stylistic pleonasm like *ἐτερος ἀλλος*. Cobet would reject ὅρθως as the work of a glossator; *τήν ὅρθότητα*, however, in the following question gives it some support.

**b 1.** τίνα δὴ τήν ὅρθότητα εἶναι φράζεις; "what do you mean by the right way?"

**b 2.** The little preface added to the *ἐγὼ ἐρώ* prepares us for a somewhat lengthened explanation. The Athenian does not at once explain what the "right way" of honouring aged parents is. Only after extolling their power and influence does he say, at 932 a 4, that the only right way is to do it as much as we can—"the best is good enough."

**b 6.** τέλεα καὶ ἐπτῆκοα: a remarkable ὅστερον πρότερον.

**b 7.** Ο', with probability, suggests *ἐπαράσασθαι* as a correction of the MS. *ἐπαράσσθαι*. Among recent editors Schneider and Burnet alone retain the impf. inf.

**c 1.** δν: Schneider alone among interpreters perceives that this sentence refers only to Amyntor and Theseus and *ἐτέρους μυρίους*—that it is, in fact, parallel to the *ἀ δὴ καὶ πᾶς ἵνα εἰναι* sentence above. δν then depends on *ἐπηκόουσι*; it is neut. and, like *ἀ* in b 6, means "which curses." γονέωσι denotes the persons in whose interest they are heard. (This passage, therefore, should not be cited by L & S. as an instance of *ἐπήκοος e. dat. of direct obj. It is possible even that at Phil. 25 b 8, the only other passage so cited, we ought to read *ἐν έμαις εὐχαίς* as below here at c 4. *ἐν (ἔμ) might easily fall out before *ἐμ.* (Other interpreters, from Fic. downwards, make it a general statement applying to all cases of paternal curses; they make δν mean "from which," or "by which facts"—*quibus apertissimum factum est a diis preces parentum adversus filios exaudiri." Ast feels uneasy at so translating the simple δν, and would read *δὲ* δν; Stallb. sees no need for change.) The real general statement follows in c 2.

**c 2.** For *ἀπαῖος* the scholiast's explanation *βλαβερός* got into an inferior MS.—Bekker's Ξ—and into the printed edd. down to Ed. Bipont.—a typical instance of that kind of corruption.

**c 3 ff.** *πατρὶ . . . ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαίς . . . γέγνεσθαι: πατρὶ* is
NOTES TO BOOK XI

the same dat. of person interested as γονεῦσι is at c 1, while ἐν εὐχαίσ stands for εὐχών (see above on c 1). O records a varying text which omitted the ἐν. (So Zürr. and Herm. alone among editors.)

c 5. τιμωρέω δὲ ἀρα . . . "per. anacoluthon oratio exit in interrogationem." Stallb.—παρακαλοῦντος in c 7 starts a second anacoluthon.

c 6. Stallb. and Schneider follow the early texts in reading ἐν εὐχαίσ here for the simple εὐχαίσ of the MSS., but no comment is anywhere made of the fact.

c 7. For ἐξ ἱσον ep. above, 919 d 7.

d 1. καὶ νέμεων ἤμῖν, "and treat us accordingly." This absolute use of νέμεων is helped out by the cognate νομίσειν for νομῆς εἶν. A, in copying it, accidentally omitted σει (νομί stands at the end of one line and ἐν at the beginning of the next), i.e. he went on after the wrong i. O copied the impossible νομίσειν correctly. The corrector of A altered νομὶ ἐν to νομεῖς εἶν. Ast, Bekker, Schneider, and Burnet prefer the older form νομῆς, which has the recommendation that it more easily explains the MS. mistake. Possibly the phrase is a poetical quotation.

d 5. ὁ σμικρῶς πρῶτερον εἴπωμεν: having established the fact that the favour of Heaven is secured by dutiful attention to aged relatives, he repeats what he said before, i.e. that they are the best kind of ἀγάλματα to set up in a house and to do honour to. (Doubtless Sam Weller did not know that he had Platonic authority for calling his father an "old image.")

d 7. The corrector of A altered his ignorant πρόσπατρος to προπάτορος.—τὴν αὐτῆν δώμαν ἔχουσῶν: Winckelmann by his suggestion of reading ἀδύναμων for δύναμιν would rob Plato of the subtle suggestion that the very imbecillitas of the aged is a δύναμις.

d 9. οὔ γάρ ἂν ἐπίκοος ἢν αὐτῶν: a sentence like that beginning ἀλλ' οὖκ at d 1; an aliter has to be supplied in both.

e 3. τάναντια: i.e. "pray against us."—τὰ δ': i.e. τὰ ἄψυχα ἱδρύματα.

e 5. πρὸς θεοφιλή μοίραν κυρίωτατα, "most efficacious in securing divine favour." In κυρίωτατα there is a reference to the μᾶλλον κύριον of a 7.
e 6. Ast's and Bekker's κεκτήτο is a far better correction of the MS. κέκτητο than O²'s κέκτηται (Fic.'s possidet). Pempelus of Thurii, in his paraphrase of the passage (Stob. 79. 52), has πεπάσται for àν κεκτήτο.

e 9. ἐπιτελεῖς: it is possible that Plato here uses ἐπιτελής in the active sense of efficacious. Fic. seems so to understand it—"multis sæpe profuisse obsfuisseque."

932 a 2 f. καὶ ἀπόντες νέοι MSS. It is impossible not to prefer Winckelmann's far more apposite νέοις to νέοι, even though his ἀπόντες for ἀπόντες be not accepted. (He cps. Lysis 215 b 4 οἱ μῆτε ἀπόντες ποθεινοὶ ἄλληλοις.) That parents be deeply mourned by the young when they depart fits the passage much better than the suggestion that they will be specially mourned, or missed, if they die young. Pempelus has καὶ ἀφέρποντες αἰ'ζήοις [νέοις] σφόδρα ποθεινοὶ.

a 5 f. εἰ δ' οὖν τινα κατέχοι φήμη κωφόν τῶν τοιούτων προομιῶν, "but in the case of a man whom 'report pronounces' deaf to such adjurations"—one, that is, deaf by disposition. So, I feel sure, we ought to read for the MS. κωφή, assimilated by a scribe's error to the previous word. In κατέχωι φήμη Plato is consciously quoting Pind. Ol. vii. 18 ὀ δ' ὀλβίος δὴν φάμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί (cp. also Pyth. i. 186 ἐχθρᾶν Φάλαριν κατέχει παντὰ φάτις, and Eur. Hippi. 1466 φήμαι μᾶλλον κατέχοντι). It is a fanciful substitute for "for those whose character is stiff-necked." Such a man is the opposite of the πᾶς νοῦν ἔχων of 931 e 8; cp. Soph. Ai. 911 ἐγὼ δ' ὀ πάντα κωφός, ὀ πάντ' ἀδρίς, κατηρέλσα. (Various attempts have been made to strain the sense of φήμη κωφή so as to accommodate it to the passage. Wagner translates "eine vergiebens gesprochene Stimme"; some make the gen. προομιῶν depend on φήμη, some on κωφή; some making it objective, some subjective. Stallb. takes the sentence to mean "in case a man is overpowered by a public opinion which disregards such adjurations." The scholiast interprets κωφή by ἁσθενής, ἀμβλεῖα, ὃς νῦν, ἡ ἀηχος. Ficinus boldly gives what he feels to be the sense of the passage, "si quis vero surdus ad haec exordia sit." Ast, as boldly, "sensus est, si quis dicitur surdus esse ad haec proemia." He says φήμη κωφή stands for φήμη κωφόν εἶναι. Pempelus has εἰ δὲ τινα φάμα ἀμύντος ὅτων ποτὲ κωφωσιν κατίσχει τοιῶν δόγων (what follows is evidently a poetical quotation).

a 6. For the gen. with κωφός Stallb. ceps. Xen. Symp. iv. 12 τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων.—The corrector altered A's careless
δὲ to δὲ. As for the νόμος Herm. (Comparatio p. 16) pronounces it about equal in strictness to the Attic law on the subject, though different. Cp. above, 717 d 3 ff. and 881 d 3 ff.

a 7. τούτως is probably masc. Wagner takes it to be neuter. Schn. makes ἐπὶ τούτως temporal—“deinceps.”

a 8 ff. καὶ μὴ . . . βουλήσεις: i.e. καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιτρέπων καὶ ἀποταληρὸν ἡ τὰς (τῶν γονέων) βουλήσεις μειζόνως ἡ τὰς τῶν νέων . . . καὶ εὐνόου.

b 1. εἰς ἀπαντα ἐπιτρέπων, “submit to entirely and . . .” The absolute ἐπιτρέπων (cp. above, 802 c 1) stands for ἐπιτρέπων ταῖς τῶν γονέων βουλήσεις.

b 2. A and O have a senseless ἀποκληρῶν; L has preserved the right reading. —Equally careless is the ἡ of A and O, for ἡ. (Winckelmann very boldly proposes μειζόνως ἀγαπᾷ εἰς ἀπαντα ἐπιτρέπων καὶ ἀποταληρῶν τὰς βουλήσεις. Fic. seems to have imagined, or read, a similar addition, for he translates “nec magis eos quam filios nepotesque et seipsum diligat.”)

b 5. The correctors of L and O correct ALO’s careless ἐπιμελομένους to the gen. (Schneider retains the MS. reading, taking it to apply to all the six—“qui in curatione sunt.” Steph. and Ast would reject the participle altogether.) For ἐπιμελεῖσθαι with περὶ τινος instead of with the simple gen. cp. above, 812 e 9, Xen. Anab. v. 7. 10.—Probably we are meant to supply τὰς πρεσβυτάτας with τρεῖς τῶν γυν. Fic. “ad tres similiter.”

c 1. γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν: Plato can conjure with the dative. Here he makes it mean “in the ten years above (thirty).”

c 5. Bekker’s ἐκατόν for the MS. ἐκαστὸν puts definite sense in the place of vague nonsense. How could a court be constituted out of “each single one of the citizens who are oldest of all”? —An inferior MS., but not, apparently, O as well, as Stallb. says, has πολιτικῶν for πολιτῶν. The writer of this seems to have thought it too democratic a measure to choose the court from all the citizens.

c 8. O has ὅσων, but mentions A’s idiomatic ὅσων as a variant.

d 1 f. ὁ πυθόμενος . . . ἐξαγγελλέω: Stallb., by a quotation from Harpocratio, p. 160, shows that at Athens it was in anybody’s power to prosecute on a charge of κάκωσις γονέων.

d 3. ὑπόδικος . . . βλάβης: not (as Jow.) “be liable to pay damage,” but “damni illati accusetur” Fic.

d 4. τῶν κακούντων ἡ κακομείνων: neither of these “parties” is to be compensated for the loss of the slave; the latter, because
he had already benefited materially by his action, the former, because he deserved the loss (and the slave would not be safe with him).—For the omission of the second article cp. above, 728 c 4 δ τε τυχάνων καὶ μὴ τυχάνων.—A and O have καὶ for ἡ which is the reading of L and the correctors of A and O. Possibly Cod. Voss. is right in giving ἡ καὶ as the original reading.

e 2. δειρηταί: all kinds of murder have been dealt with in Bk. IX.

e 5. εἴπομεν τὴν διάρρηγμα: this answers to our modern "we must here pause to consider."

933 a 1. A carelessly wrote εἴπομεν for εἴπομεν in this line, and ἡ for ἡ in the next. A² corrected the former.—The addition of κατὰ φύσιν to the instrumental σώματη excludes philtres and the like; though such things are corporeal substance—σῶμα—their virtue is not κατὰ φύσιν, but depends on magic art. Cp. Charm. 155 e 7 ἄνευ δὲ τῆς εἴπωθι οὐδέν ὀφελος εἰπ τοῦ φύλλου.

a 3. τοὺς τολμῶντας βλάπτειν αὐτοῖς: αὐτοῖς further emphasizes the contrast expressed by the μὲν and δὲ between the would-be injurers who are to be persuaded that the magicians can really bewitch, and the intended sufferers (τοὺς δὲ), who are to be persuaded that the direct calamities attend the magicians' incantations. (Ast takes αὐτοῖς closely with βλάπτειν—"qui ipsi alteri nocere volunt"; Stallb. finds αὐτοῖς inexplicable, and proposes ἄλλοις for it.)

a 4. A and O have πάντως for παντὸς, another careless mistake, as is A's ταὐτὸν for ταὐτὶ ὁδὸν in the next line. The correction was made in A by a late hand. We are not told about L and O. παντὸς μᾶλλον is not (as Jowett) "above all persons," but "beyond everything," "quam maxime," Schn.

a 7 ff. ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ... περὶ αὐτῶν: that this passage was long ago found difficult is indicated by the variant δυσκοπομέναις in L and the corrector of O. The scholiast in his interpretation ἐφορωμένους, ὑπόπτως ἔχοντας supports the δυσκοπομένους of A and O. The main difficulties are (1) what is the construction of the dat. ψυχαί? (2) what is the relation of the two infinitives πείθειν and διακελεύονται? and (3) what is the logical connexion of the ἔχοντα clause with the main sentence? As to (1) I follow Schneider and Wagner in making ψυχαί depend on δυσκοπομένους—"men who are in their souls suspicious of each other." (Stallb. makes it governed by ἐπιχειρεῖν—ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς ψυχαῖς (ἂντε) πείθειν (αὐτᾶς).) As to (2) I follow Stallb. in supposing an explanatory asyndeton. (Schramm would very
plausibly read κᾶν in b 1.) As to (3) is it "because they" (the suspicious ones) or "although they hold no sure opinion on the subject"? Or is it possible that εχοντες agrees, not with the dat. which is assumed with διακελεύεσθαι, but with that assumed with οὕκ ἄξιον (ἔστι)—i.e. the Ath., Cleinias, and Megillus—"when we (ourselves) hold no sure opinion in the matter"? I incline to the first of these three views. It gives a reason for neglecting magic; i.e. it is very uncertain whether there is anything in it.—In any case the τῶν ἀνθρώπων in a 8 remains enigmatical. Is it not possible that it is the marginal explanation of a commentator who feared that ψυχαῖς might be taken to mean some supernatural spirits?

b 3. A and O wrote εἴτε μνήματι, but all editors have accepted the corrected εἴτ' ἐπὶ μνήματι of Α² and Ο². Possibly A and O were right.—τίνες stands for καν ἰδωρί τίνες.

b 6. The ὁποτέρως clause is explanatory of δι' χύροι—"according to which of the two ways the offender does his drugging." φαρμακεία and φαρμάττειν, as at c 5, are stretched to include all kinds of witchcraft as well as the natural (κατὰ φύσιν) use of medicaments.

b 7. πρῶτον (μέν), "antequam legem scribimus" Ast.

c 1 f. μὴδε καθάπερ παίδας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεμαίνοντας φοβεῖν: if the MS. reading is sound, this means "and (that they ought) not to frighten people, most of whom are (already) as timid as children." I cannot help suspecting, however, that δεμαίνοντας is a misreading of δέματοντας.—This gives a more natural sense: "and (that they ought) not to try to frighten the common herd by their bugbears, as if they were so many children."—τοὺς πολλοὺς implies that there are a few who would be proof against all such attempts.—A and O omitted παίδας; a late hand in the margin of A was the first to replace it—probably as a conjecture. Fic. and all editors accept it.

c 4 f. τῶν ἐπιχειροῦντα φαρμάττειν οὐκ εἰδότα: acc. absolute.

—The implication is that a layman will be powerless for harm, owing to his ignorance; and that this consideration will hinder him from attempting it.

d 1. λόγος ὁδὲ νόμος: cp. 903 b 1 ἐπιφόδων . . . μύθων, and 926 b 6 λόγος . . . ὁδὲ νόμος.

d 3. By a curious misapprehension Ficinus, Zürr., and Hermann read the passage with a pause after σμηνῶν. If we remove their comma after this word, all becomes plain. Cornarius first translated, and Ast first punctuated the passage correctly.—Only Baiter, Schneider, and Burnet are bold enough to print the MS. μήτε ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων; all others accept Ο²'s mistaken insertion of
The passage from 'The Laws of Plato' reads as follows:

"τῶν after ἀνθρώπων. The text stands for μήτε αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνον μήτε ἀνθρώπων ἐκεῖνον.—Probably the ἐπὶ was “supplied in thought” with ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ βλάβη—ἀλλὰ being, of course, “other than mortal.”

d 6. Zürr. accept Ov’s correction of the MS. ἀποτίσας to ἀποτίνειν, which brings the phrase into line with 928 e 6, but not with Apol. 36 b 5.; at e 5 below and at 934 b 8 we have πάρχειν ἦ ἀποτίνειν.

e 1. ἦ τῶν τοιούτων φαρμακείων ὄντινωνοῦν: Ast thinks τῷ must have fallen out before τῶν; Stallb. agrees, but thinks its place was after τῶν. Such an omission is possible, but it is also possible that Plato meant τῶν τοιούτων φαρμακείων to depend on a mentally repeated τῶν from the previous line. (Herm., rejecting the quite unobjectionable φαρμακείων—used here, as at e 3 and d 1 in the general, not the medical sense—for ὄντινωνοῦν reads ὃντινων, which Ritter accepts.)—ὁμοιος εἶναι βλάπτοντι is a neat phrase for “to come under suspicion of injuring.” Ritter (p. 414) thinks the phrase shows Plato’s disbelief in the existence of magic.

e 3. ἔν δὲ ἀνευ μαντικῆς ὡν τῆς φαρμακείας ὑφή: τῆς ἔρσ. is “the witchcraft in question,” a perfectly normal use of the article. Aldus altered τῆς to τῖς, and all subsequent editors except Zürr., Schn., and Burnet follow him. (Herm., followed by Wagner and Ritter, reads δ ἂν τῖς, taking ταιτόν to refer to δ, and ignoring the fact that τῖς has no MS. authority.)—ταῦτον: the following γάρ clause guards against the assumption (made by Stallb.) that ταῦτον γεγένθαν means τεθνάτω; it is the latter of the two penalties which he incurs.

e 6. The MSS. have ὅς ἂν τῖς ἂν ἑτερον ἄλλον: Schneider’s text comes nearest of all to this, for he only changes ὅς to ὅς.

All other editors read ὅσα τῖς for ὅς ἂν τῖς, and probably they are right. The unusual “Doric” arrangement of ὅσα τῖς ἂν (cp. on 890 a 5?) may well have given rise to the alteration. Further, all editors but Schneider and Stallb. (1860) read ἑτερος for ἑτερον—Herm., moreover, rejects ἄλλον. There is no reason why the MS. ἑτερον ἄλλον should not stand. See Stallb.’s note, and cp. above on 780 d 8 and 875 d 7, also Dem. De Rhod. lib. 198. 21. (Herm. pref. p. xx. declares that at 875 d 7 ἑτερον is neut. Ritter defends ἑτερος ἄλλον by a ref. to ἄλλος ἄλλον at 932 e 1.)

e 7. For the MS. μειζόνιον Fic, and all editors read μείζω—“si in magnis nocuit” Fic. The μ was due probably to the following μ.

e 8. The MSS. read μὴ ζημιώσας; Fic, and all editors omit the μή. (Herm., comparing 925 d 5, holds that μή is a mistake for δή.)—παρὰ πάντα: not “in omnibus,” as Fic, Wagn., and Jow., but
NOTES TO BOOK XI

a 1. We can only guess at the reason why Plato used the out-of-the-way Doric form σοφρωνιστός. Possibly the thought of soul-medicine suggested a Hippocratican form.—For the sense cp. above, 854 d 4, and the name σωφρονιστήριον given (908 a 4) to the reformatory prison.

a 2. Herm. was the first to see that ἀλλοτρία qualifies ἄνοια and not πειθοῖ. Wagn. and Burnet follow him.—In Plato's view all vice was a form of folly (cp. above, 689 b 3). ἄνοια here, like the old English folly, is used almost in the sense of κακία.—πειθοῖ διὰ νεότητα ὑ η τοιοῦτον χρησάμενος, "and has, from youth or some such cause" (e.g. inexperience) "given way to persuasion."

a 4. The ὑ before δι', which all editors have adopted, is due to the correctors of a and O. As the words δι' ἀκράτειαν ὑδ.' ὑ λυπών are not an alternative to διὰ οἰκείαν ἄνοιαν, but describe impulses which may have given rise to the οἰκεία ἄνοια—want of self-control in the face of pleasure or pain—the ὑ is not necessary. If it stands it is either, not or. The γιγνόμενος ἐν clause which follows is a further asyndetic specification of the various divisions of the ἡδονή and λύπη motives; θυμός and φόβος come under λύπη (ep. 864 b 3), φθόνος possibly under ἡδονή as well.—The MS. δεινῶς, which comes after φόβος, is corrected in both A and O to δειλίας, while L has δειλίασας. If the latter were accepted we should either have to put in ἐν before των or retain the discarded MS. γιγνομένους in the next line. Palaeographically δεινῶς is a possible mistake for δειλίας—a less likely one for δειλοίς which Winckelmann suggests (and Herm. adopts); he compares 870 c 8 οἱ δειλοὶ καὶ ἄδικοι φόβοι. After all the MS. reading may be
right. Cp. Phaedr. 273 c 7 δεινός ἀποκεκρυμένην τέχνην, Symp. 207 a 8 ὡς δεινὸς διατίθεται πάντα τὰ θήρια ἐπειδὰν γεννᾶν ἐπιθυμήσῃ.

a 5. ALO have γιγνομένους: this reading survived into Bekker’s text, but has since been discarded by all but Schneider for the variant γιγνόμενοι given by the correctors of L and O.

a 6. οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ κακουργῆσαι: the heaviness of the punishment does not depend on the greatness of the crime—there is no reducing that—but on the severity of the mental disease which gives rise to the crime. This a proper punitive treatment may reduce, and it may benefit onlookers as well. Cp. above, 728 c.

a 7. The ἕνεκα which governs τοῦ μισήσαι is curiously inserted in the phrase εἰς τὸν αἰθής χρόνον; δίκην in b 5 shows a similar hyperbaton.

b 3. συμφορά is here used with the same μείωσις as above at 854 d 2, 873 a 5, and 877 c 8, for criminality.

b 3–6. δὲν δὴ πάντων ἕνεκα . . . καὶ παντελῶς τῆς ἀξίας: in other words, “what has just been said is enough to show that the main points the lawgiver must keep in view are (1) the πασχεῖν must be carefully attendered to the moral obliquity of the offender, and (2) the ἀποτίνειυ must be such as to satisfy the injured man.”

b 5. στοχάζεσθαι—a favourite Platonic metaphor—ordinarily governs a simple gen.; at 693 c 8, and below at 962 d 3, it takes πρός c. acc.; here its object seems to be very abnormally expressed by ἕνεκα c. gen. Is ἕνεκα spurious? or does ἕνεκα go with ἐκάστων only—“as punishment for each offence”?

b 6. παντελῶς τῆς ἀξίας (Ἔνεκα, or στοχάζεσθαι) repeats the insistence on correct estimation of damages noted above on 933 e 8. As the following words declare, the judge must in this work hand in hand with the lawgiver.

b 6–c 6. ταῦτα δὲ ἐργον δρῶντα . . . νομοθετεῖν, “for this work the lawgiver must also have at command the services of the judge, in cases where a law leaves it to the judge to fix the severity of the punishment and the amount of the damages, while the lawgiver, painter-wise, must sketch out actual cases (for him) on the lines of the written law. That is the task, Megillus and Cleinias, which we have now to perform in the best possible way, and to give, for all thefts and deeds of violence, the sentences, pronounced as they should be, as far as the divine powers allow us to lay them down.” In this difficult passage the point on which the most serious difference of opinion has arisen is, does τὸν δὲ in c 1
mean the lawgiver or the judge? Ficinus, Schneider, and Jowett hold that it is the judge. Against this it seems to me conclusive that the Ath. goes on to say that the task of doing what has been described is just the one which they three, as legislators, have to perform. Besides, these critics strain the meaning of ὑπογράφειν; Fic. makes it mean “copy,” Schneider merely “pingere,” and Jowett “fill up the outline with suitable details.” Surely ὑπογράφειν must describe a preliminary, outline sketch, which is to guide the judge in his decision. Stallb., Wagner, and Ritter, though differing in other important points, rightly, I think, take τὸν δὲ to be the lawgiver.

c 6. It is surprising that the projected list of cases is not now given. Was Philip of Opus unable to find the passage because it was lost, or did Plato fail to supply it? Or, again, did he mean on second thoughts to assign this, as a minor task, to younger legislators, as on former occasions—τοὺς δευτέρους (νομοθέτος) 835 b 2 and 846 c 4 οἱ νέοι—and omit to say so? The addition of ὁποῖς ἂν ἤμισυ παρέίκοσιν θεοὶ νομοθετεῖν may possibly like the ἐὰν θεὸς ἐθέλη at 739 e 5 be a formula of postponement. In that case we must understand the Ath. here to say that it must be borne in mind that such detailed “sketches” will be wanted.

d 1. Herm. was the first to print ἐπιστώτωνται for the M.S. ἐπιστώνται; even Schneider fails to make the correction here. C. 689 d 3.

d 6. οὐς μὲν νῦν εἴπομεν: i.e. those who were to be kept out of sight—the really mad, as we should say.

d 7. κακῆν, which is the predicate to γενομένην, governs both φύσιν and τροφήν; “owing to a natural tendency to and cultivation of anger, both (of which have been) disastrous”—“owing to a disastrous native and acquired tendency to anger.” Plato is not here describing fits of passion—Themistius’s ἀλυγοχρόνιος μανία, Horace’s furor brevis—but the habitual state of mind of one whose unusually strong instinct of retaliation has been nursed by constant indulgence. The “great voice” produced on a “little” occasion gives us the type in a flash.

e 5. L’s ἄλλον for the ἄλλῳ of A and O is clearly a correction made by someone who felt uncomfortable because δεδωσκέτω was separated by another verb from its object. Not only is ὁ ἄμφισβητος τῶν the better for the dat. ἄλλῳ to complete its sense, but the τοὺς πάροντας could hardly accompany ἄλλοις ἄλλον. Steph. aptly εἰς Phaedo 94 d τὰ μὲν ἀπειλοῦσα, τὰ δὲ νοουτεοῦσα ταῖς
THE LAWS OF PLATO

935 a 1. γυναικείους φήμας, "a scolding style," which the angry ones "bring to bear" (ἐπιφέρειν) in using terms of abuse (δι' αἰσχρῶν ὄνομάτων). So at 1 Hen. IV. i. iii. 237, when Hotspur "scolds" he is said to be in a "woman's" mood. (Ast, Stallb., and L. & S. take γυν. φήμ. to be gossip, or scandal)—ἐστὶν τοῦτος clearly stands for ἄλληλοις.

a 1 ff. πρὸτον μὲν... ἀποδεξόμενος: in this highly coloured and elaborately rhetorical passage Plato seems himself to be "raising his voice"—perhaps on purpose to show us what sort of language it is which he deplores.—πρῶτον μὲν corresponds to the δὲ ἄδ in a 7; first they make brutes of themselves, next they make fools of themselves by trying to make fools of their opponents.

a 2. With κούφων πράγματος and the antithesis cp. 717 d 1 κούφων καὶ πτηνῶν λόγων βαρυτάτη ζημία.

a 3. πράγματι ἀχαρίστῳ, θυμῷ, χαριζόμενος, "opening his heart to such a heartless thing as anger." χαρίζομαι, like φιλοφρονεῖσθαι at e 6 and χάριν ἀποδεχέσθαι at a 7, is a term of intimate friendly relationship.

a 4. ἐπιμεταλέα ὀργῆν κακῶν ἐστιαμάτων, "regaling his wrath with noxious viands"—i.e. with tirades full of hatred and scorn of his adversaries.

a 5. τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τοιοῦτον: i.e. τὸ ἡμερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς—"all the gentleman there is in him." This stands in the place of the expected τοιοῦτον.

a 6. θηριούμενος ἐν δυσκολίᾳ ζῶν γίγνεται κτλ.: this marks the climax, "until a lifelong rancour turns him into a brute—a sorry return for all his favours."

b 3. τοῦ σπουδαίου τρόπου ἦτοι τὸ παράπαν διήμαρτεν κτλ.: a man cannot, he says, constantly make jokes against an opponent without partially compromising his dignity, or at least lowering his self-respect.—The ἦτοι ought, logically, to come before the τοῦ. Its postponement gives the latter alternative the character of a qualifying afterthought.—The ὃς οὗ of L and O² is clearly correct as against the ὃς οὗ of A and O.

b 6. Cp. above, 868 a 7 ἀγοράν τε καὶ ἀθλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἰερὰ μυαίνῃ.

b 8. [ἀνατί]: Schneider rejects this addition of the correctors of A and O, and Wagner agrees. It is inconsistent with what follows. Who would think of promising immunity to a man who does his duty, especially if he be the lawful president of a *sacred
NOTES TO BOOK XI

σύλλογος? The same correctors who inserted ἀνατι altered ἐκαστὸς to ἐκαστὸν; here Burnet, as well as Wagner, follows Schneider in disregarding the correction.

c 1. ἀριστεῖων πέρι φιλονικήγορα: Ritter (p. 340) aptly says, 952 d 3 ὅνειδος ἀποκείσθω τοῖς ἄρχοντι, ets τῶν ἀριστείων διαδικασίαν, the occasion being doubtless, as he says, that of the statutory εὐθύναι, to which every magistrate had to submit on vacating office.

c 6. The best attempt at explaining the MS. ἐτέρφω, which I take to have been substituted by a common scribe's error (cp. 919 a 5, Symp. 183 c, Ep. vii. 325 b 6) for ἐταίρφω, is Ast's, who makes ἐτέρφω κακὸ an instrumental dat. to φιλοφρονούμένουs—"show kindness to one evil (anger) by means of another," i.e. the abuse in which they indulge it. Other interpreters make the one evil the stripes, and the second the anger which they chastise. θυμῶ, ἐταίρφω κακὸ, φιλοφρονούμένουs falls easily into line with the metaphor of χαριζόμενοs in a 3 and χάριν ἀποδεχόμενοs in a 7—"those who take up with such an ill-chosen companion as anger."

c 7. In λέγομεν L and O² have doubtless preserved the right reading, as against the λέγομεν of Α and O. What follows is a repetition of the μετεκβαίνειν...φθέγγεσθαι of a 7 ff.—"I tell you," says the Ath., "when a man is in the clutch of the abusive impulse, he can't help trying to make men laugh." The object of χρήσθαι is a (supplied) λοιδορίαs. Almost all editors adopt O²'s insertion of ὁ after ὅς, though Steph., who wants to keep λοιδορίαs for χρήσθαι because he doubts whether συμπλεκόμενοs could take a dat., would put the ὁ immediately before συμπλεκόμενοs. Schneider and Burnet omit it.

d 2. τοῦτο is τὸ γελοῖα ζητεῖν λέγειν, and γεγονόμενον ἢ stands for γέγονταi.

d 3 ff. τί δὲ δῆ; κτλ., "on the other hand, the desire to excite ridicule may exist without an angry motive; e.g. in a comic poet. He shows us our fellow men in ridiculous situations just to amuse us. As it is, we Greeks generally do allow this (ἡ παραδεχόμεθα), where we suspect no personal spite to be influencing the poet."—I think the note of interrogation which all editors put after λέγειν is a mistake, as is also the very generally accepted correction (by Fic. and Steph.) of the MS. παραδεχόμεθα to παραδεχόμεθα. Schn. and Burnet retain the indic. Herm., it is true, does not place a (: after λέγειν, but he only places a comma there; i.e. he treats παραδεχόμεθα and διαλάβωμεν as two alternative deliberative subjunctives, which they manifestly are not;
for, if both are questions, the second repeats the first. The "we" of παραδεχόμεθα is the general Greek public: that of διαλάβωμεν is the three who are conversing.—All editors have accepted A's insertion of τήν before τῶν; possibly we ought to read τήν κωμόδων.—Fic. unaccountably amplifies the Greek into "comico-rum satyrorumque sales et ridiculosa convitia." His admittemus shows that he read παραδεχόμεθα; Steph. was the first to print it.

d 6. ἡ διαλάβωμεν δίχα τῷ παίζειν καὶ μή: i.e. "are we then (as lawgivers) to make the deciding question, 'is he in fun or not?' the (only) object, or is there another?"

d 7. τινὶ περὶ τοῦ: in the previous statement the object of the comic poet's satire was "men in general," and "his fellow-citizens"; here it is significantly narrowed down to the abuse of an individual by an individual.—All editors but Stallb. have rightly accepted van Heusde's correction of the MS. συντεταγμένῳ σε συντεταμένῳ. He well eps. Euthyd. 288 d 3, where συντετάμενον and σπονδάζοντα are used to describe the same state of mind.

-e 1. καθάπερ εἰπομεν: i.e. "as in the above-mentioned case."

-e 2. τοῦτο . . . οὖνδιώς ἀναθετέων, "this proviso" (that there must be no anger in the ridicule) "must by no means be withdrawn." (So Stallb., Schn., and Wagn.; Ast, however, and L. & S. take it to mean "this matter" (the decision of this matter) "must on no account be deferred."—The MSS. give us ὅ δ' ἐξεστῳ καὶ μὴ δέ. All previous editors omit the δέ. Burnet in his second edition accepts R. W. Chapman's proposal to omit the δ'. Cp. Burnet's preface to vol. v., l. 14 of the last page.

-e 3. Bekker first restored the MS. δή for the vulgate δέ after ποιητή.—κωμῳδίας ἡ τίνος ἰάμβων: cp. Arist. Pol. 1336 b 20 where Aristotle likewise joins κωμῳδίας and ἰάμβων (θεατάς).—The curious τίνος ἰάμβων seems to stand for τίνος ἰαμβικῆς ποιήσεως. Ast, however, makes the likely suggestion that the τίνος has been placed after the wrong δή, remarking that while there are several kinds of lyric poetry—e.g. the choric part of a satyrical drama, songs for choruses, or for non-dramatic songs—there is only one kind of "iambic" lampoon. A.M.A., referring to Williams-White, The Verse of Greek Comedy, §§ 80–94, 184 n., takes κωμῳδία to be the spoken iambics, and ἰάμβον μελῳδία to be the "melic" or sung iambic dimeters, trimeters, or tetrameters (e.g. Frogs 416–430, 398–402, Ach. 1008–1017, Peace 1305–1314). If this is correct, Plato is here
NOTES TO BOOK XI

speaking of Comedy alone, and the λόγῳ in e 4 is "the words (said or sung)."

e 4. μὴ οὖν καὶ οὔτε εἰκόνι: εἰκόνι refers, chiastically, to κωμῳδίας—it is the actor's figure and "make-up"—and λόγῳ to ἀμβατὸν and μουσῶν μελωδίας.

e 5. μηδένα: here again it is the individual citizen who is to be protected.

e 6. The mention of διαλοθέται shows that Plato has here in mind the performance of plays and choruses at a public festival.

936a 2. Schn. and Burnet alone refuse to print the ὅ which the vulgate added to ἀγών; ought we not to read ἀγών?—οἷς δ' εἴρηται πρῶτερον: Stallb. and Wagn. think this refers to the permission given at 816d e for the representations of comedies. But the question here is that of the licensing of ποιήματα and ποιηταί. Clearly then (as Ritter says, p. 410), the reference is to 829c 2—e 5. The mention of the παιδείας ἐπιμελητίσ in both cases incidentally confirms this. At 816c 2 ποιεῖν is not used in the technical sense of compose poetry, but at 829c 3 it is, as are ποιητής at c 6 and ποιήματα at d 3.

a 3. The MSS. have περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν; Burnet accepts Steph.'s alteration of περὶ τοῦ to περὶ τον. Probably Ast is right in rejecting the words as a mistaken repetition of the περὶ τον above at d 7. So too Wagner.—eἰς ἄλληλους, which Burnet quite unnecessarily joins to the following words (he puts the comma before the two words, not after them), and for which Ritter (p. 410) would read eἰς ἄλλους, is also a reminiscence of the earlier passage. At 829c 3 we read (𐄄𐄄) ἐγκώμια τε καὶ ψόγους ποιεῖν ἄλληλους. Not only the poet but the butt must be of unexceptionable character.

a 6. All editors adopt Α2's insertion of the τῷ (before τῆς) which was missing in the MSS.

a 7. For ἐγκρίνειν cp. above, 802b 4, and below, 952a 6.

b 1. Herm. and Wagn. rightly adopt Bekker's μηδὲ for the MS. μὴ οὖν before ἐλεύθερον—"no one else, whether slave or free." At 816c 5 it was stipulated that comic actors were to be either δοῦλοι or ξένοι ἐμμισθοῦ.

b 3ff. The argument of this paragraph is that it will be "safe" (c 1) in a decently ordered state to prohibit begging, because in such a state none but the absolutely undeserving could be reduced to abject poverty. So the Jewish psalmist (xxxvii. 25) says that he has never seen the seed of the righteous begging bread.

b 3. A and O have πίνων for πεινῶν and τοιοῦτο for the more
usual τοιούτον. The former, a good instance of pure itacism, was corrected by A² and O²; the latter survived till Burnet altered it.

b 5. κεκτηταί: till Schaefer suggested the correction to Ast—too late for insertion in his text—the MS. κέκτηται appeared in all texts. Even Bekker preserves the indicative.


c 3. εὐχαίς ἀνηνυτοῖς: L. & S. are wrong in giving ἀνηνυτοῖς here the meaning it has above at 735 b 7 and 780 c 9 of ineffectual. Here, as at 714 a 5, it means endless.

c 8. τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ὅτιον, “any kind whatever of property belonging to another.” W. R. Paton would read τῶν ἀλλότριων here, but the personal injury by another man’s slave has already been dealt with on similar lines at 879 a. The present book deals mainly with property law. So at e 3 the damage done by an animal is damage to property, not person.

d 2. χρείαν μὴ σώφρονα, lit. “treatment that is abandoned,” is pretty nearly translated by our “culpable negligence.” μὴ σώφρονα here is used for the opposite of σώφρον, just as μὴ ἐνδεῶς in the following line is used for the opposite of ἐνδεῶς—“completely.”

d 4 f. ἐπαιτιώμενος . . . φῆ, “becomes the accuser in his turn and alleges.”

d 6. κακοτεχνία is a law term denoting subornation of witness, and trumped up charges of any kind; here it takes the form of “conspiracy.”

e 4. κατὰ ταῦτα, “on the same principle.” There could of course be no question of conspiracy here, but a man might e.g. let a neighbour’s horse into his own field on purpose.

e 6. μὴ ἑξῆλθη here and ἑξῆλθη in e 8 are almost equivalent to our semi-auxiliary won’t and will.—τις is anybody who may be supposed able to furnish either incriminating or exculpating testimony. Such a man is bound, when summoned, to come forward (below, 937 a 2 f.). When once in court it is not conceived as a possibility that he should hold his tongue. His only way of escaping is to swear that he has no evidence to give. If this can be disproved he will be liable to conviction and punishment for perjury.—Cobet is probably right in holding (N.L. 377) that the MS. προσκαλεῖσθαι is a scribe’s error for προκαλεῖσθαι, the technical legal expression. So Burnet. προσκαλεῖσθαι is to summon a man to answer to a criminal charge; προκαλεῖσθαι to challenge or summon as a witness.

e 7. προσκληθεῖσ, which stands in all texts except those of Schneider and Burnet, is due to an early correction in O and a
In the present case the waiting could not be said to begin till after the current trial was over.—μέχρι δίκης: i.e. until the trial which would be the result of the ἐπισκήψεις ψευδομαρτυρίων. This is the trial referred to in the διάκρισιν of b 7, but πρὶν τὴν δίκην διακεκρίσθαι in b 5 refers to the original trial in which the false witness is said to have been given—one of the τῶν ἐμπροσθεν δικών of d 4.—The MSS. had ἐπισκεφθῆ and ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, but all texts have naturally accepted Α² and O²'s correction of the second ε to η. In ἐπισκήψεις in b 5 there is indication that in A the η was a correction for a previous ε,—ἐπισκηφθῆ is an impersonal passive.

b 3. With ἐπισκήπτεσθαι we must supply ἔξεστο from b 1.

b 4. καί is "or."—Herrn. De vest. (pp. 68 and 69) thinks it likely that all these regulations as to witnesses, except those granting facilities to women, were taken from Attic legal procedure.
He cites Antiphon, De caede Herod. 48 for the statement that a slave might give evidence in a murder trial, and reminds us that Aristotle (Pol. 1274 b 5) tells us that the ἐπίσκηψις ψευδομαρτυρίων was the invention of Charondas.

c 1. ὅσε ψευδομαρτυρίων: a single lapse from truth in a witness might be due to an unavoidable mistake; two such lapses denote at least a careless habit of mind—such a man is no good as a witness—but three stamp him as a knave. It is a curious state of disability in which the careless man finds himself. He cannot be the object of a πρόκλησις to appear as witness.

c 5 ff. ὀπόσων δ' αὖ ... πεποιηκέναι, "in the case of all such witnesses whose testimony is condemned" (in the δική ψευδομαρτυρίων) "so that they are judged to have given false testimony, and to have secured the victory of the winner of the suit." Of course, if the false witness was given on the losing side there could be no need of a fresh trial. That is the significance of the addition καὶ ... πεποιηκέναι. (Though Ast is wrong in taking δίκη with μαρτυρεῖν instead of with ἀλώσω, he is probably right in regarding δοξάντων as virtually expressing the result of the conviction, and in making μαρτυρεῖν and πεποιηκέναι both depend on it. Schneider, putting no comma after δίκη, makes πεποιηκέναι depend on ἀλώσω, translating καὶ by εἶναι. The "being thought to have given false witness," according to Schneider, took place at the original trial.)

c 6. L and O2's δικῶν for the δίκη of A and O is condemned as a short-sighted correction by the following δοξάντων, which stamps ὀπόσων as masc.

c 7 ff. ἐὰν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὲρ ἤμουν μαρτυρῶν καταδικασθῶσιν τινες, "if a majority of such pieces of evidence are pronounced false." The subject of καταδικ. is ὑπὲρ ἤμουν τινες. For ὑπὲρ ἤμουν cp. 929 b 6; for the addition of τις to a numerical expression cp. 686 a 1 χρόνον τινά πολίν, 683 a 7 τετάρτη τις ... αὐτή τόλις. "Some half or more." So Ast and Stallb. (Schn. and Wagn. make τινες masc., and so A.M.A.). Cp. also b 4.

d 1–5. The question to be decided by the new trial was whether among the minority of pieces of evidence not so condemned there was enough to justify the previous verdict. If not it would be reversed.

d 2. The δ' before εἶναι was omitted in A and O, and added by the correctors.

d 3. A has διαδικασίαν corrected by A2 to διαδικασίαν; the last two letters of the καὶ must have looked like ΔΙ, and caused its omission.
NOTES TO BOOK XI

4. All subsequent editors have adopted Steph.'s correction of the MS. ὀπότερος to ὀποτέρος; Fic. too read ὀποτέρος apparently, translating “et quomodocumque indicatum fuerit.” The words ὀποτέρος δ' ἀν κριθῇ were omitted in A and O, and added in the margin of O by the corrector, and in that of A by a later hand still. The cause was the resemblance of ἐκρίθη and κριθῇ.

7. τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν οὖν κῆρες ἐπιστεφώκασιν: Valckenaer, in a note on ἀκύραστον at Eur. Hipp. 1114, quotes, among other passages, from “Hipparchus the Pythagorean” (in Stob. cviii. 81) ἵδοντα ὅτι πολλαὶ κῆρες κατὰ πάντα τὸν βίον πεφύκαντι.

2. οὖ was omitted by A and O, and added above by A² and O².

3 ff. ταῦτα οὖν . . . πεπραγμένα: A and O had apparently διαβάλλει, O² apparently διαβάλλει and διαβολή, A² διαβολή. It was recognized by the three Zürich editors that the MS. evidence, though not clear, is in favour of διαβάλλει, but the three all differ as to the rest of the passage. Baiter reads δια-βάλλει τις κακή (sc. τέχνη), Orelli διαβάλλει τις κάκη, Winckelmann διαβάλλει τις δικαίοτητης. Wagner and Burnet (rightly, I think) adopt Orelli's κάκη (Stallb. approves, but does not print Orelli's reading). One of the merits of this emendation is that it affords a satisfactory account of the origin of the διαβολή which later became the accepted reading. Hermann alters τέχνην in e 4 to τέχνη and reads διέβαλε τις κακή.

Further, in e 5 the MSS. have αὐτή, with a variant ἔχειν δ' ἀν αὐτή recorded by L² and O². This Cornarius altered to αὐτήν, which correction was adopted by all subsequent editors except Schneider who read αὐτή and Burnet who follows Schneider. Another alteration of Cornarius was that of the τοῦ, of the MSS. and the early texts, in e 5 to τῷ; this again all editors but Sehn. and Burnet adopted. Ast's solution of the earlier difficulties was the omission of the η in e 4, and the addition of τήν after αὐτήν in e 5. Steph. altered η to η. Winckelmann in e 5 would read ἔχειν δ' αὐτή as a parenthesis, Burnet adopts the idea of a parenthesis, but his is—ἔναι δ' αὐτή τοῦ τε δικάσασθαι καὶ συνδικεῖν ἀλλω. Adopting Burnet's version we may translate: "These blessings have acquired a bad character from a vice which veils itself under the fair name of art, which begins by declaring that there is such a thing as a contrivance for managing lawsuits—going on to state that it is itself (the contrivance) for conducting a suit and aiding another man to conduct one—(a contrivance) which can procure victory, whether the actual conduct (of the litigant) in each suit has been righteous or not."
THE LAWS OF PLATO

938 a 1. All editors have adopted $O^2$'s correction of the $a^u$γιη of Λ and O. $A^3$'s correction was $a^u$γιη τε, but a late hand adopted $O^2$'s $a^u$γις. ($O^2$ also recorded $a^u$γιη τε.)—δωρεάν είναι τῆς τέχνης means "that the art was to be had as a gift."

a 3. εἴτε ἀτεχνός ἐστίν τις ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ τριβή: cp. Gorg. 463 b 4, Phil. 55 e 6, Phaedr. 270 b 5.

a 4. For μάλωσα μὲν... δέ cp. 758 d 1, 830 d 4.

a 7. στρ. ... φωνή: there is a touch of the rhetorical in this antithesis. See above on 935 a 1.

b 3. τὸν τοιοῦτον: it is hard to fit in these words with πολυδικεῖν (as Schneider and Wagner do—"multas eius generis lites"), or with τις (as Stallb.). Steph. would reject the words, and Stallb. agrees. Fic. leaves them untranslated. Ritter (p. 341) well suggests that they may depend on παρὰ καὶρόν and stand for τῶν δικαίων—"turn the power of right into that of wrong, and engage in suit after suit, or help others in them when righteousness bids you abstain"—(or "to the disadvantage of justice").

b 8. μηδενί with λαχεῖν δίκην means "against no one"; with συνοδεῖν it means "to the assistance of no one."

c 3. ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου = πάντως, here "devotedly"; cp. above, 745 c 7.

BOOK XII

941 a 3. τὰς οὐσίας πρεσβείας ἐφ' αἷς πέμπται, "the real message he is sent to deliver." (H. Richards not improbably suggests that πεμπόμενος has got out of place, and that it ought to come after ὡς πρεσβευτῆς.)

a 4. A by a slip of the hand wrote πόλιν for πάλιν.

a 6 f. Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Δῶς ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπιτάξεις . . . ἀσεβησάντων: the crime, being raised to the rank of a sacrilege, becomes a sort of high treason. Cp. above, 921 c 2 ff., where a similar sacrilege is spoken of as "loosing mighty civic bonds."—The use of the passive ἀσεβησθῇ above at 877 e 2 δὴν . . . τις . . . ἀσεβησθῇ τῶν δικών is a sufficient warranty for the construction ἀγγελίας . . . ἀσεβεῖν here. Winckelmann would read εἰς Ἐρμοῦ ἀγγελίας, and Stallb. suggests the much less significant ἀμελησάντων for ἀσεβησάντων. Fic. translates "quasi . . . contemptit."

a 7. τίμημα is here used, not in the usual sense of value (price, penalty), but in that of valuation, a fixing of the penalty.

568
NOTES TO BOOK XII

b-d. The first paragraph in the twelfth book enjoins strict integrity upon public ambassadors, the second a rigid respect for all state property. The mention of Hermes reminds the Ath. that poets represent Hermes as himself delighting in fraud, and even theft. Consequently he feels it necessary to give the poets the lie. “The lawgiver knows better about this than all the poets put together.”

b 2. κλοπή and ἄρπαγή correspond respectively to δόλοις and βία in b 3, to the κλέπτων and βιαζόμενος of b 6 and 7, and the σμικρόν and μέγα of c 5.

b 4–8. καὶ οἴεσθω (not μηδὲ οἴεσθω) is merely explanatory of ἀναπειθέσθω; “let no one then, when sinning in that way, be deceived by poets or by story-tellers either, and induced to imagine that when he steals or robs he is not doing anything disgraceful, but doing what gods do themselves.” The construction is improved by the adoption of Baiter’s πλημμελεῖν for the MS. πλημμελῶν, but it weakens the sense. The poets are more naturally represented as excusing a theft when committed than as urging its commission.—It will be observed that the μηδὲν in b 7, though coming after μηδεις . . . οἴεσθω, counts as a separate negative.

b 8. Baiter, Schneider, and Burnet rightly prefer the ὃς τι of A and O to the ὅς τις of L and O² and all other editors.

b 9. ποτε, “at all.”

c 3. εὐτυχοί: the imperatival opt.—ὁ ἀπωστήσας, “if a man disobeys orders.” So Ast and Stallb., who cites Hesych. ἀπωστεῖ· ἀπειθεῖ, and Favorinus ἀπωστεῖ· τὸ ἀπειθεῖν οὗτοι Πλάτων; this meaning suits the tense, and the μαχέσθω in c 4.

c 4. μαχέσθω: there is the same half-playful suggestion of an antagonism between the lawgiver and the ordinary citizen as we find at 924 d in the words συγγνώμην τῷ τιθέντι τῶν νόμων ἐχέστω. In our modern equally playful form of expression it would be “he will find himself up against some such law as the following.” Steph. conjectured from Fic’s “arcebítur” that he had read κατεχέσθω for μαχέσθω; Ast finds the “festivitas” “frigida,” and proposes ἐνεχέσθω, which Herm. also prints.

c 5. τῆς αὐτῆς δίκης: cp. 857 a 4 μία δίκης τιμωρία σύμπασιν.

c 6. Züri, Herm., and Wagn. adopt O²’s and Stobaeus’s τε for τι.

d 1. τὸ μείζον is “the greater of the two things,” i.e. the τὶ δημόσιον μέγα of c 4 f., put for variety’s sake instead of the strictly parallel μέγα τι. (Wagner translates “den grösseren Theil
von Etwas," and for ὁλον ἀδικεῖ has "thut Unrecht am Ganzen"; Jowett "takes up anything more than he has deposited."

—κινών οὗ καταθέμενος: cp. above 844 e 9, 913 c 4.—ὁλον ἀδικεῖ, "sins to the full"; ὁλον marks the contrast with the case of the other man, who does not sin as much as he wants to.

d 2. δίκης ἐλάττονος: this gen. goes with ἀξίωι, ἕμμοιον being added = ὡστε ἕμμοιον; cp. below, 944 d 1 f. τῆς δὲ εἰρημένης . . . μὴ ἀμελεῖτω σκοπεῖν.—μεγέθους: here used in the sense of size; so Hdt. ii. 74 μεγέθει ἐόντες σμικροί.

d 3. O mentions a variant ἄμα for ἄλλα.

d 5. The scribes of A and O, going on after the wrong ϕ, omitted ἐλη ὡς ἰασίμη; A3 and O2 added the words in the margin.

d 6. δόντι: so L and A2 and O2; A and O have ὅτι. Down to Ast all editors had εἰκότων ὅ τι χρῆ. As this dative is governed by γιγνέσθω, and τί χρῆ παθεῖν depends on κρίσις, there should be no comma between ὦς and γιγνέσθω.

942 a 4. ἕμμοιον is the legal imperativaif infin.—This law is totally inconsistent with 857 b 1, where a public theft is treated on much the same terms as a theft of private property.

a 5. στρατιῶν κτλ.: it is common to find MSS. divided between στρατιά and στρατεία (e.g. Rep. 404 a 12 and b 11); here the MSS. give στρατιῶν, but all editors, except Stallb. (1860), Schneider, and Burnet, print στρατείων. Shilleto on De fals. leg. § 278 lays it down that στρατιά does not occur in the sense of στρατεία outside Aristophanes. (στρατεία is never found in the sense of στρατιά.) If so we must either alter all cases of στρατιά, where it seems used in the sense of expedition, into στρατεία, or find some special use or sense of στρατιά to suit the passage. (Cp. Classen on Thuc. viii. 108. 4.) Here στρατιά is "military organization (Fic. "militiae gratia"); "for armies much devising and a crowd of rules are in order." It is implied that it is specially for making the rules that the devising is needed.—κατὰ τρόπον is predicate to γίγνονται. (Schn. and Stallb. make the words qualify γίγνονται adverbially—"multaeque leges dantur merito," Schn.) It will be remembered that at 832 e it was laid down that only such gymnastic contests as were useful for military purposes were to be encouraged. So here it is only with a view to military training and to the protection it gives to the state that habits of discipline and concerted action are enjoined on every citizen.

a 6. μέγυστον δὲ (cp. d 6 below), "but the most important point of all is . . ."
NOTES TO BOOK XII

a 8. μὴν ἐν παιδίας: for the importance of games cp. 797 a7 ff.

b 4. ἐστάναι and the following infinitives are in apposition to καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα.—Δ2 corrected Α’s ἔστιν to ἐστάναι.—ὁταν ἐπιτάττῃ τις: a natural variety for the normal passive construction. Bekker and Baetzer would reject τις, leaving the subject to be supplied from the previous ἄρχοντα. Wagn. would read ἐπιτάττηται.

b 6. (eis) παραγγέλσαι: probably, as Wagn. and Jow., “for the carrying of messages”; Schn. “ad mandata.” Fic. “det signa et vicissim excipiat,” apparently taking the words to apply only to those already on guard.

c 1 ff. τὸ χωρίς τι... τὸ παράπαν, “to teach one’s soul by long habit not to dream of doing, in fact to be quite incapable of doing, anything independently.” “To teach a person not to be able to do something” is a hyperbolical way of saying “to make the refusal to do it instinctive.”

c 4. Burnet is probably right in marking off τοῦτον γὰρ... νίκην as a parenthesis, and so making τοῦτο in c 7 “resume” the τὸ διδαξαί κτλ. of c 1 ff. The words ἄρχειν κτλ. in c 7 are added as an alternative expression of what is meant by τὸ διδαξαί κτλ.

c 7. O²’s καὶ before ἐν εἰρήνη is a mistaken addition.

d 1 ff. τῶν ὑπ’ ἀνθρώποις θηρίων: cp. Plato’s humorous picture at Rep. 563 c of the masterful demeanour of dogs, horses, and asses in the streets of a democracy. There we have τῶν θηρίων τῶν ὑπὸ τοίς ἀνθρώποις; Herm. shows by exx. that both constructions are possible.

d 3. βλέποντας: this quasi-personification of the choric dance enlivens the sentence. There is no need with W. R. Paton to read βλέποντας. All dances should be so conducted, the Ath. says, as to declare their object to be deeds of martial prowess. Cp. above, 796 b c, 815 a, 829 b c. (Wagner translates as if the text were τὰς εἰς instead of εἰς τὰς; this makes not nearly so strong an injunction to keep war always in view)—δὲν εὐκολίαν τε καὶ εὐχέρειαν, “every kind of suppleness and dexterity.” At Alc. I. 122 c εὐχέρειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν are used of mental characteristics. (Winckelmann thinks that, because in Phot. and Etym. Magn. εὐκολος and εὐχερῆς are given as an explanation of εὐμάρης, εὐκολίαν τε καὶ εὐχέρειαν are here a commentator’s explanation of the single word εὐμάρειαν.)

d 5. L and O² have σιτίων for the σιτῶν of A and O. So above at 789 d 5 O² corrected σιτῶν to σιτίων.—O² also added τε after the word. σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν stands for “the pangs of hunger
and thirst." Cp. the description of Spartan training given above at 633 b. 6 ff.

6. There is no MS. authority for the γε which all edd. before Burnet inserted after τό, and which Stallb. defends against Bernhardy (Synt. p. 327).

7. δύναμιν here stands for "possibilities"; through the sense of "faculty" δύναμις acquired the meaning "potentiality."

8. τὴν τῶν οίκειων ἀπολλύντας πῖλων τε καὶ υποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν: hair is the material of which πέτασοι are made, and the use-hardened skin of the soles of the feet takes the place of artificial υποδήματα. This is his warrant for speaking of the "growth and substance of their own (natural) felting and sandalling," which was spoilt by the artificial substitutes. Perhaps too Plato had in mind the similarity in sound between υποδήματα and a possible υποδέρματα.

2. ἐξει μεγάστην δύναμιν πάντος τοῦ σώματος: in the interpretation of this difficult expression, we must keep in view the following καὶ τούναντιν ἐναντίως, and make the positive expression fit the negative one. Ficinus tears out the heart of the meaning in his masculine way, but his "maximas toti corpori vires praebent" is not a literal translation. I would suggest that τὴν has dropped out, as it easily may have done, after μεγάστην and that the meaning is "keeps at its highest the power of the whole body." Even without the <τὴν> I would translate so. The feet, Plato goes on to explain, are the servants of the whole body, and the head its master and director. If neither master nor servant are kept in good case, the household's δύναμις is the opposite of μεγάστη. Hdt. iii. 12 says Egyptians have good crops of hair, and their skulls are hardened by early exposure. Persians' skulls, on the other hand, are brittle, because they wear hats all their life—σκιτροφέοντι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πῖλος τῆς φορέοντες.

4. With ὑπηρετικῶτατος and ἀρχικῶτατον we must supply ἐστὶ.

943 a 1 ff. ἐπαυνοῦν μὲν . . . νόμον δ' αὖ τοῦσκε, "the young man ought to have considered himself to be listening, in the above, to the praises of a soldier's life, but, in what follows, to its laws." Both the δοκεῖν and the tense of χρῆν are difficulties. Fic. ignores both, and translates as if he had a bare χρῆ ἄκοιέν. Schneider's "audire sibi videri iuvenes debet" ignores the tense of χρῆν. Possibly χρῆν means "he was bound (while I was speaking)." (Ast would read ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Winckelmann χρῆ διδάσκειν, Stallb. χρῆ δεῖν.)
NOTES TO BOOK XII

a 2. $A^2$ and $O^2$ added πέρι after πολεμικοῖ, and so Schneider; Bekker omits it; all other editors write it as περί.

a 3. στρατευσθαὶ . . . τεταγμένον, “all who are on the roll, or who have been promoted to any rank must serve as soldiers”; cp. on 945 a 1. (Stallb. thinks that τὸν ἐν μέρει τινὶ τεταγμένον means “anyone who has been put in some extra-military but auxiliary service.”)

a 5. πρὸς used to denote the court which tries a suit is uncommon; cp. Demosth. Παραγρ. πρὸς Ἀπατούριον p. 892 εἶναι τὰς δίκας πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας.

a 6. ὅταν ἔλαθοσιν: this refers to the whole army, not (as Stallb.) to the deserters; ἔρχεσθαι can be used for to return home; cp. Od. π 461 ἥλθες δὲ Ἐὔμαρε, so ἤκειν Xen. Anab. ii. 1. 9 ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἠξίω. “I will be back directly.”

a 7. ἐκάστως and ἐκαστα here and ἐκάστων below at b 8 clearly mean each separate branch of the forces. Ast quotes Lysias, Adv. Alc., where it is stated that at Athens it was the military law that desertions were to be established before courts of fellow-soldiers—no doubt presided over by their officers. Cp. also Herm. De vestig. p. 60, note 253.

a 8. A has ἐντολέμια: Ruhnken (Tim. s.v.) was the first to see that this was a way of writing (or a mistake for) ἐμπολέμια, “military classes,” cp. 756 a 3. The early edd. print $A^2$’s ἐν πολεμίᾳ, Ficinus cannily omits it.

b 3 f. μὴποτε τῆς ὅλης ἀριστείας ἄγνωστῇ γενέσθαι, “to be debarred from all kinds of distinction”—an illogical form of expression.

b 4. A and O by a sheer blunder wrote μᾶλλον: L has ἄλλον and this was recognized by Fic. and all editors as correct.

b 5. A carelessly wrote περιγενέσθαι as one word.

b 7. The edd. before Steph.—but not Fic.—had στρατειας for ἀστρατείας.

b 8. ἐκάστων, “of each of the classes”; cp. on a 7. Fic. expands it into “peditum equitumque et aliorum.” $O^2$ added a quite unnecessary τούτων, which is adopted by all editors but Burnet.

c 1. Ficinus and Jowett invent a middle sense for the passive κρίνεσθαι, translating “iudicet,” “shall give judgement.”—Herm. and Burnet have rightly accepted Baiter’s αὐτῶν for the αὐτῶν of previous edd.

c 2. A and O have ἔθεσι, and so the first four edd. Cornarius saw that it ought to be ἔθεσι, and so Steph. and all subsequent
eddy. The correction, however, had previously been made by O² and Vat. 1029 (Bekker's Υ), and accepted by Fic. who translates "inter ordinis sui participes."

c 3. μαρτυρων πιστώσεις λόγων, "testimonials"; lit. "confirmation in the shape of the words of witnesses."—δε, "but only."

c 6. γράφαντα, "with an inscription."

c 7. εἰς = "so as to be ready for."—All editors have accepted Steph.'s (and Ast's) correction of the vulgate (and MS. ?) ἀριστείων ("virtutis" Fic.) to ἀριστείων "virtutis palmae."—παντὸς τοῦ βίου, (to last) "as long as he lives."

c 8. Winckelmann would read δευτερείων and τριτείων as being more explicit. Perhaps he is right.—The vulgate reading στρατεύσῃ survived down to Bekker's text, though Steph. knew of and preferred the more correct MS. στρατεύσηται.

d 1. ἀπαγαγόντων: the earlier edd. down to Bekker followed Ald. in reading ἀπαγόντων.

d 2. λειτουργίου: all texts but Schneider's and Burnet's have, like the MSS., the incorrect form λειτουργίου. Burnet tells us that in A the ει is a correction of a previous ι.

d 3. οἷς περὶ τῆς ἀστρατείας: so L and O² and a late hand in A. A and O omitted οἷς by simple haplography. Bekker was possibly right in thinking that οἷς περὶ is a mistake for an earlier οἶνερ; the simple gen. seems in better style, though the near occurrence of αὐτοῦ in d 4 is a little in favour of περὶ.

d 4. μὲν δή, "of course."

d 5. The μὴτε corresponds, not to the two following μὴτε's, but to the τε in e 3. Herm. unnecessarily reads μὴ for μὴτε here.

d 6. ψευδή, "undeserved." By a similar stretch of the use of ψευδής at Phil. 36 εφόσον, ἦδοναί, and λύπαi are said to be (ἀληθείας or) ψευδείς.

e 1. παρθένος γὰρ Αἴδως Δίκη: cp. Aesch. Septem 662 Ἰ Δίος παῖς παρθένος Δίκη. Because Hesiod (Op. et Di. 256 ff.) says that the παρθένος Δίκη is αἴδοι θεοῖς—"cherished of Heaven"—Steph. concluded that Αἴδως here is a scribe's mistake for αἰδοῖ, and Ast, Stallb., Zürr. and Herm. agree. But the use by Hesiod—in a different sense—of this common epic epithet is not likely to be referred to in the words λέγεται τε καὶ ὄντως εἰρήται. The following αἴδοι καὶ Δίκη νεμεστῶν presupposes a previous mention of both Αἴδως and Δίκη as personalities. Probably a current legend made Δίκη daughter of Zeus and Αἴδως. According to Hes. (Op. et Di. 200) Αἴδως καὶ Νέμετης fled from earth to heaven (like Astraea and Pudicitia in Juv. Sat. vi. 19 f. Δίκη—Astraea
—is the Virgin of the Zodiac). On an inscription on an Athenian tomb (Bull. d. Inschr., 1870, 147) Σωφροσύνη is called θυγάτηρ μεγαλόφρονος Αίδοῦς. Cp. αἴδος καὶ νέμεστον II. N 122, and αἴδοὺς νεμεστής Λ 649; at Prot. 322 c αἴδους καὶ δέκη are said to have been sent on earth by Zeus. παρθένος then here stands for “virgin daughter.” (Ficinus’s “virgo quaedam pudica” is probably a translation of παρθένος αἴδους; Winckelmann would read αἴδοιν Διός for αἴδους, comparing Aesch. l.c.)

3. From παρθένος to φῦσιν being—as Burnet first marked it—a parenthesis, there is no need of the δὲ which all editors follow the “manus Constantini” in adding after εὐλαβεῖσθαι. Like φοβεῖσθαι in d 5, εὐλαβεῖσθαι depends on χρή in d 4. (The parenthesis also explains the τέ in e 3 which Stallb. wrongly takes with the following δὲ; see above on d 5.)—τῶν τέ . . . ἀλλων . . . πέρι . . . διαφερόντως δὲ καί, “cum in reliquis . . . tum praecipue” Schn.

5. διαμαρτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποβολῶν, “forming a mistaken judgement about compulsory rejections of arms,” i.e. failing to see that they were compulsory, and treating them ὡς αἰσχρᾶς.

944 a 1. κατὰ μέρη = “from each other,” “particulatim” Schn.

3. ἑκπνοὺς ἐγένεθ’ “had revived” (not, as Jow., “had been still alive”). Ο² gives a variant ἑκπνοὺς; Fic.’s “semimortuus” looks as if he read ἑκπνους.

5. The first four edd. followed Aldus’s misreading of the MSS. and substituted the meaningless ἀπηλεί for ἄ Πηλεῖ. Steph. and Ast (in their texts) accepted Cornarius’s Πηλείδου for ἀπηλεῖ, but Steph. in an excellent note defends his conjecture ἄ Πηλεῖ, which turned out to be the MS. reading. Cp. P 195 and Σ 84.

5 f. προίκα . . . ἐπιδοθῆναι Θέτιδ, “to have been given as dowry with Thetis.”

7. τούτοις (as Stallb.), and not τινί (as Ast), is what is left unexpressed before τῶν τότε ὡς τῶν κακοί.

1. Burnet, Wagn., and Susemihl rightly accept Stallb.’s emendation of the weak MS. τόποις to κόποις—“or when suddenly encountered by a huge waterfall amid the buffettings of storms.” (Madvig conjectured χειμάρρων ἐν τόποις; probably he took κατὰ θάλασσαν with what follows, and not with ρέψεντες)—ὑποδεξαμένης is simply “meet” (in a sinister sense), not “lie in wait for,” as L. & S.

2 ff. μυρί ἀν . . . καλλύνων, “there are countless excuses to conjure with and grace an ugly looking misfortune.”
b 4. The asyndetic τερείν δή resumes the similar μίθῳ δή of a 2.

b 5. ALO² have δυσχερέστερον, O δυσχερέστατον and so the vulgate and Schneider. Fic. has "maius gravisiusque malum."

b 7. ρέψαστις . . . ὁπλῶν is quoted by Pollux, Onom. vi. 36. —ἐν τάσιν: cp. 728 b 1, Rep. 603 c 6.

c 2. εἰκνίας, "decent," "adequate."

c 3. With ὄλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν cp. above, 779 b 6 ὅλῳ καὶ παντί, 808 a 6 ὅλην τε καὶ πάσαν τὴν οἰκίαν, Phaedo 79 e 3.—O mentions a purely erroneous variant διασφέρει for διαφέρει.

c 6. The MSS. have μετὰ τάχους ("velocitate" Fic.), but this forms a poor contrast to μετ’ ἀνδρείας. Photius has three notes on κάκης, the third of which is: βαρέως ἐκ κακίας ἐν Νόμοις Πλάτων μετὰ κάκης μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ ἀνδρείας. Burnet is the only editor who has the courage to accept κάκης as the correct reading for τάχους, though Stalib. in his note calls it "unice vera lectio." The origin of the mistake is mysterious. (Sauppe's μετ' αἰσχροῦ is palaeographically probable, but it could not stand after αἰσχράν. Is it possible that μετὰ τάχους was a mistaken reading of a commentator's μετ' αἰσχροῦ given as an explanation of μετὰ κάκης ?)

c 7. Schneider alone prints the μεταβολῆς of A and O for the ἀποβολῆς of L and O².

d 1. ἔστω δίκη, "there must be punishment for" = the following δεῖ κολάζειν.—δ δικάζον μὴ ἀμελεῖτω σκοπεῖν, "the judge must take the trouble to investigate." (The gen. is governed by ἀμελεῖτω, and σκοπεῖν = ὁστε σκοπεῖν; cp. 941 d 3. H. Richards would read σκοπῶν.) Where, that is, the abandonment is "willing," punishment must follow, but where it was compulsory the amount of compulsion must be investigated in court. (All-editors but Ritter and Burnet follow Ald. and Fic. in omitting the MS. μῆ before ἀμελεῖτω. They take ἔστω δίκη to mean "there must be a judicial investigation of."')

d 3. For οὖδέν πλέον—"what's the good?"—cp. above, 751 b 8, 697 d 3, Symp. 217 c 3.

d 4. εἰς τοῦναντίον (with ἀφεντι), "in the opposite way," i.e. in the coward's way. (Jowett leaves the words out; Fic., Corn., Ast, Schneider, and Wagner try to find in them the idea of the perversion of bravery, or of the use of arms.)

thinks that has fallen out before it. Herm., Stallb., Schneider, and Burnet are content with the MS. reading. It is as if we were to say, not only “the same as,” but also “the opposite as.” Stallb. gives several instances of Plato’s use of ὄς, ὄσπερ or καθάπερ in the place of a relative after ὁ αὐτός.

8. ἕν γὰρ <ἀν> ἀνδρὶ: the impf. here cries out for the ἀν which Winckelmann supposes to have dropped out (by haplography) before ἀνδρὶ. Zürr., Herm., and Wagn. accept <ἀν>; Stallb., objecting, says ἕν ἄν πρέπουσα would mean “would have fitted the case but does not,” but he fails to see that the protasis is “if it had been inflicted as a punishment on that man” (ὑμωρία τούτῳ γενομένη in e 2).—For the punishment cp. Tim. 90 e τῶν γενομένων ἀνδρῶν ὅσοι δειλοί καὶ τὸν βίον ἄδικος διήλθον κατὰ λόγον τὸν εἰκότα γυναίκες μετεφύντο ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ γενέσει.

2. νῦν δ’ ὅτι τούτων ἐγγύτατα φιλοψυχίας ἐνεκα, “but to come as near as we can in real life (νῦν) to this state of things in the matter of self-preservation.” (Ast, Schn., and Wagn. take ὅτι to be the neut. indefinite put for the simple relative—“quod huic proximum sit, propter vivendi cupiditatem” Schn.)

4. ἕν δὲ ὡς πλείστων χρόνων ὃν κακὸς ὅνειδει αἰνεχόμενος: so L and O 2 (A and O have κακῶς for κακὸς); “that his coward’s life may be prolonged to the utmost with its branded shame.” Herm. would omit ὡς and read κακῶ, finding some warrant in the -ον for the omission of ὡς and in A’s κακῶς for the -φ. This seems greatly to improve the sentence in style, and is a very tempting emendation.—The ὅνειδος was to be the incapacity for military service, which is the counterpart of the feminine disability.

945 a 1 f. μηδ’ εἰς τάξιν κατατάξῃ μηδ’ ὑμνινοῦ: cp. 943 a 4.

2. Above at 809 a 5 and 847 a 7 κατευθύνειν, in the sense of guide, takes an acc., but here, in the sense of “condemn,” it follows the construction of καταγγέλλω:—τὸν εὐθύνον: Aristotle, Const. of Athens § 48 κληροῦσι δὲ (οἱ Βουλευται) καὶ εὐθύνοι, ἐνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης, καὶ παρέδρους β’ ἐκάστῳ τὸν εὐθύνον.

5. ὁ δὲ ῥολόων τὴν δίκην: this refers, not to the ἄρχων πολεμικός who has been rebuked by the εὐθύνοι, but to the ῥψιστίς (cp. above, 944 e 6).

6. κατὰ φύσιν, “secundum naturam suam” Schn.

b 1. καθάπερ οἱ πρόσβεθεν: i.e. as in the case of the πολεμικὸς ἄρχων.

b 5. έκ προκρίτων: for instances of προβολή cp. 755 c 4 ff. and 765 b 1 ff.

VOL. II 577 2 p
THE LAWS OF PLATO

945 b

b 6. ἄν τίς τι εἰπηγ σκολιῶν αὐτῶν καμψθείς ὑπὸ βάρους μὲν πράξει: so A and O. Fic. assumes that the two verbs εἰπηγ and πράξει represent alternatives, for he translates “dixerit feceritve,” and the vulgate and Burnet follow Cornarius in introducing <η> after αὐτῶν—the following η might have led to the loss of the η, the characters for the two in uncialis being very similar—κ and η. Further, L and O² introduce τὴν ἄρχην before πράξει, and these words Burnet feels bound to accept. Zürr., Herm., Schn., and Wagn., rejecting τὴν ἄρχην, accept Baiter’s (also palaeographically reasonable) emendation of εἰπηγ to τη. The general sense of the whole passage would then be: “where shall we find a straightener of the straighteners, in case one of them, bent by the weight (of his office), or his own inadequacy for it, takes to crooked courses?” With some doubts I would follow Baiter’s reading of the text of A and O. There does not seem enough point in the alternative between εἰπηγ and πράξει. For σκολιῶν τι πράττειν cp. Theaet. 173 a η . . . δουλεία . . . ἀναγκάζοντα πράττειν σκολιά. (Steph. and Stallb. accept Cornarius’s τὴς ἄρχης for the doubtful τὴν ἄρχην.)

c 3. κακρόι πολιτείας λύσεως: the later amplification of this phrase into “opportunities for preservation or ruin” (c 7 f.) explains that it is the weakness of these “tendons” that undoes the structure.

c 4. Stallb., with Ritter’s support, would substitute πλοίου for the MS. ζύου, and so keep the comparison of the state to a ship only. (Cp. Menex. 240 a 7 ἐν τε πλοίοις καὶ ναυών.) In that case νεῦρον ἐπίτονοι would be, he says, “tightly stretched ropes.” But, apart from the testimony of the MSS. to ζύου, the subsequent νεῦρον ἐπίτονοι is more naturally translated “tendons of the sinews,” i.e. the thicker sinews in which the smaller ones end. Cp. Tim. 84 c 6. The πολλαχοῦ πολλοίς ὀνόμασιν also suggests the wider comparison.—Because (the adj.) ἐπίτονος (“stay”) is not elsewhere found as a subst. Steph. wanted to read τόνος for it. But the analogous use of the adjacent ἐπίτονος is quite enough to make Plato’s meaning clear even if no one had so used the word before.—For ὑποζώματα cp. Adam’s note on Rep. 616 c 3.—καθάπερ νεώς των τενῶν then stands for “as (there are opportunities for the undoing) of a ship or an animal frame.”

c 5. μίαν οὖσαν φύσιν διεσπαρμένην, “which are one in nature wherever they are found.”

c 6. Fic., Ast, Schn., and Wagn. prefer to take πολλαχοῦ with διεσπαρμένην, Stallb., Zürr., Herm., and Burnet take it with 578
NOTES TO BOOK XII  945 c

πολλοὶς,—εἰς is put with οὗ σμικρότατος just as it might have
gone with μέγιστος, to which οὗ σμικρότατος is equivalent.

d 2. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐν δίκη ἀμέμπτῳ τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως, “and this
duty (is discharged) with a justice that is beyond all reproach.”
Neither the somewhat difficult omission of the verb, nor the
pleonastic τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως is foreign to the conversational style
of the Laws. It is unnecessary, therefore, either with Zürr. to
adopt O²’s insertion of ἣ before ἦ, or with Winckelmann or Herm.
to reject ἀμέμπτῳ, or with Orelli to substitute ἀμιάντῳ for it.
(If any change were thought necessary I would suggest substituting
ἀπεργάζωνται for ἀμέμπτῳ τε.)

d 5. τὰ πάντα πολιτεύματα συνεχούσης εἰς ἐν, “which har-
monizes all political activities.”

d 7. A and O, which almost always agree, here differ; A has
νεῦ οὐσαι with an erasure between εὖ and οὗ; O has an in-
explicable νέαι οὖσαι; a late hand wrote νεῦνσαι in the margin
of A, and O² corrected νέαι οὖσαι to ναύσαι. Whatever reading
Ficinus had, he, as usual, made apt sense of the passage, trans-
lating “ipsique (magistratus) ex uno multi iam facti, ex una
multiplicem civitatem efficient.” It is not easy to decide whether
the metaphor in νεῦνσαι is that from the agreeing nod, or that of
the inclining line ; Ast and L. & S. say the latter.

e 2. Etym. Mag. gives πάντας for the πάντως of all editions.
Fic. translates neither. Felsen’s collation of A (Peipers, Qu. Cr.
de Plat. legg.) gives πάντας as A’s reading, and I have satisfied
myself by inspection of A that Etym. Mag. and Felsen are right.
We probably owe πάντως to Ald.

e 3. A and O both omit αὐτῶν; O² and A³ add it in the
margin. Fic. translates it by “ipsorum.”

e 6. τῷ θεῷ ἀποφανομένους, “to present to the god.”

946 a 1. All subsequent editors have adopted Ast’s correction
of the vulgar αὐτῶν (after ἄνδρας) to αὐτῶν; it corresponds to
the αὐτῆς at b 7. Fic. omits it.—ὅν ἀν ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ἥγηται
. . . γεγονότα: Ritter is clearly right in holding that these words
imply that each citizen only named one man. (Stallb. and Burnet,
wrongly, I think, place a comma after εἶναι. This comma implies
that πλὴν αὐτῶν goes with ἀποφανομένους, and that each man
was to write three names.)

a 2. πλὴν αὐτῶν: not necessarily, Plato would perhaps say,
because he was not the best, but because he could not possibly
know it.

a 3. ἐνέγκωσι, “vote for.”

579
a 5. ἐλάχισται: sc. ψῆφοι, as the following ψῆφων shows.

a 7. There is the same contradiction of terms in τῶν ψῆφων ἄριθμον πλείω ποιῶσιν as in our phrase "the larger half."

a 8. ἀποκρίναντας νεότητι: i.e. beginning from the youngest, enough were removed to leave only the desired number.

b 1. φέρειν αἰθίς: at this second voting each citizen has to vote for one of the selected half, which would then be halved again by the same process.

b 2. Critical opinion was early divided between λειψθῶσιν (which seems the more natural expression) and ληψθῶσιν. ALO read ληψθῶσιν, but there are signs that A's η has been altered from ει, and O² writes ει above η as an alternative. Fic. apparently read ληψθῶσιν, as do Ast and Zürr.

b 7. ἀκροβίνον is the selected portion of the spoils of war which "ancient custom" dedicated in the temples of the gods; so here the word implies that these men were "the pick of the nation."

c 2. ὄσοντερ ἄν ἐπονται χρόνον τὴν κρίσει: this is universally taken to mean "during such time as they answer to the judgement (passed upon them at their election)," in other words, "as long as they prove themselves worthy of their high office." It would suit the context better if we might slightly stretch the meaning of ἐπονται and translate "during such time as they devote themselves to the duty of judging." It is more natural to mention their retirement or superannuation as terminating their occupation of their sacred residence, than their deposition.—τούτων δὲ πρῶτῳ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ δώδεκα εὐθύνοις ἀποδείξαι: this is generally understood to mean that the three εὐθύνοι first appointed are, in the course of the year in which they are elected, to co-opt twelve others—some say nine others so as to make twelve in all, which we judge from c 5 ff. to be the correct number of εὐθύνοι; but the Greek will not bear that interpretation. I suggest that τούτων is a mistake for τοιούτων; δώδεκα τοιούτων εὐθύνους will then be the object of ἀποδείξαι—"in the first year we must elect twelve such examiners." We thus get the sense which Ritter (Kommentar, p. 342, Darstellung 162), following Müller, seeks to be necessary to the whole context. But this sense can hardly be got out of this sentence if we read τούτων.

c 3. μέχριπερ ἄν κτλ.: we learn afterwards that when they ceased to serve "on the rota," they vacated their official residence (c 7 ff.), but did not lose their rank and honour (c 5 ff.). Possibly the youngest were the only twelve on the rota.
c 5. L has ἀποσυγενέσθων for Α and Ω's ἀποσυγενέσθων.

c 6. Α² and Ω² prefix κατὰ to δώδεκα; all editors but Schm., Herm., Wagn., and Burnet adopt it; for the construction of the simple δώδεκα Herm. cps. Tim. 35 b 2 ὅλων τοῦτο μοίρας ὀσας ἀποσύγεκεν διένειμεν.—βασιναίοις ἐκλεύθραις: the tests used, and the questions asked, must be such as will be no dishonour for free men either to put or to answer. For this use of ἐκλεύθραις and ἐκλευθηρικός ("gentlemanly") cp. 919 e 2 ff.

d 2. ἐν δὲπερ ἐκρίθησαν: this is further slight evidence that there was no such co-option as most interpreters of c 2 ff. have supposed. The εὐθυνοι are all spoken of here as having been elected by the ordinary κρίσεις above described (945 e 3 ff.).—All editors have adopted Λ's ἐκαστός for the meaningless ἐκάστῳ of Α and Ω.

d 3. Ω mentions the fact that some MSS. omitted καὶ, which is almost equal to an English "sometimes."

d 7. εἰς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαστάς: cp. above, 938 b 4 and below, 948 a 3, 956 d 1, and Ep. viii. 356 d 7 ff. The constitution of this court was described at 767 c 2 ff.

e 2. The scribe of Α left out the -μη- in τετιμημένον, and Α² put it in above the line.

e 3. It is best to suppose that τῶν ἀλλῶν τιμημάτων depends on δὲν; so Steph., Zürr., Herm., Wagn., and Burnet. Ast, Stallb., and Schm. put a comma after τιμημάτων, making it depend on διπλασίαν. With διπλήν and διπλασίαν we must supply τιμήν in thought.

e 4. τὰς δ' εὐθύνας αὐτῶν τοῦτων: characteristically Platonic is the adaptation of the phrasology of the recent description to the cognate subject now introduced. The public recognition, whether honourable or the reverse, of the conduct of the εὐθυνοι themselves is very naturally called their εὐθύναι. The "figure" resembles that in "quis custodiet ipso custodes?" (Ast thought that the text as it stands was a mistake, and that words had fallen out which showed that the honours now to be described were to be paid, not to the εὐθυνοι, but to those magistrates who were "passed" without censure at the yearly examination. Schramm (De loc. nom. legg. Plati. iv.) thought that for εὐθύνας here we ought to read ἀν τιμάς, and for τοῖς τὰς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῖς at 947 e 6 to read τοῖς τὰς εὐθύνας ἀεὶ εὐθύνοντι. Wagner alone accepts Schramm's view.

e 6. τοῖς παρὰ πάνες τῆς πόλεως ἀριστεῖων ἤξιωμένοις: this description exactly applies to the εὐθυνοι, cp. 945 e 5 πάνες τῆν πόλιν and 946 b 5 τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἀποδόντας, but it is
not so applicable to the magistrates who had passed a successful examination, whom Ast supposes to be here described.

946 e

947 a 1. A and O have προεδρεῖαι, corrected to προεδρίαι by A² and O².

a 2. εἰς τοὺς, and not ἐν τοῖς, because of the coming θεωρίων and ἐκπέμπτειν.—κοινῇ goes probably with θυσίαν only, and with it forms a quasi-compound noun such as later Greek formed in numbers beginning with κοινός. —Grammatically these genitives depend on ἀρχοντας in a 3, where the added τῆς θεωρίας ἐκκύστης shows that only θεωρίων does so logically.

a 3. A³ LO have ἑτέρων. A has ἑτέρῳ ("share with somebody else"). Bekker, Zürr., Herm., and Schn. adopt the latter reading. —ἐκ τοῦτον, "from among the εὐθύνοι."—The ἀρχων of a θεωρία was called ἀρχιθέωρος (Arist Eth. Nic. 1122 a 25).

a 5. For εἰναι O mentions a variant εἰναι, which Zürr. adopt. The following sentence is loosely constructed. It is not clear whether we are supposed to continue the εἰναι with the following infinitives or to supply (from ἐκπέμπτειν) some word meaning to elect; probably the former—"while all are to be priests... the one who gets most votes at the yearly election is to be chief priest and give his name to the year.”

b 1. τῶν ἱερεῶν: as all εὐθύνοι were priests of Apollo and the Sun, if the reading is sound these words are synonymous with τῶν εὐθύνων, as ἱερεῖς is put for εὐθύνοις at c 1. Steph. would not unnaturally reject the τῶν, and Ast, Zürr., Stallb., and Herm. follow him. I would rather reject both words, as a "gloss" on τῶν γενομένων.

b 3. For καὶ O² writes τε καὶ.

b 4. τῶν stands, as often, for a cacophonous τῶν τῶν.—Burnet, following Stallb., puts a (·) after πολιτῶν; what follows is an explanatory asyndeton.—The subject of ἐξεῖν and γίγνεσθαι is "the funeral ceremony," and the "white" applies doubtless to all trappings and mourners' dresses. (Stallb. says τοὺς πολιτὰς is the subj., Wagn. τοὺς εὐθύνους.)

b 5. Down to Bekker all texts had τε for the MS. δέ. —Above at 671 d 7 we have another instance of χωρίς as a prep. coming after its case.

b 6. ἀπερέων ἑτέρων leaves the number fifteen to be supplied.

b 7. The first ἐκατέρως goes with περισταμένος, and so is equivalent to "the boys on one side and the girls on the other"; the second ἐκατέρως of course goes with ἐν μέρει ἂδειν.—οἶνον ὄμνον, "in the form of a hymn."
c 2. ἐωθεν: i.e. at dawn on the following day.

c 3. O records a variant ἐκαστον for ἐκατόν; its author rather naturally thought 100 an unreasonably large number. Fic. omits the ἐκατόν.

c 4. ἐπιόψωνται: the forms of the fut. and aor. of this verb in which the ι is not elided mean choose; those in which it is elided mean inspect. This aor. form occurs elsewhere only in poetry. The MSS. have the incorrect form ἐποψωνται (cp. Buttm. Gr. Gr. ii. 201) which the first four printed edd., following Ο2, further corrupted into ἐποψωνται. Steph. corrected this to ἐπιόψωνται, and so it remained down to Bekker. Zürr. first gave the correct form. Schn. still follows the MS.

c 5. τοῖς ἠθέους: we are left to guess whether this means all the unmarried youths, or only a select body of them.

c 6. σὺν τοῖς ἐπταυρι ὑπλα.: a good example of an explanatory asyndeton.

c 7. Probably the boys who were to sing in the procession “immediately in front of the bier” were the fifteen mentioned above, and the girls behind it the fifteen girls also mentioned there. The girls doubtless were to sing too, as before, in turn with the boys.—Λ and O, by a typical scribe’s error, wrote ἄλλως; Ο2 corrected this to ἄλλως.

c 8. τὸ πάτριον μέλος, “the national anthem”; τὰ πάτρια means what is hereditary to the whole state, unless a smaller body is specified.—Λ wrote ἐφιμνων; Λ2 corrected it to ἐφιμνείν.

d 3. ἄρα adds a dramatic touch to the ἐὰν . . . καὶ—“yes, even though.” In the following line however ἐὰν καὶ means “if (the Pythia) also.” Ast “nempe si.”

d 6. Ast first restored to the text the MS. reading ψαλίδα: all previous texts have the synonymous ἄψιδα. We have here a good instance of the “glossator’s” work on a MS. Suidas gives us ψαλίδα: ἢν ἡμεῖς ἄψιδα φαμέν. Νόμων ἰβ’, and so other lexicographers.—ποτίμων: originally, when used in an active sense, the word seems to have meant “absorbent,” and it came to designate a kind of volcanic tufa which made a much-valued marble. This word also is verified by the lexicographers. Suidas has λίθων ποτίμων . . . οἱ πίνοντες τὸ ὑδρ ποιήσωντες γένονται . . ., and so too Photius. Down to Bekker the texts read ποτιμών, and Pollux ix. 49 gives πολυτιμων for it. (W. R. Paton would read πωριμων.)—καὶ ἀγώρων εἰς δύναρχοι: i.e. “of as durable kind as can be found.” (Fic. “ex durissimis pulchrisque lapidibus.”)

e 2. πλην κόλου ἐτώς, “except at one extremity”; i.e. at this
end of the προμήκης ψαλίς there was to be no heaped earth
(probably only a door), and a broad clearing was to prolong the
line of the sepulchre through the surrounding grove.

e 3 f. ὀπως ἀν . . . τοῖς τιθεμένοις, “that the sepulchre may
extend in this direction (ταύτην), an extension which will remain
permanently with no mound of earth to cover the buried ones.”
ἐπιδεῖγ is the reading of A and O, but in both it is corrected to
ἀνεπιδεῖγ. Probably the correctors thought that it was better to
say that the sepulchre “did not need” any mound at this end,
than to say (as Plato did), that it would never have any there.
Herrmann with great ingenuity (but unnecessarily) reads ἀν ἐπιδεῖγ,
putting a comma after χρόνον. The τήν is against this, as well
as the best MS. authority. Ast substitutes ταύτη for ταῦτην.
Schneider and Burnet are the only editors who print the MS.
reading ἐπιδεῖγ; all others but Herm. give ἀνεπιδεῖγ.


e 6. τοῖς τάς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῦσιν: the metaphor of 946 e 4 is
still preserved; the εὐθυνοι who, on retiring from active service,
are honoured, are spoken of as “having passed their examination.”
Schn. translates “correctionem nullam commeruisse visorum.”—
Schn. and Burnet alone restore A’s ταῦτα here; all other texts
read τουαῦτα—we are not told on what authority.

e 7. πιστείων τῷ κεκρίσθαι, “deriving confidence from the
fact that he has been elected (εὐθυνος)” —not, as Jowett, “trusting
to the scrutiny being over.” The κεκρίσθαι, and the κράσεως
of the next line, both refer to the same occasion.—τήν ἀνθρωπίνην
φύσιν ἐπιδεῖξῃ κακὸς γενόμενος, “lets it be seen that he has
deteriorated as men may”; Schneider, however, translates
“humanam naturam ostendens malus exstitit.”

948 a 2 f. αὐτῶν τοῦτων οἱ ξώντες: αὐτῶν τοῦτων denotes the
same men as τοῖς τάς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῦσιν at e 6 above, i.e. the
superannuated εὐθυνοι who lived in honourable retirement—“all
the retired εὐθυνοι who were left alive.”

a 5. γραφέσθω has two acc., (1) the antecedent to ὅν, (2) the
“cognate” γραφήν.—τὸν καὶ τὸν: A omitted the second τὸν and
A² added it.

a 7. δοθεσεῦν = “assigned to him by law.”

a 8. A miswrote διώκων as δικων but A² corrected it.—A also
inserted a μέν before τὸ; A² marked the μέν as an error.

b 1. L and O² have τυετόω δ’, and so A² but with the δ’
marked as an error. A and O have τυετόω ὅ, which is clearly
right.
b 3. In the face of (1) the great variety of constructions of ἀγασθαί, and (2) the frequent use of περὶ with gen. or acc. in the Laws, it seems rash to question the possibility of the construction (ἀνθρώπων) τινὸς ἄγασθαί περὶ τι, though this seems the only instance of it. (Ast would reject περὶ, and Winckelmann reads τὰ περὶ.)

b 4. ἐναργως ὅρων is “to see distinctly,” and so ἐναργως ἡγείσθαι is “to be quite sure” about anything. Stallb. and A.M.A. take ἐναργως with εἰναι.—Rhadamanthus’s jurisdiction was so perfect because he could rely on the sanctity of an oath, to say nothing of his prestige as a son of the gods. The oath he administered called in, as it were, the gods as his assessors, and secured truthful statements from the litigants; so that it was really the gods (b 8) who decided the case. It has been thought that the tradition that Rhadamanthus forbade men to swear, in their daily life, by anything higher than a dog or a goose, is directly controverted by this account of Rhadamanthus’s judicial proceedings (see Stallb.’s note). On the contrary it curiously confirms it. The judge may well have wished to keep oaths by the gods for solemn occasions, and so wisely banished them from daily life.

b 6. Ast well cps. Tim. 40 d 8.

c 2. Ο’ and a late hand in A mention a variant which transposes (1) δῆ and ὅτε, and (2) τί and μέν. Zürr. and Stallb. adopt the former transposition. The μέν was omitted from all texts before Bekker’s.—O also mentions an incomprehensible variant φησίν for φαμέν.

c 3. Down to Ast’s all texts inserted ο’ before τὸ παρὰ παν, but no MS. supports it.

c 4. Even Bekker followed all previous editors in omitting the δῆ which is in all MSS.—καὶ κακίστων: cp. 907 b 1 ff. τῶν τ’ περὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ὀντῶν κινδυνεύει τὰς ὁ ταυτης τῆς δόξης ἀντεχόμενοι πάντων ἀν τῶν ἀσέβων κεκρίσθαι δικαίωτα κάκις τε εἶναι καὶ ἀσέβεστατοι.

c 5. σμικρά . . . θωσείας, “for a few poor offerings and flatteries”—A wrote πολλὰ at the end of the line, and began the next line with λὰ; a late hand added σ πολ at the end of the line, so as to make πολλᾶς πολλὰ. Evidently the antithesis between σμικρά and πολλά should be left untouched; the ditography of λὰ was a common scribe’s error.

c 6. κατὰ πολλά, “multifariam” (Schn.).

d 2. δεῖ: so the MSS., and so all texts before Bekker; he, probably confusing this with ἔξωρεῖν χρή in d 4 (where the
vulgate down to Ast had δέι for the MS. χρημα, wrote χρημα here, and so all subsequent texts except those of Schneider and Burnet. Stallb. is doubtless right (as against Wagn.) in taking μεταβάλλειν to be intransitive.

**d 3.** ἐν λήξεσιν δικαίων = "for the institution of private suits," or, more generally, "in legal procedure." Cp. 846 b 6 f.

**d 6.** ὅρκων δὲ μὴ ἔπομνυναι: cp. Julius Caesar II. i. 114 "No, not an oath!" etc. The reference here is particularly to the "sworn affidavitas," ἀντωμοσίαι, of the ἀνάκρωσις, but there were other occasions during a trial or lawsuit when oaths might be administered, e.g. to witnesses; cp. 949 b 1.

**e 1.** A and O have δεῖ for δεῖν—a short-sighted blunder in which Schneider alone follows them.

**e 2.** εὐχερώς, "unhesitatingly," "frankly."

949 a 1. δὲ ὅρκων ... δρᾶν ἀρε ντὸ τοιοῦτον, "that on each occasion when he does so he should vote (φέροντα) under oath, or by fetching his voting-pebble from a sacred spot." For ἀφ' ἤρων cp. 753 c 1 f. and 755 e 6; going to a place sanctified by a deity's presence was equivalent to calling on the deity to come and witness a declaration. Picinus omits this passage.—A and O have δεῖ for the δεῖ of A2 and O2; early texts—even Ast and Stallb.—read δεῖ δεῖ. The δεῖ quite unnecessarily disturbs the construction; Bekker first banished it.

a 3. Pollux (p. 141, as Stallb. tells us) says that βραβεας, which elsewhere is confined to poetry, is a Platonic peculiarity for the more common βραβευτάς.

**a 4.** O had φέργη, and so apparently had A; in both MSS, it is corrected to φέρει. The vulgate till Bekker gives φέργη, and Ast reads ὀπόσον ἀν. —There is a subtle touch in κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν. It safeguards the philosopher's beliefs (1) that money is not a real gain, (2) that there is nothing which a distorted fancy might not consider gain.

**a 5.** τῶν δὲ ὀπόσα: the ἀπάντων in a 4 may be supposed to follow, loosely, the construction of the previous ἄθλων, and to depend on ἐπιστάτας καὶ βραβεάς, but the τῶν has only a shadow of connexion with the previous genitives; consequently the construction is broken in the following line when the "resuming" τοῦτα δὲ provides an object for κρίνεσθαι.—For ἔξομοσάμενον cp. on 937 a 1.

**a 6.** There is the same suggestion in εἶναι δοκεῖ, where we should have expected ἐστί, that there is in κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν.—A and O miswrite διὰ δικαίων as δι᾽ ἀδίκων.

586
b 1. μήτε ὀμνύντι λέγειν: in this and the two following clauses the participles are the principal verbs in meaning.

b 2. ἴκετελας . . . ἀσχήμωσιν μήτε οὐκτούς γυναικεῖοις: Stallb. cps. Αριστ. 34 ε, Aristoph. Πλωτ. 383 ff., Βέσπ. 563 ff. Such groveling supplication is not only the degradation of language proper only when addressed to the deity, but it is also ill-omened; cp. μετ’ εὐφημίας below.

b 5. In grammar λέγοντα would have been more regular, but for variety’s sake a gen. abs. without its subject word is preferred. — Ficinus concisely renders the following eleven words by “ad rem a magistratu reducatur.”

b 7. εἶναι = ἐξεῖναι, and εἶναι . . . κυρίως is “may be lawfully allowed.”

c 1–7. Schneider was the first to see that the words δικών τε . . . τὴν κρίσιν belong to the regulations about ξένοι, and not, as Fic. and all other editors had thought, to the following ὡςα τις clause. Consequently he puts a full stop at κρίσιν in c 5, and a comma at θανάτου in c 7. Wagner, Ritter, and Burnet follow him. From οὗ γὰρ to συντρόφους is a parenthesis, and the immediately following words still refer to aliens. (Ritter would have no parenthesis, but connects δικών τε περὶ λήξεως with κυρίους and takes εἶναι in the sense of ὡςτε εἶναι. Stallb. and Herm. retain the old arrangement throughout.) What follows has clearly nothing to do with δικών λήξεως—the institution of private suits between man and man—but with public delinquencies.

c 1 ff. οὗ γὰρ . . . συντρόφους: there are two reasons why it will not matter to the state if aliens do ratify any statements (commercial or otherwise) with an oath: (1) they won’t be here permanently, and (2) they won’t be leaving equally demoralized families behind them.

c 2. A, writing οὗ at the end of a line, went on at the beginning of the next with δενεοτευόντες; perhaps he was copying a previous οὖδὲ νεοτευόντες, but Α2 is manifestly right in doubling the ν; the εν is necessary to the sense, the point being that the aliens will not have families in Magnesia. — ὡς τὸ πολὺ is added to cover the few cases in which aliens are allowed to establish themselves in the country. See above, 850 b f.

c 3. κυρίους τῆς χώρας is “naturalized,” “with a right to live in the country” (Wagner “who will have power in the country”). — συντρόφους, “of like manners with themselves.”

c 4. τον αὐτὸν τρόπον εἶναι, “shall be after the same fashion,” i.e. they may give sworn testimony.
c 8. πομπεύουσι is equivalent to πομπής φοίτησις; πομπεύειs at Thuc. vi. 58. 1 means a member of a procession.—νὴ πομπεύουσιν was originally omitted in A and O.—κοσμήσεων is almost "ceremonies."

d 1 f. ὁπόσα . . . εἶνεκα: a parenthetic explanation of λητουργῶν, ὁπόσα being "such cases, for instance, as . . . " The θυσία εἰρήνικῆ would be the occasion of an ordinary (ἐγκύκλιος) liturgy, the πολεμικὴ εἰσφορὰ of an extraordinary one.

d 2. πάντων τῶν τοιούτων "resumes" the ὁσα τις ἐλεύθερος ἀπειθεῖ.

d 3. τὴν πρότην ἀνάγκην ἰατὴν εἶναι τῆς ζημίας: if the reading ἰατὴν is correct, the word must be used in an active sense—that of ἰατικῆς, which Stallb. suggests as possibly the right reading—and ἀνάγκη must have been used in the sense of demand, constraint, or even penalty—"the first demand must be one that will make good the loss to the state." But it is easier to acquiesce in Ast's substitution of ἰατὴν for ἰατὴν "let the first requisite be the remedy of the loss." Whatever Fic. read he sees that this is pretty much the sense; his translation is "in his omnibus quamprimum damnum restituatur." (Winckelmann reads τακτὴν for ἰατὴν, and this Herm accepts. In that case ζημία means penalty as it does at d 8, but the construction is not clear. Schneider translates the MS. reading "prima multae necessitas sanabilis sit.")

d 3 ff. τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις κτλ.: those who fail to obey this demand have to give pledges (cp. 820 e 4) to the state-appointed legal recipients. Stallb. refers to Antiphon, De choreuta, § 11, from which it appears that members of a chorus at Athens had to give ἐνέχυρα for their attendance.

d 4. With ἐνεχυρασίαν we must supply εἶναι from the previous clause.—τούτοις is governed by ἐνεχυρασίαν (cp. on 837 e 4); so ἐπιμείξα πόλειν at e 8.

d 7. ἕαν δὲ ζημίας δεσωται πλείονος: i.e. "in case the performance in answer to the summons is inadequate." The subject to δεσωται is probably the defaulters, not the authorities.

e 3. O records a variant μὴ for μάτε.

e 4. ἐπιστῶν = "of its own citizens."

950 a 1. L has here preserved what all editors recognize to be the right reading in δῆ, where A and O have δέ.

a 4. φύρεσθαι: φύρω here seems to be merely used for variety's sake, in the sense of the previous κεράννυμι—i.e. to a state which has no advantage over others in its laws and manners the mixture of foreign and native in them which will result from the
NOTES TO BOOK XII

intercourse with foreigners will not matter. For a similar use of φύρεσθαι cp. Hipp. Mai. 201 a 8.—αὐτοῖς: Stallb., with great probability, proposes to read δεχομένους τ' ἐν αὐτοῖς. Schneider is content to suppose that αὐτοῖς means ipsis, i.e. that the emphatic pron. is put for the reflexive. (Winckelmann substitutes ἀστοῖς for it, and Herm. and Wagn. agree. Ast takes αὐτοῖς with φύρεσθαι.)

a 5. ἐπικομάζοντας: a lively expression for a "holiday visit"—as we might say "to go gallivanting, or junketing abroad."

a 8. οὖκ ἐγχωρεῖ τὸ γε παράπαν: the insertion of γε shows us that τὸ παράπαν does not here, as usually, emphasize the preceding negative, but only qualifies the ἐγχωρεῖ—"it is not possible to carry out the principle in every case."

b 2 ff. ὀνόμασίν τε χαλεποῖς... ὅς δοκοῖεν ἀν, "for (if they did so) they would be adopting not only the evil repute which attends the ill-sounding word ἔννηλασία, but also, to all appearance, a crabbed and ill-favoured temper." χρωμένους agrees with the subj. of δέχεσθαι and ἀποδημεῖν. ἔννηλασία nearly always occurs in the plural. Pericles (Thuc. ii. 39. 1) gives it as a mark of the frank and open-hearted temper of the Athenians that the Spartan custom of ἔννηλασία is abhorrent to them, as akin to cunning and deceit. Cp. also Protag. 342 c.

b 5 ff. οὗ γὰρ ὅσον... καὶ τοῖς χείρονας: i.e. "people 'in the lump' may be 'bad,' but they have a wonderfully keen eye for real virtue, and the most abandoned villains can both distinguish it accurately and praise it enthusiastically."—οὔσιας ἀρετῆς describes the same quality as ὅντα ἀγαθὸν ἀληθῶς below at c 5; it has not the technical sense of τῆς τῶ ὅντι ἀρετῆς.

b 7. With τοῦ κρίνειν we must of course supply ἀπεσφαλμένοι τυγχάνουσιν from the preceding clause.—A and O have οἱ corrected by Α² and O² to ὅσοι, but all texts down to Stallb.'s early edd. and Herm. retain the οἱ; i.e. they make it, with the following adjectives, the subject of the (supplied) τυγχάνουσιν. Further, though A and O and L² have χρηστοῖ, L and O² and all the above-mentioned texts have ἀχρηστοῖ. This looks like a correction made to suit the οἱ. This is all wrong; it spoils the sentence to have two different subjects for the two τυγχάνουσιν clauses; οἱ πονηροὶ καὶ ἀχρηστοῖ is no synonym for οἱ πολλοί. Schneider first restored sense to the passage by οἱ for οἱ. I judge from his translation that he meant to show his usual trust in A and O by reading χρηστοῖ, but his text has ἀχρηστοῖ. Stallb. and Burnet follow him, but adopt, instead of οἱ, the ὅσοι of Α² and O². Fic. gets the passage right, and so does Jowett.
b 8. For the ἐστὶ of ALO a variant ἐνεστὶ is mentioned by O. This reading is supported by the ἐν which occurs in its place in the quotation of the gist of this passage by the rhetorician Aristides (Or. ii. p. 150), as well as by Fic.'s inest, and Stallb., Zürr., Herm., and Burnet adopt it.

c 3. The dat. ταῖς πολλαῖς πόλεσι goes with καλὸν (as Fic.), not (as Schneider) with παρακέλευμα; "most cities are therefore rightly exhorted (to set store by a good reputation)," not (as Jowett) "the generality of cities are right in exhorting (their citizens)."

c 4. προτειμᾶν: this imperatival infin. is explanatory of τὸ παρακέλευμα.—πρός, "in the eyes of." Down to Steph. the texts had πρὸς; Ast first corrected it; Fic. "apud multos."

c 5 f. οὔτω and χωρὶς δὲ μηδαμῶς emphasize the following words; "the only proper way to get a good name is to be really good yourself."

d 1. ὁτι καλλιστὴν ... πρὸς ἀρέτην: cp. 647 d τέλεον πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, 969 c 3 οἴους πρὸς ἀρέτην, Alc. I. 120 e τελέον ... πρὸς ἀρέτην (Rep. 360 e τέλεον ... εἰς τὸ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτήδευμα).

d 2. ἀντερ κατὰ λόγον γίγνεται, "if constituted according to our plan"; cp. the end of the quotation from the Rep. on d 3 below.

d 3 f. μετ' ὀλίγων ... ἐν ταῖς εὐνόμοις πόλεσι καὶ χώραις, "among the best ordered of cities and countries."—Fic., Ast, Schneider, and Jowett ed. 2 (rightly, I think) make αὐτὴν the subject of ὅψεσθαι; Stallb. and Wagn. make it the object. Ast refers to the Homeric ὄραν φῶς ἰέλιου—e.g. E 120, Σ 61 and 442—also to Rep. 473 e οὔδε αὐτὴ ἡ πολιτεία μῆποτε πρότερον φυῇ τε εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ φῶς ἡλίων ὑδῇ, ἢν νῦν λόγῳ διεληλυθαμεν.—Ast further says (rightly too, I think) that τῶν (ἀλλῶν) θεῶν means "the (attendant) moon and stars." Cp. 822 a 5, and c 1 and 5, where, after speaking of ἡλίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρων, he called them all θεῶν.

d 4. Οὐ's variant ἐννόμοις for εὐνόμοις is more likely to have been a mistake than a correction.

d 7. μηδαμῇ; i.e. μὴτε ἀδία μὴτε διημοσίᾳ. He afterwards explains that a warlike expedition is not an ἐκδημία πολιτική.

d 8. ἡ καὶ τοις θεωροῖς: cp. on 643 b 8.

e 2. πολιτικὰς, "authorized by the state" (Jowett). Warlike expeditions have "no claim to count" among the ἀποθημαί now under discussion. The inference to be drawn from this remark is that the restriction as to age given at d 6 does not apply to soldiers on a foreign campaign.—Steph. would insert a δὲ after.
NOTES TO BOOK XII

Προθυώδε (A Προθυώδε), and Ast follows him. But the asyndeton is not unnatural. It explains by instances what is meant by theoric embassies.

951 a 1 f. τοῖς περὶ τῶν πόλεμον ἀντίστροφον ἀποδίδοντες δόξης παρασκευήν, “for they will furnish a supply of renown fully comparable to (that which comes from) feats of war.” τοῖς is neut., and the usual “telescopic” form of comparison allows τοῖς to stand for τῷ δόξῃς παρασκευή τῷ τῶν. (Jowett translates ἀντίστροφον by “the converse.” A.M.A., perhaps rightly, takes τοῖς to be masc. and δόξης to mean display: “exhibiting a brilliant turn-out comparable to the lustre of warriors.”)

a 4 ff. θεωροῦσι δὲ ἄλλους κτλ., “there are other θεωροῦ whom we must send out (when the permission of the νομοφόλακες has been obtained), and they are the following; any citizens who wish to study foreign ways more at their leisure must not be stopped by any law from doing so.” Fic. omitted ἐκπέμπτεν χρεῶν, and Ast and Wagn. reject the words. It is true that there is a slight irregularity in the asyndeton that leaves χρεῶν (ἐστὶ) and ἀπειργέτω μηδείς νόμος side by side with no connecting link. There is, however, no contradiction (as Wagn. thinks there is) between the latter injunction and “getting the permission of the νομοφόλακες.” There might be objections to particular countries, or to particular emissaries. The “Foreign Office” must be allowed to decide, in each case, who is to travel, and where he may go. παρεμένων agrees with the subject of ἐκπέμπτεν, but we need not ask too curiously if the same persons who arrange for the “sending forth” are the persons to ask for the “leave.” For the sense of the verb παριέσθαι cp. 742 b 4 where the “leave” is for the same object.

a 5. A and O have ἄ τινες which all editors have rightly discarded in favour of the ἄν τινες of L and O². Constantine in A altered ἐπιθυμῶσι to ἐπιθυμοῦσι.

a 6 f. κατά τινα πλείω σχολήν: more, that is, than they could get when attending games or a festival. (Ast put only a comma after παρεμένων, and Constantine’s hand in A inserted a δὲ after ἀπειργέτω.)

a 7. All texts have of course adopted A²’s correction of the νόμος of A and O to νόμος.

b 1. ἀνομίλητος οὖσα repeats and explains ἀπειρος οὖσα ἀνθρώπον κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν—“in this state of isolation.”—ήμερος, “civilized.”

b 2. All texts accept Constantine’s correction of A’s αὐτοῦς to

591
THE LAWS OF PLATO

_αὐτὸς_: _γνώμη_ ἔλεγεν: for this "reasoned" acceptance, which is the only sure foundation for law in a community, comparison of different laws is necessary. L and O²'s _γνώμη_ has been universally accepted for the _γνώμη_ of A and O.

b 3. Zirr., Herm., and Burnet rightly adopt the _ἐθέσιν_ of _L²_ and _O²_ for the _ἐθέσιν_ of A and O. All other texts have _ἐθέσιν_, which Schn. translates by "moribus," and Ställb. by "moribus et ingeniis."—_εἰςοὶ γὰρ . . . θείοι τινες_: Ritter (p. 344) well ects. _Phaedo_ 78 a 3 ff., where Socrates tells Cebes that he may find, if he searches through Hellas and among barbarians, an _ἐπιφάνεια_ who will take his (Socrates's) place in exorcising the fear of death.—_ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς_ "vel in vulgo et multitudine," Fic.; "in the crowd."

b 4. Schn. and Burnet alone follow the MSS. in omitting the δ' which the vulgate inserts after _παντός_.—_παντὸς ἀξιός συγγεγυνεσθαί_, "invaluable associates." Burnet marks off _οὗ πολλοῖ_ with parenthesis marks.

b 6. _ἡ καὶ μὴ_: a conventional brachylogy for _ἡ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μὴ εἴναι_.—_δῶν κατ' ἵχνον . . . ἔκτειν_, "to track them down"; "quorum vestigiis . . . oportet . . . insistere," Schn.

c 1. _δῶν_ ἄν _ἄδιαφήκτος_ ἢ: cp. 952 c 5. Clearly it is the _traveller_—the man who is to study foreign ways, and find the few wise men among the multitudes he meets—who must be "proof against corruption," and not, as Ställb. and Jow. think, the wise men themselves. I would therefore remove the commas which Burnet, like Ställb. and Herm., places after _οἰκονύμα_ and _γῆ_, and, with Schn., place a comma after _γῆτειν._

c 2. _αὐτοῖς_: i.e. "among his own people."

b 4. Wagner suggests with some probability that we ought to read _μενεῖ_.—_οὖν_ ἄν _κακῶς αὐτὴν θεωρῶσιν_: _αὐτὴν_ (for which _O²_ suggests _ταύτην_) is acc. of inner object with _θεωρῶσιν_—"nor will it survive either if the investigation be badly carried out."

b 5. _ἄμφωτα_ denotes the two objects just mentioned: (1) the sending of the commission of investigation, and (2) its right conduct. The two points are again mentioned at 952 d 5 in somewhat similar terms.—Schneider, following Cod. Voss., would give this question and its answer to the Ath. Before Steph. the vulgate added _τῆς_ to the question, and ed. Lov. gives the question in this form to the Ath. Fic. arranges the words as all recent editions do.—The _ἄν_, which is in all MSS., was first restored to the text by Bekker.

c 8. _ἐστω γεγενημένος_, "he must have made himself."

592
NOTES TO BOOK XII

1. εἰ μέλλει... μεθήσεται, "if he is to represent abroad the stamp of his order." (Ritter, p. 344, considers that τὸ τῶν νομοφ., is subj. and δείγμα a predicative acc., supplying "him" as direct obj. to μεθήσεται.)

3. A² corrected A's ὄπως to ὄπως'.

4. τῶν σύλλογος: cp. the further description of the constitution and functions of the remarkable νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος below at 961 ff. It is a kind of expansion of the order of Lawwardens. Ritter (p. 350) suggestively compares it with the χάρος τοῦ Διονύσου of Bk. II. It was foreshadowed at 818 a, and mentioned cursorily at 908 a 4 and 909 a 3. It is only mentioned in this place because some knowledge of it is necessary for the understanding of the procedure to be taken by the returned travellers.

5. As at d 3, A wrote an ὠ for an ὦ, and A² corrected it—οὐτως to οὐτος.

7. Herm. was the first to recall the MS. ἀνώςχυ in place of the vulgate ἀνώςχυ, which survived in the texts of Bekker, Zürr, and Stallb.'s early edition.—προῶμον μέν τῶν ἱερέων: the enumeration of the different constituents of the "night council" presents a series of unblushing anacolutha. First we have a gen. which follows the lead of νεῶν καὶ πρεσβύτερων at d 5; then a bold acc. (as if the previous construction had been χρὴ παρεῖναι), then an equally bold and groundless nom. (Wagner, comparing 961 a 4, imagines the words ἀπαντας συνέναι to have fallen out after εἰλη-φότον; Ast would write οἱ... πρεσβεύοντες "ac si παρεύτωσαν praecesserint."—It might be thought, on a comparison of 961 a 3—where τοὺς τάραστεια εἰληφότας πάντας seems to imply that there were several kinds of components of this class—that we ought here to read τῶν ἱερέων τῶν τ' ἁρματεία εἰληφότον, and this is possibly Ritter's view (cp. p. 348 l. 19); but a consideration of 947 a 5 is enough to refute it. There the εὐθυνοὶ, who are τοὺς παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἁρματείων ἐξωρέναις (946 e 6), are definitely stated to be (ex officio) all of them priests of Apollo and the Sun. It is not unreasonable therefore to conclude that this high rank of τάραστεια εἰληφότες, or οἱ πρὸς ἁρτην ἐγκριτοὶ as it is called at 966 d 2, conferred the priesthood on all its members. (There were evidently several ways of attaining to this rank.)

1. The MSS. do not recognize the δὲ inserted in the vulgate after ἡττα. Schn. and Burnet rightly omit it.

3. For ἡττῳ A and O have ἦττῳ; A seems actually to have altered another letter—probably ἵ—to ἦ, for it is in an erasure.

VOL. II 593 2 q
e 5. τὴν συνονοσίαν . . . τούτοις καὶ τοὺς λόγους, “their mutual discourse.”

952 a 1. πόλεως πέρα is a variant for the simple gen. The τε . . . καὶ is “both . . . and.”

a 3 ff. περὶ μαθημάτων . . . ἀσαφῆ, “about all such investigations as are found helpful in connexion with this study towards clearing the minds of the investigators, while ignorance of them would make the nature of Law seem obscure and indistinct.” Herm. thought it would be much better if συμφέρειν had a straightforward dat. to go with, so he rejects the ἐν, while, like Schn. and Bur., he follows A and O in rejecting the ἀ which A² and O² wrongly inserted before the first μαθοῦσι. εὐαγέστερον γένεσθαι is impersonal, and expresses the point where the “help” comes in. Grammatically the following φαίνεσθαι has nothing to depend on.—A and O omitted the final ν in συμφέρειν—probably because of the following μ.

a 5. Like αὐτόν at 625 a 3, αὐτοῖς here is superfluously added.

—The τά after σκοτοδέστερα was accidentally omitted in A and O, and added by A² and O².

a 6. For ἐγκρίνω cp. 802 b 4, 820 d 9.

b 2. Again A makes a careless mistake, writing the senseless ἀποπλεόντας in place of ἀποβλέποντας; A² corrected it. The plur. agrees with an implied τοὺς ἀλλοὺς πολίτας.

b 3. τιμᾶν: as Ritter says, one way of showing this honour would be the voting for them when they were candidates for various public posts.—From διαφερόντως to κατορθοῦντας is omitted by Fic. and the first six printed texts. Ast first restored the line from Cod. Voss. Steph. mentions it in the margin.

b 6. ἀφικόμενος εἴθύς, “directly he arrives.”

b 7. τινα φήμην τινῶν (governed by φράζειν, not, as Schn., by ἔχοντας), “any doctrine that people have held.”

b 8. A and O have ἔφρειν, L and A² ἔφρεν; Schneider prints ἔφρεν, Burnet ἔφρεν; all other texts ἔφρε.

b 9. ἦκοι, κοινοῦτω: this, which is given as a variant in O—ἀπ’ ὀρθωσεως—was seen by Bekker to have been the original reading of A, which has ἦ κοι | ***νοῦτω, and Zürr., Herm., and Burnet rightly adopt it. The vulgate down to Steph. has ἦ κοινοῦτω, Stallb. (1860) and Schn. are content with ἦ, κοινοῦτω; Ast reads ἦν, κοινοῦτω. —The opt. ἦκοι marks the supposition as a more unlikely one than that of the almost gnomic ἔφρεν.

c 1. μηδὲν . . . ἦκεν, “to have come back no whit better or worse than he went.”
c 4. ἡ τῶν συλλεγόμενων δύναμις: a periphrasis for ὁ σύλλογος.
c 5 f. For διεφθαρμένος cp. on 951 c 1 ὁς ἄν ἀδιάφθαρτος ἦ.—
μηδεὶς συγγεγραμμένος προσποιούμενος εἶναι σοφὸς: συγγενέσθαι,
like συννοιεῖα, connotes the idea of "holding forth." He must
not set up as a sophist.
d 1. A and O have δέ; Λ² corrected this to τ' ἐν, and Steph.
substituted γ' for τ'. Bekker, and all subsequent edd. except
Schneider, accept Steph.'s γ' ἐν (Schn. reads a simple ἐν). The γε
limits the sense in which ceasing to be an ἰδιώτης will be a capital
offence. The disgraced "observer" must at all events not meddle
with Law or Education.
d 2 f. ἁγιον ὄντα . . . εἰσάγειν: to us the more usual pass.
infin. seems to be necessary; but the expression is not more
remarkable than our "fair to see." Cp. 844 a 2.
d 5 f. "Now that we have finished with our observer we must
prepare for the reception of foreign visitors."
d 7. δὸν δὲ πέρι: the hyperbaton is curious.
d 8. πρῶτος τε καὶ διὰ τέλους ἄει, "first and for ever"; cp.
Phiil. 36 c 1. The travelling merchant is naturally the first to be
mentioned because his visits are perennial.
e 1. διατελῶν ταῖς φοιτήσεων, "ventitare perseverans" Schn.—
These noms. never find a verb; the δὸν in e 4 changes the construction.
e 2. Burnet conveniently marks off καὶ τούτων . . . πόλεις
as a parenthesis. Most of these visitors "really" are "like birds,
inasmuch as they flit over sea when summer lets them go.
e 3. πετόμενοι counts as a subst., and is = "winged creatures";
cp. Euophhr. 4 a πετόμενον τινα διώκεις;
e 4. ἔτους ὃραν πέτονται, "keep flying during the summer."
Schn. and Bur. alone have the courage to print the MS. ὃραν; all
other editors presume that ὃραν is a mistake for ὀρα.
e 5. Steph. (but not Ald. nor Lov.) by a common printer's error,
has οἰκοδομήσασιν which ed. Bipont. copies.
e 6. τούτος is probably masculine; certain officials are to be
specially appointed superintendents of the travelling merchant
aliens. These officials would be the only citizens who would have
any intercourse with the merchants beyond mere business rela-
tions, and such intercourse, we are further told, must be as far
from intimate as the duties of their office will allow.
953 a 1. O² is doubtless right in adding the τι which A and O
omitted.
a 2. A reads ὁλιγοστά, and O gives it as a variant for ὁλιγωστά.
See Jebb's note on Soph. Ant. 625.
THE LAWS OF PLATO

a 3f. ὁ δὲ δὲύτερος . . . θεωρύματα, “the second kind is a real θεωρός; he goes to see spectacles with his eyes, and hear such displays of the Muses’ art as entertain the ears.”—ὦσὶν ἑχεταί is literally “are held,” or “entertained,” or “perceived by the ears.” Steph. adopted Cornarius’s conjectural δέχεται in place of ἑχεταί, and Ast. in his text (but not in his Lex.) blindly follows him. Bekker too printed ὦσὶ δέχεται, or rather his printers did. Wagner is the only later editor who would accept δέχεται. “Such displays of the Muses as he takes in with his ears” certainly fits the passage at least as well as “such displays of the Muses as are entertained by the ears,” but the voice is in favour of ἑχεταί; it suits the general statement better than the active with θεωρός as its subj.—διὸ τε stands for the fuller πάντων τε διὸ.

a 5. φιλοξενίας ἀνθρώπων: I suspect that this ἀνθρώπων does not, as usually explained, mean merely “for people,” but is the same ἀνθρώπων which, when added (e.g. at 629 a 6) to superlatives, corresponds to our “in the world.” Cp. such expressions as τὰ ἑξ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, “the work of the world,” Theae. 170 e 2, γραφάς τὰς ἑξ ἀνθρώπων, “a world of pleas,” Lysias, Contra Agor. 73. If so, it means “the best possible (means of) or all kinds of entertainment.” (Is it possible that ἑξ has dropped out before ἀνθρώπων τῇ) Fic. translates “qua suscipiendis hospitibus commodissima sint.” He saw at any rate that a strong expression was needed.

a 6. παρεσκευασμένας: A inadvertently wrote the dat. and O mentions this as a variant, while giving the correct reading in the text.

a 7. In ἑπιμελείωσθαι καὶ τημελεῖν there is the same sort of hendiadys as was observed at 738 d 7 in φιλοφρονώνται τε . . . καὶ οἴκειονταί.—The ἐως ἀν and the μέτριον both give the hint that these θεωροί must not overstay the occasion.—In all three MSS. a corrector has substituted ὅπως for the perfectly satisfactory ἐως—an alteration adopted by Fic., and all editors but Herm., Stallb. (1860), and Burnet. The cause of the alteration was probably the frequency of a ὅπως construction after ἑπιμελείωσθαι. —A and O write τὸ for τὸν (corrected by A² and O²); a similar slip will be noticed at b 7.

b 2. δικαστάς: the mention of possible harm done or received leads naturally to the mention of legal facilities to be provided for these visitors, as for the merchants.

b 5. τοῖς τοιούτοις is probably masc. like τῶν τοιούτων at a 6; “suits in which such guests are concerned.”
NOTES TO BOOK XII

b 7. Again A writes ὃ for ὅν, and Ἀ² corrects it.

c 1. μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων: these were τὸ δωδέκατον μέρος τῶν βουλευτῶν whose duties were described at 758 b–d. He here uses the Attic title πρυτάνεως as if it were a common noun meaning “select committee men.” One of their duties mentioned in the former passage was ἵνα τινὶ ποθὲν ἀλλοθὲν ἑτοίμως ἐπιτυχεῖν. We may perhaps conclude from this rather sketchy description that the πρυτάνεως were to receive the visitors in public audience, and assign to particular military officers the duties of private entertainer.—παρ' ὅσῳ τίς ἄν: cp. on 890 a 5.

c 4. τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρῶν: i.e. those described at 951 a 4 ff.

c 6 ff. ἀξίων . . . ἀλλὰ πόλει, “he must claim that he wants to examine something good which surpasses in excellence the good things to be found in other states, or perhaps that he wants to reveal something in like manner to another state.” τῶν ὑπὲρ, I think, governed by διαφέρον. Ast, Wagn., Jowett, Schn., Stallb., and A.M.A. take it to be dependent on τι καλὸν. Ast would read διαφερόντων.

c 7. A and Ὀ wrote δέξαι, Ὀ² saw that it was a mistake for δέξαι.

d 1. A and Ὀ omitted ὃ τοιοῦτος, probably owing to the -τος coming before them. We owe the words to Ὀ², and a late hand in A.—ἲτω ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων θύρας: this “semi-proverbialexpression,” as Adam calls it on Rep. 364 b 5, corresponds to our English wait upon, pay a visit to, also sometimes to pay court to, dance attendance on. Here it is simply “pay a visit to.” Cp. also Rep. 489 b 6.

d 2. τοιοῦτος ἐτερός, “just such another,” “as wise as he.”

“Pronomen ἐτερός sic solet, praecipue nomini τοιοῦτος, apponit sit idem,” Ast on 780 d 8.

d 5. ξένης, ἦ: A has ξένωι followed by an erased letter; Fic. and the vulgate, down to Bekker, have (what was probably Ὀ and L’s reading) ξένων. Baiter first saw that ξένης, ἦ which is given as a correction in the margin of all three MSS., is the correct reading, and all subsequent editors follow him. It is clear, as Stallb. says, from τοῖτων τισὶν in d 6 that there were alternative hosts suggested.—Ὁ records as a variant the omission of ἦ.

d 7. δόρους . . . τιμηθεῖσι: cp. 919 a 5 φιλικά παράσχει ξένα ἐπόμενα ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς.

e 1. καὶ ξένας: an unexpected revelation of the extent to which Plato upheld the “equality of opportunity” between the sexes.
e 2. μη βηρόμασί και θημασί τας ξενηλασίας ποιομένους: i.e. not making eatings and festivals a means of keeping foreigners at a distance.


e 4. Possibly in κηρύγμασιν ἀγρίους there is a reference to the Spartan way of getting rid of foreigners; cp. 950 b 2 f.

e 5. ἐγγύην ἐγγυασθαι is "to give a security," as L. & S., not as Jowett "to become surety."—την πράξιν . . . μαρτύρων explains what is meant by διαιρήθην.

e 7. μη ἔλαστον τριῶν: only Schneider and Burnet follow the MSS. here; all other texts unnecessarily insert ἂ before τριῶν.

954 a 1. ὁ προποιόλων ὤτον, "a broker in a sale."

a 2. τοῦ μη ἐνδίκως πωλοῦντος is clearly a professed, but not the real owner, but the μηδαμῶς ἀξιόχρεω has been variously interpreted. Ast, Schn., and Stallb. take it to be a description of the position of a seller who has it not in his power to produce the object sold; i.e. not only is he not the legal owner, but he is not the actual holder of it—the transaction was imaginary as far as the seller goes. Jowett ed. 2 supposes it to describe an inability to make good the loss to the purchaser (by returning the purchase money). But this necessitates the further supposition that he has already spent it. The former explanation seems more reasonable, though "unable to pay" is the most natural meaning for ἀξιόχρεω. Wagner translates it by "generally untrustworthy."

a 5. There is no MS. authority for the quite unnecessary τι which the vulgate adds to τις.—γυμνὸς [ἡ] χιτωνίσκου ἔχων: Herm. (De vest. p. 65, note 280) clearly establishes it that γυμνὸς is the regular description of a man who has taken off his ἵματον and is clad in nothing but a χιτών. He eps. Aristoph. Nub. 966, Plato, Rep. 474 a, Dem. Contra Mid. 583 μικρὸν γυμνὸν εν τε χιτωνίσκῳ γενέσθαι, Lucian, Hermot. § 23. Hence he rightly concludes that the ἂ of the MSS. is a mistaken insertion on the part of a commentator who did not know this. To an Athenian the ἂ would have been unmeaning. The searcher here described must have nothing on but a short χιτών, and must wear no belt. He will thus be unable to bring any object with him, and can carry away nothing concealed about his person.

a 6. Boeckh (Minos p. 114), and subsequently Ast saw that the MS. ἐλπίζων was a mistake for ἐλπίζειν. Fic. has "sperare."

b 2. A and O have τὸν, evidently a careless scribe's error; it remained, however, in the texts till Ast corrected it. Even
Bekker's text has τὸν, though Bekker himself approved of the correction, which he found in O² and the MS. which he calls r. Fic. translates τά.

b 3. βλαβὴν, "by way of damages."

b 5. A and O have παρασχεμανόσθω, which O² corrects.

c 1. μετά c. gen. is here used in the sense of the Epic μετά c. dat.; "in the presence of."

c 3. A and O have simply χρόνον ὁρος, and this is the reading of all printed texts, which suppose, with Steph., that ὲστω has fallen out, or must be supplied in sense. (Ast thinks the original reading may have been ὡριζόσθω.) W. R. Paton, however, seems to have discerned the right reading from a consideration of the χρόνον δὲ which is the reading of L and O². He suggests that the δὲ is a relic of ὄδε. The Ath. does in fact proceed to fix limits (according to the circumstances of the different cases)—όν of course is "during which."

c 5. τῆς δὲ: i.e. in the new Magnesia.

c 6. For ἐκτημένος γ᾽, εάν A reads ἐκτημένος ᾗ εάν.

c 7. ἐπιλάβηται: L. & S. and translators generally say this means "lay claim to"; but why not give it its ordinary meaning of "seize"? The meaning "seize" is even more apposite to the μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιλαβέσθαι at d 2 and d 6.—For φῇ we can easily get a supplied τίν as subject, by supposing the previous μὴ δὲ ἐπιλάβηται = "and a person does not seize hold of it"—("but only says afterwards that he has been looking for it all that time.

d 2. ALO have μηδὲν ἀπελθόντος, and this was the reading of the vulgate before Ast, who reads μηδενί for μηδὲν, appealing to Ficinus's nemini liceat. L and O record a variant μηδένα παρελθόντος. Zürr. and Herm., I think rightly, adopt this variant. Burnet reads μηδέν ἀπελθόντος, which Stallb. suggests in his note, though in his text he prints μηδένα ἀπελθόντος. Bekker and Schneider preserve the original MS. reading; i.e. they suppose (1) that ἐπιλαβέσθαι could be used with an acc., and (2) that "eiusmodi nihil" (Schn.) is a natural expression in the circumstances!

d 4 f. μὴ προστυχῆς δὲ ... γενήται τίς; "and nobody confronts him." The τούτῳ of the next line establishes the personality of the τίς; we may perhaps translate "no owner confronts him." The word προστυχῆς occurs at Polit. 264 c 1, "and in the Laws and Epinomis and nowhere else in Plato, or indeed in Greek." Campbell on l.c. "Notat dictionem tanquam Platonicam Harpocrat. p. 207. 31 ed. Bekk." Stallb.
d 5. The words τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου come from the margin of A and O; we could do quite well without them.

d 7. κατ’ οἰκίας, "at home," "indoors"; cp. above, 788 a 5 ἰδίῳ καὶ κατ’ οἰκίας.

e 1. ἐν ἄφανεὶ describes the same condition as κατ’ οἰκίας.

e 2. τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου . . . ἐπιλήψεως, "however long it is before the owner finds it anywhere, there must be no limit to the time within which he may seize it." τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου is gen. of "time within which," and goes rather with ὅταν ἀνεύρῃ ποὺ than with προθεσμίαν (as Schn., Wagn., and Jow. take it).—A² repeats in the margin the rare word ἀλλοδημία, as if to forestall the notion that it was a mistake for the ordinary ἀποδημία.

e 6. ἀτελῆ καὶ ἀκύρον, "null and void"; the same pair of synonyms occurs at Andoc. Contra Alc. § 9 σῶσαι δὲ ἀκύρους καὶ ἀτελεῖς φαίνεσθαι.

955 a 1. πρὸς τῷ ἀτελῆ: i.e. πρὸς τῷ ἀτελῆ γίγνεσθαι τῇν δικήν—a large draft on the reader’s power of supplying something from the context.—Winckelmann surmises that ἐνα may have dropped out accidentally between μὲν and ἐναντίον; its insertion would rather spoil the rhythm of the sentence. Stallb. cps. the simple Lat. annum (“matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt,” Livy ii. 7).

b 1. The subject of διδόναι and γράφειν would be τοῦς ἀθλοθέτας.

b 4. The MSS. and the early editions have ηττηται, for which Boeckh (Minos p. 168) would substitute ηττάται; this Bekker, Herm., and Zürr. accept, but subsequent editors prefer Ast’s and Schmidt’s ηττηται.

b 5. ALO insert τέ before τες. Steph. rightly conjectured that it was a mistake due to the previous ἐάν τε. L and O both mention that some texts omitted it.—L and O read κλεμμάδιον ὀντιοῦν, and this all editors but Zürr. and Schneider have accepted. Schneider’s sturdy faith in A leads him to prune κλεμμάδιον ὀντιοῦν which is A’s reading. In the margin of L and O is κλέμμα δ’ ὀντιοῦν (accepted by Zürr.), and in the margin of A the word κλεμμάδιον is repeated—probably as a protest against L and O’s marginal variant.—κλεμμάδιος is a rare adj., only occurring here and in the Lexx. —Pollux, On. iii. 34, says it occurs in Plato.

b 6. Stallb. is the only modern editor who puts a full stop after κλέψαντε. Fic. treats τὸν . . . πόλει as if it were explanatory of the preceding law about sheltering an exile. Burnet treats τὸν . . . πόλει as the beginning of a fresh subject, and,
NOTES TO BOOK XII

like most editors, sees a connexion intended between the ideas of receiving stolen goods and sheltering exiles. The καὶ τοῦτο, however, in c.1 seems to point to a connexion such as Pic. imagined. It would be best, perhaps, to ignore Burnet's distinction of paragraphs here. The asyndeton itself is not enough to establish a new paragraph.

c 1. ἀνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ: cp. Thuc. iv. 78. 3 καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἑφασαν ἀνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ πορευόμενον.

c 7 f. πρόφασιν ὅτι ἐναι μηδεμίαν μηδὲ λόγον ἐπαινούμενον, ὡς...: apparently εἶναι is to be repeated in thought with ἐπαινούμενον;

“and there is no excuse to be made for it, nor must the statement be praised that...” (Or is λόγον ἐπαινούμενον “a belauded speech, a panegyric”? )—The 5’ which all editors have adopted we owe to Α2 and Ο2.

d 1 ff. τὸ γὰρ γνώναι... διακονεῖν: the meaning seems to be “it is hard (for a public servant) to make up his mind as to the right course and to stick to it when he has; if he wants to be really safe he must loyally (ἀκούστα) obey the law which tells him never to take a reward for any service.” Stallb. cps. Dem. De fals. leg. 343. 7 ὁ μέντοι τὸν νόμον τιθεῖ... ἀπλῶς εἶπε μηδαμώς δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

d 3. Ritter (p. 345) interprets ἀπλῶς to mean “whether the service for which pay was taken was valuable or not”—“let him die without more ado.”

d 5 f. μὴν... καὶ here is “not only... but also.”

d 7. ἐν γράμμασιν ἀποφέρειν, “furnish a written record of.”—φυλέτας: i.e. each locality would give an account of its year’s harvest—probably through some tribal official who would be responsible for the separate items.

d 8. δύναιν οὕσαν ταῖν εἰσφοράιν, “there being two kinds of contribution.” (Wagn.). These two kinds or sources of contribution are explained at e 2 f. to be (1) τὸ τίμημα ὅλον, and (2) ἡ γενομένη ἐπί ἑπιπόσταν πρόσοδος. In a bad year the authorities would doubtless compute the tax on the basis of the former, in a good one on that of the latter. (Jowett boldly translates εἰσφοράιν by “valuations” ; even if εἰσφορά could bear the meaning, it is unlikely that the word would be used within a few lines in two quite different senses.)

e 1. βουλανομένων: other instances of solitary participles in the gen. abs. occur at 763 e 1, 829 d 5, 967 c 5. —Herm. cites Phaedr. 254 d, where Thompson’s note is “the gen. abs. δορήμενον needs neither alteration nor apology.” (Ast reads βουλανομένων

601
and Zürr. follow him, and Wagner would like to.)—The plur. is used κατὰ σύνεσιν for the public authorities implied in τὸ δημόσιον.

e 2. εάν τε τοῦ τιμῆματος οἷον μέρει (χρονται), "whether they take a fraction of the whole property."—A and O have εάν τοῦ; for this O² has a variant εάν τε τῷ τοῦ, which the vulgate down to Ast and Zürr. adopt. Bekker and all other subsequent editors read εάν τε τοῦ—i.e. they suppose the almost necessary τε to have been accidentally omitted before τοῦ, but consider the indefinite μέρει preferable to O²’s τῷ μέρει. Besides, τε τῷ τοῦ is cacophonous.


e 6. A and O have an inexplicable τῷ for the γῆ of L and O² and Eus., and ἔστια for the ἔστια of L and Eus.—ἱερὰ πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν, "all men hold sacred to gods in general."

e 7. δευτέρως ἱερὰ καθεροῦν, "to consecrate afresh what is sacred already."—A carelessly repeated πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν after the ἱερά in e 7, but either he or his corrector marked the repetition as a blunder.

e 8. ἐν ἀλλαίς πόλεσιν = "which you see displayed in other states." He is doubtless thinking of ostentatious oriental magnificence.

956 a 1. ἀπολελοιπότος ψυχήν σοματος, "belonging to a body which has lost its soul." Orelli’s ἀπὸ λελοιπότος is in some respects an easier reading, but ἀπολείπειν seems to have been used in the sense of lose as well as desert, while λείπειν is only desert. Cp. Pind. Pyth. iii. 180 ἀπὸ ψυχῶν λιπῶν. H. Richards, in rejecting Badham’s ἀπολωλεκτότος for ἀπολελοιπότος, well cps. Virgil, Aen. iv. 385 "cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus," iii. 140 "linquebant dulces animas."

a 2. All MSS. have (οὐκ) ἐνχερές (ἀνάθημα). Clemens and Eus. have εὐαγές and Cic. translates by castum. Stallb. quotes Lact. Inst. Div. vi. 25 "ebur . . . non castum donum deit." ἐνχερές is an impossible epithet here; it means "ready to hand" or "handy," and like our "light-fingered" easily acquired a sinister meaning. An indistinctly written αγ and familiarity on
NOTES TO BOOK XII

956a

the part of the scribe with the phrase οὐκ εὐχερές may have been the source of the error. The annotator of Ed. Lipont. first called attention to Cicero's "castum," remarking "legisse adeo videtur οὐκ εὐχερές." Of subsequent editors only Stallb. and Schn. preserve εὐχερές.

a 3. μονόξυλον, "made of one piece" (as Cic.). (Stallb. alone thinks it may mean "made of wood alone"—with no metal or other material added or inlaid.)

a 4. ὅσαύτως means apparently "also of one piece." The mention of the public temple in this connexion suggests that Plato meant the wooden image for the house or hearth, and the marble statue for the temple.

a 5. μὴ πλέον ἔργον γυναικὸς μιᾶς ἔμμηνον: this is not grammatical. Stallb. says ἕ has been accidentally omitted after ἔργον. It is possible that the mere presence of a gen. in the sentence made the comparative sound right. Cp. the usual brachylogy, e.g., in τὰ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ... ἔπι πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται, Thuc. i. 71. 3, which is only one step removed from the present case. I think, however, that it is more likely that μὴ πλέον was not originally in the text, but was a marginal explanatory comment. I therefore bracket it.

b 1. ὡρνιθές τε καὶ ἀγάλματα: Fic., Schn., and Wagner translate literally—"birds and pictures." Ritter (p. 345) seems to leave it open to us to choose whether ὡρνιθές means actual birds brought to be slaughtered—like the cock which Socrates had vowed to Aesculapius—or "figurliche oder gemahlte Nachbildungen von solchen." Stallb., following Haas (Palaeologus p. 94), makes the expression a sort of hendiadys—"leaf-designs, or tracery, with bird-figures interspersed." Jowett "figures of birds and similar offerings." We have hardly warrant in our knowledge of ancient temples to go beyond the literal interpretation, and we may suppose that he means birds (for sacrifice) and frescoes for the internal or external walls of the temple. The pictures are not to be too elaborate.

b 4. ὁτε with a perf. is rare; cp. Lysias xix. 5 (p. 152) ὥτ' οὖν τοιαῦτα πολλα γεγένηται; with a pres. or perf. it first means now that (as here), and so passes readily into since.—μέρη τόλεως might mean either "districts of the city or country" or "classes in the state," official or otherwise; probably it is the latter.

b 6. τῶν μεγάστων πέρωπάντων, "on all important matters"; cp. 922 a 6 τὰ μὲν ὅτι μέγιστα τῶν συμβολαίων, which is a different expression for the same thing.

603
b 7. δίκας: above at 766 d ff. he has given us what he calls ὁπον περιγραφῇ τις ἔξωθεν περιγεγραμμένη of the classes of δικασταί, and of the constitution of the courts, while reserving details of court procedure for a later part of the work (768 e 6). Both that reservation and a similar one below at 957 c 1 seem to indicate some uncertainty on the part of the author as to the proper division of his subject.—δικαστηρίων...γέγνοντ᾽αὖ: first among tribunals will come the privately chosen judges (766 e 4, 767 b 3).

c 1 f. διαιτηταί...τοῦνομα...ἐχοντες: the construction is the same as in διαιτηταί ὄνομαξόμενοι; the hyperbaton is remarkable.

c 2. From this vague description we may perhaps conclude that the second court consisted of the twelfth part of the tribesmen serving in rotation a month at a time; “fellow-villagers” are mentioned, not as constituting a separate element in the court, but because some of the court would most likely be residents in the litigant’s own village. Cp. 766 e 3 ff. and 762 a 6.

c 4. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις: as at d 3, “before the first tribunal.”

c 5. τὸ πεπτημόριον: in addition, that is, to the full penalty, for we are distinctly told that in the second court the penalty is increased.

d 1. For the ἐκλεκτοὶ δικασταί cp. above, 767 c ff.

d 2. τὴν ἡμιολίαν: this does not, like τὸ πεπτημόριον at c 5, denote the excess above the original damages. The same love of variety in expression which leads him not to repeat each time the whole τοῦ τιμήματος τῆς δίκης, but to put at d 2 τοῦ τιμήματος and at d 5 τῆς δίκης in its place, leads him in this case to put τὸ πεπτημόριον at c 5, with τὸ πέμπτον μέρος, and ταύτων μέρος at d 4 and d 5 in the same sense, and also τὴν ἡμίσειαν at d 8 in the sense of “one half more,” while here, and where it is repeated at d 8, he calls the penalty “one and a half times” the original one—i.e. at one time he calls it “half as much again,” and at another “one half more.” (Stallb. holds that τὴν ἡμίσειαν at d 8 means that the plaintiff only pays half the penalty, if he loses.)

e 1. κληρόωσεις: probably only some of each monthly rota sat in each case, and were selected by lot. Or does this word describe the drawing lots among the litigants, which court they shall appear before?

e 2. ὑπηρεσεῖς...καταστάσεις, “the composition of the staffs,”—i.e. the officials and attendants of each court.—χρόνοις ἐν οἷς, “intervals at which.” O2 has a variant χρόνου, but as all
these accusatives are governed by εἰπομεν in ε 7, it is difficult to see how it arose.


ε 6. Whatever παρακαταβάσεων stands for it is evidently some procedure which could be enforced by the court, or perhaps by a litigant. L & S. guesses that it means right of rejoinder, Stallb. that it is “the compulsory attendance of the defendant in court,” Schn. that it is a mistake for παρακαταστάσεω, which is another word for παρακαταβολή, a deposit paid into court by a litigant who put in a claim to a property in some other hands; Cornarius translates condescension. The word occurs nowhere else.

ε 7. εἰπομεν καὶ πρόσθες: specially at 766 d 3—768 e 3, and incidentally here and there in Bk. IX. when discussing crimes and their penalties—e.g. 855 d c, 871 c 6 ff., 876 b ff.; cp. also 846 b 6 ff. He said, however, at 768 e 6 that the δικαίων ἀκριβής νόμων θεωσ would come most properly πρὸς τέλει τῆς νομοθεσίας. He now proceeds to absolve the head lawgivers from fulfilling this task in detail, on the plea that many of the matters to be treated may be left to younger assistants (cp. 846 e 3 ff., and 855 d 2), and that perfection may be sought in the works of other lawgivers and the legal proceedings of other states. Stallb. well suggests that this last remark is probably equivalent to saying that Athenian legal proceedings were a good model for imitation.—καλὸν δὲ τὸ γε ὅρθων καὶ δις καὶ πρὸς: cp. 754 e 2 δις γὰρ τὸ γε καλὸν ἠθέν οὐδὲν βλάπτει, Gorg. 498 c 11, Phil. 60 a 1. The schol. on Gorg. l.c. says the origin of the proverb was Empedocles’s καὶ δις γὰρ δὲ καλὸν ἐστὶν ἐνιοπέiν.

957 a 4. τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ κοινά may be considered grammatically as intended to be the objects of some verb like κατασκευάζειν in b1, but the change of construction after διοικεῖν leaves them “hanging.”

a 5 f. ὅσοις διοικεῖν = “tribunals whose judicial power is a necessary support to the executive.”

b 2. ταῖς ἐμπεριώις διαβασανίζοντας: “the test of experience” is the chief means of getting these borrowed regulations into shape and fitness.

b 4. All texts have adopted ὅς far more effective τότε for the τὸ of Α and Ο.—ἀκίνητα οὔτως: the same οὔτως—“quite.”—as in ἀπλῶς οὔτως, ῥαβδίως οὔτω, οὔτως ἔκαψιν, οὔτω (πίνοντας) πρὸς ἵδουν Ἰσμ. 176 c 2, but ἀκίνητα is probably an adj., not an adv. here—“so that they are quite immovable.”

b 5 f. ὅσα δὲ . . . τοιναντίον: σιγὴν καὶ εὔφημίας is a sort of
hendiadys,—"the silence of compunction"—the silence, i.e., which is the result of the fear of uttering something ill-omened. Cp. 949 b μετ' εὐφημίας. τοῖναντίον then will be "regulations which remove such an embargo." (Or is it "words of good omen and the contrary"? Fic. translates "de lande vituperationeque," as if εὐφημίας meant "speaking well of someone.")

b 6 f. ὁσα παραλλάττει . . . ἀγαθῶν, "arrangements (in our state) which differ from the various (πολλῶν) things which are held just and good in neighbouring states." τῶν (governed by παραλλάττει) goes with δικ. καὶ ἄγ. and not (as Schm., Stallb., and Wagn.) with πολλῶν alone. Fic. does not translate πολλῶν at all, and Herm. rejects it, with Stallb.'s approval. (Jowett, not without probability, takes παραλλάττει absolutely, making τῶν δικ. καὶ ἄγ. a partitive gen. depending on ὁσα.) The language about this point is provokingly obscure; so too is the arrangement of the subjects.

b 7. Possibly we should (with Herm.) follow A and O in omitting the καὶ καλῶν which is added to ἄγαθῶν in A³ and O². Fic. read the words, however, and they certainly add significance to the list of adjectives.

c 2. ἵσων . . . κατὰ δίκην, "justly impartial." The position of the τῆς forbids us, with Jowett, to take κατὰ δίκην with βλέπειν.

c 3. αὐτῶν πέρι, "on the subject." (Steph., Ast, and Zürr. read αὐτῶν πάρα, i.e. "from the books.")

c 4. A and O carelessly wrote κυριωτάτου for κυριώτατα τοῦ; O² corrected it.

c 5. Stobaeus has undoubtedly preserved the right reading for us in the simple εἰπέρ. A has αἰειπέρ, which A³ corrected to α· εἰπέρ, but afterwards saw to be a mistake, and marked the α as such. Zürr. were the first of modern editors to see that α ought to be rejected.

c 7. Again we owe to Ast the correct κεκτήτ' for the MS. κέκτητ'.

c 4–7. The argument is: "as the word for human reason (νοῦς) is evidently etymologically akin to the word for law (νόμος)" —cp. above 714 a 2—"the study of law, if rightly conducted, is the most rational, and mind-enlightening of studies."

c 8. ἄλλων denotes literary and philosophical exposition as a further, outside field in respect of Law.

d 1. εἰτ' κτλ.: prose "disputations" are subdivided into (1) written treatises, and (2) viva voce utterances.

d 2. The almost otiose ἄλλαις expresses the fact that daily
oral encounters furnish a further means of expressing opinion, beyond that of writing.

d 3. καὶ διὰ συγχωρήσεων ἐστίν ὅτε καὶ μᾶλα ματαιῶν is coupled by zeugma with the previous διὰ clause—"and sometimes lead to very meaningless admissions."

d 5. τὰ τῶν νομοθέτων γράμματα: cr. 811 c 6 ff. for a similar encomium of the literature of Law as a study.

d 6. ἀλεξιφάρμακα, "antidotes."

e 1. μονάς τῶν δικαίων: Ast seems to think this means "the perseverance (on the part of the good men) in justice," but all other interpreters take it to mean "the abiding presence (in the men) of justice."—καὶ ἐπαινήσων: at Polit. 297 b 2 the wise ruler's task is said to be (τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει) ἀμένους έκ χειρόνων ἀποτελεῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν; cr. above, 688 a b.

e 3 f. ὅσοις ἁσμοὶ δόξαι τῶν κακῶν, "such, that is, of the evilly disposed whose views are curable."

e 4. οἶσιν δὲ οὖν ἐπικεκλωσμέναι, "but for men wedded by fate to such views."—O² has a variant κλώμεναι, but naturally no text has adopted it.

958 a 2. δ ὄσιαὶς εἰ ἐπολλάκις ἀν εἰρημένον: a parenthesis. He knows he has said this more than once before.—Δ has ἀξίοι, O ἀξίων corrected by O² to ἀξίω.—Δ and O have γίγνοιτ' corrected by Const. in Δ and by O² in O to γίγνοντ'.

a 3. δικαστῶν ἱγεμόνες: by these words I think he means the νομοθέται.

a 4. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ... σχῶσι, "when the suits of the year have been carried through to their final decision." Apparently no cause was to be allowed to be carried over from one year to another; see below on b 1.

a 5. ταῖς πράξεσι νόμους αὐτῶν χρεῶν γίγνεσθαι τοῦσδε, "the following laws must be made as to their exaction"; αὐτῶν, which stands for δικῶν, is = "penalties." Above at 871 c 3 we had δίκης πρᾶξις for "exaction of the penalty." Ast was the first to see that ταῖς πράξεσι belongs to αὐτῶν. Previous editors put a comma after instead of before ταῖς πράξεσι. Fic. omits the words.

a 7. ἀποδιδότω: not hand over—that action is described by παραδιδότω at b 5—but assign to (by the herald's proclamation).

—χωρίς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κεκτήσθαι: above at 855 a 8 it was already laid down that ξημίας ἐκτίσεσι were not to encroach on the necessary equipment of the κλῆρος—here described as τὰ ἀναγκαία κεκτήσθαι χρήματα.

b 1. μετὰ τὴν διαψήφισιν ἐκώστην εὐθύς: these words show
that the κατ’ ἐνιαυτόν of a 4 does not mean that execution of all suits was to wait till the end of the legal year, as some translators' words seem to imply.—ἀκούοντον τῶν δικαστῶν: i.e. the dicasts must remain in court while the herald's proclamation was made. (Jowett takes ὑπὸ κήρυκος with διαψήφισιν—"after the votes have been announced by the herald.")

b2. τῶν δικαστῶν μηνῶν ἐχόμενος, "next following the months of the trials"; i.e. a month's respite is allowed after the end of the month in which the particular trial takes place.—A² and O² have a variant διαδικασίμων not recognized by the dictionaries.

b3. γένηται, "has passed"; cp. above 867 e 3, Phaedo 108 c 1 ἔσε ὡν δὴ τινες χρόνοι γένωνται, Prot. 320 a 7 πρὶν ἐξ μηνός γεγονέναι. (Wagn. and Jow. translate γένηται by "arrives.")—ἀπαλλάττη, "gets quit of" (see L. & S. s.v. A. 3); we should say "gets his discharge from."

b4. συνεπομενη τῷ νικώντω, "at the bidding of the successful suitor."

b6. Herm. (De vest. p. 71) says that in Athenian law this inability to prosecute was confined to those who had failed to pay their taxes or some other public debt; also that such defaulters could not be prosecuted either. This latter disability is distinctly renounced by Plato in c 1.

c2. ἀφτρρήται: Fic. translates by laeserit, Ast by detrimento affecerit, conjecturing that τι has fallen out after τις. (Wagn. agrees to this.) Stallb. rightly says that ἀφαιρεῖται is here used in the sense thwart, obstruct, disqualify, disable, comparing Andoc. Contra Alc. § 26 τούτων Ἀλκιβιάδης πολίτην ἄντα... ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸς ἣγωνιζετο, also Soph. Phil. 1303, Eur. Tro. 1146 ἀφείλετ' αὐτήν παίδα μὴ δοῦναι τάφῳ. The special offence here contemplated is resistance on the part of the condemned debtor to the presiding magistrate's execution of his sentence—a much more likely case than that of his robbing him—and one much more likely to need a special precautionary enactment such as this. (Schn. translates ἀφτρρήται "abstulit traditum."—O² has a variant ἀφαιρήται which Herm. adopts; he says he sees no reason for the perf.)

c7. τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, "to proceed." This is the usual formula in the Laws for passing to a fresh subject. The first six printed edd. (and, by inadvertence probably, Schneider) have τῷ for the MS. τό.—As at a 4 the processes successively ordained by the legislator are rhetorically enumerated as if they were actually
being watched in action. In other words, he says here "Next, to close all this ordered existence comes the natural end of death; and for the ceremonies to attend that event we must now make the necessary regulations."

**d 1.** διδόντι τις δίκας εἴ τινα ἡδικήκει, "and ready to give compensation where he had done an injury." (H. Richards holds that ἡδικήκει is a mistake for ἡδικήκε.)

**d 2.** σὺν τοῖς νόμοις ἐν μοίρᾳ γνώρισάντες: cp. Cratylus 398 b 9 ποιήται πολλοὶ ... λέγουσιν ὡς, ἐπειδὰν τις ἀγαθὸς ὄν τελευ-τήτη, μεγάλην μοίραν καὶ τμῆν ἐχει. So ἐν μοίρᾳ here probably denotes the enjoyment of universal respect which comes from a life spent "according to the laws." Cp. above, 923 b 6. (ἐν μοίρᾳ is generally taken to mean dulū—"at the appointed time" Jow.).—A had μοραί which A² corrected to μοίραι.

**d 3.** O² was doubtless right in altering the δε of ALO to δή; all texts have adopted the alteration.

**d 4.** Is it not better to follow the example set by Schanz at 761 c 4, and reject the difficult ὅ;? Some scribes perhaps had a notion that a word like ὅ ought to take a subj., and the absence of a verb here gave such a scribe an opportunity. Stalb. thinks that Attic prose admitted of ei c. subj., in cases where it was "just a toss-up," which way the decision went—where it was in no way contingent on any external circumstances. If we reject ὅ here and at 761 c 4, and follow Adam and Burnet in reading δόκει at Rep. 579 d 9, we shall have got rid of all the serious Platonic instances of ei c. subj. (Zürr. and Herm. adopt Ast's ὅ; this reading gets some slight support from the tense of ἡδικήκει, but is in itself unlikely.—It must be admitted that this MS. ὅ was no late introduction; for it is mentioned as a remarkable construction at Beckk. Anecdot. i. 144.)

**d 5.** τούς ἔχειμα: cp. above, 759 d 5 ff.

**d 6.** For the MS. κυρίους φράζοντας. θήκας Ast, Zürr., and Herm. have adopted Valckenaer's attractive κυρίους φράζειν. τὰς θήκας ... It is curious that the same change from partiple to infinitive after κυρίος was suggested at Eur. Suppl. 1190 by a corrector of P and by Reiske—κύριος ... ὀρκομοτεῖν instead of κύριος ... ὀρκομοτόν. To us the infin. construction seems simplest and best, but doubtless both constructions were possible in Greek. The participl construction throws the greater stress on κυρίους. The former is "the Interpreters have full authority to give directions"; the latter "the Interpreters have full authority for their directions." It is by no means clear that Ast
is right in saying that \( \theta \nu k \alpha s \) cannot do without the \( \tau \alpha s \). Stallb. indeed says the \( \tau \alpha s \) is "plane intolerablis."—\( \tau \nu \chi \omega r \iota \nu \nu \) depends on \( \mu \gamma d a m o s \)"—"there should be no graves on any part of land which is cultivable."

\[d\ 7. \ [\mu \mu \tau \epsilon \ \mu \epsilon \gamma \mu \ \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \ \sigma \mu \mu \kappa r o \nu \ \mu \nu \nu \mu \mu \alpha ]: \] there seems to be no point in the mention in this connexion of the \textit{mound} which marks the grave, or of the size of the mound—which is dealt with below at \(e\ 6. \) The only question here is the \textit{sort of ground} suitable for a cemetery; and to the discussion of that these words are an obstruction. Cicero, in his translation of the passage (De legg. ii. § 67), omits them, and so does Ficinus I think they should be rejected. (Prof. Burnet tells me he thinks the words are in apposition to \( \theta \nu k \alpha s, \mu \nu \nu \mu \mu a \) being used for "grave" simply.)

\[e\ 1. \ \alpha \ \delta \ \eta \ \chi \omega r \alpha \ \pi \rho \delta s \ \tau \omega " \ \alpha v t o \ \mu \nu \nu o \nu \ \phi \nu s i v \ \epsilon \chi e i : \] as Ritter says (p. 346), the difficult \( \alpha \) and the equally difficult \( \sigma \sigma a \) in \(e\ 4\) stand and fall together, and less difficulty is involved in taking them to be \textit{loose accusatives of respect} equivalent to \( \epsilon \nu \ \delta \nu s \) or \( k a \nu \ \alpha \) (or \( \sigma \sigma a \)), than in accepting any of the proposed alterations in the text. If with Steph. and Wagn. we alter \( \phi \nu s i v \) to \( \phi \nu s e i \) we are still left with \( \sigma \sigma a \) to explain, and it is, moreover, an awkward question why \( \delta \chi \omega m \epsilon \nu \eta \) and not \( \delta \chi \omega m \epsilon \nu \alpha ? \) It is equally hard to believe, with Herm., that Plato began the sentence with the awkward "M or N" phrase \( \alpha \ \delta \ \eta \ \chi \omega r \alpha \). Ast would read \( \eta \ \delta \ \delta \ \eta \ \chi \omega r \alpha \).—Heindorf on Gorg. 590 b 1 and Charm. 156 b comments on the way in which \( \alpha v t o s \) is often strengthened by a following \( \mu \nu \nu o s \) or \( \mu \nu \nu o n \); here \( \alpha v t o \ \mu \nu \nu o n \) is "just this and nothing else"; it is explained by the following \( \tau a \ldots \ \kappa \nu \pi \tau \epsilon \nu \)."

\[e\ 4. \ I \ think \ \pi \nu \nu o s \ \tau \alpha v t a \ must \ be \ bracketed. \ It \ is \ as \ manifestly inapposite as the \( \mu \nu \nu \mu \alpha \) clause above. Possibly a very muddle-headed scribe thought that as \( \phi \nu s i v \ \epsilon \chi e i \) above had \( \pi \nu \nu o s \ \tau \omega " \) with it, \( \pi \epsilon \phi \nu k e n \) here ought to be similarly supplied. (Stallb. violently separates it from \( \pi \epsilon \phi \nu k e n \) and takes it with \( \mu \mu \tau \nu r \ \sigma \sigma a \), translating "quae hoc nomine parent est nostra"—\( \tau a v t a \) being \( \pi r o f \iota \nu \).) Fic. gives two alternative renderings of this clause: "Nec enim a vivis neque a mortuis terrae matris fecunditas impedienda est. Nemo ergo aut vivens aut mortuus vivum aliquem alimento privat."

\[e\ 6. \ \upsilon \theta \lambda \omega \iota \tau e r o n \ \pi \epsilon v t e \ \alpha \nu \delta r \nu \nu \ \epsilon r \gamma o n : \] brachylogically for \( \upsilon \theta \lambda \omega \iota \tau e r o n \ \epsilon r \gamma o n \ \pi \epsilon v t e \ \alpha \nu \delta r \nu \nu \ \epsilon r \gamma o n . \) (Not, as Stallb., "sepulchrum ne quis altius exstruito, quinque virorum (tantum) opus." Nor need we, with Steph. and Ast, insert \( \eta \) before \( \pi \epsilon v t e . \))
e 8. For the perfectly correct MS. τὸν, which goes with τεττάρων ἢρ στίχων, the vulgate, beginning with Ald. and including all texts but Schneider's and Burnet's, substituted τὰ. The size of a man's encomiums is not a measure of space, but "the regulation four hexameters" is.—Again the same brachylogy in ἐγκόμια μὴ πλεῖώ τεττάρων στίχων.

e 9. A left out the first syllable of τετελευτηκότος, A² added it above the line.

959 a 1. Down to Ast the vulgate had πρότερον for the MS. πρώτον.—By a mixture of itacism and haplography the MSS. wrote a nonsensical μικρότερον for the manifestly correct μὴ μακρότερον which Aldus divined to have been the original reading.

a 3. ὡς τάνθρωπον, "for average humanity."

a 6 f. τὸ παρεχόμενον ἡμῶν ἐκαστον τοῦτ' εἶναι μηθεὶν ἀλλ’ ἡ τὴν ψυχὴν: for the resuming τοῦτ' cp. Theaet. 172 b 5 τὸ κοινὴ δοξάν τοῦτο γίγνεται ἀληθές. For the meaning of παρεχόμενον cp. Phil. 30 b 1 where τὸ τῆς αἰτίας γένος is spoken of as εν μὲν τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν ψυχὴν παρέχον—"furnishing" or "providing"—the soul. We may translate then: "that what makes each of us (what he is) is nothing but the soul." For a long while I was strongly inclined to connect τὸ παρεχόμενον ἡμῶν ἐκαστον τοῦτ' εἶναι in the sense "what makes each of us to be this (and no other)," supplying εἶναι from a 6 (εἶναι τὸ πάν διαφέρονσαν) to go with μηθεὶν ἀλλ’ ἡ τὴν ψυχὴν. For such a phrase we may compare Timaeus 49 d 1 f. ποιον αἰτίων ὡς ὧν ὅσιον τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο παγώς διωχυμιδόμενος οὐκ αἰσχυνεῖται τις ἐκαστὸν; Ficinus takes it so: his translation is "nee alius praeter ipsum esse quod in hac vita facit ut quilibet nostrum hoc ipsum sit." Prof. H. Jackson has kindly written to me on the passage that he too was at first inclined to this view but afterwards came to prefer the translation given above, which is that of Stallb. and other interpreters. He thinks that παρέχεσθαι suggests the meaning "make a thing so and so," rather than "cause a thing to do or to be so and so."

b 1. τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἰνδαλλόμενον ἡμῶν ἐκάστοις ἐπεσταθαί, "while the body is an attendant semblance of the individual."

b 3. τὸν δὲ ὄντα ἡμῶν ἐκαστον ὄντως: Burnet, marking these words off by commas, shows that he, like Ritter, rightly considers that they go best by themselves as the subj. of ἀπείραι. Generally the first five words are taken to be the subject of ὄντως ἀθαναστον εἶναι. Wagn. puts in an and to connect εἶναι with ἀπείραι.
Herm. dissents from both of these views: he would discard εἶναι, and take τὸν δὲ . . . ἀθάνατον as the subject of ἀπίνειαι, marking off ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον as a further qualification of τὸν . . . ἀθάνατον. The real qualifying clause is ἀθάνατον εἶναι ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον. For the (superflously) added εἶναι with ὄνομαζόμενον cp. Parm. 133 d 1 δὲ ἡμεῖς μετέχοντες εἶναι ἐκαστα ἐπονομαζόμεθα, and Prot. 311 ε 4 σοφιστήν δή τοι ὄνομαζονι γε, διὰ Ἀκρατεῖς, τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι. As Ritter says, the two words ὄντα ὄντως form a striking contrast to the immediately preceding εἰςωλα and ἐνδαλλόμενοι ἡμῶν ἐκάστοις. Ast says Plato, in calling the dead body an εἰςωλον, is consciously contradicting Homer’s view that the ψυχὴ is an εἰςωλον (Od xi. passim). He also aptly quotes, ἀ πρὸς οὗ τῶν ὄντα ἡμ. ἐκ. ὄντως, Cicero’s “mens cuiusque est quisque” (Somn. Scipionés).


b 5. Burnet alone prints the γὰρ which A has (and O mentions as a variant) after τῷ μὲν. It introduces a further account of what ὁ πάτριος νόμος says. He also suitably marks off τῷ μὲν . . . φοβερὸν as a parenthesis. With βοήθειαν the construction depending on λέγοντι in a 5 is resumed.—θαρραλέον and φοβερὸν probably agree with λόγον (so Sehn.). (Jowett treats them as neuters, and moreover makes βοήθειαν κτλ. depend on λέγει in b 5.)

b 8. ὁπως . . . ἐξή: for a similar ὁπως with an impf. indic. cp. 830 b 4 ὁπως οἰ πληγαῖ . . . διεμελετῶντο.

c 1. The ἀν is clearly out of place here. Ast would simply omit it (and so Adam on Rep. 378 a). Baiter proposed to read παγκάκων, Winckelmann (unsuitably) ἀνικτῶν; Sehn., Zürr., Herm., and Burnet leave the ἀν unbracketed.

c 3 ff. διαφερόντως . . . θαπτόμενον, “under the impression that that lump of flesh-matter that is being buried belongs in any special way to himself.”

c 5. ὄντως . . . μάλωτα, “the real one whom.”

c 6. Fic. and Wagn. make a great mistake in translating these present participles as if they were perfects; it is not “fatis suis exactis” but “ἰς the course of fulfilling his destiny.”

c 7. A and O have ἐμπιμπράντα, corrected by A² and O² to ἐμπιμπάντα.—το δὲ παρὸν δείν εἰ ποιεῖν, “while his duty is to do the best he can under the circumstances—to make the best of
what he has got"; i.e., as he goes on to say, he must be content to see the lifeless corpse for what it really is, and dispose of it accordingly. The same proverbial saying occurs at Gorg. 495c, where see Thompson's note.

d1. ὃς εἰς ἀψυχὸν χθονίαν βωμόν: I have come round to F. H. D.'s view of this somewhat mysterious phrase, i.e. that ἀψυχὸν simply means "not haunted by a soul." εἰς is (spend) "upon" as at 743 a 8; Fic. apparently makes it local—"at."—τὸ δὲ μέτρον . . . ἀσχημονέστατα: all this means is that the legislator is quite the proper person to say what the amount spent should be. (Jowett translates "but the legislator does not intend moderation to be taken in the sense of meanness.")

d4. ἀναλισκόμενα is "expenditure."

e2. πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀπάντων, "at each man's death."—εἰς γέ τις: cp. Soph. 252 e 1, Polit. 287 d 8, Phaedr. 242 b 2, Meno 96 d 8, Aristoph. Plut. 402, Thesm. 430.—Down to Zürr. all printed edd. had ἐπιστατῆς for the MS. ἐπιστατῆς; Fic. read ἐπιστρέφων.

e3 ff. ὃ καλῶν τ' ἔστω . . . καὶ μὴ καλῶς ἀσχρόν, "to whose credit it must count if the funeral ceremony is well and moderately managed, and likewise to his discredit if it is the reverse."

e7. 02 gives νόμῳ νομοθετοῦντε for Α's νομοθετοῦντι. All edd. but Schn., Wagn., and Burnet accept this νόμῳ. I think Ritter is right in giving it the sense of the immediately preceding νόμον, i.e. custom, and further in taking νόμῳ νομοθετοῦντε to mean "dictating to custom"—"we must let the state official set the following bounds to custom." (Jowett ed. 2 makes πολιτικῶν agree with νόμῳ and translates as if we had νομοθετοῦντα for νομοθετοῦντι, "but the lawgiver may also concede some points to the customs of his fellow-citizens." Stallb. namely translates νόμῳ νομοθετοῦντι "secundum νόμον leges ferenti.")

960 a1. ἀμορφὸν: i.e. it is beneath the legislator's dignity to say "you mustn't cry." Cp. 752 a 3, 855 c 3 and our "bad form."

a3. The MSS. and Stob. all have προάγειν, but the first five texts print προσάγειν.

a4. φθέγγεσθαι is "cry aloud."

a5. εἴναι, like ἀπαγορεύειν and κωλύειν just before, has the force of an imperative, but its subject is not, as theirs was, the legislator, but (as with προάγειν) the man who is conducting the funeral. Burial grounds were outside the city. (Fic. misses this, translating "aut ante diem extra urbem se afflictere non liecat.") Stallb. refers to Dem. In Macart. p. 1071 ἐκφέρειν δὲ τὸν ἀποθανόντα τῇ ἱστεραίᾳ ἃν προθωνίαν πρὶν ἡλίουν ἐξέχειν.
The correctors of L and O have preserved the correct πάσι for the πάσιγ of ALO.—άλλας is in effect “beyond this.”

The regulations concerning ταφαί referred to are, e.g., those above at 717 d, 719 d, 873 b, c, d, 909 c, 947 b 3 ff.—περὶ τελευτήσαντας is a good instance of περὶ c. acc. standing for a gen.

Cases in which burial must be refused.” Is it not rather “actions which forfeit burial”? The following περὶ clause specifies the cases referred to.

Having made subjects of legislation.”

But we do not get to the end of any endeavour by just doing something, or getting something, or settling something; don’t imagine that all has been done that should be done until you have provided for the product of your work a complete and lasting security; until you have done that, you have done nothing.” These words, while marking the end of the positive law-making of the treatise, serve to introduce the more detailed description of the νυκτερινὸς σῶλλαγος as the sovereign preservative of all the laws.

O2’s ἔδει for δὲ looks like a short-sighted correction.

Fic.’s “dicta laudantur” shows that he had before him the MS. ὑμνηταί, and not the vulgate ἐρηται (“quod glossema redolet” Stallb.). Cp. above, 778 d 7 where also ὁ ποιητικὸς . . . λόγος ὑμνεῖται is translated by Fic. “poeticum illud laudatur.”

A2 added the τά which A had omitted by a natural error after ἰδιεύκτα.

The etymologizing and its application differ widely from that of the treatise De mundo (Bekker’s Aristotle 401 b), but both authors agree in connecting Ἀτροπός with ἀτρεπτός or ἀμετάστροφος (so too at Rep. 620 e 5). It is natural after the pointed mention of the names of the three Fates to expect three etymologies; this consideration compels, I think, the adoption of Bekker’s ληθείστων for the MS. λεχθέμενων (variously interpreted as “predictions,” “edicts,” or “the subject of our day’s conversation”). Otherwise there would be an etymology for Κλονθώ in the word κλώσθεντων, and for Ἀτροπός in ἀμετάστροφον, but none for Λάξεως. Schn. and Wagn. adopt ληθείστων.

614
c 8. The significant δή of the MSS. was rightly restored by Schn. for the vulgate δέ.—For the reference in τρύτνων σώτευμαν cp. on 692 a 3.

c 9 f. ἀπηκασμένα τῇ τῶν κλωσθέντων τῷ πυρὶ τῇν ἀμετά-

στροφον ἀπεργαζομένων δύναμιν: it is impossible to make any-

thing of ἀπηκασμένα. The only thing it could agree with is τὰ τῶν Μοιρῶν προσρήματα, but what immediately precedes and what follows is concerned with only one of these names, i.e. "Ἀτροπός.

I would suggest, in desperation, that the word is either a marginal comment, describing the matter in the text as "likenesses," or "comparisons," or the attempted marginal emendation of ἀπεργαζο-

μένων, or else that ἀπηκασμένα τῷ πυρὶ together formed an

(inexplicable) glossema. Stallb. would reject ἀπηκασμένα . . .

πυρὶ as a "miserandum scioli alicuius glossema"; but we want κλωσθέντων for the same reason that we wanted ληχθέντων. It

remains, for the rest of the sentence, to pick from the bunch of

emendations. Perhaps we may with Wagner accept Baiter's 

tολύτη for the impossible τῷ πυρί, and, reading ἀπεργαζομένη

with Schmidt and Stallb., get the meaning "who secures to the

ball of the spun thread its inviolable persistency." Or may we

reject τῷ πυρί absolutely, and interpret τῇ τῶν κλωσθέντων as a

periphrasis for τῇ Κλωθοῖ—"the Fate of the spun threads"?

Herm. substitutes Schmidt's σωτηρία for τῷ πυρί and accepts

Ast's ἀπεργαζομένη, keeping ληχθέντων and ἀπεικασμένα (sic).

Fic. solidly translates the MS. reading throughout, as does Schn. except that he accepts Bekker's ληχθέντων. He assumes

that τῇ stands for τῇ φύσει or τῇ μοῖραι, and that the preserving or

the spinning was the work of fire. For the rejection of ἀπηκα-

σμένα τῷ πυρί cp. on 898 b 2.

d 1. α δή, "a state of things which . . ."; a vague reference
to δύναμιν ἀμετάστροφον. Ast and Voegelein dispute the possi-

bility of this reference in α, and propose to read ἤν δή. Ast holds

that if we read α it can only refer to προσρήματα. A simpler

emendation would be δ.

d 3. ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνομιάν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ σωτηρίαν

tῶν νόμων: i.e. "but further, to enthrone Law in the soul, nay to

make Law everlasting."

d 7. οὐ σμικρὸν λέγεις: sc. οὐ σμικρὸν τὸ ἐλλείπον, "what you

mention is no small defect."—A and O read μὴ δυνατόν. For μὴ

Α², misunderstanding οὐ σμικρὸν to mean "would be a grand

thing if . . .", substituted καὶ, and Fic., and all editors but

Burnet, followed him.
d 8. Burnet has happily mended the text in this line as well as in the previous one. The MSS. read παντὶ κτῆματι τοιοῦτον. To mend this Ald. inserted a τό before τοιοῦτον. All editors, even Schneider, accepted this. Burnet saw, however, that the context did not want the suggestion of a way by which everything (παντὶ κτῆματι) might gain stability, but how law could. He therefore rejected the intrusive τό and read κτῆμα τί for κτῆματι. παντὶ is παντὶ νόμῳ; cp. d 5 and e 4. It is a happy and most illuminating emendation.

e 5. eis μηδὲν βέβαιον καταβαλεῖν: these words explain μάτην; the labour would have been in vain because the basis on which it was founded was insecure. What he says is, "it would be ridiculous to lay an insecure foundation and so frustrate our labour." The connexion would have been easier for us to see if he had written πορῆμα and καταβαλόντα; in Greek, however, the participle is often the most significant verb.

e 7. τοιοῦτον . . . ἄλλον: he uses ἄλλον instead of the usual ἄλλον from a polite desire not to exclude Megillus.

e 9. Schneider, doubting the possibility of an interrogative interjected φής; in the middle of another question, prefers to give τίς οὖν . . . ἡμῖν to the Ath., so taking φής to be not "do you say?" but "you say." But Cleinias, though evidently eager for such information, has not said this.

961 a 3. τοὺς δὲ τάρωστεία εἰληφότας ἀπαντᾶσ: see on 951 d 7.

a 6. ἐν καίριον A and O, and so the vulgate down to Steph., and so Bekker, Stallb., and Burnet. The correctors of A and O mentioned a variant ἐγκαίριον—a "vocabulum nihil," as Stallb. says—and this Zürr., Schn., and Wagner have actually adopted. Herm., more correctly, adopts Winckelmann's ἐγκαίριον, which has occurred already at 717 a 3 (in the MSS.) and 928 a 3. Ast substituted ἄν for ἐν. No change whatever is needed; ἐν is the intensive which singles out anything for special remark—the eis which goes with superlatives. As Stallb. says, ἐν τι is the neut. of εἰς τις. Cp. liep. 565 c οὐκοῦν ἐνα τινὰ ἀδικοῦν εἰθέν διαφερόντως προφήτασθαι ἐπιστοῦ; We may translate: "who had gone abroad to see if there was anything to be heard which was of special virtue for the preservation of laws." (I suspect, however, that for the very extraordinary dative of the agent τούτοις αὐτοῖς we ought to read <ἐν> τούτοις αὐτοῖς, and that the absence of ἐν there has something to do with the unnecessary ἐν before καίριον.)—τούτοις αὐτοῖς διαφανομενότας: these words
express an important condition. At 951 c.1 and c.7 we were reminded that the character of such travellers must be above suspicion. So here it is natural that a rigid inquiry by the members of the σύλλογος (the τούτοις αύτοῖς of the text) should be made into the conduct and record of the travellers, before they were admitted into the assembly. (Jowett takes τούτοις αύτοῖς to be neut.—"having been tested in these same matters.")—δοξαί: the construction is ἐτι δὲ τοὺς ἐκδημηγνωσάντας . . . (δεῖν) δοξαί . . . τοῦ συλλόγου ἀξιοκοινωνήτοις εἶναι.

b 1. τριακοντέτσι ἐτῆς is the reading of A and O. For this the vulgate down to Ast wrote τριακονταετῆς; Ast would prefer τριακονταύτην; all later editors but Burnet write τριακονταετῆς, while B. rightly goes back to the MS. reading.—πρῶτον . . . κρίναντα . . . οὕτως, "after he has first judged him (to be worthy), only so (must he introduce him)."

b 3. ἓν μέν . . . followed by εἰ: in a note on Phaedo 93 b 2 Stallb. gives several instances from various authors of this variation of the construction.

b 4. ἀπόρρητον εἶναί, "celandum esse" Schn. (not, as Jowett, "they are forbidden to elect him"). No one must know—least of all the man himself—that he had been so selected as a member of the σύλλογος.

b 7. καὶ μάλιστα, "vel maxime." The intensive καὶ is common before μάλα, but not before μάλιστα, but we have καὶ μάλιστα at Phaedo 61 e 1, and we have καὶ διαφερόντως at Phaedo 59 a 9, and καὶ σφόδρα above at 627 a 5.

b 8. For παντὶ O mentions a plausible variant παντῆ. —Both A and O left out ἢν after ἡμῖν; apparently O² added it here, and all texts have it.

c 5. πάντα ἔχουσαν τὰ πρόσφορα ἐαυτῆς, "equipped with all its own proper appurtenances." The subj. of σφύζων (and complement of ἔχουσαν) is not πόλιν (as Wagn.), but ἄγκυραν; that is the thing which σφύζει σύμπαντα.

c 8 f. τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . προθυμίας, "now is the time for us to do our very utmost to give the right advice."

d 1. χρῆ . . . ἔργων, "we must find what for everything is its proper protector in its various activities." For the use of εἰκότα = "fitting," "satisfactory" cp. Il. ix. 399 εἰκὺιαν ἅκοιτων.

d 3. τὸ γε μέγιστον, "beyond all others"; cp. 942 d 6 τὸ μέγιστον.

d 8. συλλυφθῶν δὲ νοῦς μετὰ τῶν καλλύστων αἰσθήσεων κραθεῖς, γενόμενος τε εἰς ἔν: sight and hearing are the noblest of the
senses, because they are the most intellectual, and thus they naturally combine with mind to form a single agency.

d 10. καλούμενη: the syntax is noticeable whereby the participle of the predicate agrees in gender with the predicate σωστηρία and not with the subject νοῦς.

e 1. περὶ τι; though νοῶς, as below at a 7 in νοῶν περὶ τι, goes closely with περὶ τι, and the words are literally “the perception of what?” we may translate: “In what particular way does the union of mind and senses preserve ships whether in good weather or bad?” The answer is in the word κυβερνητικῶς. The πιλοτrepresents the ship’s mind, and the sailors its senses, and together they guide the ship to port. The same question is asked more definitely below in the form τίνα σκόπων θέμενοι; when the activities of generals and physicians are under consideration.—A carelessly wrote ἄλλο περὶ τι.

e 8. After στρατοπέδων Steph. inserted καὶ ιατρικῆς (Winck. καὶ νόσων), following the translations of Fic. and Corn. “in exercitu et medicina.”

e 9. Before ιατρικῆ we must mentally supply οἶδον περὶ ιατρικῆς τίνα σκόπων θεμένη.

962 a 1. The vulgate and all cdd. except Schneider and Burnet give the word ὀρθῶς to Cleinias.

a 3. For σώματι O² has a variant σώμασι which was the vulgate reading before Ast.

a 7. ἐσθ’ ὀπως ἀν νοῶν περὶ τι τούτων ἀν ἔχων φαίνοιτο="it would be clear, would it not, that he did not understand the subject?" — A carelessly (and improbably) wrote ὀπωσανον for ὀπως ἀν νοῶν; A² put in the missing ν.—We owe the necessary τι before τοῦτων to O²; A and O omitted it.

a 10. τὸν πολιτικὸν: probably used in just the same sense as above at 959 e 7, and at 963 b 2 and as ὁ πολιτικὸς ἄνὴρ at Polit. 257 b 9. It is, I think, here wrong to connect τὸν σκόπῳ τὸν πολιτικὸν (though the same words are so to be connected below at b 6), as Ast (Lex.), Schönh., and Wagn. do. Fic. rightly translates "si quis finem ad quem vir civilis respicere debet ignorare videatur."

b 1. μὲν πρῶτον and eiτα, “to begin with,” and “to go on with,” are varieties for “either . . . or.”

b 2. Apparently A and O had originally μὴ ὀνείρωσι ἐὰν δεῖν, which makes no sense; this was rightly corrected to the idiomatic μὴ ἐδειγῇ; A² and O² have a marginal, and not idiomatic, variant μὴ ὀδειγν.
NOTES TO BOOK XII

b 6. τὸν σκοπὸν, ὡστὶς ποτὲ ὁ πολιτικὸς ὥν ἦμιν τυγχάνει, "what our aim as politicians is."

b 9. A and O carelessly read πρῶτων, but all printed edd. read πρῶτον; Fic. has "primum"; Schneider keeps πρῶτων (also translating by "primum").

c 1. τοῦ was omitted by A and O; Constantine added it.—O gives a variant which inserts ἢ before πόλις.—ἀνους σεβασταὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος: this is another way of preparing us for the idea that the νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος will be νοῦς and αἰσθήσεις (ep. 961 d) to the state.

c 6. For ἰκανῶν Ast accepts Steph.'s unnecessary ἰκανῶς.

d 2. νῦν: i.e. at 961 d 5 and 962 a 9—b 2.

d 3. πρῶς πολλὰ στοχαζόμενον: at 693 c 8 we had another instance of this rare construction.

d 7 ff. νῦν δὴ μαθησόμεθα . . . ἐκάστη, "we must not be surprised to find that the laws of various states are at fault, because in each separate state the law-makers pursue all kinds of different aims."

d 9 ff. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ . . . ἐν τῇ πόλει, "in most cases, not unnaturally, with one set of politicians the guiding principle that settles what is right is the desire that certain persons shall have rule in the state." (Steph., Ast, and Wagner think that this sentence was meant to assign the reason of the general error, and the two former read τῷ for τὸ and Ast διὰ τὸ.—Ast takes τὰ μὲν πολλὰ to be τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων.)—The μὲν in d 9 seems to correspond to the δὲ in e 4, the contrast being that between those who pursue one aim only and those who pursue more than one.

e 4. δὴ gives a tone of irony to the word ἐλεύθερον: cp. Prot. 320 a 6 δεδώσει περὶ αὐτοῦ μὴ διαφθεαρῇ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου.

e 5. Cp. 694 a 3 ff. Πέρσαι γάρ, . . . πρῶτον μὲν ἑλεύθεροι ἐγένοντο, ἐπείτα δὲ ἄλλων πολλῶν δεσποταὶ.—The stylistic device by which the ἄρως is put with the first τε clause only, and the ἔσονται only with the second, helps the idea of the close connexion of the two objects aimed at.

e 6. οἱ σοφῶτατοι, ὡς οὖνται: those who lose sight of none of these and the like objects in their law-making might well claim to be wiser than their neighbours; the really wise, however, were those who had a single eye to the one thing needful.

e 7 ff. εἰς ἐν δὲ . . . βλέπειν: I follow Schneider (in the main) in his interpretation of this passage; but I would put the comma after τετιμημένον instead of after ἔχοντες, or else put none
at all:—"but they do not aim at one object with exclusive devotion, because they can point to that object to which the rest of their objects must be subordinate." The last sentence returns to the Ath.'s main contention. We have been told all through that the prime necessity for the state is the knowledge of the supreme object of the law-maker's endeavour; this the νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος will supply. (Ast and Wagn. would reject the first εἰς; Stallb. would either follow them or read οὐδὲν, οὐδὲν; Steph. would read οὐ' οὐδὲν.)

962 a 1 ff. τάλαι τιθέμενον: Cleinias refers to the Ath.'s speech beginning at 631 b 3, and below at a 8 more particularly to 631 d 5 τὰ δὲ θεία [the four virtues φρόνησις, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία] εἰς τὸν ἦγερμόνα νοῦν σύμπαντα βλέπειν. The συνεχωρούμεν of a 3 also reminds us of the repetition of the original συγχώρησις at 770 e 7 ὣν δὲ ἡ συγχώρησις ἐν ἔχουσα κεφάλαιον κτλ.

a 3. βλέποντ' εἶναι, like the βλεποίσας εἶναι at 631 d 3, is a periphrasis for βλέπειν.

a 8. νοῦν here stands for φρόνησιν. The statement that Wisdom is the leader of all the four virtues is the only general statement made about them beyond that which says that they are all four comprised under one general name. Is not this statement intended as a hint to the solution of the question "in what does the oneness consist?"? For the assertion of the supremacy of φρόνησις cp. 631 e 6, 688 b 2.

a 9. τὰ ἄλλα πάντα are the ἀνθρώπινα ἀγαθὰ of 631 b 7, and the subordinate aims of 962 d ff.—τούτων τὰ τρία is of course "the three other virtues."—For δὲ Zürr. adopt O²'s δεῖν, making the sentence a question throughout. So Fie., who has "oporteret."

a 10. κάλλιστ' ἐπακολούθεις, "how well you attend!"

a 11. A had δὲι συνακολουθεῖν, Ο δὴ συνακολούθειν; A² altered δὲι to δὲ and O² δῆ to δὲ. It looks as if the variants were all due to an accidental doubling of the ν at the beginning of νοῦν, which changed the natural συνακολούθει to συνακολούθειν. Stallb., Wagn., and Burnet print δὴ συνακολούθει; Herm. and Zürr., like all the early edd., have δὲ συνακολούθει; Schn. O's δὴ συνακολούθειν (an imperatival inf.).

b 2. τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν (νοῦν) ἐλέγχοντες ἐνταῦθ' ἐσμὲν νοῦν: the ἐκεῖνο in the previous line carries back the mind to the previous exposition at 961 c, where the objects of the other professions were examined, and so emphasizes the νοῦν here: "we have now got to the point of examining the political φρόνησις."
NOTES TO BOOK XII

963 b

b 5. οὐ δὴ is logically "the like of which," rather than "that one which." The previous two questions are equivalent to "what in your case is the supreme object of all endeavour?"

b 6. All editors but Schneider write ἄν, πάντων for the ἄπαντων of A and O. See below on c 9.

b 7. διαρθροῦντες: an expressive synonym for διορισθεῖσθαι, as at 645 c 1. At Arist. Ἕρει πορείας ζῴων 705 b 21 it is used in the sense of differentiae.

c 3. τί δὴ ὅτι δὲι προθυμεύσθαι τε συνεδείν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν αἷς; the Athenian does not mean to provide the answer to the question just propounded; his concern is to show that it would tax the wisdom of the profoundest philosopher to answer it, and hence to deduce the necessity for providing the thinking faculty of the state—which is the νυκτερίνους σφάλλογος—with the most perfect and accurate philosophical training (964 d 4 f.). He therefore proceeds to furnish here, and below at 964 a 7 ff., two examples of the sort of questions which will have to be considered by them. The first question is the old mystery of the one and the many: "What is it, I say, which we have to be anxious to discern, both in itself, and in its manifestations?" If this translation is right, ὅτι is the indirect interrogative. Fic.'s translation is: "An non quaerendum putatis quid illud sit et in quibus?" (Schn. and Stallb. put a comma after τί δ'.) Schn. translates "Numquid vero et operam dandum esse ei cognoscendo, et in quibus sit danda?"

c 5. οἷον ἐν τίσι λέγεις; Cleinias's answer is in effect: "show me by an example what you mean by 'in its manifestations.'" This the Ath. proceeds to do by the example of ἀρετὴ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό and the four separate manifestations of ἀρετῆ.

c 6. Ο² gives ἐφάσμευν as a variant for the more precise ἐφάσαμεν of AlO and Stob.

c 9. A and O accidentally omitted the καί; Stobaeus has it and Α² inserts it above the line.—Stobaeus reads αὖ τάντα for the ἄπαντα of A and O, and he is probably right (so Ast); Fic. gives οὐκαν εἰτιαμ, which looks like ἐν γε αὖ.

d 1. Boeckh (Minos p. 147) proposed to read γ' ἄλλα for τάλλα, and Ast would read δ' ἄλλα, but Stallb. rightly follows Matthiae, Gr. § 279 in upholding the article as meaning "quaem commemoravi"; cp. τάλλα (Stob. τὰ ἄλλα) at d 5 and τοῖς ἄλλοις at d 6.—ὅς ὄντως ὅντα, "as being in reality." However Cleinias understood these words, ὄντως ὅντα, like the αὐτό at c 3, is in harmony with Plato's belief in νοητὰ εἴδη. So he speaks in the Rep. of τὸ παντελῶς ὄν, τὸ εἰλικρινῶς ὄν, and of ὄντως κλίνης 621
THE LAWS OF PLATO

ποιη
ths ὁντως οὖνς (597 d 1). Wagn. translates by a mere "in
der That," Fic. and Schn. by revera.—A has ὁντως for ὁν
tos, and L and O, which read ὁντως, both mention ὁντων as a variant;
Stob. omits the word altogether.—ἐν τοῦτο μονον, ἀρετην, "the
particular individual thing, virtue."

d 6. O and A2 correctly write ἐν for the ἐν of A and Stob.; O
mentions ἐν as a variant.

d 9. O2 and Stob. read ὅ γε for the simple ὅ of A and O.

e 1f. τι ποτε . . . προσεϊπομεν, "how it comes that, while
calling them all the while by the one name ἀρετη, we again
speak of them as two." προσεϊπομεν is a gnomic aor.

e 3. L and O have λέγω, Α εγω altered by A2 to λέγω. L2
and O2, and a late hand in Α, all adopt Stobaeus's ἐρω, to which
A's εγω gives some support. From Ast onwards all texts have ἐρω.

e 4. τῆς ἀνδρείας: for the attraction from another case to the
case of the relative see Riddle, Digest § 192 e; a very similar
instance to this is Phaedo 66 e 2 καὶ τότε, ὃς ἔσκεκ, ἧμιν ἔσται
όβ ἐπιθυμούμεν τε καὶ φαμεν ερασται εἶναι, φρονύσεως. (Balter
and Wagn. reject τῆς ἀνδρείας.)

e 8. ὃς ὁντος ἐτέρον, "for wisdom is a different thing"; i.e. it
is not an inborn, physical quality, but a mental acquirement. So,
in the discussion of this same question at Prot. 349 b 1 ff., Socrates
says οὐκ ὅν ὁδον τὸ ἐτερον αὐτῶν τὸ ἐτερον. The above rough
popular definition of the peculiar nature of courage contradicts
directly the view expressed by Nicias in the Laches 197 a 6 ff.,
where he denies that animals or little children can properly be
called courageous, because their fearlessness is μετὰ ἀπρομηθίας καὶ
ἀνοίας; it is also at variance with Prot. 350 c 5 ff. (Ritter thinks
ὡς ὁντος ἐτέρον may mean "λόγος being something distinct from
either φρονύσεως or νοῦς.")

964 a 2. πάλιν, "in return."

a 3. διανοοῦ δὲ ὃς ἐρων καὶ: as we should say: "you will also
have to tell me, you know. (Not, as Jowett, "suppose that I ask
you.")"

a 4. πάλιν (δεὶξαι) ὁπτη τέταρα: the Ath. would not merely
have to go through the same process, with the remaining two
virtues, that he had followed at e 3 ff. above, with regard to ἀνδρεία
and φρονύσεως, but would have to show how the (now ascertained)
uniform character or essence of virtue manifested itself differently
in each of the four. The λόγος (e.g. of ἀνδρεία) of which we are
to hear below consists of its general character as a virtue, and of
its special distinguishing characteristics.
NOTES TO BOOK XII

964 a

a 5. τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, "further." This second problem is that of defining the significance and application of general terms. Cp. Ep. vii. 342 b 1 where ὄνομα and λόγος are mentioned as two out of five necessary accessories of ἔπιστήμη. So above at 895 d 4, where λόγος and ὄνομα are given as two out of the three things that it is desirable to know about everything. Cp. also Politicus 271 c 1 καὶ γιγνεῖται δή...οὕτως ἐχειν τούτων καὶ τὸν λόγον, and Sophist 221 b 1 οὗ μόνων τούτων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λόγον περὶ αὐτὸ τοῦργον.

a 8. τὸν γε ὄντα τι, "si precii alicuius est" Fic. Cp. Laches 200 a 8 ἀνδρὶ οἰομένῳ τι εἶναι. It is an expressive variant of the often repeated οὗ καὶ σμικρὸν ὅφελος. Cornarius suggested γνώντα for γε ὄντα, and Steph. and Ast accepted it in the text; not only, however, does the tense of γνώντα condemn it, but "a man who gets to know something" is by itself weaker than "a man who is worth something," and the καὶ marks the περὶ clause as belonging best to ἀγνοεῖν. Much the same reason would also exclude W. R. Paton's ingenious τὸν γ' ἐπαινοῦτα τι.—Α²'s λέγουτα τι is another wrong-headed correction.—καὶ is not also, but even.

b 1. πάντα τὰ τουαῦτα: Fic. rightly interprets this to mean "tam nomina quam rationes"—"to know neither name nor nature even of what is most beautiful and most important."

b 3. μεῖζον ("more important") continues the idea of the previous διαφέροντων μεγέθει; hence the asyndeton, which is quasi-explanatory.

b 6. A and Ο have φρόνησις δὲ δικαιοσύνη. Assuming the δὲ to be a dittographic blunder, most editors simply reject it, but Fic., Zärr., Herm., and Burnet not only reject the δὲ but adopt the marginal reading of Ο and a late hand in A, which is δικαιοσύνη φρόνησις. This is the (ascending) order in which the four cardinal virtues are given at 965 d 2, and at Phaedo 69 b 3 ff., but not that at 631 c 5 ff. (φρ. σω. δικ. ἀνδρ.).

b 8-c 6. Both Ficinus (who translates "nonne... doccre debent... atque haec significando excellere ceteris") and all other editors before Burnet accept without questioning the reading (in c 2) οὗ δεὶ διδάσκοντα. Burnet, however, reveals the fact that neither A nor Ο had anything but οὗ διδάσκοντα, though some inferior MSS. have οὗ δεὶ διδάσκοντα, and further that the δεὶ prefixed to διδ. in A is from the hand of the fourteenth-century bishop Constantine of Hierapolis in Sicily, who was once the possessor of the MS. A—and whom Cobet calls its
"correctorculus." Burnet therefore rightly prints nothing but οὐ διδάσκοντα, leaving us to suppose that the acc. c. inf. clauses could stand alone after πότερον, with some such expression supplied in thought as "are we to think?" It would be better, I think, to mark by a (—) the fresh start at πότερον, which is accompanied by the change from plur. to sing. "Are we (on the one hand) to think that on these subjects the interpreters, teachers, and lawmakers, who are the guardians of their fellow-citizens,—in the interest of the man who wants to learn and know, or of him who wants to be punished and rebuked because he is a sinner—are we, I say, to think that it is not the man who can explain (to him) the effective force of vice and virtue, and make it quite clear, who stands above (all) other men, but (to imagine) that either some poet who visits the city, or someone who professes to be an instructor of youth, is demonstrably the superior of the man who has won the repute of perfect virtue?" Palaeographically the Correctorculus's "shot" was not a bad one. The same carelessness which led to the addition in some inferior MSS. of δὲ before διδάσκοντα might also have led to the omission of δὲ before the same word. But δὲ does not suit both of the two alternatives πότερον οὖ διαφέρειν and ἄλλα ἢ ποιητῆν τίνα . . . βελτίων φαίνεσθαι.

b 8. I do not think that Wagner is right (in his note) in giving to ἐξηγητᾶς the narrower sense it has at 759 d 5; the three nouns are general descriptions of the functions and powers of the members of the νυκτ. σύλλογος.

b 9. τὸ δεομένῳ, which some interpreters connect directly with δηλοῦντα in c 3 (so A.M.A.), is possibly merely the dat. of the person interested. (Schn. translates "in usum eius qui . . . ")

c 1. The collocation in one clause of the pass. κολύζεσθαι and the act. ἐπιλέγει, both depending on δεομένῳ, is harsh and unusual.

c 3. Schneider puts no comma after δηλοῦντα; he makes διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων refer to ἁρετή and depend on δηλοῦντα, i.e. he takes βελτίων φαίνεσθαι as the only inf. depending on the question οὐ δὲ;

c 5. πᾶσαν ἁρετὴν νευκηκότος; this acc. is like the acc. in τῶν ἀπαντα νικᾶ λόγον at Soph. O.C. 1225, and in the expressions μάχην, δίκην, Ὀλυμπία νικᾶν, an extension of the cognate acc. νικῆν νικᾶν. — The variant πᾶση ἁρετῇ in Α² is a short-sighted correction.

c 6 ff. εἶτα . . . θαυμαστῶν τι (εἴη ἄι'); "will you tell me that it would be at all surprising that . . . ?" A similar εἶτα intro-
duces a similar animated question at Theaet. 207 d 8, and at Sophist 222 b 6.

c 7 (δοπον μη) ... εἰεν: the opt. shows that the unexpressed verb with θανάσσαν τι; would be εἰη αὖ.

d 3. Burnet and Wagner rightly follow Herm. in punctuating των ἡμῶν, ᾖ πῶς; (cp. 965 a 4 πότερον οὕτω λέγομεν ἦ ποσ ἁλλοις;). Fic. and all other editors join on ἦ (or ᾖ) πῶς to the following question. The question is still "shall we (by careful selection and training) endeavour to make our supreme deliberative authority as perfect as possible?" It was not so plainly put in the last paragraph, but it was implied, and that is what δ λέγομεν νῦν means.

d 3 ff. τοὺς φύλακας ... κατασκευαστέον; "are we to secure that our guardians are more perfect than ordinary, both in the practice and understanding of virtue?"

d 5. ἦ τίνα τρόπον; "how else?"—τῆ γαρ ... κεφαλῇ τε καὶ αἰσθήσεων: cp. above, 961 d 2–10.

d 8. Cleinias asks, "What do we mean by such a comparison, and wherein does the likeness lie?"

e 1. ὅς οὐσίς τῆς πόλεως τοῦ κύτους stands for τῆν πόλιν εἶναι τὸ κύτος; cp. on 624 a 7.—The state as a whole is compared to the trunk of a human body. (Fic. and Schn. take it to mean the hollow of the skull.)

e 2 f. οἶνον ἐν ἄκρα κορυφῆ, ἀπειληγμένους τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους: varying the metaphor, we might say "risen to the top of everything, the cream of the whole." The fact that they were a selection of the most capable younger men gives the right to speak of them as being "right at the top"—where the head of the body is. Herm., Schn., Wagn., Stalb. (1860), and Burnet rightly prefer the ἀπειληγμένους of ALO to the suggestive variant ἀπειλημμένου ("set apart") of the margin of L and O, which was the reading of all previous editions. An inferior MS.—Bekker's z—gives ἀπειληγμένους, which, as Stalb. says, shows how ἀπειλημμένους perhaps arose.

e 3. ἐν τάσι γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, "in every mental faculty."

e 4. περὶ ὀλνύ κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως ὀρᾶν: probably περὶ does not govern ὀλνύ πόλιν—which is the direct obj. of ὀρᾶν—but is adverbial as at Phaedo 112 e 7 τῶν περὶ κύκλῳ. The ὅς proceeds as if there had been a μὲν after ὀλνύ. Ought we perhaps to read τε for it?

965 a 3. μετὰ συμβουλίας: the younger men had acted as scouts, and treasured in their memory (e 5 above) what they had
seen, and were thus able to help the elder members of the Council in their deliberations.

a 4. Probably it was the similarity in sound which led to the omission of ὐλην after πόλιν in A and O. It was added by a late hand in A.

a 5. ḿ πως ἄλλως: so rightly Steph. for the vulgate ḿ τῶς ἄλλως; so too Fic. before him, translating "since an alter?"—κατασκευάζεσθαι: it seems best to take this to be middle; we shall so get rid of the difficulty of the following κεκτημένους, which will agree with ἦμισ understood—μόν (λέγομεν δειν ἦμισ κατασκευάζεσθαι αὐτοῦς ὁμοίους πάντας κεκτημένους; (Ast and Wagn. take κατασκ. to be passive, and κεκτημένους to stand for κεκτηθαί and to agree with a πολίτας to be extracted from τὴν πόλιν in a 4. L & S. cut the knot by supposing κεκτημένους to be passive! Jowett treats ὁμοίους πάντας as subj. and κεκτ. as obj. of a supplied λέγομεν, "shall we say that they are all alike owners of the state?" Stallb. ingeniously suggests that πάντα has fallen out after πάντας.)

a 6. Steph. altered the awkward secondary predicate δηκριβωμένους to δηκριβωμένως; Stallb. (1860) went further and changed ὁμοίους to ὁμοίως. Fic. seems to have read δηκριβωμένως. The gain in style is so great, and the change such a natural one for a scribe to make, that I adopt Steph.'s reading.

b 1. We have had a hint of the possibility of this ἄκριβεστέρα παιδεία in the ἦ (ἐκ) μαθημάτων ποτὲ τινον of 770 d 3, where the original constitution of the νομοφύλακες and their functions is described.

b 4. ἦς ἦ νῦν σχεδόν ἐφηψάμεθα, "we are now," he says, "face to face with the mystery of which we had an inkling just now," i.e. at 962 e, 963 b 2—964 a 3—the mystery of the one and the many.

b 7 ff. The δημιουργός in question is, of course, the νομοθέτης.

b 10. πρὸς ἐκείνον συντάξασθαι πάντα συνορώντα, "to keep his eye fixed on that whenever he settles anything"; συνορώντα πρὸς ἐκείνο forms the main idea of the clause. Op. Ερίν. 979 a 5 πάντα ἀριθμὸν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν... συνορ. and 779 c 7 συνιδόντες ταῖς χρείαις. [A.M.A. makes πάντα the obj. of συνορώντα.]

c 1 ff. Here is made clear to us, what was hinted above at 963 cff., that the philosophical problem is at the root of all practical questions which, like that mooted at 962 e, ask "what is the real object for which I have to strive?" In other words, the supreme object of every endeavour can only be discovered by
the man who can penetrate to the νοητὰ εἰδη (Soph. 246 b 7) and
discern the one in the many. Cp. particularly Soph. 253 d 5—c 1.
—The first hands in A and O have ἄκριβεστέρα σκέψις θέα τε ἄν. In some early MS. the last three words were run into one,
and this mistake gave rise to many subsequent adjustments—not
now worth recording.

c 9. The καὶ brings the case of the young candidates into line
with the general statement made at c 1 ff.

c 10. τὶ ποτὲ ΑΘ and the margin of L; L and O² have ὅτε
ποτὲ. The former more animated form of the question seems the
more natural, as well as the better attested; the latter looks like
a grammarian’s correction.

d 1. A has φαμεν εν ἀνδρείᾳ; the τε after ἤν, which is needed
to supplement the καὶ before ἤν φρονήσει, was added by Α² in the
margin, and Bishop Constantine added ἤν above the line— as if
the ἤν after φαμεν was written obscurely.

d 2. A and O have ἤν ὃ, rightly corrected by Α³ and O² to ἤν
ὄν. In the margin of L and O there is a noticeable variant ἤνὸν;
we are not told what L’s original reading was. Fic. seems to have
read ἤνὸν, for he translates; “quod, cum in fortitudine . . . insit,
uno virtutis nomine inre volumus appellari.”

d 3. τοῦτο κτλ.: the asyndeton emphasizes the τοῦτο; “that,
believe me, is what we must keep a firm grasp of.”

d 4. εἰ μὲν βουλόμεθα (“if we are agreed”), like the ἤν γε ἵμιν
. . . πειθώμεθα at e 3, is more polite than the 2nd pers. would be.

d 6. εἴτε ὡς ἤν εἴτε ὡς ὃλον εἴτε ἄμφοτερα εἴτε ὅπως ποτὲ
πέφυκεν: the form of the quadruple alternative is nearly the
same as that of the triple ones at 899 a 7 ff., Phaedo 100 d 5 f.,
Rep. 612 a 4. For the sense cp. the quadruple alternative (cited
above) at Soph. 253 d 5 ff.—The expressions are chosen so as to fit
equally (1) the general problem of the relation of the one to the
many, (2) the particular one of the relation of the four cardinal
virtues to the one general term virtue—the latter, as we saw at
963 a ff., being a thing which every real government has got to
find out.— “Is it some one thing that exists in all four? or is it
a composite whole made up of the four separate parts? or are both
these things true at once? or is any other explanation possible?”—
A and O left out the ὡς before ἤν; Α² restored it.

e 1. περὶ τῆς κτλ.: it has been established that the government
must pursue one supreme end, but how can it, if it cannot be sure
that ἀρετῆ, which is confessedly its end, is one?—A and O again,
as at d 6, omit an evidently necessary word—in both cases after

627
a word ending in -τε. A\textsuperscript{3} (in the margin) and O\textsuperscript{2} give us οὐτ' ἐι πολλά for the οὐτε πολλά of A and O.

\textbf{e 2.} Again A and O go wrong, writing οὐτὸς for οὐθ' ὡς. A\textsuperscript{3} (in the margin) and O\textsuperscript{2} give the right reading.

\textbf{e 3.} The MS. readings in this line are (1) οὐκοῦν (apparently), (2) ἡμείς, and (3) ἄλλως δὲ πῶς. For (2) A\textsuperscript{2} is evidently right in reading ἡμῖν, and so all editors. For (3) A\textsuperscript{3} and O\textsuperscript{2} suggest ἄμωσγέπως in the margin, and all editors but Schneider and Burnet have adopted it. The majority of edd. hold, i.e., that to the Ath.'s rhetorical question οἱμεθα ἀποκεῖτο κτλ., he makes answer, "we must manage to get virtue somehow." But is not this a weak remark as a supplement to the statement made at d 3 ff. that they must never let this object get out of their grasp? I follow Schn. and Burnet in reading for (1) οὐκοῦν, and this brings the MS. ἄλλως δὲ πῶς to its rights again; "no, believe me," he says, "if we don't secure that object in one way, we must do so in another."

\textbf{e 4 ff.} εἰ δ' ἀρα τὸ παράτατον δοκεῖ ἐὰν: i.e. "whether" (or "if") we are going to give up altogether our main object," which is ἀρετή in the various elements of our state.—What follows δοκεῖ is obscure. Both A and O read ἐὰν (not ἐὼν). A gives two versions of the next three or four letters: (1) *ρη and (in the margin) δρη; O has ὀρη, with δη given as a variant in the margin; δη is also written by A\textsuperscript{3} in the margin of A. The sense of the three concluding lines is no doubt, as Fic. saw, "if we don't secure this knowledge somehow we must give up our main endeavour." His translation is: "aut... modum adinvenire conabimus quo id in civitate nobis aderit, aut, si videbitur, dimittamus." Assuming that all editors are right in reading ἐὼν for the MS. ἐὰν, we have to choose between various conjectural restorations of the mutilated text which follows it. Schn. reads χρην (i.e. χρῆναι), Herm. δραν, Winck. and Burnet (independently) ὄραν δη. This last, though not the most defensible palaeographically, gives the most appropriate sense. The Ath. was more likely to say "we must face the possibility of renouncing our main object," than to say "if we decide that we must renounce it, we must." It also suits Cleinias's answer better. Burnet reminds us that ὄραν δη χρεῶν νῦν occurs below at 968 a 4.

\textbf{e 6.} Here we have another mutilation: A reads ἕκωστ' ἐν ἦ, for which O and A\textsuperscript{3} (in the margin of A) have ἕκωστ' ἐν*. Fic., Ald., and all subsequent editors make the correction to ἕκωστα νη. —A has also ξένον for ξένον (corrected by A\textsuperscript{3}).
e 8. L and O (and A³). read μηχανήσαυτο for Α’s μηχανότο; Zürr. alone adopt the variant.—The τοῦτο here is probably the τοῦτο of d 3, i.e. the philosophic insight, not that of e 4, which is virtue.

966 a 5. Stallb. says that here, and below at b 4, ALO and some minor MSS. have not δὲ but δαι; from Burnet’s silence it may be concluded that with respect to A at all events this is a mistake. Cp. above, 895 c 11.

a 6. The μόνον looks on to the η καὶ of the following line. Not only must our σύλλογος be able to see how other general ideas besides the four cardinal virtues—cp. b 4 περὶ πάντων τῶν σπουδαίων—are πολλά, but also how they are εὖ. Herm. rightly rejects the δὲn after μόνον, which L and O give as a variant, because it is condemned both by the authority of the better MS., and by the sense of the passage.

a 8. ἔοικε ἔε αὐτόγκης δεῖν: Stallb. is probably right in holding that ἔοικε ἔε αὐτόγκης means the same as ἔοικε αὐτόγκαιον, as in similar expressions at Soph. 256 d 11, and Tim. 28 a 8.

b 1. The word ἐνδείκνυσι is usually a legal term (cp. Pollux viii. 49); but L. & S. are wrong in citing it as such in this passage; here it is demonstration, exposition. It occurs again at Ep. vii. 341 e 3, where also Plato is speaking of the power of τινες ὀλύγοι to expound high philosophical truths. These are apparently the only two passages in which he uses the term. The verb ἐνδείκνυσθαι is common in Plato; at 856 c 3, and Apol. 32 b 8, the active is used in the legal sense of inform against.—With the construction of the dat. with the noun of action—“demonstration by word”—Stallb. rightly cps. ἐσής τῇ τρίβειν at Phil. 46 a 8: interpreters generally take τῇ λόγῳ with ἐνδείκνυσθαι.

b 4. περὶ πάντων τῶν σπουδαίων, “on all important subjects,” (Certainly not, as Jowett (ed. 2), “of all good men.”)—Burnet comes nearest to the αὐτὸς of A and O in writing αὐτὸς for the ὁ αὐτὸς of L and O² and all other editions.

b 5. τούς ὀντοὺς φύλακας: the ordinary νομοφύλακες, as constituted and commissioned in Bk. VI. (752 e–755 b and 770), have had many various extra duties assigned to them in the course of the subsequent legislation, but in order to cope with this supreme task there must be constituted, from them and other selected men, older and younger, a yet more highly gifted body—in fact a body of philosophers. Ritter (p. 356) cps. Rep. 414 b καλεῖν τούτους μὲν φύλακας παντελεῖς, and Rep. 428 d ως νῦν δὴ τελέους φύλακας ὑπομάζομεν.
b 8. κρίνοντας ... κατὰ φύσιν, "secundum naturam diindicantes" Fic. So too Schr. (Wagn. takes μή κατὰ φύσιν with a supplied γιγνόμενα; Ritter, who also suggests taking the words so, cps. 686 d 3, 815 b 5, 816 b 2, and 818 e 3.) To distinguish on natural lines is to distinguish truly. Such a judgement is necessary both for thought and exposition and for action.

c 1. The τῶν σπουδαίων of b 4 is here replaced by τῶν καλλίστων, the added ὅ δέ σπουδὴ διεπερανάμεθα serving to recall the former term. εν τῶν καλλίστων = "prominent among the noblest."

c 2. καὶ ὅσης φαίνονται κύριοι δυνάμεως, "and with how great power they are evidently endowed."

c 3. The infinitives εἰδέναι, συγγιγνώσκειν and (μή) ἐπιτρέπειν are subjects of some such phrase as καλὸν ἑστιν, implied in εν τῶν καλλίστων ἑστίν. (Fic. makes them depend on διεπερανάμεθα; but the necessity for the "real" φύλακες being philosophers was not part of the previous exposition.)

c 5. τῷ φύμη μόνον τῶν νόμων συνακολοουθοῦν, "if they merely acquiesce in what the laws tell them."

c 6. μὴ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν is in effect, "not even to allow them to be candidates for the office—not even to give them the chance."

c 8. τῶν οὐσῶν: sc. πίστεων.—τὴν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτροπὴν εἶναι, "and this refusal must (ultimately) mean that . . ." All subsequent editors have accepted Ast's illuminating substitution of μη for the MS. μήν. Fic. has merely "ut neminem . . . eligamus."

d 1. θείον καὶ διαπεπονηκότα: i.e. he must be both naturally gifted and studious.

d 2. αὐτά is easily understood to mean τὰ θεία.—μηδ' αὖ τῶν πρὸς ἁρετὴν (ἐγκριτῶν) ἐγκριτὸν γίγνεσθαι: it is very significant of the importance which Plato attaches to philosophic thinking that he will not allow even perfect excellence in conduct among the class described at c 4—who only possess ἀληθῆς δόξα at second hand—to qualify for the class of "the elect"—of those who, as he expresses it at b 7, are able τοῖς ἑργοῖς συνακολοουθέων τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν σπουδαίων πάντων. We are reminded of St. Paul's distinction between Law and Grace.—Herm., Stallb. (1860), and Wagner accept L. Dindorf's emendation (in Didot's Thesaurus) of the ἐγκριτῶν of the MSS. to ἐγκρίτων. But we seem to want something to agree with τὸν μὴ θείον rather than a parallel expression to τῶν νομοφυλάκων.

d 5. A and O have ἀποκρίνασθαι (answer), but Α² and Ο²
NOTES TO BOOK XII

rightly alter it to ἀποκρίνεσθαι (to be separated from among). (Schn. and L. & S. suppose it possible that the middle may have had the meaning “separate.”) Fic. translates “ut arceatur,” but the vulgate adopted the reading ἀποκρίνασθαι. Zürt., Herm., Stallb. (1860), Wagn., and Burnet adopt the pass. ἀποκρίνεσθαι. Such a man, Cl. says, must not hope to obtain distinction. Cp. Rep. 414 a τὸν δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποκριτέον, and 413 c καὶ τὸν μὲν μνήμονα καὶ δυσεξαπάτητον ἐγκριτέον, τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀποκριτέον.

d 6. δῦ ἐστὸν κτλ.: not εἰς πίστιν (τῶν) ὡσα διήλθομεν (in that case he would have said “there were two” not “there are two”): (τῶν) ὡσα κτλ. depends on δῦ ἐστὸν, and πίστιν belongs solely to περὶ θεῶν. (Fic. and Schn. take the former view.)—For the first pers. ὁμείως, where we should expect the second, cp. above on 965 d 4 and e 3. (Schmidt, Em. Plat. 1848, would read τῶν for τῶ—thus providing ὡσα with an antecedent—“leading to faith in the theology of Bk. Χ.” But this does not emphasize the two points as well as the τῶ does.)

d 9 ff. πρεσβύτατον τε καὶ θειότατον ἐστὶν πάντων δὲν κίνησις γένεσιν παραλαβοῦσα ἄνανον οὐσίαν ἐπόρισεν, “is far older and more perfect than all the things whose movement, having received its origin (from elsewhere), starts them on a ceaseless round of change.” We must not let modern idiom blind us to the fact that ψυχὴ is not one of the things which are so “started”; they are all ὁμοια—all discernible by the bodily senses, while ψυχὴ is not so discernible. For the idiom cp. below, 969 a 7 ἀνδρειότατος τῶν ύστερον ἐπιγγεγομένων. The passage in Bk. Χ. to which this sentence refers is 896 b 10 ff., where the adjectives are in the comparative degree.—With παραλαβοῦσα cp. 897 a 4 πρωτουργοὶ κινήσεις τὰς δευτερουργοὺς αὖ παραλαμβάνονσαι κινήσεις σωμάτων. The γένεσις here spoken of is not that of the πάντων, but of the κίνησις.

e 2. Ast first expressed a doubt whether ἄνανον merely means “everlasting” or “ever-flowing—in the sense of the μεταβολῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετακοσμήσεως ἀπάσης of 892 a 6, and of the μεταβάλλων . . . καὶ μετακινούμενον of 894 a 5 f. (cp. Crat. 402 a 8 πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει). It seems to fit in best with Plato’s ontology to take it in the latter sense, and to suppose πάντων to be the world as apprehended by the bodily senses. The former meaning is given to the word by Schn., Wagn., Jowett, and L. & S.; Fic. gives semper fluentem, Susemihl “immer fliessendes.”

967 a 2. ταίς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναγκαίαις ἄλλαις τέχναις, "the other related sciences."

a 3. ὡς οὖν τε: so the MSS. and so all texts. If this reading is correct it must mean "as far as possible," and must qualify γυνιγόμενα ἀνάγκαις. But the natural expression for this would be ὡς οὖν τε μάλιστα. See, however, Adam's note on Rep. 387 c 2, where four MSS. read ὡς οὖν τε in place of the unintelligible ὡς οὖν of the best MSS. He points out that at Arist. Pol. 1313 a 39 ὡς οὖν τε is used without a superlative. There Bekker proposes to read ὡς οὖνται, which Apelt (Progr. 1901), with perhaps better reason, proposes to read here. A comparison of the three passages seems to me to tell in favour of the MSS. (Fic. would make ὡς οὖν τε qualify καθεωρακότας, "cum . . . pro viribus . . . inspexerint," and so Stallb.)

a 4. O² mentions an unintelligible variant ἀναγκαίους for ἀνάγκαις.

a 5. ἀγαθὸν πέρι τελοντένων: lit. "occupied about good which is being accomplished." For good and perfection as the final cause of cosmic arrangements cp. Phaedo 97 c ff. and Tim. 39 e.

b 3 f. ἀψυχα ὁντα . . . νοῦν μὴ κεκτημένα: the second participial clause develops the first, and gives the reason for it; i.e. this marvellously exact calculation would never have been possible if the heavenly bodies had not been informed by ψυχή, for without ψυχή there is no νοῦς, and only νοῦς could arrange things fittingly.—εἰς ἀκρίβειαν is an adverbial clause qualifying θαυμαστός: "so wonderful in accuracy," i.e. "so wonderfully accurate."

b 5. νοῦς . . . διακεκοσμηκώς πάντα: cp. above on 966 e 4.

b 6 ff. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸι πάλιν ἀμαρτάνοντες ψυχής φύσεως . . . ἀπανθ'. . . ἀνέτρεψαν πάλιν: cp. the disappointment about Anaxagoras expressed by Socrates at Phaedo 98 b 7 ff.

c 2. τὸ γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τῶν ὄμμάτων, "for judging by (near) appearances." The τὸ of A and O, which Burnet is the first to discover and print, makes the expression an adverbial one, and is much better than the τὰ of the vulgate and all other texts. The δὴ which A gives is omitted by L and O. For πρὸ τῶν A erroneously wrote πρωτον, but A² corrected it. Fic. has "nam quae ante oculos sunt haec et in caelo esse crediderunt." This is not a translation of the Greek, but, as usual, he gets hold of the right idea. I have removed the commas which stand in all recent editions after ἐφάνη and φέρομενa.

c 4. μεστὰ . . . λίθων, "a pack of stones."
c. 5. διανεμόντων τὰς αἰτίας, "which (inanimate bodies) provided" (not "shared," for that would be διαμεμορείων) "the causes of." Cp. Phaedo 98 b 9 f., and Arist. Met. 985 a 20 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοις [where he—Anaxagoras—thinks he can discern a necessary cause] πάντα μᾶλλον αἰτιᾶται τῶν γεγομένων ἡ νοῦν. (Fic. and Ast take διανεμόντων to be used, by a violent grammatical dislocation, of the philosophers—the αὐτοῖς of c 3: "his causes totius mundi dederunt." Fic. Ast cps. 815 c 5 ἀποτελοῦντων and 829 d 5 ἀποδιδόντων.)

c. 6. τότε: i.e. at the date of the persecution of Anaxagoras.—A late hand in A, and O2, give ἐξεργασάμενα as a variant for ἐξεργασμένα (which is active as at 801 e 8).—δυσχερείας, "unpopularity"—consequent on the ἀδεότης; the two words almost form a hendiadys. (Jowett's "much atheism and perplexity," and Wagn. 's "Abneigung gegen Beschäftigung mit dergleichen" are both wide of the mark.) τῶν τοιοῦτων is the philosophers, and ἐξερ. ἀπεσεθαί is "caused to attach."

c. 7. καὶ δὴ καὶ λοιδορήσεις γε ἐπήλθον ποιηταῖς, "and that was how poets took to abusing them." For ἐπέρχεσθαί τινι λέγειν τι cp. Gorg. 485 e 5 καὶ γὰρ ἐμὸλ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀττα ἐπέρχεται πρὸς σὲ λέγειν, and Crat. 428 c 2. The γε marks a further stage arrived at by the opposition to philosophy; A and O wrote it as τε, but A2 and O2 corrected it. Cp. Phil. 48 d 7 λέγω καὶ δεομαί γε πρὸς τῷ λέγειν (where Stallb. would prefer τε, as A and O did here).

c. 8. κυστὶ κτλ.: the passage from some (unidentified) poet is given more fully at Rep. 607 b 6. For the case of ἀπεικάζοντας cp. ἐπαρώμενον at 949 b 2.

d. 1. The "other silly things" which poets took to saying were probably quotations which in Rep. follow that about ἦ λακέρυξ κῶν.—O has here, ἀλλὰ τε αὖ, alone preserved, as it did at 746 b 6, what seems to be the right reading (so Bekker, Stallb., and Burnet); A has ἀλλὰ τὰ altered to ἀλλὰ ταῦτα by A2 and to ἀλλὰ τε by A3; we are not told what L has, but L has O's reading in the margin. (Zürr., Herm., and Wagn. read ἀλλὰ τε, Schn. a simple ἀλλὰ.) The ἦ ... κῶν of the Rep. passage confirms the gender of χρωμέναυσιν, for which W. R. Paton proposes to read χρωμένουσιν.

d. 4 ff. This paragraph sums up and reinforces the argument which began at 964 d 3. The highest class in the state must be (1) the most intelligent, (2) thoroughly trained in philosophical speculation, and (3) of an ordered, harmonious, and law-abiding
character and behaviour. In connexion with these requirements Ritter (p. 361 note) calls attention to Aristotle's remark (Pol. ii. 1265 a 2) that, though Plato started in the Laws to model a state suited to the actual condition of mankind, and only "second-best" as compared with the ideal state of the Republic (cp. above 739 a–c), he yet gradually brought round the second-best institutions more and more into resemblance with those of the ideal: ταύτην βουλόμενος κοινοτέραν ποιεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ μικρὸν περιάγει πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν πολιτείαν. We have here, in fact, very much the same class of rulers which we have in the Republic.—βεβαιώς θεωσεβή: only if the following requirements are fulfilled can a man's religion stand firm against the shock of doubt, or the temptations of life.

d 6. πρεσβύτατον: again, as at 966 d 9, and below at 969 a 7, I would take the superlative as equivalent to a strong English comparative—"far older than all."

d 8. τὸν τε εἰρημένον: in the margin of L and Ο we are told that some scribes would omit εἰρημένον; this is natural in view of the previous εἰρημένον, but it is all the more unlikely that anyone should have put it in if Plato did not.

e 1. τὸν ... νοῦν τὸν ὄντων, "the world mind"—the mind which is "at the heart" of existence, the mysterious power of which ἕν ἐνι φερομένῃ κίνησις is an image (897 d ff.). (Stallb. denies the possibility of such an expression as νοῦν τῶν ὄντων, and would add the word αἰτίων, thus totally altering the sense of the passage, and introducing the strange idea that the special νοῦς which governs the motions of the stars is the cause of all created things.)—τά τε πρὸ τούτων μαθήματα λάβῃ: this is sufficiently explained by 818 a 1–3, where there is a significant reference to the education of the super-φύλακες.—The repetition of the λάβῃ is, grammatically speaking, unnecessary, but natural and helpful. (Stallb. would reject it.)

e 2 f. τά τε ... συγκαμμοστόντως: we may perhaps paraphrase "and unless he grasps the connexion between that study and the science of Harmony so as to apply the spirit of it to his practical behaviour and his sense of what is lawful." Cp. Rep. 500 d 4 ἃ ἐκεί ὁρᾷ μελετήσαι εἰς ἀνθρώπων ὑθή καὶ ἵδια καὶ δημοσία τιθέναι. For the spiritual influence of Music cp. Rep. 401 d 5 κυριωτάτη ἢ ἐν μονικῇ τροφῇ, ὅτι μάλιστα καταδύνεται εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ τε ρυθμὸς καὶ ἀρμονία ... φέροντα τὴν εὐσχημωσύνην.

968 a 1. We learn from Burnet that the ὀσα τε μή, which the
vulgate down to Ast adds to λόγον in e 4, was due to the fact that A wrote ὅσα τε μή instead of ὧ δὲ μὴ at the beginning of the next sentence, where O, as at 967 d 1, and at 764 b 6, has preserved the correct reading ὧ δὲ μὴ. A late hand in A added ὧ δὲ μὴ in the margin, and so the vulgate got both. Fic. ignores the ὅσα τε μὴ.

—For ταῖς δημοσίαις ἁρεταῖς cp. above on 710 a 5 τὴν δημοδὴ (σωφροσύνην). The man here depicted is of course one of τοῖς πλείστοις spoken of at 966 c 4 ff. “The popular virtue in its highest conceivable form leads to the same conduct as the philosophic virtue. The difference is that we can trust the latter, and not the former” Archer-Hind, Phaedo, App. I. p. 153.

a 4 ff. ἦδη . . . εἰ καὶ τοῦτον προσούσομεν; “if we shall straightway add this law too.” (Fic. and several later interpreters take τοῦτον to agree with σύλλογον.)

a 6 f. ὡς φυλακῇν . . . σύλλογον, “(intending) that the nocturnal council of the rulers shall be a legally established protector and preserver.” Here I follow Stallb. and Burnet in removing the comma which in other texts stands after σωτηρίας, and regarding ὡς φυλακῇν ἔσομεν . . . τὸν νυκτ. σύλ, as an instance of the construction noticed, e.g., at 762 e 5.

b 1. παϊδείας . . . κοινωνίν γενομένον: this participial clause contains the most important point in the Ath.’s pronouncement.

b 2. I. and O. and Constantine in the margin of A mention an inferior variant ποιούμεν for ποιώμεν.

b 3. We owe the correct ἄλλη, ὢ λόφητε to O. O had ἄλλωσ τε, a copyist’s slip; A had ἄλλη ὄλος τε, which is a misreading started by the substitution of o for ω as at 967 c 2.

b 7. Stallb. and Burnet rightly mark off πρῶς ὅ . . . εὐρήκω as a parenthesis. The Ath.’s being at home in the subject is no guarantee that other people are so, but it is a justification for his offer of help.

b 11. τίς δὲ ὧ τρόπος ἡμῖν γεγομένος ὁρθῶς γίνοιτ’ αὖ: these words might be supposed to refer to the statutory constitution of the σύλλογος. But this has already been explained more or less above at 951 d ff. and 961 a onwards. The Ath.’s words at c 4 ff. τότε δὲ . . . νομοθετεῖν imply that he supposed Cleinias had in view, among other things, the definition of the powers of the Council, but we may, I think, assume that Cleinias had grasped the significance of the Ath.’s insistence on the special training necessary for its members, and also felt that that was the point on which he needed most enlightenment.

c 1. O. gives the emphatic τούτι as a variant for τοῦτο, and
all editors but Schn. and Burnet have adopted it.—For the λέγομεν of ALO L and O mention a variant λέγομεν.

c 3 f. οὐκέτι νόμων . . . δυνατὸν ἦστιν νομοθετεῖν, “we can go no further with our law-making.”

c 4. πρὶν ἄν κοσμηθῇ, “until (the Council) is set up.” (Fic. and Jowett (ed. 2) take the state to be the subject, and Jow. translates αὐτοὺς by “the citizens.”—τότε δὲ . . . νομοθετεῖν, “then it will be time to decide what their powers ought to be.” L and O mention a plausible but not necessary νομοθετητέον for νομοθετεῖν; infinitives which count as indirect imperatives are common in the Laws. (Ritter’s view, p. 364, which is very attractive, is that we should get at the true meaning of the above parenthesis if we could persuade ourselves that the words κυρίων and αὐτοῖς ought to exchange places; “then let them (the members of the Council) fix by law what they ought to have power over.” By supplying κυρίων in thought with γίγνεσθαι Ritter thinks that even with the arrangement in the text this meaning can be extracted.)

c 5 ff. ἀλλὰ ἡδη . . . ὀρθῶς, “but only the schooling of many a conference can rightly form an instrument like that.” κατασκευά-ζειν, “get into shape,” is a quasi-synonym for the κοσμεῖν of c 4. Burnet usefully marks off τότε δὲ . . . νομοθετεῖν as a parenthesis; ἀλλὰ ἡδη κτλ. continues the idea of οὐκέτι διν. ἔστ. νομ.

c 9. A, L and O give the unsuitable καταδεκτέος as a variant for καταλεκτέος; perhaps some scribe thought καταλεκτέος κατάλογος stylistically objectionable.—A and O wrote εἰ for εἰη. The omission of η was probably due to the following κ. In early minuscules the characters for η and κ were very similar. The vulgate down to Ed. Bipont. has an absurd η.—κατάλογος: we must turn to the beginning of Bk. VI. in order to find what were the possibilities for such a selection. We are there told (754 c 6) that, doubtless including the ten Cnossians who were charged with founding the new Magnesia (702 c 5), 100 of the oldest and best Cnossians were to be chosen to take part in the preliminary selection of chief magistrates. From these would come the original 37 νομοφύλακες. Of these the ten oldest, with the addition of, say, fifteen of the distinguished priests of Apollo and the Sun, who acted as Euthynoi, and three past and present Directors of Education, with five approved travellers in foreign parts, would provide the older members of the Council. If these thirty-three chose each a younger companion there would be in all sixty-six, a not unlikely number.
d 2. τρόπων ὑθεσιν καὶ ἔθεσιν, “in character and habits.”

d 3. ἀ δεὶ μανθάνειν: this refers to the detailed mapping out of the subjects of Mathematics, Astronomy, and Philosophy, which we have been told are to be the subjects of advanced study.

d 5. χρόνους, οὗς τε καὶ ἐν οἷς: i.e. (1) the sequence of subjects, and (2) the time to be allowed to each.—O² gives ἐκαστὸν as a variant for ἐκαστα, and Ziirr. adopt it.

d 6. Both the structure of the sentences and the following justifying γάρ clause make it clear that ταῦτα refers only to the sequence and duration of the separate studies.—ἐν γράμμασιν λέγειν means “to prescribe,” and can hardly have, as Ritter hesitatingly suggests, a reference to written text-books.

e 1. ὅτι is the neut. indirect interrogative.

e 2. For the MS. τοῦ O and L mention a variant τοῦ; if any change be thought necessary, Stallb.’s τοῦ is preferable.—With the whole passage from c 5 to e 5 Ritter well compares the following passage from Ep. vii. 341 (c 4-d 1) οὖκον ἐμὸν γε περὶ αὐτῶν [philosophy] ἐστὶν σύγγραμμα οὐδὲ μήποτε γένηται. ῥήτων γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶν ὡς ἄλλα μαθήματα, ἀλλ’ ἐκ πολλῆς συνοπτικᾶς γινομένης περὶ τὸ πράγμα αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ συζήτησεν, ἐξεύρηκα, οἷον ἀπὸ πυρὸς πηδήσαντος ἐξαφθένθη φῶς, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ [i.e. of the pupil] γινομένου αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ ὅπῃ τρέφει.

e 4. A³, L² and O² give a futile variant ἐλεγχθέντα for λεγθέντα.—All subsequent editors (even Schn.) have adopted Ast’s brilliant, though simple, emendation of the MS. ἀπόρρητα to ἀπρόρρητα.

e 4 f. διὰ τὸ μηδὲν προφηθέντα δηλοῦν τῶν λεγομένων: in effect this amounts to saying that it is hopeless to try and convince the public beforehand of the propriety and advisability of any definite course of advanced study. For the general education of the average citizen he has in Bk. VII. mapped out the course pretty completely. Cp., e.g., 809 e ff.

e 7 ff. τὸ λεγομένου . . . ποιητεόν, “it is open to us, in the common phrase, to try our luck. If we can make up our minds to put the fortunes of our whole community to the test, we must do so, and (so) risk complete success or complete failure.” I follow Fic. in the interpretation of this passage, and in preferring the βάλλοντας of A² and O² to the βάλλοντες of A and O, but not preferring the πάντα of L and O² to the ταῦτα of A and O. Schn. and Burnet alone prefer βάλλοντες, holding doubtless that the clause belongs to ἑδέλομεν. Herm., Stallb., and Wagn. (as well as Schn. and Bur.) prefer ταῦτα to πάντα. Reading ταῦτα we must
decide whether ταῦτα ποιητέον means “we must do as I say” (about the Council), or simply “we must do so,” i.e. take the risk; probably it means the latter.

969 a. ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν συγκινδυνεύοσ: the Ath. here accepts frankly the duty to which at 753 a 7 ff. he demurred.

a 3. κεκινημένης: for κυνέιν in the sense “start a subject” cp. Politicus 297 c 7, Rep. 450 a 8. The common form of expression is λόγον κυνέιν περὶ τινος rather than κυνέιν (e.g. παιδείαν) ἐν λόγοις. The αἴ is possibly an allusion to the fact that the task of training the younger councillors involves a second introduction of the subject of education treated in Bk. VI., but such an expression hardly seems in place; perhaps we should read δὴ for it.

a 4. οὖν ἐτέρους ταύτιν προσφέρετε, “and no small risk either.”

a 6. η ὑπὸ ἄνθεως ἐπώνυμον αὐτὴν ποιήγη: Fic. curiously takes this to mean “or after whomsoever else (than you) God has it named.” Clearly it is “or after whatsoever person or thing else (than the city of the Magnetes) God has it called.” For ἐπώνυμος with the dat., “called after,” L. & S. cites Soph. Fr. 408 (Dind.), 877 (Nauck).

a 7. ἦ: an alternative like “either victory or Westminster Abbey.”—With ἀνδρειότατος τῶν ὑστ. ἐπιγ. cp. Milton’s “Adam the goodliest man of men since born.”

b 1. For the δοκεῖν of A and O, A² and O² suggest δοξαί.

b 2. For οὖτος O mentions a variant τοιοῦτος.

b 3. ἀμφισβητηρίσε τε κτλ., “there is hardly a modern legislator of a different opinion”; i.e. no legislator will be able to provide anything better. With ἀμφ. παρὰ ταῦτα cp. Gorg. 507 a 2 παρὰ ταῦτα ἄλλα.

b 5. σχεδὸν ὑπαρ ἀποτελεσμένον: cp. Rep. 443 b 7 τέλεον ἀρα ὑμῖν τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποτελεσθαι, and Od. xix. 547 οὐκ ὁναρ ἄλλ’ ὑπαρ ἐσθλόν, δ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται.

b 6. σμικρὸ πρόσθεν: i.e. 961 d.

b 7. Α and O write οὔτε after κεφαλῆς, a mistake of the hand, not of the mind; O² corrected it to νοῦ τε, and a late hand in A wrote νοῦ in the margin.

b 8. Α, whose eye must have wandered to the συμμείζαντες in the previous line, has συμμείκθωκαί for the ἐκλεκθῶσι of O and the margin of L. Herm., Wagn., and Burnet rightly follow O (cp. above, 746 b 6, and 967 d 1).

c 2 f. οἰνος . . . πρὸς ἀρετήν: cp. 627 e 3 τρίτον . . . πρὸς ἀρετήν, and Meno 100 a 6 εὐθὺς τοιοῦτος . . . πρὸς ἀρετήν “just such a man for virtue”; here it is “such as we never saw

638
yet for perfection of saving power.” σωτηρίας is probably a gen. of definition; cp. 722 b 3 eis ἀρετῆν τῆς χρείας. (Stallb. makes σωτ. depend on φύλακες. Ast says πρὸς ἀρ. σωτ. stands for πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀρετῆς. Winckelmann would read σωτηρας.)

c 5 and c 7. Steph. corrected the κατοικήσεως and κατοίκησιν of the MSS. and previous edd. to κατοικίσεως and κατοίκισιν.—The gen. κατοικίσεως is the same as that which is usual with verbs of desisting from; e.g. with μεθιέναι (intrans.) or μεθίσθαι.

d 1. To the ἐγὼ of A and O Bishop Constantine added a τε.

d 2. Herm. and Burnet and Wagner rightly adopt the σὺ which Ast conjectured to have fallen out by a not unusual scribe’s error before συνλάμβανε. The sentence is lame without it. Fic. has “sed tu quoque openi feras.”
INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The references are to the pages and divisions of Stephanus, and to the lines of the divisions in the text of this edition. Where the subject or the word referred to does not occur in such a line, it will be found in the note on that line.

absolute περί clause 775 a 4
abstract for concrete 915 d 4, 916 b 3, 5, 924 d 1, e 1
accoutrements to be worn in foot-races 833 a 8 etc., 834 c 7
accusative absolute 687 b 6, 853 c 3, 874 b 3, 927 d 4, 933 c 4
accusative absolute after ὁς 643 d 8, 762 e 5, 765 e 1
accusative as agent w. verbal in -τέων 643 a 6, 688 e 5, 746 e 4, 778 b 2
accusative as subject of dependent sentence though the verb is not in inf. 752 d 6
accusative for nom. by attraction, 855 c 2
accusative in apposition to the action of the verb 736 a 1, 803 a 3
accusative of inner object 654 c 6, 689 c 7, 690 d 3, 705 c 9, 731 c 1, 742 e 3, e 4, 780 a 6, 785 a 6, 789 d 2, 800 e 2, 805 d 8, 843 c 5, 868 b 7, 872 b 2, 904 c 9, 920 a 2, 948 a 5, 951 c 4, 964 e 5
accusative of numbers into which division is made 727 e 3, 946 c 6
Achaeans 685 e 2
acquaintance, mutual, necessary in a community 738 e 1 ff., 771 d 7
acropolis 745 b 8
action and reaction 676 b 9 ff., 732 b 7
adjective without article used as subst. 644 c 9, 816 d 9
adverb w. γιγνεσθαί and εἶναι used for adjective 636 a 4, 685 d 6,

754 c 1, 774 c 7, 775 a 3; w. χρήσθαι
830 e 3, 880 b 1, 963 b 11
adverb w. noun = a compound noun 745 d 2
advocates, professional, forbidden 937 d 6 ff.
Agronomi, duties of 764 b 1 ff.
Agronomi, hardy outdoor life of 762 e 7 ff.
Aleman 705 a 3
Alexis refers to a law of Plato’s (?) 917 c 1
ambassadors, faithless 941 a
ambidexterity, advantages of 795 a 1 ff.
Amphion 677 d 5
Amycus 796 a 3
Amyntor 931 b 7
anacoluthon 635 a 4, 642 a 7, b 4, 671 d 1, 708 c 3, 710 a 8, 723 b 5, d 1, 746 e 6, 775 c 2, 794 a 8, 811 c 9, 887 d 4, 908 b 5, d 3, 914 a 6, 931 c 5, 951 d 7
Anaxagoras 889 a 6, 890 a 2, 967 b 6 ff.
angry temper a kind of madness 934 d 6 ff.
animal nature, the satisfaction of man’s 831 d 8 ff.
Antaes 796 a 1
aorist inf. of a future event 812 b 5
aorist of instantaneous action 686 d 7, 688 a 3
apostrophe 813 d 3
aposition, explanatory 699 c 2
Archilochus 706 c 6
Argos 692 e 2
Aristarchus of Samos 822 a 4
Aristodemns 691 b 2
Aristotle 630 c 6, 744 e 5, 756 c 6, 757 b 6, 758 e 4, 759 a 1, 766 a 1, 778 d 6, 790 c 5, 792 b 4 ff., 794 d 7, 803 d 2 ff., 814 b 2, 860 d 1, d 9, 875 a 3, 894 a 1, 898 a 9, 918 b 4, 967 d 4 ff.
Aristoxenus 700 d 4
arithmetic 817 e 6; arithmetical games 819 b 2
art, good or bad, a moral question 654 e 10 ff.
art's function is to please 655 c 8, 657 c 3
Artemision 707 c 1
article, demonstrative use of 640 a 4, 676 b 7, 684 b 5, 694 a 4, 701 e 8, 729 b 3, 730 c 4, 731 e 1, 736 b 5, 807 a 6, 829 c 7, 871 e 3, 873 d 7, 874 e 2, 894 e 8, 922 d 6, 948 a 5, 949 a 5
article qualifying an interrogative sentence 811 b 8, 835 a 5
article (neut.) w. bare gen. of noun 628 d 8, 729 c 8, 745 d 2, 899 d 4
article w. predicative noun or adj. 633 e 9, 671 c 4, 730 d 6, 732 a 2, 881 d 1, 891 c 3
assonances, verbal 656 c 2, 837 c 1, c 4
Assyria 685 c 3, d 1
astronomy, study of 817 e 8; does not make infidels 967 a ff.
Astynomi, election and duties of 763 c 4 ff.
asyndeton 636 d 1, 641 a 4, 665 e 2, 688 e 3, 716 b 8, 743 d 2, 759 b 4, 789 b 9, 849 b 10, 856 b 2, 871 a 2, 878 c 1, 892 e 7, 899 b 3, 905 a 5, 918 c 6, 923 a 2, 965 d 3
asyndeton, explanatory 683 a 4, 685 c 6, 688 b 4, 690 e 4, 709 c 7, 713 d 3, 715 c 1, 722 e 7, 728 d 6, 730 b 5, 737 d 1, 747 e 8, 762 d 5, 776 d 4, 791 d 5, 792 a 3, 794 c 4, 796 d 4, 800 e 3, 809 e 7, 813 a 8, 838 d 6, 839 c 8, 854 a 5, 856 c 7, 867 a 2, 869 e 1, 879 c 6, 918 b 4, 926 d 5, 920 a 8, d 7, 947 b 4, c 6, 955 b 7
atheism, philosophical 889 f.
Athena 745 b 7

Athenaeus, his idea that spite against Xenophot Plato had
Athenian, a good, is one on 694 c 6, 642 c 7
athletic contests (martial) 6
Attic law 866 a 4, b 3, 833, 834
869 a 5, 871 b 1, e 3 ff., 905 a 6, 914 e 6, 915 a 3, d 1, 922 e 8, 923 e 6, 924 a 1, e 4, 930 a 6, 932 d 1, 943 a 7, 955 d 1, 956 e 7, 958 b 6
attraction 626 d 4, 754 d 7, 756 e 10, 896 a 6; of gender 961 d 10, 963 a 4
bachelors, penalties on obstinate 774 a 3
bad people are good judges of virtue 950 b 5 ff.
Badham's conjectures adopted 630 e 1, 631 b 8, 635 e 6, 654 d 1, 668 d 8, 670 b 10, 684 a 1, 694 c 4, 701 b 7, 707 a 5, 708 d 7, 718 d 6, 730 a 1, 807 b 4, 815 c 6, 832 c 9, 836 c 8, 826 b 6
balance of pleasure and pain 733 a 9, 734 c 1 ff.
barbarian may be θείος άνθρωπος 951 b 4
bee-swarms 843 d 8 ff.
begging prohibited 936 b 3 ff.
better luck next time 723 e 1
bird-catching a low sport 823 e 6
body and sense the sources of error acc. to Plato 906 a 5
body the temple of the soul 869 b 3
books for the young 810 b 4 ff.; Plato's Laws the type for them 811 d 3
bow-legs, danger of 789 e 7
boys, all but the chosen heir to be placed outside the family 740 c 2
boys the most difficult of creatures 808 d 4
brachylogy 686 e 5, 729 d 5, 730 d 4, 760 d 5, 761 d 3, 780 b 2, 794 c 3, 796 a 2, 800 a 5, 951 a 1, 951 b 7, 956 a 5, 958 e 6, e 8
Briareus 795 c 6
brides, choice of husbands allowed to 925 b 1
Bruns, Ivo Bk. II. Appendix A, Appendix B, 683 e 5, 796 d 6, 804 b 8

642
INDEX OF SUBJECTS

bull, Irish 670 c 9, 740 d 3
business men as politicians 846 d 6

Cambyses 694 c 1
canceling of debts 736 c 7
cannibalism 782 c 1
canons of taste 654 d 8
Carian music 800 e 2
Carthaginians 674 a 4
censorship of poets 801 c 8 ff.
Cercyon 796 a 1
ceremonial scenic representations 887 d 6
change detrimental to efficiency 797 d 9 ff., 816 e 9
change of construction 644 d 2, 661 a 2, d 7, 666 a 7, 670 a 1, 684 e 4, 686 a 3, c 7 ff., 706 a 7, 761 e 7, 795 e 2, e 5, 861 b 1 ff., 863 c 3, 877 e 7, 898 a 4, 901 b 1, 926 d 1
change of number 640 a 11, 671 a 1, 723 e 6, 729 b 8, 732 d 2, 759 a 7, b 6, 760 e 6, 853 d 4
character, the change of, depends on ourselves 904 b 8
Charondas 730 d 5, 987 b 4
chiasmus 655 a 7, 728 c 4, 729 a 1, 735 b 5, 736 e 2, 741 b 5, 742 c 2, 746 a 6, 751 d 1, 752 b 7, 758 c 2, 759 a 1, a 6, 760 e 5, 764 e 3, 765 b 1, 802 b 5, 814 e 6, 820 d 4, 858 e 1, 864 c 4, 865 b 3, 890 e 6, 893 c 7, 904 b 1, d 6, 918 b 3, 919 b 8, 922 d 6, 930 d 8, 935 e 4
children cannot keep still or quiet 653 d 8
children not to be punished for parents' guilt 804 d 5
child's first sensations 653 a 5 f.
child's play 643 b 7 ff.
chorus of Apollo 664 e 7; of Dionysus 664 d 8 ff., Bk. II. Appendix A, 812 b 9
choruses, three, at Spartan festivals 664 b 4
chronology, careless 642 d 6
Cicero 653 a 7
circle a type of immortality 716 a 1 f.
circular motion 893 c 7
citizenship involves right to judge fellow-citizens 786 b 2 f.
city to be in the middle of the country 745 b 3
civilization consists in the regulation of natural appetites 782 a 5 ff.
clamps in masonry, metaphor from 793 b 4
classification of aitlai àmárhoiátwv 863 a-d
cleverness ranks below right thinking 689 d 3
club-law 690 b 8
Cnosso 625 b 1, 642 e 5, 702 c 4
colonists from different states unite with difficulty 708 d 3 ff.
comedy 816 d 5; must never ridicule real persons 935 e 3
commandeering 760 e 9, 762 a 1
communism definitely abandoned 739 e 7 ff.
community's interest is the individual's as well 875 a, 903 d 1
compulsory compensation double as much as voluntary 865 c 4
compulsory state education 804 d 5
conative tenses 625 b 5
conflation 701 d 2
conscience 864 a 2
Constantini manus (Burnet's a) 948 e 3, 951 a 6, b 3, 964 c 2
construction kàr tá súvexw 644 d 8, 682 e 2, 694 d 4, 715 b 8, 832 d 2, 885 d 3, 886 c 4, 955 e 1
contests, athletic, which have no martial purpose are ungentlemanly 796 d 1 ff.
conversational looseness of expression, 645 e 5, 646 e 1, d 5, 653 a 7, 656 a 7, 663 b 8, c 1, 681 c 2, 686 d 8, 693 c 8, 711 c 8, 719 e 7 ff., 723 b 3 ff., 732 b 7, 735 a 2, 736 c 6, 754 e 4 ff., 780 b 3, 794 e 7, 795 d 6 ff., 801 d 5, e 10, 806 a 6 ff.
Copernican theory 822 a 4
Cornarius adds to the text a version of words of Ficinus 885 c 7
corporal punishment 808 e 4
corruptio optimi pessima 766 a 2 ff.
Corybantes 790 d 4
courage a physical quality 963 e 6
courage without the other virtues is a curse 660 e 7, 696 b 6 ff.
crafts, no man to have more than one 846 d 7 ff., 847 a 2
craftsmen, education of 643 b 8; must be foreigners 846 d 2; distribution of 848 e 2
credit (mercantile) not allowed 742 c 3, 849 e 7, 915 d 6
Crosphantes 692 b 1
Cretan system of distribution of supplies 847 e 3
Crete, physical features of 625 c 10, 704 e 10, 834 d
criminality, capital, through three generations entails banishment of descendants 856 d 1
criminality, degrees of 857 b 4
criticism, theatrical 659 a, b, c
Cybele 790 e 8
Cyclopes 630 b 3
Cyropaedia 694 c 6
Cyrus 694 a 3

Daedalus 677 d 3
dancing, origin of 816 a 3 ff.
dancing, various schools of 814 e ff.; orgiastic and ceremonial 815 c 3
Darius 694 c 2, 695 c 6
dative, adverbial 667 c 9; extraordinary 982 c 1
dative, ethic 644 c 1, 661 d 7, 677 e 1, 706 d 4, 721 e 7, 729 a 7, 791 c 5, 792 d 8, 809 b 1, b 7, 896 e 2, 898 e 2, 899 a 8, 905 b 2
dative, genitival 631 c 4, 658 e 3, 670 a 1, e 9, 707 e 5, 714 d 3, 717 a 5, 728 c 6, 767 d 3, 774 c 4, 869 d 8, 925 a 1
dative of effective accompaniment 698 d 1, 732 d 4
dative w. noun of verbal meaning 633 b 7, 657 c 3, 671 a 3, 698 b 3, 715 c 7, 802 a 7, 813 d 8, 837 e 4, 860 e 6, 881 b 1, 949 d 4, e 8, 965 b 1
Dawes’s canon 632 c 6
death no worse a state than life 828 d 4
defects of legislation to be remedied by the νομοφόλακες 770 b 4 ff.
Delphi 738 c 1, 759 c 6, d 7, 855 b 1
democracy 698 a, d ff.; its deterioration 699 e 4

Democritus 889 b 4
desire works by pain which craves alleviation 782 e 5 ff.
desires, the three main: physical 782 d 10 ff.
despotism and democracy mixed 693 d 7
destruction of mankind at long intervals by physical catastrophe 677 a 5
detached suggestions not worked out, from 783 b to end of Bk. VI.
Deuteronomy 632 c 6
dexterity 794 e 4
dichotomy 647 e 4
diet, change of 797 e 1 ff.
differences in taste and outlook, even on trivials, may undermine the respect for laws 788 b 6 ff.
Dio Chrysostom, emendation in 705 a 5
Dionysus’s madness 672 b 4
dishonesty a threat to society 921 c 2 ff.
distribution of supplies 847 e 2 ff.
dithyrambic style 920 e 6
dittography 849 a 6, 894 c 7, 948 e 5, 957 e 5
divisions (twelve) of city and country 745 b 8
divorce on account of temper followed by forced second marriages 930 a 4
doctors, two kinds of 719 e 7 ff.
Doering, Fr. 630 c 3, 631 d 3, 632 e 6, 635 e 6, 735 d 3
Dorian institutions 627 d 8, 628 e 1, 632 d 2, 634 c 5, 641 b 6, 647 c 7, 660 d 11, 682 e 11, 683 b 5, 760 c 4
Dorism & τις ἄν, ὥσα τις ἄν etc. 777 c 6, 848 a 4, 862 d 1, 890 a 4, 909 b 6, 920 d 1, 933 e 6, 953 c 1
dowries forbidden 742 c 2; reasons for this 774 c 3
draughts 820 c 4
duty, none on imports or exports 847 b 7

eyearly growth quickest and most important 765 e 3 ff., 788 d 4 ff.
eyearly rising 808 a 1 ff.
ease only possible after toil 779 a 6
education, advanced and thorough, for members of the Nocturnal Council 818 a 1 ff., 965 b 1 ff.
INDEX OF SUBJECTS

education and early nurture subjects for recommendation rather than for legislation 788 a 3 ff.
education, chief Minister of, to be the best, man in the state 765 e 1; the ejection of 766 b 1 ff.; legislator's instructions to 809 a ff.
education, officials to deal with 764 c 5 ff.
education, the importance of the subject for the philosophy of Law 659 c 9
education the proper bridle for the free 808 e 1 ff.
education to be life-long 807 c 1 ff.
educational effect of good laws 632 c 6, 636 a 4, 641 b 6, 645 a 1
Egypt, stereotyped art of 657 a, 799 a 2
Egyptian arithmetic 819 b 1, d 6
Egyptian geometry only goes as far as land-surveying 747 c 6
Empedocles 796 a 3
eanlage 793 c 4, 795 a 2
encroachment, medical theory of 906 c 2.
endurance, powers of 633 b 6, 942 d 5
Epeius 796 a 3
epexegetic infinitive 638 c 7, 648 d 5, 650 b 6, 657 b 4, 700 c 1, 735 c 6, 758 c 2, 790 c 2, 803 a 6, 805 e 1, 806 c 3
Ephors 692 a 5
epic phrase 699 c 6
Epimenides 642 d 6, 677 d 9
equality, true or proportional 744 e 3, 757 a 3 ff., b 6
equity 757 d 5 ff.
etymologies, wild 654 a 5, 714 a 2, 957 c 6, 960 c 7 ff.
euphony of sentence 639 b 1, 873 b 1
evil, origin of 896 d 5
example better than precept 729 b 2 ff.
excess profits 850 a
excessive authority or the absence of it, both dangerous to the state 701 e
exercise and movement most needful when growth is quickest 788 d 10 ff.
exuberance, triumphant (of style) 734 d 4, 896 b 10

fame, desire for 721 c 1
familiar phrases, Plato's fondness for 817 a 5
family discipline, important for the state 790 b 2 ff.
Fates, the three 960 c 5 ff.
fathers, incapable 928 d 5 ff.
fault-finding an unpleasant task 660 c 4
faulty arrangement of the argument 860 b 2
fear dispersed by physical movement 791 a
federation, Dorian 684 a, 686 a 3
feminine article w. no noun attached 734 c 6
festivals 653 d 2, 738 d 6, 771 d 5 ff., 809 d 3, 828; musical contests at 834 e 3
field-days, monthly 829 b 2
field-sports 822 d 3 ff.; the only satisfactory kind of 824 a 6 ff.
fine to go half to informer and half to some religious use 745 a, 754 e 4
fines for not voting 756 e 8 ff.
fines not to impoverish the equipment of a holding 855 a 5, 857 a 6
fishing, as a sport, to be discouraged 823 d 7
flood, the 677 a 9 ff.
foot-races 833 a ff.
foreign travel, occasions for 742 a 7 ff., 950 d 8
foreigners, reception of 952 d 5 ff.
fraud, successful, too much admired by Greeks 916 d 7
friendship, a way of securing 729 d 1
fruit-harvest 844 d 4 ff.
fruit-stealing 845 a-c
funeral ceremonies 958 d ff., (for the ebhuvon) 947 b 3 ff.
funerals, much money not to be spent on 959 c

games, children's, must not be changed 797 a 7 ff.
games invented by children for themselves 794 a 2
genitive absolute w. subject omitted 755 d 6, 762 a 3, 763 d 7, 768 d 7, 793 d 4, 829 d 5, 839 b 1, 865 a 6, b 1, 887 d 4, d 7, 908 a 7, 955 e 1
genitive depending on μετὰ τὸῦτο
763 c 3

genitive of definition 711 d 8, 723 d 6, 758 a 6, 776 c 9, 790 e 3, 812 c 2, 873 c 7, 969 c 3

genitive of material 745 c 3

genitive of noun used for adj. 656 a 8, 660 a 2, 673 c 7, 695 e 6

genitive of pronoun for possessive pronoun 631 a 2, 688 a 4, 822 d 8, 948 b 1, 950 e 2

genitive, out-of-the-way uses of 632 b 8, 660 c 7, 669 e 6, 717 a 4, 736 d 1, 804 e 2 f., 806 a 4, 813 a 8, 846 b 5, 869 d 4, 904 a 2, 907 b 1, 924 d 3

genitive, partitive, w. nothing to depend on 736 d 5, 754 d 4, 762 e 9

genitive w. ἄλλος 737 a 6, 815 a 1, 836 b 7

genitive w. διέταξεν 635 a 1

genitive w. verbs of emotion to denote its source 648 c 7

genitives, dislocation of natural order of 640 b 6, 642 e 1, 691 b 2, 697 c 6

genitives, double 648 e 4, 664 e 7, 670 e 1, 905 b 5

geography of one's native place, study of the 763 b 1 ff.

geometry 817 e 6

gifts to public servants prohibited 955 c 6 ff.

gifts to temples 955 e 5 ff.

girls to be drilled in martial exercises 813 e 7

gnomic aorist 656 e 5, 687 b 6, 691 d 3, 715 b 4, 716 b 3, 720 d 6, 791 a 7, 798 a 5, 8, 10, b 3, 833 e 4, 859 b 1, 889 d 5, 891 e 6, 945 d 6, e 2

God the measure of all things 716 c 4

golden rope, Homer's 645 a 1

goods, classification of 631 c 2, 697 b 3, 743 c 3 ff.

Gortys 708 a 7 f.

Greek, the average, not bribable 907 a 6

habitation necessary for the formation of taste 655 d 5 ff., 663 c 1

haplography 804 c 8, 821 e 4, 822 e 2, 872 c 3, 878 c 2, 879 b 6, 898 a 3, 900 c 7, 920 e 3, 924 a 2, 925 c 5, 926 c 2, 943 d 3, 944 d 8, 952 b 9, 957 c 4, 959 a 1, 962 a 7, 965 d 2

hendiadys 646 c 7, 649 d 9, 660 e 1, 673 d 1, 676 a 8, 714 a 3, 738 d 7, 740 d 6, 757 c 5, 765 d 1, 771 c 7, 782 d 10, e 3, 798 c 1, 801 c 6

802 e 11, 833 a 1, 843 c 7, 853 b 9, 863 e 10, 875 a 5, 877 a 5, 953 a 7, 957 b 5

Heraclides, return of the 685 d 4

Hesiod 690 e 2, 718 e 2, 901 a 4, 910 b 6

Hestia 745 b 7; altar of 856 a 2

Hippolytus 687 d 1

historic present 638 a 7

Homer 680 b 4, 681 e 1, 706 e, 777 a 1, 804 a 1, 858 e 1, 904 e 4, 931 a 5

homoioteleuton causing omission 902 e 1, 8, 937 d 4, 941 d 5

honesty the best policy 757 c 6

honour, our true, is to choose the good and remedy the evil 728 c 7

horse-races 834 c

hostility on the part of the offender 862 c 2

households, number of, to be always kept at 5040 740 b 7, 855 a 6

human fallibility 854 a 1, 947 e 7

human life, the business of 803 b 3 ff.

humanity a poor thing (?) 804 a 5 ff.

hyperbaton 636 a 7, 649 b 6, 800 a 4, 899 d 6, 901 b 3, c 5, 916 d 3, 919 b 8, 922 b 5, 934 a 7, 952 d 7

ideal, approach to the, the test of the second best 739 b 8 ff.

ideal numbers 894 a 1 ff.

ignorance coupled with self-conceit 863 c 5

illustration of a principle, one instance enough 673 e 5

imitation, art consists in 668 a 6, 889 c 4 ff.

immortality through reproduction of species 721 b 8, c 6, 773 e 6

imperative in a question 800 b 1, 801 a 1, 820 e 2, 822 c 9

imperative, perfect, pregnant use of 662 e 2, 673 b 2, 679 e 6, 712 a 4, 736 b 7, 753 b 2, 779 d 8, e 10, 814 d 8
INDEX OF SUBJECTS

impersonal passive 759 b 3
impersonal plural of participle w. écriv 913 a 1
imports and exports, restrictions on 847 b 8, c, d
incarnations, separate, of an individual soul 904 a 1
incommensurability 819 d ff.
inconsistency as to age for marriage 721 b 1
indicative in apodosis after el w. opt. 684 c 7
industrial disputes 847 b 2 ff.
infinite for ὣστε w. inf. 756 e 3, 759 d 8, 857 a 6, 890 c 8, 892 d 8, 899 d 8, 914 b 2, 917 e 6, 923 c 7
infinite, present, w. verb of promise 856 a 7
informer, duty to be an 730 d 5; reward of 745 a 4
injuries distinguished from offences 861 e 6
injuries to the person 874 d ff.
in-keepers' extortions 919 a 5
intestacy 922 b 3
irony 659 c 1 f.
irrigation 761 a 6 ff., 844 a 1 ff.
Italian brigands 777 c 5
judge left in many cases to fix the penalty 934 b 7
judicial proceedings 956 b 4 ff.
knowledge of a thing involves knowing (1) its name, (2) its definition, (3) the thing itself 895 d, 964 a 5 ff.
land all consecrated 741 c 1
land belongs to the state as well as to its owner 740 a 3
Law, divine origin of 714 a 1, 715 c 4, 762 e 5
Law, philosophy of 628 b 9, 632 d 4, 636 d 4, 644 d 2, 645 b 3, 681 c 4, c 7 f.
Law, the study of, most beneficial 957 c 4
laws, classification of 630 e 4, 880 d 8; sanction of 714 b 3
laws must be framed in the interest of the whole community 715 b 3
Laws, the date of the 638 b 2
Laws, the, recommended as a school reading-book 811 d, 858 d
Laws, the standpoint of the, mainly practical 664 a 2
lawgiver the parent not the tyrant 859 a
lawgiver's writings to be regarded as the best of literature 855 c 3 ff.
League of Nations 684 b 9
left hand to be trained as much as the right 794 d 5 ff.
legal procedure 846 b 6, 853 ff.
legislation divided into two branches: (1) political machinery, (2) legal enactment 751 a 4, 768 d 7
leisure, description of a life of 806 d 7 ff.
leisure to be employed in the pursuit of spiritual and bodily perfection 807 c 7 ff., 823 d 8
Leo the philosopher 743 b 5
Lecippus 889 b 4
liberal education contrasted with technical training 643 d 6 ff.
liberté and fraternité but not égalité in Plato's model state 693 b 3, 701 d 7
Liddell & Scott (their verdict questioned) 661 c 5, 669 d 7, 791 c 9, 806 a 3, 807 d 4, 812 a 4, 814 e 8, 817 e 7, 830 b 2, 843 c 4, e 2, 844 b 1, 858 c 1, 868 d 3, 879 c 8, 905 b 7, e 3, 907 d 4, 924 d 3, 931 c 1, 936 c 3, 937 a 5, 954 c 7, 965 a 5, 966 b 1, d 5
lies, possible use of 663 d 8
life as a sight 626 c 6
like clings to like if both are μέτριοι 716 c 2
liking and hating the right things 654 d 1, 688 b 3, 697 a 2, 853 b 6
Lincoln, Abraham 807 c 8
literature, different kinds attract different ages 658 d
locality, influence of 747 d 3 ff.
Locri 638 b 2
Longinus 741 c 6, 773 d 2, 778 d 5, 801 b 6
lot (holding), each, to be divided into two portions 745 c 5, 775 e 5
lot, election by, sacred nature of 690 c 5, 741 b 5, (reasons for) 757 e 3 ff., (democratic) 759 b 5 f.
THE LAWS OF PLATO

Louvain edition of the *Laws* 648 d 7, 742 d 3, 766 b 3, 862 c 6, 900 c 9, 904 e 8.
love is blind 731 e 5
loyalty to good laws begets a good character 699 c 2, 751 c 9
Lucrétius 776 b 3
luxury spoils the temper 791 d 5 ff.
Lucretius 858 e 3
lyre-playing and writing only to occupy three years 809 e 7 ff., 812 e 4 ff.
magic, did Plato believe in it? 933 e 1
magicians’ charms and incantations 933 d 7
magistrates compared to the warp of a web 734 e 6 ff.
Magnetes 704 a 4, 848 d 3, 860 e 6, 919 d 3 ff., 969 a 6
man the measure of all things 716 c 5
man the most God-fearing of creatures 902 b 5
mankind the possession of the gods 906 a 7
manners and conduct the business of the legislator 788 a, b, 823 a
Marathon, battle of 692 d 4, 689 e 4
marital training only possible in a sound polity 832 d 4
Maryandini 776 c 9
mathematics, praise of 747 b 1 ff., 819 c 6; necessary for astronomy 809 c 6
mean, the, between pleasure and pain 792 c 8 ff.
medical treatment 646 c 3, 684 c 3 ff., 690 d 5, 692 b 7, 706 a 1, 707 b 1, 712 b 2, 720 a-e
meiosis, or litotes 665 e 1, 669 b 8, 741 e 1, 760 b 6, 762 d 2, 792 a 4, 803 b 5, 801 b 10, 874 a 5, 876 b 7, d 5, 877 a 6, 881 e 4, 926 e 6, 927 a 7, 929 a 6
Melissus 895 a 7
mercenary soldiers 697 e 3
Messene 683 d 4, 692 d 6, 698 e 2;
Messenians 777 c 2
military discipline, punishments and rewards 945 a 5 ff.
military efficiency the aim of gymnastics 814 d 4
military offices, election to 755 b 3-756 b 6
Mill, J. S. 894 e 4
mines 842 d 4
Minos 624 a 7, 706 a 8
mistress must call her servants 808 a 3 ff.
mock-heroic style 822 d 2 ff.
moderation in money-getting is very rare 918 c 9
money an evil as furnishing the occasion of wealth and poverty 679 b 6
money, gold or silver, not allowed as a private possession 742 a 1
money, the love of 831 c 4 ff.
money-making by trade a disgrace 741 e 1 ff.
monogamy enjoined 839 a 1
moral rightness in art more important than technical ability 654 c 2 ff.
motion, ten modes of 893 c ff., 894 c 10
MSS. A and O, relation of, to one another 764 c 7, d 3
MSS. I and O, independent value of 706 a 1
murderer’s presence a pollution 668 a 7, 871 a 4, b 7
Muses’ work at once education and amusement 656 c 2
music and dancing good and bad according to their effects 655 b 3, 669 b 8, 700 a 7 ff.
music, styles of 700 a 9 ff.
musical licence, danger of 700 c ff.
mysteries, private 908 d 6
mythology, the old, a hindrance to a true theology 886 c 2 ff.
myths, use of, in education 663 e 3
INDEX OF SUBJECTS

name of the man spoken to subsi-
stituted in conversation for the
personal pronoun 792 c 2
necessary truths 818 a 7
neighbours' courts 762 a 6, 766 e 3 ff.,
768 c 1, 915 a 6, 956 c 2
neighbours, disputes between 843 b 7 ff.
neuter demonstrative pronoun used adver-
bially: see Greek Index s.v.
\( \tau \omega \tau o \)
necred, generalizing use of 707 a 6,
708 c 5, 711 a 1, 731 e 5
neuter plur. acc. of comparatives
used as adverbs 904 c 9, d 4,
933 e 7
neuter plur. used of persons 771 e 3,
772 d 7
neuter pronoun referring to feminine
noun 645 d 4, 653 e 4, 668 d 7
newly-married couples, state oversig-
t of 753 d 8 ff.
nomarchy a kind of theocracy 713 a 5,
e 3, e 8, 715 c 2 ff.
nominative absolute 694 a 6
nominative, exclamatory 886 a 2
nominativus pendens 739 d 6, 952 e 1
number a sacred thing with Plato
738 b 2; a power for good 741 a 9,
771 b 3.
number of landholders to be the
readily divisible 5040 737 e 1 ff.,
771 a 7
numerical relations to be seriously
studied by the legislator 738 b 2,
771 a 6
numerical signs (Greek), misreading
of 837 d 1
oaths in a court of justice not allowed
948 b 3 ff., 949 b 1
obedience to laws the best claim to
honour and rule 715 c 2, 762 e 5
Oedipus 931 b 5
old age the best judge of literature
658 e 3, 665 d 1
old age's clearness of vision 715 d 7 ff.,
927 b 8
old age's sympathy with the enjoy-
ments of the young 657 d 5
oligarchy 710 e 6
Olympus 677 d 4
omission of e\( \theta \eta \) 705 b 1
omission of words recently uttered
in a parallel construction 650 a 2,
701 b 6, 792 a 2, d 1, 796 a 2, 807 d 1,
867 b 7, d 5, 868 e 9, 922 d 6 ff., 962
e 5
one and many 963 c 3, 965 c 9 ff.
opposite temperaments recommended
for marriage 773 c 5, 930 a 6
opposites, mutual attraction of
889 b 5 ff.
optative by assimilation 628 a 1,
730 c 3, 799 d 3, 817 d 1, 927 c 4
optative, imperative use of 717 b 4 (?),
726 a 1, 730 c 3, 871 b 5, 879 d 1,
913 a 6, 917 a 1, 923 b 7, 941 c 3
optative in indirect speech = philo-
sophic imperfect in direct speech
709 c 7
optative, independent, to mark a
quotation 698 c 4
Orpheus 669 d 4, 677 d 3
Orphic fragment 715 e 8; line of
thought 716 a 2 ff.; rule of life
782 c 8

Palamedes 677 d 4
parents, honour to 717 b 6 ff.
paronomasia 634 a 2, 635 c 2, 658 a 4,
659 e 1, 695 e 5, 714 a 1, 717 b 8,
734 e 4, 762 b 2, 820 c 4, 837 e 1,
844 a 2, 906 e 2, 917 a 7, 921 b 4,
924 d 3
participle, a, the most important
word in a sentence 643 c 7, 665 d 3,
685 a 8, 707 d 1, 713 c 6 ff., 715 b 1,
717 a 5, 722 b 5, e 8, 733 e 1, 773 a 4,
776 a 2, 885 b 3, e 7, 889 e 7 ff.,
930 b 6, 941 b 1, 960 e 5, 965 b 10,
968 b 1
participle w. e\( \nu a \) or \( \gamma l y v e s a b a \) for
simple verb 631 d 3, 661 d 7,
670 b 10, 811 b 4, 821 d 8, 822 e 3,
842 e 6, 846 e 2, 887 a 4, 888 e 4,
(890 c 7), 904 c 3, 904 a 8, e 8,
909 e 3, 935 d 2, 951 c 8, 963 a 3
particiles of impf. and aor. joined
by k\( \alpha l \) 728 c 4, 782 e 1
pastoral age 679 a 1
patriarchy 680 b 2
patron god for each territorial division
745 d 8
penalties, exaction of 958 a 5 ff.
penalties, the principle on which they are to be fixed 859 b 6 ff.
penalty the heaviest for wrong-doing, i.e. assimilation to wrong-doers 728 b 2
Persian and Median training 695 a
Persian treatment of conquered Greek cities 693 a 4
personal construction preferred in Greek to impersonal 730 e 3
personified laws of Nature 903 b 7
philosopher-king 709 e 6 ff.
philosophic imperfect 628 d 1, 713 a 3, 743 c 5, 771 a 7, 778 b 4, 803 d 5, 836 c 2, 903 a 1
philosophy necessary for the true politician 965 c 1 ff.
Philoxenus 700 d 4
Phoenicians debased by trade 747 e 6
Pindar 690 b 8, 715 a 1, 932 a 5
planets, disgraceful ignorance involved in the name 821 a ff.
Plato as an inventor of history 683 d 2, 685 c 2, 688 b 6
Plato loses his temper 655 a 7, 670 a 1, 812 d e, 908 d 2 (?)
Plato refers to his age and failing strength 752 a 8
Plato the source of a Roman law 844 c 1
Plato's illustrations, appositeness of 687 e 1, 690 e 1 ff.
playgrounds, village 794 a 4
pleasure as the test of art 655 c 8, 658 e 6, 688 a 9, 700 e 2
pleasure in bad art, evil results of 656 b
pleasure-giving competition 658 b 3
plural, generalizing for sing. 640 a 11, 870 c 8
plural subjects to singular verb 855 c 2
Plutarch, emendation in 701 b 7
poetical inspiration 670 e 4, 682 a 3
poetry, defence of 719 b 9 ff.
political vitality, secret of 676 a 1, c 6
politicians, different aims of 962 d 7 ff.
polities, ordinary classification of, unsatisfactory 712 b 8, e 9
polities unreal if not framed in the interest of the whole community 715 b 2
polity 680 a 9, 701 e 1, 712 e 9
Porson 666 d 3, 699 b 6, 722 c 6, 736 d 5, 779 e 2, 811 c 7, 818 b 3, 881 d 2, 900 c 4
poverty mitigated by moderating desire 736 e 2
powders in jam 659 e 6
power without wisdom cannot secure ἐδώδαμοι 687 c ff., 688 b 6
praise and blame as political instruments 631 e 2, 663 c 1, 697 a 2, 727 c 2
praise no man before his death 802 a 1
prayer, the, of a wicked man does him harm 716 e 1
preposition (anastrophized) two words after its case 907 d 7
prepositions, omission of one of two parallel 635 e 7, 659 a 7, 663 b 1, 669 b 6, 683 e 4, 710 c 7, 770 b 8, 816 d 9, 847 a 5, 905 b 5
preservation (self-) not so high an aim as virtue 716 e 1
prevention of wrong a public duty 730 d 2
price once fixed not to be changed on the same day 917 c 1
priests, election of 759 a ff.
private shrines for public deities forbidden 909 d 5
proficiency, great, only for specially gifted natures 810 b 1 ff., 812 d, 818 a 1
programme music 669 c 8
prolepsis 645 d 6, 680 e 6, 681 d 1, 818 d 6
property belongs to the state as well as to the individual 877 d 7 (cp. 740 a 3), 923 a 5
property classes (τιμήματα) 744 b 5 ff.
property, limits of, and penalty of transgressing them 744 d 8 ff.
property not to be in money, but in land and produce 744 b 3
property, sanctity of 884 a 1
proportion, necessity of 691 c 1 ff.
proportional equality 757 b 5, 848 b 9
proverb or proverbial expression 666 a 5, 684 e 1, 689 d 3, 701 d 1, 702 d 6, 716 c 2, 723 e 1, 739 e 2, 741 d 6, 753 e 6, 754 c 2, 757 a 5,
INDEX OF SUBJECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 775-789 | 2, 779 a 6, 780 c 8, 792 e 2, 804 d 4, 805 c 5, e 4, 810 a 2, 815 b 1, 823 c 1, 837 a 6, 843 a 1, 887 b 3, 903 c 6, 919 b 5, 925 b 2 (?) provision, special 691 d 8 public opinion, force of 664 a 4, 730 b 3 ff., 822 d 4 ff., 839 e 3 ff. public recognition of virtue 696 d ff., 707 b 3 punishment, good effect of, on others 728 c 5, 862 e 5, 855 a 1, 862 e 3, 934 b 1 f. punishment of children must not be degrading 793 e 6 punishment reformatory, not retributive 728 c 2, 854 b 2 ff., d 5, 934 a 6 punishment to be introduced at the age of three 793 e 5 pureness of a quality versus its intensity 667 e 3 Pythagoreans 730 c 1 redundancy of expression 704 d 7, 705 e 5 ff., 716 e 6, 717 b 2, 888 b 6, 890 b 6, 892 d 8, 893 d 8, 899 a 9, 913 c 1, 914 b 2, 929 c 2, 931-a 7, 945 d 2 register (state) of superfluous property 745 a 6 ff., 754 d 7, 850 a 5, 855 b 2, 914 c 6 re-incarnation 904 c 6 religious gatherings, social advantages of 738 d 6 ff., 771 d 6 ff. religious sanction 664 b 8, 738 b 5 ff., 771 a 5 repetition of a word shunned in Greek 922 d 6 Republic, divergence of the Laws from 739 ; approach to 967 d 4 ff. re-touching, painters' and legislators' 769 a 7 ff. retribution in a future existence 871 a 7 ff. rhetorical question 718 c 4, 809 d 1, e 3, 823 c 3, 836 b 2, e 5, 848 b 1, 857 c 4, 862 e 2 rhythm, sense of 653 c 3, 664 e 7, 908 c 2 ridicule, a habit of undignified 935 b 3 ; to be banished from solemn occasions 935 b 6 ; only admissible when free from ill-feeling 935 d 2 ff. right of way 846 a ritual in sacrifice and prayer 717 a 6 ff. ruin comes to a government from within, not from without 683 e 5 rulers the servants of the laws 715 c 7 sacred line, at draughts 739 a 1 sailors a term of abuse in Greek and Latin authors 707 b 1 St. Mark 921 a 4 St. Matthew 630 b 8, 645 a 6, 737 a 5, 841 e 4 St. Paul 628 a 9, 632 c 6, 689 d 1, 830 c 3, 875 c 2, 866 d 2 Salamis, battle of 707 c 1 salubrity, miraculous, of certain τοιοι χώροι 747 e 3 sanctities, existing, to be respected by the legislator 738 b 8 schisms 715 b 5 scolding style, a, peculiar to women 935 a 1 sea-borne traffic, disadvantages of 842 d 3 second - best (δευτέρα πολιτεία) 739 a-e, 746 b c, 807 b 7, 841 b 5, 875 c 6 security, permanent, must be assured for every acquisition or institution 960 b 5 self-confidence 727 a 7 ff. self-conquest 627 b 1, 630 a 5, 644 b 6, 645 b 2, 841 b 7 self-consistency 746 c 8 ff. self-control 732 b 5 ff. self-defeat 626 c 3, 625 d 2, 646 a 2 self-love and selfishness 731 d 6 ff. self-praise 727 b 1 self-reverence 727 a 1 sellers not to support praises of their goods by oaths 917 c 1 service a necessary preliminary to command 762 c 1 ff. sex in music 802 d 3 sexual matters need a bold and outspoken critic 835 c sexual relations, regulation of, final conclusions on 841 c-e shame communities 715 b 5, 832 b 10 shame a kind of fear 647 a 9

651
sham-fights 829 b 8
Sicilian and Italian theatre 659 b 6
Simonides 741 a 4
single combat 833 d 6
six-year-old boys and girls to learn separately, but may all learn the same things 794 c 4 ff.
slaves, correct treatment of, a test of character 777 d 5 ff.
slaves, difficult to treat 776 b 7 ff.
slaves, no argument or familiarity allowed with 778 a 1
slaves not different in nature from other men 777 b 5 ff.
slaves should not be of one’s own race or language 777 c 8 ff.
sleep to be limited, even during the night 808 b 3 ff.
small things, importance of 788 a 5 ff., 900 c 9, 902 c-e
social duty 730 e 4 ff.
soldiers the aristocracy of the state 706 d 2; δημουργοί σωτηρίας 921 d 4
Solon, laws of 844 b 3, e 9, 858 e 3, 872 c 7, 913 c 4, d 1
Solonian constitution 698 b 5
songs and dances, list of approved 802 a 5 ff.
sons, disinheriance of 928 d 5 ff.
soul, the essence of, is power to move itself 894 a 1
soul, the influence of one upon another 903 d 5
soul-therapeutics 665 c 4
space, three dimensions of 894 a 1 ff.
Sparta has no drunksards 887 a 2
Spartan γέφωται 692 a 1
Spartan women’s behaviour after Leuctra 806 a 6
spirit of the law to be followed, even beyond the letter 823 a 1 ff.
stadium, metaphors from 691 c 4, 701 b 8 f.
standardization 746 e 6
starvation of the soul 832 a 5
state, the most elementary form of 676 a ff.
stereometry 819 c 7
style of the Laws, 624 a 4, 628 d 6, 633 d 2, 639 c 1, 640 b 8, 641 e 2 ff., 659 e 1, 670 d 1 f.

THE LAWS OF PLATO

subjective without ἄν following a relative 629 c 2, 737 b 3, 4
sunrise prayer 887 e 2
superative, Greek, where we use comparative 967 d 6, 968 a 7
superstitious rites and ceremonies, superfluous, the mark of weak and feminine natures 909 e 5 ff.
supreme power united w. φρονησις and σωφροσύνη 711 e 8 ff.

Tarentum 637 b 3
taste, corruption of 659 c 5
taste, good, due to both nature and training 655 e
tastes differ according to differences of seeing-power 655 c 3 ff.
tax on produce, method of assessment 955 d 5 ff.
teachers to be foreigners 804 d 1
Telesias 700 d 4
temple robbery 853 d 5
testator’s powers 922 b 2 ff.; restriction of 923 d ff., 924 a 6
theft, impossible for gods 941 b 8
theft, public, inconsistent laws about 857 b 1, 942 a 4
theocracy 712 e 9
Theognis 630 a
to the theory easier than action 636 a 4; useful, even if it cannot be put in practice 781 d 3 ff.
Theseus 831 b 8
Timenn 632 e 6
time-table for the whole twenty-four hours of the day 807 d 6
Timoteus 700 d 4
Titans 701 c 2
titles to rule, various 690 a ff.
tort (crime, 861 b 1, 864 a 6
town-planning 778 c ff., 848 d e
trade, retail, forbidden to citizens 849 c 5 ff.
tragedy 658 b 8, 817 a 2, 838 c 4
travel, foreign, restrictions on 949 e 3 ff.
treason court 767 b 7 ff.; public to share in it 768 a 1
tribal festivals, urban and rural 771 d 3 ff.
tribunal, three stages of 764 e 3 ff.
tricks of the trade 917 e 4
INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Triptolemus 782 b 5
trouble and delight in great measure both bad for children 792 b c
Troy 682 d 2 ff., 685 e 2 ff.
truth 730 e 1
“truth embodied in a tale” 712 a 4
twelve, the number chosen for the divisions of city and country 745 e 1, 848 e 5
Tyrtaeus 629 a 4, 667 a 2, 858 e 1
unwritten laws 793 a 10, 822 d 4 ff.
usury forbidden 742 c 4; an exception 921 c 7 ff.
uxor dotata, airs of 774 c 7
verbal conceit 717 d 1
vested interests 684 c 1
vice involuntary 860 d 1
vintage season 844 e 1
virtue = legality = the will of the strongest (7) 714 b 6 ff.
virtue, human, the object of all legislation 630 e 2, 631 d 1, 770 c 7 ff., 838 c 7, 963 a 3
virtue, popular, and philosophic 710 a 5, 968 a 1
virtue, self-sufficient 683 c 5
virtue, unity of 635 e 6
virtues and vices develop alongside with the development of civilization 678 a 8 ff.
virtues mutually helpful 631 c 7, 696 d 4
virtues, the four, cardinal (in descending order) 631 c 5 ff., (in ascending order) 964 b 5, 965 d 2
virtuosity 669 e 6, 670 a 1
votes placed on, or fetched from, an altar 753 c 2, 856 a 2, 949 a 1
wages of soldiers is honour 921 e 1
walls (city), incitements to cowardice and inactivity 778 e 8.
war material, no private traffic in 847 d 7
water-rights 844 a-c, 845 d e
wealth and poverty both curses of society 679 b 7, 728 e 6, 744 d 5
wealth, great, incompatible with great goodness 742 e 6, 743 a 5, (and great happiness) 743 a 1
wealth not to be honoured 697 b 7
wealth, the love of, what it does 831 c 4 ff., 870 a 4
wedded pair, hopeless rupture between a 929 e 9
wedding festivities 775 a 4 ff.
weeding out unsatisfactory members from the community 735 b ff.
well begun is half done 765 e 3 ff.
white the colour for mourners’ dresses 947 b 4
wine as a test of temperance 648 b 8, 649 d 9
witchcraft 845 e 6, 932 e ff.
women by nature clandestine and stealthy 781 a 2 ff.
women inferior to men 781 b 2
women in the theatre 658 d 3, 816 e 8, 817 c 5
women to share soldiers’ training 813 c 6, 829 e 4
women uneducated means loss of half the state’s efficiency 805 a 7, 806 c
women’s education to be the same as men’s 804 d 6 ff.
world-souls, two (? ) 896 e 4, 898 c 7
worship, the duty of, inherited 774 a 1, 776 b 4
Xenophon 654 e 3, 694 c 6
Xerxes 695 d 7
youth, volatile temperament of 929 c 5
Zaleucus 638 b 2
zeugma 643 a 3, 671 c 6, 686 b 3, 690 a 1, 702 a 6, 713 d 7, 744 b 6, 814 a 7, 862 e 1, 918 c 3, 957 d 3
zodiac 771 b 6, 899 b 7

653
INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἀγαλμα</td>
<td>931 a 1, 956 b 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγαπώντως, ἀπ. λέγ.</td>
<td>735 d 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγαθὰς περὶ τω 948 b 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγεὺς seize (!) 715 a 2, 885 a 4, 914 e 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγεὺς take a certain course 694 a 3, 701 e 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγελπευν provoke 685 c 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγέλη (Cretan) 666 e 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγνοεῖν misunderstand 794 d 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγραφή νόμιμα 680 a 6, 793 a f., 838 b 1, 841 b 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγραίνειν 666 e 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγρονόμω 760 b 6 ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγωγή system of education 819 a 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγωνία 764 d 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀδειία (?) 649 d 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀδελφός adj. like 683 a 2, 811 e 4, 820 c 1, 956 e 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀδόκιμος 742 a 6, 829 d 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀδιάθετος 764 d 4 ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀθυρος unsanctified 841 d 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αἰδώς 647 a 10, 671 d 2, 698 b 7, 699 c 4, mercy 713 e 1, 729 b 1, 772 a 3, 841 a 8, mercy 841 e 6, mercy 871 d 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αλδώς 943 c 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αλκία 879 b 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αἰρεῖν prove (a case) 663 d 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αἰρεῖσις and βουλήσις 733 a 9 ff., 734 c 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αἰώνιος applied to θέωs 904 a 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκήρυκτος 626 a 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκοινώητος unsociable 774 a 4, 914 c 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκολάκευτος 729 a 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκόνος refreshing 789 d 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκρίβεια thorough study (of a subject) 809 e 4, stringency 844 b 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκριβὺς perfect 628 d 8, barely sufficient 930 e 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλήθεια reality 684 a 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀληθὲς (τo) 641 d 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀληθῆς δόξα 653 a 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλήθίνος genuine 831 a 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλλὰ δώγα ironical 858 d 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλλ᾽ 722 c 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλλος w. gen. of comparison 708 c 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλλος ἑτέρως 780 d 8, 872 a 1, 875 d 7, 894 e 5, e 8, 933 e 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀμάξαι (ἐν) 637 b 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀμεινον καλ ῥων 828 a 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀμίαντος 777 e 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀμορφος hideous 752 a 3, degrading 855 c 3, 960 a 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀν omitted w. opt. of future event 664 a 4, 717 b 4 (?) 752 a 3, 777 c 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀν omitted w. rel. and subjunctive 728 a 7, 737 b 3, 848 a 1, 866 e 5, 873 e 3, 878 e 5, 921 e 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀν consopitum 872 c 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀν w. future (?) 767 d 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀν elγ reported speech form of iterative ἀν ἤν 700 e 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀν θεὸς ἠθέλη indicating that a subject is shelved 632 e 7, 778 b 7, 739 e 5, 778 b 7, 834 c 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀν ποτείν ἄθετῇ likely to do 767 d 2, 769 b 1, 790 a 6, 840 c 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀνά λόγος 893 d 1, 898 a 9 (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀνάγκαιος w. act. infin. 643 c 4, the best we can do 628 d 1, 757 d 5, e 6, 858 a 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀνάγκη stronger than θέωs 818 b 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀναγράφειν post as a defaulter 734 c 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀναγωγὴ (redhibitio) power to give back something purchased 916 a 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀνάδαστος 843 b 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀναίδεια unforgivingness 871 d 5 (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

ἀναλήψεις acceptance (†) 847 b 3
ἀνακαθάρισθαι 642 a 3, 678 d 2
ἀνακινήσις preliminary sparring 725 d 4
ἀνακρίνεω sum up 855 e 2
ἀνακρίθηται withhold 935 e 2
ἀναφέρειν sum repetitum 829 e 6
ἀνεμέλῃστος 876 c 8
ἀνευόμοις 714 a 5, 735 b 7, 780 c 9, 935 e 3
ἀνὴρ in apposition w. word denoting calling 688 a 1
ἀνθρώπων w. superlatives 629 a 6, 637 a 1, 733 e 3, 776 c 7
ἀναφοράς the natural opposite of ἡδύς 660 e 6
ἀνιατός hopeless 704 d 3
ἀνοια folly 637 a 3, =ἀμαθία 688 e 7, 689 b 3, 730 e 5, 934 a 2
ἀνταγωνισθῆς rival performer 817 b 7
ἀντὶ in preference to 865 b 6
ἀντίφωνος 717 b 2, 812 e 1 (?)
ἀντίωμα 690 a 1, 714 d 11
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι be reconciled 768 c 2, 915 c 6
ἀπαντάν operate (†) 740 e 1
ἀπάρχασθαι consecrate 767 d 1
ἀπειρίων w. participle 669 b 5
ἀπειρόκαλος of a display of wealth 775 b 3
ἀπευαινεῖν 866 c 2, 868 c 8
ἀπευκτός 628 c 10
ἀπηγγέλμα rejection 765 b 2
ἀπολησία 665 c 6
ἀπίθανος not satisfying (†) 871 d 5
ἀπόλωss without qualification 635 d 5, 672 a 6
ἀπό coming under the head of 796 a 4, due to 832 e 9
ἀποδεικνύοντωs appoint 801 d 3
ἀποδίδωσι produce 636 e 4, 661 c 7
ἀποδιδόσχυσις 854 b 7, 877 e 8
ἀποκάμπτεσθαι be deterred 818 e 10
ἀπολέοντος obsolete 637 c 4
ἀπομικνύω swear ignorance 937 a 1
ἀποτίθαν start 706 c 2
ἀπορεῖν =οὐ δύνασθαι 712 e 7
ἀπορος desperate 698 b 8, 699 b 4, 873 c 6
ἀποστέγεων fail to hold water 844 b 2
ἀποστερεῖν steal 873 c 4
ἀποτελέω represent 668 b 7, ἀπ. ποίων finish doing, 720 e 1, 767 a 9
ἀποτομάσθαι 701 b 2
ἀποφαίνεω appoint 753 d 6, 763 e 8, 767 b 3, 856 d 7, make, produce 632 a 6, 780 c 1, report 762 c 4
ἀποχραίνεω throw into relief (†) 769 a 9
ἀπόρροητος, ἀπ. leg. 968 e 4
ἀπυρὰ σίτια 762 e 8
ἀρὰ = quotation marks 693 b 2, 728 a 1,
γὰρ ἀρὰ actually 698 d 4, of course 855 b 6, = an oath 876 c 3,
yes intermitted 947 d 3
ἀριθμ., human, defined 658 b 6
ἀριστονία 653 e 5
ἀριτρίος symbolic 717 a 8
ἀρχαιότης 657 b 6, 797 c 4
ἀρχὴ (θέσ.) 775 e 2
ἀρχιδέωρος 947 a 4
ἀσπασόμεν 670 e 1, 919 e 5
ἀσταφὶs not an adj. 845 b 5
ἀστὶn and πόλις 667 a 1, 677 b 5
ἀσχημὸν (τὸ) bad form 797 b 8
ἀτέκμαρτος inexplicable 638 a 4
ἀτέλθης καὶ ἀκυρὸς null and void 954 e 6
ἀτεχνὸς literally 923 a 3
ἀτίμος ἰμπρινίτις (†) 855 c 1
ἀυθετικὴ disliked by Plato 800 e 2
ἀυτίκα, for instance 727 a 7, 735 d 1
ἀυτός ἐσμὲν soi sumus 836 b 8
ἀυτὸς emphatic 865 b 3, 878 a 3
ἀυτὸς redundant 625 a 3, 684 d 5, 817 a 3, 868 e 11
ἀυτὸῦ added to local adverb 679 d 6
ἀυτὸν =ἄλληλον 876 b 1, 889 e 5
ἀφαίρεσθαι thwart, disqualify 968 c 2
ἀφετῆς, ὃ the runaway 914 e 5
ἀφηγεῖσθαι prescribe 845 e 8
ἀφθονα πάντα abundance 761 c 2
ἀφοδος presumptuous 701 a 7, ἀφ. φόδων 647 c 3, 699 c 6
ἀφορίζεσθαι isolate 644 a 1
ἀφοσίων 752 d 4
ἀχόρευτος =ἀπαλέλευτος 654 a 9, 672 c 5
βάθος solidity 917 e 7, 819 e 8
βάλλεσθαι iacere fundamenta 779 b 2
βασανιστά 741 c 4

655
βάναυσος 644 a 5
βάδισμα, something to be learned . from 654 e 6
βάσανον λαμβάνειν 658 b 1
βάσις as a musical term 670 d 3
βάσις κέντρου point of support 893 e 1
βέβαιος 635 b 3, 653 a 7, 657 a 7
βεβαιωσα λαβειν study seriously 738 b 2
βέλτιων ἐςτὶ ποιῶν (οὐ ποιεῖν) = βέλτιων ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ποιεῖν 863 c 2, 902 a 9
βίος, different kinds of 734 a ff.
βίος ὁ ἱστος and βίος ὁ δικαίωτας 662 d
βλάβαι distinguished from ἀδικίαι 861 e 6
βλάστη 679 b 2
βοσθείν take the field 637 e 8, 774 b 7
βοσκημα metaphorically used of money-nursing (?) 743 d 4
βουλή, election and duties of the 756 b 7 ff.
βραδεύς a poetical word only used here by Plato 949 a 3

γάμος sexual union in general 840 d 6
γάρ for instance 638 a 7, 706 a 8, you know 757 e 1.
γάρ ὅτι of course 794 d 2
γάρ oūv 637 d 3
γε . . . καὶ 731 c 8
γεγονέναι περὶ versari in 700 c 5
γεντινήμα 705 a 3
γέλωτα παρακενάζειν furnish matter for scorn 669 d 4
γενέθλιον thei 729 c 7, 879 d 2
γένεσις = φόσις 906 a 1, 942 e 1
γένεσις as a mode of motion 894 a 1 ff.
γεννηθής 717 e 1
γεννήθης 878 d 7
γενδέμενον (ῥό) a baby 789 e 2, e 9, 791 e 5
γένος family 680 d 8, 924 e 9, generation (?) 919 e 1, 925 a 1
γενώμεθα ταὐτί διανοιασ λεῖ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν in thought 683 c 8
γεροντικά λοιμά 761 c 7
γεωργία cultivated space 680 e 7
γένης 778 c 1
γεγραπαλαί ἐλαπσ 958 b 3
γλυκυθυμία 635 c 8

γνώμη, ellipsis of 653 c 3, 862 a 8
γνώριμος familiar with 798 a 1
γράμματα (a branch of education) 809 b 5
γράμματα statutes 721 e 5
γνωρίσια, dangers of 636 b 3
γνωμαστική Bk. II. Appendix B 796 d 6 ff.
γνωσιαίας 633 c 4
γνωσίς 772 a 3, 925 a 4, 954 a 5
γνωσκελλουs spitefully 731 d 2

dαίμων a man's Genius 732 c 5
dαίμων, ὁ Fortune 877 a 3
dέ and μέν coming later than usual in a sentence 721 b 3, 902 d 3, 903 c 7, 935 e 2
dέ and moreover 738 c 5, 759 e 4
dέ coming after a vocative 890 e 1
dέ explanatory 840 d 1
dέ instead of ἀλλά καί 667 a 1
dέ repeated, to resume 655 e 7, 778 c 7, 909 b 6, 924 d 8
dέ without corresponding μέν 802 c 1 ff.
dέ γε why / 638 a 1, 795 c 5
dεματοῦν (?) 933 c 1
dεῖν redundant (with oμεί) 731 a 6, d 5, e 3, 742 d 3, 782 e 6 (?)
dεῖν be proper 743 d 2
dεὐτερος second best 710 d 3
dή the fact is 665 b 7
δή της 705 d 2, 706 c 6, 729 a 2, 803 e 1, 806 a 3
δημομορφύς a professional man 916 b 2
dημομορφύς καλὸν ἔργον 829 d 2
δήμοι 746 d 7
dήμος democratic form of government 714 d 1, 759 b 6
dημοσία a ἀρταὶ 968 a 1 (710 a 5)
dία w. gen. with verba eundi 632 c 5;
741 b 6
dία λόγου expressly 773 c 3
dία τέλους on every occasion 635 c 1, 661 d 7
dιαβαίνειν of a fighting attitude 630 b 3
dιάθεσις process of settlement 710 b 8
dιαπερίσσει expound 631 a 8
dιαλλαγῆ reconciliation (wrongly written διαφορὰ) 1) 862 c 3
διασυναπτεῖν 693 d 7, 863 a 6
INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

διαπονεῖν of educational exercise or practice 795 c 1, 810 b 2, 813 b 7, 830 b 1
διαφροίν define 645 c 1, 963 b 7
διάστασις 744 d 4
διατίθεναι recite 658 d 7
diατίθεσθαι self 849 d 4
diαπείρηθη time of office 760 e 4
diαφέρειν w. acc. of thing in which difference occurs 650 b 3
diαφερόντως not used by Plato for differently from 780 a 8
diάφορος w. παρά and w. πρὸς 662 e 3,
hostile 679 b 4, 716 d 3, 843 c 2
diάφορως specially 743 a 3
diάφωνα in the soul, and in states 689 a 7, 691 a 5
diεξερχεσθαι set forth 632 d 2
diέξοδος enumeration 718 b 2, 768 d 5
diερωτάν inquire into 639 d 9
diευλαβεῖσθαι keep one's hands off 879 e 8
dιθύραμμα 700 b 5
dισυχρίζεσθαι feel sure of 641 d 6
dικαστάκι ἐκλέκτος 767 c 5, 956 d 1
dικαστάλ, election of 767 a 5 ff.
dικαστήρια 766 d 3 ff.
Δίκη 943 e 1
Δίκη (τῇ) adequately 808 e 8
dιοικεῖν govern 667 a 1
dιορθώσει correct treatment 642 a 3
Διὸς κράτος (the power of appraising real values) 757 b 7
διίτι = δίτι (?) 890 e 7
διὶ παίδες oi γέρωντες 646 a 4
δίχα διαιρομένον divided into two equal parts 895 e 1
δογμα thought 854 b 6
dοκεῖ μοι impersonal 636 e 6
dοκιμασία 751 c 6, 753 e 1, 754 d 1, 755 d 6
dοκοῦν used absolutely 925 e 6
δρμαίς cunning 808 d 7
δύναμις significatio 643 a 5, efficiency 814 d 7, capacity 893 c 4, potentiality 942 d 7
δύναμις w. gen. a periphrasis for simple noun 942 d 7, 952 c 4
δύναμις τοῦ μῆ ἄδεικνύοντά 829 a 4
dύνασθαι, pregnant use of of 663 e 1, 671 c 4, 730 e 3
dύναστελά 680 b 2, 681 d 3

δυνατός able (clever), 763 d 5 (!)
δυνατεύεσθαι pass. 877 e 2

ἐν θεός ἐθέλη: see ἄν θ., ἔ.
ἐν μὲν ... ei δε μῆ 961 b 3
ἐναντίος for ἄλληνας 678 c 5, 808 a 5
ἐγγὺς bail 871 e 4, 914 d 2, betrothal pledge 774 e 4, security in business 953 e 5 ff.
ἐγὼ self-assertive 859 d 3
ἐδαι in apodosis without ἀν 704 d 5
ἐθέλειν in a semi- auxiliary sense 743 a 7, 956 e 6
ἐθος training 658 e 3
el clause without apodosis 642 a 7, 643 b 5
el w. opt. w. ἀν 905 e 7
el w. subjunctive (?) 761 c 4, 958 d 4
el ἄλλος elliptically for ἄλλος ἄντισ- οίν (?) 905 a 1
el ὅ suppose, for the sake of argument 652 d 2
el ποι w. ellipsis of γίγνεται 688 d 2
eἰκαστικὸς 667 c 9
eἰκών 644 c 1, 665 b 4, 669 a 7, 832 c 6, 867 a 2, a 7, b 3, 898 b 3, 906 e 8, 969 b 7
eἰκός satisfactory 961 d 1
ἐλμαρμένη, ἡ destiny 873 c 4, 904 c 8, adj. inevitable 918 e 3
eἰναι = ἐκεῖναι 949 b 7
eἰναι ὁ be worth something 964 a 8
eἴπειν bid 653 a 8, call (a thing something) 712 e 8
eἴπειν σὺν ὑμῖν if I may say so 858 b 2
eἴπερ parenthetic, if so 900 e 6
eἰρήνη w. dependent gen. 628 b 6
eἰρήνα ὑποστάσεις so much for . . . 753 b 2, 775 b 3, 814 d 8
eἰρωνικός hypocritical 908 e 2
eἰσ in the matter of 677 b 5, 689 d 9, 705 b 4, 722 b 2, 738 a 4, 774 b 4, 775 a 7, 784 b 5, 809 e 7, 860 d 1, 886 c 6, 905 c 3, 913 b 4
εἰσ unique 650 b 6, one only 716 c 1, 739 e 4, 790 a 1
eἰσ διὰν in imagination 649 b 3
eἰσ κοινὸν in common 885 a 7
εἴς τὶς definite 687 d 2
eἰς τότε when, or till, the time comes 830 b 2, 845 d 2, 888 b 2
en ánth' enós, en πρὸς en 674 b 4,
705 b 4, 708 d 4, 738 e 5, 758 b 7,
907 c 7
en γράμματα κέρατα prescribe 968 d 6
en δίκη justly 768 a 3, 777 e 5, by
legal process 929 a 3, a 6, 945 d 2
en πόλεων in public 879 c 2
en τέχνη as a matter of technical
knowledge 875 b 2
en τῷ νόμῳ in the eye of the law (?)
874 c 6
en τῶν καλῶν 774 d 2
enαντίων opponent 647 a 4, 663 b 2
enαυλος 678 c 3
enδύξεις exposition 966 b 1
enδίδοται yield 672 d 1
enεργὸν on duty 674 b 2
enευρασία security for good conduct
949 d 4
enθάδε frequent in Plato for on earth
881 a 8
enθεατηκός 682 a 3
enνοεῖν discover 798 b 5
enνοικοδόμημα 760 e 7
enύπλοος (δρήφησις) 796 b 5
enφοχος w. gen. (?) 914 e 9
enτεχνὸς technical 673 a 9
enτονος as a subst. stay 945 c 4
enξαιεῖσθαι make amends for 885 e 1
enξεληθησθ᾽ 796 c 5
enξέρχοσθαι go wrong 713 a 8
εξεργήσης 759 c 7, 775 a 2, 828 b 4,
845 e 7, 873 d 2, 916 e 8, 895 d 5,
964 a 8
εξεξιθείον right through 713 a 8
εξεξιθείον ἀπαντάς all and sundry 855 e 4
εξεἰδὼν make good an injury 879 a 5
εξεὶς 893 c 7, 894 a 7
εξεφοδὸς γυναικεῖα 784 d 6
εξεργυνωνθαι would a likeness 775 a 8
εξέκαστην w. noun. participle
712 d 6
εξεκαστῆ = πρέπει 879 c 3
επάγειν δικήν τινι of a magistrate
summon before him 881 e 6
επάγαγον 664 b 4, 666 e 5, 671 a 1,
773 d 6, 812 c 5, επιρρέω 903 b 1
επέλευς although 669 b 6, 686 b 2, 769 b 5,
794 d 7, 818 b 3, 875 c 3, 918 d 8
επέλευς for instance 636 b 1, 844 a 1
επείδὴ while 669 b 6
επέργασια 843 c 3
INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

ἐπέρχεσθαι w. acc. consult 772 c 7, w. dat. occur to 967 c 7
ἐπεσθαί give way to 701 a 6
ἐπεσθαί τῇ κρίσει to devote oneself to judging 946 c 2
ἐπὶ w. acc. of distribution among 737 c 5
ἐπὶ w. dat. with a view to 646 c 3, 780 c 2, 782 a 5
ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀρετῆς 632 e 1, 635 e 6
ἐπίκουροι adj. 666 b 5
ἐπικυμάζειν go gallivanting 950 a 5
ἐπιλαμβάνειν encroach on 779 c 4
ἐπιλέγειν set words to music 700 e 4
ἐπισκόπουαι poetical form choose 947 c 4
ἐπιστροφὴν ποιεῖσθαι 648 d 1, 783 c 1
ἐπισμανεσθαί make it clear to oneself 744 a 3
ἐπισκοπεῖν visit 776 b 1, like βλέπειν without a direct object 924 d 3
ἐπισκόπος poetical word used by Plato only in the Laws 872 c 3
ἐπιτελὴς efficacious (!) 931 e 9
ἐπίτονοι tendons 945 c 5
ἐπιτρέπειν used absolutely 659 b 7
ἐπιχεῖν metaphor 793 c 2
ἐπόμενος w. gen. 899 c 8, suitable 921 a 5
ἐρανος 915 e 6, benefit 927 c 5
ἐργασία operation of drug 638 c 6
ἐργα in real life (λόγω in theory 781 c 2
ἐρµα prop 737 b 1
ἐρυκατα τεῖχων walls of defence 681 a 2
ἐρχεσθαί return home 833 c 2, 866 c 5, 7, 943 a 6
ἐστα let the law be 878 b 8, 879 c 6
ἐτερος special 700 b 6
ἐτερος ἢ different from 727 d 7
ἐτι furthermore 660 d 9
ἐτών (πράκοντα) εἶναι or γίγνεσθαι 721 b 1, 765 a 2
eβ ἐχει, ellipsis of 854 c 5
eβ μάλα 630 b 7
eβδαμων 662 d 4, 686 e 8, 694 d 2

eὐθεῖα 679 c 2
eὐθελα περαλνε goes straight to his end 716 a 1
eὐθύμος tranquillus 792 b 7
eὐθυνοι 945 b 3 ff.
eὐθὺς just 801 e 6
eὐθὺς w. participle 638 c 3, 727 a 7, 952 b 6
eὐθὺς (τῶν παῖδων) 642 b 8, 643 b 5
eὐμᾶρεια 738 d 6
eὐπειθ.Bitmapgen. 632 b 8
eὐπορεῖν, constructions of 754 a 6
eὐφημία 800 e 10
εὐχερῶς frankly 948 e 2
eὐχῆ an almost impossible aspiration 736 d 2, 841 c 7, invocation of divine aid 887 c 5
εὐχῇ χρήσθαι obtain a request 688 b 7
eὐφυσία bonitas 791 c 9, mental culture 795 d 8
ἐφεζῆs step by step 681 d 6
ἐφεσις impulse (!) 864 b 6
ἐχε δῆ 627 c 3, 639 d 2
ἐχεi intrans. obtinet 840 a 6
ἐχεσθαί w. gen. depend on 661 b 1
eχόμενος w. gen. 666 c 4, 677 c 5, 689 c 8, 709 c 8, 818 a 1, 839 d 8
Zeôs, temple of, in the acropolis 745 b 7
Zeôs ἀρχή 715 e 8
Zeôs ξένωσ 730 a 1, 879 e 2
Zeôs ὀμόγνωσ kal πατρῶς 881 d 2
Zeôs ὄρος 842 c 7
ζητεῖν try to devise 630 e 3, 772 e 2
ζων used of the universe 636 e 2, picture 769 a 8, c 1
ζώτιρον 677 b 2
ἢ after διαφέρειν 635 e 7
ἵ as well as a gen. after a comparative 738 e 1
ἵ ... ἢ either ... or 774 d 2
ἵ for kal 663 a 7
ἵ kal or perhaps 687 d 10
ἵ μὴ pregnant use of 637 d 6, 709 c 2, (kal μή) 759 b 6
ἵδων a gift of the gods 654 a 3
ἵδον hã haunts 865 e 3
ἵδος 658 e 3, 788 b 3, 790 a 6, 792 e 2
ἵλιον ὅραν live 950 d 3
ἵν for ἢν ἄν w. καλὼν or ὅλαιον 744 b 1, 869 b 6
ἵνικα always temporal in Plato 758 e 2

659
Kathaper and kathaper ei 666 c 1, 712 a 4
kathaper standing for kathaper ei 892 d 6, 906 d 2
kathaper anv ei 634 c 3, 872 c 4
katharasis (Aristotelian) 790 c 5
katharasis purgative process 736 a 6, 865 b ff., 872 e 10, 916 c 8, d
kathapodion 657 a 7, 738 c 5, 816 c 5, 889 c 3
kathoroph of a survey which results in knowledge 632 c 4, 652 a 2, 670 d 4
kai emphasizing 656 c 5, 775 e 2, 776 e 6, 818 d 3, 819 e 2, 821 e 7, 853 b 4
kai explanatory 668 b 5, 662 e 7, 665 c 3, 667 c 8, 684 e 4, 774 a 4, 837 d 5, 838 d 7, 843 e 1, 845 c 2, 856 a 6, 863 a 7, 875 b 5, 877 d 5, 878 d 2, 901 c 5
kai or 639 a 5, 640 d 6, 680 e 2, 690 a 2, 691 c 7, 696 a 1, a 6, 799 d 1, 800 c 3, 843 b 4, 875 b 2, 902 a 1, 920 d 3, 937 b 4
kai mdala, kai miliotas, kai sfotira 627 a 5, 772 e 6, 773 c 2, 778 b 5, 782 d 2, 961 b 7, 965 b 8
kairopos 709 c 1
kairopos tuchein make the best of an opportunity 687 a 5
kakhei 737 b 8, 840 d 1, 856 c 2, 880 e 3, 921 a 2, 943 a 5, 944 c 6 (from Photius)
kakotexia conspiracy 936 d 6
kakos rxein tina a Laconism 642 c 2
kalw np it would have been well w. inf. 744 b 1, 869 b 6
kaloumenos professional 747 c 2
kalos in art matters implies moral approval 654 c 1
kalos thank you 722 a 6
kappheia 705 a 4, 918 a 6 ff.
karperein np in thai ndonais 635 d 3
katamosing to 625 c 6, 626 a 7
katow w. acc. in respect of 710 c 7
katow w. gen. to the disadvantage of 636 d 3
kat' arxas ton logon 664 e 3, 667 a 2
katat hethon providentially 682 e 10
kata kairop 630 c 7
THE LAWS OF PLATO

λόγῳ, τῷ = in imagination 702 d 1
λοιπον, εκ τῶν henceforward 709 e 1
λύμη, ἀπ. λέγ. in Plato 919 c 6

μάλιστα μέν if possible (followed by
dé) 758 d 1, 830 d 4, 938 a 4
μᾶλλον heightening the force of a comparative 729 e 7, 781 a 3
μᾶλλον ἡ potius quam 846 e 4, 847 a 5
μανίας (metaphorical) 783 a 2, 869 a 3
μάντες largely hypocrites 908 d 5 ff.
μάτῃν sine causa 631 b 4
μέγα διαφέρει it matters a great deal 795 b 2
μέγα γρόνον a grand achievement 751 b 5
μεγά λέγεις that is a strong thing to
say 655 a 4
μεγαλαυχία 716 a 5
μεγαληπτρῆς 709 e 8, 710 c 6
μέγευσε ὁφέλειας 652 a 3
μέθη, stages of 647 e 1, 648 e 3
μεθάρμον (metaphorical) 878 b 5
μειώσως ἡμῶν αὐτῶν 797 d 8
μέλλειν, quasi-auxiliary use of 704 d 4
μέλος tune 669 e 1
μέν clause omitted 648 c 1
μέν, δέ, and οὖν later than second place in a sentence 638 a 1, 761 a 3
μέν . . . καὶ not only . . . but also 1 955 d 5
μέν . . . τε 857 d 2, 866 e 1
μέντοι for dé (!) 663 e 5
μέρη ἄρετῆς 633 a 8, μόρον ἄρετῆς 696 b 6, 791 c 4
μεσεγευωσὶ 914 d 7
μεσόν (τό) 792 d 1
μέσον (ὅ) τέμενεν 793 a 4
μέσος middle-aged 930 a 1
μεσότης, Platonic and Aristotelian 757 d 3
μετά w. acc. beside 848 c 6, 854 c 9,
875 b 3, 888 c 6
μετά w. gen. in the presence of
954 c 1
μετά w. gen. with the help of
710 d 7, 720 d 7, 735 e 1, 738 d 7,
791 a 7, 796 c 6, 807 b 2, 828 a 2,
862 d 5
μετά δικαίας 671 d 2
μετά τάστα (τοὺς) those beyond that
age 664 d 2

μετ' ὀλίγον ὑστέρον 646 c 4
μεταλλεία for μέταλλα 678 d 1
μεταχειρίζομαι become master of
670 e 3
μεταχειρίζομαι ταῖς συνθείαις
practise habitually 656 d 7
μέτακε, limit to the right of residence
of 850 a 6 ff., Plato unfavourable to
915 b 6
μέτροι, in proportion 691 c 2, e 1,
741 b 4, moderate 716 c 3, 719 e 4,
sufficient or satisfactory 690 e 4,
759 c 2, 811 d 4, 842 d 1
μετρίτησι 701 e 4
μετρίως satisfactorily 807 c 1
μέτρον power of dealing with
756 b 5, 836 a 6, the proper space
843 e 4
μέτρον ἐχεῖν provide a limit (!) 836 a 6,
be all right 846 c 8, 957 a 4,
959 a 3
μέτρου τυχάνων 757 a 3
μη in a negative sentence counting as
a separate negative 941 b 7
μη instead of μη ὦ w. ὄστε after a
negative 880 e 3
μη negating a noun 966 c 8
μη w. inf. after ἀλαχρόν ἐστι, instead
of μη ὦ 820 b 6
μη δλος not at all 881 e 3
μη ὦ, the regular, after ὦ 661 e 4
μη πάντως = μη πάνω 841 b 4
μηδὲ . . . διὸ not only not . . .
but 876 b 3, 891 d 2
μὴν for dé 663 e 4, 709 b 8, 721 e 5,
723 a 3, 815 c 8, 862 a 4, 903 c 7
μήτε . . . δὲ 628 a 1, 639 c 3
μια (ἡ) δεύτερα 739 c 4
μιμεῖσθαι give a representation of
795 e 2, represent in the form of a
μίμος 815 c 4
μιμήμα pattern (?) 668 a 9, for μυμητὸν
669 e 4, 796 b 3
μιμήματα τρόπων of dancing, music,
and poetry 655 d 5 ff., 798 d 9
μιμήσεως 655 d 5 ff., 667 e 10
μιμήσεως ἰδίῳ (τραγῳδίᾳ) 817 b 4
μοῖρα estimation 923 b 5, 953 d 2
μόριος 706 c 1
μόνον above all other things 707 d 3
μόνος used to strengthen αὐτὸς
958 e 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἔστρος</td>
<td>of a tendency to crime 854 b 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὀλγος</td>
<td>(év) in paucis, specially 742 c 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δος και πᾶς</td>
<td>779 b 6, 808 a 6, 944 c 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ολυμπιάσιν</td>
<td>729 d 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δῶς</td>
<td>in general 641 b 6, 645 d 4, 832 e 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁμάλθησις</td>
<td>equability 773 d 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁμάγνοιοι</td>
<td>θεὸι 729 c 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁμοίωσ</td>
<td>w. acc. of thing in which likeness is seen 645 e 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁμοίωμαστα</td>
<td>656 e 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁμολογοῦν</td>
<td>invariably 723 c 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁμολογεῖν</td>
<td>answer expectations 836 d 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁμόμαχον</td>
<td>διαφέρεσθαι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὄνω (ἀπ')</td>
<td>πεσεῖν 701 d 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὄνομα</td>
<td>καί ὄνομα 652 a 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅπως</td>
<td>ἃν w. opt. 759 b 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅπως</td>
<td>ἃν w. subj. as an independent injunction (?) 775 c 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅπως</td>
<td>ἃν w. subj. in a temporal sense 632 e 3, 755 a 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅπως</td>
<td>ἃν w. subj. quemadmodum 760 c 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅπωσοι</td>
<td>οὐ ἔκαθεν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅργανον</td>
<td>ἐπετέλεσα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὄρθος</td>
<td>ὅρθος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅρνος</td>
<td>criterion 626 b 7, 638 a 5, 714 c 3, 739 d 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὄφανα</td>
<td>926 e ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὄρχεῖν</td>
<td>make to dance 791 a 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὄρχησ</td>
<td>655 c 5, 673 d 1, 795 e 1 ff., 813 a 7, 814 e ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅσος</td>
<td>such only as 743 d 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅσις</td>
<td>for ὅσιον (after a neg.) 674 e 2, 925 e 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅτε</td>
<td>w. bare opt. 778 a 7, w. perfect 956 b 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅτι ἐστι</td>
<td>ὅτι 797 e 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁὐ</td>
<td>καὶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁὐ</td>
<td>μὴν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁὐ</td>
<td>μόνον</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE LAWS OF PLATO

παθήματα circumstances, plight
681 d 8, 687 e 2, 695 e 3
παθήματα involve ποιήματα, and both must be judged together
859 e 3
παιδαγωγείσθαι go in leading-strings
752 c 8
παιδία 641 b 6, 643 c 5, 653 a 5 ff., 669 d 1
παιδία nurseling (?) 844 d 6
παιδείς pupils, a school 720 b 5, 769 b 1
παιδείας culture 700 c 5
παιδία childhood 754 b 4, 808 e 2, 864 d 5
παιδία 764 e 4, 769 a 1
παλίγιν 643 c 5, 672 c 4, 685 a 6, 688 b 6, 690 d 2, 769 a 1, 803 c 7, e 1
παίωνες 700 b 4
παιαίδες aged 717 c 5
παλέα 795 e 1 ff., 814 c 6
παλμύδολος 705 a 5
πάλιν back again the reverse way
652 e 2, 779 a 8
πάντες w. gen. depending on it
774 c 6
πάντη πάνως 781 e 2, 801 a 1
πάντων εἰς πάντα σοφίας δόξα (ή)
the curse of democracy 701 e 6
πάντως absolutely 727 d 1, 831 d 7,
without fail 831 e 2, merely 881 e 7
παρά w. acc. beyond 693 b 1, 747 b 5
παρά w. dat. in the judgement of
890 a 3
παρά μέλος 696 d 9
παραγωγή transgression 741 d 2
παράδειγμα proof 663 e 9, pattern
746 b 7, suggestive illustration
801 b 9
παρακατάβασις (?) 956 e 6
παραλείπεται τοῖον omit to do 717 e 3 ff.
παραμύθινον consolation 704 d 8,
705 a 8, προολμον 880 a 6, 885 b 3,
923 c 2
παράσαλν (τὸ), natural affinity of, for a negative 898 d 11,
without a negative 661 c 1, 921 d 6, 923 a 1,
934 b 1, 950 a 8, qualifying a noun
637 d 6
παραποδίζειν 652 b 1
παράστασις exposure 655 c 3
πάρεργον 807 d 1
παρείσθαι get or give leave 742 b 4,
951 a 5
παρωνύμοιος used in a modified sense
757 d 6
πᾶς any, all kinds of 637 a 3,
640 e 4, 676 c 1, 684 e 3, 688 e 6,
777 e 3
πᾶς complete, utter 646 b 6, 699 e 4,
730 e 8, 740 e 2, 778 a 1, 800 d 1
πᾶς ἀριθμός (ὁ) the ideal whole number
(?) 738 a 4
πᾶς ὁποιον declined as if it were
πᾶς τις 769 e 3
πατριάρχου βιβλιον 638 a 1, 644 d 8,
649 a 6, 876 a 8, 922 e 6
πατριών μέλος (τὸ) the national anthem
947 c 8
πατρονομείσθαι 680 e 3
INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

πεπιστευκέναι μηδώς be cock-sure 633 e 2
περαλέων perform 722 d 5
περι adverbial 964 e 4
πέρι three words off its case 711 e 8, 824 a 11, 859 c 2, 887 a 6, 907 d 7
περι w. acc. = dative 849 a 8
περι w. acc. for simple gen. 668 b 10, 670 c 4, 685 c 2, 688 e 5, 689 d 8, 690 d 6, 692 e 1, 700 a 7, 704 c 1, 727 d 5, 769 e 1, 775 b 4, 782 e 2, 816 e 9, 837 c 6, 881 b 1
περιγραφή sketch 768 c 5, 770 b 8, 876 e 1
περίδονα 777 c 4
περιλαμβάνειν circumvent 841 c 1
περιπετείας fall upon a subject 682 e 8
περιπέτεσεν 886 e 2
περιπεφυκέναι cling to 898 e 2
πετόμενος as a subst. bird 952 e 3
πλανάθαι wrongly applied to stars 822 a 4
πλάτος surface 817 e 7, 819 e 6
πλέων w. οὐδὲν or ὁμόρων no good, little good 697 d 3, 751 b 8, 944 d 3
πλευκτεῖν 691 a 4
πληγών τόλμαι flagrant assaults 881 a 8
πλημμέλεια dissonance 691 a 7
πληρῶν infect 691 d 1
πλησίειν 899 a 4
πόθος as a bond of affection 776 a 4 ff.
ποιεῖν compel 647 c 8, 671 c 4, compose 666 b 2, 719 b 6
ποικίλα, ποικιλος 665 e 6, 704 d 6, 812 d 4
ποικιλλόντω 937 e 3
ποίο indeterminate 770 d 3
πολεμικός a warrior 667 a 2, 828 d 2, 832 c 6, pugnacious 833 a 1
πολυρκείωm hem in 708 b 4
πόλις, development of 681 d 7
πολιτεία civil life 886 b 10
πολιτείας εἰδος 735 a 5, 751 a 4
πολιτείων εἰδή 714 b 4
πολιτική subst. science of government (not state) 768 d 3
πολιτικῶν (τῶ) used of the state-guaranteed right of property 885 a 5
πολιτικός civilized 818 d 2, (of journeys) authorized by the state 750 e 2
πολλὰ πολλών (?) 925 b 2
πολυμαθία, dangers of 811 a 4, b 4, 819 a 5
πορεία 678 c 6
πόρρω 630 d 3
ποσὸς indeterminate 737 d 1
πότε = Scotch again in a question 654 e 10
πότερος one of two 628 b 6, 673 b 7
πότιμος 947 d 6
πρέπειν be likely 678 c 1
πρῶς w. bare subjunctive 873 a 2
προβάλλεσθαι 755 c 5
προέλθειαι give credit 849 e 7
προστάσαι 629 a 4
προκαλεῖσθαι 936 e 6
προέρχεσθαι as adj. 642 b 3
προαίμια νομίων 722 d 2
πρόφροσις = προσφορά 888 a 4
πρός an adverb 702 c 2, 746 a 8, 778 e 7, 923 a 4
πρός w. acc. denoting court of trial 943 a 5
πρός w. gen. in the eyes of 950 c 4
πρός ἀρετήν 627 d 4, 675 e 4, 757 c 4, 769 c 6, 773 a 6, 822 e 5, 836 d 5, 907 a 5, 913 b 4, 945 c 1, 950 d 1, 966 d 2, 969 e 3
πρός θεῶν ordained by heaven 718 a 7
προσγυμνάζειν train to meet 647 c 8
προσδοκάν reckon 795
προσήκει for προσήκει εἰλικρίνεια 828 c 5
πρόσθεν ποιεῖσθαι 752 b 4, ἐπὶ πρόσθεν ποιεῖσθαι 648 d 1, 783 c 1
προσκολλάσθαι 728 b 6
προσλαμβάνων w. gen. take a hand at 897 d 5
προσπίπτειν πρός supplicate 906 b 6
προστρέπεσθαι w. acc. make a matter of abetment 806 b 5
προστυχήσι used only by Plato 954 d 4
προσφόρα application 638 c 7
προτέλεια γάμων 774 e 9
προτρέπεσθαι bring with it (?) 871 b 4
πρόφασιν ἔχειν provide an excuse 637 b 2
πρωτάνεις 755 e 4, 760 b 1, 768 a 8, 953 c 1
THE LAWS OF PLATO

πρώτως (τάν) prominently 636 c 6
πυκνότης 734 a 8
πυρέδειν make a bonfire 843 e 2
πυρρίχ 815 a 2
πώς γάρ ο; in the middle of a sentence
769 e 3
πώ (;) 808 d 3

ρημάς and ερήματα be prescribed
873 b 2, 879 b 4, 882 a 3
ρήψασθι contrasted with ἀποβολέας
854 b 7
ρυθμός 653 e 5, 669 e 1

Σαυρομάτιδες 804 e 6, 806 b 5
σκαγράφες 663 c 1
σκιαμαχεῖν 830 c 3
σκιρτάν be a “bounder” 716 b 2
σκολιῶν τι πράττειν take to crooked
courses 945 b 6
σκοπεῖσθαι πρός, εἰς 627 d 1
σκοτοδίνα 663 b 6
σοφία skill 643 e 2, 644 a 3
σπάνιος w. inf. 677 e 10
σπουδή and παιδί 636 c 1, 659 e 3,
673 e 3, 685 a 6, 688 b 6, 732 d 5,
761 d 5, 769 a 1, 771 e 5, 798 b 8 ff.,
803 d 2 ff., 887 d 4
σπουδή diligently 855 d 8
σπουδῆς (μετὰ) deliberately 656 a 4,
677 c 5
στάσις 628 a 9, 630 a 1, 682 d 7,
715 b 5, 729 a 1, 757 a 4
στασιωτέρα 832 c 3
σταχάζεσθαι πρός τι 693 c 8, 962 d 3
στρατία and στρατεία 942 a 5
στρατόπεδον used for λέος 687 a 5,
708 a 1
σύγκρισις and διάκρισις as modes of
motion 893 e
συγχωρεῖν w. acc. acquiescent
799 c 5, w. inf. allow 906 d 4
συνλαμβάνειν co-operate 709 c 1
συνλογή and σύλλογος 758 d 2
συμβάλλειν for συμβάλλειν εἶναι or δν
671 e 1
συμβόλαια 913 a 1, 920 d 1
συμπεριφέρειν coalesce 708 d 3
συμπόστασις properly conducted 640 d 4 ff.
συμποτικὸν νόμοι 671 c 3
συμφορά euphemism for tendency to

crime 854 d 2, 877 a 5, c 8, 878 b 3,
934 b 3
συμφωνεῖ τοῦ παντὸς χρῆν 721 c 3
συμφωνία 708 d 5
συμφωνία in the soul 689 d 5
συναπλα 765 b 7
συνέπεσαν attend to 769 d 6, harmonize
with 858 e 7
συναγωγεῖν give witness in court 937 a 5
συνεπερήμια a pair 737 e 4
σύνοικος = μετοίκος 880 c 7
σύνολον (τὸ) 654 b 3
συνοπέπ 779 c 7, 965 b 10
συντεῖχεν do one’s best to 641 e 3,
harrow (met.) 800 d 3
συμφαίτια of the σύγγονοι 762 c 1
συστασία, origin of 780 b 3 ff.;
for women 780 e 1 ff.; for both sexes
806 e 2 ff.
σύστασις constitution, nature 812 c 1,
hostile engagement 833 a 1, con-
struction, structure 858 b 3, 5
σφαιρομαχεῖν 830 e 3
σφάλλειν injure 769 c 5, 864 a 4
σφόδρα confidently 840 b 2, 842 a 4
σφόδρα or similar adverb qualifying
a noun 639 b 11, 698 c 3, 791 c 5,
813 d 3
σφόδρα ἀπὸ σμικρῶν = ἀπὸ σφόδρα
σμικρῶν 791 d 6
σχέδου practically 649 a 2, 683 c 4,
685 c 1, 701 b 1, 710 d 1, 729 e 3
σχέμα 654 e 4, 669 c 4, d 7, dignity
685 c 5
σφίξεσθαι used of λόγος or μόθος
645 b 1
σωματικία 674 b 4, 840 a 4
σωτηρία means of preserving 653 a 1,
960 b 7
σωφροσύνη 635 e 6, training for
647 c 10, in a state 693 d 2, 696 d,
710 a, the athlete’s 840 a

τάναντι adv. 636 e 3, 727 d 4
τάξις 653 e 4, 764 e 4, 780 d 5, 782 a 6,
802 c 4, e 11, 805 d 4, 807 d 6,
816 c 5, 834 a 2, (staff) 843 d 5,
848 c 8
ταῦτα μὲν ταῦτα 670 a 3, 676 a 1
ταῦτα τῆς φύσεως that natural feature
705 c 7
te explanatory 809 b 3

666
THE LAWS OF PLATO

νπόθεσις task 812 a 4
νπολαμβάνειν believe 641 e 5
νπορρεῖν be current 672 b 3
νποτέμενην lap 844 a 5
νποτρέχειν deceive 923 b 2
νστερά adv. 889 d 1
νστερον adv. w. gen. 632 e 5

φαρμακεία 932 e ff.
φάρμακον w. objective gen. 647 e 1
φασίς = ἀπλῶς 929 a 8
φέρειν support the toil of (?) 664 d 2,
vote for 753 d 1, 946 a 3, b 1
φέρομαι = ἔπι bear upon 670 e 3
φέρομαι = ἐπὶ tend to 815 a 5
φεύγω have recourse to (?) 767 d 7
φήμη 642 b 2, 664 d 4, 672 b 3,
704 b 1, 738 c 6, 838 c 6, d 6,
870 a 7, 871 b 4, 878 a 5, 906 c 1,
908 a 7, 916 d 7, 932 a 5, 935 a 1,
952 b 7, 966 c 5
φθόνος = φθάνο ἐν as a medical term
916 a 5
φθόρα as a mode of motion 893 e 7,
894 a 7, b 11
φυλίας ἐθνὸν τρία 837 a 2
φυλίας ἐμολογοι love-contracts 840 e 1
φιλία fellow-countryman 865 a 5,
876 c 6
φιλός w. gen. fond of 837 a 7
φιλοσοφοῦσθαι 738 d 7
φιλοσοφῶν ἔχειν περὶ to be devoted to
764 a 5
φιλοσοφῶν ὑπὲρ 628 c 10, 640 b 8
φιλοχρηστεῖν (τὸ) inconsistent with
social existence 737 a 5
Φοινικίκων ὕδως 663 e 5
φορά move at draughts 739 a 1
φορταῖα 746 d 7
φρόνησις (ὁγεμων ἄρετῆς) 631 c 6,
688 b 2, 963 a 8
φρόνιμος ἄρετῆς 760 b 6
φυλετικὰ δικαστήρια 768 b 4, 915 c 5,
956 c 2
φύσεθαι pass. mix with foreigners
950 a 4
φύσει 627 d 4
φύσις ἔχειν consentaneum esse 839 d 3
φύσις permanent primary substance
891 c 3
φύσις in plur. 710 b 5, with gen. of

noun as a periphrasis for that noun
845 d 8, 862 d 8, 869 c 2, 942 e 1
φωνακός 665 e 6
φωνὴ πᾶσαν ἔλεειν 890 d 3
φῶς (εἰς τὸ) φέρειν or ἀγεῖν 781 a 1,
788 c 3, 869 c 2

χαλεπός deadly 629 d 2, 636 b 3,
731 b 4, dangerous 867 d 5, ill-
sounding (of names) 950 b 2
χάρις charm 667 b 6, θεῶν χάρις
771 d 5, 796 c 3, used of personal
preference in marriage or adoption
740 c 6, 840 d 7
χάρινος conceived 728 e 4
χάρινον thel 823 c 6
χορεία 654 b 3
χορός 654 a 4
χορεύωs used 796 c 3, 846 c 5, 847 d 3,
experience 776 c 2, 779 c 7, business
848 a 5, 849 a 5, 918 a 1,
religious function (?) 738 d 6, treat-
ment 936 d 2,
χρεώ as an impersonal acc. abs. 766 a 6
χρηματισμός the foe of παιδεία
743 d 6 ff.
χρόνοι for χρόνος a late mannerism
of Plato 769 c 5, 850 b 5
χρώμα used metaphorically as a term
of art 655 a 3
χωρίς after its case 671 d 7, 788 d 10,
814 c 1, 947 b 5, 949 a 7, 955 c 6
χωρίς (τινος γενομένου) unless (some-
ting happens) 790 b 2

ψαλίς 947 d 6
ψευδομαρτυρία 937 b 7, 943 d 6
ψευδόν ἀκούσθων 730 c 5
ψιλός without music 669 d 7, without
words 669 e 1
ψιχαγωγεῖν 909 b 2 f.
ψυχή, divine nature of 726 a 3, = ἡ
895 c 11, that which moves itself
896 a 3
ψυχή and not σῶμα makes each of
us what we are 959 a 6
ψυχή antecedent to and superior to
σῶμα 892 a 1-7
ψυχή that does harm 854 b 2 ff.,
896 d e
INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

ψυχής γνώμη 672 b 4
ψυχής το ιντεύμενον και ήδόμενον compared to the multitude in a
city 689 b 1
ψυχών τρόποι 797 d 11, 841 c 5

ωρα prime 669 d 4
ως for ἃ ως after τοιναντίον 944 d 6
ως just as 797 e 2
ως on the ground that, because 733 a 1, 736 c 6 f.
ως, pregnant use of 662 b 2, b 3
ως used for ὅστε 798 b 1, 806 b 3
ως w. an absolute construction

after a verbum declarandi 624 a 7, 636 d 1, 641 d 1, 643 d 8, 691 d 5, 798 c 7, 887 a 1
ως γε ἐμὸι συνδοκεῖν 627 d 6
ως εν παιδίας μοιρᾶ perfunctorily 656 b 3
ως ἐπος εἶπεῖν always qualifies a
numerical or quasi-numerical
expression 677 d 5, 678 a 4, 797 d 12, 800 c 6, 804 e 5
ως ὅλων τε as far as possible 967 a 3
ως φάναι as we are told that he said 715 a 2
ὅστε, pregnant use of 647 e 2, 648 e 1
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