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Herbert Weir Smyth
Bryn Mawr, 1900
PLATONIS APOLOGIA
SOCRATIS
London: C. J. CLAY and SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.
Glasgow: 263, ARGYLE STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.
Bombay: E. SEYMOUR HALE.
Pitt Press Series.

PLATONIS APOLOGIA SOC RATIS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY

J. ADAM, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EMMAUEL COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.

STEREOTYPED EDITION.

CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1897

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Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἀν τις καὶ ἄλλα ἔχου Σωκράτη ἐπανέσαι καὶ θανμάσια. ἄλλα τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων τάχ' ἀν τις καὶ περὶ ἄλλου τοιαύτα εἶποι, τὸ δὲ μηδενὶ ἄνθρωπων δμοιων εἶναι, μήτε τῶν παλαιῶν, μήτε τῶν νῦν ὄντων, τούτο δὲ πάντως θαύματος.

Plato, Symp. 221 c.

"Ὅμολογεῖται γὰρ οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν μημονευμένων ἀνθρώπων κάλλιον θάνατον ἐνεγκεῖν.

Xenophon, Mem. iv. 8. 2.

First Edition 1886.

Reprinted 1889, 1891, 1894, 1897.
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PREFACE.

This edition has been revised throughout, but will not be found to differ materially from the last.

The most important contributions to the criticism and explanation of the Apology during the last five years are Schanz's *Platonis Apologia in Scholarum usum* (1893) and his explanatory edition published in the same year.

I have examined Schanz's two editions and introduced a few slight changes rendered necessary by his publication of the readings of the Venetian Codex T.

In general, where I differ from Schanz, I have, with few exceptions, adhered more closely to the text of the Bodleian MS.

Emmanuel College,
Cambridge,
October 23, 1897.
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The present edition of the Apology is intended chiefly for University Students and the Higher Forms in Schools. The text is based upon Schanz's collation of the Bodleian: any important deviations from this Manuscript I have generally noted in the second Appendix. I have also found Kral's edition (Leipzig, 1885) very helpful in the study of the text.

The two editors to whom I am most indebted in the notes are Christian Cron (8th ed. 1882) and Ed. Goebel (Platon's Apologie des Sokrates und Kriton, Paderborn 1883): the latter I have followed in his division of the speech into three parts, and in the headings of the three divisions. When I have borrowed anything of importance from other editors and commentators, I have endeavoured as far as possible to make acknowledgment.

Mr J. A. Platt, of Trinity, has been good enough to look over the sheets as they were passing through the Press: and I am indebted to Mr Neil, of Pembroke, for much kind assistance and advice throughout.

Emmanuel College,
Cambridge,
Nov. 22, 1886.
INTRODUCTION.

Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, an Athenian sculptor, and Phaenarete, a midwife, was born in 469 B.C. Of his childhood and youth hardly anything is known. We cannot doubt that he received the usual training in music and gymnastics, although none of the stories connecting him with certain definite teachers is at all trustworthy. In later life at least he knew something of mathematics, astronomy and physics in the Greek sense of the word; but he never studied any of these subjects in a scientific spirit, and it is improbable that he had lessons in them during his early years.

Though destined to inaugurate a new era in philosophy, he appears to have had no strictly philosophical instruction. Plato indeed tells us, in three different places, how vivid an impression the pro-

1 Apol. 17 D, Crit. 53 E: compare Apollodorus ap. Diog. Laert. II. 44.
2 Crit. 50 D.
3 Zeller Philos. der Gr. II. 1. 45.
5 Phaedo 96 A and Archer-Hind’s note.
6 Theaet. 183 E, Soph. 217 C, Parm. 127 B ff. Zeller and Dr Jackson (Art. Parmenides in Encyclopaedia Britannica) believe that this interview is one of Plato’s dramatic fictions.
found personality of Parmenides made upon the youthful Socrates, who is said to have met the Eleatic philosopher at Athens: but whether the interview is to be regarded as historical or not, the incident can hardly have been of much importance, and we can well imagine that the free civic and social life of Athens must itself have been a better teacher to Socrates than any quantity of Eleatic or Ionian physics.

The story that Socrates learnt his father's trade, although probable enough in itself, is hardly supported by sufficient testimony. Pausanias (1. 22) tells us that he saw at Athens a group of the Graces, commonly attributed to Socrates, but if Socrates had really practised the art of sculpture, it is not likely that the fact would have escaped mention by Xenophon, Plato¹ and Aristophanes.

We do not know for certain when Socrates first began his work. From an investigation of the interviews between Socrates and different Sophists recorded in the dialogues of Plato, interviews which are not of course historical, but only perhaps chronologically possible, and a comparison of these with Apol. 18 B, it is inferred by Alberti² that he

Alberti (Sokrates pp. 16 foll.) argues very powerfully for the opposite view. The interview may have happened about 450 B.C.

¹ Socrates may be meant in Rep. vi. 496 B, where Plato, enumerating different classes of men who have been true to their vocation as philosophers, says βραχύ δὲ ποῦ τι καὶ ἄπλησ τεχνὸς δικαίως ἀγμάσαν εὐφυΐς ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἀν ἔθνου. Timo (circ. 270 B.C.) alludes to Socrates as λεθοῦσα (ap. Diog. Laert. II. 19).

² Sokrates p. 72.
first became conscious of his mission about 440 B.C. Even before this time, he must have been thoroughly familiar with the many-sided life of Athens. Plato tells us that he never left Athens except to serve in a campaign: nor is it difficult to understand how even the restlessness and vigour of a Socrates should have found plenty of occupation in the society of the market-place and the palaestra.

The particular direction that the reforming energy of Socrates was to take seems to have been determined by the answer of the Delphic oracle to the inquiry of his friend Chaerephon. Socrates must already have been a well-known figure, at least in certain circles of Athenian society, when the impulsive Chaerephon inquired of the oracle whether there was any one wiser than he. The answer was that no one was wiser. Whereupon Socrates, according to the narrative in the Apology, being conscious of his own ignorance, proceeded to cross-examine individuals in every rank of society, exposing their ignorance and demonstrating the truth of the oracle by discovering that while others were ignorant without knowing it,

1 Crito 52 B. The words ὅτι μὴ ἀπαξ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν are not found in the text of the best mss. Cf. also Phaedr. 230 c foll. οὐ δὲ γε, ὃ θαυμάσει, ἀτοπώτατος τις φαίνει̕ ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ, ὁ λέγεις, ἐναγομένῳ τινὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπεχωρὼ λοικα· οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ δότεος οἷς εἰς τὴν ὑπερορθὰν ἀποδημεῖσι, οὗτ ἐξω τείχος ἐμοκεῖ δοκεῖ τὸ παράπαν ἐξέχειν. The story of Ion (ap. Diog. Laert. II. 23) about an early voyage of Socrates and Archelaus to Samos may or may not be true. Zeller inclines to disbelieve it (Phil. der Gr. II. 1. p. 47 note 2); Alberti on the other hand, relying on the generally trustworthy testimony of Ion, accepts it as true. For the campaigns in which Socrates served see on 28 ε.

2 Apol. 20 ε foll. Nothing is known as to the date of this incident.
he was at least thus much wiser, that he was conscious of his own ignorance. How fertile in the history of philosophy was the dialectical method which Socrates developed in the course of his continual conversations, the works of Plato and Aristotle remain to shew.

It was hardly to be expected that a man whose profession must have kept him so continually before the public could long escape the attacks of the Comic stage. A few fragments are preserved from a play of Eupolis,—in which the following lines occur:

Δεξάμενος δὲ Σωκράτης τὴν ἐπίδειξιν¹...
Στησιχόρου πρὸς τὴν λύραν, οἰνοχόην ἔκλεψεν.

The charge of theft, which is also made by Aristophanes², appears from another fragment to mean no more than that Socrates was almost too poor to support himself honestly³:

Μισῶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη, τὸν πτωχὸν αὐτὸφηκην,
δὲ τάλλα μὲν πεφρόντικεν,
ὀπόθεν δὲ καταφαγεῖν ἔχοι, τούτου κατημέληκεν⁴.

The imputation of ἀδολεσχία is repeated in another line of Eupolis—if, as seems probable, Socrates is the person addressed:

...ἀδολεσχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκδιδαξὼν, ὥς σοφιστὰ⁵.

But by far the most violent attack upon Socrates by the comic stage was made in the year 423. The

¹ Meineke supplies ἔδωκ: Fritzsch (with the approval of Kock Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta i. p. 355) reads τὴν ἐπίδειξιν [ἐκπιώ]. The date of the fragment is uncertain.
² Nub. 175 foll.
³ Cf. Apol. 23 c and note.
⁴ Kock l. c. 1. p. 351.
⁵ Kock i. p. 352.
INTRODUCTION.

Connus\(^1\) of Amipsias, indeed, which gained the second prize in that year, seems to have treated Socrates with toleration as the least bad of the clique of φροντισταί\(^8\): but in the Clouds of Aristophanes, which was awarded the third prize on the same occasion, Socrates is mercilessly ridiculed as a frivolous speculator in natural science, a heretic or even an atheist in religion, and a dangerous and sophistical rhetorician, who made the worse appear the better cause. In order to estimate the truth of the charges brought forward in the Clouds (the play selected by Socrates as embodying the views of his early detractors)\(^8\), it will be necessary to examine at some length the method and doctrine of Socrates.

Although Socrates may well be called the Father of Philosophy, he was not himself a philosopher, but a moral reformer. He was firmly convinced that he had a divine mission to redeem the Athenian people. "Now therefore, men of Athens," he says in the Apology\(^4\), "so far from pleading my own cause, I am pleading yours, lest by condemning me ye should sin in the matter of God's gift to you... But perhaps ye will obey Anytus, and lightly put me to death, and then sleep away the rest of your

\(^1\) This play apparently caricatured various classes of clever men, philosophers, priests, etc. deriding their poverty and destitution. Four lines are preserved relating to Socrates:

Σώκρατες ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστον θλίγων, πολλῶν δὲ ματαιότατον, ἐκεῖς καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καρπερίκος γ' εἶ; πόθεν ἀν σοι χαίνα γένοιτο; τοιῇ τὸ κακὸν τῶν σκυτοτόμων καὶ ἐπήρειαν γεγένται. ὦ τῶν μέντων πεινῶν οὕτως οὐκ ὁπλοῦσι' ἔτη κολακεῦσαι.

\(^8\) Cf. note on Apol. 18 B.

\(^3\) 19 C.

\(^4\) Ch. xviii. 30 D foll. Cf. Gorg. 521 D foll.

A. P.
lives, unless God in his love for you sends you some other missionary.” Socrates believed that there was something very far wrong in Athenian politics and Athenian life: to set this right, by teaching men how they ought to live (πῶς βίωτέον), was the duty impressed on him repeatedly “by means of oracles and dreams” and every other expression of the divine will.

Like a good physician, he first set to work to discover the cause of the disease. He had not far to seek. In the course of the systematic interviewing to which God had called him through his oracle, he had discovered that the Athenians were one and all destitute of knowledge. Their opinions, like all opinions that rest on mere authority or convention, lacked lucidity; they were neither clearly conceived nor intelligibly expressed: and to Socrates the very idea of knowledge implied clear thinking and the power of lucid exposition. In this way Socrates came to attribute all that was evil in Athenian life to the deep-seated ignorance of his countrymen. Other indications pointed in the same direction. In the whole sphere of the arts, knowledge, the direct antithesis of ignorance, appeared to lead to right action. The man who knows carpentry, for example, is a good carpenter; a knowledge of music makes one a musician; the doctor is a man who is acquainted with

1 Apol. 33 c.
2 Apol. vi. foll.
3 Mem. iv. 6. i: Σωκράτης γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας, τί ἐκαστὸν εἶναι τῶν δινών, ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄν ἐξηγεῖσθαι δύνασθαι· τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰδότας οὖδὲν ἐφιδο θαυμαστὸν εἶναι αὐτοῦς τε σφάλλεσθαι καὶ ἄλλους σφάλλειν.
medicineⁱ, and so on. Moreover, Socrates may have been influenced by the fact that the close connection between virtue and knowledge was already presupposed by some of the most eminent of the contemporary sophists; Gorgias and Protagoras could never have professed to teach virtue at so much per lesson, without holding that virtue even if not synonymous with knowledge is at least near akin to it. But perhaps the strongest confirmation of Socrates’ view was afforded by the facts of his own experience. With him knowledge was immediately translated into action: it was less a matter of the intellect than of the whole man. So completely unconscious was he of any internal struggle between his own judgment and his will—between the opposing motive-forces of duty and pleasure—that it was to him simply inconceivable that any other man, knowing and approving the good, should consciously follow after the worse.

Such was Socrates’ diagnosis of the disease which seemed to be preying on Athenian life. The cure was manifest. If ignorance leads to wrong action, in life no less than in the arts, we may infer that right action will be the result of knowledge; if, in a word, ignorance is vice, knowledge may be presumed to be virtue. This is the cardinal doctrine of the Socratic system of ethics².

But what was the treatment to which Socrates submitted the Athenian Demos? How did he

ⁱ Gorg. 460 A foll., where the argument is clearly Socratic. Cf. Mem. iv. 2. 19 foll. iii. 9. 2 foll. Grote vol. viii. p. 239 foll. has some good remarks on Socrates’ habitual comparisons between the art of human conduct and the special professions.

² See p. xviii.
proceed in his endeavour to implant knowledge in the minds of his countrymen? The first step taken by him was to set aside one whole sphere in which knowledge appeared to be altogether unattainable—the sphere of physics, or natural philosophy. "Socrates," says Xenophon¹, "did not converse about the nature of the whole, like most of the others, nor inquire how the Kosmos as the Sophists call it came into existence, or by what inevitable causes the various celestial phenomena come to pass; on the contrary, he went so far as to demonstrate that those who studied such subjects were acting like fools." Till we have a satisfactory knowledge of what appertains to man, it seemed to Socrates mere waste of time to pursue studies in which we can never attain to truth, as appeared sufficiently clear from the wild and inconsistent theories of the early physicists². With all the greater zeal did this earnest reformer endeavour to train his countrymen in ethical inquiries, a department in which every result had an immediate bearing upon life. But as the minds of men are unfortunately not a mere blank but full even now of the conceit of knowledge without the reality, a good teacher will first remove this blemish, just as a good painter will make his canvas clean before he begins to paint³. Socrates performed this painful but necessary function with great dialectical skill, and sometimes, it must be allowed, with a certain spice of malicious pleasure⁴. He generally begins by innocently asking for a definition of some of the most familiar notions of

¹ Mem. i. i. 11 foll.
² Mem. iv. 7. 6 foll.
⁴ Apol. 33 c ἐστι γὰρ οὐκ ἄνδες.
INTRODUCTION

ethics, and having elicited one, often not without some difficulty, for it was still only the infancy of logic, he cites cases in which this definition is clearly at fault, and ends by making his victim contradict himself out of his own mouth. One feature in the Socratic elenchus was peculiarly exasperating. Throughout the whole inquiry he posed as the ignorant man anxious to receive instruction, while he contrived at the same time to make his victims feel that in spite of disclaimers he really knew all about it. How far Socrates was sincere in his protestations of ignorance it is hard to say: certainly in conversations with many of the Sophists he was not, although in talking with his friends he no less certainly was: few men, if we may trust Plato, felt more keenly than Socrates how little man could know, and how hard it is to know even that little. But however this may be, it is certain that Socrates' ἐλπωρέλα made him not a few enemies: for dissemble it as he might, the very skill with which he reduced his adversary ad absurdum itself attested his superior knowledge.

No description will convey so clear an idea of this stage in the Socratic method as may be obtained from a perusal of some of the Socratic conversations. The best example is perhaps that which Xenophon has preserved for us in Mem. iv. 2: another nearly as good, though probably less authentic, is the Platonic Alcibiades I. In the former conversation Socrates inveigles Euthydemus into giving an account of justice. As examples of injustice Euthydemus cites

1 See Phaedo 114 D and Rep. vi. 506 E.
2 See note on Apol. 37 E.
lying, deceiving, ill-treatment, reducing free-born men to slavery: whereupon Socrates by a judicious selection of examples, compels his friend to allow that in certain circumstances each of these four is really just, and then as if to complete the young man’s bewilderment, he proceeds to refute the perfectly rational view that of two sinners, one voluntary, the other involuntary, the voluntary sinner is the worse, by shewing that the involuntary sinner is in reality more just. Euthydemus is much disheartened: “How grievously am I cast down, think you, Socrates, when I see that all my early labour has not even made me able to answer a question when it is put to me on a subject which I ought to know best, and that I have no other way by which to go, if I would become a better man.” Socrates is touched by this appeal, and recommends Euthydemus to obey the inscription on the temple at Delphi, and learn to know himself, that is, to know wherein lie his own strength and weakness. The dialogue ends with a fresh humiliation for Euthydemus, who departs sadly, but not in despair, knowing that the hand which wounded could also heal him.

Of those who suffered from the Socratic elenchus many left him in anger, and went to swell the rising tide of hostility that was destined one day to overpower him. We are bound to make allowances for these men. Even now the orthodox and respectable classes are hurt when a man shews how shallow and conventional are many of their most cherished customs and creeds. Neither were the orthodox Athenians altogether bad if with their bourgeois minds they felt benumbed rather than stimulated by the Socratic
INTRODUCTION.

dialectic¹, nor was it perhaps good for them to leave
the shifting sands of true opinion unless they had
patience and opportunity to build on the sure rock
of knowledge. Socrates let them go, thinking them
“a trifle stupid”, and troubled no more about them.
But when his victim felt no spite but only profound
humiliation, accompanied by an earnest desire for a
better and nobler life, when he felt what Alcibiades
felt⁴, but felt in vain, on hearing some of Socrates’
discourses, that he could not go on living as he then
was, Socrates at once began to direct his friend where
knowledge was to be found. This brings us to the
second or positive aspect of the Socratic method.

In endeavouring to train those who put them-
selves under his care, Socrates never posed as a
dogmatic teacher: he expressly denies that anyone
could be regarded as his pupil⁴. To him truth seemed
only to be attained by joint inquiry: hence the
frequency of such expressions as κοινὴ βουλεύεσθαι,
κοινὴ σκοπεῖν, κοινὴ ζητεῖν, συζητεῖν and the like, to
describe the procedure of Socrates⁵. Moreover, as
the end which Socrates set before him was not a
purely intellectual training, but the moral improve-
ment of his friends, the relation between teacher and
pupil was conceived by him as at least as much
emotional as intellectual. Socrates himself repeatedly
speaks of it as being a kind of Eros, sometimes half
playfully, but generally with deep seriousness: in

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¹ Meno 80 A foll.
² Mem. IV. 2. 40 πολλόν μὲν οὖν τῶν ὄφτω διατεθέντων ὑπὸ
Σωκράτους οὐκ ἔτι αὐτῷ προσήκειν, οἷς καὶ βλακοτέρους ἐνόμιζεν.
³ Pl. Symp. 216 A.
⁴ Apol. 33 A.
⁵ Zeller II. 1, p. 104 note.
Plato this view is widened into the larger conception of a union between two souls for the begetting of pure and lofty thoughts. One other aspect in which this relation is presented requires to be noticed. As Socrates generally conveyed information by judicious questions rather than by continuous exposition he seemed to be merely eliciting the knowledge that lay hidden in the mind of his friend: and so in Plato he calls himself a midwife, and his art midwifery. The whole value of education seemed both to him and Plato to consist in bringing to birth those noble thoughts and aspirations which lie latent in every mind.

True knowledge, according to Socrates, consists in knowing the λόγος or definition of each thing. The way by which we reach this λόγος is ἐπαγωγή or induction. No sooner has it been attained than we ought (as in the practical syllogism) to subsume under it the special case, and act accordingly: thus our knowledge has an immediate practical bearing upon our conduct. The material from which the inductive method of Socrates takes its start is drawn from the familiar scenes of everyday life. The various handicrafts supply numerous examples, especially those of the carpenter and the shoemaker: it is due to Socrates that the latter class figure so prominently in the pages of Plato and Aristotle. We must allow that Socrates generally applied his method somewhat loosely, selecting but a few particulars, and these pretty much at random, and frequently drawing superficial or even erroneous conclusions: but this is one of those cases where it is more valuable to point out the right way

2 Theaet. 149 foll.
than to walk in it oneself: and Aristotle is right in regarding it as the peculiar philosophical merit of Socrates that he introduced 'inductive reasoning and general definitions' (τούς τε ἐπακτικοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸ ὄριζεσθαι καθὸλον)

What then was the substance of that wisdom which Socrates tried to impart to his friends? The answer to this question will enable us to decide how far the attack made upon him by the Athenian comic stage was justifiable.

We may present the import of the Socratic teaching under three heads: the first concerning man as an individual among his fellows; the second, man in relation to the State; and the third, man in relation to the gods.

First, then, as to man in his individual aspect. No point was more insisted on by Socrates than the high and noble calling of the human soul. "The soul of man," he says, "if anything connected with man does so, partakes in the divine." The first duty of every man is to his own soul: he is bound above all to abstain from wrong-doing himself, on account of the diseases which it engenders in this soul of his: only then has he a right to encourage and exhort others to righteousness. Whether or not wrong-doing in this life has any influence upon our destiny hereafter Socrates does not say: the immortality of the human soul was one of those questions which seemed to him insoluble. But if we are to live aright even here, it is above all things necessary that we should have self-knowledge, that is to say, a clear

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2 Mem. iv. 3. 14.
3 Apol. 40 c and notes.
conception of our own proclivities and powers. Socrates never wearies of repeating the words of the inscription on the temple at Delphi, γνῶθι σεαυτόν. No less necessary is it to understand what virtue in the abstract is, and what the single virtues are. Taken as a whole, virtue is by Socrates identified with knowledge: the single virtues he regards as varieties of knowledge. Piety, for example, is the knowledge of what is right towards the gods, and justice the knowledge of what is right towards man: the brave man is one who knows what is and what is not terrible, and so on\(^1\). From the doctrine that virtue is knowledge Socrates drew four conclusions. The first is the unity of all virtue: the second its capability of being imparted by teaching: in the other two, which must be supposed to have a logical rather than a real value, Socrates maintains the well-known paradox that no one sins willingly (οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν ἀμαρτάνει), and that, even if one does, the guilt is less than when one sins involuntarily (ὅ ἐκὼν ἀμαρτάνων ἀμείνων). When it was necessary to determine still more closely the precise signification of virtue, Socrates would frequently explain it as the knowledge of the good, and by further defining good sometimes as that which is useful, sometimes again as the lawful, he contrives to give to his teaching either a utilitarian or a merely conventional aspect. On the whole Socrates seems to have rarely exhorted men to follow virtue for its own sake: to him virtue seemed desirable because it is the best policy: only we must bear in mind that it is the best policy, less on account of its extraneous advantages than because of its effect upon the individual soul.

\(^1\) Mem. iv. 6. 2 foll. Cf. Zeller ii. 1, p. 120.
Among the other points of the Socratic teaching, in so far as it related to man as a social individual, one of the most striking is the high value which he set upon Friendship. The Greek conception of Friendship was by him purified and sublimated into the idea of a spiritual union for the promotion of clearer thinking and better living. In another point he seems (if we may trust Plato') to have risen above the usual Greek standard of morality, when he maintained that under no circumstances is it right to do injury to another. If on the other hand his conception of marriage was hardly higher than that of most of his countrymen, we must remember that his own domestic relations were singularly unfortunate: and it is at least certain that he rated the capabilities of women considerably higher than his contemporaries.

Let us now consider Socrates’ teaching in relation to the State. There is no doubt whatever that Socrates disapproved of democracy. It seemed to him preposterous that ignorance should be allowed to hold sway in politics when it would be scouted in the arts. What Socrates desiderates is an aristocracy of intellect. Accordingly he advises intending politicians to study the art of politics, since he alone is the true politician who knows how to rule*. But Socrates did not carry his dissent so far as to disobey what in his inmost soul he knew to be unjust decrees. As has been already remarked, he sometimes identifies what is good or just with what is lawful*: and he willingly

1 Crito 49 A ff. But see Xen. Mem. II. 6. 35. It is possible that Socrates may have held both views on two different occasions.

2 Mem. III. Chapters 6 and 7.

3 See on Ch. xxiv. 35 b.
died to obey the constitution which on more than one occasion he had exposed his life to defend.

iii. Religion.

We come now to Socrates' religious teaching. Here the first thing to note is that there is no foundation for the charge of atheism brought against him by Aristophanes: still less did he teach his followers to worship Δίῳs or any other idol of the physicists. On the whole, his teaching was moderately orthodox. It is true that he teaches the Unity of God, and speaks of the Divine Being as the reason immanent in the Universe\(^1\), omnipresent, omniscient, and invisible, planning everything for the good of man: but to the Athenians these views were no longer unfamiliar, and even to the pious Xenophon they appear quite orthodox. As a rule Socrates talks in the usual way of 'the gods' rather than of one Divine Being; he also insists on the value of oracles and of divination, and recommends generally that the gods should be worshipped according to the usage of one's country. In practice Socrates himself observed this rule: but how far he rose above the majority of mankind in religious feeling may be seen from what Xenophon\(^2\) tells us about his manner of praying: "he used to pray to the gods to give him simply what was good, thinking that the gods best knew what kind of things were good." The prayer with which the Phaedrus concludes may be taken as an example: "Beloved Pan, and other Gods present in this place, grant me to become fair within: and may my outward circumstances be favourable to what is within. May I think the wise man rich. May I have as much gold as only the temperate man can carry and bear."

\(^1\) Mem. i. 4. 8 foll.  
\(^2\) Mem. i. 3. 2.
Such, briefly stated, was the substance of Socrates' teaching. We may now inquire how far the Socrates of Aristophanes is true to nature. Two of the three main features\(^1\) in Aristophanes' picture are lacking in the real Socrates: for, as we have seen, he was not a heretic or atheist, nor a speculator in natural science. In support of the third charge, that of making the worse appear the better cause, more might possibly be said, at least from the point of view of Aristophanes. The discourses of Socrates had undoubtedly an 'unsettling tendency,' and many of his dogmas must have appeared paradoxical to Athenians of the old school. But Aristophanes would never have attacked Socrates on this ground alone. The Aristophanic Socrates is intended as a caricature, not of an individual, but of a principle—the principle of rationalistic inquiry and systematic ethical instruction introduced and propagated at Athens by the Sophists. Aristophanes ignored the essential formal distinction between the Sophists and Socrates, viz. that the former taught for pay, while Socrates did not, and, what is still more important, he either failed to see or did not choose to shew that whereas those Sophists who professed to teach virtue frequently undermined existing views without replacing them by others more surely founded, Socrates on the other hand only pulled down in order that he might rebuild. It remains to ask, What were the motives which induced Aristophanes to make Socrates his butt, and not, let us say, Gorgias or Protagoras? Socrates was doubtless far better known to the Athenian public than either of those men. Among the

\(^1\) See p. ix.
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audience who listened to the Clouds, there could have been few men of mark who had not suffered from his cross-examination, and to the rest he must have been thoroughly familiar from his constant visits to the palaestra and the market-place. Socrates once seen could never have been forgotten. He was absolutely unique among Athenians, whether we consider his personal appearance or his way of life. "Short of stature, thick-necked, and somewhat corpulent, with prominent eyes, with nose upturned and nostrils outspread, with large mouth and coarse lips, he seemed the embodiment of sensuality and even stupidity." Careless of fashion to a remarkable degree both in dress and in manners, he would walk scowling through the streets, shoeless and with nose upturned, seeking victims for his dialectic. At least on one occasion, he carried his defiance of fashion so far as to execute a dance by himself before a party at the house of Callias, defending his conduct by the plea that dancing was a healthy exercise likely to reduce his corpulence. In the most artistic age the world has ever seen, he shewed himself strikingly insensible to beauty both in nature and in art: he defined beauty as utility, and proved himself in this way a very Adonis as compared with the beautiful

1 Symp. 221 c foll.
3 His usual dress was the τρίβων, Prot. 335 D. Cf. Mem. i. 6. 2, from which it appears that he wore the same dress both in summer and winter.
5 Xen. Symp. ii. 17 foll.
Critobulus\(^1\). From time to time he was subject to extraordinary fits of abstraction, during which he would remain rooted to the spot for hours together, heedless alike of bodily wants and external surroundings. On one occasion he is said to have wrestled with some problem for twenty-four hours without once leaving the spot where he stood\(^2\). That a man who to all these personal eccentricities added a continual flow of conversation about ‘asses and smiths and shoemakers and tanners’ \(^3\) should have seemed a fit subject for caricature on the Athenian comic stage need hardly excite our wonder: and Socrates’ well-known leanings to aristocracy and Sparta may have made the Athenians all the more ready to indulge in laughter at his expense. Such were in my opinion the motives that induced Aristophanes to take Socrates as the type of the new learning. As a comedian, he could not afford to pass over so striking a figure. But, whether he was or was not conscious of the infinite difference between Socrates and the Sophists, the attack could not have been inspired by any malicious desire to prejudice Socrates in the eyes of the Athenian public, otherwise Plato would hardly have made both Socrates and his caricaturist figure together in the Symposium. Neither (I think) were the Athenians much affected by the play. In general, they liked a man none the less for having laughed at him upon the stage: and on this occasion the Clouds was only awarded the third prize.

\(^1\) Xen. Symp. ch. v.  
\(^2\) Pl. Symp. 220 B.  
\(^3\) Symp. 221 ε ἄγον γὰρ κανθάλους λέγει καὶ χαλκέας τινὰς καὶ σκυτότυμους καὶ βυσσοδέψας. Cf. Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 37 where Critias commands Socrates to let alone the shoemakers and carpenters and smiths, otherwise it will be the worse for him.
Between 423 and 399 there is little to record in the life of Socrates: we know that he still pursued his vocation, making some warm friends, and many bitter enemies. Soon after 423 he married, for we may fairly infer from the silence of Aristophanes about Xanthippe that as yet she was not his wife, and in 399 his oldest boy was still a lad (Apol. 34 D). After all that has been written "zur Ehrenrettung der Xanthippe," she still remains a warning to philosophers: but we must allow that Socrates did not give her a fair chance. Who does not wish with Landor that "he could have kept a little more at home and have thought it as well worth while to converse with his own children as with others"? In this period occurred the only important appearance of Socrates in public life. As President of the Ἐρετράσμοι in 406 he defied the clamours of the excited assembly and protested against the illegal condemnation of the generals¹. In this public opinion afterwards acknowledged that he was right. On two other occasions, when he resisted the commands of the Thirty, Socrates must have had all right-thinking men upon his side—once when he exposed the shallowness and folly of the decree against ‘teaching the art of words’; and once when he refused to conduct Leon from Salamis to meet an undeserved fate at Athens².

But in spite of Socrates' noble behaviour on these occasions, it is clear that a strong prejudice was gradually growing up against him in the minds of some of his fellow-citizens. Those who had writhed under his interrogatories made common cause with others whose

¹ See note on Apol. 32 B.
² Mem. 1. 2. 31 foll.
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animosity had a deeper ground. If Socrates had merely abstained from political life, the Athenians might have pardoned him, though even this may have seemed obnoxious in a state where such abstention was formerly punished by the deprivation of civil rights: but his open attacks upon the supremacy of ignorance must have stung all the more keenly because they were felt to be only too just. And among those who had been intimate with Socrates were some whom Athens had reason to remember with hatred. The splendid powers of Alcibiades had been employed to humiliate his country and exalt himself: Critias had deluged Athens with blood. Few if any of Socrates’ friends were adherents of the democratical party¹: the very phrase καλὸς κἀγαθὸς, so often in Socrates’ mouth⁸, savoured of oligarchy. Socrates himself was a ‘philosophical radical’; a malcontent who disapproved of letting all and sundry have a voice in the management of the state: but like many philosophical radicals, he advocated theories of a distinctly oligarchical nature. Now in 399 it was but four years since the democracy had been triumphantly restored at Athens by Thrasybulus. And just as when Alexander died, some eighty years later, the long suppressed resentment of the Athenians found vent in an accusation against Aristotle, the former teacher of Alexander, so now the newly restored democracy demanded a victim, and who seemed more appropriate than Socrates, the teacher as it was believed of Critias and Alcibiades, himself too an outspoken enemy of democratic government? In

¹ See on Apol. 21 A. ² Apol. 21 D and note. ³ Dr Jackson in Encycl. Brit.

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both cases the charge preferred was one of impiety—a charge at all times difficult to refute, especially for a man of thought before men of action, to whom piety and orthodoxy are synonymous terms.¹

Thus it happened, that in 399, suddenly, and as it would seem without any previous warning, Socrates was put on trial for his life. His accuser was Meletus, probably a son of the poet ridiculed by Aristophanes in the Frogs, an insignificant young man, who seems to have been incensed against Socrates by his attacks upon the poets.² With him were associated as συνήγοροι Anytus and Lycon. Of the last we know nothing except that he was the mouthpiece of the professional rhetoricians. Anytus on the other hand was one of the most powerful and popular Athenians of the day. By profession a tanner, he was a strong supporter of the Athenian democracy: no one had cooperated with Thrasybulus more eagerly than he to overthrow the Thirty and re-establish the rule of the people. Though nominally only συνήγορος, he was in reality the most dangerous of Socrates’ accusers: it was mainly due to his influence and exhortations that Socrates was condemned.

We have two versions of the indictment, one preserved by Diogenes Laertius (ii. 40), the other that in the Apology. The first, which rests on the authority of Favorinus, is as follows: τάδε ἐγράψατο καὶ ἀντωμόσατο Μέλητος Μελήτου Πιθεύς Σωκράτης Σωφρονίσκου Ἀλωπεκήθεν· ἀδικεὶ Σωκράτης οὐδὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεούς οὐ νομίζων, ἄτερα δὲ δαμόνα καὶ ναὶ εἰσηγούμενος· ἀδικεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.

¹ Euthyphro 3 B ἐνδιάβολα τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς.
² v. 1302. ³ ὑπὲρ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀχθόμενος, Apol. 23 ε.
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The second is different only in the order of the various counts: Σωκράτης ἕξτας ἄδικεν τοὺς τε νέους διαφθείροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει σὺ νομίζοντα, ἄτερα δὲ δαίμονα καὶ (Ἀριστ. 24 B).

The really important part of the indictment, as Cron has pointed out, was the charge of corrupting the youth. The charge of impiety seems to have been introduced simply in order to give a 'legal foothold' to this graver accusation. Xenophon and Plato have refuted without difficulty that part of the indictment which imputes to Socrates a disbelief in the gods worshipped by his countrymen: the charge of introducing new gods was based upon a misconception which perhaps the judges did not share. The 'divine sign' or 'voice' of which Socrates so often speaks as debarring him from some action sure to prove prejudicial to him was no god, but a species of μαντική, vouchsafed as Socrates thought to him and few if any besides as a special proof of the divine care. After all that has been written on this subject, it seems to me clear that Socrates regarded his divine sign as a special revelation from God, without submitting it to further analysis: whether in reality it was the voice of tact, speaking from long experience, or something like conscience, as others hold, it is hardly worth while to inquire; for a man who estimated the moral character of an act by its results could hardly have discriminated between the two. As regards the form of the communication, Dr Jackson may be right in maintaining¹ that Socrates was subject to a hallucination of the sense of hearing, for Plato

frequently calls the sign a voice: but as it is not so described by Xenophon, and as the cases are somewhat rare in which sense-hallucinations do not in the end lead to insanity, the expression may be purely metaphorical: "auch wir," says Ribbing, "nennen das Gewissen die Stimme Gottes, und sehen doch darin nichts Wunderbares." But although it is clear that the divine sign was not understood by Socrates as a god, it was at least a religious novelty, and as such it might afford a decent pretext to those judges who may have in reality wished to punish Socrates for those pretensions to superior virtue which seemed to be involved in such a claim. Nor would the Athenians be more inclined to tolerate the δαιμόνια when Socrates made it responsible for his abstention from political life. After all, however, the really telling accusation was that of corrupting the youth. The crimes of Alcibiades and Critias, as well as the indiscretions of his ardent young followers, were laid at the door of the master. Some too among Socrates' judges there may have been, men of true patriotism and narrow views, who felt that the logical issue of the Socratic method amounted to nothing less than an entire revolution of the old Athenian life, nay, who saw with pain young men, full of the exultant dialectic pride but not the earnestness of Socrates, tear and rend "like young dogs" the old ideas and beliefs on which the men of Marathon had been reared. If they could not distinguish the false prophet from the true, nor

1 Socratische Studien II. 38. A full discussion of the 'divine sign' will be found ibid. p. i foll., and in Riddell's Apology Appendix A, pp. 109—117.
2 Apol. 41 D.
3 In Euthyphro 2 c this charge is put in the first place.
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see that the only hope for Athens lay in shifting the basis of conduct from convention to knowledge, they were in this only the slaves of circumstance and their age.

It was before a court composed of 501 Heliasts that the trial took place. Concerning the speeches for the prosecution we possess no information beyond what can be obtained from Plato's Apology and the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The Xenophontic Apology is an incoherent patchwork from Xenophon and Plato. Whether as Grote conjectures each of the three accusers confined himself mainly to one topic in his speech, Meletus undertaking chiefly the religious charges, and Anytus along with Lycon the political, it is difficult to say: Xenophon generally alludes to the prosecution simply as ὁ κατηγόρος. Four points in the speeches of the accusers appear to Xenophon worthy of special notice. The first is the assertion that Socrates made his followers despise the laws and constitution of Athens, by repeated animadversions on the choosing of magistrates by lot. This charge was equally true and honourable to Socrates: the second was however more unjust. That Socrates had once been intimate with Critias and Alcibiades, is not denied by Xenophon: but the latter fairly argues that both these distinguished men frequented his society to acquire facility in debate, and not with a view to their own moral improvement. As long as they continued with Socrates, they held in check their evil desires, nor should Socrates have suffered for having made them temperate when they were young¹. Thirdly, it was asserted that Socrates set sons against

¹ Mem. l. 2. 12 foll.
their fathers and seduced men from their friends, by insisting upon utility as the only sure basis of friendship and esteem\(^1\). This, as Xenophon shews, was a misrepresentation: Socrates really meant to prove that folly even when it is displayed by a father or a friend is in every case unworthy of honour. The last charge mentioned by Xenophon was still more flagrantly unjust. By citing with approval pernicious sentiments from celebrated poets, Socrates, it was contended, taught his followers to become unjust and tyrannical. The line of Hesiod\(^8\),

\[ ἔργον ἐστὶν ὁ ὅνειδος, οὐργεῖν δὲ τῆς ὅνειδος, \]

which Socrates had quoted in commendation of honest labour, was asserted by the prosecution to have been twisted by Socrates into an approval of any kind of work, however unjust or immoral. Socrates had also enforced his demand for the supremacy of knowledge in a state by citing from Homer those verses in which Odysseus chides and beats the unruly rank and file of the Greek army before Troy: and this was construed as a proof of anti-democritical sentiments in a man whose entire life was spent in giving gratuitous moral instruction to all and sundry\(^8\).

The form of Socrates’ defence was determined by the special character of the trial. In an ἀγων τιμητὸς the defendant had first to defend himself against the actual charge, and, if found guilty of this, he was expected to propose an alternative penalty to

\(^1\) Mem. I. 2. 51 foll.
\(^2\) Works and Days 311.
\(^3\) Mem. I.c. 56 foll. The lines of Homer are from Iliad II. 188 foll.
that demanded by the accuser. Between these two propositions it was the duty of the judges to choose. If we may trust the Platonic Apology, Socrates delivered a third speech, after the sentence of death had been passed, reviewing the course of the trial and expressing his hopefulness in the face of death.

How far the Apology of Plato resembles the speeches actually delivered by Socrates, cannot now be determined. We know that Socrates, in obedience to his divine sign, made no preparations for his defence: and one can hardly believe that Plato's Apology could have been an extempore effort. The most probable view is that Plato has preserved the main features of the defence, much as Thucydides claims to have done in the speeches scattered throughout his history. The grace and beauty of style, the artistic subordination of parts, and something of the impressiveness and dignity may have been contributed by Plato: but in its main features the Apology stands out as just that defence which every one who knows the Socrates of the Memorabilia will admit that he must have made. Plato probably wrote the speech soon after the trial, when the words of Socrates were still fresh in his memory.

The result of the trial was such as might have been anticipated. Socrates was found guilty by a majority of sixty-one: the majority for the death-penalty was even greater. If Socrates had adopted a submissive attitude, and appealed to the feelings of his judges, he would have been acquitted: but he knew that death was but a small price to pay for the glory of such a defence.

1 Xen. Mem. iv. 4. 4.
The tone of the Apology is that of a lofty and fearless exhortation from the lips of a prophet about to seal his testimony with his blood. For him death, swift and painless, had no terrors: neither in life nor in death could aught of evil befall the just man. As the trial took place about the period of the annual embassy to Delos, during whose absence no condemned person was put to death at Athens, thirty days elapsed between the sentence and its execution. In the interval Socrates received his friends in prison and conversed with them as before on virtue and the virtuous life. One more proof he gave of his integrity and justice, by refusing to avail himself of the chance of escape provided by the affectionate love of Crito. He died as he had lived, without ostentation, piously, and fearlessly. Neither have we any cause to regret so glorious an end. Perhaps it was inevitable, as Plato thought it was, that one who laboured to set men free from the fetters of convention and authority and lead them out of the cave into the clear light of day should perish at the hands of those whom he came to save: but who shall quarrel with a destiny that gave Socrates so peaceful and sublime a death, and us the Apology and the Phaedo?

1 Mem. iv. 8. 2.
2 Rep. vii. 517 B καὶ τὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα λύειν τε καὶ ἀνάγειν, εἰ πως ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ δύναυτο λαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτηνώναι ἃν; σφόδρα γ', ἐφη.
ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ.

PART I. BEFORE THE VERDICT.
(First Speech.)

CHAPTERS I—XXIV.

INTRODUCTION: I—II.

St. I.

17 I. "Ο τι μὲν ύμεῖς, ὃ ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναῖοι, πεπόνθατε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγόρων, οὐκ οἶδα: ἐγὼ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀλίγον ἐμαυτοῦ ἑπελαθόμην· οὕτω πιθανῶς ἔλεγον. καὶ τοι ἀληθῆς γε, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὔδὲν εἰρήκασιν. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἑθαύμασα τῶν πολλῶν δὲν ἔγευσαντο, τούτῳ ἐν ὃ ἔλεγον ὡς χρὴ ύμᾶς εὐλαβεῖσθαι, μὴ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἦταν ἔκαθαρισθῆτε, Β ὃς δεινοὶ ὄντος λέγειν. τὸ γὰρ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι, ὃτι αὐτίκα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεγχθῆσονται ἔργα, ἐπειδὰν μηδ' ὁπωσοῦν φαύνωμαι δεινὸς λέγειν, τούτῳ μοι ἐξομολογήσων αὐτῶν ἀνασχυντότατον εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ἶρα δεινὸν καλοῦσιν οὖτοι λέγειν τὸν τάληθη λέγοντα· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὄμολογοι ἂν ἐγώγη οὐ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι ῥήτορ. οὕτως μὲν οὖν, ᾥστερ ἐγὼ ἔλεγη· λέγω, ἢ τι ὃ οὔδέν ἀληθῆς εἰρήκασιν· ύμεῖς δὲ μου
ἀκούσεσθε πάσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιεπημένους γε λόγους, ὡσπερ οἱ τούτοι, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὄνομασιν, οὐδὲ ὁ κεκοσμημένους, ἀλλ’ ἀκούσεσθε εἰκῆ λεγόμενα τοῖς εἶπτυχούσιν ὄνομασιν. πιστεύω γὰρ δίκαια εἰναι ἡ λέγω, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν προσδοκησάτω ἄλλως, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δήποτε πρέποι, ὁ ἄνδρες, τῇ ἰλικίᾳ ὡσπερ μειρακίῳ πλάττοντι λόγους εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι.

καὶ μέντοι καὶ πάνυ, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο ὑμῶν δέομαι καὶ παρίεμαι ἐὰν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἀκουότε μου ἀπολογουμένου, δι’ ἄντερ εἰώθα λέγειν καὶ ἐν ἀγορῇ ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν, ἵνα ὑμῶν πολλοὶ ἀκηκόασι, καὶ ἀλλοθεί, μῆτε θαυμάζειν μῆτε θορυβεῖν. 30 τούτων ἔνεκα. ἔχει γὰρ οὐτωσί. νῦν ἔγω πρῶτον ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα, ἔτη γεγονός ἐβδομηκοντα. ἀτεχνῶς οὐν ἔνως ἔχω τῆς ἕναθε λέξεως. ὡσπερ οὐν ἂν, εἰ τῷ ὁντι ξένος ἐτύγχανον ὅν, ξυνεγγυνώσκετε δήποτε ἂν μοι, εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ 35 τε καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ἔλεγον, ἐν | οἰσπερ ἐτεθράμμην, καὶ 18 δῆ καὶ νῦν τούτῳ ὑμῶν δέομαι δίκαιον, ὡς γέ μοι δοκῶ, τὸν μὲν τρόπον τῆς λέξεως ἐὰν ὅσως μὲν γὰρ χειρῶν, ὅσως δὲ βελτίων ἂν ἐή. αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν, εἰ δίκαια 40 λέγω ἢ μὴ δικαστοῦ μὲν γὰρ αὖτη ἀρετῆ, ῥήτορος δὲ ταλήθη λέγειν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δίκαιος εἰμι ἀπολογήσασθαι,

My accusers are of two kinds—old and new. I will first refute the old.
οὐδὲν ἄληθες λέγοντες, οὐς ἐγὼ μᾶλλον φοβοῦμαι ἢ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀντιοχείου, καὶ περὶ οὗτος καὶ τούτους δει-

νούς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι δεινότεροι, ὥς ἄνδρες, οἳ ύμων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκ παῦδων παραλαμβάνουσαν ἐπειθῶν τε καὶ 10 κατηγόρουν ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἄληθες, ὡς ἐστιν τις 2  
Σωκράτης, σοφὸς ἀνήρ, τὰ τε μετέωρα φροντιστὴς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς ἀπαντα ἀνεξητικὸς καὶ τὸν ἠττω 3  
λόγον κρέιττω ποιῶν. οὗτοι, ὥς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, οἱ 15  
ταύτην τὴν φήμην κατασκεύασαν, οἱ δεινοὶ εἰς τὸν 20  
μον κατηγοροῦν· οἱ γὰρ ἀκούοντες ἠγούτσονται τοὺς 25  
ταύτα ἁρπαγόντας οὐδὲ θεοῦ νομίζειν. ἢ σειτά εἰσιν 30  
οὗτοι οἱ κατηγοροὶ πολλοὶ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἡδή 35  
κατηγορηκότες, ἢ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἠλικίᾳ λέ-

γοντες πρὸς ύμᾶς, ἐν ἣ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε, τοῖς 40  
παῖδες ὄντες, ἔνιοι οὐκ ὑμῶν καὶ μειράκια, ἀτεχνώς 45  
ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦντες ἀπολογομένους οὐδενὸς. ὥς 50  
δὲ πάντων ἀλογώταταν, ὧτι οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα οὗν τε 55  
ἀυτῶν εἰδέναι καὶ εἴπειν, πλὴν εἶ τις κομφόσποις 60  
tυγχάνει ὄν· ὥσιν δὲ φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ χρώμενοι 65  
ὕμᾶς ἀνέπειθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους 70  
πείθοντες, οὗτοι πάντες ἀπορώτατοι εἰσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ 75  
ἀναβιβάσασθαι οἷον τ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἐνταύθαι οὐδὲ 80  
ἐλέγχαι οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἀτεχνῶς ὅσπερ σκα-

μαχεὶν ἀπολογομένου τε καὶ ἐλέγχειν μηδενὸς ἀπο- 85  
κρινομένου. ἀξιωσάτε οἷον καὶ ύμείς, ὅσπερ ἐγὼ 90  
λέγω, διττοὺς μον τοὺς κατηγόρους γεγονέναι, ἑτέ-

ρους μὲν τοὺς ἄρτι κατηγορησαντας, ἑτέρους δὲ τοὺς 95  
ἐπάλαι, οὓς ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ οἶδατε δεῖν πρὸς ἐκεῖνος 100  
πρῶτον μὲν ἀπολογησάσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ύμεῖς ἐκεῖνων 105  
πρῶτον ἠκούσατε κατηγοροῦντων, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον 110  
ἡ τῶν τῶν ὑπότεχω. εἰν τό ἀπολογητέων δὴ, οὓς
ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπιχειρητέον | ύμῶν ἔξελεσθαι 19
tὴν διαβολὴν, ἢν ύμεῖς ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἔσχετε, 40 ταύτην ἐν οὕτως ὄλγῳ χρόνῳ. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀν
tοῦτο οὕτως γενέσθαι, εἰ τι ἀμενών καὶ ύμῶν καὶ ἐμοὶ, καὶ πλέον τι με ποιήσαι ἀπολογούμενον· οἴμαι
de αὐτῷ χαλεπών εἰναι, καὶ οὐ πάνω με λανθάνει οἴον
estin. ὑμῶς τοῦτο μὲν ἢτο ὑπή τῷ θεῷ φίλου, τῷ δὲ
45 νῦμῳ πειστέον καὶ ἀπολογητέον.

Socrates defends himself against the πρῶτοι κατηγοροί:
III—X.

III. Ἀναλάβωμεν οὖν ἔξ ἀρχῆς, τίς ἡ κατηγο-
ρία ἐστιν, ἔξ ἂς ἡ ἔμη διαβολή γέγονεν, 5
ἡ δὴ καὶ πιστεύων Μέλητός με ἐγρά-Β
πατό τὴν γραφήν ταύτην. ἔλεν· τί δὴ
λέγοντες διέβαλλον οἱ διαβάλλοντες;
ἀσπερ οὖν κατηγόρων τὴν ἀντωμοσίαν
δεί ἀναγνώρια αὐτῶν. Σωκράτης ἀδικεῖ καὶ πε-
ριεργάζεται ξητῶν τὰ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ οὐράνια
cαὶ τὸν ἤττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν καὶ ἄλλους
τὰ αὐτὰ ταύτα διδάσκων. τοιαύτη τὸς ἐστιν ὑ
tαύτα γὰρ ἐωρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους
κωμῳδία, Σωκράτης τινὰ ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, φά-
σκουτά τε ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην πολλήν φλυάριαν
φλυαροῦσα, ὃν ἐγὼ οὐδὲν οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν
15 πέρι ἐπιτῶ. καὶ οὐκ ὃς ἀπιμάζων λέγω τὴν τοιαύ-
tην ἐπιστήμην, εἰ τις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σοφὸς
ἐστιν· μὴ πως ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Μελήτου τοσαύτας δίκας
φύγομι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτῳ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
οὐδὲν μέτεστιν μάρτυρας δὲ αὐτῶν ύμῶν τοὺς πολ-
D
10 λοὺς παρέχομαι, καὶ ἄξιον ύμᾶς ἀλλήλους διδάσκειν.
τε καὶ φράζειν, ὅσοι ἐμοὶ πώποτε ἀκηκόατε διαλεγομένου· πολλοὶ δὲ ύμῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἰσὶν· φράζετε οὖν ἀλλήλους, εἰ πώποτε ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα ἢκουσέ τις ύμῶν ἐμοὶ περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων διαλεγομένου· καὶ ἐκ τούτων γνώσεσθε ὅτι τοιαύτ’ ἐστίν καὶ τάλλα 25 περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν.

IV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε τούτων οὐδέν ἐστιν, οὐδὲ γ’ εἰ τινὸς ἀκηκόατε ὡς ἐγὼ παιδεύειν ἐπιχειρῶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρήματα πράττωμαι, οὔτε τούτῳ ἄλληθες. ἔπειλ καὶ τούτῳ γέ μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι, εἰ τις οἶος τ’ εἰπῃ παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους ὡσπερ Γοργίας τε ὁ Δεοντῖνος καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Ἰππίας ὁ Ἡλείος. τούτων γὰρ ἔκαστος, ὁ ἄνδρες, οἶος τ’ ἐστὶν ἰὼν εἰς ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων τοὺς νέους, οἷς ἐξέστι τῶν ἑαυτῶν πολιτῶν πρὸικὰ ξυνεῖναι ὃ ἂν 10 βούλωμαι,—τούτους πείθουσι τὰς ἑκείνων ἥκουσίας ἀπολυτάντας σφίσθω ξυνεῖται χρήματα διδόντας καὶ χάριν προσειδέναι. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνήρ ἐστι Πάριος εὐθάδε σοφός, ὃν ἐγὼ ἰσθόμην ἐπιδημούντα· ἔτυχον γὰρ προσελθὼν ἄνδρι διὰ τετέλεκε χρήματα 15 σοφιστάδις πλείω ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι, Καλλία τῷ Ἰππονίκῳ τούτον οὖν ἀνηρόμην—ἐστὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ δυὸ νίεε—ὁ Καλλία, ἵνα ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν σου τῷ νίεε πώλῳ ἢ μόσχῳ ἐγενέσθην, εἴχομεν ἂν αὐτῶν ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν καὶ μισθώσασθαι, ὅς ἐμελλεν αὐτῷ 20 ὁ καλὸς τέ κἀγαθῶ ποιήσειν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀρετήν· ἵνα ὃ ἂν οὖν οἱ τῶν ἰππικών τις ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν νῦν ἢ ἐπείδη ἀνθρώπων ἐστόν, τίνα αὐτῶι ἐν νη ἔχεις ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν; τίς τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων ἐστίν; 25
οἶμαι γάρ σε ἐσκέφθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν υἱῶν κτήσιν.
ἐστιν τις, ἐφην ἑγώ, ἢ οὐ; Πάντα γε, ἢ δ' ὃς. Τίς, ἢν
δ' ἑγώ, καὶ ποδαπός, καὶ πόσον διδάσκει; Εὐήνος,
ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, Πάριος, πέντε μνών καὶ ἑγὼ τὸν
30 Εὐήνου ἐμακάρισα, εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχω ταύτην τὴν
τέχνην καὶ οὕτως ἐμελλώς διδάσκοι. ἐγώ οὖν καὶ С
αὐτὸς ἐκαλλυνόμην τε καὶ ἡβρυνόμην ἂν, εἰ ἡπιστά-
μην ταύτα: ἀλλ' οὔ γὰρ ἐπισταμαι, οὐ ἀνδρείανοι.
γὰρ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ τὸν λόγον, ὅν ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀξιό-
χρεων ὑμῖν τὸν λέγοντα ἀνοίσω. τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς, εἰ
dὴ τὶς ἔστι σοφία καὶ οἷα, μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παρέξομαι 25
tὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς. Χαιρεθῶντα γὰρ ἠστε
21 ποι. οὗτος ὁ ἐνεστὰ ἢ ἐκ νέου, καὶ ὑμῶν
tῷ πλήθει ἐνεστὰ τε καὶ ἄναπέφυγε τὴν φυγὴν ταῦ-
την καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν κατήλθε. καὶ ῥυθεὶς δὴ οἷος ἦν
Χαιρεθῶν, ὧς σφόνδυρος ἐφ' ὃ τοῖς ὀρμήσεων. καὶ δὴ 30
ποιηθεὶς καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθὼν ἐτὸλμησε τούτῳ μαντεύ-
σασθαι· καὶ, ἔπερ λέγω, μὴ θρομβεῖτε, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς
ήρετο γὰρ δὴ, εἰ τις ἐμὸν εἰς σοφώτερον. ἀνείλειν
οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι. καὶ τοὺτον
περί ὁ ἄδελφος ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ οὕτωσι μαρτυρῆσε· ἐπεί:
35 δὴ ἐκεῖνος τετελεύτηκεν.

Β  VI. Σκέψασθε δὴ ὃν ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγω· μέλλω
γὰρ ὑμᾶς διδάξειν, ὅθεν μοι ἡ διαβόλη
γέγονε. ταῦτα γὰρ ἔγω ἀκούσας ἐνεβυ-
μούμην οὕτωσι· τὸ ποτε λέγει ὁ θεὸς,
καὶ τὸ ποτε αἰνίττεται; ἔγω γὰρ δὴ οὕτε
μέγα οὕτε σμικρὸν ξύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ σο-
φὸς ὅπλι τὸ ὕμνον ποτὲ λέγει φάσκων ἔμε
σοφώτατον εἶναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποτε ψεύδεται γε· οὐ
γὰρ θέμις αὐτῷ. καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἠπόρουν, τὸ
ποτε λέγει, ἐπειτα μόνης πάνω ἐπὶ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ 10
τοιαῦτην τινὰ ἐτραπόμην. ἢλθον ἐπὶ τινὰ τῶν

C δοκοῦντων σοφῶν εἶναι, ὡς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ πέρ ποι,
ἐλέγξων τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ἀποφανῶν τῷ χρησμῷ ὅτι
οὕτωσι ἐμοῦ σοφώτερος ἔστι, σὺ δ' ἐμὲ ἐφήσασθα. δια-
σκοπῶν οὖν τούτων—ὁνόματι γὰρ οὐδὲν δέομαι λέ-
γειν, ἦν δὲ τις τῶν πολιτικῶν πρὸς ὃν ἔγω ἑσκοπῶν
tοιοῦτον τι ἐπαθοῦ, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι—καὶ δια-
λεγόμενος αυτῷ, ἐδοξέ μοι οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ δοκεῖν μὲν εἶναι σοφὸς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μά-
ω λιστα ἑαυτῷ, εἶναι δ' οὖ· καπεντα ἐπειράμην αὐτῷ
δεικνύει, ὅτι οἰοτο μὲν εἶναι σοφὸς, εἰν' δ' οὖ.
ἐντεῦθεν οὖν τοῦτῳ τε ἀπηχθόμην καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν D
παρόντων, πρὸς ἔμαυτόν δ' οὖν ἀπιῶν ἐλογιζόμην
ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρῶπου ἑγὼ σοφότερός εἰμι·
25 κινδυνεύει μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος οὐδὲν καλὸν
cαγαθὸν εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οἰεταλ τι εἰδέναι οὐκ
eιδός, ἐγὼ δέ, ὡσπερ οὖν οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ οἶομαι· ἐοικα
gοῦν τούτῳ γε σμικρῷ τινι αὐτῷ τούτῳ σοφότερος
eῖναι, ὥτι ἂ μη οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶομαι εἰδέναι. ἐντεῦθεν
30 ἐπ' ἄλλον ήτα τῶν ἐκεῖνων δοκοῦντων σοφώτερον
eῖναι, καὶ μοι ταυτά ταύτα ἐδοξέ· καὶ ἐνταῦθα κά-
κεῖνος καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀπηχθόμην.

VII. Μετὰ ταύτ' οὖν ἡδη ἐφεξῆς ἦτα, αἰσθανό-
μενος μὲν καὶ λυπούμενος καὶ δεδώς ὅτι
ἀπηχθανόμην, ὃμως δὲ ἀναγκαίον ἑδοκε
εἶναι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ πλείστοιν ποι-
5 εἴσθαι· ἴτεν οὖν σκοποῦντι τὸν χρησμόν, τί λέγει,
ἐπὶ ἄπαντας τοὺς τι δοκοῦντας εἰδέναι. καὶ γὰρ τὸν
κύνα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἰ' Ἀθηναίοι· δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ύμᾶς τάληθη 22
λέγειν ὡς μὴν ἐγὼ ἐπαθὼν τι τοιοῦτον· οἱ μὲν μά-
λιστα εὐδοκιμοῦντες ἑδοξάν μοι ὁλίγον δεῖν τοῦ
10 πλείστον ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι ξητοῦντι κατὰ τὸν θεοῦ, ἄλλοι
dε δοκοῦντες φαυλότεροι ἐπιεικέστεροι εἶναι ἄνδρες
πρὸς τὸ φρονίμως ἐχεῖν. δεὶ δὴ ύμῶν τὴν ἐμὴν
πλάνην ἐπιδείξει ὡσπερ πόνους τινὰς πονοῦντος,
ἐνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος ἡ μαντεία γένοιτο. μετὰ γὰρ
15 τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς τοὺς τε τῶν
τραγῳδίων καὶ τοὺς τῶν διδυράμβων καὶ τοὺς
Β' ἀλλοις, ὃς ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ καταληψόμενος ἐμαυτὸν ἀμαθέστερον ἐκείνων ὄντα. ἀναλαμβάνων οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ ποιήματα, ἡ μοι ἐδόκει μάλιστα πεπραγματεύσθαι αὐτοῖς, διηρύτων ἂν αὐτοὺς τῖ 20 λέγοιμεν, ἵν' ἀμα τι καὶ μανθάνοιμι παρ' αὐτῶν. αἰσχύνομαι οὖν ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἄνδρες, τάληθη, ὃνως δὲ ρήτεον. ὡς ἔπος γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅλγου αὐτῶν ἀπαν- τες οἱ παρόντες ἂν βέλτιον ἐλεγοῦν περὶ ὧν αὐτοί ἐπεποιήκεσαν. ἔγνων οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν 25 C ἐν ὅλῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι οὐ σοφία ποιοεῖν, ἀ ποιοεῖν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὡσπερ οἱ θεο- μάντες καὶ οἱ χρησμοδοῖ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἱσασιν δὲ οὐδὲν ὃν λέγουσιν τοιοῦτον τί μοι ἐφάνησαν πάθος καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ 30 πεπονθότες. καὶ ἁμα ἡθόμην αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ποι- ησιν οἰομένων καὶ τάλλα σοφωτάτων εἶναι ἀνθρώ- πων ἂ οὐκ ἤσαν. ἅπα οὖν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τῷ αὐτῷ οἴομενος περιγεγογέναι, ὁσπερ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν.

VIII. Τελευτῶν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς χειροτέχνας ἂν· ἐμαυτῷ γὰρ ξυνήθη οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένω, and craftsmen, wise only in their own esteem.

D ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τούτους δὲ γ' ἤδη ὅτι eἰρήσωμι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐπισταμένους. καὶ τού- του μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθην, ἀλλ' ἠπίσταντο ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ 5 ἡπιστάμην καὶ μου ταύτῃ σοφωτέρῃ ἰσαν. ἀλλ', ὡς ἄνδρες ὁ Ἀθηναίοι, ταύτῶν μοι ἔδωξαν ἔχειν ἀμάρτημα, ὅπερ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ, καὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δημιουργοὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν τέχνην καλῶς ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἐκαστὸς ἥξιον καὶ τάλλα τὰ μέγιστα σοφώτατος εἶναι, καὶ τοι 10 αὐτῶν αὐτὴ ἡ πλημμέλεια ἐκεῖνη τὴν σοφίαν ἀπέ- Ε κρυπτεῖν ὅστε μὲ ἐμαυτῶν ἀνερωτῶν ύπὲρ τοῦ χρη- σμοῦ, πότερα δεξαίμην ἂν οὕτως ὡσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν,
μήτε τι σοφὸς ὁν τὴν ἐκεῖνων σοφίαν, μήτε ἁμαθῆς
15 τὴν ἁμαθίαν, ἡ ἀμφότερα ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἡχοῦσιν ἔχειν.
ἀπεκρινάμην οὖν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῷ χρησμῷ, ὅτι μοι
λυσιτελεῖ ὅσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν.

IX. Ἐκ ταυτίσεως ή τῆς ἔξετασεως, ὁ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπέχθειαὶ μοι γε-
γόναι | καὶ οἶαι χαλεπώτεραι καὶ βαρύ-23
tαται, ὡστε πολλὰς διαβολὰς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν
γεγονότα, ὅνομα δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, σο-
φὸς εἶναι. οἴονται γάρ με ἐκάστοτε οἱ
παρόντες ταῦτα αὐτὸν εἶναι σοφὸν, ἢ ἄν ἄλλον ἔξε-
λεγέω· τὸ δὲ κενδυνεύει, ὃ ἄνδρες, τῷ ὑμῖν ὁ θεός
σοφὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τούτῳ τοῦτο λέγειν,
ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὅλην τινὸς ἄξια ἔστι καὶ
οὐδενὸς. καὶ φαίνεται τούτ᾽ οὐ λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτη,
προσκεχρηθεῖσα δὲ τῷ ἐμῷ ὑνόματι, ἐμὲ παράδειγμα
ποιούμενος, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐποίη ὅτι οὐτὸς ὑμῶν, ὃς
ἄνθρωπος, σοφότατός ἐστιν, ὅστις ὥσπερ Σωκράτης
15 ἔγνωκεν ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἄξιος ἐστι τῇ ἄληθείᾳ πρὸς
σοφίαν. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐτί καὶ νῦν περιών
ξητῶ καὶ ἔρευνω κατὰ τὸν θεόν, καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ
ξένων ἄν τινα οἴκωμαι σοφὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἑπειδὰν μοι
μὴ δοκή, τῷ θεῷ βοηθῶν ἐνδείκνυμι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι
20 σοφὸς. καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀσχολίας οὔτε τῷ τῶν
tῆς πόλεως πρᾶξι μοι σχολῆ γέγονεν ἄξιον λόγου
οὔτε τῶν οἰκείων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πενίᾳ μυρίᾳ εἰμὶ διὰ τῆς
C τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν.

X. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ νέοι μοι ἐπακολουθοῦντες
A band of rich
young men began
to follow and im-
titate me. The vic-
tims of their dia-

οις μάλιστα σχολῆ ἐστίν, οἱ τῶν πλου-
σιωτάτων, αὐτόματοι, χαίρουσιν ἀκού-
οντες ἔξεταζομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ
αὐτοὶ πολλάκις ἐμὲ μιμοῦνται, εἶτα ἔπει- 
χειρουσὶν ἄλλους ἐξετάζειν. κάπετα, 
obίμαι, εὑρίσκουσι πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν οἰομένων μὲν 
eἰδέναι τι ἀνθρώπων, εἰδότων δὲ ὅλγα ἡ οὐδὲν. ἐν-
tεῦθεν οὖν οἱ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐξεταζόμενοι ἐμὸν ὀργίζονται, 

D ἀλλ’ οὖχ αὐτοὶς, καὶ λέγοντιν ὡς Σωκράτης τὸς ἑστὶ ἑνὶ μιαρώτατος καὶ διαφθείρει τοὺς νέους· καὶ ἐπειδὰν 
tις αὐτοῦς ἔρωτα, ὃ τι ποιῶν καὶ ὃ τι διδάσκων, 
ἐχουσι μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀγνοοῦσιν, ἵνα δὲ μὴ 
dοκιμᾶσιν ἀπορεῖν, τὰ κατὰ πάντων τῶν φιλοσοφοῦν-
tων πρόχειρα ταῦτα λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὰ μετέωρα καὶ ἑν 
tὰ ὑπὸ γῆς, καὶ θεῶς μὴ νομίζειν, καὶ τὸν ἡττὸ 
λόγου κρείττω ποιεῖν. τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ, οἶμαι, οὐκ ἂν 
ἐθαλούν λέγειν, ὅτι κατάδηλοι γίγνονται προσποιού-
μενοι μὲν εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν. ἂτε οὖν, οἶμαι, 
Ε φιλότιμοι ὄντες καὶ σφοδρόι καὶ πολλοὶ, καὶ ξυν-
tεταγμένως καὶ πιθανῶς λέγοντες περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐμπε-
πλήκασιν ύμῶν τὰ ὡτα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν σφοδροῖς 
diaβάλλοντες. ἐκ τούτων καὶ Μέλητος μοι ἑπέθετο 
καὶ Ἀντώνος καὶ Δύκων, Μέλητος μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν 
24 ποιητῶν ἀχθόμενος, Ἀντώνος δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν δημιουρ-
25 γῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, Δύκων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥήτο-
ρων· ὡστε, ὑπὲρ ἀρχόμενος ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, θαυμάζοιμ ἄν 
eἰ ὁἷος τ’ εἶνη ἐγὼ ύμῶν ταῦτην τὴν διαβολήν 
ἐξελέσθαι ἐν οὕτως ὅλγος χρόνος οὕτω πολλὴν γε-
γονυῖαν. ταῦτ’ ἐστίν ύμῖν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 30 
tάληθη, καὶ ύμᾶς οὕτε μέγα οὕτε μικρὸν ἀποκρυ-
ψάμενος ἐγὼ λέγω οὐδ’ ὑποστειλάμενος· καὶ τοι
οίδα σχεδὸν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνομαι· ὃ καὶ 
tεκμήρισον ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω καὶ ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶ ἡ 
diαβολὴ ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ τὰ αἴτια ταῦτα ἐστίν. καὶ ἐὰν 35
πλατώνος

τε νῦν ἔλν τε αὖθις ξηθήσετε ταύτα, οὕτως εὐρή-θε σετε.

Socrates defends himself against the indictment of Meletus: XI—XV.

XI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὃν ὅν οἱ πρῶτοι μου κατήγοροι κατηγόρουν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἱκανὴ ἀπολογία πρὸς ὦμᾶς· πρὸς δὲ Μέλητον τὸν ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ φιλόπολιν, ὡς φησί, καὶ τοὺς ἵστερους μετὰ 5 ταύτα πειράσωμαι ἀπολογεῖσθαι. αὖθις γὰρ δὴ, ἀσπερ ἐτέρων τούτων ὄντων κατηγόρων, λάβωμεν αὐ τὴν τούτων ἀντωμοσίαν. ἔχει δὲ πως ὅδε: Σωκράτης φησίν ἅδικείν τοὺς τε νέους διαφθειροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὐς ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ νομί-10 ξοντα, ἑτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινά. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐγ-κλημα τοιούτων ἐστὶν· τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἐν ἔκαστον ἐξετάσωμεν. φησὶ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς νέους ἅδικείν με διαφθείροντα. ἔγω δὲ γε, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-ναῖοι, ἅδικεῖν φημὶ Μέλητον, ὅτι σπουδὴ χαριετί-15 ζεταῖ, ῥαδίως εἰς ἀγώνας καθιστάς ἀνθρώπους, περὶ πραγμάτων προσποιούμενος σπουδάζει καὶ κη-δεσθαι, ὃν οὐδὲν τούτῳ πώποτε ἐμέλησεν. ὡς δὲ τούτῳ οὕτως ἔχει, πειράσωμαι καὶ ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι.

XII. Καὶ μοι δεῦρο, ὁ Μέλητε, εἰπὲ ἀλλὰ τι ἡ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖ, ὅπως ὁ βέλτιστοι οἱ νεώτεροι ἐσονται; Ἐγώγη. Ἡθι δὴ τοῦ νῦν εἰπὲ τούτοις, τίς αὐτοὺς βέλτιστοι ποιεῖ; δὴλον γὰρ ὅτι οἶσθα, μέλων γε σοι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διαφθείροντα ἐξευρόν ὡς φης ἠμὲ εἰςάγεις τούτοις καὶ κατηγορεῖς· τὸν δὲ δὴ βέλτιστος ποιοῦντα ἤθι εἰπὲ καὶ μὴνυσον αὐτοῖς, τίς
ἐστιν. ὃς, ὧν Μέλητε, ὅτι συγιας καὶ οὐκ ἔχεις
eπεῖν; καὶ τοῦ οὐκ αἰσχρόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ ᾗ
ικανὴν τεκμήριουν οὗ δὴ ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι σοὶ οὐδὲν
μεμέληκεν; ἀλλ' εἰπέ, ὡγαθε, τίς αὐτοῦς ἀμείνους
ἐποιεῖ; Οἱ νόμοι. Ἀλλ' οὗ τοῦτο ἐρωτάδ, ὃ βέλ-
tιστε, ἀλλὰ τίς ἀνθρωπος, ὅστις πρῶτον καὶ αὐτὸ
tοῦτο οἴδε, τοὺς νόμους. Οὗτοι, ὧν Σωκρατες, οἱ
δικασταῖ. Πῶς λέγεις, ὧν Μέλητε; οἴδε τοὺς νέους
παιδεύειν οἴοι τε εἰσι καὶ βελτίους ποιοῦσιν; Μά-
λιστα. Πότερον ἀπαντεῖς, ἢ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, οἱ δ' οὖ;
"Ἀπαντεῖς. Εὖ γε νὴ τῇν Ἡραν λέγεις, καὶ πολλὴν
ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀφελοῦντων. τὶ δὲ δὴ; οἴδε οἱ ἀκ-
25 ροσταί βελτίους ποιοῦσιν, ἢ οὖ; Καὶ οὗτοι. Τὶ δὲ
οἱ βουλευταί; Καὶ οἱ βουλευταῖ. Ἀλλ' ἄρα, ὧ
Μέλητε, μή οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἐκκλησιασταῖ,
dιαφθείρουσι τοὺς νεωτέρους; ἥ κακεῖνοι βελτίους
ποιοῦσιν ἀπαντεῖς; Κάκεῖνοι. Πάντες ἄρα, ὡς
25 έοικεν, Ἀθηναῖοι καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ποιοὺσι πλὴν
ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος διαφθείρω. οὕτω λέγεις; Πάνω
σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω. Πολλὴν γε μου κατέγνωκας
δυστυχίαν. καὶ μοι ἀπόκριναι: ἢ καὶ περὶ ἵππους
βούτω σοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν οἱ μὲν βελτίους ποιοῦντες.;
αὐτοὺς πάντες ἀνθρωποί εἰναι, εἰς δὲ τις ὁ διαφθεί-
ρων; ἢ, τοῦτων τοῦτον πᾶν, εἰς μὲν τις ὁ βελ-
tίους οἶος τ' ὁν ποιεῖν ἡ πάνω ὀλγοί, οἱ ἵπποι,
οἱ δὲ πόλλοι, ἐἀντερ ξυνώσι καὶ χρῶνται ἵπποι,
dιαφθείρουσιν; οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὧν Μέλητε, καὶ περὶ 35
ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπαντῶν ζωῆς; πάντως
δήπου, ἐὰν τε σὺ καὶ Ἄνυτος οὐ φήστε ἐὰν τε φήστε:
πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν τις εὐδαιμονία εἰη περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ
eἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτοὺς διαφθείρει, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀφελοῦ-
40 σιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὧν Μέλητε, ἵκανος ἐπιδείκνυσαι ὃτι οῦν ὑπεστῶσε τῇ ἐφρόντισες τῶν νέων, καὶ σαφῶς ἀποφαίνεις τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν, ὦτι οὐδὲν σοι μεμέληκεν περὶ ὧν ἦμεν εἰςάγεις.

XIII. Ἡστι δὲ ἕμιν εἰτέ, ὡς πρὸς Διὸς Μέλητε, πότερον ἐστίν οἰκεῖν ἀμείνον ἐν πολύτασις χρηστοῖς ἡ πονηροῖς; ὥς τᾶν ἀπόκριναι οὐδὲν γάρ τοι χαλεπὸν ἐρωτῶ. οὐχ οἱ μὲν πονηρὸι κακὸν τι ἐργάζονται τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐγγυτάτω ἑαυτῶν ὄντας, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν τι; Πάνω γε. Ἡστιν οὖν ὡστις βούλεται ὑπὸ τῶν εὐνόμων βλάπτεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ὠφελεῖσθαι; ἀπο- δράκινου, ὡς ἀγαθεῖ· καὶ γὰρ ὃ νόμος κελεύει ἀποκρί- το νέσθαι. ἓσθ᾽ ὡστις βούλεται βλάπτεσθαι; Οὐ δῆται. Φέρε δή, πότερον ἔμε εἰςάγεις δεύτῳ ὡς διαφθεί- στοι τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ πονηροτέρους ποιοῦντα ἐκόντα ἢ ἁκοῦντα; Ἐκόντα ἐγὼγε. Τί δῆται, ὧν Μέ- λητε; τοσοῦτον σὺ ἐμοὶ σοφώτερος εἶ τηλικοῦτον ὁ ὄντος τηλικόσδε ὃν, ὥστε σὺ μὲν ἐγνωκας ὅτι οἱ μὲν κακοὶ κακὸν τι ἐργάζονται ἀεὶ τοὺς μᾶλλον πλησίον ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ δ᾽ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἁμαθίας ἦκω, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἄγνοῳ, ὅτι, ἐὰν τινα μοχθηρὸν ποιῆσω τῶν εὐνόμων, κινδυ- νεύσω κακὸν τι λαβεῖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ὅστε τούτο τὸ τοσοῦτον κακὸν ἐκὼν ποιῶ, ὡς φήσῃ σὺ; ταῦτα ἐγὼ σοι ὡς πείθομαι, ὧν Μέλητε, οἶμαι δὲ ὡς ὁ ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα· ἄλλῳ ὡς δὴ διαφθείρω, ἡ εἰ διαφθείρω, ὧν, ὅστε σὺ γε κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα ψεύδει. 26 ὅτι δὲ ἄκοντι διαφθείρω, τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀκούσων ἀμαρτημάτων οὐ δεύτῳ νόμος εἰςάγειν ἔστιν, ἄλλῳ ἴδια λαβόντα διδάσκειν καὶ νουθετεῖν· δῆλον γὰρ
ὅτι, ἐὰν μάθω, παύσομαι ὃ γε ἄκων ποιῶ. σὺ δὲ ἐνεγενέσθαι μέν μοι καὶ διδάξαι ἐφυγες καὶ οὐκ ἥθελησας, δεύρο δὲ εἰσάγεις, οὐ νόμος ἐστίν εἰσάγειν τοὺς κολάσεως δεομένους, ἀλλὰ οὐ μαθήσεως.

XIV. Ἄλλα γὰρ, ὃς ἀνδρὶς Ἀθηναίοι, τούτῳ μὲν δῆλον ἢδη ἐστὶν, ὃ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, ὃτι Με- Βλήτῳ τούτῳ οὕτε μέγα οὕτε μικρὸν πῶστε ἐμέλησεν· ὅμως δὲ δὴ λέγει ἕμιν, πῶς μὲ φής διαφθείρειν, ὁ Μέλητε, τοὺς νεωτέρους; 5 ἢ δῆλον δὴ ὃτι, κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἂν ἐγράψω, θεοὺς διδάσκοντα μὴ νομίζειν οὔς ἡ πόλις νομίζει, ἔτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καίνα; οὐ ταῦτα λέγεις ὃτι διδάσκων διαφθείρω; Πάνω μὲν οὖν σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω. Πρὸς αὐτὸν τούντιν, ὃς Μέλητε, τούτων τῶν θεῶν, 10 ὃν νῦν ὃ λόγος ἐστὶν, εἰπὲ ἐτι σαφέστερον καὶ ἐμὸι καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τούτοις. Ἠγὼ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι μαθεῖν, πότερον λέγεις διδάσκειν με νομίζειν εἶναι τίνας θεοὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρα νομίζω εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ οὐκ εἰμὶ τὸ παράπαν ἄθεος οὐδὲ ταῦτη ἀδικώ, οὐ 15 μέντοι οὐσπερ γε ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ ἐτέρους, καὶ τούτῃ ἐστιν ὃ μοι ἔγκαλεῖς, ὃτι ἐτέρους· ἡ παντάπασι με φής οὕτε αὐτὸν νομίζειν θεοὺς τοὺς τε ἄλλους ταῦτα διδάσκειν. Ταῦτα λέγω, ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐ νομίζεις θεοὺς. Ὡ θαυμάσιε Μέλητε, ἵνα τί ταῦτα 20 ἔλεγες; οὐδὲ ἢλιον οὐδὲ σελήνην ἀρα νομίζω θεοὺς εἶναι, ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι; Μᾶ Δί', ὃς ἀνδρὲς δικασται, ἐπει τὸν μὲν ἢλιον λίθον φησίν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σελήνην γῆν. Ἄναξιγόρου οἱ οἱ κατηγορεῖν, ὃ φίλε Μέλητε, καὶ οὐτω καταφρονεῖς τῶνδε καὶ οἰεὶ 25 αὐτοῦς ἀπείρους γραμμάτων εἶναι, ὡστε οὐκ εἰδέναι ὃτι τὰ Ἄναξιγόρου βιβλία τοῦ Κλαξομενίου γέμει.
τούτων τῶν λόγων; καλ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνουσιν, ἃ ἔξεστιν ἐνίοτε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, 30 δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριμένους Σωκράτους Εκαταγελᾶν, ἐὰν προσποιήται ἐαυτοῦ ἐναν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὗτος ἀτοπα ὁντα. ἀλλ' ἡ πρὸς Δίος, οὐτωσι' σοι δοκῶ; οὐδένα νομίζω θεόν ἐναι; Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ὄπωστιον. ᾿Απιστός γ' εἰ, ὁ Μέλητε, καὶ 35 ταῦτα μέντοι, ὃς ἔμοι δοκεῖς, σαυτῷ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ οὗτος, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάνυ ἐναι ύβριστῆς καὶ ἀκόλαστος, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τὴν γραφήν ταύτην ὑβρεί τιν καὶ ἀκολασία καὶ νεότητι γράφασθαι. ἑοικεν γὰρ ὡσπερ | αἰνιγμα ξυνιθέντι δια- 27 40 πειρωμένω, ἓρα γνώσεται Σωκράτης ὁ σοφὸς δὴ ἐμοῦ χαριτωτιζόμενον καὶ ἐναντί ἐμαντφ λέγοντος, ἢ ἐξαπατήσω αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀκούοντας; οὗτος γὰρ ἔμοι φαίνεται τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτὸς ἐαυτφ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ὡσπερ ἄν εἰ ἐποίη ἀδικεὶ 45 Σωκράτης θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς νομίζων. καὶ τοι τούτο ἐστι παῖζοντος.

XV. Ἐνυπερικεφασθε δή, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἢ μοι φαί- 

In allowing that I believe in dea-

κριναί, ὁ Μέλητε ὑμεῖς δέ, ὡσπερ κατ' ἀρχάς ὑμᾶς παρηγησάμην, μέμνησθε μοι τὸ μή θορυβεῖν, ἐὰν ἐν τῷ εἰσάζοντι τρόπῳ τοὺς λόγους ποιῶμαι. ἔστων ὅστις ἀνθρώπων, ὁ Μέλητε, ἀν-

θρώπεια μὲν νομίζει πράγματ' ἐναι, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὁ νομίζει; ἀποκρίνεσθω, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ μὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα θορυβεῖτω. ἔσθ' ὅστις ὑποὺς μὲν οὐ νομίζει, ἑπικα δὲ πράγματα; ἡ αὐλητάς μὲν ὁ νο-

μίζει εἰναι, αὐλητικά δὲ πράγματα; οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ ἄριστος ἄνδρων εἰ μὴ σὺ βούλει ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἕγα

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Σοι λέγω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοντοισί. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν τρόπον γε ἀποκριναί: ἐσθ’ ὡς τὶς δαίμονια μὲν νομίζεις πράγματ’ εἶναι, δαίμονας δὲ οὐ νομίζεις; Οὐκ ἔστιν. 15 Ὡς οὕτως, δι’ ἐμὴν ἀπεκρίνομαι ὑπὸ τούτων ἀναγκαζόμενος. οὐκοῦν δαίμονια μὲν φῆς με καὶ νομίζεις καὶ διδάσκεις; εἰ’ οὖν καὶνὰ εἶτε παλαιὰ, ἀλλ’ οὖν δαίμονια γε νομίζω κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγου, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ διωμόσω ἐν τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ. εἰ δὲ δαί-μονια νομίζω, καὶ δαίμονας δήποτε πολλῆ ἀνάγκη νομίζεις μὲ ἐστὶν οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει; ἔχει δὴ τίθημι γὰρ σε ὁμολογοῦντα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀποκρίνει. τους δὲ δαίμονας οὐχὶ ἦτοι θεοῦς γε ἡγοῦμεθα ἡ θεῶν παῖδας; φῆς ἢ οὐ; Πάνω γε. Οὐκοῦν εἰπερ δαί-μονας ἡγοῦμαι, ὡς σοὶ φῆς, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ δαίμονες, τοῦτ’ ἂν εἰς ὅ ἐγώ φημὶ σε αἰνίττεσθαι καὶ χαριεντίζεσθαι, θεοὺς οὐχ ἡγοῦμενον φάναι ἐμὲ θεοὺς αὐτῇ ἡγεῖσθαι πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπερ γε δαίμονας ἡγοῦμαι εἰ δ’ αὐτὸι δαίμονες θεῶν παῖδες εἰσὶ νόθοι 30 τινὲς ἡ ἐκ νυμφῶν ἡ ἐκ τινῶν ἄλλων, ὃν δὴ καὶ λέγονται, τίς ἂν ἀνθρώπων θεῶν μὲν παῖδας ἡγοῦτο εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ μή; ὡμοίως γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπον εἰς, Ἐδώσης ἂν εἰ τὶς ἤππων μὲν παῖδας ἡγοῦτο ὁ καὶ ὅνων [τοῦς ἡμίονους,] ἕππους δὲ καὶ ὅνους μὴ ἡγοῦτο 35 εἰναι. ἀλλ’, ὁ Μέλητε, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως σοὶ ταῦτα οὐχὶ ἀποπειρώμενοι ἡμῶν ἐγράψω τὴν γραφὴν ταῦ-την, ἡ ἀπορών ὅ τι ἐγκαλοῖς ἐμοὶ ἀληθὲς ἀδίκημα· ὅπως δὲ σύ τινα πείθοις ἂν καὶ σμικρὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα ἀνθρώπων, ὡς οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔστιν καὶ δαίμονια καὶ 40 θεῖα <καὶ δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς> ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ <μήτε δαίμονια μήτε θεῖα> μήτε δαίμονας 28 μήτε θεοὺς [μήτε ἦρωας,] οὐδεμία μηχανη ἔστιν.
Socrates defends his vocation against popular reproaches: 

XVI—XXII.

(a) that through it his life is in danger (XVI—XVIII).
(b) that he holds aloof from politics (XIX—XX).
(c) that his pupils have proved dangerous to the commonwealth (XXI—XXII).

XVI. Ἄλλα γάρ, ὃς ἄνδρας Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄδικον κατὰ τὴν Ἔλεγον, οὐ πολλὶς μοι δοκεῖ ἐἶναι ἀπολογίας, ἀλλὰ ἰκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα: ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἐλεγον, ὅτι πολλὴ μοι ἀπέχθεια γέγονεν καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς, εὖ ἦστε ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστίν. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ δὲ ἐμὲ αἰρήσει, εἶπεν αἰρήσει, οὐ Μέλητος οὐδὲ Ἄνωτος, ἀλλ’ ἡ τῶν πολλῶν διαβολὴ τε καὶ φθόνος. ὃ δὴ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἄγαθους ἄνδρας ἦρηκεν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἀιρήσειν οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν μή ἐν ἔμοι στῆ. ίσως δὲ ἂν οὖν θαύματος εἶποι τις: εἰτ’ οὐκ αἰσχύνει, ὡς Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύσας, ἔξι οὐδὲν κινωνεῖς νυν ἀποθανεῖν; ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ ἂν δίκαιον λόγον ἀντεἴπομι, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ὃ ἄνθρωπο, εἰ οἰεὶ δεῖν κινδυνοῦν ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ καὶ τῆς ἔπειταν ἂν ὁ ἰππεύον μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττη, πότερον δίκαιω ἥ ἄδικα πράττει, καὶ ἄνδρος ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἡ κακοῦ. φαίλωι γὰρ ἄν τῷ γε σῷ λόγῳ ἐγὼ σωτῆρον ὅσοι ἐν τῷ Τροϊᾷ τετελευτήσασιν οὐ τῇ ἂλλῳ καὶ ο τῆς Θέτιδος νίκος, ὃς τοσοῦτον τοῦ κινδύνου κατεφρονήσεν παρὰ τὸ αἰσχρόν τι ὑπομεῖναι, ὅτε ἐπείδη εἶπεν ἡ μῆτηρ αὐτῷ προθυμομενόν ὁ Ἑκτώρ ἀποκτεῖναι, θέα τοῦτο.
οὐτωσὶ πῶς, ὃς ἐγὼ οἴμαι· ὦ παί, εἰ τιμωρῆσεις Πα-
τόκλεφ τῷ ἐταῖρῳ τὸν φόνον καὶ Ἴκτορα ἀποκτε-
νείς, αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖ· αὐτίκα γὰρ τοι, φησί, μεθ’
"ἔκτορα πότιμος ἐτοίμος· ὦ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας τοῦ
μὲν θανάτου καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου ἀλλιγόρητα, πολὺ δὲ

D μᾶλλον δεῖςας τὸ ζήν κακὸς ὁν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μὴ 30
τιμωρεῖν, αὐτίκα, φησί, τεθναίην δίκην ἐπιθεῖς τῷ
ἀδικοῦντι, ἵνα μὴ ἐνθάδε μένῳ καταγέλαστος παρὰ
νησί κορωνίσιν ἀχθος ἀροῦρης. μὴ αὐτὸν οὖν
φρουτίσαι θανάτου καὶ κινδύνου; οὖν γὰρ ἔχει,
ὡς ἄνδρες Ἄθηναιοι, τῇ ἅλθείᾳ· οὐ ἂν τοῖς ἔαυτον 35
τάξις ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι ἡ ὑπ’ ἄρχοντος
ταχθῇ, ἐνταῦθα δεί, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυ-
νεύειν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε
ἀλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.

XVII. Ἡγὼ οὖν δεινὰ ἄν εἶην εἰργασμένος, ὡς
Ε ἄνδρες Ἄθηναιοι, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν με οἱ ἄρ-
χοντες ἔταττον, οὓς ύμεῖς εἴλεσθε ἄρχειν
μου, καὶ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει
καὶ ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, τότε μὲν οὐ ἐκεῖνοι ἔτατ-
τον ἔμενον ὡσπερ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς καὶ ἐκινδύνευον
ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάπτοντος, ὡς ἐγὼ ϕήθην
tε καὶ ὑπέλαβον, φιλοσοφοῦντα με δεῖν ζῆν καὶ
ἐξετάζοντα ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ
29 φοβηθεῖσιν ἡ θάνατον ἢ ἄλλο  ὑπὸ τῆν τάξιν. δεινῶν τὰν εἶη, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸτ’
ἀν με δικαίως εἰσάγοι τις εἰς δικαστήριον, ὃτι σὺς
νομίζως θεους εἶναι ἀπειθῶς τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ δεδοὺς
θάνατον καὶ οἴμενος σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ὄν. τὸ γὰρ
δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὑντα· δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι

I for my part do not fear death: I would die many times, sooner than cease the pursuit of wisdom.
ἔστιν ἡ οὐκ οἶδεν. οἶδε μὲν γὰρ οὔδεις τὸν θάνατον
οὐδὲ τινικάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων μέγιστον ὑπὸ
tῶν ἁγαθῶν, δεδάσει δὲ ὡς εἰ eιδότες ὑτὶ μέγιστον
20 τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶ. καὶ τούτο πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθία ἐστὶν ὃς
αὐτή ἡ ἐπονείδιστος, ἢ τοῦ οἶδεντας ἐιδέναι ὃς οὐκ
οἶδεν; ἑγὼ δὲ, ὃς ἀνδρες, τοῦτω καὶ ἐνταύθα ἰσως
dιαφέροι τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἰ ὑπὸ τὸ σο-
φάτερος τοῦ φαίνει εἶναι, τούπτω ἐν, ὅτι οὐκ εἰδὼς
25 ἰκανὸς περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀιδοὺς οὕτως καὶ οἴομαι οὐκ
εἰδέναι τὸ δὲ ἀδίκειν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν τῷ βελτίων, καὶ
θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν
οἶδα. πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν, ἃν οἶδα ὅτι κακὰ ἐστὶν,
ἀ μὴ οἶδα εἰ ἀγαθὰ ὑπάπτανεν, οὐδέποτε φοβή-
30 σομαί οὐδὲ φεῦξομαι· ὅστε οὐδὲ εἰ με νῦν ὑμεῖς
ἀφιετε Ἁνύτω ἀπιστήσαντες, ὅσ ἐφη ἡ τῆς ἀρχῆς
οὐ δεῖν ἐμὲ δεύρῳ εἰσελθεῖν ἢ, ἐπειδὴ εἰσῆλθον, οὐχ
οἶν τ' εἰναι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτείνα με, λέγων πρὸς ύμᾶς
ὡς, εἰ διαφευξόμεν, ἦδη ἀν ύμῶν οἰ υ νεῖς ἐπιτη-
35 δεύοντες οVICES ὑσκρή ης διδάσκει πάντες παντάππασι
diaφαρήσουται,—εἰ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰποίτε: ὃ Ὀσ-
κρατες, νῦν μὲν Ἁνύτω οὐ πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀφιεμέν
σε, ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' ὅτε μηκετί ἐν ταῦτῃ τῇ
ζητήσει διαπρόβεβη μη δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐδι ἐοῖς
40 ἐτὶ τοῦτο πράττων, ἀποθαναῖ ὃι οὐδὲ ὑμέν, ὅπερ ἐπον, Ἄ
ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἀφίοιτε, εἰποίμι ἅν ύμῶν ὅτι ἐγὼ ύμᾶς,
ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀσπάζομαι μὲν καὶ φίλῳ, πει-
σομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ὃ ύμῶν, καὶ ἐσσιπερ ἄν
ἐμπνεύω καὶ οἶνος τε ὃς, οὐ μη παῦσωμαι φιλοσοφῶν
καὶ ύμῶν παρακελευθένοις τε καὶ ἐνδεικνυμένοις ὅτι
ἀν αἰὴ ἐντυγχάνοις ύμῶν, λέγων ὁπάπερ εἰσωθά, ὅτι ὃ
ἀριστε ἀνδρῶν, Ἀθηναίοις ύμω, πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης
καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτης εἰς σοφλάν καὶ ἱσχύν, χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνει ἐπιμελούμενος, ὡς σοι ἔσται ὡς ἐπιλέιστα, καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς, φρονήσεως δὲ καὶ 50 ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἔσται, οὐκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φροντίζεις; καὶ εὰν τις ὑμῶν ἀμφισβητῇ καὶ φῇ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, οὐκ εὖθες ἀφῆσων αὐτὸν οὐδ’ ἀπειμί, ἀλλ’ ἐρήσομαι αὐτὸν καὶ ξετάσω καὶ ἑλέγξω, καὶ εὰν μοι μὴ δοκῇ κεκτήσθαι ἀρετήν, 55 30 φάναι δὲ, ὑνειδιῶ δι’ τὰ πλεῖστον ἄξια περὶ ἐλαχίστου ποιεῖται, τὰ δὲ φαυλότερα περὶ πλείουνος. ταύτα καὶ νεωτέρω καὶ πρεσβυτέρω, ὡς ἂν ἐνυγχάνου, ποιῆσο, καὶ ξένῳ καὶ ἀστῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀστοῖς, ὅσῳ μοι ἐγγυτέρω ἐστὲ γένει. ταύτα γὰρ 60 κελεῦει ο θεός, εὐ Ἰστε, καὶ ἐγὼ οἶμαι οὐδὲν πω ὑμῖν μείζον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡ τῆν ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίᾳν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πράττων ἐγὼ περιέρχομαι ἢ πείθων ὑμῶν καὶ νεωτέρων καὶ πρεσβυτέρως μήτε σωμάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μήτε 65 β χρημάτων πρότερον μηδὲ οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς σοὶ ἁρίστη ἔσται, λέγων οὐκ ἐκ χρημάτων ἀρετῆ γίγνεται, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀρετῆς χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπαντά καὶ ἠδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταύτα λέγων διαφθείρω 70 τοὺς νέους, ταῦτ’ ἂν εἰς βλαβερά· εἰ δὲ τίς μὲ φησιν ἄλλα λέγειν ἢ ταύτα, οὐδὲν λέγει. πρὸς ταύτα, φαλὴν ἂν, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἢ πείθεσθε Ἀντίφω ἡ μή, καὶ ἡ ἀφίετε ἡ μή ἀφίετε, ὡς ἐμὸν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσοντος C ἄλλα, οὕτ’ εἰ μέλλω τολλάκις τεθνάναι.

XVIII. Μή θορυβεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ἀλλ’ ἐμμελένατε μοι ὡς ἐδείηθην ὑμῶν, μή θορυβεῖν ἐφ’ ὡς ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ’ ἀκούειν. If you kill me, who am God's minister in Ath-

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καὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ὄνθεσθε ἀκοῦον-
tes. μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἂττα ὑμῖν ἑρεὶν
καὶ ἄλλα, ἐφ’ οἷς ἵσως βοήσεσθε· ἅλλα μηδαμῶς
ποιεῖτε τοῦτο. εὗ γὰρ ἵστε, εἰν ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε
τοιοῦτον ὄντα, οἴκον ἑγὼ λέγω, οὐκ ἐμὲ μείζων βλάψετε
ἡ ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς· ἐμὲ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀν βλάψειν
οὔτε Μέλητος οὔτε Ἀνυτος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύνατον·
οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἀμέλονι ἀνδρὶ ὑπὸ χεὶ-
ρονος βλάπτεσθαι. ἀποκτείνειε μεντὰν ἵσως ἡ ἕξε-
λάσειεν ἡ ἀτιμώσειεν· ἄλλα ταῦτα ὅτας μὲν ἰσως
οἶεται καὶ ἄλλος τὸς ποὺ μεγάλα κακὰ, ἐγὼ δ’ οὐκ
15 οἴομαι, ἄλλα πολὺ μᾶλλον ποιεῖν ἡ ὅτος νυνὶ ποιεῖ,
ἀνδρὰ ἄδικως ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτείνυαι. οὐν οὖν, ὃ
ἀνδρὲς Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοῦ δὲ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ
ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὡς τὸς ἂν οἶοντο, ἄλλα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, μὴ
τι ἐξαμάρτητη περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ
20 καταψυχήσαμενοι. εὖν γὰρ ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε, οὐ Ε
ῥάδιως ἄλλον τοιοῦτον εὐρήσετε, ἀτεχνῶς, εἰ καὶ
γελοιότερον εἴπειν, προσκείμενον τῇ πόλει ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ, ὡσπερ ἵππῳ μεγάλῳ μὲν καὶ γενναίῳ, ὑπὸ
μεγέθους δὲ νωθεστρῷ καὶ δεομένῳ ἐγείρεσθαι ὑπὸ
15 μῦστος τινος· οἴκον δὴ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐμὲ τῇ πόλει
προστεθεικέαν τοιοῦτον τίνα, ὃς ὑμᾶς ἐγείρων καὶ
πείθων καὶ οὐειδίζων ἔνα ἔκαστον, οὐδὲν παῦμαι
| τὴν ἤμεραν ὅλην πανταχοῦ προσκαθίζων. τοιοῦτος
21 οὖν ἄλλος οὐ ῥάδιως ὑμῖν γενήσεται, ὃ ἀνδρὲς, ἄλλη
30 ἐὰν ἐμὸν πείθησθε, φείσεσθε μοῦ· ὑμεῖς δ’ ἵσως τάχ’
ἀν ἄχθομενοι, ὡσπερ οἱ νυστάξουτες ἐγείρόμενοι,
κρούσαντες ἂν με, πειθόμενοι Ἀνυτος, ῥάδιως ἂν
ἀποκτείνατε, εἰτα τὸν λοιπὸν βλοὺ καθεύδοντες
διατελοῦτε ἂν, εἰ μὴ τινα ἄλλον ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐπι-
νέμψειεν κηδόμενος ύμῶν. ὦτι δὲ ἔγω τυγχάνω ὁν 35
tοιοῦτος, οἷος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ πόλει δεδόσθαι, ἐν-
θέντε ἂν κατανόησατε· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνη ἐοικε τὸ
ἐμὲ τῶν μὲν ἐμαντοῦ ἀπάντων ἡμελήκεναι καὶ ἀνέ-
χεσθαί τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελουμένων τοσαῦτα ἦδη ἔτη,
tὸ δὲ ύμετέρον πράττειν ἀεί, ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ προσιόντα 40
ὁσπερ πατέρα ἢ ἀδελφόν πρεσβύτερον, πείθοντα
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἁρετῆς. καὶ τοι ei μὲν τι ἀπὸ τούτων
ἀπέλανον καὶ μισθὸν λαμβάνον ταῦτα παρεκελεύ-
μην, εἴχον ἂν τινα λόγον νῦν δὲ ὀρατε δὴ καὶ
αὐτοὶ, ὃτι οἱ καθηγοροὶ ταλλὰ πάντα ἀναίσχυντος 45
οὕτω καθηγοροῦντες τοῦτο γε οὖν ὁδὸν τὸ ἐγένοντο
C ἀπαναισχυνθῆσαι παρασχόμενοι μάρτυρα, ὡς ἔγω
ποτὲ τινα ἢ ἑπραξάμην μισθὸν ἢ ἡγήσα. ἰκανὸν
γὰρ, οἶμαι, ἔγω παρέχομαι τὸν μάρτυρα, ὡς ἀληθῆ
λέγω, τὴν πενιάν.

ΧΙΘ. Ἰσωσ ἂν οὖν δῶς εἰς ποὺτον εἶναι, ὅτι δὴ
ἔγω ἰδίᾳ μὲν ταῦτα ἐξυμβουλέων περιῶν καὶ
πολυπραγμονῶ, δημοσίᾳ δὲ οὐ τολ-
μῶν ἀναβαίνων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ υμέτε-
ρον ἐξυμβουλεύειν τῇ πόλει. τούτου δὲ
αὐτῶν ἐστιν δὴ υμεῖς ἐμοὶ πολλάκις ἀκηκὼσε πολ-
D λαχοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι μοι θείον τι καὶ δαιμόνιον γέγ-
νεται [φωνή,] δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἑπικωμοδῶν Μέλητος ἐγράψατο· ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτ· ἐστιν ἐκ παιδῶς
ἀρξάμενον, φωνή τις γυγρομένη, ἢ ὅταν γέννητε, ἡν 10
ἀποτρέπει με τούτο δὲ ἄν μέλλω πράττειν, προ-
τρέπει δὲ οὕποτε· τοῦτ' ἐστιν ὃ μοι ἐναντιοῦται τὰ
πολιτικὰ πράττειν. καὶ παγκάλως γε μοι δοκεῖ
ἐναντιοῦσθαι· εὐ γὰρ ἵστε, ὃ ἀνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, εἰ
ἔγω πάλαι ἐπεχείρησα πράττειν τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγ-
ματα, πάλαι αν ἀπολωλή καὶ οὔτ' ἀν ὑμᾶς ὠφελήκην οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀν ἐμαυτόν. καὶ μοι μὴ ἀχθεσθε λέγοντι εὐτάληθεν οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὡστις ἀνθρώπων σωθῆσεται οὔτε ὑμῖν οὔτε ἄλλῳ πλήθει οὐδενὶ γηνύοις ἑναντιούμενος καὶ διακωλύων πολλὰ ἄδικα καὶ παράνομα ἔν τῇ πόλει γλυκεσθαί, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ 32 τοῦ τῷ ὄντι μαχούμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ εἰ μέλλει ὄλγον χρόνον σωθῆσεθαι, ιδιωτεύειν ἄλλα μὴ δημοσιεύειν.

XX. Μεγάλα δ' ἐγώγε ὑμῖν τεκμήρια παρέξομαι τούτων, οὐ λόγους, ἀλλ' ὁ ὑμείς τιμᾶτε, ἔργα. ἀκούσατε δὴ μου τὰ ἐμοὶ ξυμβεβηκότα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἐνὶ 5 ὑπεικάθῳμι παρά τὸ δίκαιον ἰδίας θάνατον, μὴ ὑπείκων δὲ ἀμα καὶ ἀμα ἂν ἀπολοίμην. ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν φορτικὰ μὲν καὶ δικαιικὰ, ἀληθῆ δέ. ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὃ Ἀθηναίοι, ἀλλην μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν πῶς τοῦ χρῆα ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐβούλευσα δὲ· καὶ ἔτυχεν ἦμῶν 10 ἡ φυλὴ Ἀντιοχίς πρυτανεύουσα, ὡς ὑμεῖς τοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐβούλευε φθορός κρίνειν, παρανόμως, ὡς ἐν τῷ υστέρῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδοξε. τὸτ' ἐγὼ μόνος τῶν πρυτάνεων ἡμαυτῶν μηδὲν ποιεῖν 15 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ἐναντία ἐψηφισάμην, καὶ ἐτοίμων δυντον ἐνεδεικνύει με καὶ ἀπάγει τῶν ῥήτωρον, καὶ ὑμῶν κελευντῶν καὶ βοῶντων, μετὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ δίκαιου φημη μᾶλλον με δεῖν δικαιωσιμεύειν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν γενεσθαι μὴ δίκαια βουλευσαί 20 μένων, φοβηθέντα δεσμόν ἢ θάνατον. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἦτο δημοκρατουμένης τῆς πόλεως· ἐπειδή δὲ ὑλιγαρχία ἐγένετο, οἱ τριάκοντα αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖπερμένεοι
με πέμπτον αυτόν εἰς τὴν θόλον προσέταξαν ἁγα-
γεῖν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμῖνον, ἵνα ἀπο-
θάνω· οία δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκείνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ 25
προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλήσσαι

Δαίτιον· τὸτε μέντοι ἐγὼ οὖν λόγῳ ἄλλ' ἐργῇ αὖ
ἐνεδεχάμην, ὅτι ἢ μοι θανάτοι μὲν μέλει, εἰ μὴ
ἀγροικότερον ἢν εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ὅτινόν, τὸν δὲ μηδὲν
ἀδικον μηδ' ἀνόσιον ἐργάζεσθαι, τοῦτον δὲ τὸ πᾶν 30
μέλει. ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐκείνη ἡ ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἐξεπλήξεν οὕτως
ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα, ὡστε ἀδικόν τι ἐργάζασθαι, ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς θόλου ἐξῆλθομεν, οἱ μὲν τέταρτες
φύγοντο εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ ἦγαγον Λέοντα, ἐγὼ δὲ
φύγομην ἀπιθών οὐκαδε. καὶ ἰσως ἂν διὰ ταύτα ἀπε-
θάνων, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ διὰ ταχέων κατελύσθη καὶ

Ε τούτων ὑμῖν ἔσονται πολλοὶ μάρτυρες.

XXI. 'Αρ' οὖν ἂν μὲ οἴεσθε τοσάδε ἐτη διαγε-
νέσθαι, εἰ ἔπραττον τὰ δημόσια, καὶ

πράττων ἄξιως ἄνδρος ἁγαθοῦ ἐβοήθουν

τοῖς δικαίως καὶ, ὡσπερ χρῆ, τοῦτο περὶ

πλείστου ἐποιούμην; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὡ

ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλος ἄνθρωπον

33 οὐδείς. | ἄλλ' ἐγὼ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου δημοσία τε,

εἰ ποῦ τι ἐπράξα, τοιοῦτος φανοῦμαι, καὶ ἱδία ὡ

ἀυτὸς οὕτος, οὐδενὶ πῶποτε ἐνυγχωρήσας οὔδὲν παρὰ

τὸ δίκαιον οὐτε ἄλλο οὕτε τούτων οὔτενι, οὐς οἱ ἱ

διαβάλλοντες ἐμὲ φασιν ἐμοὺς μαθητῶς εἶναι. ἐγὼ

δὲ διδάσκαλος μὲν οὕτως πῶποτ' ἐγενόμην εἰ δὲ

τίς μου λέγοντος καὶ τὰ ἐμαιτοῦ πράττοντος ἐπι-

θυμεῖ ἀκούειν, εἰτε νεώτερος εἰτε πρεσβύτερος, οὐ-

δενὶ πῶποτε ἐφθονήσα, οὐδὲ χρήματα μὲν λαμβάνων 15

Β διαλέγομαι, μὴ λαμβάνων δὲ οὐ, ἄλλ' ὅμοιος καὶ

A. P.
πλουσίω καὶ πένητι παρέχω ἐμαυτόν ἔρωτὰν, καὶ ἐάν τις βούληται ἀποκρινόμενος ἄκουειν ὅν ἂν λέγω. καὶ τούτων ἐγὼ εἰτε τις χρηστὸς γίγνεται ἐπεὶ μη, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπέχοιμι, ὅτε μὴ ὑπεσχόμην μηδὲν μὴδὲν πῶποτε μάθημα μὴτε ἐδίδαξα· εἰ δὲ τὶς φησὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ πῶποτε τι μαθεῖν ἢ ἄκουει τι ἢ τι μὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες, εὔ ἵστε ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγει.

XXII. 'Αλλὰ διὰ τὴ δὴ ποτὲ μετ’ ἐμοῦ χαίρουσι τίνες πολὺν χρόνον διατρίβοντες; ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι· πᾶσαν C ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἑγώ εἶπον· ὅτι ἄκουον τε χαίροντων ἐξετάζομενος τοῖς οἰομένοις μὲν εἰναι σοφοῖς, οὕτω δ’ οὕ· ἐστὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄγαθες. ἐμοὶ δὲ τούτο, ὅς ἑγὼ φήμη, προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πράττειν καὶ ἐκ μαντείων καὶ ἐν ἐνυπνίων καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ὥσπερ τὸς ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλη θεία μοῖρᾳ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὅτι οὗ ἔσται προσέταξε πράττειν. ταύτα, ὦ 'Αθηναίοι, καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν καὶ εὐελεγκτα. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἔγονε τῶν νέων τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρω, τοὺς δὲ D διεφθαρκα, χρὴν ἢπτον, εἰτε τίνες αὐτῶν πρεσβύτεροι γενόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ὅτι νέοις οὕτων αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ κακὸν πῶποτε τι εὐνεβούλευσα, νυνὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναβάλλοντας ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸι ἥθελον, τῶν οἰκείων τινὰς τῶν ἐκείνων, πατέρας καὶ ἄδελφοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς προσήκουντας, εἴπερ ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ τι κακὸν ἐπεπόθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ 15 οἰκείοι, νῦν μεμνησθαι καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι. πάντως δὲ πάρεσιν αὐτῶν πολλὸν ἐνταῦθοι, οὐς ἑγὼ ὅρω, πρῶτον μὲν Κρίτων οὐτοσί, ἐμὸς ἡλικιώτης καὶ δημότης, Κριτοβούλου τοῦτο ἐπάθη· ἔπειτα Δυσανίας Ε
Ως Μέλητος καὶ Ἀνυτός. αὐτός μὲν γὰρ οἱ διεφθαρ-40
μένοι τάχι ἃν λόγον ἔχουν βοηθοῦντες· οἱ δὲ ἄδια-
φθαρτοὶ, πρεσβύτεροι ἦδη ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ τούτων προσ-
ήκοντες, τίνα ἄλλον ἔχουσι λόγον βοηθοῦντες ἐμοὶ
ἀλλ’ ἢ τὸν ὀρθόν τε καὶ δίκαιον, ὅτι ξυνίσασθι Με-
λήτῳ μὲν ψευδομένῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀληθεύοντι; 45

Concluding Remarks: XXIII—XXIV.

XXIII. Εἴεν δὴ, ὃ ἀνδρεῖ· ὃ μὲν ἐγὼ ἔχομι
ἂν ἀπολογείσθαι, σχέδον ἔστι ταῦτα καὶ
ἄλλα ἱσος τοιαῦτα. τάχα δ’ ἂν τις
C ὑμών ἀγανακτήσειν ἀναμυνθῆσθαι ἔαυ-
τού, εἰ ὃ μὲν καὶ ἔλαττω τούτων τοῦ
ἀγώνος ἄγωνα ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐδεήθη τε
καὶ ἱκέτευσε τοὺς δικαστὰς μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων,
παιδία τε αὐτοῦ ἀναβιβασάμενος, ἵνα δ' τι μάλιστα ἐλεηθείη, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων πολ-λούς, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα τούτων ποιήσω, καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνεύων, ὡς ἂν δόξαμι, τὸν ἔχατον κήδευνον. γάρ οὖν τις ταῦτα ἐννοῆσας αὐθαδέστερον ἂν πρὸς με σχοίη, καὶ ὁργισθεὶς αὐτοῖς τούτοις θείτο ἂν μετ' ὀργῆς τὴν ψήφου. εἰ δὴ τις ὑμῶν οὗτος ἔχει,—οὐκ δὲ ἁξιόδ οὐκ γὰρ ἔγογγε· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐπιεικῆ ἂν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς τούτων λέγειν λέγων ὅτι ἐμοί, ὃ ἄριστε, εἰσιν μὲν ποῦ τινες καὶ οἰκείοι· καὶ γὰρ, τούτῳ αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμὴρου, οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἀπ' ὅ δρομος οὔτ' ἀπ' πέτρης πέφυκα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, δοστε καὶ οἰκείοι μοί εἰσι καὶ νυὲς, ὃ άνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τρεῖς, εἰς μὲν μειράκιον ήδη, δύο δὲ παιδία· ἀλλ' ὁμος οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεύτερο ἀναβιβασάμενος δεήσομαι ὑμῶν ἀποψηφίσασθαι. τι δὴ οὖν οὐδὲν τούτων ποιήσω; οὐκ αὐθαδιζόμενος, ὃ άνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, οὔτ' ὑμᾶς ἀτι-Ε μάζων, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγώ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἥ μή, ἄλλος λόγος, πρὸς δ' οὖν δόξαν καὶ ἑμοί καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει οὐ μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι ἐμὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ποιέων καὶ τηλικόνδε ὄντα καὶ τούτο τούνομα ἔχοντα, εἰτ' οὖν ἀληθὲς εἰτ' οὖν ἑυδος· ἀλλ' οὖν δεδογμένον γε ἐστὶ τὸν Σωκράτη διαφέρειν τινὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἁνθρώπων. εἰ οὖν ὑμῶν οἶ δο-35 κούντες διαφέρειν εἰτε σοφία εἰτε ἄνδρελα εἰτε ἀλλή ἡττινοῦν ἅρμη τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται, αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἰτ' οἴουσπερ ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἑάρακα τινας, ὅταν κρί-35 νοῦνται, δοκοῦνται μὲν τι εἴναι, θαυμάσια δὲ ἔργα-ξουμενος, ός δεινὸν τι οἰκείων πείσεσθαι εἰ ἀπό-θανοῦνται, δοσπερ ἀθανάτων ἑσομένων, ἂν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀποκτείνητε· οἳ ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν αἰσχύνην
τῇ πόλει περιάπτειν, ὡστ' ἂν τινα καὶ τῶν ἐξένων ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι οἱ διαφέροντες Ἄθηναιών εἰς ἀρετήν, 40 βοῦς αὐτοῖς ἔαυτῶν ἐν τε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς προκρίνουσιν, οὐτοὶ γυναῖκῶν οὐδέν διαφέρουσιν. ταῦτα γάρ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἄθηναιοι, οὐτε ὑμᾶς χρή ποιεῖν τοὺς δοκοῦντας καὶ ὅτι οἱ τι εἶναι, οὔτε, ἂν ἡμεῖς ποιώμεν, ὑμᾶς ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ 45 ἔνδεικνυθαί, ὅτι πολὺ μᾶλλον καταψηφίσθη οὐ τὰ ἐλεεινά ταῦτα δράματα εἰσάγωντο καὶ καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιοῦντος ἡ τοῦ ἡσυχίαν ἀγοντος.

XXIV. Ἡ ἔργον δὲ τῆς δόξης, ὃ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ δίκαιον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι δεῖσθαι τοῦ δι- unjust, and im-

C καστοῦ οὐδὲ δέομενον ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ didaskein καὶ πείθειν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κάθηται ὁ δικαστής, ἐπὶ τῷ καταχαρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, ἀλλ' 5 ἐπὶ τῷ κρίνειν ταῦτα· καὶ ὦμομοκεῖν οὐ χαριεῖσθαι ὁϊς ἂν δοκῆ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ δικάσειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. οὐκον χρή οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἐθίζειν υμᾶς ἐπιτροπεῖν, οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἐθίζεσθαι· οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἐν ἡμῶν εὐσεβοῖεν. μὴ οὖν ἄξιοντε με, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἄθηναιοι, τοιαῦτα δεῖν τοῖς πρὸς υμᾶς πράττειν, ἢ μὴ τῇ ἧγουμαι καλὰ εἶναι

D μήτε δίκαια μήτε ὅσια, ἀλλὰς τε μέντοι νὴ Δία πάντως καὶ ἀσβεστὰς φεύγοντα ὑπὸ Μελήτου τοῦ

τουτ. σαφῶς γὰρ ἂν, εἰ πείθομεν υμᾶς καὶ τῷ δεῖσθαι βιαζόμην όμομοκότας, θεοὺς ἂν διᾶσκοιμί 15 μὴ ἡγεῖσθαι υμᾶς εἶναι, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἀπολογούμενος κατηγορήθη ἂν ἐμαυτῷ ὡς θεοὺς οὐ νομίζω. ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ δὲι οὗτος ἔχειν νομίζω τε γὰρ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἄθηναιοι, ὥς οὐδεῖς τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγόρων, καὶ υμῶν ἐπιτρέπον καὶ τῷ θεῷ κρίναι περὶ ἐμοὶ ὅπῃ μέλλει 20 ἐμοὶ τε ἀριστα εἶναι καὶ υμῖν.
PART II. AFTER THE VERDICT AND BEFORE THE SENTENCE.

(Second Speech.)

CHAPTERS XXV—XXVIII.

XXV. To μὲν μη ἀγανακτεῖν, ὃ ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ τῷ γεγονότι, ὅτι μου 36 κατεψηφίσασθε, ἀλλὰ τε μοι πολλὰ ξυμβάλλειται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέλπιστον μοι γέγονεν τὸ γεγονός τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον θαυμάζω ἐκατέρω τῶν ψήφων τὸν γεγονότα ἀριθμόν. οὐ γὰρ φόμην έγογένσεαι οὕτω παρ' ὀλίγον ἐσεσθαί ἀλλὰ παρὰ πολὺν νῦν δὲ, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰ τριάκοντα μόναι μετέπεσον τῶν ψήφων, ἀπεπε-10 φεύγην αὖ. Μέλητον μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκῶ, καὶ νῦν ἀποσίφευγα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀποσίφευγα, ἀλλὰ παντὶ δῆλον τούτῳ γε, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἀνέβησ "Αντωτός καὶ Λύ-κων κατηγορήσοντες ἐμοῦ, κἂν ὅφελε χιλίας δραχμάς, οὐ μεταλαβῶν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων.

XXVI. Τιμᾶται δ' οὖν μοι ὁ ἀνήρ θανάτου.

If I must fix the counter - penalty at my deserts, I propose that I should be supported in the Pry-5 taneum.
καὶ στάσεως, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνομένων, ἡγησάμενος ἐμαυτὸν τῷ ὑπὶ ἐπιεικέστερον εἶναι ἢ ὠστε 10 
κεῖσ ταῦτ' ἴόντα σφέσθαι, ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἦ αὐτῷ, οἱ ἐξ ὑμῖν μῆτε ὑμῖν μῆτε ἐμαυτῷ ἐμελλον μηδὲν ὅφελος 
einai, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἱδία ἐκαστὸν ἵνα εὐεργετείν τὴν 
μεγίστην εὐεργεσίαν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐνταῦθα ἦ, ἐπισκείρων ἐκαστὸν ὑμῶν πείθειν μὴ πρὸτερόν μῆτε 15 
tῶν ἐαυτοῦ μηδὲν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, πρὶν ἐαυτοῦ ἐπι-
μεληθείη, ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστος καὶ φρονιμώτατος ἔσοντο, μῆτε τῶν τῆς πόλεως, πρὶν αὐτῆς τῆς πό-
λεως, τῶν τε ἄλλων οὕτω κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν τρόπον 
ὅ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. τί οὖν εἰμι ἄξιος παθεῖν τοιοῦτος ὡς; 20 
αγαθόν τι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ δέι γε κατὰ τὴν 
ἀξίαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ταῦτά γε ἀγαθὸν 
tοιοῦτον, ὦ τι ἄν πρέποι ἐμοί. τί οὖν πρέπει ἄνδρι 
πένητι εὐεργετῇ, δεομένῳ ἀγειν σχολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑμε-
tέρᾳ παρακελεύσει; οὐκ ἔσθ' ὦ τι μᾶλλον, ὦ ἄνδρες 15 
Ἀθηναῖοι, πρέπει [οὕτως], ὡς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἐν 
πρυτανείῳ συτείσθαι, πολὺ γε μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ τις ὑμῶν 
ὑππὸ ἢ ξυνωρίδι ἢ ξεύγει νενίκηκεν Ὀλυμπίασων. 
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς τοιεῖ εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ 
Εδὲ εἶναι καὶ ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δέο- 30 
μαι. εἰ οὖν δεῖ με κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀξίας τι-
37 μᾶσθαι, τούτοι | τιμῶμαι, ἐν πρυτανείῳ συτήσεως.

XXVII. Ἡσὼς οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ταυτὶ λέγων παρα-
πλησίως δοκῶ λέγειν ὅσπερ περὶ τοῦ 
οίκου καὶ τῆς ἀντιβολῆς, ἀπαυθα-
διξόμενος τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐστιν, ὦ Ἀθηναίοι, 
tοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τοιώνδε μᾶλλον. πέπεισμαί ἐγὼ 5 
ἐκὼν εἶναι μηδένα αἰδικεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς 
tοῦτο οὗ πεῖθω. ὅλγον γὰρ χρόνου ἀλλήλοις διει-
λέγεται· ἐπεὶ, ὡς ἐγιμαι, εἰ ἦν υμῖν νόμος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, περὶ θανάτου μὴ μίαν ἥμεραν
10 μόνον κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς, ἐπείσθητε ἀν· νῦν δ', ἐπὶ ὁμίλου ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλγῷς μεγάλας διαβολάς ἀπο-
λύσθαι. πεπεισμένος δὴ ἐγὼ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν πολ-
λοῦ δέω ἐμαυτὸν γε ἀδικήσειν καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ
ἐρεῖν αὐτὸς, ὡς ἄξιος εἰμὶ τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ τιμήσεσθαι
15 τοιούτου τινὸς ἐμαυτῷ. τῷ δὲ ἐδίκασα; ἢ μὴ πάθω τούτῳ,
οὗ Μέλητός μοι τιμᾶται, ὃ φημί οὐκ εἰδέναι οὔτ' εἰ ἀγαθὸν οὔτ' εἰ κακὸν ἐστὶν; ἀντὶ τούτου δὴ ἔχωμαι
ἄν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κακὸν ὄντων; τοῦ τιμησάμενος;
πότερον δεσμοῦ; καὶ τῷ με δεῖ ξῆν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ, C
20 δουλεύοντα τῇ ἀδι καθισταμένη ἀρχῇ, τοῖς ἐνδέκα;
ἀλλὰ χρημάτων, καὶ δεδέσθαι ἔως ἀν ἐκτίσω; ἀλλὰ ταύτων μοι ἐστὶν, ὅπερ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐστί
μοι χρήματα, ὀπόθεν ἐκτίσω. ἀλλὰ δὴ φυγής τιμή-
σωμαι· ἵσος γὰρ ἂν μοι τούτου τιμήσατε. πολλῆ
25 μεντάν με φιλοσυνία ἔχοι, εἰ οὕτως ἀλόγιστός
εἰμὶ, ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν
ὡτες πολίται μου οὐχ όιοι τε ἑγένεσθε ἑνεγκείν τὰς
ἐμὰς διατριβὰς καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν βαρύτεραι θ
γεγόνασιν καὶ ἐπιφθονότεραι, ὡστε ξητείτε αὐτῶν
30 νυν ἀπαλλαγῆσαι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα αὐτάς οἴσουσι
ῥάδις; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι. καλὸς οὖν ἂν
μοι ὁ βίος εἰς ἐξελθόντι, τηλικῷ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ἄλλην
ἐξ ἀλλὰς πόλεως ἀμειβομένῳ καὶ ἐξελαυνομένῳ
ξῆν. εὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, ὅποι ἂν ἔλθω, λέγοντος ἐμοῦ
35 ἀκροάσονται οἱ νέοι ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε· κἂν μὲν τού-
τους ἀπελεύνω, οὐτοὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸ ἐξελοῦσι, πείθοντες
tοὺς πρεσβυτέρους· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπελεύσω, οἱ τούτων Θ
πατέρες τε καὶ οἰκεῖοι δι' αὐτοῦς τούτους.
XXVIII. Ἡσως οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι· συγών δὲ καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἁγών, ὦ Σώκρατε, σὺ πέρι τῇ ἑσεὶ ἡμῖν ἑξελθὼν ζην; τούτε δὴ ἐστὶ πάντως χαλεπώτατον πείσατί τινας ὑμῶν. 

eάν τε γὰρ λέγω ὅτι τῇ θεῷ ἀπειθεῖν τούτ’ ἐστὶ καὶ 5 διὰ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον ἡσυχίαν ἁγειν, οὐ πείσεσθέ μοι 38 ὡς εἰρωνευομένων. | εάν τ’ αὐ λέγω ὅτι καὶ τυγχάνει μέγιστον ἁγαθὸν ὃν ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦτο, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας περὶ ἀρετῆς τους λόγους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, περὶ δὲ ύμείς ἐμοὶ ἀκούετε διαλεγομένου καὶ ἐμαυ- 10 τὸν καὶ ἄλλους ἐξετάζοντος, ὃ δὲ ἀνεξέταστος βλος οὖ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπῳ, ταύτα δ’ ἐτί ἦτο ημῶν πείσεσθέ μοι λέγοντι. τα δὲ ἔχει μὲν οὕτως, ὃς ἐγώ φημι, δ’ ἄνδρες, πείθειν δὲ οὐ ράδιον. καὶ ἐγὼ ἂμα οὐκ εἰθισμαί ἐμαυτὸν ἄξιον κακοῦ οὐδενός. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 15 Β ἦν μοι χρήματα, ἐτιμησάμην ἂν χρημάτων ὅσα ἐμελλον ἐκτίσειν οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐβλάβην· νῦν δὲ— οὐ γὰρ ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὅσον ἂν ἔγω δυναίμην ἐκτίσαι, τοσοῦτον βούλεσθέ μοι τιμήσαι. ἦσος δ’ ἂν δυναίμην ἐκτίσαι ύμῖν μνῆς ἄργυρίον· τοσοῦτον 20 οὖν τιμῶμαι. Πλάτων δὲ δέδε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ Κρίτων καὶ Κριτόβουλος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος κελεύσοι με τρίακοντα μνῆς τιμήσασθαι, αὐτὸ δ’ ἐγγυνάσθαι· τιμῶμαι οὖν τοσοῦτον, ἐγγυται δ’ ύμῖν ἔσονται τοῦ ἄργυρίου οὕτω ταξιόχρεο.
PART III. AFTER THE SENTENCE.
(Third Speech.)

CHAPTERS XXIX—XXXIII.

(a) To those who voted for the death-penalty (XXIX—XXX).
(b) To those who voted against it (XXXI—XXXII).
(c) Conclusion (XXXIII).

XXIX. Οὐ πολλοῦ γ’ ἑνεκα χρόνου, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἄθηναῖοι, ὄνομα ἔχετε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν λοιποὶν, ὡς Σωκράτη ἀπεκτόνατε, ἄνδρα σοφὸν: φήσουι γὰρ δὴ μὲ σοφὸν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἰμὶ, οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑμῖν ὀνειδίζειν. εἰ οὖν περιεμένατε ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ἂν υἱοῦ τοῦτο ἐγένετο· ὀρὰτε γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτι πόρρω ἤδη ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου, θανάτου δὲ ἐγγύς. λέγω 10 δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοῦ καταψηφισμένους θάνατον. λέγω δὲ καὶ τόδε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους. ἵσως μὲ οἶσθε, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἀπορία λόγων ἐκλαυκέναι τοιοῦτον, οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐπείσα, εἰ φύμη δεῖν ἀπαντα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ὡστε ἅπανομεν τὴν δίκην. πολλοῦ γε δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἀπορία μὲν ἐκλαυκα, οὐ μέντοι λόγων, ἀλλὰ τόλμησι καὶ ἀναισχυντίας καὶ τοῦ ἐθέλειν λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοιαῦτα, οὔ ἂν ὑμῖν ἥδιστα ἢν ἀκούειν, θρηνούντος τέ μοι καὶ ὄνυμον καὶ ἀλλα ποιοῦντος καὶ 20 λέγοντος πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἤγος φήμι· οἶα Ἐ
δή καὶ εἰθισθε ὑμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' οὕτε τότε φήσῃ δεῖν ἐνεκά τοῦ κινδύνου πράξαι οὐδὲν ἀνελεύθερον, οὕτε νῦν μοι μεταμέλει οὕτως ἀπολογησάμενος, ἀλλ' πολὺ μᾶλλον αἱροῦμαι δδὲ ἀπολογησάμενος τεθνάναι ἢ ἐκείνως ξῆν' οὕτε γὰρ ἐν 25 δίκην οὕτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὐτ' ἐμὲ οὕτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα δει 39 τούτο | μηχανᾶσθαι, ὅπως ἀποφεύξεται πάν ποιῶν θάνατον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πολλάκις δή- λον γίγνεται ὅτι τὸ γε ἀποθανεῖν ἂν τις ἐκφυγοὶ καὶ ὁπλα ἀφεῖς καὶ ἐφ' ἰκετεῖαν τραπέμενος τῶν 30 διωκόντων καὶ ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ εἰσίν ἐν ἐκάστοις τοῖς κινδύνοις, ὡστε διαφεύγειν θάνατον, εάν τις τολμᾷ πάν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν. ἄλλα μὴ οὐ τούτ' ἢ χαλετόν, ὃ ἄνδρες, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἄλλα πολὺ χαλεπώτερον πονηρίαν θάττον γὰρ θανάτου 35 B θεί. καὶ νῦν ἐγώ μὲν ἀτε βραδὺς ὦν καὶ πρεσβύτης ὑπὸ τοῦ βραδυτέρου ἐάλων, οὐ δ' ἐμοὶ κατήγοροι ἀτε δεινοὶ καὶ ὁξεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θάττουνος, τῆς κακίας. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεμί ὑφ' ὑμῶν θανάτου δίκην ὀφλών, οὕτοι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ὃς ἑλκότες μοχθη- 40 ρίαν καὶ ἄδικιαν. καὶ ἐγώ τε τῷ τιμήματι ἐμένω καὶ οὕτω. ταῦτα μὲν πον ἑσως οὕτως καὶ ἐδεῖ σχεῖν, καὶ οὐμαί αὐτὰ μετρίως εἷειν.

XXX. Τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τούτο ἐπιθυμῶ νὰ ἡμᾶς χρησμοδήσαι, ὁ καταψηφισάμενοι μου- καὶ γὰρ εἰμι ἠδή ἐνταῦθα, ἐν ὕ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι χρησμοδοῦσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι. φημὶ γὰρ, ὅ ἄνδρες, οἳ ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε, τιμωρίαν ὑμῖν ἤξειν εὐθὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἐμῶν θάνατον πολὺ χαλεπώτεραν νὴ Δία ἢ οἶλαν ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε· νῦν γὰρ τούτο εἰργάσασθε οἰόμενοι
μὲν ἀπαλλάξεσθαι τοῦ διδόναι ἐλεγχον τοῦ βίου,
τὸ δὲ ύμῖν πολὺ ἐναντίον ἀποβήσεται, ὡς ἐγὼ φημὶ.
πλείους ἔσονται ύμᾶς οἱ ἐλεγχοτες, οὕς νῦν ἐγὼ
κατείχομεν, ύμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἡσθάνεσθε· καὶ χαλεπώτεροι ἔ
ἔσονται ὅπως νεώτεροι εἰσίν, καὶ ύμεῖς μᾶλλον ἄγα-
νακτήσετε. εἰ γὰρ οἴεσθε ἀποκτείνοντες ἀνθρώπους
ἐπισχῆσειν τοῦ ἐνειδίζειν τινὰ ύμῖν ὧτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς
ξήτε, οὐκ ὀρθῶς διανοείσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἐσθ’ αὕτη ἡ
ἀπαλλαγή οὔτε πάνω δυνατῆ οὔτε καλῆ, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνη
cαὶ καλλίστη καὶ βέστη, μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους κολούεις,
ἀλλ’ ἔαυτόν παρασκευάζειν ὅπως ἐσται ὡς βέλτισ-
τος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ύμῖν τοῖς καταψηφισμένοις
μαντευσάμενοι ἀπαλλάττομαι.

XXXI. Τοῖς δὲ ἀποψηφισμένοις ἤδεως ἄν δια-Ε
λεχθείην ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος τουτοῦ
πράγματος, ἐν φ’ οἱ ἀρχοντες ἀσχολίαν
ἀγονοι καὶ οὕτω ἔχομαι οἱ ἐλθότα με
δεὶ τεθνάναι. ἀλλά μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, πα-
ραμείνατε τοσοῦτον χρόνον· οὐδὲν γὰρ
καλύει διαμυθολογῆσαι πρὸς ἄλλης, ἔως ἔξεστιν,
ὑμῖν γὰρ ὡς οἱ φιλοις οὕτων ἐπιδείξαι ἐθέλω τὸ ὅντι
μοι ἐξυμβέβηκος τί ποτε νοεῖ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
δικασταί—ὑμᾶς γὰρ δικασταῖ καλῶν ὀρθῶς ἄν κα-
λοίη—θαυμάσιον τι γέγονεν. ἡ γὰρ εἰσθαῦνα μοι
μαντήκῃ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ
παντὶ πάνω πυκνῇ ἀεὶ ἣν καὶ πάνω ἐπὶ σμικροῖς
ἐναντιομενῆ, εἰ τὶ μέλλοιμι μὴ ὀρθῶς πράξειν.

υνὶ δὲ ἐξυμβεβηκε μοι, ἀπερ ὅρατε καὶ αὐτοί, ταυτὶ
ἀ γε δὴ οἴηθεν ἂν τις καὶ νομίζεται ἐσχατα κακῶν
eίναι. ἐμοι δὲ οὔτε ἐξίοντε ἐσθεν οἴκοθεν ἡναντιώθη B
τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημείον, οὔτε ἦνικα ἀνέβαινον ἐνταυθοὶ
ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, οὔτε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐδαμοῦ μέλλοντι τι ἐρεῖν. καὶ τοι ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις πολλαχοῦ 20 ὅπερ ἐπέσχε λέγοντα μεταξὺ, νῦν δὲ οὐδαμοῦ περὶ ταύτην τὴν πράξειν οὔτε ἐν ἔργῳ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐν λόγῳ ἡναντιωταὶ μοι. τί οὖν αἰτίου εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω; ἐγὼ ύμῖν ἔρωτας κινδυνεύει γὰρ μοι τὸ ἐξυμβεβηκὸς τοῦτο ἄγαθὸν γεγονότας, καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἡμεῖς 25 ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ὃσοι οἱ ὅμεθα κακὸν εἶναι τὸ τεθνάναι. μέγα μοι τεκμήριον τούτον γέγονεν' οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἡναντιώθη ἢν μοι τὸ εἰσωθὸς σημεῖον, εἰ μὴ τί ἐμελλὼν ἐγὼ ἄγαθὸν πράξειν.

XXXII. Ἐννοοῦσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῇ, ὡς πολλῆ ἐπιτίς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι. δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερον ἐστιν τὸ τεθνάναι: ἢ γὰρ οἶον μηδὲν εἶναι, μηδὲ αἰσθησιν μηδεμίαν μηδενὸς ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεώτα, ἢ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα 5 μεταβολῆς τις τυγχάνει οὐσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῆ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἑνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον. καὶ

Death is either annihilation or a better mode of life; and either of these is good.

dε εἰ την μηδεμία αἰσθησις ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἶον οὕτος, ἐπειδὰν τις καθεύδων μηδ' ὁναρ μηδὲν ὅρα, θαυμάσιον κέρδος ἄν εἰη ὁ θάνατος. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄν οἴμαι, εἰ τινὰ καὶ δέξαμεν δεοι ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἐν ἂν οὕτω κατέδαπθεν, ὡστε μηδὲ ὁναρ ἰδεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιπαραθέντα ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ δεοι σκεψάμενον εἰπεῖν, πόσας ἀμεινον καὶ ἥδιον ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ταύτης τῆς 15 νυκτὸς βεβίωκεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ, οἴμαι ἄν μη τι ἱδιότην τινά, ἀλλὰ τῶν μέγαν βασιλέα εὐραθημένους ἐν εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας. εἰ σὺν τοιούτων ὁ θάνατος ἐστιν, κέρδος ἔγωγε λέγω καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλεῖον ὁ πᾶς χρόνος 20
φαίνεται οὖτω δὴ εἶναι ἡ μία νῦξ. εἰ δ᾽ αὖ ὦν ἀποδημῆσαι ἐστίν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθέντες εἰς ἄλλουν τόπον, καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὡς ἀρὰ ἐκεῖ εἰσίν ἄπαντες οἱ τεθνεωτες, τὶ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν τούτου
25 εἰ ἂν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί; εἰ γὰρ τὶς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἡλίου, ἀπαλλαγές τούτων τῶν φασκοτύπων δικαστῶν εἶναι, εὐρήσει τοὺς ἀληθῶς δικαστάς, ὦτερ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν, Μίνως τε καὶ Ὁδάμανθος καὶ Αἰακὸς καὶ Ἰππόλεμος, καὶ ἄλλοι
30 ὁσοὶ τῶν ἡμιθέουν δίκαιοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἔαυτῶν βίῳ, ἀρὰ φαύλη ἂν εἰ ἡ ἀποδήμα; ἡ αὐ 'Ὀρφεῖ προτετευνεῖθα καὶ Μουσάλῳ καὶ Ἡσύδῳ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐπὶ πόσῃ ἂν τὶς δὲξατ' ἂν ύμῶν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις θέλω τεθνάναι, εἰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ.
35 ἐπεὶ ἔμοι ὦτερ καὶ αὐτῷ θαυμάστη ἂν εἰ ἡ διατριβὴ αὐτόθι, ὅποτε ἐνυχοίμη Παλαμήδει καὶ Ἀἰαντὶ τῷ ἐπὶ Θελαμώνος καὶ εἰ τίς ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν διὰ κρίσιν ἀδικον τέθνηκεν ἀντιπαραβάλλοντε τὰ ἐμαντοῦ πάθη πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖνων, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐκ ἂν ἂν ἀδήσει
40 εἰς. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐξετάζοντα καὶ ἐρευνῶντα ὡστερ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διάγειν, τίς αὐτῶν σοφὸς ἔστιν καὶ τίς οἶεται μὲν, ἔστιν δ᾽ οὕ. ἐπὶ πόσῳ δ᾽ ἂν τίς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, δέξατο ἐξετάζαι τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀγαρόντα τὴν πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἦ 'Ὀδυσ-
45 σέα ἢ Σίθνοι; ὦ ἄλλους μνήμον ἂν τὶς εἶποι καὶ ὦ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναίκας, οἳς ἐκεῖ διαλέγοντες καὶ ἤνων καὶ ἐξετάζειν ἀμήχανον ἂν εἰ ἡ εὐδαιμονία. πάντως οὐ δῆτο ποτέ γε ἐνεκα ὦ εἰκεῖ ἀποκτεῖνουσι τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα εὐδαιμονεστεροὶ εἰσίν οἱ ἐκεῖ
50 τῶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἦδη τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἄθανατοι εἰσίν, εἴπερ γε τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν.
ΑΛΛΑ καὶ υμᾶς χρῆ, ὁ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, εὐέλπιδας εἶναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἐν τῷ τούτῳ διανοεῖσθαι ἄληθες, δότι οὐκ ἔστω ἄνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐτε ξὼντε οὐτὲ τελευτήσαντε, οὐδὲ ἀμελεῖται ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ τούτων πράγματα οὐδὲ τὰ ἐμὰ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ μοι δῆλον ἔστι τοῦτο, ὅτι ἡδή τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιων ἦν μοι. διὰ τούτῳ καὶ ἐμὸ οὐδαμοῦ ἀπέτρεψεν τὸ σημεῖον, καὶ ἔγγυη τοῖς καταψηφισμένοις μου καὶ τοῖς κατηγόροις οὐ πάντως χαλεπαίνω. καὶ τοῦ οὐ ταύτη τῇ διανολῇ κατεψηφίζωντο μοι καὶ κατηγόρουν, ἀλλ’ οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν.

Ε τούτῳ αὐτοῖς ἄξιοι μέμφεσθαι. τοσὸνδε μέντοι αὐτῶν δέομαι τοὺς νίεῖς μου, ἐπειδὰν ἡβῆσσοι, τι- μωρήσασθε, ὁ ἄνδρες, ταύτα ταύτα λυποῦντες, ἀπέρ ἐγὼ υμᾶς ἐλύπην, ἐδῶ υμῶν δοκῶσι δὲ χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλου τοῦ πρότερον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἐδῶ δοκῶσι τί εἰναι μηδέν ὄντες, οὐεἰδεῖτε αὐτοῖς, ὡσπερ ἐγὼ υμῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμελεύονται ὃν δεῖ, καὶ ὅστατο τι εἶναι ὄντας οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι. καὶ ἐδῶ ταύτα τοῦτε,

42 Δίκαια θεοθόκε ἐγὼ ἐσομαι υφ’ ὑμῶν αὐτῶς τε καὶ οἱ νίεῖς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡδὴ ὁρὰ ἀπείναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀποθανομένῳ, υμῶν δὲ βιωσομένους ὁπότεροι δὲ ὑμῶν ἔρχονται ἐπὶ ἀμείνον πράγμα, ἀδηλον παυτὶ 25 πλῆν ἦ τῷ θεῷ.
NOTES.

PART I.

Before the Verdict.

(First Speech.)

CHAPTER I.

1. δὲ τί μὲν ὑμεῖς—ἐγώ δέ. Not δὲ τί ὑμεῖς μὲν—ἐγώ δέ because 17 A the contrast is rather between the two clauses considered as wholes than between ὑμεῖς and ἐγώ.

ὁ ἀνδρὶς Ἀθηναῖοι. Socrates reserves the usual form of address (ὁ ἀνδρὶς δικασταῖ) for those judges who voted in his favour, cf. 40 A ὑμᾶς γὰρ δικαστὰς καλῶν ὅρθως ἀν καλὸν: 40 E and 41 C.

2. πεπόνθατε φό. πάσχειν as passive to ποιεῖν is followed by ὑπὸ (ab), the usual preposition denoting the agent after passive verbs: so ἐκτίτω ἀποφημίων πρόσκειμαι φεύγω ἀποφημίων μανδάνω κατέρχομαι αἰτιῶν ἔχω etc. are used as passives to ἐκβάλλω ἀποκτεῖνοι προστέθηκε διόκω ἀποψήφιζομαι διδάσκω κατάγω αἰτιῶμαι, etc.


ἀλήθους sc. δεῖν which is written infra 22 A.

5. ὡς ἔτοσ εἶπεῖν i.q. paene dixerim: in good authors hardly ever if at all = ut ita dicam. The phrase is regularly used to limit the extent or comprehension of a phrase or word. It is generally, but by no means exclusively, found with οὐδεὶς and πάντες: οὐδεὶς ὡς ἔτοσ εἶπεῖν = ‘hardly anyone’; πάντες ὡς ἔτοσ εἶπεῖν = ‘nearly everyone’.

A. P.
NOTES ON

Cf. infra 22 D and 22 B (with ἄλγον ἄπαυτες). Plato uses it also with
φαύλον (trivial, little) Phil. 55 β: with οὖδὲ σμικρόν Symp. 192 Β: as the opposite of ἄκριβει ἡγύς Rep. I. 341 B: with ἔπομπαντος Phaed. 66 Α: with ἄδιπτα ibid. 80 D: cf. also Euthyd. 272 Β ὡς ἐποὺς εἰπεῖν
γέροντε ὄντε, Symp. 209 D σωτῆρας τῆς Δακεδαλίμονος καὶ ὡς ἐποὺς εἰπεῖν
(one might almost say) τῆς Ἑλλάδος, and Prot. 325 Β ὡς ἐποὺς εἰπεῖν
ξυλληθῆδεν τῶν οἰκών ἀνατρωπαί. In Aesch. Pers. 714 διαπεροθήκαι
tὰ Περσῶν πράγματ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐποὺ it modifies the δια-
περοθήκαι.

6. αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Ἰδαιμοσ. θεαμάζω τι τινος is a usual construction
e.g. Theaet. 161 Β ὁδὸν ὁδὸν—δ θεαμάζω τοῦ ἐταίρου σου. τῶ
πολλῶν infra is a partitive gen. after ὑπ.

8. χρῆ ὑμᾶς εὐλαβεῖσθαι. χρῆν (the reading of the best MSS)
would mean ‘it would be (have been) right’ (implying, ‘but you don’t
do it’). Cf. infra 33 D χρῆν δήπου, 34 Α ὡς τινὰ χρῆν—παρασχέοι.
In the direct χρῆ was used: Greek like Latin puts such expressions
categorically and not conditionally (ἀεὶ oportet rather than ἄεὶ ἐν
oporoteret). In the indirect χρῆ may either remain as here or become
χρῆν (Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, p. 257): it cannot be changed
to χρῆν, since a present tense of the direct does not become an
imperfect in the indirect. [App. 2.]

10. ᾿Ηγύς i.e. practically: ‘they will receive a practical refutation
at my hands’: my poor defence will shew that I am far from being
a clever speaker.

11. τοῦτο: the antecedent is τὸ γάρ—λέγειν. Infra αὐτῶν is a
partitive genitive. Tr. ‘this seemed to me the most shameless
point about them’.

12. εἰ μὴ ἄρα—nisi forte. ἄρα marks the sentence as ironical:
so infr. 38 B εἰ μὴ ἄρα—βολεσθε μοι τιμῆσαι. Cf. also Xen. Mem. 1. 2.
8 εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἢ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλεια διαφθορά ἑστών.

13. εἰ μὲν γὰρ κτλ. There is no antithetical clause with
eἰ δὲ μὴ corresponding to this, because the antithesis is already
expressed in what precedes. Cf. infra τοῦτο μὲν in 21 D, without a
following δὲ clause.

14. οὐ κατὰ τοῦτος εἰσαι ἰδιωτὸς—‘an orator, but not after
their style’. ἰδιωτὸς is merely a variation for δεινὸς λέγειν. The mean-
ing is explained by 18 Α ἰδιωτὸς δὲ τάληθη λέγειν: the language
may be illustrated from Hdt. I. 121 πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσες
οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε—καὶ τῆς γυναίκας αὐτοῦ. Cf. Thuc. II.
62. 3 οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκίῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρεῖαν—ἀβης ἡ δύναμις
17 C  PLATO'S APOLOGY.

ϕαὐσται and Pl. Symp. 211 D υ δ κατὰ χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἐσθήτα καὶ
tοῦ καλοῦ πᾶδας—δίξει σοι εἶπα. υ δ κατὰ τούτος as Bäumlein
has shewn (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. vol. 93 p. 115 ff.) is inserted half-
parenthetically like μόνος πάνω in 21 B, or μάλα χαλεπῶς in Xen.
Hell. vi. 5. 13 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τείχου μᾶλα χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλθον.
[Muretus who misunderstood κατὰ declared υ δ to be spurious: v.
App. 2.]

16. ἢ τι ἢ οὐδέν—'little or nothing'. Xen. Cyr. vii. 5. 45
496 c ἢ γὰρ ποῦ τινι ἀλλα ἢ οὐδενι τῶν ἐμπροσθεν γέγονε (sc. τὸ
δαμόνιον σημεῖον). Cf. Pers. Sat. i. 3 vel duo vel nemo. Infr. 23 c
we have ὁλίγα ἢ οὐδέν.

ὑμεῖς δὲ μοι. As the antithesis is between οὕτω and μοι we
should expect ὡμοὶ δ' ἀκούσεσθε. But the antithesis is not pressed,
and the similarity of case is allowed to attract ὑμεῖς to the first place.
In this way additional emphasis is also thrown on τᾶσαν τὴν
ἄληθεν.

18. κεκαλλυστημένους γε λόγοις. κεκαλλυστημένους is here
passive. The "passive usage of deponents was avoided by good
writers in the present and imperfect tenses, and was not common in
the aorist, although in the perfect it was of frequent occurrence".
Rutherford's New Phrynichus p. 186. καλλυπετέθαμεν='to use fine
language': cf. Ar. Rhet. iii. 2. 1404b 16 ἐλ δούλοι καλλιεποίητο ἡ
λαυ νέος, ἀπεπετερων.

19. ἀστέρ ποι τούτων sc. κεκαλλυστηταί.

ῥήματι τι καὶ ὄνομασιν—'expressions and words'. So in Symp.
198 B τοῦ κάλλους τῶν ὄνοματων καὶ ῥήματων τις οὐκ ἐν ἐξε-
πλάγῃ ἀκοόων; ὄνοματα are names, ῥήματα expressions involving a
predicate. Thus in Crat. 399 A—B Δίφηλος is called an ὄνομα:
Δίτ φίλος ἡ ῥήμα. In Rep. v. 463 B the sentence το ἐμὸν εὖ πράττει
is also alluded to as a ῥήμα. The transition was easy to the gram-
matical use of ὄνοματα and ῥήματα=nouns and verbs, e.g. Plato
Soph. 262 A foll. and repeatedly in Aristotle (see following note)
and the grammarians.

20. κεκοσμημένους sc. with metaphors and tropes ) ( κέρια or
unmetaphorical words and expressions. Cf. Ar. Rhet. iii. 2. 1404b
4 foll. τῶν δ' ὄνοματων καὶ ῥήματων (nouns and verbs) σαφῆ μὲν
tοιετὶ τὰ κέρια, μὴ τακεωθὴν δὲ, ἀλλὰ κεκοσμημένην τὰλα ὄνοματα
δει ἐφαρμοσθαι ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς κτλ.

ἐκεῖ η λεγόμενα—ὄνομασιν. εκεῖ = temere hardly differs from τοῖς 17 C
NOTES ON

22. μηδές—προσδοκησάτω ἄλλως. ἄλλος i.e. that it is not just, that what I urge will not be just. On μὴ with 3rd s. of Aor. Imperative in prohibitions (a somewhat rare construction) v. Goodwin MT. p. 89.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν κτλ.: (apart from its being right) it would not be becoming either.

23. τῇ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ = ἔμοι τῇ ἡλικίῳ δικρίσαι. Hence πλάνευτοι (not πλαντεύομαι) by the construction κατὰ σύνεσιν. ὁ δὲ constantly = ἐμὸς as hic = meus.

24. ἐσίν ὑμᾶς. ὑμᾶς = δικαστάς = δικαστήριον as in Gorg. 531 C ἔστησα εἰς ἐλεημοσυνὴν. E. L. and S. S. V. εἰσέρχομαι.


28. ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν. These τραπεζαί are the tables or counters of money-changers and bankers set up in the market-place. They were a favourite resort of those who wished to see life. Hippias Minor 368 B ὁ γὰρ ποτὲ σου ἥκων μεγαλαυχουμένως, πολλὴν σοφίαν καὶ ζηλοτήν σαντού διεξόντος ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τὰς τραπεζαίς. Cf. Theophr. Char. 21 where it is said to be a trait in the character of the μικροφιλότιμος, τῆς μὲν ἀγορᾶς πρὸς τὰς τραπεζαίς προσφοιτοῦν κτλ.

Ἰα ὑμῶν πολλοὶ δικηθασί. Ἰα is rarely used in good Attic prose writers in the sense of 'where': it is so used occasionally in Plato, as here. Cf. also Soph. 243 B δρᾶς ἵν' ἐσμὲν αὐτοῦ πέρι τῆς ἀπολας. Phil. 61 B τινός ὁκεῖ.
from which the accuser and the accused spoke. This is more probable than to suppose with Cron and Wagner that the reference is to the elevated position of the court-house. Cf. note on 31 c ἀναβαίνων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος.

ητη γεγονὼς ἐβδομήκοντα. So in Latin natus septuaginta annos. From this it appears that Socrates was born in 469 B.C. [For the text v. App. 2.]

32. ἀτέχνως οὖν ξένως ξέω= 'I am literally a stranger to': ἀτέχνως = without art, empirically; ἀτέχνως = literally, absolutely: our 'simply' has both these meanings. In Ar. Av. 605 ἀτέχνως οἴδεις = 'literally nobody': v. also on 18 D ἀτέχνως ὦστερ. ξένως ξέω i. e. ὦστερ εἰμι.

τῆς ἐνθάδε i. e. τῆς δικαίως. What this style was is explained infra 34 b foll.

33. ὀστερ οὖν ἄν—ξυνεγγυνάσκετε δήθου ἄν. On the position and repetition of ἄν v. Goodwin MT. pp. 72, 73. A good example is Apol. 40 D.

ξένως = 'stranger', not 'resident alien' (μέτοικος).

34. φωνή = 'dialect'. Socrates does not mean to imply that a ξένως ever really appeared in person to plead his cause before an Athenian court.

35. καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν = οὕτω καὶ νῦν as in the similar sentence 18 A (Prot. 334 D) ὀστερ οὖν εἶ ἐτύγχανον ὑπόκωφος ἄν, οὗ ἂν χρῆναι—μείζον φθέγγεσθαι—, οὕτω καὶ νῦν κτλ. In both places νῦν is not 'now', but 'as it is', 'situated as I am'. νῦν δὲ (= Lat. nunc) is very common in this sense, e.g. Prot. 335 C ἀλλὰ σὲ ἐχρήν ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν—νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐθέλεις κτλ. Cf. infr. 20 B νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἀνθρώποι ἐστον et al.

36. δικαίων. Note the emphatic position of this adjective: 'I make this request of you, and in my opinion it is just'. Cf. infr. 41 C ἄν τι τοῦτο διανοεῖσθαι ἀληθὲς, δὴ κτλ. The adverb ἐκτός is sometimes placed at the end of a sentence with much the same effect, especially in Demosthenes.

40. αὐτῇ (i. q. τοῦτο) has for its antecedent αὐτὸ... μή. τοῦτο which would be the natural expression is attracted into the gender of the predicate ἄρετη. So in Phaedo 97 A ἐκεί δ' ἐπησιάσαν ἄλληλοις, αὐτῇ (sc. τὸ πλησιάσας ἄλληλοις) ἀρα αὐτὰ αὐτοίς ἐγένετο δυὸν γενέσθαι.
CHAPTER II.

1. δικαίως εἰμι ἀπόλ. = 'it is right that I should defend myself'.
So ἐπιτήδειος ἐπίθετος and other adjectives are used personally with Inf. where English prefers the impersonal mode of expression: v. Goodwin MT. p. 306.

3. ψεύδη κατηγ. So I now read, not ψευδή. ψεύδος, not ψευδής, is the opposite of ἀληθής: tr. 'the first lying accusations brought against me'.

5. ἡμῶν γὰρ—πάλαι. kal before πάλαι is 'even': 'even of old many men have accused me to you, talking now for many years and saying nothing true'. For kal 'even' followed by kal 'and' Müncher (Fleckesein's Jahrb. 1866 p. 821 foll.) quotes Lys. adv. Eratosth. § 61 ταύτα δὲ ἐπιστασθή μὲν καὶ αὐτόλ, καὶ οἶδ' δὲν κτλ. Cf. also infr. 28 A τολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἄγαθος and note. For the reverse change from kal 'and' to kal 'even' v. supra Apol. 17 C kal μεντοι καὶ πάνυ. [Others wrongly take καὶ πάλαι with λέγοντες.]

8 "Ἀνυτον. Anytus was the most influential of Socrates' accusers, v. Introd. p. xxvi. τοὺς ἄμφι 'Ἀνυτον= 'Anytus and his friends' (viz. Meletus and Lycon).

10. ἐκ παιδών = 'in your childhood'. This phrase is used when more than one individual is in question, e.g. Rep. III. 403 C, 395 C (εὐθὼς ἐκ παιδῶν). In Rep. VI. 494 B we find εὐθὼς ἐν παισίν. Where only one person is meant we generally have ἐκ παιδῶς, e.g. Rep. II. 374 C. ἐκ παιδῶν in Legg. I. 643 B is only an apparent exception: the one man there is typical of a class.

παραλαμβάνοντες = 'taking in hand' is used of taking a pupil in ALC. I. 121 ἐ τῶν παῖδα παραλαμβάνοντες σὺν ἑκείνῳ βασιλείου παιδαγωγοῦ ὀνομάζουσιν.

11. κατηγόρων μημον οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀλήθες = 'used to accuse me of what is nevertheless not true': οὐδὲν μᾶλλον sc. in spite of their efforts to persuade you. Cf. Symp. 214 A τοσοῦτον ἐκπιθυμόν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μῆποτε μεθυσθήν. Thuc. II. 62. 1 τῶν δὲ πόνων—μη γένηται τε πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον περιγενωμέθα. [The best MS has μᾶλλον οὐδέν v. App. 2.]

ὁς ἄτην τις Σωκράτης = 'that there is one Socrates'. τις is contemptuous: cf. Plato Symp. 210 D ἄγαθων παῖδαρου κάλλος ἂν-θρώπου τινὸς 'content with the beauty of a boy or of some poor mistress'. Gorg. 483 B ἄνδραπόδου τινὸς.
12. σοφὸς ἄνηρ. σοφὸς and its derivatives were often used ironically in Socrates' time: cf. Meno 75 C τῶν σοφῶν—καὶ ἐρωτικῶν καὶ ἀγωνιστικῶν and Ion 532 D σοφὸς μέν τοῦ ἑτερού οἷς ἦσσε οἷς ῥαψωδι καὶ ὁποκρητα κτλ. Here the epithet serves to identify Socrates with the so-called Sophists. Cf. infra 20 A where Evenus is called ἄνηρ Πάρως σοφὸς and Xen. Mem. II. i. 21 Πράδικος ὁ σοφὸς.

tá τε μετέωρα φροντισθῆς = 'one who speculates about the heavens'. The noun φροντισθῆς is here followed by the same case as the verb from which it comes. Cf. Charm. 158 C ἐξάρθη εἶναι τά ἑρωτόμενα and Aesch. Choeph. 23 χοᾶς προπομπὸς 'escorting the libations'. There is no sufficient reason for bracketing φροντισθῆς, as is done by A. v. Bamberg: τῶν ἑμῶν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν is a parallel expression in prose infr. 30 A. Similarly, in Xen. Symp. vi. 6, Socrates has the reputation of being τῶν μετέωρων φροντισθῆς: and to this contemptuous use of μετέωρος and its derivatives Plato alludes in Rep. vi. 488 E and 489 C, where he says the true pilot (analogous to the true philosopher in a state) will be called μετεωροσκόπος and ἀδολέσχις and μετεωρολέσχις by those who are ignorant of navigation: cf. also Eurip. Alc. 96a ff. ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ μοῦσας καὶ μετάφρασις ἦσαν καὶ πλεύστων ἵθεμα λόγων κρέασιν οὐδὲν ἀνάγκαση νόμον. Like σοφὸς, the term φροντισθῆς had an invidious meaning among some of Socrates' contemporaries, v. Aristophanes Nub. 456 and 1039: it was also a nickname of Socrates, Nub. 266: cf. Xen. Symp. vi. 6 ἀρα σοῦ, ὦ Σώκρατε, ὁ φροντισθῆσαι πεικαλοθμενὸς;

13. τά υπὸ γῆς, cf. Ar. Nub. 188 ἄγωναν οὕτω τὰ κατὰ γῆς. There are no good grounds for holding that Socrates was himself addicted to physical speculations, although he had studied astronomy to some extent (Xen. Mem. IV. 7. 4 foll.): he knew but disagreed with certain physical theories of Anaxagoras (ibid. 6—7). This charge completes the identification of Socrates with at least a section of the Sophists: v. Prot. 315 C, where Hippias expounds astronomy: ἐφαίνοντο δὲ περὶ φύσεως τε καὶ τῶν μετεώρων ἀστρονομικὰ ἄττα διερωτῶν τὸν Ἰππίαν, ὁ δ' ἐν θρόνῳ καθήμενος ἐκάστου αὐτῶν διέκρινε καὶ διεξήγε τὰ ἑρωτήμενα.

tὸν ἰμπτόν λόγον κρείττον ποιῶν. This was one of the stock charges against the sophistic rhetoric; cf. Ar. Nub. 112—115 ἄμωφο τῷ λόγῳ, τὸν κρείττον δοσίς ἐστι, καὶ τὸν ἰμπτοντα. τοῦτων τὸν ἔτερον τοῦ λόγου, τὸν ἰμπτον, μικάν λέγοντα φασὶ τάξικώτερα. Ibid. 889—1104 both λόγοι hold a contest on the stage and the ἄδικος λόγος wins. The
precise meaning of the expression is ‘making the worse appear the better cause’: ἡττων and κρεῖττων mean worse and better in point of justice or morality. See Ar. Nub. 1038—1040 and Arist. Rhet. ii. p. 321 (ed. Cope): also Cic. Brut. 30 and Zeller Philos. der Griechen ii. i. p. 181 note 1. λόγος does not here mean ‘reason’, but ‘cause’, as Cicero correctly takes it: the usual mistranslation ‘reason’ is probably due to the line in Paradise Lost (II. 113) ‘his tongue Dropt manna and could make the worse appear The better reason’.

18 C 15. οἱ δεισολ...καθήγοροι. The predicate has an article because these accusers have already been called δεισοτεροί (supra B).

17. οὐδὲ (ne—quidem) θεοῦς νομίζειν = “do not believe in gods either”: as if Plato had said οὐ μόνον ταῦτα γητεύν ἀλλ’ οὖν θεοῖς νομίζειν. οὐδὲ is used in much the same way infr. 21 D ὅπερ οὖν οὐκ οἴδα, οὐδὲ οἴομαι.

19. ἕτη δὲ καλ. καλ goes with ἕτη.

20. ἔν γὰρ φαλαστρὰ ἐπιστεύσατε. “In which ye would be” (iterative) “most ready to believe them.” ἔν with the aorist indicative denotes repetition v. Goodwin MT. p. 56. This view (Göbel’s) is better than to regard ἔν ἐπιστεύσατε as “expressing for the past what for the present or future would run ἔν γὰρ φαλαστρὰ πιστεύσατε” (Cron).

22. ἔρημην (sc. δικήν) ...οὐδενός = “being literally prosecutors in a case given by default, where there was no defendant”: for ἀτεχνῶς = ‘literally’ v. note on 17 D. Except in this phrase, the fem. of ἔρημος is generally like the masculine. There is no reason for regarding ἀπολογησάμοντι οὐδενός as spurious: other examples of tautology in the speech are 23 D ἀλλ’ ἄγνοιαν, 25 A οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἐκκλησιασταί, cf. 26 A, 30 B, 37 C, 40 B.

8 δὲ π. ἀλογ. sc. τοῦτ’ ἔστω, whence δτί. Sometimes δτί is omitted as in Symp. 220 A (cited by Cron) δ πάντων θαυμαστάτων, Σωκράτη μεθύναν ὀδηγεῖς πώτερ ἐωράκεις ἀνθρώπων: sometimes it is replaced by γὰρ e.g. Ar. Av. 514 δ δε εἰς ἅρυτον γ’ ἐστὶν ἀπάντων ὧν Ζεὺς γὰρ ὃ νῦν βασιλεῖς ἄτοι δριν ἐστηκεν ἕξων κτλ.

18 D 24. κωμῳδοσούσι i.e. Aristophanes cf. 19 C. Other comic poets (chiefly Amphisias and Eupolis) had also satirised Socrates upon the stage: v. Introd. pp. viii and ix. The form κωμῳδοσούσι rather than κωμῳδισούσι is supported by the authority of Moeris (κωμῳδισούσι Αττικῶς, κωμῳδισούσι Ελληνικῶς) and by Ar. Pax 734 (κωμῳδοσούσι). The form is etymologically incorrect: but some light is
perhaps thrown on it by the regular use of τραγῳδια for the exhibition of tragedies, cf. Ar. Av. 512 ἐν τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς and Kock's note. Wohlrab thinks the former κωμῳδοῖς may have owed its origin to the false analogy of κωμῳδισκάλος. See App. 2.

26. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πεπεισμένου = 'some it may be because they have been themselves convinced'. The natural form of this sentence would be δοὺς δὲ, οἱ μὲν...χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους πειθόντες, ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειθον. For οἱ δὲ and the like without a preceding οἱ μὲν cf. Theaet. 181 D δοὺς εἶδῃ κακόσεως, ἀλλὰ ωσὶν, τὴν δὲ φοβᾶτι, Soph. 248 A, Soph. O. T. 1229 δεῖ σα εὐθεῖα τὰ δ᾽ αὑτὰ ἐστὶ τὸ φῶς φανεῖ κακά. Analogous is ἐνιοί δ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ μετάκινα in C without preceding ἐνιοί μὲν.

27. ἀπορῶτατοι = 'the hardest to meet'.

28. ἐνταυθὸς sc. ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον which is expressed infr. 40 B. ἀναβιβάσασθαι is the causal corresponding to ἀναβηράω, v. supra on 17 D ἔπειτα δικαστήριον ἀναβιβάσθηκα.

29. ἀτεχνώς ὅσερ = 'literally as it were'. The phrase is frequent in comparisons: cf. Symp. 217 C ἀτεχνώς ὅσερ ἔραος παιδοκός ἐπιστυλεύων. See also infr. 30 B ἀτεχνώς—προσκειμένου κτλ. and cf. supra note on ἀτεχνώς οὖν ἔνωσ ἔχω 17 D.

σκιαμαχεῖν = 'fight with shadows', 'beat the air'. In Rep. 520 C ὑπὸ σκιαμαχοῦντων τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ σταυσάντων it means 'fighting for shadows'. Here τε joins the phrase σκιαμαχεῖν ἀπολογοῦμενοι τοῖς ἐπάγχειν. The ἐπάγχεια was a recognised portion of the defendant's speech: it follows infra 24 D ff.

31. ἀξιόσητος = 'believe': originally 'value'. The change of meaning is like that of the Latin existimo (ex-aestimo).

34. ἐκέινος i.e. τοὺς πάλαι. ἐκέινος (ille) is applied to those 18 ἔ more remote in point of time.

37. ἕν = 'very well' marks the transition to the real work of the defence. ἕν was pronounced ἐν with intervocalic aspiration as in ταῦτα εὐόλ ἐν. This is abundantly attested by ancient grammarians, as Uhlig has shewn (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1880 p. 790 foll.). Probably the word has nothing to do with εἴλω: for on such a theory its number and mood, no less than its pronunciation, can hardly be accounted for: it may be connected with εἶνα as ἐπείετο is with ἐπειτα. Cf. the Homeric εἶ ὅ δ᾽ ἔγε, if = εἴνα ἔγε (Monro Hom. Gr. p. 234).

39. συμβολήν = 'prejudice'.

ὑγχεῖν = 'conceived', not 'entertained'. The aorist ἐγκων means
3. Μελέτιος με γράφατο τὴν γραφήν ταύτην = 'Meletus drew up this indictment against me'. Meletus figured as Socrates' chief accuser, v. Introd. p. xxvi. γραφή is a criminal prosecution, undertaken in the name of the state: δίκη is the name for a private action. For the construction cf. Euthyph. 2 B τινα γραφήν σε γέγραπται;

4. ειλαυν v. on 18 a above.

6. εστι προς...αυτῷν = 'Well I must read their affidavit as it were and take them for formal accusers'. εστι qualifies κατηγόρων τὴν ἀντώμοσιν and ἀναγγέλων. At the preliminary part of a trial (ἀνάκρισις) both parties gave in a written declaration upon which they were sworn (ἀντωμοσία): cf. infr. 27 c ἐν τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ and note.

7. περιφράζεται = 'makes himself a nuisance', cf. τερπτότερον πραγματευομένου 20 c. περι- denotes that he meddles with too much or with more than the rest of mankind (τῶν ἀλλών 20 c), viz. physics and dialectic.

12. καιροδικείτω viz. the Clouds: see Introd. p. ix. foll.

Σωκράτη τινα = 'one Socrates' implies that the Socrates of the comedy was very different from the Socrates of real life.

περιφερόμενον = 'swinging about'. In Nub. 225 Socrates,
speaking from a ταρτόν or wicker-basket (ἔχειν ἀπὸ ταρτόν τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονείς; verse 226) says ἀεροβάτω καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἦλιον.

14. οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρόν. So in 21 B and 24 A. In 19 D we have ἡ μικρόν ἡ μέγα. For the position of πέρι (which belongs to ὁ) cf. Plato Legg. vii. 809 καὶ γραμμάτων εἴπομεν ὡς οὐκ ἰκανόν ἔχειν πέρι τὸ πρῶτον. περί and ἔνεκα are the only two prepositions that may follow their case in the best Attic prose.

15. οὐχ ὡς ἀτμμάζων: ironical. Cf. Xen. Mem. i. i. 11: Socrates was no physicist, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας τι τοιαῦτα μωραλίζοντας ἀπεδείκνυε. The study of physics, except in so far as it served some practical end, Socrates not only despised, but thought impious, v. Mem. iv. 7. 6 οὔτε χαρίζονται θεοὶ δι' ἣγείτο τὸν ἔστοιν, ἢ ἐκείνοι σαφεῖσθαι οὐκ ἔβολθήσαν.

17. τοσαῦτ' δίηκασ = 'so many charges': enough that I am accused of physical speculations and sophistry without being charged with pretending to despise what I have no knowledge of, i.e. with thinking that I know when I am ignorant: the gravest of all possible accusations, according to Socrates, v. infra ch. vi. foll. μη...φύγομι is the expression of a wish. [App. 2.]

18. ἀλλὰ γὰρ = 'but in point of fact'. Cf. Phaedr. 228 Α ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲτερὰ ἐστὶ τοῖς τοῦτοι. So infr. 20 C and 25 C. The phrase probably originated through an ellipse as if 'but (I do not speak of these things with contempt) for etc.'; but all consciousness of the ellipse had disappeared by Plato's time. Others say that γὰρ has its old meaning = γ' ἄρ' and there is no ellipse.

22. οἱ τοιοῦτοι sc. οἱ ἄκηκοστες.

25. τοιαῦτ' i.e. ψευδῆ.

τάλλα: not τάλλα because = η τάλλα: MSS however generally write τάλλα.

26. περὶ έμοῦ logically belongs to the following clause: it is attracted into the main sentence as so often in Greek.

CHAPTER IV.

1. οὔτε...οὔδέ γ'. We rarely find οὔτε followed by οὔδε and only when special emphasis is thrown on the second clause: here the emphasis is further intensified by γε. So Rep. vi. 490 B οὔτε πάλιν
4. "οὐδὲ τούτο—ne hoc quidem.

Here ἐτέλει = 'although', 'and yet' (quanquam). Its force is obscured by an ellipse: '(I wish it were) for etc.' Cf. Prot. 335 C ἔγω δὲ τὰ μακρὰ ταῦτα ἀδύνατος, ἐτέλει ἐπονόμη ὁ μὲν ὁ δὲ ἐπικρατεῖ and Symp. 188 A: see also infra note on 20 A. The use of ἐτέλει with imperatives is nearly akin e.g. Hipp. Min. 369 A ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὐρήσει—οὐ γὰρ ἦσσαν ἐτέλει σοὶ εἰπὲ 'for' (sc. if there is) 'you should name it'.

6. Γοργίας τε ὧν Δεοντίνως...Τιτιάς ὧν Ἡλάτως.

Gorgias of Leontini in Sicily first visited Athens in 427 B.C. at the head of an embassy sent to ask assistance against Syracuse. He shortly afterwards settled in Athens and delivered lectures (ἐπιστήμων) there and in other Greek towns for large sums of money. He died in Thessaly at the age of more than 100 years. We possess a considerable fragment of an Epitaphios or Funeral Speech written by him, as well as several shorter pieces of a very rhetorical nature. They shew that peculiar antithetical and ornate style of eloquence for which Gorgias was famous (Γοργιαῖα ῥήματα Xen. Symp. II. 26). In his philosophical views Gorgias was a sceptic: he occupied the same position in relation to the Eleatic school as Protagoras occupied in relation to the Heraclitean. (See on Gorgias the Appendix to Thompson's edition of Plato's dialogue bearing that name.)

Prodicus of Ceos (the birthplace of Simonides), junior by several years to Gorgias, was famous for his careful study of synonyms and synonymous expressions: see the amusing parody of his style in Prot. 337 A—C. He was very popular as a teacher and charged a heavy fee (Crat. 384 B): among his pupils we hear of Damon, Tharamenes, Euripides and Isocrates: even Socrates calls Prodicus his teacher, as he does Aspasia and Diotima, although probably he means no more than that he enjoyed the privilege of personal intercourse with them (Meno 96 D, Prot. 341 A: cf. Menex. 235 B and Symp. 201 D). The well-known apologue of Heracles at the cross-roads was one of Prodicus' most popular lectures (Xen. Mem. II. i 21 ff.).

Hippias of Elis, a contemporary of Prodicus, was one of the most learned of all the Sophists. We are left to infer that he had an extensive if not sound knowledge of Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Philology, Music, Mythology, History and Archaeology.
(Hipp. Major 285 B ff.): he also invented a system of mnemonics (μνημονικὸν τέχνην Hipp. Min. 368 D). On one occasion he is said to have appeared at Olympia with nothing on his person that he had not made himself (Hipp. Min. 368 B foll.).

8. ὅλος τ' ἵστιν...βούλανται. After ὅλος τ' ἵστιν we should expect the infinitive: instead of which we have the finite verb by the ἀνακολουθία common in a spoken speech. Cron points out that there is rhetorical force in the anakolouthon here: the audience might be led by ὅλος τ' ἵστιν to expect some other verb, for example παίδευειν; the shock of surprise thus lends additional effect to the really important point, which is expressed in τούτους πελώσαν.

9. οἶς ἔχοντι...βούλανται = 'who may associate with any of their fellow-citizens they like without paying a fee'. ξυνέδειν and ξυνοσία are used of the intercourse between pupil and teacher: cf. Theae. 151 Α δεόμενοι τῆς ἔμης ξυνοσίας......ἀποκολύει ξυνέδειν.

13. χάριν προσειδέναι: 'feel gratitude besides'. προσειδέναι is 20 A more emphatic than προσειδότας, which one might expect here.

ἐπελ κτλ. '(I could mention more) for etc.': 'for that matter there is also another wise man here from Paros' : v. on 19 B ἐπελ καὶ τούτο.

14. δυν ἡσθόμην. Socrates implies that he has not himself met Evenus. With the construction contrast 22 ἡ ἡσθόμην αὐτῶν...ολομένων. There the gen. is used because Socrates had met them himself.

16. ξύππαντες = 'all put together'.

Καλλικ τῷ Ἐπιδονικοῦ: Callias, son of Hipponicus, a rich and prodigal Athenian, was a great patron of the Sophists. Protagoras, Hippias, Prodicus and others appear as his guests in the amusing scene in the Protagoras 314 B ff. Callias spent all his money and died in poverty.

18. υἱὸς. υἱὸς in good Attic is declined in the singular according to the second declension (except gen. and dat. υἱὸς υἱὲ as well as υἱὸν υἱῷ): in dual and plural forms of the third declension are alone used υἱὲ (υἱά) υἱῶν υἱέων υἱῶν υἱῶν (Rutherford N. Phr. p. 142).

19. πάλαι ἡ μόσχῳ ἔγενεθην = 'had been born foals or calves'. So in Mem. iv. 4. 5 Socrates expresses surprise that it should be so hard to find a man to teach justice, when there is no lack of people ready to teach shoemaking, carpentry, riding, etc.
See also Lach. 184 D—E. In Prot. 319 E ff. and Meno 93 B ff. Socrates seeks to shew that πολιτικὴ ἀρετὴ cannot be imparted by teaching, otherwise Themistocles and Pericles and other great statesmen would surely have imparted it to their sons and wards.

20. δὲ ἐμελλεν = 'who might have been expected to'. ἐμελλεν is still part of the conditional sentence, cf. ἐτεθράμμη supra 18 A and ἐμελλον in 38 B.

20 B 23. νῦν δὲ = 'but as it is', cf. supra on 18 A.

25. ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς: for as Aristotle says (Pol. I. 1. 1253 a 2) ἀνθρωπὸς φύσει πολιτικὸν ἄνθρωπον.

28. Εὔηνος...πέντε μνήμ. Note the brevity and symmetry of the answer. Evenus was a sophist who attained some distinction as a poet (Phaedo 60 D: for some of his elegies v. Bergk Poet. Lyric. Gr. II. p. 269 ff.) and rhetorician (Phaedr. 261 A). There were two poets of this name: the one here mentioned is probably the younger of the two.

30. ἵχων...διδάσκων. The weight of the authority is now known to be in favour of the optative in both verbs. Grammatically, either the indicative or the optative is defensible, since in Indirect speech Greek retains or changes the moods of the Direct according as the meaning is to be put more or less vividly. Goodwin MT. pp. 256, 257.

31. ἐμελέσως i.q. μετρίως here = 'at a moderate fee'. For ἐμελέως = 'cheaply' cf. ἐμελέστατα = 'smallest' Legg. vi. 760 A.

33. δὲ λ’ οὐ γὰρ ν. on 19 C.

CHAPTER V.

2. τὸ σῶν...πρᾶγμα = 'But what is your profession?' sc. as opposed to that of the Sophists: hence τὸ σῶν is put in the place of emphasis. For πρᾶγμα = 'profession', 'business', cf. Theaet. 168 B ἀντὶ φιλοσόφων μουσικὸς τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα (sc. τὴν φιλοσοφίαν) ἀποφαίνει: so also Phaed. 61 C. Others translate 'how is it with you?' comparing Crito 53 C, but πραγματευομένου and ἐπαρτές fix the meaning here as = 'profession'.

4. οὐ γὰρ δῆτον...πραγματευομένου. This is not a conditional clause, as οὐδὲν shews: tr. 'for surely all these stories and reports
have not grown up about you while you have been doing nothing
more than other people'.

5. περιττότερον πραγματευομένου v. on περισχάζεται supr.
19 B. Church translates 'engaged in some pursuit out of the
common'.

ἐπίσταται = tamen: cf. Aesch. Eum. 653—654 τὸ μητρὸς αἱμ' δαιμόνι
ἐκχέοι πέδοι, ἐπιτρέπτει ἐὰν 'Ἀργει δώματι οἰκήσει πατρός; Phaed. 70 B
ἀνάγκη ποῦ εἰς ἐλάττων ὄντος προτέρου ἐπιτρέπτα μείζων γλύπτεται;
See also on εἰς ὁδόν—ἀποκλίνει 28 B infra.

6. ἐὰν μὴ τι...οἷοι πολλοὶ = 'unless you were doing something
different from the majority of men': not 'unless you had been doing'.
This sentence presents the fact expressed in οὐδὲν...περιττότερον
πραγματευομένου in a slightly different light: while περιττόν is quan-
titative, ἄλλοιον is qualitative. [Some critics reject the clause: v.
Appendix 2.]

8. περὶ σοι αὐτοσχεδίαξομεν = 'judge you unadvisedly'. The
verb αὐτοσχεδίαζω means 'to act or speak offhand', e.g. Phaedr. 236 D
αὐτοσχεδίαζων περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν = 'extemporising': Xen. Mem. III.
5. 21 τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οἱ πλείστοι αὐτοσχεδίαζονσιν: hence
speak, think, decide hastily or unadvisedly, e.g. Euthyphro 16 A
οὐκέτα ὡς ἄγνολας αὐτοσχεδίαζω.

14. διὰ όμοιον ἄλλην ἂν διὰ = non nisi propter. ἄλλην is of course 20 D
ἄλλην: its connection with ἄλλος is clearly seen in this phrase (cf.
Lat. ceterum). ἄλλην ἂν = nisi: so infra 34 B τίνα ἄλλον ἔχωσι λόγον—
ἄλλην ᾧ. Where the notion of difference needs emphasizing, we find
ἄλλον ἂν, e.g. 29 A infr. οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν ἂν δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι.

15. ἐσχήκα=have obtained, cf. note on ἐσχήκει supr. 19 A. Cron
cites Phaedr. 241 B νοῦν ἂν ἐσχήκης καὶ σεσωφορηκὼς.

πολαὶ δῇ σοφίαν ταύτην = πολὰ δῇ ἐστιν ἂν σοφία αὐτῇ; For the
dropping of διά cf. Polit. 283 C περὶ δῇ τούτων αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος—
ὁρθὸς ἄν γλυπτο. τίνων; where τίνων = περὶ τίνων, and for the
accusative cf. Rep. IX. 588 B εἰκόνα πλάσαντες τῆς ψυχῆς—Ποιαν
tώδε; Meno 73 E.

16. ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία = 'the wisdom possible to man'. Socrates
professed to study only ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροις κακῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τε τέτυκται
(Diog. Laert. II. 21).

18. μάλιστα τινὰ καὶ ἀνθρωπον σοφίαν = 'a wisdom too great 20 E
for man'. Socrates held that man cannot know external nature and
should not try to (Mem. IV. 7. 6): if we would foreknow any of its
phenomena, we are to betake ourselves to divination (ibid. 10).
19. ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τι λέγω—‘or I know not how to describe it’. An ironical way of hinting that it is no wisdom at all.

20. ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἐμῇ—‘to raise a prejudice against me’. ἐμῇ stands for the objective genitive. Cf. Gorg. 486 οὐν θεά γαρ ἐρῶ τῇ ἑα σῇ.

21. μὴ θορυβήσῃς sc. now, διὸ δέξῳ τι υμῖν μέγα λέγεις. In 21 a and 30 c μὴ θορυβεῖτε is used, because (Goodwin MT. p. 89) the request is more general: but see Cl. Rev. IX. pp. 145—149.

22. μέγα λέγειν—‘talk big’, ‘speak arrogantly’: Soph. Aias 386 μηδὲν μέγεν ἐπειδὴ: Phaed. 95 b μη μέγα λέγε. So μέγα φροσειν—‘be proud’.

οὗ γαρ ἐμὸν ἔρω τὸν λόγον. There is probably an allusion to a line in Euripides’ lost tragedy called Μελανίπτης ἡ σοφή. Cf. Sympos. 177 Α μὴ μὲν οὖν ἄρχῃ τὸν λόγον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφραιδίου Μελανίπτην· οὗ γαρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλὰ Φαληροῦ τοῦτο. The line is κοῦκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλὰ ἐμὴς μυθῶς πάρα (Dindorf Poet. Sc. Graeci p. 327, Frag. 488).

23. ἄξιοχρεων i.q. ἄξιότιστων. Note the order ἄξιοχρεων τὸν λέγοντα (so ἐμὸν τὸν λόγον, cf. also infra 31 c λεγον...τὸν μάρτυρα). The expression is equivalent to ἄξιοχρεων ἢστὶν ὁ λέγων ἐς δὲ ἀνολος.

24. τῆς γαρ ἐμής sc. σοφίας, but Socrates avoids the appearance of arrogance by substituting εἰ δὴ τὶς ἐστὶ σοφία, ‘if it be wisdom of a sort’.

25. καὶ οἷα recalls πολὺ supra D.

26. Χαιρεφῶντα γαρ λοτε ποὺ=‘I suppose you remember Chaerephon’. Chaerephon was dead: so that λοτε (for which Herwerden suggested ὅστε) is not ‘know’, but ‘know about’, ‘remember’. For other examples of the introductory γαρ (by derivation = γε ἀρpaletteμα = well then’) v. infr. 21 a, 24 b, 30 c and 31 b. It is especially frequent after τεκμήριον δέ, σημείων δέ and the like. The Latin equivalent is enim, e.g. Cic. de Fin. III. 59 quod efficitur hac etiam conclusionis rationis: quoniam enim etc.

Chaerephon was a warm friend of Socrates (Xen. Mem. I. 2. 48, v. also Charm. 153 b Χαιρεφών δὲ ἄτε καὶ μανικοὶ ὁι, ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ μέσων θεῖοι πρὸς με καὶ μου λαβήμενος τῆς χειρός, ὥς Σύκρατες, ἦ δ’ δε, πῶς ὑπὸθεῖ ἐκ τῆς μάχης;) and an enthusiastic student of philosophy (Ar. Nub. 501 foll.). Xenophon tells us he was one of those who sought the society of Socrates to improve his own moral character and not to acquire oratorical and forensic skill. In Ar.
Nub. 103—104 he is coupled with Socrates as one of the ωχρωντες and ἄνωτόροι: in the Birds (1564) he is nicknamed νυκτέρις or ‘bat’ on account of his thin voice (Teuffel on Nub. 104).

28. τῆς πλήθες, i.e. the democratic party. Cf. Polit. 291 D ή τοῦ 21 Α πλήθους ἄρχης, δημοκρατία τοῦτον κληθείσα. Chaeerephon was almost the only member of the Socratic circle who was genuinely attached to the Athenian democracy, v. Zeller Philos. der Griechen II. 1, p. 188.

πόλεος τε (sc. ἤν) καὶ. πόλεος of political partisanship as in Gorg. 510 A τῆς ὑπαρχοσῆς πολιτεᾶς πόλεως εἶναι. For the construction cf. Phaedo 69 B μὴ σκιαγραφή τις ἢ τοιαύτη ἄρετή καὶ τῷ δοτε ἀνδρον ὁδόν τε (sc. ἤ) καὶ οἶδεν οὖν ὅτι ἄληθεν ἔχοντα καὶ Theaet. 158 B. [App. 2.]

τὴν φυγήν ταύτην. In 404 B.C., after Athens was captured by Lysander, began the tyranny of the Thirty. Fifteen hundred citizens were summarily put to death: more than 5000 went into exile. In the following year the exiles under Thrasybulus defeated their opponents and returned to Attica through the mediation of King Pausanias (whence μεθ’ οὖν κατηλέθε: κατέρχομαι is regularly used of returning from exile). ταύτην = ‘the recent’.


καὶ δὴ τοὺς καί = ‘So once he went to Delphi’. καὶ δὴ καὶ is here used to introduce an example of his vehemence: cf. supra 18 A.

31. τοῦτο μαντεώσασθαι. τοῦτο refers forward to ἤρετο γάρ κτλ.

32. διερέει λέγω = ‘as I said’ supra 20 E. The present is common in phrases of this kind. So supr. 17 B ὀφελοῦσε ἐγὼ λέγω: infr. 33 C ὃς ἔγα θείμ.

33. ἤρετο γάρ v. supr. on 20 E Χαιρεφῶντα γάρ ἄτοτε που. The γάρ is not to be translated.

ἀνέλειν οὖν κτλ. ‘So the priestess answered’. οὖν does not refer back to μάρτυρα οὖν παρέξον σοῦ τὸν θεόν (20 E) as Cron thinks: it merely continues the narrative. So 20 A τοῦτον οὖν ἀνηρέομαι: Phaed. 59 E ἐλεύθερος οὖν κατελαμβάνομεν τὸν μὲν Σωκράτη κτλ. Neither the oracle given by the Scholiast on Ar. Nub. 144 (σοφος Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ’ Εὐρυπίδης) nor that in Diog. Laert. II. 5. 37 (ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντησιν Σωκράτης σοφώτατος) has any claim to be considered genuine: but there is of course no doubt as to the story itself, although Athenaeus v. 218 E refuses to believe it. Cf. also Plut.

A. P.
adv. Colot. p. 116 E. On the effect of this oracle upon the life and profession of Socrates see Introd. p. vii.

35. δοῦλος, viz. Chaerecrates (Xen. Mem. II. 3. 1).

CHAPTER VI.

2 I B 1. μᾶλλο γάρ. This clause explains ὡν ἐνεκα: γάρ should not be translated.

5. οὕτω μέγα οὕτω σμικρόν ν. on 19 C.

6. σοφὸς ὡν. This might have been σοφὸς ὡν. Cf. 22 c ἐμωντὶ γάρ ἦν ἤδη οὐδὲν ἡπισταμένῳ.

7. λέγει φαντάζων =‘mean by asserting’. λέγω often =‘I mean’, e.g. Ar. Eq. 1059 τὸ τούτο λέγει. Infr. 21 B τὸν χρησμὸν τὸ λέγει. φαντάζων (often =‘pretending’) conveys a slight feeling of distrust.


10. μόνη πάνυ =‘with great reluctance’: ν. on 17 B οὐ κατὰ τούτους.

2 I C 13. τὸ μαντεῖον =‘the oracle’, not ‘the response’, as τῷ χρησμῷ shews.

14. σύ δὲ ὶν ἄρησθαι. The χρησμὸς is personified, as λόγος so often is in Plato.

15. ὑπόματι =‘by name’: Xen. Anab. I. 4. 11 τόλι...Θάψακος ὑπόματι.

16. πρὸς οὖν goes with ἐπαθὼν, not of course with σκοτῶν. Cron compares Gorg. 485 B ὅμοιότατον πᾶσα κρῖντος πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας ὅπερ πρὸς τοὺς ψελλιζομένους καὶ παλατοῦντας.

17. καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, ἐδοξῆ μοι. After διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ we should expect ἑγὼν, ‘I observed’, or the like. ἐδοξῆ μοι is put instead of a not infrequent anacoluthon. Cf. Legg. III. 686 D ἀποβλέψεις γάρ πρὸς τούτων τὸν στόλον...ἐδοξῆ μοι καὶ γαλανός τε εἶναι κτλ., Xen. An. III. 2. 12 εὐχάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι...ἐδοξῆν αὐτοῖς. [App. 2.]

2 I D 22. ἐντεῦθεν =‘by so doing’, inde.

I thought to myself 'I am wiser than this man'" (Church).

25. καλὸν καγαθὸν. In good Attic we always find καλὸς καγαθὸς (whence καλοκαθαθία and the late καλοκαθαθηκός) not καλὸς καλ ἀγαθὸς. Plato and other writers occasionally use καλὸς τὲ καγαθὸς. The phrase is generally used of persons in Plato: more rarely as here of things: cf. Gorg. 518 C οὐκ ἐπαλοντας καλὸν καγαθὸν σοδεν. In Socrates' time the name καλὸν καγαθὸς was a frequent appellation of the oligarchical party (see Xen. Hell. II. 3. 12: Thuc. viii. 48 τοὺς τὲ καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ἀθημαζομένους: Pl. Rep. viii. 569 a τῶν πλούσιων τὲ καὶ καλῶν καγαθῶν λεγομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει), just as in the days of Theognis the words 'good' and 'bad' were applied 'not with reference to any ethical standard, but to wealth as contrasted with poverty—nobility with low birth—strength with weakness—conservative and oligarchical politics as opposed to innovation' (Grote III. p. 45 note 3). The expression was laid hold upon by Socrates and his followers, and used by them as an epithet of praise, not for political views,—for Socrates was no politician,—but for moral excellence. It is very probable that the habitual use of καλὸς καγαθὸς by Socrates as a term of commendation aggravated the suspicion that he favoured the oligarchical party and so contributed indirectly to his condemnation and death. See Introd. p. xxv.

27. ὡσπορ ὡν = 'as in point of fact'. So Phaedr. 242 E εἶ δ' ἔστιν, ὡσπορ ὡν ἔστι θεὸς.

ηομά γον = 'I seem at any rate'. It is not necessary to read γ' ὡν with Cron and Göbel.

29. εἰ μη οἰδα. μη not οὐκ because this is a conditional relative sentence: Goodwin MT. p. 198.

30. ἕα: this and not ἕαι is the only good Attic form of the 1st Sing. Imperfect of εἶμι: v. infra on 36 C.

CHAPTER VII.

2. δτι τεπηχθανόμην depends on αἰσθανόμενοι: 'perceiving both 21 F with pain and apprehension, that I was making enemies'. Others (less correctly) refer δτι to all three verbs. [App. 2.]

3. ὡμοὶ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδεκα = δμοὶ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον γνωμένοι εἰναι, but the use of the finite verb where we should expect the participle
to balance αἰσθανόμενος μὲν imparts a colloquial air to the sentence. Cron compares Lach. 196 E τοῦτο δὲ λέγω οὐ παίζων, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον οἴμαι: v. also infr. 29 E, 36 A.

5. Ιηέων οὖν. 'So I must go'. Socrates vividly represents the necessity (ἀναγκαῖον line 3) of the case by using the direct form, as if he were addressing himself. Cf. Xen. Hell. i. 1. 27 παρύνεσαν ἄδρας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, μεμημένους δόσας τε ναυμαχίας ... νεικήκατε κτλ. Cf. also infr. 27 A ἄρα γνώστεται.

6. ἐπὶ τὸν κόνα. We are told that Socrates swore by the dog, the goose, and the plane-tree ἵνα μὴ θεοῦς ὁμνή (Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. vi. 257 ad fin.); but v. infr. 24 E ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡραν, from which it is clear that his conscience did not forbid him to swear by gods too. We also hear of people swearing by λάχανα (Suidas s. v. Ὁραμάκανθος ὄρκος), κράμβη, κάπταρις the caper-plant (Athen. ix. 370 B and C), and ἀμυγδαλῆ the almond (Eupolis Bάπτας Frag. vii ed. Mein.). This style of oath was called Ὁραμάκανθος ὄρκος. The oath was supposed to date from times of primitive piety: according to the Scholastic on Ar. Av. 521 Rhadamantys would not allow his subjects to swear by the gods, but commanded them to swear by the goose, the dog, the ram, and the like: cf. Cratinus Frag. 238 ὁς ἦν μέγιστος ὄρκος ἀπαντά λάγῳ κόνων ἐπεύτα χήν, θεοὺς δ' ἐσιγων. Becker (quoted by Kock on Ar. Av. 521) thinks χήν may have been substituted for Ζήνα so as to get the relief of swearing without incurring the sin: every one is familiar with such devices. But this theory will not explain μὰ τὸν κόνα, τὴν κράμβην and the rest. Porphyry (De Abstinentia iii. 16) sees in Socrates' manner of swearing a recognition of the common soul animating everything that lives. It is probable that the oath was originally connected with some kind of animal worship, but there is no proof that it came from Egypt, as has been inferred from Gorg. 482 B μὰ τὸν κόνα, τὸν Ἀλυττίλων θεόν, where τὸν Ἀλυττίλων θεόν is merely an 'epitheton ornans' of the dog. [See besides Archil. Frag. 108 and Bergk in loc.: also Urlichs' Chrestomathia Pliniana p. 8.]

22 A

8. ἡ μὴν. This particle (≡ Homeric ἡ μὲν) is only used in strong asseverations and oaths.

οὐ μὲν μᾶλλον. Asyndeton is regular in explanatory clauses of this kind: cf. 22 D, 25 B, and 39 C.

9. ὄλγον δέην v. on 17 A supra. ὄλγον δέην followed by τοῦ πλείστου ἐνδεικτικὸς εἶναι (sc. πρὸς τὸ φρονίμως ἐξειν) has the effect of an oxymoron. Cf. infra on τῷ δεῖσθαι βιαζομαι 35 D.
10. κατά τόν θεόν here and in 23 B='as the God commanded'.

11. ἐπικλέστερον...ἐχαν='to be better fitted for knowledge', i.e. to fall less short of it. Socrates means: I found common people somewhat more alive to their own ignorance, and so more nearly wise.

13. τόνοις τινὰς πονοῦτος 'tanquam Herculis alterius', Forster. πονοῦτος because τὴν ἐμὴν πλάνην = τὴν πλάνην μου. So in Latin: 'nostros vidisti flentis ocellos' (Ovid Her. v. 45).

14. ἵνα...γένοιτο='that my oracle might be made absolutely irrefutable'. ἵνα depends on πονοῦτος, which is equivalent to an imperfect, hence γένοιτο. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 252. Socrates expresses the result of his mission as if it had been its aim. Cron compares Hom. Od. xviii. 53—54 ἀλλὰ με γαστὴρ ὑπονεῖ κακοεργός, ἵνα πληγύσῃ δαμεῖω. Compare the use of 'ut' in Cic. pro Murena § 21 Aferis tam diu, ut, cum longo intervallo veneris, cum his, qui in foro habitant, de dignitate contendas? [App. 2.]

γάρ v. supra on 20 B Χαίρειτον γάρ λατε του.

16. διθυράμβων. The dithyramb was a hymn in honour of Dionysus, accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute. It was the kernel out of which Tragedy grew: but it continued to flourish side by side with tragedy till the time of Alexander. In Plato's time Cinesias was one of the leading dithyrambic poets: from the high-flown style of his school διθυράμβωδης came to signify 'bombastic' (Plato Crat. 409 c. Cf. Ar. Av. 1372 ff.).

20. πεπραγματεύσαται passive. Cf. on 17 b supr. κεκαλ. 22 b λεητμένους.

δεηρῶτων ἄν = 'I would ask', Goodwin MT. p. 56.

23. ως ἔγος γάρ ἔλειν qualifies ἔλγον ἔπαινες. Cf. on 17 A. Göbel needlessly brackets ἔλγον as a gloss on ως ἔγος ἔλειν.

24. οἱ παρόντες sc. τότε, not νῦν, otherwise we should expect ἐλέγεες. ἀν ἔλεγον = 'would have spoken', not 'used to speak', as Cron takes it.

αὐτοὶ sc. οἱ ποιηταὶ.

25. ἤγγω = 'I remarked', 'I observed', as in Prot. 335 A ἔγγων γάρ οἷς ἤρεεν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ and infra 33 D.


ποιεῖν. For ποιεῖν = 'make poetry' cf. Rep. ii. 379 A παρ' οὐς
27. φόσοι τιν καὶ ἐνθουσάζοντες= 'by a sort of instinct and inspiration'. φόσοι implies that the poet is a mere unconscious vehicle of communicated ideas, cf. Ion 533 D ff. where we are told that the poet is not έμφρων, but ἐνθεός and κατεχόμενος: like the magnet which not only itself attracts rings, but also communicates to them magnetic power, so the poet imparts inspiration to those who declaim or act his poetry, rhapsodists, choristers, etc. (ibid. 533 E, 536 A). Elsewhere Plato tells us that poesy like love and prophecy is a species of madness (Phaedr. 245 A, Legg. IV. 719 C): that the poet is destitute of νοῦς, and can only boast the inferior virtue which is called δημοτική δρετή (Meno 99 D—Ε. Cf. Archer-Hind’s Phaedo, App. i). Like the oracle-monger, the seer, and the politician whose success is attained through correct opinion and not knowledge, the poet is θεῖος τις: God and not the poet is responsible for the productions of his Muse. On the ground that poetry is only an imitation of imitation (Rep. x. 598 Β—602) Plato banishes the drama altogether from his ideal state, and only allows epic and lyric poetry under the most stringent conditions, both as to matter and form (Rep. III. 397 D ff., X. 607 A ff.).

28. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω. καὶ goes with οὕτω.

31. ήσθόμην αὐτῶν...ολομένων ι. supra on 20 Α: δι' ἐγὼ ἠσθόμην ἐπιθημεῦτα.

32. ἀνθρώπων part. gen. For the omission of the article cf. Theaet. 148 Β ἀριστά γ' ἀνθρωπών, Io 530 C and 533 C κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων.

33. ἕσσαν sc. σοφοί. Oliver Wendell Holmes in ‘The Poet at the Breakfast-Table’ makes a similar remark, “You poets... have one thing about you that is odd. You talk about everything as if you knew more about it than the people whose business it is to know all about it”. Epic and dramatic poets frequently have occasion to employ the language of the arts: hence they come to believe that they can rival the special expert (τεχνοῦς ἀνήρ) on his own ground. That this is the meaning is clear from Ion 537 A ff., 541 Β ff.
CHAPTER VIII.

2. οὐδὲν...ὅς ἔσος ἐπείν v. on 17 A.

ξυνήθη οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ v. on 21 B for the construction. The forms ἔδω ἔδωσα on ἔδω ἔδει(v) are the only correct forms of the sing. imperf. of ὁδα in Attic: the terminations are contracted from -ea εἰσαθα (-eas) -ee(v), the first and third of which are found regularly in Homer and Hdt. (ἔδεα = ἔδει(σ)α = videram). The same rule holds for the singular of all pluperfects active. See Rutherford’s New Phryn. 229: Gustav Meyer Griech. Gr. 493: Schanz Vol. xii. p. xiii. [Here the Bodleian has ξυνήθεων and ἔδεων but infra ἀποπεφύγη 36 A.]

3. δὲ γε. γε emphasises τοῦτος. So 24 C ἐγώ δὲ γε. 22 D

4. εὐφρήσουμε = εὐφρησο of the Direct: this is the regular use of the fut. opt. Goodwin MT. p. 43.

8. ἔπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς = ‘as the poets also’. Phileb. 61 B ἔσπερ καὶ καὶ ἄριστα. καὶ ὁ ἄγαθος δημιουργός = ‘even the good craftsmen’. This is added as a kind of afterthought. [App. 2.]

9. διὰ τὸ κτλ. v. supr. on 22 A οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον.


11. ἀπεκρυπτεῖν = ‘threw into the shade’.

12. ὅστε με. So the Bodleian ms. The editors generally 22 E write ὅστ’ ἐμι, but Cron points out that ὅστε με ἀνερωτᾶν is like ὅστε ἄνερωτων, while ὅστ’ ἐμὲ resembles ὅστε ἐγὼ ἄνερωτων.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρησμοῦ = ‘on behalf of the oracle’, not ‘about the oracle’. ὑπὲρ in the sense of περὶ is hardly found in Plato: it is tolerably common in Aristotle.

15. ἀμφότερα sc. τὴν τε σοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἁμάθλαν.

17. λυσιτελεῖ. The Bodleian has λυσιτελεῖ: but v. Rutherford New Phryn. p. 443 foll. According to Rutherford, the Athenians of Plato’s time used the long forms (-ολην etc.) in the singular optative of contracted verbs, and the short forms (-οίμεν etc.) in the plural. Although in very many cases the best mss of Plato do undoubtedly present the short form in the singular, yet here the change is so slight that I follow less good mss and read -εἰ. The indicative seems more natural and direct, v. on 20 B εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει.
CHAPTER IX.

1. ἐξετάσεως. ἐξετάζω and its derivatives are regularly used of the Socratic cross-examination. Cf. infra. 23 C: 38 άμαντόν καὶ διὸ νομίζοντο, ὅ δέ ἐν εἰσέκαστος βλέπον βιωτός ἀνθρώπῳ.


5. οὖν ότι τούτω...εἶναι. The natural balance to πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπεχθεισαὶ would be οὖν ότι τούτῳ καλοῦμαι. Instead of this the clause with ότι is placed in the infinitive by attraction to ὡστε γεγονέναι. οὖν ότι is the adverbial acc. =‘by name’ (Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 215. 1), so that οὖν ότι λέγεσθαι = διομάζεσθαι: τούτῳ is the nom. referring forward to σοφὸς. In the absence of the article τούτῳ must not be taken with ότι. For σοφὸς we should expect the acc. σοφῶν: but σοφὸς is put by a sort of κατὰ σύνεσιν construction, since πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπεχθεισαὶ μοι γεγόνασι = πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπεχθῆς γέγονα. Finally, the εἶναι after σοφὸς is redundant: this redundancy is frequent with words signifying ‘to name’, cf. Phaed. 102 C έπωνυμίαν ἔχει σμικρός τε καὶ μέγας εἶναι and Lach. 192 A τι λέγεις τούτῳ, δὲ τὰ πάντα οὖν μάζεις ταχυτῆτα εἶναι; On the word σοφὸς v. supra. on 18 B.

8. τὸ δὲ...τῷ δυντὶ =‘whereas in very truth’. In Plato τὸ δὲ often means ‘but in point of fact’. Cf. infra. 39 C and Rep. 1. 340 D. In this phrase τὸ is demonstrative: in point of syntax it is (I think) the acc. in apposition to the sentence. Here it is strengthened by τῷ δυντὶ as it is elsewhere by διάθετα γε (Legg. v. 731 E). With the sentiment cf. Symp. 203 B θεῶν οὕνεις φιλοσοφεῖ οὐδ’ ἐπιθυμεῖ σοφὸς γενέσθαι: ἐστὶ γὰρ.

10. ἀλλιώς τινὸς καὶ οὐδεστὸς =‘little or nothing’. καὶ is corrective = atque. Cf. Cic. Orat. xvi. 52 rem difficilem...atque omnium difficillimam (Cron).

11. φανεραίος τούτῳ ὁ λόγον τὸν Ἐσκράτη κτλ. =‘he appears not to say this of Socrates, but to have made use of my name therein’ (προς-, i.e. for the purposes of the oracle), ‘because he took me as an example’. τούτῳ viz. τὸ σοφὸν εἶναι. Socrates skilfully escapes from the odium of the oracle by interpreting it to mean ‘Human
wisdom is absolutely worthless: at best it is no more than the confession of ignorance.' [The best MSS read τοῦτο: τοῦτο has also slight MS authority. The emendation τοῦν oδ is due to F. A. Wolf. For other (less correct) views on this passage v. App. 3.]

13. ἕστηκεν δὲν σὲ ἐμὲ παραδείγμα παοῖτο. So infra. 27 & ὀμολογεῖ 23 B γὰρ ἂν ἄτοκον ἔτη, ὕστερον ἂν (sc. ἄτοκον ἔτη) εἶ τὶς—ήγοιτο κτλ.

16. ταῦτα—διὰ ταῦτα is frequent in Plato and Aristophanes. Cf. Symp. 174 A, Protag. 310 E ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἦκν παρὰ σέ. It is more often found with ἀρα, e.g. Nub. 319 ταῦτ' ἀρ' ἀκόσασαν αὐτῶν τὸ φθέγγα ἡ ψυχὴ μου πετάγηται.

17. κατὰ τὸν θεόν ν. supr. on 22 A.

καὶ τῶν ἀντιῶν καὶ ξένων. For the omission of the article Riddell compares Phaedo 85 A ἡ τε ἀνθών καὶ χειλίων: τρ. 'if I think any one wise, citizen or stranger'.

19. ἐνδεικνυόμαι = 'prove' as in 29 D.

22. πενθα μυριά. Socrates in Xen. Oec. ii. 3 values all his possessions at 5 minae (about £20). Cf. infra 37 C οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι χρήματα, ὄπως ἐκτισά: 38 B λοιπὸν δ' ἂν δυναμην ἐκτίσαι υμᾶν μιᾶν ἄρηρου.

τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν 'my service to God'. Contrast 30 A τὴν 23 C ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν.

CHAPTER X.

3. αὐτοματοι (=sua sponte) belongs to ἐπακολουθοῦντες.

5. εἶτα ἐπιχειροῦσιν = 'and go and try to'. εἶτα introduces no new statement, but only an explanation of ἐμὲ μμαίρονται. Cf. καπείτα in Crat. 411 B αἰ ὅλυγοισι καπείτα αὐτοῖς φανεραὶ περιφέρεσθαι τὰ πράγματα. For εἶτα (ἐπιτεύχθα) used (as here) where we should expect κατα (καπείτα) cf. infra 31 A ύμείς δ' ἰσως—ραδίως ἂν ἀποκτείνατε, εἶτα—καθευδοντες διατελοῦτε ἂν and Theaet. 151 C ὅλον ἄρα σκοπούμενος τι ὄν ἂν λέγωσι ἡγήσωμαι εἴδωλον...εἶτα ὑπεξαίρωμαι καὶ ἀποβάλλω κτλ.

8. ὅλγε ἡ ὁδὴν. Cf. supra on 17 B ἡ τι ἡ ὁδὴν.

10. ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτοῖς. Cf. Rep. v. 480 A φιλοσόφους ἀλλ' οὗ 23 D 7 φιλοδόξους κλητέον. ἀλλά = Eng. 'and' is regular in antitheses of this kind. The true seeker after knowledge will blame himself for the confusion and distress (ἀνορία) caused by the Socratic elenchus

14. τά κατὰ πάντων τῶν φιλοσόφων των πρόχαρα τάυτα= your ready-made charges against all who study philosophy. τάυτα is contemptuous, like ίσια. Cf. Crito 45 λύχ ὀφρός τοῦ τούτου τοῖς συσκόφαντας; Aristophanes (Clouds 225; 188; 247; 112ff.) attacks Socrates and his pupils on all four grounds. Cf. supr. 18 B and 19 B. So Xenophon Mem. I. 2. 31 speaks of λόγων τέχνης as τά κοινά τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιτιμώμενον.

15. ὅτι sc. διαφθείρει διδάσκων. Both accusatives and both infinitives depend on διδάσκων understood. Socrates states the charge carelessly and elliptically so as to insinuate that it is trivial and irrelevant. On τῶν ἠτῶν λόγων κρείττων τοιεῖν v. note on 18 B.

18. ὅτι κτλ. = ‘which is, that’ etc.

23 E 20. ξυντεταγμένος καλ τιθανός, ‘in studied and persuasive style’. ξυντεταγμένος = Lat. composite. [App. 2.]


23. ἐκ τούτων = ‘of these’: τούτων is masc. Cf. on these old calumniators of Socrates 19 B. On Socrates’ accusers v. Introd. p. xxvi.

24 A 26. καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν. These words are rejected by Cobet and others, needlessly, for Anytus was a statesman as well as a tanner. The four classes here named as hostile to Socrates are just those which had suffered from his cross-examination (chapters VI—VIII). The orators are to be regarded as politicians in another aspect: v. infr. 32 ἐτοιμών δυτῶν ἐνδεικνύει με καὶ ἄγαν τῶν ῥήτορων.

27. ὁρχόμενος supr. 19 A.

29. οὕτω πολλήν γεγονόταν = ‘when it has grown so strong’.

30. ταῦτ’ ίστιν ὑμῖν ταληθῇ = ‘There you have the truth’.

31. οὐτε μέγα οὔτε μικρόν. Cf. supr. on 19 C.

ἀποκρυψάμενος οὕς ὑποστειλάμενος = ‘neither concealing nor suppressing’. Cf. Dem. Philipp. I. 51 οὔδεν ὑποστειλάμενος πεπαργησάμεν. ὑποστειλάμενος need not be a nautical metaphor, in spite of Pindar Isthm. II. 60 οδρὸς ἐμπυύοις ὑπεστείλ’ ἱστιον, ‘made him furl his sail’.

33. οὕδα σχεδὸν = satis scio, ‘I am pretty well aware’. σχεδὸν means ‘nearly’ (fere): by the figure called litotes it comes to mean
CHAPTER XI.

XI—XV. Socrates' reply to the indictment of Meletus.

1. διν=τοῦτων ὅν for τοῦτων ἃ: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 211.

4. ἔς φησὶ covers ἀγαθὸν as well as φιλότολον: 'the good man and patriot, as he says he is'.

5. αἴσθεις supr. 19 B. With αἴσθει—αὖ cf. αὖ—πάλιν 27 D.

6. ὅσπερ ἐτίπων τοῦτον δυτῶν κατηγόρων= 'regarding these as new accusers'.

7. ἀντιμοσείαν v. on ὅσπερ οὖν—αὖτων 19 B.

8. φησίν sc. ὃ ἀντιμοσεία, i.e. Meletus.


12. φησὶ γὰρ: v. supra B and on 20 E.

13. ἔγω δέ γε: v. on 22 D τοῦτοις δὲ γ' ἡμ. ἡμ.

14. ἔτι στοιχὺ χαριντιζεῖαι= quod serio iocatur= 'in making fun of earnest'. An oxymoron, since χαριντιζέσθαι = παίζειν.

NOTES ON XI 24 C

17. ὁν goes with ἐμέλησεν. So infr. 26 ὑ τοῦτον...ἐμέλησεν. oúdeν is adverbial.

ἐμέλησεν. Here probably and certainly in 24 D and 25 C (ἀμέλειαν) Socrates plays on Meletus’ name. For more examples of the play upon words in Plato v. Riddell Digest of Idioms § 323, to whose list add Rep. x. 614 ἀλλ’ ὁμ μέντοι σοι—Ἀλκίνου γε ἀπό-

λογον ἔρω, ἀλλ’ ἀλκίμοι μὲν ἀνδρὸς κτλ. and Lach. 188 ἐμοὶ μὲν ὁμ ὀοῦν ἀηθὲς ὥστ’ ἄδ τὸν Ἀκράτας ἀσανίζεσθαι.

CHAPTER XII.

1. καὶ μοι δεῦρο ἀπὶ—‘agedum dic mihi’: καὶ =‘pray’ is frequent before imperatives, e.g. 25 A καὶ μοι ἀπεκρινώ. δεῦρο =θι of line 3: cf. Rep. v. 445 B δεῦρο νῦν—τα καὶ τῆς.

ἀλλο τι ᾧ =aluidne quid—quum? i.e. Nonne? Phaedo 70 C ἄλλο τι ᾧ εἰπάν αὖ ἀν χαῖρε ὅμων ἑκεῖ; Plato uses ἄλλο τι without ᾧ in the same sense, e.g. Gorg. 495 ἄλλο τι—δῶ ταῖς ἠλεγές;


6. τὸν μὲν γάρ διαφεδροῦτα—τοῦτοι =‘for having found their corrupter, myself as you say, you are bringing him to trial before these men’.

7. ἐσάγων viz. εἰς τούτουs (i.e. τοῦ δικαστᾶs), for which τοῦ-

touς is here substituted to avoid the threefold recurrence of the syllable -eis. ἐσάγω is said properly of the presiding magistrate who receives the complaint (ὁ ἐσαγωγεύωs), here it is said of the prosecutor, whence καὶ κατηγορεῖs is added. Cf. infr. 25 D and Dem. adv. Timocr. § 10 εἰ—ἐσαγαγόντες εἰς ὄμας λūsai δυνα-

μέθα. ἐσάρχοι is said of the parties to the suit: cf. infr. 29 C ὢ δεῖν ἐμὲ (Socrates the defendant) δεῦρο ἐσελθεῖν and Demosth. in Neaer. 1 γραψασθαι: Νέαραν—καὶ ἐσελθεῖν εἰς ὄμαs (of the

accuser). [App. 2.]

12. μεμάθηκαν v. on C above ἐμέλησεν.

24 E 14. διστὶς πρῶτον...τοὺς νόμους =‘starting with a knowledge of the laws’. καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο =‘just this very thing’, viz. τοὺς νόμουs. So in Gorg. 449 C, after Gorgias has boasted that no one can put

things more tersely (ἐν βραχυτέροις) than himself, Socrates says καὶ μοι ἐπιδείξειν αὐτοὺ τοῦτον ποίησαι, τῆς βραχυλογίαs.
15. οὖτοι...οἱ δικασταί=‘These, Socrates, the jurymen’. οὖτοι is deictic, followed by οἱ δικασταί in apposition.

19. τῇ τῆς Ἡραν. A favourite oath with ladies. From Xen. Mem. III. 11. 5 (where Socrates uses it in conversation with a young lady) and Plato Theaet. 154 D and elsewhere it appears to have been frequently used by Socrates also.

20. τι δὲ δή; = quid vero? introduces a fresh point. Note the presence of ἄριστος at the trial: cf. Ch. XXII. 33 D foll.

22. ἀλλ’ ἄρα...μή. Cf. Euthyd. 290 ε ἀλλ’ ἄρα—μή ὁ 25 Λ Κτήνιστος ἢν ὁ ταῦτ’ εἰςών; μή=num expects the answer ‘no’, as in 28 D.

23. οἱ ἐκκλησιασταῖ. For the tautology cf. infr. 37 C τῷ δὲ καθισταμένη ἄρχῳ, τοῖς ἐνεπεκ. Such pleonasm is in harmony with the character of a speech: there is no good ground for rejecting the words: cf. supra on 18 C ἐρήμην—ἀπολογουμένῳ οὐδενός.

26. καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ν. on 21 D καλὸς κἀγαθόν.

28. τολλήν γέ μου κάτεγινκας δυστυχὰν=‘You have discovered me to be a most unfortunate man’ (Church). καταγνώσκειν means to see a weak point in one: cf. Ar. Eq. 46 οὖτος καταγνωσὺ τοῦ γέροντος τοὺς τρόπους—ἄκαλλη, ἐθωπευκα, ἐκολάκεψ, ἐξήπτατα: Rep. x. 607 B μή καὶ τών οἰκηρότητα ἡμῶν καὶ ἀγροικίαν καταγνύφ: Phaed. 116 C οὐ καταγνώσκομαι γε σοῦ διπερ τῶν ἄλλων καταγνώσκω.

29. καὶ μοι ἀπόκριναι=‘pray answer me’, v. on 24 C καὶ μοι δεύρο ἐπέι.

30. οἱ μὲν βελτίους κτλ. sc. δοκοῦσι to be supplied from δοκεῖ. 25 B For the asyndeton v. on 22 A οἱ μὲν μάλιστα.

32. τοῦτον τούτον τὰν=‘quite the contrary’. τοῦτον τὰν is the acc. in apposition to the sentence εἰς μὲν τις—διαφεβεῖ-ρουσίν.

37. εἶν τι οὐ φήτε. οὐ φάναι=negare is practically one word: whence the negative οὐ, not μή, in spite of εἶν. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 263. 3, note.

38. τολλή γὰρ ἄν τις. τίς goes with τολλή as supra (line 32) with εἰς.

古代...ἐπὶ...οἱ διαφεβεῖραι. A ‘mixed conditional sentence’, v. Goodwin MT. p. 188. Tr. ‘Young men will be very fortunate, if’ (sc. as you say) ‘only one man corrupts them’. Cf. infr. 30 B εἰ—διαφεβεῖρω—, ταῦτ’ εἴη βλαβέραν and 33 D.

40. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ν. on 19 C.
NOTES ON XI 25 C

41. ἐφόντισας τῶν νέων. Cf. inst. 28 D φροντίσαι θανάτον καὶ κινδύνου.
42. ἀμέλειαν v. on 24 C ἐμέλησεν.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. ὁ πρὸς Δίως Μάητα. πρὸς Δίως belongs to εἰσέ. For the order compare Meno 71 D σὺ ἔδε αὐτός, ὁ πρὸς θεῷ ῥέων Μένων, τί φὴς ἁρετήν εἶναι. Note that πρὸς Δίως is used only in entreaties: νὰ Δία in asseverations.

3. ὁ τῶν. So the Bodleian ms: the editors variously read ὁ τῶν ὁ τῶν ὁ τῶν and ὁ τῶν. Tr. ‘my dear fellow’. The word τῶν (τῶν) is variously explained as=ἐταίρε and σὺ (Photius and Suidas): in the first case it has been connected with ἔτης, in the second with Skt. étam=‘thou’: the latter is the more probable view. In the comic poets it is also used in addressing two or more persons (v. Ar. Plut. 66 ὁ τῶν, ἀπαλλάχθητον ἄρτ' ἐμοὶ), just as ἄγε and φέρε are sometimes used in addressing more persons than one. [The identity of τῶν with ἥτω (on coins of Crete)=Bœotician Δᾶν=Attic Ζεύ cannot be maintained.]

5. τοὺς δὲ ἐγγυτάτως δυνας=‘those who are from time to time nearest to them’.

7. βούλεται. The proof which follows may be put thus. No man desires to be injured. But if I corrupt the young I suffer injury. Therefore either I do not corrupt the young or I do so, if at all, unwillingly. In much the same way Socrates proves (Meno 77 C ff.) generally that ‘no one sins willingly’. The word βούλεται ‘desires’ is regularly used in the major premise of this proof: cf. Meno 78 B κινδυνεῖς ἀληθὲς λέγειν, ὁ Σώκρατες, καὶ ὅδε βούλεσθαι τὰ κακά. See Cope on Arist. Rhet. 1. p. 193 and II. p. 254.

8. ἀποκρίνων. Meletus is reluctant to give an answer.


14. σὺ ἐμοὶ σοφότερος...τηλικοῦτον δυντὸς τηλικόσθαι δὲν. Note the Chiasmus σὺν ἐμοὶ

τηλικοῦτον τηλικὸσθα (Dyer). Tr. ‘Are you at your age so much wiser than I at mine?’ In Plato Euthyphr. 2 B Meletus is spoken of as νέος τις καὶ ἀγνώς, v. also Introd. p. xxvi.
15. ὥστε σὺ μὲν έγνωκας...ἐγώ δὲ δὴ = 'that whereas you know etc. I forsooth'.

18. ὥστε καὶ τούτω καλούμενος. τούτω is explained by δι—ἀν' 25 Ε αὐτοῦ.

20. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. B has ἀν' αὐτοῦ. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ is Cobet's conjecture, now confirmed by T. κακῶν λαβεῖν is equivalent to a passive (see on 17 A), and may accordingly be followed by ὑπὸ of the agent. ἀν' is less idiomatic, although it may be defended by Euthyphr. 15 A and Thuc. 1. 17 ἐπάχθη τε ἀν' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἄξιολογον.

ὥστε τούτῳ...ἐκὼν ποιῶ = 'so that I commit this great crime intentionally, as you say'. ὥστε sc. as a result of not knowing δι—κακῶν λαβεῖν ἀν' αὐτοῦ. Note the threefold occurrence of ὥστε in this sentence: the second stands in a subordinate relation to the first, and the third to the second.

22. οἴμαι δὲ sc. πείθεσθαι.

23. ἢ εἰ διαφέλειν, ἕκαστον sc. διαφέλειν. Cf. infra 29 B εἰ δὴ τῷ σοφώτερῷ τού φαίνην εἶναι, τούτῳ ἂν sc. φαίνην σοφώτερος εἶναι. [App. 2.]

25. τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἄκουσίων. The words καὶ ἄκουσίων are 26 A perhaps a gloss on τοιούτων, since τοιούτων by itself = ἄκουσίων. Cf. Phil. 58 C καθάπερ τοῦ λευκοῦ πέρι τότε ἔλεγον, κἂν εἰ σμικρόν, καθαρῶν δὲ εἰ, τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ μὴ τοιούτων (= καθάρον) διαφέρειν: and so regularly in ἔτερος τοιούτως = 'just such another' e.g. Euthyd. 298 D—Ε. Cf. Gorg. 493 Β φοροῖν εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ὕδωρ ἐτέρῳ τοιοῦτῳ τετρημένῳ κοκκίνῳ where it is possible that τετρημένῳ is a gloss: v. Thompson in loc. But from supra 24 D ἐλθάνεις καὶ κατηγορεῖς and other examples of tautology in the speech (v. on 18 C above) I think it just possible that the words are genuine: I do not therefore enclose them in brackets. ἐλθάνειν (v. on 24 D) is followed by a genitive of the charge: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 224. 2. [App. 2. With οὗ νομος—έστιν = 'it is not lawful' cf. Gorg. 512 Β διὰ ταύτα οὐ νόμος ἐστὶ σεμνόντες τὸν κυβερνήτην, καίσερ σφιγγοντα ἡμᾶς, and Phaedr. 256 D εἰς γὰρ σκότον καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ γῆς πορειαν ὀδόν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἑλθεῖν.

28. εἰν' μάθω = 'if I am taught'. μαθάνω is often used as the passive of διδάκω: v. on 17 A πεπόνθατε.

παῦσομαι sc. ποιῶ to be supplied from ποιῶ. [App. 2.]

31. ἀλλ' οὐ ν. on 23 D supra ἀλλ' οὐχ αὐτοῖς.
CHAPTER XIV.

1. διά γάρ v. sup. on 19 c.
2. οὔ γάρ οὐκέν, viz. in 25 c.
3. τούτων v. on 24 c ὡς οὖν δεδέρατο—ἔμελθησαν, and for οὕτως μέγα οὕτως μικρόν cf. note on 19 c.

6. η δῆλον δὴ δὲ sc. φῆς με διαφθείρειν. है=Latin an? introduces a second question intended to anticipate Meletus’ answer to the first. Cf. infra 36 B ह δῆλον δὴ, 37 B ह μὴ πάω τοῦτο, and Prot. 309 Λ πόθεν, ὡς Σώκρατες, φαίνει; ह δῆλα δὴ δὴ δὲτ ἁπάντησιν κτλ.; This use of ह is especially frequent in Aristotle.

8. οὗ ταύτα λέγεις ὡς διδάκτην. ταύτα belongs to διδάκτην: its position is for emphasis: so δεῦρο in 26 A οὗ δεῦρο νόμος εἶλαγένεις ἐστίν.

9. πάνυ μὲν οὖν σφόδρα ταύτα λέγω=‘that is exactly what I do most emphatically mean’. μὲν οὖν (μὲν here=μὴν: so regularly in Homer and Herodotus) is used by Plato in two senses—the affirmative, as here, and the corrective=immo vero, e.g. Crito 44 B ὡς ἀποκροτώ ἐν ἐνπιδην, ὡς Σωκρατες. Ἠναργης μὲν οὖν. In late Greek μενου=immo vero even begins the sentence, e.g. Luke xi. 28 μενου μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες κτλ.

11. οὖν νῦν ὁ λόγος ἐστιν i.e. οὐς νῦν λέγομεν. περὶ οὖν ὁ λόγος ἐστιν would=περὶ οὖν νῦν λέγομεν. The first expression is alone appropriate here: Socrates refers to the gods, but is discussing, not the gods, but his own alleged impiety.

13. πότερον is followed by ह infr. line 17.

εἶναι τινὰς θεοὺς=‘that there are some gods’. τινὰς is clearly emphatic, and ought to have an accent: MSS and Editors εἶναι τινὰς. Cf. Theaet. 147 B τινὰς γὰρ ἐπιστήμην ἀποκρινεῖται, οὔ τούτ' ἔρωτηθες. Infra ἄρα=‘accordingly’, sc. since I teach them to believe in some gods.

15. οὗ μέντοι (sc. νομίζειν) ὡς περὶ για τόλμης (sc. νομίζει) =‘but not in the gods of the state’.

17. δὲ τὸ εὐρεός sc. διδάκτην νομίζειν. Πινθανοῖς = at all’ belongs to νομίζειν.

19. τὸ παράταν ὦ νομίζεις θεοῦ. Aristophanes (Nub. 830) nicknames Socrates ὁ Μῆλιος after Diogoras the Melian atheist.

20. ἵνα τῇ ταύτῃ λέγως; ἵνα τὶ (sc. γένηται) = quid ut fiat? quam ob rem? So in Sympos. 205 A ἵνα τὶ δὲ βοιλεται εὐθαλὸν εἶναι κτλ.; Ar. Pax 409 ἵνα τὶ δὲ τούτῳ δράτων;

21. οὕτως ἥλιον οὕτω σελήνην = ne solem quidem neque lunam. 26 D
We are expressly told by Plato in Symp. 220 D that Socrates did worship the Sun: ὁ δὲ εἰστήκει μέχρι ὅστις ἐγένετο καὶ ἥλιος ἀνέσχεν· ἐπείτα ἐξέραντο τῷ ἥλιῳ. Socrates here names the Sun and Moon, rather than Apollo and Artemis (with whom they were partly identified), in order to draw from Meletus the answer which he actually gives.

22. ὁ ἄνδρας δικαστάλ: n. on 17 A. This (the usual form of addressing the court) is naturally used by Meletus in contradistinction to Socrates.

24. Ἀναξαγόρου οἷα κατηγορεῖν = 'do you think that you are prosecuting Anaxagoras?' Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, born probably about 500 B.C., came to Athens about 463, where he lived on terms of intimacy with Pericles and Euripides. He taught that everything is made up of minute particles or στέρματα, the majority of which resemble in kind the compounds which they form (whence Aristotle and later authors call them δυοιμορφης and δυοιμορφεται). He is most famous as the first man in Greece who definitely declared that νοῦς was the efficient cause of the universe: for this doctrine Aristotle, contrasting him with his predecessors, calls him 'a sober man by the side of babblers' (ἀλώ νήφων ἐφάνη παρ’ εἰκῇ λέγοντας Met. i. 3. 984b 17). We are told that he explained the sun as 'a red hot mass of stone' (μυθὸς διάρυσας = ἄλθος διάρυσας Xen. Mem. iv. 7. 7), larger than the Peloponnesus: the moon, according to him, was inhabited, and contained hills and ravines (γὰρ δὲ σελήνην οἰκῆσεις ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκτους καὶ φάραγγας Diog. Laert. ii. 8). Anaxagoras was accused of impiety just before the Peloponnesian war, and had to leave Athens: he retired to Lampsacus, where he died probably about 428 B.C. [On the text v. App. 2.]


27. τὸ Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία. Anaxagoras wrote a book called τεῖλ φόλεως (see Phaed. 97 B ff.): it is this which is chiefly meant here. He also wrote on the laws of scenic painting (τεῖλ διανογρα-
NOTES ON XIV 26 D

φῆς? Cf. Vitruv. ap. Mullach Frag. Philos. Cr. i. p. 244 and Diog. Laert. ix. 48). It is doubtful whether (as has been supposed) he published a work on the squaring of the circle.

28. καὶ 8η καὶ introduces a climax: so regularly in Greek. Cf. infr. 41 Β καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον. ταῦτα means of course ‘these doctrines’ and not ‘these books’. Translate the whole sentence thus: ‘Aye and the young learn from me doctrines which they can sometimes buy for a drachma at most from the Orchestra, and laugh Socrates to scorn, if he pretends that they are his, the more so as they are so ridiculous.’


εἰ τὸν τοῦτον βολὸν = ‘at most’. So Alc. i. 123 C κόσμος ὅσος δύοις μνών πεντήκοντα, εἰ τὸν τοῦτον βολὸν. In Gorg. 511 E we find ἔδω πάμε-πολυ...δύο δραχμὰς ἐπεκτάτω. A drachma (about 1od. of our money) seems very little for the price of a book: see on the whole of this passage Appendix 1.

26 E 30. ὄρχηστρα. The orchestra is probably not the part of the theatre bearing this name: but a round terrace in or near the Agora, identified by Köhler (Hermes vi. p. 92 foll.) with ‘the terrace of rock on the north slope of the Areopagus, where the modern church of St Athanasius now stands’. On this terrace stood the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Cf. Timaeus Lexic. Voc. Plat. (ed. Ruhnken 1824) ὄρχηστρα: τὸ τοῦ θεάτρου μέσων χωρίον, καὶ τόποι τὰ περὶ φανήσεις εἰς πανήγυρις, ἐνθα Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογελτώνος εἰκόνες. This is the only passage where we hear of books being sold there: but it is not improbable that the Book Market mentioned by Pollux (ix. 47 τὰ βιβλία, cf. τὰ λόγα, τὰ δρήνα, etc. in Aristophanes) was situated in this part of the Agora. [See Böckh Staatshaushaltung3 i. p. 61 and Schöne in Fleckeisen’s Jahrb. for 1870, pp. 802—803. The latter was the first (so far as I know) to interpret the passage in this way. For other views and more as to the Orchestra v. App. 1.]

31. ἀλλὰς τε καὶ οὕτως ἄτομα δυντα = ‘especially as they are so absurd’. Socrates might well incur ridicule for pretending to any doctrines which were not his, but particularly when they were so absurd. Socrates used to say that Anaxagoras must have been
beside himself (παρεφρόνησεν Xen. Mem. iv. 7. 6) before he invented such a theory of the sun.

32. ἀλλά ἦ πρὸς Διός. ἀλλά marks the end of the digression about the views of Anaxagoras and Socrates' dissent from them. It recalls 26 C line 19 ταύτα λέγω, ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐ νομίζεις θεοῦ. For ὡ πρὸς Διός without a following vocative cf. Rep. v. 459 η ἀφ’ οὖν, ὡ πρὸς Διός, προσέχηκας τι τοῖς τούτων γάμοις κτλ.; οὕτως σοι δοκῶ; οδένα νομίζω θεόν εἶναι. Is this what you think of me? Do I believe in no god? οὕτως is explained by the following question. [App. 2.]

34. ἄπιστος γ’ εἶ='No one believes you': ἄπιστος is passive. In this sense it is more often used of things, e.g. Theaet. 170 β ἀλλ’ ἄπιστον, ὡ Σωκράτες.

37. ἀτεχνῶς τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην...γράφασθαι='literally to have drawn up this indictment': on ἀτεχνῶς v. supra note on ἀτεχνῶς οὖν ἔξως ἔχων 17 D.

39. ήοικον γὰρ...διαπειρομένης. ήοικον goes with διαπειρομένης, 27 A to which ἀστερ ἄνυγμα ξυνιθέντι is subordinate. Tr. 'he seems by framing a sort of riddle to be trying me to see if', etc. For the construction of ήοικον cf. Rep. vii. 527 D ἡοικας δεδοτὶ τῶν πολλῶν and infra 31 Β οὗ γὰρ ἄνθρωπων ήοικε: for the subordination of the first participle to the second see (with Riddell) Rep. vii. 555 E τὸν ἄλη ὑπέκοματα ἐνιέντες ἄργυρων τιτρωκουτε. 40. ἄρα γνώσοτα. Socrates vividly expresses the alleged purpose of Meletus by throwing it into the form of a soliloquy. For a parallel case v. on 21 Ε ἔτεον οὖν κτλ. γνώσοτα=perceive 'guess' with gen. like ἕσθομην αὐτῶν—οἰομένων in 22 C. So Iliad iv. 357 οὗ γνώ χωνετερίον.

ὁ σοφὸς δή. δή adds a touch of irony.

CHAPTER XV.

2. ταύτα viz. ἄδικε! Σωκράτης—ἀλλὰ θεοῦ νομίζων supr. lines 44—46.

This chapter proves that the indictment of Meletus is a contradiction in terms. The proof is as follows:

First, the man who believes in δαμβώνα must believe in δαλμονε. (This is proved by analogy.) And you allow that I believe in δαμβώνα. Therefore I believe in δαλμονε. Cf. Arist. Rhet. ii. p. 255 (ed. Cope).
Secondly, the man who believes in δαιμονες must believe in gods.

For δαιμονες are either (a) gods, or (b) children of gods. If (a), then by your own confession I believe in gods. If (b), the belief in children involves the belief in fathers (proved by analogy). Therefore once more I believe in gods.

3. κατ’ αρχάς παραπτομένην, viz. 17 C δέωμαι καὶ παρέματι—μὴτε θαναμάζειν μὴτε θορυβεῖν.

4. μήνησθε μοι = 'pray remember'.

5. ἐν τῷ ἐρωτώτι τρόπῳ, i.e. by question and answer, with frequent illustrations drawn from everyday life: v. Introd. pp. xiii and xvi.

8. μὴ ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ὑορυμέτω = 'do not permit him to make interruption after interruption'. Meletus is reluctant to answer and shews it by frequent interruptions: before saying ἀποκρυψών Socrates pauses a moment for Meletus' answer. With ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα Riddell compares Euthyd. 273 B ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἀποβλέπων τοὺς εἰς ἡμᾶς.

13. τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦτοι, viz. the δικασταί and the ἀκρασταί (supr. 24 E).

τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο γε = 'the next question at any rate'. τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο is emphasized by γε, because the succeeding question is important, since it applies these illustrations to the present case. With τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο cf. Gorg. 512 B τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σκεπτέων κτλ.

14. δαμόνια πράγματα. Riddell remarks that Socrates' reasoning is valid only if δαμόνια πράγματα is the same as δαμόνια. In the present case they are identical: for Socrates' δαμόνιον is not a personal genius, but a δαμόνιον σημείον, i.e. something appertaining to δαιμονες, or a δαμόνιον πράγμα. On the δαμόνιον v. Introd. p. xxvii.

16. ὡς ἀνησυχαί = 'How kind of you!' Cf. Hipp. Min. 373 A εἰ θέλεις μοι ἀποκρυψώναι, πάντα ὅνησεις. Ar. Lys. 1033 νῆ Δι' ἀνησυχαί γε με. Infr. on μόνος v. note on 17 B οὐ κατά τούτοις. Plato prefers the early form μόνος to μόλις, which is generally employed by the tragedians.

18. καὶ οὖν καὶ καὶ παλαιὰ κτλ. = 'thus, be they new or be they old, at all events I do believe in supernatural things, on your own shewing'. Cf. Phaed. 91 B εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐστὶ τελευτῶντι, ἄλλ' οὖν τοῦτον γε τῶν χρόνων—ἡπτον—ἀνθίζει θρομαῖ and Meno 84 A ἄλλ' οὖν ψεῦτο γε. For ἄλλ' οὖν—γε we find ἄλλα—γοῦν in Phaed. 71 B. [App. 1.]

20. διώρυγας ἐν τῇ δυνατήγορᾳ = 'you swore in your deposition'. διώρυγμα is used of swearing to the truth of the indictment. Cf.
PLATO'S APOLLODY. 77

Lys. adv. Theomn. § 11 ὃ μὲν γὰρ διῶκνιν ὑπέκειν διόμυνται κτλ. ἀντιγραφή here = ἀντωμόσωλα, 'affidavit' 'deposition', v. on 19 B τὴν ἀντωμόσωλαν. So in Hyperides Euxen. ch. 40 ad fin. μικρὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀντιγραφῆς εἰςὼν ἐτέρας ἀτιλα...ήκεις φέρων. Generally ἀντιγραφή means a counter-plea put in by the defendant: cf. Lys. xxiii. 5 and 10.

24. ήτοι—ἡ or ἡτοι—γε—ἡ (as here) is frequently used where 27 D more emphasis is to be laid on the first than on the second member of the disjunction. Cf. Aesch. Choeph. 497—8 ήτοι δίκτρο λαλε—ἡ τὰς ὀμολας ἀντιδος λαβὼς λαβεῖν: Gorg. 467 καὶ ὁδίκα ήτοι ἄγαθὸν γ' ἐστιν η κακῶν κτλ.

27. τοῦτ' ἀν ἡ—χαριντίζεσθαι κτλ. = 'this will be the riddle and the pleasantry which I attribute to you, to say that I, while I do not believe in gods, do still believe in gods.' τοῦτο refers forward to φάναι. On αὐ—πάλων v. on ch. xi. 24 B αὐθίως—αὐ.

31. ἡ ἐκ νηφῶν ἡ ἐκ τινων ἄλλων = 'either by nymphs or by some other mothers'. Infr. ὃν δὴ = ἐξ ὅν δὴ: cf. Gorg. 453 καὶ εἶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τεχνῶν λέγομεν δευτερν τοῦ δή. λέγονται sc. παῖδεσ εἰναι.

34. δικαρπόν ἀν sc. ἀγωνοῦ εἰ. Infr. ἡ καὶ δικαρποῦ = 'or, if you like, 27 E asses'. Cf. Phaedr. 269 λ ἄλλον μελέγησαν Ἀδραστῶν—ἡ καὶ Περικλέα. The words τοῦς ἑμῶν were interpolated at a very early date by some one who misunderstood the meaning. The other view, according to which τοῦς ἑμῶν is genuine, and ἡ before καὶ spurious, although accepted by Münthes and Schanz, is manifestly wrong: for then the simile to be in point would imply that Meletus charged Socrates with disbelieving in nymphs as well as in gods, which was not the case. Moreover it is easier to explain the introduction of τοῦς ἑμῶν into the text than the insertion of ἡ before καὶ. Socrates chooses his illustration quite arbitrarily and at random. Cf. supra 20 A εἶ μὲν σου τῷ ύπερ πῶλω ἡ μοῦχο ἐγενεύθην. [App. 2.]

36. οὐκ ἔστιν δῶς—οὐχί = fieri non potest quin. ταῦτα refers forward to τὴν γραφὴν ταῦτην. Cf. supra on τοῦτ' ἀν εἰ—χαριντίζεσθαι line 27. [App. 2.]

38. δι τι ἔγκαλοις. 'The optative represents Meletus' original reflection τι ἐγκάλω; The conjunctive might have been retained' (Dyer). Cf. Goodwin M.T. p. 265.

39. δῶς δὲ σοι κτλ. I have accepted the emendation of Wecklein (Rh. Mus. xxxvi. p. 145), according to whom καὶ διαμο-
NOTES ON XV 27 E

νας καὶ θεός has fallen out after θεία, and μῆτε δαμώνια μῆτε θεία after αὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. This is the only way in which the transition from the positive way of expression in καὶ δαμώνια καὶ θεία to the negative in μῆτε δαμώνια μῆτε θεός can be explained. The alternative (less good) is to bracket ὃ after ὃ, and τοῦ αὐτοῦ after καὶ αὐ (so Kral): the text cannot be defended as it stands. Translate ‘But you cannot possibly persuade any one who has the smallest understanding, that one and the same individual will not believe in things supernatural and divine and in daemons and gods, or again, that one and the same individual will not disbelieve in things supernatural and divine and in daemons and gods’. Socrates sums up the argument of the chapter somewhat loosely but emphatically in a sentence which amounts to this: Belief (or disbelief) in δαμώνια and in θεία implies belief (or disbelief) in δαμώνες and θεοί. The words μῆτε ἡρως if genuine can only mean daemons in the second of the two senses explained above, i.e. ‘sons of nymphs or some other mothers’; we should at least expect them to precede μῆτε θεός. I think with the majority of editors that they are spurious. [App. 2.]

CHAPTER XVI.

28 A

1. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ν. on 19 c ἄλλα γὰρ ἐμοὶ κτλ.

5. ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν, viz. Ch. ix.

7. τοῦτο λέγεται—κάνετε οὖν = ‘this is what will cause my condemnation, if I am condemned’, lit. ‘if it do condemn me’. δαβολὴ and φθορᾶς are here viewed as prosecutors: for αἰρεῖ is said of the prosecutor who wins his case, Ἀλκεσταί of the defendant who loses: cf. Legg. xii. 94I D δοῦλον ἄν τις τι κλέπτοντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἔλη: ibid. xi. 937 B ἐὰν δέ τις ἀλὸς διὸς ψευδομαρτύρων.

9. πολλοὶ καὶ διδοῖς καὶ ἄγαθος ἄνθρωπος = ‘many other good men too’. The first καὶ (=also) is like the καὶ in εἰ τις καὶ διδοῖ: the second = ‘and’ is used according to the regular idiom πολλοὶ καὶ ἄγαθος = ‘many good’. [Others read against the MSS πολλοὶ καλοῖς καὶ ἄγαθοις, but the Platonic idiom is καλοῖς κάγαθοις; ν. on 21D καλὰν κάγαθων.]

11. οὐδὲν δὲ σεισμὸν—οὐγά —‘there is no danger of their stopping short at me’, i.e. ‘There is no fear that I shall be their last victim’
(Church). This use of ἵσταμαι is common in Aristotle, e.g. Phys. H. 242a 19 οὖ δὴ τοῦτον εἶπον ἀλλὰ στήσεται ποι. For ὀθόνει δεινὸν μὴ cf. Gorg. 520δ οὖδ' εἰς τίνι αὐτῷ μὴ ποτε ἀπειρήθη.

12. ἢτ τ' ὅνδ' ἀλοχύνει = 'what! are you not ashamed?' The 28 B particle εἶσαι (ἐπείτα) introducing a question expresses indignation or surprise, e.g. Ar. Nub. 1214 εἴτε’ ἀνδρα τῶν αὐτοῦ τί χρῆ προέναι; ibid. 226 ἐπείτ' ἀπὸ ταρροῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφορνεῖς κτλ.; Pl. Rep. VII. 519θ ἐπείτ' ἀδικήσομεν—αὐτοῦ κτλ.; Cf. note on ἐπείτα 20c supra.

15. εἴ εἶδα—ἀνδρα = 'if you think a man ought to consider chances of life or death'. ὑπολογίζεσθαι means to entertain a reflection pointing to the opposite line of conduct from that which we are or ought to be pursuing. Cf. Gorg. 480 c τὸ ἄγαθον καὶ καλὸν διώκοντα, μὴ ὑπολογίζομεν τὸ ἀλγευόν and Crito 48 δ. In Lach. 189 β ὑπολογοῦν ποιοῦμενος = ὑπολογίζομενος.

16. τοῦ ζην ἢ τεθνάναι. The article appears only once because ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι is a single notion nearly equivalent to πότερον βιώσωμαι ἢ ἀπόθανον. For the sentiment compare Gorg. 512 δ—Ἐ μὴ γάρ τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ ζῆν ὑπόσων δὴ χρόνων, τὸν γε ὡς ἄληθῶς ἄνδρα ἐκείνων ἐστι καὶ οὗ φιλοσεβήνων.

δοτι τι—διελέσας ἄστυν = 'who is good for anything at all', or 'if he is etc.' Cf. Crito 46 Α ἔτε τι καὶ σμικρὸν ἡμῶν διελέσας ἄστυν.

20. τῶν ἑμιθείων i.q. τῶν ἠρώων, v. 28 Α μῆτρα ἡρωᾶς. Infr. of 28 c τε ἄλλοι καὶ =cum ceteri tum praecipue.

21. ὁ τῆς Θεός ὕδως. The scene here referred to is in Iliad xviii. 70 ff. Thetis appears to Achilles after Patroclus has just been slain, and foretells the doom that awaits him if he avenge his fallen comrade: but Achilles in a noble speech (97—123) avows his resolution to do and die. The same scene is referred to in Symp. 179 Ε.

22. παρὰ τὸ ἀλοχρόνι τι ὑπομένων = 'compared with enduring a disgrace', 'where the alternative was a disgrace' (Church). Cf. Xen. Mem. I. 4. 14 παρὰ τὸ ἀλλὰ ἰφα ἄστερ πει οἱ ἄνθρωποι βιατεύοντα.

24. θεός οὖσα: Od. 4. 468 θεός δὲ τε πάντα λοσὸν (Dyer). Observe that θεός not θέα is the only good word for 'goddess' in the best Attic prose.

25. ὁ πατ (I. xviii. 95 ὁμόμορος δὴ μου, τέκοι, ἐσσεαι). The words are not found in the text of B, but in the margin, and in T. Line 96 (presently cited) is αὐτίκα γὰρ τοι ἐπείτα μεθ' ἔκτορα πότμος ἐτοίμος.
NOTES ON XVI 28 C

28. ὅ δὲ. For this ἐκεῖνος without δὲ would be more regular, to suit ὅστε in line 23: the anacolouth is due to the space occupied by the speech of Thetis. In τοῦ μὲν θανάτου the article is written because Achilles' doom (πτομος) has already been named: cf. infr. 29 Α οἷς μὲν γάρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θάνατον κτλ.

28 D 30. τὸ ζῆν κακὸς δὲν = 'to live a coward'. τὸ ζῆν is the direct object after δελασ: cf. Thuc. i. 136 1 δεδιέναι δὲ φασκώτων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτῶν.

31. αὐτικα τεθναίνῃ κτλ. See Iliad xviii. vv. 98 and 104 αὐτικα τεθναίνῃ—ἄλλ' ἦμα παρά σαρκις, ἐτώσιον ἄχος ἀράβης. For ἐτώσιον Socrates, who does not profess to quote accurately (αὐτωσι πως supr. C line 25), substitutes κορωνίων 'crooked'.

33. μὴ αὐτῶν οὐα...; μὴ = num as in 25 Α.

36. ἡγοσάμενος βλαστετον εἶναι. So T, and a later hand in B: Β itself has ἡ ἡγοσάμενος. The passage is quoted by more than one ancient author without η; nor is it easy to see how η can be defended. [App. 2.]

38. ἐπιλογισάμενον v. on B above, line 15. Infr. πρὸ τοῦ αἰο-χροῦ = 'before disgrace', i.e. his first thought should be of the shame of flight, and only his second of death or danger. So infra 29 Β πρὸ αὐτῷ τῶν κακῶν and Symp. 179 Α πρὸ τούτου τεθναίναι ἐν πολλάκις θλίθοι.

CHAPTER XVII.

In this chapter Socrates develops his reply to the objection cited in 28 Β (ἀπερ' ὅν ἅλοχονει κτλ.) and shews that danger ought not to deter him from his calling: to fear death would be to disobey the oracle (v. 23 Α—Β) and think one knows where one is ignorant.

28 E 2. εἰ δὲ μὲν—τὸτε μὲν—τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ—ἐνταῦθα δὲ, i.e. 'if, when the officers etc., I stood my ground then, but now, when the god etc.' Socrates says it would be shamefully inconsistent to have held the post assigned to him by men, and to desert the post in which he has been placed by God. τὸτε μὲν and ἐνταῦθα δὲ are interposed to make the contrast more direct and emphatic: τὸτε sums up in one word the sentence ὅτε μὲν—Δηλώ· ἐνταῦθα the sentence τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ—ἔλλοιν. (Cf. infra 32 Ω τούτου δέ and 38 Α ταύτα δ' ἔτι ἦττον.) Stallbaum cites an exactly parallel case from Isocr. Areopag. 47. See also Meno 94 C—Δ οὐκοῦν δῆλον, δει οὖτος οὐκ ἂν
The ἀρχοντες (= ὀρατηγοὶ) were Callias at Potidaea (432 B.C. Thucyd. i. 61), Cleon at Amphipolis (422 B.C. Thuc. v. 2), Hippocrates at Delium (424 B.C. Thuc. iv. 90): Grote, chapters 47, 54, 53. In the battle at Potidaea (a Corinthian colony in Chalcidice) Socrates saved the life of Alcibiades (Symp. 220 D foll.): at Delium (in Boeotia) he displayed the utmost gallantry in the retreat (Symp. 221 A foll.). Cf. also Charm. 153 A foll. and Lach. 181 B.

3. ὅμως ἀλεξθε: ὅμως ἄνδρες ΑΘΗΝΑΙ: oi not simply δικασταὶ. Ten ὀρατηγοὶ were elected yearly by show of hands (χειροτονία).

10. Λόγοι τὴν τάξην is still controlled by el. The optative mood signifies of course that the contingency is a future one: ἔμενον and ἐκκινήσατο refer to actual facts now past. Cf. infr. 34 C el—ἐδεήθη τοῖς καλ ἱπτεομεν. ‘The expression intentionally recalls the λατερακυν καθημεριν, which involved the loss of civil rights (ἀσμά)’ Cron.

13. καὶ διδάσκω—οὖκ ἂν is subordinate to ἀπειθῶν and states how the disobedience would manifest itself, as is more fully explained in the following sentences.

17. καὶ οὖν οἶδαν sc. τις, which is often understood from the subject of a preceding infinitive, e.g. Euthyd. 289 B ἔπιστασθαι κρίνω δ ἂν ποιή. Infra 39 D παρασκευὰς ὅπως ἦσαν ὡς βελτιωτοί. For an analogous case in Latin see Cic. De Fin. III § 20 primum est officium—ut se conservet et ibid. § 45.

οἶδα—τὴν θάνατον. The subject of the subordinate clause is made the object of the main verb, as frequently happens when the verb is εἰδέναι. So infra 29 D with ἐπιμελεῖσθαι: χρημάτων—ἐπιμελομένοις, ὅπως οὐκ ἦσαν ὡς πλείστα. Translate ‘No one so much as (οἴδα) knows whether death may not be etc.’

19. διδασκαλ. The long forms of this tense (διδοικα etc.) are used mostly in the singular: the short in the plural.

20. καὶ τούτο—ἐπινειδίστος= why, is not this etc.: for καὶ compare (with Wohlrab) Gorg. 519 C καὶ τούτον τοῦ λόγου τί ἂν ἀλογώτερον εἶπ τράγυμα; For the article in the predicate cf. supra 18 C οὖτοι—οἱ δεινοὶ εἰσὶν μοι καθήγοροι. ἐπινειδίστος, viz. in 21 D.
22. καὶ ἐνταῦθα = 'here too'. Infra διαφέρω = 'I am better than' as in 34 ε.

24. τοῦτο ἐν σκ. φαίην σοφότερος εἶναι, cf. supra 25 ε ἢ οὐ διαφέρω, ἢ εἰ διαφερόμοι, ἄκω σκ. διαφερόμοι. Infra οὖν is used because οὐκ εἰσίων = ἄτοπερ οὖκ οἶδα.

28. πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν ν. 28 D πρὸ τοῦ ἀλοχοῦ.

ἐν οἴδα: ἂν by attraction for ἂ (acc. cf. on 29 A οἴδε τὸν θάνατον).

Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 211.

30. εἰ ἀφετε—εἴ μοι—ἐπονθε—εἴ οὖν με—ἀφέντε. The protasis, which is first stated vividly in the indicative as if referring to present time, and then repeated in the optative with a different verb (ἐπονθε) hardly allowing so vivid a mode of expression, is finally repeated in the optative with the original verb, and followed by an apodosis in the opt. (ἐπονθερ' ἂν ὑμῖν). The repetition of the protasis is due to the number of clauses intervening between it and the apodosis.

29 C 31. τὴν ἄρχην or ἄρχην = 'at all' is used by correct authors only in negative clauses. Theaet. 186 D δὴ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν ἄρχην οὐδ' εἶναι. Soph. Ant. 92 ἄρχην δὲ θηρᾶν οὐ πρέπει τάμιχαν.

32. εὐθέλοντες v. 20 εὐθάγειας 24 D.

οὐχ οὖν τ' εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι. For τὸ μὴ we should expect τὸ μὴ οὐ (Goodwin MT. p. 202); but cf. Soph. O. T. 1388 οὐκ ἂν ἐσχομὴν τὸ μὴ ἀποκλῆσαι τοῦμον ἅθλον δέμας.

34. εἰ διαφεεξομην — ἂν διαφαρήσονται. διαφεεξομην = διαφεεξομαί of Direct: the future optative is rarely used otherwise: Goodwin MT. p. 43. ἂν διαφαρήσονται are the words used by Meletus, which may be retained in the indirect (Goodwin MT. p. 257): the fut. optat. is not used with ἂν (ibid. pp. 67 and § 197). For ἂν with the future indicative, found occasionally in Attic Greek, cf. Symp. 222 A ἓδων ἂν τις—ἐὑρήσει, Rep. x. 615 D οὐχ ἦκει, φανεί, οὔτ' ἂν ἦκει δεύρο. It is tolerably common in early poetry (Goodwin ibid. p. 65). Cf. also infr. 30 C ὡς ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποιήσοντος ἄλλα.

38. ἐφ' ἦτα = 'on condition that' is followed by the infinitive: Goodwin MT. p. 233.

29 D 40. εἰ οὖν. οὖν like igitur (e.g. Cic. De Fin. III. §§ 21 and 45) is resumptive: cf. Symp. 201 D ἂν οὖν έκείνη ἐλεγε λόγον κτλ. Lach. 188 B δοπερ οὖν λέγω.

42. ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι: more impressive than ἂν κτλ. So in 30 C; μὴ θοργεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι.


PLATO'S APOLOGY.

XVII 30 A

δοσάξομαι—καλ φιλῶ. Cf. Rep. x. 607 A φιλεῖν μὲν χρῆ καὶ δοσάξομαι ὡς ὑπάρχει βελτιστώς εἰς δοσον δύναται and Legg. iii. 689 A. δοσάξομαι = χαρέω κελεύω as in Homer Od. iii. 35 χερσιν τ ἡσάζοντο κτλ. Tr. 'I wish you good cheer and love you'.

πείσομαι δὲ μᾶλλον κτλ. Acts v. 29 πείθαρχεῖν δει θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποι.

44. ὁ μὴ παύσωμαι = 'I will not cease'. ὁ μὴ is a strong negative used with the conjunctive or fut. Ind. to express an emphatic denial: Goodwin MT. p. 102. It is probably not to be explained as = ὁ (δέος ἐστὶ) μὴ. The future sense here belonging to the Aorist conjunctive is tolerably common in Homer: there is nothing strange in it if as some scholars suppose, the sigmatic future is itself (like Lat. faxo) the conj. of a sigmatic Aor.: so ἔδομαι πιθομαι are 2nd Aorist conjunctives used in a future sense. See the discussion in Goodwin MT. App. 2.

45. παρακλεισμὸν τε καὶ ἐνθαυμάζομενος. Cf. supra. 23 ἐν δεικνύμαι οτι οὐκ ἐστι σοφὸς. The exhortation follows in ὡς ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν—οὐκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φροντίζεις; the demonstration is further explained in 29 Ε οὐκ εὑρίσκει ἀφήνω—ἐγγυτέρω ἐστὶ γένει. The clause ζητ ἂν δει ἐντυγχάνοι υἱων defines υἱων more nearly.

48. πόλεως—εἰς σοφίαν καὶ λοχύν = 'a city which is the greatest and most famous in wisdom and strength'. With εἰς = 'in respect of' cf. infra 35 Α ὁ διαφέροντες Ἀθηναίων εἰς ἀρετὴν. Ἀθηναίοις = Ἀθηνῶν ων, whence πόλεως (Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 195 fin.). λοχύν here means strength of character no less than physical power: see Pericles' description of Athenian character and enterprise in Thuc. ii. 40—41.

χρημάτων μὲν—φρονησίως δὲ. Cf. on 28 Ε εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν κτλ. For the position and case of χρημάτων μὲν v. on οὖδε τὸν δῶν θάνατον 29 Α. Infra τῆς ψυχῆς = 'your soul'.

52. οὖκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φροντίζεις is more direct and vivid than 29 Ε οὐκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φρονιζόμενος οὐδὲ φροντίζων which would be the logical expression here: v. on ὅμως δε ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει εἶναι 11 Ε.

54. ἀργύρῳ—ἐζητῶ—ἀληγέω = 'I will question, cross-question and refute'. The words mark three successive stages in the Socratic method. Cf. Laches 187 Ε foll. where Nicias describes the mission of Socrates in similar terms, and for examples see Alcibiades I and Xen. Mem. iv. 2.

58. προσβυτερῷ—ποιήσω. Socrates uses the dat. rather than 30 A
the acc. because he does all this for their good (Dativus Commodi).
Cf. Isaeus περὶ τοῦ Νικοστράτου κλήρου 19 τῷ τεθνεωτί μηδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων ποιήσας.

59. μᾶλλον δὲ—δοσφ. Cf. infr. 39 D χαλεπώτεροι ἐσονταί δοσφ κτλ. On ἐγγυτέρω ἐστὶ γένει Engelhardt remarks that either ἐγγύς εἰσαὶ τῷ γένους οἱ ἐγγύς εἰσαὶ τῶν γένεις is good Greek, but not ἐγγύς εἰσαὶ τῷ γένει.

60. τῆν ἤμην τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσιαν. Cf. infr. 30 D δόσιν ὅμως and contrast 23 C τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν. See also note on 18 B τὰ τὲ μετέωρα φροντιστής.

30 B 66. μηδὲ οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς. μηδὲ joins πρότερον and οὕτω σφόδρα. Tr. 'sooner than, or so earnestly as'. After πρότερον we should expect ἥ, but ὡς does duty instead on account of the following οὕτω σφόδρα. Nearly parallel, but not quite, is Hyperid. Epitaph. 14 ff. (ed. Blass) οὐδένασ οὕτως αὐτοῖς οὐκεῖοι οὐδὲ πιστότεροι ὁμως εἶναι νομίζειν ὡς. In a few examples ὡς or ὡστε (like Latin quam) is actually found after comparatives in Greek, e.g. Xenophon's Frag. III. 4 οὐ μελουσ ὡστε χλιλοι εἰς ἔπιταν, v. infr. on 36 D μᾶλλον—πρέπει [οὕτως] ὡς.

67. οὗκ ἐκ χρήματων κτλ. More impressive than δὲ οὗκ κτλ. (the reading of inferior MSS). Socrates continually proclaimed that virtue or knowledge is the only sure foundation of prosperity and happiness. Cf. Mem. iv. 5. 6 σοφιάν δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν: IV. 8. 6 ἀριστά μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιός ἦν τὸν δρόμα ἐπιμελομένων τοῦ ὡς βελτίστους γίγνεσθαι, ἦδιστα δὲ τὸν μᾶλλον αἰσθανομένους, δι' ἀλλοις γίγνονται. Cf. ibid. i. 6. 9: Alc. ii. 146 E, where it is shewn that in the absence of virtue or knowledge of the good all other knowledge is positively harmful. Euthyd. 281 B ἀρ' ὃν,ὅ πρὸς Δίως, ἂν δ' ἐγώ, ὑφελὸς τι τῶν ἀλλών κτημάτων ἀνευ φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας; The proverb χρήματα χρήματι' ἄνηρ (Pind. Isthm. ii. 11) he repudiated both in theory and in practice: he was one of the poorest men in Athens (v. supra note on 23 C ἐν πενίᾳ μυρίᾳ εἰμι).

70. ἐ—διαφθείρω, ταύτ' ἀν ἐν ἑν v. on 25 א v—א v, א—diamond. ταύτα is 'these doctrines'.

72. οὐδέν λέγει (λέγει τι = 'he is wrong'.

πρὸς ταύτα = 'therefore': frequent in the Tragedians. [On μη ἀφλετε v. App. 2.]

74. ὡς οὖν—διλλα. ὡς is often found with the gen. abs. when dependent on an imperative: Hdt. viii. 144 μήν δὲ ὡς οὕτως ἐχθρισκόνω.
CHAPTER XVIII.

This chapter should be read side by side with Gorg. 521 c foll., where Socrates similarly contends that his mission confers the very greatest benefits on the Athenian people and predicts that should he ever be tried before the dicasts, the trial will be like that of a physician prosecuted by a cook before a bench of children.

2. ois δειθην ούμων supr. 17 D and 20 E.

5. μάλλω γάρ. γάρ explains why Socrates has again asked for a quiet hearing.

7. καὶ γάρ λογε. γάρ is here introductory and should not be translated, v. on 20 E Ξαφνίουτα γάρ λογε τοῦ.

11. καὶ γάρ οἷμαι—βλάπτεσθαι. The dat. and inf. follows 30 D θεμιτῶν εύαι as it might ξεστι οἱ προσήκει. Cf Phaedo 67 B and Tim. 30 A θέμις δὲ οὕτ' ἐφ' οὕτ' ἑλαι τῷ ἀριστῷ δρᾶν ἄλλο πλὴν τὸ κάλλιστον. This remark of Plato is repeatedly quoted and referred to by ancient writers, e.g. Epictetus and Plutarch.


14. καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς—‘and many another’. With this use of τοῖς cf. Thuc. ii. 37 παρὰδέχομαι δὲ μᾶλλον δυνεῖς τινὶ ἢ μεμοίραμενοι ἐτέρους.

16. ἀποκτενόναι. This form of the infinitive from ἀποκτενῶ is not uncommon in Plato.

19. τερέ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν οὐμὲν v. supr. 30 A τὴν ἔμην τῷ θεῷ ὑπερεσπον.

21. ἀτεχνῶς—‘literally’, v. on 18 C ἀτεχνῶς ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦν—30 E τες and on 18 D ἀτεχνῶς ὄσπερ.
el kal γελοιότερον επείν. Cf. Gorg. 486 c el τι καὶ ἀγριοκότερον εἰρήθαι: v. infra on μωστός τινος line 25.

22. προσκέλεψαι = ‘additum’, ‘datum’ as is clear from ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ and προστεθεῖκαν (whose passive is προσκεῖσθαι, v. supr. note on 17 Λ) and infr. 31 Λ ἐπιτέμψειν and οὖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδοσθαί. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ is wrongly bracketed by some editors on the ground that ὁ θεὸς infra renders it superfluous, but v. on 18 c ἐρήμην κατηγορούσεις ἀπολογομεμένου οὖδενός. [App. 2.]

24. νωθεντέρο = ‘somewhat sluggish’, ‘somewhat drowsy’. Infr. δεομένω ἐγείροσθαι = ‘need to be aroused’, sc. out of this state of drowsiness. Cf. infr. 36 δ δεομένῳ ἄγειν σχολήν. In Theaet. 153 b-c we are told that idleness and repose are fatal both to soul and body: τὸ μὲν ἄρα ἀγαθὸν, λίπησις, κατὰ τε ψυχήν καὶ κατὰ σώμα, τὸ δὲ (sc. θυσία) τοῦπαντον; ναλ.

25. μωστός τινος = ‘a sort of gadfly’. τινος (like Latin quidam) apologises for the comparison. The simile may have been suggested to Socrates by the story of Io: v. Aesch. Prom. 674 foll. κερασίς δ′ ὠς ἄραν δεσποτῶν μνήμει χρισθείσο’ ἐμμακεν σπητήματι ἡσυχ σκληρίᾳ. In Meno 80 a Socrates is compared to a torpedo (νάρκη) on account of the paralysing action of his dialectic (δοκεῖς μνὶ παντελῶς— ὁμοφρατος εἶναι—ταύτη τῇ πλατείᾳ νάρκη τῇ θαλασσῇ): elsewhere he compares himself to a midwife (Theaet. 149 a foll. and v. Grote viii. p. 252 ff.). These examples make it clear that we are justified in assigning to μωστός its more ludicrous signification (el kal γελοιότερον επείν supra line 21) of ‘gadfly’ rather than ‘spur’: the words προσκαθιζω, and infr. 31 Λ ἄστερ οἱ νυστάζουστες ἐγερομένου, and particularly κροῆσαντες, seem to me conclusive in favour of this interpretation. [App. 2.]

οἶνον δὴ = ‘even such an one as’. The following τοιοῦτον τινα is added to introduce the relative clause which expresses more precisely what is implied in οἶνον.

27. ἔνα ἴκαστον is the object to καὶ τείθων καὶ δρακίζων. οὖδὲν—προσκαθιζων = ‘never cease from darting down upon you at every point the whole day long’. Cf. Gorg. 517 c οὖδὲν πανόμεθα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ δελ περιφερόμενοι. Xen. Mem. IV. 4. 10 οὖδὲν παύομαι ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

31. οἶνον τάξιν τίνες προῆσαντες τίνες = μηθεὶς τίνες. For the repetition of τίνες (which belongs of course in each case to ἀποκεῖναι) v. Goodwin MT. pp. 73, 74.

31. ἄστερ οἱ νυστάζουστες ἐγερομένου = velut qui dormantantes
excitantur: οἱ probably belongs to ἔγειρθμενοι. The simile here is slightly changed: the δῆμος is no longer a drowsy horse, but a drowsy man, who suddenly crushes the persecuting insect with his hand. [On κρύσσατες v. App. 2.]

33. ἐστα v. on 23 C εἰτ ἐπιχειροῦσιν.

36. τοιοῦτος οἶος—δεδοσθαι = 'the kind of man to have been given'. Cf. Crito 46 β τοιοῦτος οἶος—πειθεσθαι: Goodwin MT. p. 305.

37. οὖ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ ξοικε. On γὰρ v. supr. note on 20 ε 31 β Χαιρεφώντα γὰρ ίσε ποι. For ήσου v. on ήσουν γὰρ 26 ε. ἀνθρωπίνῳ means the course of action appropriate to an ἄνθρωπος, here τῶν ἕαυτον ἐπιμελεῖται. Socrates refers to his personal unselfishness as a proof that he is called of God.

38. ἀνέχοσθαι. For the construction v. Goodwin MT. p. 348: ἀνέχοσθαι is followed either by the gen. or by the acc. with or without a participle.

42. καὶ τοι ἐλ μὲν τί. So Göbel for καὶ ηλ μὲν τί: Cobet and Schanz read καὶ ηλ μὲν τί. καὶ τοι = quamquam = 'and yet', suits exactly here: cf. Phaed. 73 α καὶ τοι ἐλ μὴ ἔτηγχανεν ἅβρας ἐπιστήμην ἐνοῦσα καὶ ὁρᾶς λόγοι, οὐκ ἐν ὁλη τ' ἱσαν τούτο ποιήσεων and ibid. 65 B.

44. ἄχουν ἀν τις λόγον, i.e. I should have been understood, 'my conduct would have been intelligible'. Cf. infr. 34 β τάχ' ἂν λόγον ἔχοιε ὑποθωντες. [App. 2.]

vous δὲ = 'but as it is', v. on καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦ 18 A supra.

46. τούτῳ γε—μάρτυρα. ἀπαναιχυντεῖν means to maintain some shameless falsehood in denial (ἀξ-) of something said by another. Cf. Demosth. πρὸς "Ἀρβοῖον 20 οὗτος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπαναιχυντεῖ (= 'shamelessly denied it'). τούτῳ γε refers forward to ὁ ἐγώ—ἡμεῖς: verbs signifying 'to contradict' like ἀπαναιχυντεῖν, e.g. ἀντιλέγειν ἁμφισβητεῖν, are regularly followed by a clause with ὁ (ὅτι) giving that which is maintained, not that which is denied: cf. Ar. Pol. III. 16. 1287b 23 οὗ τοῖνυ τούτῳ γ' ἀντιλέγουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγεγαίνων ἀθρωπών εἶσαι τῶν κρινοῦντα—ἀλλ' ὅτι. Pl. Rep. v. 476 B τι οὖν ἐὰν—ἀμφισβητήτη ὡς οὐκ ἄλλῃ λέγομεν. Translate 'were unable to bring forward a witness and unblushingly contend that I ever etc.' [Cobet conjectures ἀπαναιχυντήσαι, i.e. 'to make this further unblushing assertion', the ἐκ being used with reference to τάλα πάντα ἀναίσχυντως κατηγοροῦντες: but there is no necessity for any change.]
CHAPTER XIX.

3. τολυπραγμονῶ: so most good MSS: τολυπραγμονῶ is an inferior reading. τολυπραγμονῶ is the antithesis of τὰ ἐμαυτῷ πράττω.

4. ἀναβαλὼν ἐλα τὸ πλῆθος. Cf. Liv. ii. 7. 7 'in contionem escendit'. The ἄνα- refers to the βῆμα or platform as 'escendit' probably to the rostra (Weissenborn in loc.). Cf. note on 17 D ἐτὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβεβηκα.

7. θείον τι καὶ δαμόνιον = 'something divine and supernatural'.

8. φωνῇ is probably a gloss, as nearly all the editors believe. On Socrates' divine sign, v. Introd. pp. xxvii. and xxviii. [App. 2.]

8 δὴ καὶ 'which as you know (δὴ) is just what'. Infra ἐτικωμοθῶ is explained by 76 E foll. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ ὅτως—πάντως ἐναι ὑβριστῆς καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ—δέβαι τινι—καὶ νεότητι γράφασθαι. In particular, Meletus caricatured the δαμόνιον of Socrates by representing it as a personal god: see supra 24 C.

9. ἐμοὶ δὲ—φωνῇ τις γιγνομένη = 'From childhood this has been with me, a voice coming to me, and when it comes etc.' For γιγνομένη cf. Euthyphr. 3 B δτὶ δὴ σῷ τῷ δαμόνιῳ φῆς σαυτῷ ἐκδότοις γλύνεσθαι. On ἐκ παιδῶν ἀρξαμένοι = iam inde a puero v. note on ἐκ παιδῶν 18 B. [App. 2.]

11. τούτο δὲ ἄν μέλλω πράττειν. τούτο depends on πράττειν: with μέλλω another πράττειν is to be understood. For the statement itself, cf. Phaedr. 242 B ἐκέ ἐνε ὡς ἐπισχεῖ δὲ ἀν μέλλω πράττειν and Cic. de Div. 1 § 132 esse divinum quiddam, quod δαμόνιον appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, saepe revocanti.

12. ἐναντιώται τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν. On Socrates' abstention from political life v. Introd. p. xxv.

15. πάλαι ἐπικεφαλήσα—πάλαι. The repetition of πάλαι not only increases the rhetorical effect but greatly intensifies the meaning: if (with Cobet and Schanz) we omit the first πάλαι Socrates only says 'If I had entered on politics I should have perished long
ago': as it is, he says 'If I had long ago etc., I should long ago have perished'. He implies that there would have been but a brief interval between his debut and his death.

16. ἀπολέλη—ἀφελήκη v. on ξυνήδη ch. viii. 22 c. With οὐτ' ἄν—οὐτ' ἄν Wohlrab compares Symp. 196 E οὐτ' ἄν ἐτέρφω δοὴ οὐτ' ἄν ἀλλον διδάξειε.

17. καὶ μοι μη. On καὶ 'pray' v. supra note on καὶ μοι δεῦρο 31 E εἰσέ趋 ch. xii. 24 c.

22. καὶ εἴ = 'even if'; whereas εἰ καὶ simply means 'although' (etsi). The expression is nearly equivalent to but is somewhat less emphatic than εἰ μελλει καὶ ἀλλον χρόνον σωθησοῦσαι. In this impressive sentence Plato appears definitely to renounce his early aspirations after political life: the Gorgias contains his final renunciation: see 513 A and 515 C foll.

CHAPTER XX.

2. οὐ λόγους ἄλλο—ἐργα. Cron quotes Demosth. Olynth. ii. 12 ἄτασ μὲν λόγος, ἄν ἀνὴρ τὰ πράγματα, ματαιῶν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενῶ. It was a common taunt levelled at Socrates and the Sophists that they were more given to words than deeds: v. Aristoph. Nub. 1003 στωμύλλων κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τριβολεκτράπελ' σόα-περ οἱ νῦν: to the Athenians of the conservative school deeds seemed better (δ' ομεῖς τιμᾶτε) than words, ibid. 986.

4. οὐδ' ἄν εἴη = ne uni quidem is more emphatic than οδευθ' ἄν. Cf. Prot. 338 A οὐδ' ἄν εἴη φανεύ.

6. μὴ ὀπείκων δὲ ἀμα καὶ ἀμα ἄν. So the Bodleian MS. The first ἀμα goes with ὀπείκων: the second is correlative (cf. 31 D surp. τᾶκαι—τᾶλαι) and belongs to ἀπολέλην. Tr. 'and that I would perish on the spot sooner than give way'. μὴ goes closely with ὀπείκων. The nearest parallel to this somewhat unusual expression seems to be Xen. Cyr. iii. 1. 27 δρα μὴ ἀμα τε εἰ τοῦτοι καὶ ἀμα οὐ φιλον νομίσωσι σε, which =μὴ εἰ τοιοῦτα ἀμα καὶ ἀμα οὐ φιλον νομίσωσι σε (Fischer). [App. 2.]

7. φορτικά μὲν καὶ δικαικά. φορτικά = ἐπαχρῆ = 'gravia auribus et molestâ' (Fischer) means what an audience will resent (think a burden or φόρος) as in bad taste—e.g. self-praise, as here: δικαικά means such as one often hears in law-courts. Cf. Demosth. De Pace 4 ἀκριβῶς 6' εἰδώς—τὸ λέγειν τερί ὄν αὐτὸς εἰπὲ τις καὶ τερί αὐτοῦ—τῶν πάνυ λυσιτελοῦντων (and therefore

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often done i.e. διακυίδ—ὅς, οὖτως ἡγούμαι φορτικῶς καὶ ἡμαχθές ὡστε ἀνάγκην ὀδον ὀρῶν διμές ἀτοκνό-. Tr. 'what sounds arrogant and forensic'. [App. 2.]

ἡγάγαρ. On γάρ v. supr. note on 20 E.


προυτανέουσα. The Athenian βουλή of 500 was divided into ten divisions of 50 each, corresponding to the 10 tribes. Each division served for a tenth part of the year (προυτανέα = 35 or 36 days: in leap year 38 or 39) as a select council for transacting necessary business and preparing measures (προβουλεύματα) to be submitted to the ἐκκλησία: the members of this council were called προυτάνεις. One of their number was chosen by lot as president (ἐπιστάτης τῶν προυτανεων) for a day and night, it being understood that the same man should not be chosen twice. The President kept the keys of the Treasury and Record-House (Μητρωόν) and also the State seal: in Socrates' time he presided at the meetings of the Assembly as well as of the προυτάνεις and had to put the question (ἐπιψηφίζειν).

tοῦς δέκα στρατηγούς v. Xen. Hell. i. 6. 33 foll., i. 7. 4 foll., and Grote Vol. vii. p. 411 foll. In the battle of Arginusae (a group of small islands east of Cape Malea in the south-east of Lesbos), the Athenians signally defeated the Spartan fleet under Callicratidas, who was drowned in the encounter (July 406). The delight of the Athenians at their victory was changed to shame and indignation when they learnt that no attempt had been made either to save the crews of their own shipwrecked vessels or to recover the dead bodies after the fight. The generals (except Conon and Archestratus who had not been present at the battle) were at once recalled: two of them refused to comply: the other six were put upon their trial and executed. Plato says δέκα somewhat inaccurately: at most the Athenians only wished to try eight. Diogenes Laertius ii. 24, no doubt on the authority of Plato, makes the same mistake.

11. ἀναλαμάνεις. ἀναρεῖσθαι is regularly used of removing the dead bodies after a battle: cf. Rep. x. 614 ἀναρεῖσθαι—τῶν νεκρῶν—ὡς καθολικῶς μὲν ἀνηρεθῇ κτλ. Infr. τοῦς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας.
12. παρανόμως...θοδέ. At the trial of the generals it was proposed by Callixenus that two urns should be distributed to each tribe, one for ‘guilty’ and the other for ‘innocent’, and that all the generals should be condemned or acquitted together (ἀθρόω), Xen. Hell. i. 7. 9. This was in direct opposition to the statute known as the Καννώνον ψήφισμα, which enacted among other clauses that it should be held illegal to vote upon the case of two or more accused persons at once (Xen. Hell. i. 7. 34; cf. Hesych. s. v. Καννώνον ψήφισμα). Callixenus was threatened with a γραφή παρανόμων by Euryptolemus, who was ultimately compelled to withdraw his threat on pain of being included in the same accusation with the generals. Thereupon some of the πρυτάνεις declared that they would not put the question: but all of them ultimately desisted from their opposition, except only Socrates who οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ’ ἣ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πάντα ποιήσει (Hell. i. 7. 15). In the other two contemporary accounts which we possess of this affair (Xen. Mem. i. 1. 18 and iv. 4. 2: it is not certain though I think probable that Pl. Gorg. 473 eff. refers to this occasion) it is implied that Socrates was ἐπιστάτης for the day and refused to put the question (ἐπιψηφίζειν); the balance of evidence remains in spite of Grote in favour of this view. With ὡς ἐν τῷ ὑπηρέτῳ...θοδέ cf. Hell. i. 7. 35 καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὑπερῶν μετέμειλε τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι: Xenophon says they conceived such a hatred for Callixenus that they let him starve to death.

15. ἐναντία ἐψηφισθήμην. The precise reference of these words is not clear: they cannot of course (as Wohlrab apparently thinks) refer to Socrates’ refusal as ἐπιστάτης to put the question. They refer either (a) to Socrates’ protest at the deliberations of the πρυτάνεις before the question was put, or (b) to his vote in the assembly. The words of Xenophon (Hell. i. 7. 14—16) are clearly in favour of the first view: οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις ωμολόγους πάντες προῆσεν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρόνισκου. That ψηφισθήμην does not necessarily mean to register a vote is clear from Symp. 177 D οὐδείς σοι—φάναι τῷ Σωκράτῃ, ἐναντία ψηφισθήμην. [App. 2.]

16. ἐνθεωρήσας μὲ καὶ ἀπέγνας—‘to indict and arrest me’. ἐθεωρεῖ and ἀπεγνάγη were two summary modes of procedure in cases of manifest and admitted breach of the laws. The first was usually employed when any one exercised political rights or privileges to which he had no legal claim. Information was given to the archon and the culprit was at once arrested (δ’ ἐνθεωρήσας...
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πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν ἐνδειξίαν ἀποφέρει, Pollux viii. 49). The second was generally chosen where offenders against life and property were caught in the act: they were handed over to the eleven (τοῖς ἐνδεκα, cf. infr. 37 c), who at once inflicted on them the statutory penalty. In the present case Socrates by holding out against the resolution of his fellow πρωτάκεις was considered to be exceeding his rights. Cf. Xen. Hell. i. 7. 14: ὁ δὲ ἐβδομὴν καλεῖται (=summon) τοὺς οὓς φάσκοντας (sc. τὴν διαψήφισιν προθέσεως).

17. καλεόντων καὶ βοῶντων. Cf. Horace Carm. iii. 3. 2 ‘non civium arbor prava iubentium’. Döring (Fleckeisen’s Jahrb. 1879, p. 16) believes that Horace had this passage in view when he wrote the opening lines of his famous ode.

32 C


22. οἱ τρίακοντα = ‘the Thirty’. They are not spoken of as the ‘30 tyrants’ till Diodorus. After the fall of Athens in 404 B.C., the rule of the Thirty was established with the cooperation of Lysander: their brief period of power was marked by fearful tyranny and bloodshed: Grote viii. p. 27 foll. Infra πυματον αὐτῶν = ‘with four others’.

23. τὴν ὀθλον = the Rotunda or Σκαὸς (so called because it resembled a parasol in shape). This building was situated near the Μητρόεως and the Βουλευτῆρως in the plain at the foot of the Areopagus on the north-east side. It served as the dining-hall of the Prytanes, and, while they lasted, of the Thirty.

24. Δίκαια τὸν Σαλαμίνον: Xenoph. Hell. ii. 3. 39: Grote viii. pp. 35—36. To this incident Horace seems to allude in Carm. iii. 3. 3 Non vultus instantis tyranni etc. Cf. Seneca Epist. 28. 8 Triginta—tyranni Socratem circumsteterunt, nec potuerunt animum eis infringere.

ἀποθάνων = ‘be put to death’, as in 32 D infr.: v. on πεποθβατε

17 A.

25. οὐ δή: not adverbial, but the direct object to προσέδατον.

26. ἀνασπῆσαι = ‘to implicate’. The verb ἀνασπῆσαι is used of involving one in something unpleasant or bad: Ar. Ach. 847 δίκου ἀνασπῆσαι. Hence it often means ‘to defile’, e.g. Ar. Nub. 1023 and Plato Phaedo 67 a: so ἀνασπῆσαι= ‘tainted’ in Phaed. 83 d τὸν σώματος ἀνασπέλα. In the language of medicine it means ‘to infect’ e.g. Thuc. ii. 51. 4 ἔτερον ἄφ' ἔτερον θεραπεῖαν ἀνασπῆσαι μενοι ὡσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνησον.

30. τούτου δὲ sums up in a word the clause τοῦ δὲ—ἔργαζεσθαι so as to provide a more emphatic antithesis to θανάτου μέν. Cf. note on εἶ δὲ μέν—ἔνταῦθα δὲ 38 Β and ταῦτα δὲ in 38 Α. τὸ πᾶν is adverbial: Tim. 72 Β τὸ πᾶν ἡγομένωτε ὑπ’ κτλ.

31. ἐκείνῃ ἡ ἀρχή, viz. οἱ τριάκοντες. Infra ὦστε is to be taken with ἔξεπληξαν and not with οὕτως ἔσχερα.

36. διὰ ταχέων. The tyranny of the Thirty lasted 8 months (Hell. II. 4. 21).

CHAPTER XXI.

3. ἐβούθησον τοῖς δικαίοις. τοῖς δικαίοις is neuter: the plural 32 Ε refers to different occasions—’what was just in each case’.

6. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν...οὐδὲς sc. τούτῳ ἠτη διεγένετο ἄν.

8. τούτους: explained by the participial clause οὔδεν πῶσο τι 33 Α ἐνχυκρῆσας κτλ. Cf. 35 οὔ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ κάθηται ὁ δικαστὴς, ἐπὶ τῷ καταχαριζομαι τὰ δίκαια. Infr. οὐδὲς οὕτως is in the predicate.

13. τὸ ἑμαντοῦ πράττοντος, ’fulfilling my mission’, viz. to examine and exhort the Athenian people: v. supra 29 Η, 30 Ε.

ἐπιθυμεῖ—ἐφθάνησα. The aorist ἐφθάνησα is used to correspond with the aorist in διδάσκαλος οὖν πῶσο τῷ ἥγεν ὁμὴν.

15. οὐδὲ—μη λαμβάνων δὲ οὐ. οὐδὲ negatives the whole clause, “neither do I converse for payment, and refuse to converse without payment.” (Church). Cf. ch. IV. 19 Ο. χρήματα πράττομαι, οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἀληθές. Socrates’ refusal to take a fee was one of the many points of difference between him and the Sophists: v. Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 6, where Socrates declares that those who take money for teaching make themselves slaves (τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας τῆς ὁμίλως μοσέων ἀνδρατοδιστᾶς ἐαυτῶν ἀπεκάλει), because they are no longer free to talk on any subject they please. In a conversation with the Sophist Antiphon, who argued that to teach gratis was to confess that your instruction was valueless, Socrates is still more
severe: τῶν τε γὰρ ὥραν ἐὰν μὲν τις ἄργυρου πωλῆ ὑπὸ βουλομένης, τὸν ἄγοντα ἄποκαλοθήσῃ—καί τὴν σοφίαν ὕπατος τοὺς μὲν ἄργυρου τῷ βουλομένης πωλοῦντας, σοφίαις ἄποκαλοθίν κτλ. (Mem. 1. 6. 13).

33 B 17. παρέχω ἐμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν = 'I submit to be questioned'. The subject to ἐρωτᾶν is of course 'the rich and poor'. So καλὸς ἰδεῖν = 'fair to be seen', i.e. fair for others to see. With παρέχω in this sense cf. Phaedr. 228 B ἐμαυτὸν σοι ἐμφανίζων παρέχειν. παρέχω by itself is often used in this way, e.g. Gorg. 456 B φάρμακαν πιέειν ἢ τεθείον ἢ καύσας παρασκευὴν τῷ ἱερῷ and Prot. 348 Α. καὶ ἲδάν τις—δὲν ἀν λέγων sc. παρέχω ἐμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν. Tr. 'and also if any one wants to answer and hear what I’ve got to say'. Socrates said what he had to say oftener by questions than by answers. [App. 2.]

19. ἀτε τὸς χρηστὸς γλυκεταί εἴτε μή. Socrates means Alcibiades and Critias, v. Introd. pp. xxv., xxix. καὶ τοῦτων in this sentence is to be taken with εἴτε τις, not with τὴν αἰτίαν: ἐγὼ is placed for emphasis immediately after τοῦτων.

20. τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπέχωμαι. The phrase τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπέχωμα as Göbel shews (Fulda Program 1882) means to incur responsibility for something bad. Here it is chosen with reference to the second alternative εἴτε μή (sc. χρηστὸς γλυκεταί), since Alcibiades and Critias had both turned out badly. Infr. ὡς depends on μηδὲν: its antecedent is τοῦτων.


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33 C 4. δτι is 'because', answering to διὰ τι—χαίροντι. Stallbaum compares Euthyphr. 3 B φηλ γὰρ με ποιήτην εἴναι πρέπει καὶ—ἐγράψατο τοῦτων ἄσττων ἑνεκα. μανθάνω, ὃ Σώκρατες: δτι δὴ σὺ τὸ δαιμόνιον φῆς αὐτῷ ἐκάστοτε γλυκεταί.

5. χαίρων τῶν ἐξεταζόμενων: χαίρων is followed by an instrumental dat. of cause: Hom. Od. XIX. 462—463 τῷ μὲν ἢ παῖς καὶ πτημα μὴν χαίρων νοστήσατέ. In 23 C supra where ἄκοιντος follows χαίρων we have ἐξεταζόμενων τῶν ἄνθρωπων:
in Gorg. 513 B we find χαλρων with a gen. abs. τῷ αὐτῶν γὰρ ἣδει λεγομένων τῶν λόγων ἐκατοι χαλρων.

7. ὡς ἔγω φήμη v. supra on ἀπερ λόγῳ 21 A.

8. εἴ ἐνυπνίων. Socrates seems to have looked upon dreams as an indication of the divine will. Cf. Phaedo 60 B 'I have often had a vision (ἐνυπνίων) recurring in various forms, always saying the same thing: ὡς Σωκρατες, έφη, μονοικην ποιει καὶ ἑργάζον. See also Crito 44 A = Diog. Laert. II. 5. 35 where we hear that a lady clothed in white appeared to Socrates in a vision two nights before he died, and addressed him in these words: ἡματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθιν πρεπελων ήκοι (cf. II. ix. 363). On the night before Socrates first met Plato he is said to have dreamt that a young swan rested on his knees for a moment and then suddenly flew aloft, uttering a sweet note (Diog. Laert. III. 5).

9. θελα μοίρα = 'divine dispensation'; μοίρα for *μόρ-ia is connected with εἴ-μαρ-ται.

11. εὐλεγκτα = 'easily verified' viz. by such an indirect proof as Socrates proceeds to give.

13. χρήν = oportetbat not oporteret. In the apodosis to an unfulfilled conditional sentence ἂν is generally omitted with verbs expressing necessity, possibility, and the like (χρήν εἴδει εἴξην εἴκος ἵνα etc.) unless (which is rare) the "main idea is contained in the verb of necessity": Goodwin MT. p. 152. χρήν is for χρῆ ἵνα = necesse erat: in ἔχρη the e is due to the working of analogy.

The protasis ei—διαφθείρω, τὸν δὲ διέφθαρκα (primary tenses v. on 25 B) is subdivided into two disjunctive clauses eiτε—ἐγνωσάν, and ei δὲ μὴ— nowrapelv: the substitution of ei δὲ μὴ for the more natural eiτε (cf. ei δὲ αὐθ in 40 B following eiτε in 40 C) is partly occasioned by the intervention of the clause ei ταῖαἱ—τιμωρεῖσθαι and throws additional emphasis on the second alternative. Finally the original protasis is repeated with a secondary tense of the verb πᾶσχω (εἰπεὶ ὑποθεταν: implying—they have not suffered harm) in eiτερ—οίκειοι.

14. ἐγνωσάν = 'had perceived' v. on ἐγνώσαν 22 B supra.

15. αὐτοὺς ἀναβαλλοντας: αὐτοὺς = ipsos. For ἀναβαλλοντας v. on ἐπὶ διαστήματον ἀναβέβηκα 17 D.


20. μηνήσθαι καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι = μησικακεῖν (Cron). The words καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι are rejected by most editors: but as they
occur in the best ms and make good sense I do not feel quite justified in bracketing them, in spite of καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι above.

πάντως = 'certainly'. With πάρεισον ἐν ταύταις cf. Thuc. III. 8 'Ολυμπίαν παρείναι and the 'Huc ades' of Latin poetry.

22. Κρίτων οὖν. This Crito (who gives his name to the dialogue Criti) was one of Socrates' most devoted friends. After trying in vain to persuade him to make his escape from prison, he attended him affectionately in his last moments: to Crito Socrates addressed his last words (Phaedo 59 B, 60 A, 63 E, 115 A foll.). In the Euthydemus Socrates relates to him his interview with the two sophists Dionysodorus and Euthydemus. There are no sufficient grounds for believing that he was the author of any philosophical works. Crito's son Critobulus, a youth of much beauty (Xen. Symp. 4, 10 foll.), appears as interlocutor in Xenophon's Oeconomicus. Socrates playfully rebukes him for kissing Alcibiades' pretty boy in Mem. I. 3. As to the others mentioned in this chapter, nothing is known of Lysanias Antiphon Nicostratus Theozotides Theodotus Paralus or Aeantodorus. Aeschines wrote Socratic dialogues and speeches after the manner of Gorgias. His dialogues (of which a few insignificant fragments remain) were much praised in antiquity for their style. We are told that he was poor, and gave lectures for money (ἐμμαθηθεὶς ἀκροδέους Diog. Laert. II. 7. 62). He is said to have spent some time at the court of the younger Dionysius. His devotion to Socrates was most touching (πένης εἴλαι καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οἶδεν ἔχω, δίδωμι δὲ σοι ἐμαυτόν Diog. Laert. II. 34): in character he appeared from his writings to be ἐπιεικῆς καὶ μέτριος (Athen. XIII. 611 D), but from a fragment of Lysias' speech against him (Lys. Frag. 1 ed. Scheibe) it is doubtful if his practice was as good as his theory. Epigenes was a favourite pupil of Socrates (v. Mem. III. 12) and was present when he died (Phaedo 59 B). Demodocus, a man of some mark at Athens, was somewhat older than Socrates (Theag. 127 E), to whose care he seems to have entrusted his son Theages (Theag. ad fin.), whose weak health debarred him from political life (ὅθεν ἡ θανάτος Rep. vi. 496 B); Adimantus was Plato's own brother. Apollodorus, called μανικὸς (Symp. 173 D) on account of his excitable disposition, was continually with Socrates (Mem. III. 11. 17), and at his death was more moved than any of the others (Phaedo 117 D).

φώσ—δημότης. Socrates belonged to the deme 'Αλωτεκῆ of the tribe Antiochis.
24. ὁ Σφήντης. Σφήντης was a deme of the tribe Ἀκαμαντῖς. Infr. Κηφισίου means 'of the deme Κηφισία', in the tribe Ἕρακλης. A marks the transition to a new set of relationships. This use (= 'besides') is not rare in Plato (e.g. Rep. x. 603 b) and very frequent in the Attic orators.


καταδέοσθαι = deprecari, i.e. to entreat one not to do something.

33. ἐχρήν μάλιστα μὲν—παρασχέονται = 'ought properly to 34 Α have called'. μάλιστα μὲν = as the best course: the next best course (δεύτερος πλοῦς) is given in the apodosis to the following εἰ δὲ clause. Cf. Euthyd. 304 A ἄλλα μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλληλω μόνω διαλέγεσθον (imperative), εἰ δὲ μὴ, εἰπέρ ἄλλου τὸν ἐκαπνίον, ἐκεῖνον μόνον, δὲ γὰρ διδὴ ἀργύριον.

36. ἐγώ παραχαρῶ sc. σοὶ τοῦ βῆματος (Riddell).

37. τοῦτον πάν τούναντιον = 'quite the reverse of this': an adverbal acc. in apposition to the sentence, ν. on 25 B τούναντιον τοῦτον πάν and on 34 D. The object to ἐφρήσετε is πάντας κτλ.

41. λόγον ἔχουν ν. on 31 B εἰχόν δὲ των λόγων: cf. infra 34 B ἔχουσι λόγου line 43.

42. οἱ τούτων προσήκοντες = 'the relations of these men'. προσήκοντες is used exactly as a noun: cf. Legg. ix. 868 B τῶν προσήκοντας τοῦ τελευτήσαντος.

43. τίνα ἄλλαν—δικαίων = 'what other explanation does the support they give to me admit of except the true and honest one?'

44. ἄλλα ἢ ν. above on δι' οὖν ἄλλα ἢ 20 D. ἔνθεοι—ἀνθεότοι: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 305 n. 2.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. δὲν δὴ ν. supra note on 18 E.

5. εἰ δὲ μὲν ἐδειχθη— ἐγὼ δὲ ποιήσω. On εἰ (= 'that') after 34 C ἀγαθάκησεν v. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 274: on μὲν—δὲ ν. note on ch. xvii. 28 D—εἰ δτε μὲν κτλ.: and on ἐδειχθη note on λίποιμ τὴν τάξιν 28 E.

8. παύει βιβλιασάμενος. Fischer compares Aristoph. Plutus 303 foll. ὅρω τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος καθεδουμένοιν ἱστηρίαν ἔχοντα μετὰ
NOTES ON XXIII 34 C

tων παιδίων καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς; and Vesp. 563 foll. Every means was employed to awaken the compassion of the judges in Athenian trials: but Socrates ὤδεν ἥδη ἔστω τῶν εἰ ὠθήτων ἐν τῷ δικαστήρῳ παρὰ τοῦ νόμου τοῖς (Xen. Mem. iv. 4. 4).

10. ἦγεὶ δὲ ὤδεν ἄρα καὶ. ἄρα here expresses surprise: that Socrates should act so differently from others in the same situation might seem strange. ἄρα has the same force infr. 37 c—D el οὕτως ἀλγιστός εἰμι—ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς βαδίζως; and in Crito 46 D. Cf. also Tim. 51 c τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα (=after all) ἢν ὅ λόγος and Apol. 40 e.

11. οὐ εὖ δέ δώσας goes closely with τῶν δικαστῶν: 'what might be thought the supreme danger'. Socrates did not so regard it himself infr. 37 b.

12. αὐθαδὸντοροιν ἄν—σχοιν = ‘will harden himself' (Church), lit. ‘will become more obdurate'.

13. αὐτὸς τοῦτος = 'just because of this': cf. supra 24 A τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπεκδύσαμαι.

34 D 15. οὐκ ἀξίω μὲν γάρ ἡγεῖμαι = 'I do not think you need be'. Socrates wishes to make it clear that he is putting only a possible and not necessarily a real case (hence τὰ χ' οὖν and el δ'). οὖν in el δ' οὖν is resumptive, v. on 29 D el οὖν με.

ἐνεργὴ ἄν μοι δοκῶ—λέγειν. ἄν goes with λέγειν: Goodwin (MT. p. 72) cites Xen. Cyrop. vili. 7. 25 καὶ νῦν ἢδεως ἄν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνήσαμαι.

17. τοῦτο αὐτό τὸ τοῦ Ὄμηρου = 'in these very words of Homer'. τοῦτο αὐτό τὸ is the acc. in apposition to the sentence: cf. Theaet. 183 ε Παμενίδης δὲ μοι φαίνεται, τὸ τοῦ Ὄμηρου, αἰδοίοις τέ μοι ἀμα δεινός τε. τὸ λεγόμενον 'as the saying is' admits of the same explanation: so ἄν τὸν αὐτόν and similar expressions. The line in Homer is οὗ γάρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἐσσι παλαίφατον ὀδὸν ἀπὸ πέτρης (Od. xix. 163), "an old proverbial expression, referring to the story that the first men came from trees and rocks" (Ameis in loc.). οὕτως ἐγώ = ne ego quidem sc. any more than they. I formerly suggested τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Ὄμηρου, αὐτὸ referring to 38 c, but now think the mss right.

19. ἕν αὐθαδὸντοι = 'out of human beings'.

καὶ καὶ. καὶ here is 'also' as in εἰσὶν μὲν τὸ τινὲς καὶ οἰκείων in line 16. καὶ οἱ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθροπος 'Α. τρεῖς = 'yes men of Athens and three sons'. The separation of οἱ καὶ from τρεῖς is for emphasis. As to the facts compare Phaedo 116 b δύο γάρ αὐτῷ οἱ καὶ οἱ σμικρὸν ἡσαν,
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eis δὲ μέγας. Their names were Lamprocles Sophroniscus and Menexenus; Lamprocles was the oldest (Xen. Mem. ii. 2. 1).

24. αὐθαδιζόμενος 'from obstinacy' cf. supra c αὐθαδέστερον 34 E ἀν — σχοινή. After ἀλλὰ we should expect participles to balance αὐθαδιζόμενος: instead of saying ἀλλ' ἐχον θαρραλέως πρὸς θάνατον καὶ οἴμονος οὐ καλὸν εἶναι κτλ., Socrates chooses a form of expression which enables him to avoid dwelling upon his own courage in the face of death and throws more emphasis on the shame of such attempts to move the judges.

26. διὰ λόγος = alia res est (Göbel).

πρὸς δὲ ὀν δέχαν κτλ. = 'but at any rate for my own credit and for yours, etc.' δ' ὀν as in 17 A (where see note) δ' τι μὲν ύμεις πεπώνθ' θανατε—οὐκ ὁδ' ὑπερ οὖν.

28. τούτῳ τούνομα: v. 23 Λ δυναμά δὲ τούτῳ λέγεσθαι, σοφὸς εἶναι. For εἰς' ὀν ἀληθεὶς εἰς' ὀν ψεύδος (ψεύδος is preferred to ψευδές in this phrase) cf. Legg. xi. 934 D ἐν τ' ὀν δοῦλον ἐὰν τ' ὀν καὶ ἠλεύθερον περιωρ. Sometimes οὖν is inserted only after the second εἰς (Soph. Phil. 345): sometimes only after the first, e.g. Soph. O. T. 1049 εἰς' ὀν ἐν' ἄγρων εἴτε καθή' ἐλειδὼν, and Pl. Euthyphr. 3 D εἰς' ὀν φθονός, ὡς σο λέγεις, εἴτε δ' ἀλλ' τι. The εἰς' ὀν — εἰς' ὀν of 27 C supra is hardly parallel; there the first οὖν = 'therefore'. [App. 2.]

30. διὰ οὖν δεδομένον γε κτλ. = 'but at all events men have made up their minds that Socrates is in some way better etc.' Socrates means that he had the reputation of being 'unco guid'. On διὰ οὖν — γε v. on 27 C above. τὸν Σωκράτη almost = 'the great Socrates' (ironical): cf. Theaet. 166 A γέλατα δὴ τὸν ἐμέ (me, the great Protagoras) εἰ τοῖς λόγοις ἀπεδέξατο and Phaedr. 238 A τὸν ἑαυτὸν δὴ λέγων μάλα σεμών καὶ ἐγκωμίαζων. [App. 2.]

33. τοιούτῳ ἐκτούμενοι = 'are to behave in this fashion': Goodwin 35 A MT. p. 20.

35. δοκοῦσας μὲν τι δἀναι, 'considered to be somewhat', 'men of reputation'. Cf. 41 E ἐὰν δοκοῦσι τι εἶναι μηδὲν διότε. Infra ως of course belongs to ὡς δοκοῦσα.

θαυμάσσα ὃ δὴ ἐργαζόμενος = 'shewing marvellous zeal'. The phrase θαυμάσσα (θαυμαστὰ) ἐργάζεσθαι is idiomatically used by Plato as = πάντα λόγον καίνειν. Cf. Rep. v. 474 Α θείων διασταθετέον ὡς θαυμάσσα ἐργαζόμενοι. Symp. 212 D οὕτωι ζηλοτυπῶν μὲ καὶ φθονῶν θαυμαστὰ ἐργάζεται (nearly = implores me'). So θαυμαστὰ δρῶτες in Theaet. 151 A, δεδομεν τῆς ἐμῆς συνουσίας καὶ
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37. ἐνέπειρα διανέμας ἐσομένων: the subject to ἐσομένων is supplied from ολομένους. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 302, 1, note.

40. διαφέρουσα—εἰς ἑστήν: on εἰς = 'in respect of', v. supra, note on 29 D.

35 B 42. οὕτω emphatically repeats the subject: v. on 19 A ταῦτα.

43. ταῦτα γάρ: γάρ refers to οἳ ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ἀλήχονη—

ἡμᾶς: viz. when you are accused, v. supr. 34 C. The antithesis is between ἡμᾶς and ἡμεῖς, and (to a less extent) between τοιοῦτος and ἐπιτρέπετε: you (when accused) should not do this, and if we do it, you (as judges) should not permit it. [App. 2.]

44. τοῖς δοκοῦσι καὶ ὅροις τι εἶναι = 'who have even the smallest reputation'. Cf. Prot. 353 D καὶ ὅροιν. καὶ ὅροι (vel minime) τι is Heindorf's emendation for καὶ ὅρησον of B.

47. τὰ ὑλικά ταῦτα δηματὰ = "these pitiful pieces of acting" (Church). The word ἐλάγειν is very appropriate, because it means not only 'bring into court' but also 'bring on the stage': Rep. 11. 381 D μὴ ἐν τραγῳδίαι—ἐλ σαγέτω Ἡραν ἡλλομένην: v. also supra note on ἐλάγεις 24 D.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. οὖν δικαίων μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι = 'I do not think it just either': that it is dishonourable Socrates has already shewn. οὖν = ne—quidem as in οὖν ἐγώ in 34 D above. By 'just' Socrates probably means what is legally as well as morally right: for in Mem. iv. 6. 6 and iv. 4. 12 (φημὶ γὰρ ἐγώ τὸ νόμμον δικαιοῦν εἶναι) he identifies the νόμων with the δικαιοῦν.

35 C 3. ἀποφηγόμεν: pass. of ἀποφηγίζεσθαι v. on 17 A above.

4. εἰπ τὸῦτο—εἰπ τὸ καταχαρίζομαι v. on 33 A τοιοῦτος. καταχαρίζομαι, 'to yield out of partiality', generally denotes some concession which it is wrong to make (this is the force of κατά, cf. κατακράτος= 'to make gain of wrongly'). So in Gorg. 513 D μὴ καταχαρίζομεν οἷλα διαμαχάμενον: Arist. Pol. 11.
9. καταδιωκόμενοι καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι πολλὰ τῶν κωνω̄ν. Here translate 'to give away justice by favour'.
6. κρίναν ταύτα, 'decide thereupon': ταύτα = τὰ δίκαια.
καὶ ὑμῶν—δικάσανθει, and he has sworn, not to favour but to judge, etc. The words ὁ διαρκέως refer to obste χάριτος ἐνεκα in the oath (v. infra): the negative ὁ (for which μὴ would be more regular) is kept probably because Socrates wishes to bring the words of the oath vividly before the minds of the judges. All Athenians who had been admitted as Heliasts for the current year had to take the following oath in the beginning of their year of office: ὑψιστοῦμαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ ψφίσματα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων, περὶ δ' ὅτι ἢν νόμου μὴ δόσι, γνώμη τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ καὶ ὁπλε χάριτος ἐνεκ' ὅπλε ἔχοντας (Gilbert, Handbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer1 i. p. 373).
10. δέσιοντο. After δέσιοντε, δεῦρ is hardly necessary: Plato adds it because already in his time δέσιον had come to mean no more than 'think'. Cf. Rep. iv. 436 D obk ἢν οἴμαι δέσιον ὅπλε λέγειν δεῦρ.
11. μὴν ἕγουμαι καλά: 34 E foll.
12. μὴν δίκαια μὴν δοσία: as Socrates has just shewn in 35 c. 35 D μὴν δοσία, viz. because such conduct is forbidden by the oath.
άλλωσ τε μέντοι κτλ. = 'yes by Zeus, both in every other case and particularly', etc. Cf. Aesch. Eum. 725—726 οἰκον δίκαιων τοῦ σέβοντ' εὐεργετείν, ἀλλωσ τε πάντως χῶτε δεόμενος τόχοι; [App. 2.]
14. τῷ δεσθαι μιαζομήν like ἀπολογοῦμενος κατηγορών in line 16 is an oxymoron: 'constrain you by entreaties'. Cf. 22 οἱ λόγοι δεῦρ τοῦ πλείστου ἐνδείκνυσθαι.
16. καὶ ἀπενοσίς κτλ. = 'and my defence would literally be an accusation': v. on ἀπενοσίς supra note on 17 D.
PART II.

After the Verdict.

(SECOND SPEECH.)

Socrates was found guilty by 281 votes to 220. As an indictment for impiety was according to Athenian law an ἄγων τιμητός (i.e. the penalty was not fixed by law beforehand but determined by the judges in accordance with the assessment or τίμησις of one or other of the parties to the suit), the announcement of the verdict ‘guilty’ was followed by a second speech of Meletus, demanding the penalty of death. To this Socrates now replies and proposes a counter-penalty: v. Introduction p. xxx.

CHAPTER XXV.

36 A 4. ξυμβάλλεται. ξυμβάλλεσθαι = 'contribute to' is regularly followed by ἐλεῖς, e.g. Thucyd. III. 45. 5 ἡ τοιχη—οὐδὲν ἔλαιον ξυμβάλλεται ἐστὶ τὸ ἔπαιρεν. The position of τὸ μὲν μὴ ἄγανακτεῖν at the beginning of the sentence leads one to expect some verb like παρέχει for it to depend upon: Socrates uses ξυμβάλλεται instead because the word suits the πολλὰ of ἄλλα τὲ μοι πολλὰ better. This looseness of construction is affected by Plato to make the speech seem as if it had been spoken. Cron compares Rep. 331 B τὸ μηδὲ ἀκούτα τῶν ἐξαπατήσαι—ἐλεῖς τοῦτο ἡ τῶν χρημάτων κτήσις ξυμ-βάλλεται, where ἐλεῖς τοῦτο (like ὀὖν in Apol. 35 B) is epanaleptic.

καὶ—γέγονεν. Strict logic would require καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τὸ oւκ to suit ἄλλα τὲ πολλὰ ξυμβάλλεται: but the clause derives more emphasis from being stated as an independent fact, v. on 21 ὃ δὲς ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοκει εἶναι.

ἀναλίπτουν = 'unexpected', as ἄναλιπω often means 'to expect' not 'to hope'. Cobet rejects τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο without any sufficient reason.

7. οὕτω παρ' ὀλγον ἔσεθαι = 'that it would be so close', lit. 'would be by so little', 'having so little to spare'. Thucydides VII. 71. 3 δὲ γὰρ παρ' ὀλγον ἤ διδεθηγον ἢ ἀπώλεσαμο, i.e. were
always escaping or perishing by a little — ‘were always within an ace of perishing when they escaped, and of escaping when they perished’. οὐτως παρ’ ὀλγον is like οὕτως ἐτι μεγάλης σπουδῆς (Symp. 192 c), ὥς διὰ βραχυτάτων, οὐδὲ δι’ ἑτέρων, οὐ πάντες ἐτι σμικροῖς (infr. 40 A); in such expressions the preposition is regularly placed between the adverb and the adjective.

8. νῦν δὲ = but as it is, v. on καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν 18 A supra.

ὁ τρίποδα. The second hand in T has τρεῖς: but v. Introd. p. xxxi. The round number thirty is said for what was really thirty-one.

9. μετέβηκεν — ‘had changed sides’ is the passive to μετέθηκαν or μετέβαλον, v. on 17 A.

10. ἀποπεφέβην ἂν. On the form cf. supra note on ἐννέαν 22 c, and for the statement itself, Introd. p. xxxi. The Bodleian has ἀποπεφέβην.


13. χλας δραχμᾶς. In criminal trials (γραφαῖ), if the prosecutor failed to obtain 4th of the votes, he was fined 1000 drachmæ and forfeited the right to bring similar actions at any future time. In many civil suits (δικαί) the prosecutor had under these circumstances to pay over to the defendant 4th of the amount claimed — an obol in every drachmæ (ἐπιβελλα).

14. μεταλαβῶν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος. μεταλαμβάνει — ‘to receive’ 36 B part of’ is followed by the accusative of words signifying ‘part’, elsewhere by the genitive. Note the article in τὸ πέμπτον μέρος: this particular 4th is well known.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. τμήσει — θανάτου — ‘proposes death as the penalty’: so in 37 B and 38 B τοιοῦτον ὅπως τιμῶμαι. θανάτου is a gen. of price: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 227. On ὅπως supra note on εἰ ὅπως 29 D. On elev v. 18 E note.

2. ἔγινε δέ δή. For the order cf. supra ch. v. 20 C τὸ σῶν τι ἐστι πράγμα; ὅμως is the ethic dative: tr. ‘what counter-penalty would you have me propose?’

3. ἡ δῆλον ὅτι. On ὅ = Lat. an v. note on ὅ δῆλον δὴ δτι 26 B.
4. τῆς δέλας = 'my deserts', 'what I deserve'. Cf. Aristoph. Av. 1222—1223 δικαίωταν ἄν—ἀπέθανες εἰ τῆς δέλας ἐτύγχανε. δέλας is a substantive, and τῆς is not to be supplied.

παθῶν ἢ διστοσιᾶς = 'to suffer or to pay': the first includes ἑσμός φυγή θάνατος and ἄτυχι, the second refers to fines. The phrase was regular in Athenian law-courts, cf. Xen. Mem. II. 9. 5 καὶ αὐτῶν τινα προσεκαλέσατο εἰς δίκαιον ὅμοιον, ἐν ὃ αὐτῶν ἦσει κρυθήναι, δὲ τὰ δεὶ παθεῖν ἢ ἄποισιν: v. L. and S. s. v. ἄποισιν.

5. δὲ τι παθῶν = propterea quod, an emphatic 'because', originally 'having taken into my head what'. So Euthyd. 283 εἰκόν ἄν, σοι εἰς κεφαλήν, δὲ τί μαθῶν ἐμοὶ—καταψεύδει: Prot. 353 οὖ δὲ τι μαθὸν τα χαίρειν ποτέ ήλθο ὅποιον. The phrase is strictly speaking an indirect question = τί μαθῶν of the direct as in Aristoph. Ach. 836 (τί δὲ μαθῶν φανέων ὅνεν θραυσσόμεν;) but the interrogative force has practically disappeared here. δὲ τι παθῶν, lit. 'having experienced what', is similarly used in the sense of 'because'. [For a conjecture as to the way in which the causal sense was developed v. App. 2 on 17 A.]

6. ἀντερ οἱ πόλεωι sc. ἐπιμελεύονται, understood from ἀμελή-σαι. Cron compares Hdt. VII. 104 οὐκ ἐὼν φεβγενον οδροῦ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἄλλα μένοντας ἐν τῷ τάξει ἐπικρατεῖν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι (sc. κελεύον).

7. χρηματισμοῦ κτλ. See ch. IX. 23 B. Inf. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων—γιγνομένων = 'and everything else—political appointments and clubs and factions—everything' (τῶν belongs to ἄλλων) 'that goes on in the city'.

8. ἐπυμοσιῶν = 'clubs', 'caucuses'. Cf. Thuc. VIII. 54 ἐν ὑμοιοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐτύγχανον πρῶτον ἐν τῷ πόλει οὗτοι οὖν ἐπὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀρχαῖς. Political clubs (called also ἑταρπαῖ Θεατ. 173 B) did much to bring about the oligarchical revolutions of 411 (Thuc. VIII. 63 foll., Grote VII. p. 250) and 404 (Lysias θ Ἐρασιθ. 43—44: Grote VIII. p. 25). Plato states his opinion of such revolutionary caucuses in Legg. IX. 856 B: 'whosoever enslaves the laws, and makes the state subject to caucuses, τοιῶν δ’ διανοείσθαι δεῖ πάν-των πολεμιῶντων τῇ πόλει: he is to be tried and put to death if guilty (ibid. c).

9. ἔγνωσμένοις ἔμαυτόν. The more usual construction would be ἔγνωσμένον—ἐπιεικέστερος εἶναι ἢ ἄπότε—λών κτλ. The difference between the two is like that between ὁλόμενος δ’ ἐγὼ αὐτός and ὁλόμενος δ’, i.e. in the first case more emphasis is thrown on 'I'.
Cron compares Soph. 234 E: ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ τῶν ἑτὶ πόρρωθεν ἀφεστηκότων ἔλνι.

10. ἐπειδεκτέρων ἢ ὅστε—'too upright to', 'too honest to'; v. 31 D and 32 E, and the proof of this in ch. xx.

11. ἐς ταύτ' ὅντα. The reading of the Bodleian is ἐς ταύτ' 36 C ὅντα, which Cron retains, but v. App. 2.


The imperfect of ἔμι in the best Attic prose is ἦν, ἔηες or ἔηεσθα, ἔει or ἔευ (before vowels): in the plural ἔμεν ἦτε ἔσαν—not ἔηεμεν, etc.: the dual is ἦτον ἦτην.

13. ἐκι τὸ ἵδια ἔκαστον λῶν κτλ. Some editors (Schanz, Wohlhab, Bertram, Kral) bracket or reject λῶν: but it is probably what Plato wrote. If instead of ἐνταῦθα ἦν Plato had written τῶοντε τι ἐπάρτων, all would be clear: as it is, in spite of the preceding λῶν, he chooses ἐνταῦθα ἦν to balance ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἦν. Tr. 'but entering on the task of doing the greatest services in private life to each individual, as I say I entered on the task of trying', etc. ἐνταῦθα is explained by ἐπιχειρῶν κτλ. just as ἐνταῦθα above is by the following clause οἱ ἔλθον κτλ. The somewhat unusual position of λῶν—here unemphatic, since ἐνταῦθα ἦν follows—enables more emphasis to be thrown on ἐκι δὲ τὸ ἵδια ἔκαστον. On ὃς ἔγω φημι v. supra note on ἄπερ λέγω 21 A. [λῶν cannot I think be regarded as the nom. before inf. εἴρησεν: either it is spurious or it must be taken as I have taken it: v. App. 2.]

16. πρὶν—ἐπιμεληθεὶς. On πρὶν with the Aorist Optat. and πρὶν δὲ with Aor. Conj. in negative or quasi-negative sentences v. Goodwin MT. p. 248. The optative here—Conj. of Direct μὴ ἐπιμελοῦ πρὶν δὲ ἐπιμεληθῆς...

17. ὅπως ἴσοιτο corresponds to the future Ind. of Direct: MT. p. 43.

18. πρὶν αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως sc. ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως κτλ. With this picture of the character of Socrates compare Plato's portrait of the ideal philosopher in Theaet. 173 C foll. 'From their youth up they know not the way to the market-place, nor where the law-court is, or the Senate or any other meeting-place: laws and decrees, recited or written, they neither see nor hear: while as for struggles of caucuses for place, and meetings and dinner-parties and revellings and flute-girls, it never occurs to them even in a dream to indulge in these: and whether a citizen is of high or low birth or what hereditary disgrace attaches to any one in the male or female line,

A. P.
the true philosopher knows no more than he does of the proverbial
‘gallons in the sea’.”

20. οὖν recalls τί οὖν; τί αξίω εἰμί παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσατι in line
4 of this chapter.

36 D 21. ἐ δὲ γε—τιμᾶσθαι—‘if I must propose what I really de-
serve’. δεῖ is here emphasized because Socrates implies that he is
bound by law to propose such a counter-penalty as he really deserves:
afterwards (38 B) he condescends to propose a fine of 30 minae.

24. εὐφρένη. The title εὐφρένης was given both to citizens,
and strangers who had conferred some signal benefit on Athens,
Demosth. in Aristocrat. § 185 πολίτης εὐφρένης, στέφανοι, δωρεά.
Cf. Lys. pro Polystr. § 19: εὐφρένης ἄναγραφήναι. The omission
of conjunctions increases the rhetorical effect. δεομένῳ of course
goes with ἀγευμ. σχολήν ‘who requires to enjoy leisure’: cf. supra
30 ε δεομένῳ ἐγέρεσθαι.

25. μᾶλλον—πρῖν οὕτως [οὕτως] ὡς κτλ. I believe οὕτως to be a
gloss on μᾶλλον. For ὡς (=quam) after comparatives ν. on 30 B
supra πρῶτερον μηδε οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς and compare Rep. vii. 546 c
ἀ γε μείζω πόνον παρέχει μανάσσωντι—, οὐκ ἄν θράσσω οὐδὲ πολλα ἄν
eύροις, ὡς τοῦτο. Lysias περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ § 31 πρὸ θυμὸν τρεῖρον ὡς ὄτι
τῇ πόλεις ἕνομασκάζομεν. The cases quoted by Heusde (ap. Stallb.)
in support of μᾶλλον—οὕτως ὡς are from spurious dialogues and are
neither of them parallel. [Thompson’s remark on Plato Gorg.
492 E that ὡς after comparatives is a barbarism is therefore hardly
correct and Aesch. Prom. 629 μὴ μου προκήδου μᾶσσον ὡς ἐμοί γλυκό
is probably right. Cf. also Solon Frag. 36. 18 κέντρον δ’ ἀλλος ὡς
ἐγὼ λαβὼν with Bergk’s note.]

26. ἐν πρυτανείῳ στιτεύσατο. The Prytaneum (to be carefully
distinguished from the θέλος where the Πρυτάνεως dined, v. supr.
32 c) was situated on the North East slope of the Acropolis.
It was sacred to Hestia and contained what was called the ‘common
hearth’ of the city, corresponding to the temple of Vesta at Rome.
In it ambassadors were entertained and distinguished citizens kept
at the public expense (δελευτοὶ), priests of the Eleusinian mysteries,
the nearest of kin among the descendants of Harmodius and Arist-
togiton, the victors in the Olympian Pythian Nemean and Isthmian
games and probably some others. This πιθανός of Socrates is re-
ferred to by Cicero in his De Or. 1. 54. 232. [See on the Prytaneum
Lehrbuch der Gr. Staatsalterthümer p. 485 foll.]
CHAPTER XXVII.

3. ὀσκότου (‘tears’, ‘lamentations’) v. ch. xxiii.
4. τὸ δὲ σὲ ὁσκότου—τοιοῦτον=‘but really it is not so’: τὸ is demonstrative as in 23 A.
6. ἀκῶν εἶναι=‘intentionally’ goes with ἀδικεῖν. On the phrase ἀκῶν εἶναι (found almost exclusively in negative or quasi-negative sentences) v. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 298. For the assertion itself v. 25 Ε foll. and Gorg. 522 D.
8. ἄπειροι καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις: as for example at Sparta. Plutarch (Apophth. Lac. 217 A—B) quotes a remark of Anaxandrides in answer to the question διὰ τὸ τὰς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου δίκαιως ἡμέραις οἱ γέροντες κρίνουσιν; Anaxandrides assigned as a reason for the practice the fact that the penalty of death could not be revoked: see also Thuc. i. 132. 5. As Socrates was supposed to favour Spartan laws and customs the allusion here is hardly more politic than his remarks in ch. xxiii.
10. νῦν δέ: v. on 18 Α καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν.
14. τοῦ κακοῦ. Not τοῦ with inferior mss.
15. ἡ=Lat. an: v. on 26 Β ἡ δὴν δὴ δτι. [App. 2.]
16. φησίν viz. in 29 Α foll.
17. ἀντὶ τοῦτοιν δή. δὴ=‘forsooth’.

ἐξομαλ ὅπε ἐδ’ ὁδ’ δτι κακῶν ὁντων=‘shall I lay hold on what I well know are evils?’ ὅπε ἐδ’ ὁδ’ δτι κακῶν ὁντων is for ὅπε=(τοῦτων ἀ acc.) ὅπε ὁδ’ δτι κακά δτα. Cf. Thucyd. iv. 37 γνώσις δὲ ὁ Κλέων—δτι—διαφαραγησόμενους αὐτούς and Gorg. 481 Ε αἰσθάνομαι οὖν σοῦ—δτι—οὐ δυναμένου ἀπολέγειν. The use of the participle where we expect the finite verb is the less unnatural here because ὁδ’ δτι is often=οἶδα (e.g. Dem. Phil. III. 1 πάντων οἶδ’ δτι
NOTES ON XXVII 37 B

φησάντων γ' ἄν: τοῦτων ἂ εὖ οἶδα κακὰ δύνα would be quite regular. [ἐχωμαι is my emendation for έωμαι of MSS and Edd. v. App. II.]

18. τοῦ τιμησάμενος: Meiser's certain emendation for τοῦτων τιμησάμενος.

19. τότερον δεσμοῦ = 'Imprisonment?' v. on 32 c above.

20. τῇ δὲ—τοῖς ἐνδεκα = 'to the officials appointed from time to time, the eleven'. The eleven was a board consisting of 10 ordinary members chosen annually by lot, one from each of the ten tribes: the eleventh was a clerk or γραμματεὺς. They had charge of the prisons and were responsible through their υπηρέται for carrying out the sentence of death, v. Phaedo 116 b foll., Xen. Hell. II. 3. 54 foll. Many editors bracket τοῖς ἐνδεκα but v. on 18 c above ἐφίμην—ἀπολογουμένου οδηγός.

21. δεδεσθαι ἦς ἂν εκτίσω = 'to be kept in prison till I pay it': for δεδεσθαι v. Goodwin MT. p. 34. Cf. the law ap. Dem. adv. Timocr. 63 ἢν δ' ἀργυρίῳ τιμήθη, δει δὲ σω ἐσαι ἂν εκτίσῃ δ' ὅτι ἂν αὐτοῦ καταγγείσῃ.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτὸν κτλ. ἀλλὰ introduces an objection. ἀλλὰ above in ἀλλὰ χρημάτων ('money') is used in preference to the more usual ἦ because (as Cron remarks) the first proposal is already discarded: so ἀλλὰ δὴ infra in line 23.

22. νῦν δὴ = ἄρτιως = 'just now': so repeatedly in Plato. The reference is to 23 c above ἐν τεῖλα μυρία εἴμι δὲ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν. In Phaedr. 277 Λ νῦν δὴ ἐκείνα ἦν—δυνάμεθα κρίνειν, νῦν δὴ = nunc demum: so Rep. I. 353 Λ νῦν δὴ, οἴμαι, ἁμένων ἂν μάθοι. [When νῦν δὴ = ἄρτιως Cobet (Var. Lect. p. 233) and Schanz would write νυν δῆ.]

οὗ γὰρ ἐστὶ—ἐκτίσω = 'I have no money to pay with'. ἐκτίσω is fut. Ind. Goodwin MT. p. 216. [App. 2.]

24. τιμήσατε. The active is used of the judge: the middle of the parties to the trial. Gorg. 516 Λ ὁλιγὸν δὲ καὶ θανάτου ἐτίμησαν.

25. ἧξοι, εἰ—εἴμι v. on 25 b τολὴ γὰρ ἂν—ἐὶ—εἰ—διαφθείρω and cf. 30 b.

26. δὲι ὑμεῖς μὲν—ἀλλοι δὲ ἄρα. Instead of a question in the second clause we should expect ἀλλοι δὲ ἄρα πολύ ἤττων κτλ. The rhetorical effect is increased by resolving the clause into an independent question answered emphatically by πολλοῦ γε δὲι.

37 D 28. βαρύτεραι—καλ ἐπιβολούστεραι = ‘too burdensome and odious’, sc. ἦ ὠστε ἐνέγκειν. βαρύτεραι follows the gender of διαφθείρω-
βάς, to which καὶ τοῦτ ῥήγους is explanatory: Goodwin Gr. Gr. p. 197.
30. ἀλλοι δὲ ἄρα: on ἄρα v. supr. note on ἐν ἤδε ὡδέν ἄρα 34 C.
32. ἔκλεισται. ἐξέρχομαι (inf. ἐκέναι) = 'I go into exile': φεύγω = 'I live in exile': κατέρχομαι (inf. κατέναι) = 'I return from exile'.

τῆλυκαὶ—ζήν = 'for a man of my years to pass his days in going from city to city and continually being expelled'. ἀ-μελήσ-ομαι = 'to leave', 'quit' is from the same root as mig-rare (Gustav Meyer Griech. Gr. p. 198). No longer the μῦρος, Socrates would now as it were be Ιο: Aesch. Prom. 681—682 ὁστρόπτηξ τ' ἐγὼ—γήν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι. Cron remarks that Socrates' words recall the wandering life of the Sophists. Cf. Soph. 234 Β μαθήματα ἕως αὐτῶν πόλει τε ἐκ πόλεως νομίσματος ἀμελετα.

37. οἱ τούτων πατέρες κτλ. This is apparently inconsistent 37 E with 34 Λ εὐρήσετε—πάντας ἕμοι βοηθεῖν ἐτολμοῦσι τῷ διαφθειροῦντι—τοῦσ οἰκείους αὐτῶν. The inconsistency is hardly removed, as Bobrik thinks (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1873, p. 712), by the fact that the whole passage describes a purely hypothetical scene. It is probable that Socrates knew that he would find less tolerance outside of Athens: see Meno 80 B, where Meno thus addresses Socrates: καὶ μοι δοκεῖ εἰδ βουλευτεθαι οὐκ ἐκπλέων ἐνθέντε οὖδ’ ἀποδημῶν’ εἰ γὰρ ἁμορ τῶν ἀλλή πόλει τοιαῦτα ποιοῖ, τάχ’ ἐν ὡς γόης ἀπαχθεῖς. In Sparta at least Socrates would not have been tolerated long: even in the Platonic Republic, as Grote truly remarks (viii. p. 299), he 'would not have been allowed to pursue his vocation for a week'.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

2. οὐχ οἶδας τ' ἔξει ἡμῖν εξαλλάν ζήν = 'pray tell us (ἡμῖν), will you not be able to leave Athens and live etc.' ἡμῖν is the ethic dative.
4. πῶς ὡμῶν = 'a number of you': Socrates really means nearly all, v. above on 30 D.
7. ὡς εἰρωνευόμενον = 'believing me to be insincere'. The elpovela of Socrates consisted in apparently insincere professions or disclaimers of some sort: in either case it is some sort of self-depre-
ciation, moral or intellectual, ἧ ἀλατωνέα. See Sympos. 216 D foll., where two examples are given: the first, that Socrates continually pretends to be in love when he is not (ἐρωτικῶς διάκειται τὸν καλὸν καὶ δὲν τοῦτον ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκπειγοῦντα), the second, that he professes not to know that which he really knows (ἀγνοεῖ τάντα καὶ οὐδὲν οἴδει). With this sense of the root Fep cf. ‘verba dare’; see Cope on Arist. Rhet. 11. p. 63 and cf. Zeller II. 1 p. 107 note 3.

38 A ὅτι καὶ τυγχάνει i.e. it is not simply my duty but also (καὶ) my interest to act thus.

11. ὅ δὲ δυσεξακος κτλ. = ‘and that an unexamined life is not worth living’ (Church). Demosth. in Mid. 131 ἀβιωτον ἃτην ἔσεθαι τὸν βίον αὐτῷ.

12. ταῦτα δὲ ἔτη ἡμῶν. For δὲ v. note on 32 D τοῦτον δὲ.

13. τὰ δὲ ἧξα κτλ. = ‘but indeed it is so’: τά is demonstrative: v. on 37 οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔστων and cf. 23 A.

14. οὐκ ἀθικοῦ—οὐκεῖος supr. 37 B.

15. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἢν κτλ. = ‘no doubt if I had money etc.’ As the loss of money did not seem to Socrates an evil (hence οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢν ἐστὶ) he felt himself free to propose a fine. Infr. B line 20.

16. ὅσα ἐμελλον ἐκτίσειν = ‘as much as I should have been in a position to pay’. For ἐμελλον v. on 20 A ὅτι ἐμέλλει.

38 B 17. νῦν δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἔστων = ‘but as it is—no, I have none’. Strictly speaking, the clause with γὰρ presupposes οὐ τιμῶμαι after νῦν δὲ, but probably the Greeks were not conscious of any ellipse either here or with ἄλλα γάρ (v. on 19 C ἄλλα γάρ).

18. εἰ μὴ ἄρα = ‘unless perhaps’, nisi forte, v. on 17 B.

20. μνάν ἀργυροῦ: apparently 4th of Socrates’ whole property, v. on ch. ix. ad finem. The mina was no coin but a sum of money equal to about L4.

23. αὐτός δὲ ἐγγυώσθαι sc. φασίν to be supplied from κελεύονται. By their surety Socrates would escape imprisonment, which he did consider an evil 37 B.
PART III.

After the Sentence.

(Third Speech.)

The judges condemned Socrates to death by an increased majority. Diog. Laert. ii. 42 καὶ οἱ θάνατοι αὐτοῦ κατέγρωσαν, προσ-θέντες ἄλλας ψήφους ὁγοθέκοντα. In the remaining chapters of the speech, Socrates addresses the Court upon the result of the trial. See Introd. p. xxxi.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. οὐ πολλοῦ γε ἔνεκα χρόνου κτλ. = 'it is for no great gain in time, men of Athens, that ye will have the name and the blame of having put Socrates to death etc.' Socrates means: the brief period that your sentence takes from my life (he was already seventy) is not worth the price you will have to pay for it in disgrace and shame.

2. ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων: ὑπὸ is used because δύναμα ἔχετε καὶ αἰτίαν are equivalent to passive verbs, v. on 17 A πεπόνθατε. Infr. ὦς depends on δύναμα ἔχετε καὶ αἰτίαν.

8. τούτο sc. τὸ ἐμὲ ἀποθανεῖν.

9. τοῦ βλούν partitive gen. with πόρρω 'far advanced in years'. Gorg. 484 c ἐὰν γὰρ—πόρρω τῆς ἥλικιας φιλοσοφῆς.

13. ἐκλεκέναι passive of ἐρημέναι v. on 28 A.

14. ἵστε ἀποφυγεῖν = 'in order to be acquitted'. Cf. Gorg. 479 c τῶν ποιῶν ἵστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι: Goodwin MT. p. 224.

15. ἀποκριθεὶς μὲν ἐκλεκά κτλ. Cf. ch. xxiii. Cron cites Gorg. 522 D where Socrates thus speaks: εἰ δὲ κολακηθῇς ῥητορικῆς ἐνδεῖ τελευτήν ὑγιείς, εἰ οὖνδε, διὸ μᾶς λεγόμενοι σὺ μὲ φέροντα τὸν θάνατον. We have it also on the authority of Xenophon that Socrates would have been acquitted if he had stooped to employ the usual arts of pleaders (Mem. iv. 4. 4).

18. θρησκευτός τε μου κτλ. is epexegetical of οὔ ἄν. The genitives are due to the influence of ἄκουειν which takes a gen. of
persons but an accusative of neuter pronouns: so infra line 20
οτα δη—ερθεθε—των αλλων ακονων.

38 E 20. ὡς ἐγὼ φημι v. 34 E, which is also referred to in τόντε of
line 22.

25. ἡ ἐκείνης ἥν. ἐκείνης = ἐκείνης ἀπολογησάμενος.

39 A 27. ὡς ἀποφεύγεται—θάνατον= ‘how he shall escape death
at any price’. For πάντων cf. Gorg. 479 C quoted above on ὡστε
ἀποφύγειν 38 D.

29. τὸ γε ἀποφεύγειν: γε emphases τὸ ἀποφεύγειν: ‘at least from
death’, sc. if not from dishonour. For ὡστε in ὡστε διαφεύγεων infr.
v. on 38 D ὡστε ἄποφυγειν.

33. μὴν οὖ τοῦτ ἔχων: μὴ = nescio an = ‘I rather think’.
Tr. ‘I fear it is not this that is difficult etc.’ Cf. Gorg. 462 Ε μὴ
ἀγροκότερον ἢ τὸ ἄλθους εἰσεῖν. Goodwin MT. p. 92. Some verb
expressing fear or apprehension is probably to be understood: it is
frequently expressed as in Prot. 313 Ε δρα — μὴ περὶ τῶν φιλανθοὺς
κυβερνεῖ τε καὶ κινδυνεύεις (= vide ne). μὴ with the Indicative
sometimes = ‘perhaps’ from Plato downwards, e.g. Meno 89 Ε ἀλλὰ
μὴ τούτο ὁδ καλῶς ὁμολογήσαμεν: very frequently in Aristotle, espe-
cially with ποτε, e.g. Eth. Nic. x. 1. 1172a 33 μὴ ποτε δὲ οὖ καλῶς
tούτο λέγεται: ibid. 2. 1173a 22 et al. The origin of this construc-
tion is manifest from Plato Charm. 163 Α δρα μὴ ἐκείνῳ κωλύει.

35. θάνατον γὰρ θανάτου θεὶ = ‘flies faster than fate’ (Dyer).
Note the effective alliteration of the first letter of the emphatic θεὶ:
cf. Soph. Ο. R. 371 where the taunt of blindness is intensified by
the repetition of the initial τ of τυφλός: τυφλός τά τ’ ὅτα τόν τε νοῆν
τά τ’ διματ’ οἶ.

39 B 37. οὐκ ἐν τοῦ βραδυτέρου ἐδάνων. Stallbaum thinks this may be
a reminiscence of Od. viii. 329 οὐκ ἄρετα κακὰ ἔργα καὶ κακὰ
τοι βραδὺς ἑκὼν.

38. δεινοὶ καὶ δέξες = ‘clever and sharp’. So in Theaet. 190 Α
δέξετρον is opposed to βραδύτερον: δὲν δὲ ὀφθαλμά, εἰτε βραδύτερον
εἰτε δέξιτερον ἐπιλείφα, τὸ αὐτὸ ἡ ὧν φῆ —δέξαν ταῦτα τίθεμεν
αὐτῆς.

39. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἀκούμι. A certain solemnity is given
to this and the following sentence by the opening καὶ.

40. ὠφλών. According to Photius the Athenians accented the
first syllable of ὠφλών although it is a second aorist: Wohlrab
(Fleck. Jahrb. 1876, p. 127) remarks that MSS frequently write
ὕφλων and ὠφλῶν. ὠφλῶν δίκην is equivalent to a passive, whence
CHAPTER XXX.

1. το—μετὰ τοῦτο—'in the next place' lit. 'as to what follows this'. So in Crit. 49 η λέγω δή αὖ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο. τὸ is probably the acc. in apposition to the sentence, v. on 23 A. [The other possible meaning 'in regard to the future' is less likely here: τὸ—

μετὰ ταῦτα would (in view of ταῦτα μὲν) be more naturally used in that sense.]

4. ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι. So Patroclus as he died 39 C foretold the approaching death of Hector (Iliad xvi. 851 foll.), and Hector that of Achilles (ibid. xxii. 358 foll.). See also Phaedo 85 A foll. on the song of the dying swan, and Geddes's Phaedo, p. 276 foll. According to Cic. De Div. i. 63 foll. 'Appropinquante morte multo est divinior' (sc. animus). Cicero proceeds to illustrate the prophetic powers of the dying by the case of a Rhodian who, when he lay dying, named six men of his own age and prophesied in what order they should die. The belief is common among many early races.

5. φημὶ γάρ. For γάρ v. supra note on 20 ε Χαρεφώντα γάρ ἵστε ξύν.

7. οἷαν ἐµὲ ἀπεκτόνατε: "by brachylogy for οἷαν (sc. τιμωρίαν)

ἐµὲ ἀπεκτόνατες ἐτιμωρήσασθε." Göbel.

10. τὸ δὲ v. on τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστω 37 A supra.

11. πλείους ἵστοτα. For the asyndeton v. on 22 A above οἷ μὲν μάλιστα.

13. δοξὶ νεώτεροὶ εἶσιν. Cf. 30 A δοξὶ ἐγγυτέρω ἔστε γένει. 39 D

15. τινὰ v. on 30 D supra.

16. αὕτη ἡ ἀπαλλαγῆ—'that way of escape', sc. τοῦ δίδοναι

Ελεγχον τοῦ βίου.

17. οὔτε πάνυ—'neither altogether', v. above on οὐ πάνυ 19 A.
NOTES ON XXX 39 D

18. μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους κολοσσάν = ‘not to suppress’ (put down) ‘other men’. Cf. Euthyd. 305 D ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἴδιοις λόγοις διὰτ' ἀπολυθήσωμεν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφί Εὐθυδήσθην κολοσσά ταί. 19. οὗ ἕσται ὡς βέλτιστος ν. οὐ κόκκιν υπερ supra 29 Α.

CHAPTER XXXI.

39 E 2. ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος τουτοῦ πράγματος = ‘in favour of this thing which is come to pass’. Socrates proceeds to shew that to him death cannot be an evil. ὑπὲρ here means more than περι, although sometimes in Attic prose, and very frequently in Aristotle, ὑπὲρ is found = περι: v. on 22 E above.

3. οἷς ἐρχόμενοι = οἷς ἐνδεκά supr. 37 C τῷ δὲ καθισταμένη ἀρχῇ, τοῖς ἐνδεκα. So in Phaedo 58 C and 116 C.

ἄνωθεν ἁγονον: presumably they were occupied with the arrangements for conveying Socrates to prison.

4. οἷς ἐλθόντα μὲ δὲ τιθαλαν viz. the ἐσμοντὴροι.

5. ἀλλά μοι—τοσοῦτον χρόνον = ‘I pray you to tarry here till then’. ἀλλά is frequently used before imperative e.g. Crito 45 A ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πελθοῦν καὶ μὴ άλλως πολει (do not refuse): Soph. O. C. 1643 ἀλλ’ ἔρπεθ’ ὡς τάχιστα: v. L. and S. s. v. ἀλλά.

7. διαμυθολογήσαι πρὸς ἄλληλους = ‘tell one another our fancies’. διαμυθολογεῖν differs from διαλέγεσθαι as μῦθος differs from λόγος. Cron well compares Phaedo 61 D—ἐκαὶ γὰρ ὅσω καὶ μάλιστα πρέτει μέλλοντα ἐκείνε ἀποδημεῖν διασκοπεῖν τε καὶ μυθολογεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀποδήμησις τῆς ἑκεῖ. Socrates’ reverence for ascertained truth leads him to speak of the speculations that follow as a μῦθος rather than as a λόγος.

40 A 9. τί ποτε νοεῖ = ‘quid sibi velit’ (Göbel). Cf. Crat. 416 A τὸ δὲ δὴ κακόν—τι ἂν νοοὶ τούτοιμα;

ἢ ἄνδρες δικασταί: v. on ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι 17 Α.

12. ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου = ‘that of the divine sign’. Cf. 31 D and Introduction pp. xxvii, xxviii. [App. 2.]

13. πάντως ἐπὶ σμαρόδ. On the order v. 36 A οὕτω παρ’ ὀλγον and note.


16. αἷς ἡ οἰκείη—καὶ νομίζεται. The subject to νομίζεται is an anaphoric pronoun to be supplied out of αἷς. Where after the
conjunction the relative (according to the English idiom) would be in an oblique case, the anaphoric pronoun is expressed (αὐτῶν etc.), e.g. Gorg. 452 D τί ἔστι τὸῦ τὸ δ ὡς σὺ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι—καὶ οὐ δημοφιλῶς ἐναῖ αὐτῶν. Theaet. 192 A δ ὃ ὡς ὁδικε ὁδικε αὐτῶν οφραγίδα. Cf. also Rep. vi. 505 E and Stallbaum’s note. The same idiom is also common in Latin, e.g. Cic. Orator § 9 quam intuemus in eaque deexitus (v. Munro on Lucr. i. 70), and not unknown in English: ‘Against his Deity, which then I knew not, Nor did believe in him’ Massinger.

18. ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλις κτλ. = ‘was coming before the court here’. 40 B


περὶ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως = ‘in this matter’. πράξεως includes both ἔργον and λόγος.

24. κυνήγεις γαρ. Here and infra in οὐ γαρ ἐσθ’ δείκνυς line 28, and in δοῦν γαρ τᾶτερον of Ch. xxxii. line 3, γαρ is introductory and should not be translated, v. on 20 E.

29. εἰ μή τι—πράξεως ‘if I were not going to fare in some way 40 C well’. ἀγαθὸν τι πράττειν = εἰ πράττειν πως. Cf. Ar. Plutus 341 χρηστὸν τι πράττων τούς φίλους μεταπέμπεται. The silence of the voice on so momentous an occasion showed Socrates that all was well. See also Xen. Mem. iv. 8 on the timeliness of Socrates’ death, and compare the Xenophontic Apologia Socratis §§ 6—8.

CHAPTER XXXII.

This chapter was very famous in antiquity. It is translated by Cicero (Tusc. Disp. i. 97—99), and quoted by Stobaeus and Eusebius: Plutarch also gives a paraphrase of the reasoning in his Consolatio ad Apollonium 107 D foll. Compare also Xen. Cyr. vii. 7. 19 foll., where the dying Cyrus talks much as Socrates does here. For Socrates’ view on the immortality of the soul, v. Introd. p. xvii.

4. οἶον μὴ δὲν εἶναι κτλ. = ‘like ceasing to be, and the dead man’s losing all sensation of everything’. The construction = τοιοῦτον
5. κατά τά λεγόμενα sc. by the poets, Homer Hesiod and Pindar etc., and in the mysteries. Cf. 40 E καὶ ἄλλη ἡ ἐστίν τὰ λεγόμενα ὡς ἄρα ἐκεί ἐστίν ἀπαρτές οἱ τεθνεῖτε.

6. μεταβολή τις—τόπουν=‘a change and migration of the soul from the present sphere into another’. μεταλήκησις explains the precise kind of μεταβολή here meant, and the genitive τοῦ τόπου depends on the single notion contained in μεταβολή τις καὶ μεταλήκησις. ἐνθένδε (rather than ἐνταῦθα) is like τοὺς εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν supra 32 A. [App. 2.]

7. καὶ εἰτε. The alternative supposition is introduced by εἰ δ’ αὐ in E. See on 33 D above.


ei ἐκλεξάμενον δέοι—καὶ δέοι σκεφάμενον εἰτεῖν. The repetition of δέοι is for clearness. σκεφάμενον εἰτεῖν = σκέφασθαι καὶ εἰτεῖν: to σκεφάμενον the other two participles ἐκλεξάμενον and ἀντιπαράθεντα are logically subordinate.

16. μη δτί=don’t suppose I mean, i.e. ‘I do not say’ = ‘not only’ (as here) if followed by ἄλλα or ἄλλα καὶ, ‘not only not’ (non modo) if followed by ἄλλα’ ὀδέ (sed ne—quidem). Where μη δτί introduces the second of two balanced clauses, the first of which contains a negative, it = ‘much less’ (nedum): cf. Phaedr. 240 D—ἐ καὶ λάγη ἐστιν ἀκοδειν οὐκ ἐπιτερπέτει, μη δτί (much less) δη ἐργγ—μεταχειρίζομαι. Rep. III. 308 E ἄχρηστοι (=useless i.e. not useful) γαρ καὶ γνωστίν—μη δτί αἱράσω.

17. τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα. The Great King, or King of Persia, was the stock example of the man who unites all earthly bliss. Gorg. 470 Ε ὅθεν δὴ—δτι οὖν τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα γεγονόκειν φήσεις εὐδαίμονα δέτα. Cf. Meno 78 D and Soph. 230 D.

40 E 18. αὐτὸν=ipsum and belongs to τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα, from which it is separated by εὐαριθμητός ὡς εὐερέας for the sake of greater emphasis.

19. κέφασε=‘gain’. Socrates does not say ἄγαθον, because such a state is ‘neither good nor bad’, since οὔτε ἐτι τῶ τεθνεῶτι δοκεῖ οὔτε κακῶν οὔτε ἄγαθον εἶναι Ar. Eth. Nic. III. 9. 1115a 26, where on the other hand it is maintained that death is most formidable just because it does end all. Cf. Epicurus ap. Diog. Laert. x.
139 ο θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναίσθητε· τὸ δὲ ἀναίσθητον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

20. οὐδὲν πλεῖον——εἶναι η = 'to be nothing more than', 'nihil plus quam' (Ficinus). Cf. Cicero's translation Tusc. 1. 97 cui (sc. tali nocti) si similitus futura est perpetuitas omnis consequentis temporis, etc. [πλεῖον, the reading of the Bodleian, would mean 'longer than', which is clearly absurd, v. App. 2.]

21. οὖν δὴ = 'according to that view'.

οὖν ἀποδημήσαι. See above on 40 c οὖν μηδὲν εἶναι. Cf. with the whole sentence Tac. Agr. 46 Si quis piorum manibus locus etc.

23. ὁς ἀρα ἐκεῖ ἔσευ = 'that after all every man who has died is existing in that other world'. On ἀρα v. above on ἐγώ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀρα 34 c. ἐκεῖ and ἐκεῖσε are used of the other world as ἔνθεο and ἐνθεὸ are of this. Cf. Theaet. 176 Β πειράσθαι χρὴ ἐνθεὸν ἐκεῖσε φεύγειν δ τι τάχιστα. Ar. Ran. 82 δ' εὐκόλος μὲν ἐνθάδ', εὐκόλος δ' ἐκεῖ. So ἐκεῖνοι sometimes = 'the departed', v. on 33 E above.


27. τοὺς ἀληθῶς δικαστάς. Wohlrab compares Phaedo 109 E ἐκεῖνος ἔστων δ ἀληθῶς οὐρανός καὶ τὸ ἀληθῶς φῶς καὶ ἡ ὡς ἀληθὸς γῆ.

28. Μίνως το—Τριπτόλεμος. The first three (sons of Zeus) are named as judges of the dead in Gorg. 524 λ, where we are told that Rhadamantys judges those who come from Asia, and Aeacus Europeans, while Minos acts as referee. The whole of the concluding myth in the Gorgias (533 foll.) should be read in connection with this passage. Triptolemus was according to some accounts the son of King Eleusis: he generally appears in connection with the worship of Demeter. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter 149 foll., Triptolemus is spoken of as a judge on earth, but this is the only passage, according to Riddell, in which he figures as a judge of the dead.

31. Ὅρφει—καὶ Μουσαλφ. Orpheus and Musaeus were the two great mythical bards of Greece. They were supposed to have done much for the religion and general civilization of their country, v. Ar. Ran. 1032—1033 '.Officeus μὲν γὰρ τελεῖ ἡμῶν κατάδεικτε φόνω τ' ἀπέκεισθαι, Μουσαίος δ' ἔξακεσει τε νόσσων καὶ χρησμοί. Cf. Prot. 316 D.

33. ἐκ τοῦ σωφ—ὑμῶν = 'what would not some of you give for that!'. Cf. Hdt. III. 38 εἰρέτο ἐκ τοῦ σωφ ἀν χρήματι βουλολατο.
The Greek idiom frequently makes use of the interrogative pronoun where in English we use the exclamation. On τις cf. supra 30 D and note.

34. τολλάκις θέλω τευνάναι. So B. Plato nearly always uses εδέλω rather than θέλω after a consonant: this passage like δυ λυθη in Phaedr. 249 B is an exception. The form εδέλω (here found in T) is throughout far commoner in Plato than θέλω: see Schanz Novae Commentationes Platonicae p. 102.

35. ἐμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ = 'for myself especially'.

36. Παλαμήδα. See Virg. Aen. 11. 81 foll. Odysseus is said to have caused a forged message from Priam to be delivered to Palamedes: whereupon the latter was stoned by the Greeks on a false charge of treason (falsa sub proditione Virg. l. c.). In the Xenophontic Apology § 26 Socrates consoles himself in much the same way by reflecting on the fate of Palamedes: see also Mem. iv. 8. 10. The story of Palamedes was dramatized by all three tragedians, v. Dindorf, Poetae Scenicici Graeci, pp. 113, 145, 333. The story of Ajax is familiar from Sophocles' play.

38. ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι. For the asyndeton cf. note on 22 A supra οὶ μὲν μάλιστα. [App. 2.]

40. καὶ δὴ καὶ = 'and above all' introduces a climax, see on 26 D supra. τὸ μέγαστον = 'which is the chief thing' is the acc. in apposition to the sentence: v. supra note on 34 D. The inf. διάγεω is due to the preceding οὐκ ἄν ἄνες εἶ: the interrogatives depend on ἔξεταύοντα καὶ ἐρευνῶντα.

44. ἄγαγότα: ἄγοντα the reading of the Bodleian can hardly be right, v. App. 2.

45. Σίσυφος. The name is probably connected with σοφός. Cf. ἀνθυφλος = 'insipiens' in Homer (Gustav Meyer, Griech. Gr. 2 p. 75). Sisyphus king of Corinth was notorious in legend for treachery and deceit: v. Od. xi. 593 foll.

47. ἄμηχανον—εὐδαιμονίας = 'an infinite happiness' (Church). Cf. Thuc. i. 118. 2 ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν εὐδαιμονίας, and Pl. Theaet. 175 A ἄτοπα τῆς σμικρολογίας.

48. τούτου γε ἔνεκα sc. τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι κτλ.
CHAPTER XXXIII.

3. έν τι τούτῳ διανοεῖται = 'to consider this one thing', lit. 'one thing, this'. Cf. εἰς μέν τις in 25 B. ἀληθὲς = 'which is true' is added emphatically like δικαίον supr. 18 A.

8. ἀπειλάχθαι πραγμάτων = 'be rid of trouble'. In βέλτιον 41 D ἦν the imperfect is used as in 39 B above ὀστὶ καὶ έδει σχέων.

11. οὗ πάνν = 'hardly', v. on 19 A.

14. τούτῳ αὐτοῖς δίην μέμφεσθαι = 'for this they deserve to be blamed'. δίην is the predicate to τούτῳ. "Cf. δίην ἐστιν εὐαίσθαι (=qui laudetur)" Göbel. Infra τιμωρήσασθε = 'take your revenge upon'.

23. ἄλλα γὰρ v. on 19 C.

Éstun oíov éstui μηδὲν εἶναι. Cf. infr. 40 B oíow ἀποδημήσαι. For μηδὲν (indecl.) εἶναι lit. 'to be nothing' cf. Soph. Ajax 1231 ὥτ' οὐδὲν ὥν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀντέσθη ὑπερ.

5. κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα sc. by the poets, Homer Hesiod and Pindar etc., and in the mysteries. Cf. 40 B καὶ ἄληθῆ ἔστιν τὰ λεγόμενα ὥς ἄρα ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν ἀπαντεῖς οἱ τεθνεῖστες.

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7. καὶ ἄλλα. The alternative supposition is introduced by εἰ δ' ἂν in E. See on 33 D above.


ἔλ. ἐκλεξάμενον δέοι—καλ—δέοι σκεφάμενον εἰπεῖν. The repetition of δέοι is for clearness. σκεφάμενον εἰπεῖν=σκέψασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν: to σκεφάμενον the other two participles ἐκλεξάμενον and ἀντιπαραθέντα are logically subordinate.

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40 E 18. αὐτὸν=ipsum and belongs to τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα, from which it is separated by εὐαριθμητοὺς ἂν εὑρεῖν for the sake of greater emphasis.

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139 ὁ δάκατος οὖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναίσθητει τὸ δὲ ἀναίσθητον οὖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

20. οὖθεν πλειον—εἶναι ή = 'to be nothing more than', 'nihil plus quam' (Ficinus). Cf. Cicero's translation Tusc. 1. 97 cui (sc. tali nocti) si similis futura est perpetuitatis omnis consequentis temporis, etc. [πλειων, the reading of the Bodleian, would mean 'longer than', which is clearly absurd, v. App. 2.]

21. εὖτε δὴ = 'according to that view'.

οἶνος ἀποδημῆσαι. See above on 40 c οἶνος μηδὲν εἶναι. Cf. with the whole sentence Tac. Agr. 46 Si quis piorum manibus locus etc.

23. ὃς ἀρα ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν = 'that after all every man who has died is existing in that other world'. On ἀρα v. above on ἐγὼ δὲ οὖθεν ἀρα 34 c. ἐκεῖ and ἐκεῖσε are used of the other world as ἐνθάδε and ἐνθέντε are of this. Cf. Theaet. 176 θείωναν χρή ἐνθέντε ἐκεῖσε φεύγεν δ τι τάχιστα. Ar. Ran. 82 δὴ εὐκόλος μὲν ἐνθάδ', εὐκόλος δ' ἐκεῖ. So ἐκεῖνοι sometimes = 'the departed', v. on 33 e above.


27. τοὺς ἀλήθες δικαστάς. Wohlrab compares Phaedo 109 E ἐκεῖνος ἔστιν ὁ ἀληθῶς οὐρανός καὶ τὸ ἀληθῶς φῶς καὶ ἡ ὄσ ἀληθῶς γη.

28. Μίλως τε—Τριπτόλεμος. The first three (sons of Zeus) are named as judges of the dead in Gorg. 524 A, where we are told that Rhadamanthys judges those who come from Asia, and Acaicus Europeans, while Minos acts as referee. The whole of the concluding myth in the Gorgias (523 foll.) should be read in connection with this passage. Triptolemus was according to some accounts the son of King Eleusis: he generally appears in connection with the worship of Demeter. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter 149 foll., Triptolemus is spoken of as a judge on earth, but this is the only passage, according to Riddell, in which he figures as a judge of the dead.

31. 'Ὀρφές—καὶ Μουσαῖος. Orpheus and Musaeus were the two great mythical bards of Greece. They were supposed to have done much for the religion and general civilization of their country, v. Ar. Ran. 1032—1033 ὁ Ὀρφής μὲν γὰρ τελεσάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φώνω τ' ἀπέχεσθαι, Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμοῦς. Cf. Prot. 316 D.

33. ἐπὶ πόσῳ—οὐμῶν = 'what would not some of you give for that!' Cf. Hdt. III. 38 εἶρετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἀν χρήματι βούλοιτο.
The Greek idiom frequently makes use of the interrogative pronoun where in English we use the exclamation. On τός cf. supra 30 D and note.

34. πολλάκις θελω τεθυνάω. So B. Plato nearly always uses ἐθέλω rather than θέλω after a consonant: this passage like ὢν ἄν θελη in Phaedr. 249 B is an exception. The form ἐθέλω (here found in T) is throughout far commoner in Plato than θέλω: see Schanz Novae Commentationes Platonicae p. 102.

35. ξυρωγε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐλέειν is rendered ‘for myself especially’.

41 B

36. Παλαμήδα. See Virg. Aen. ii. 81 foll. Odysseus is said to have caused a forged message from Priam to be delivered to Palamedes: whereupon the latter was stoned by the Greeks on a false charge of treason (falsa sub priditione Virg. l. c.). In the Xenophontic Apology § 26 Socrates consoles himself in much the same way by reflecting on the fate of Palamedes: see also Mem. iv. 8. 10. The story of Palamedes was dramatized by all three tragedians, v. Dindorf, Poetae Scenici Graeci, pp. 113, 145, 333. The story of Ajax is familiar from Sophocles’ play.

38. ἀντιπαραβαλλωμαι. For the asyndeton cf. note on 22 A supra οἱ μὲν μάλιστα. [App. 2.]

40. καὶ δὴ καὶ = ‘and above all’ introduces a climax, see on 26 D supra. τὸ μέγιστον = ‘which is the chief thing’ is the acc. in apposition to the sentence: v. supra note on 34 D. The inf. διάγεν is due to the preceding οὖν ἄν ἀνδείς εἶη: the interrogatives depend on εἰκετάζοντα καὶ ἐρευνώντα.

44. ἁγαγόντα: ἁγώντα the reading of the Bodleian can hardly be right, v. App. 2.

45. Σίσυφος. The name is probably connected with σοφός. Cf. ἀσόφηλος = ‘insipiens’ in Homer (Gustav Meyer, Griech. Gr. 2 p. 75). Sisyphus king of Corinth was notorious in legend for treachery and deceit: v. Od. xi. 593 foll.

41 C

45. ἦ—οἷς ἐκά κτλ. = ‘or one might name ten thousand more, both men and women, with whom’ etc. Cf. Gorg. 483 D ἦ ἄλλα μερί ἀν τός ξοι παράχει λέγει. [On the punctuation v. App. 2.]

47. ἀμήχανον—ἐφιδαιμονιᾶς = ‘an infinite happiness’ (Church). Cf. Thuc. i. 118. 2 ἐκλ μέγα ἐχώρησαν ἐφιδαιμονιάσ, and Pl. Theaet. 175 A ἀτομα τῆς σμικρολογίας.

48. τοῦτον γε ἔνεκα sc. τοῦ διαλέγοντος κτλ.
CHAPTER XXXIII.

3. ἐν τῷ τούτῳ διαγνωσθαί = 'to consider this one thing', lit. 'one thing, this'. Cf. els μέν τις in 25 B. διήθητι = 'which is true' is added emphatically like δίκαιον supr. 18 A.

8. ἀπελλαχθαί πραγμάτων = 'be rid of trouble'. In βέλτιον 41 D ἦν the imperfect is used as in 39 B above ὀφθω καὶ ἔδει σχεῖν.

11. οὐ πάνω = 'hardly', v. on 19 A.

14. τούτῳ αὐτοῖς δίξων μὲν καθεσθαί = 'for this they deserve to be blamed'. δίξων is the predicate to τούτῳ. 'Cf. δίξως ἕστω εὐαυξᾶται (=qui laudetur)' Göbel. Infra τιμωρήσασθε = 'take your revenge upon'.

23. ἀλλὰ γάρ v. on 19 C.

26. πλήν ἤ. Cf. Ar. Nub. 361 πλήν ἢ Προδίκῳ and ἢ in ἀλλ. ἢ supra 34 B. Well might Cicero (Tusc. Disp. i. 99) admire the impressive ending of this noble speech. 'Nihil autem melius extremo: Sed tempus est, inquit, iam hinc abire, me, ut moriar, vos, ut vitam agatis. Ultrum autem sit melius, dei immortales sciunt: hominem quidem scire arbitror neminem.'
APPENDIX I.

APOL. 26 D—E.

καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ’ ἐμοὶ μανθάνουσιν, ἐξετάζων ἔντοτε, ἐὰν πάνυ πολλοὶ, δραχμὴς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας προαιρέσθη Σωκράτος καταγελάω, ἐὰν προσποιήται έαντον εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτως ἀτομα ὄντα.

This passage has been the subject of much dispute. I shall endeavour to state as briefly as possible the arguments in support of the various interpretations, and the reasons which have led me to take the view given in the notes.

The first view which requires to be considered is that of Böckh. In his Staatschaushaltung der Athener, Vol. i. p. 61 he remarks: 'In Sokrates' Zeit muss in der Orchestra des Dionysischen Theaters natürlich zur Zeit, wann nicht gespielt wurde, ein Buchhandel gewesen sein; wo man des Anaxagoras Bücher, wenn hoch, zu einer Drachme haben konnte.' In a note he adds: 'Dies ist der Sinn der meistenthalen missverstandenen Stelle des Platon Apol. S. 26 D—E.' This view is still maintained by Polle (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1868 pp. 770—771) and Göbel; by the latter not without some hesitation.

Besides the a priori improbability that the theatre of Dionysus should have been used as a bookseller's shop, it is a serious objection to this view that the theatre was too far from the agora for people to be likely to frequent it in order to buy books. Further the word ὀρχήστρα is apparently seldom used in the sense of the orchestra of the theatre so early as the time of Socrates (Mahaffy in Hermathena iv. pp. 84—85).

The second interpretation, adopted by Cron and the editors generally, is as follows. We know that Euripides, and probably other dramatists, availed themselves of the doctrines of the phy-
APPENDIX I.

sicists, and in particular of Anaxagoras, for poetical purposes. In
the Phaethon—probably an early play (see Von Wilamowitz-Möll-
endorf in Hermes xviii. p. 434)—Euripides called the sun a
χρυσέα βόλος: and in Orestes 982—986 we read: μόλομμ τῶν
οὐρανίων μέσον χθόνος τε τεταμέναν αἰωρήμασι μυρλας πέτραν
ἀλύσει χρυσέαισι φερομέναν δίναισι βόλον ἔξ 'Ολύμπου.
It is inferred that Socrates is expressing indignation that he should
be charged with teaching doctrines which any one could hear for
the sum of a drachma in the choral odes of the tragedians.

This interpretation, though hardly ‘teeming with absurdity’,
as Mahaffy asserts, is open to serious objections. In the first
place it is doubtful if ‘buying doctrines from the orchestra’
could mean ‘paying money to learn these doctrines from choral
odes’. Secondly, the charge for admission to the theatre was not
a drachma, but two obols (διώβολοι), and there is no good au-
thority for the assertion that the admission-fee ever rose to a
drachma per man, nor can it be supposed that the lessee of the
theatre would have been allowed to sell the best places at a higher
price (Mahaffy Hermathena iii. p. 460 foll.). To assert with Fränkeli
(Anmerkungen zu Böckh’s Staatshaushaltung3 Vol. ii. p. 13*)
that a drachma is named as the price of a three days’ ticket is to make
Socrates guilty of an anti-climax: for one need not have spent a
drachma when two obols would have been enough, and ‘two obols
at most’ would have been far more emphatic as a climax. Thirdly,
the natural thing for Socrates to say was not ‘go and learn Anax-
agoras’ doctrines from the poets, his pupils’, but ‘go and read Anax-
agoras’ own book’. Plato would hardly have made Socrates recom-
end Euripides as a better exponent of Anaxagorean views than
Anaxagoras himself.

The third view, which I have adopted in my note, is that of
Schöne (Fleckes. Jahrb. 1870 pp. 802—803). It is put forward
and vigorously defended by Mahaffy in the articles cited above,
although he does not refer to Schöne: and Reinhardt, in a review
of Bertram’s edition of the Apology and Crito (Philologische
Rundschau for May 17, 1884), has also signified his adhesion to it.
On the other hand, Birt (Das antike Buchwesen p. 434) argues
that καὶ δὴ καὶ¹ must introduce something distinct from βῆλας:
he also points out that ἐξορε is difficult to explain upon this view:
and a similar line of argument is taken by Fränkel (l.c.). The use

¹ Mahaffy reads καὶ δὴ: I know not on what authority.

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of καὶ δὴ καὶ does not constitute a serious difficulty, for the following sentence may be regarded as a sort of climax: and ἐν λόγε though obscure, is not perhaps inexplicable. But by far the weightiest argument against Schöne’s view is that drawn from the price of books at Athens. It is undoubtedly a shock to be told that Anaxagoras’ περὶ φύσεων could be bought in the time of Socrates for a drachma at most. But it must be remembered that the price is hardly less difficult to explain on Cron’s view: and in point of fact, it is allowed by Birt that we know nothing of the price of books in Athens at the time. The fact that two χάρων cost two drachmae and four obols in 407 B.C. proves nothing, as Birt admits, for we know neither the quality of the paper nor how much a χάρων contained. It is useless to argue from the prices of books in later times, when money was cheaper: and, if a man could be conveyed from the Pontus to Athens for two drachmae at most, I confess I do not see why half that sum may not have occasionally (ἐν λόγε) procured a copy of the περὶ φύσεων. Books must have been fairly cheap and common before Ar. could have written βιβλίων τ’ ἔχων ἐκαστὸς μαθητὴν τα δεξιά (Ran. 1114).

That there was a book-market in or near the market-place is clear from Eupolis Frag. 304 (ed. Th. Kock): περὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ σκοραδα καὶ τὰ κρόμμανα καὶ τὸν λιβαντόν, κεῖθε τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καὶ περὶ τὰ γέλης και τα βυβλία οὖν. The exact locality of the Orchestra is not fixed: see Wachsmuth Die Stadt Athen in Alterthum p. 170 foll. From Arist. Rhet. 1. 9. 38 (where see Cope) and Aristoph. Eccles. 681—682 it would seem to have been actually in the Agora: τὰ δὲ κληρωθήμα τοῖς τρέφεις; ΠΡΑ. εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν καταθήκω κατὰ στῆςα παρ' Ἀρμοδίῳ κληρώσω πάντας κτλ., for the statue of Harmodius was in the Orchestra: see note on 26 ἐ. Milchhöfer in the Denkmäler des classischen Alterthums, p. 165, places it to the north of the low ground between the Acropolis and the Areopagus, but differs from Köhler in believing it to be a terrace of earth and not of rock: compare Plutarch Dem. Ch. xii. When any independent evidence is found connecting the book-market with the Orchestra, I shall regard Schöne’s view as proved: I have adopted it now, because I believe the balance of evidence is in its favour.

APPENDIX II.

On certain points in the Text of the Apology.

It is not my purpose to give an elaborate account of the MSS of Plato: for this the reader may be referred to Schanz’s Commentationes Platonicae (1871), to his Studien zur Geschichte des Platonischen Textes (1874) and especially to his treatise Über den Platocodex der Markusbibliothek in Venedig (1877), together with Jordan (Fleckeisen’s Jahrb. 1876 p. 769 ff.) and Kroeschel (ibid. 1881 p. 553 ff.). Schanz and others maintain that the Platonic MSS fall into two families, the first of which is best represented by the Bodleian (B = Bekker’s Λ), the second by a manuscript in the library of St Mark’s at Venice (T = Bekker’s t). The former has been repeatedly collated; the latter (according to Kral) Jordan has collated for the Apology. A full collation of T is now contained in one of the two school editions of Schanz (1893). The relative importance of these MSS is still a matter of dispute. Till recently the Bodleian was regarded as far the most valuable: but it is now generally admitted that in some respects T is a good second to B. Schanz believes that T is the source of all the MSS of the second class. According to the same authority, both families can be traced to one lost archetype, which is not earlier than 400 A.D. See Schanz Studien pp. 23—45 and Über den Platocodex pp. 107—108.

I proceed to discuss those points of textual criticism and exegesis which seemed to require special treatment in an Appendix.

17 A. δ τι. Cron writes δτι, on the ground that δ τι would open the door to δ τι ποτε, and even to δ τι in Homer (Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Platon’s Apologie p. 77). That δτι and δ τι were still felt by the Greeks themselves to be the same word (= Latin quod) is probable on many grounds and in particular from the phrase δ τι παθόννε = ‘propterea quod’. The origin of that phrase is perhaps this. τι = ‘what’: therefore τι παθόννε = ‘why’ in direct and δ τι παθόννε = ‘why’ (δ τι) in indirect; but as δ τι and δτι are the same word, and as δτι means not only ‘why’, but also ‘because’, δ τι παθόν also comes to mean ‘because’ (v. also note on 36 B). I think
Cron (who is followed by Wohlrab) is theoretically right in printing the words in the same way: but for the sake of clearness I have conformed to the usual practice and written ὃ τι for 'what' and ὅτι for 'that' or 'because'. In such a case as Charm. 170 B–C, where the point turns on the distinction between 'what' and 'that', it would be extremely inconvenient to write ὅτι in both cases.

χρη. So Hdf. with some mss: Bekk. χρη. B has χρη with υ erased: T χρη (sic).

17 B. οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. Muretus wrongly took κατὰ as = 'according to', and rejected οὐ, which is found in all mss.

17 D. ἐτη γεγονός ἐβδομήκοντα. So B and most of the better class of mss: the others have πλεῖον ἐβδομήκοντα or πλεῖον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα. Later writers assign Socrates' birth to 470 or 471: but cf. Crito 52 E ἐν ἔτεσι ἐβδομήκοντα.

18 A. ψεύδη. B has ψεύδη: see note in loc.

18 B. κατηγόρουν ἵμαι οὔδεν μᾶλλον ἀλήθες. So I read for μᾶλλον οὖδεν ἀλήθες of B: T reads οὖδεν ἀλήθες without μᾶλλον. Riddell retains μᾶλλον, taking it with κατηγόρουν cf. 18 E πολύ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τῶν διὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων. Schanz formerly read μᾶ τὸν—οὖδεν ἀλήθες cf. Gorg. 466 E μᾶ τὸν, οὐ. οὐ γε: now he follows T. Other editors either reject all three words or read οὖδεν ἀλήθες. Mr Hadley of Pembroke College suggests μᾶλλον <ἡ> οὗδεν ἀλήθες.

18 D. καμωθοποιῶς. So BT Schanz: but in Symp. 223 D both B and T have τραγῳδοποιῶν and καμωθοποιῶν. Bekk. with good ms authority prints the shorter forms in Rep. 597 E 605 C 606 C 607 A Phaed. 70 C.

19 C. οὐχ ὡς ἀτιμᾶτον—φύγοιμί. This sentence is very difficult. There is no variation of any importance in the mss. The clause μὴ πως—φύγοιμί is taken as the expression of a wish by F. A. Wolf and most editors and translators including Riddell and Kral (1885): Cron (Bemerk. p. 83 foll.)—with whom Ludwig and Göbel agree—takes it as a final clause: but in that case φύγω would at least be more regular: v. Goodwin's Moods and Tenses p. 115. Eichler in the Philolog. Rundschau v. p. 815 presses ὡς and understands the sentence as follows: I don’t say this to make you fancy that I despise such knowledge, so that I may not be accused of etc.: i.e. my contempt for these doctrines is not feigned merely to keep Meletus from prosecuting me again. If μὴ πως were a final clause I think we should expect it to be put less ambiguously e.g. οὐ τοῦτον ἐνεκα—ἐνα μὴ κτλ. τοσαύτας δίκας is also difficult: Wolf
APPENDIX II.

translates it by 'tot criminibus': Heindorf's remark is 'quot sunt qui talium rerum scientiam profisetur': at least it can hardly mean 'so grave a charge'. In my notes I have given the view which in my opinion presents the fewest difficulties: I do not think it quite satisfactory, but it is better than to bracket the words 'quia sanam interpretationem spernunt'. [Cron in his last edition (1882) also remarks "Die Bedenken gegen diese Worte sind nicht unbegründet"]

20 B. ει ὡς διήθες ἔχοι. So BT: but B presently has διδάσκει. I follow T with Schanz.

20 C. ει μή τι ἑπρατεῖς ἄλλοις ή οἱ πολλοὶ is bracketed by Herm. Cob. Sch. Kral. I retain it with mss Cron Göbel etc. See my note on 18 C ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός and Wohlrab's excellent remarks on ἀδέησις in the criticism of the Apology (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1876 pp. 122 foll.).

21 A. ἐταῖρός τε καλ. Cobet rejects ἐταῖρος τε: Ludwig, Schanz and Kral reject all three words. Vahlen in the Zeitschr. f. d. Oesterr. Gymnas. 1872 p. 523 while remarking that ἐταῖρος, δι γε καλ would be a better remedy than to reject the words, defends the text by the passages cited in my note.

21 C. διασκοτόν οὖν τοῦτον—καλ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ. Schanz brackets the last three words: Wex in Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1856 p. 670 includes them in the parenthesis as a participial clause parallel to πρὸς δὲν ἐγὼ σκοτών: but this throws too much emphasis on καλ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ: see also Cron (Bemerkungen pp. 89–90), who quotes Xen. Anab. IV. 2. 12 καλ ἔτερον ἄρθρως ἐμπροσθέν λόφον κατεχόμενον ἐπί τοῦτον ἀδίκει ἑδόκει πορεύεσθαι, where however L. Dindorf reads ἄρθρως. Göbel (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1882 p. 747) makes the parenthesis begin with τοῦτον, which he takes as the object after λέγειν, arguing that διασκοτόν is equivalent to dispicere, perspicere, not to ἐξετάζειν, and cannot take a person as its object: but Kral (p. xi) in reply quotes Prot. 311 B καὶ ἐγὼ ἀποτελημένος ἐσποκάτοι τῆς ὁμοί διεσκότον αὐτῶν.


22 A. ἵνα μοι καὶ ἄνθεγκτος. So mss. Stephanus followed by
Sanz reads ἰν γε μοί κτλ.: Hermann ἰν μοί καὶ ἐλεγκτός, but the text is undoubtedly right (so Riddell Cron Göbel Kral etc.).

22 C. ἰν ἐλεγχ. Hermann reads ἐν λόγῳ against the MSS.

22 D. καὶ οἷς ηὐμουργοὶ is suspected by Hirschig and Schanz: but see above on 20 C (App. 2) εἰ μὴ τί ἐκπαττεῖ ἀλλοίων ἢ οἷς πολλοὶ and my note on 18 C ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός.

23 A. καὶ φαίνεται τοῦτο ὁ λέγων τὸν Σωκράτη. This is a most difficult passage. MSS have τοῦτοι which Ast defends, taking τοῦτον τὸν Σωκράτη as = ἐμε. The Vulgate has τοῦτον. F. A. Wolf (who is followed by Bekk. Herm. Ridd. Whlb. Sch.) reads τοῦτο ὁ: Mudge Stallbaum Cron Göb. Kr. read τοῦτο with slender MS authority. In favour of τοῦτο ὁ may be urged: 1) it is somewhat nearer to the good MSS than τοῦτο: 2) it gives a somewhat simpler meaning. ὁ is followed by δὲ as infra 24 B θεὸς ὁ ή τὸς νομίζει ὁ νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δομήμα τα κανόνα τοῦτο means δὴ σοφὸς ἔστω, as would be understood from the context. Those editors who read τοῦτο λέγει generally refer τοῦτο to the clause δὴ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία—οὐδενός and understand φαίνεται τοῦτο λέγει as ‘it is evident that he says this’, τοῦτο here denoting the same thing as τοῦτο in line 9: only φαίνεται τοῦτο λέγει according to Eichler (Philolog. Rundschau v. p. 814) would mean ‘apparently he says this’, and προσεχρηθεῖ, not προσεχρηθῆθα, would have to follow in that case. Göbel takes τοῦτο as anticipatory of the clause δὴ οὖσα ὑμῶν κτλ., regarding προσεχρηθήθα—ποιούμενος as semi-parenthetical, and δὲ καὶ εἰ εἶποι as a kind of repetition of τοῦτο: this strikes me as somewhat heavy and forced. Füsslein (Philologus XLIII. 1883—1884 p. 243) proposes ταύτων for τοῦτων of MSS: taking ταύτων as = δὴ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία κτλ. If Eichler’s objection can be surmounted—and I think it can, since φαίνεται τοῦτο λέγει—προσεχρηθῆθα δὲ—ἐμὲ παράδειγμα ποιούμενος—φαίνεται τοῦτο λέγει—προσεχρηθημένος δὲ—ἐμὲ παράδειγμα ποιείσθαι, φαίνεται being connected logically with ἐμὲ παράδειγμα ποιούμενος—I think τοῦτων of the MSS might possibly be retained as equivalent to τὸν χρησμὸν (supra line 9 ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τοῦτῳ): the meaning then would be: ‘he seems to apply this oracle to Socrates and to have used my name for it, in order to make me an example etc.’ But on the whole I incline to τοῦτο ὁ. Two objections of some force might be urged against it. First, τοῦτο ὁ in that case denotes something different from the τοῦτο immediately preceding in line 9. I do not think this objection serious, since that τοῦτο is merely anticipatory of the following clause,
like the Latin *illud*. I have endeavoured to obviate this difficulty by printing a full stop before *καὶ φαίνεται*. Secondly, Cron (Bemerk. p. 91) argues that προσ- in *προσκεκριμέναι* has no force unless we read τοῦτο: he translates ‘bediente sich aber dazu noch meines Namens’. But *προσκεκριμέναι* (a very frequent word in Plato, less common elsewhere) sometimes means to call in the aid of something one could do without, as here the God might have expressed his meaning without using Socrates’ name at all: see Ast’s Lexicon Platonicum s. v. *προσκρωμα*.

23 D. *δὲ λα' οἷς αὐτοῖς*. So the good MSS and all the best edd. except Whlb. who reads *δὲ λα' οἷς αὐτοῖς*. Socrates implies that instead of being angry with him they should have been angry with themselves: the reading *δὲ λα' οἷς αὐτοῖς* is incorrect, because they would of course be angry with their examiners in any case.


25 E. *ἡ εἰ διαφθείρω, ἄκων*. So MSS: Sch. after Steph. reads *ἡ διαφθείρω ἄκων*: Naber *ἡ εἰ διαφθείρω, διαφθείρω ἄκων*.

26 A. *τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ ἀκούσθων αμαρτημάτων*. Cob. boldly reads τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄκω αμαρτημάτων.

παύσομαι δὲ γε ἄκων τοίχω. So MSS Bekk. Ridd. Cr. Göb. Kr.: Sch. reads οὐ γε for δὲ γε. Perhaps παύσομαι, δὲ γε ἄκων τοίχω ‘I will stop, as I am doing it unwillingly’.

26 C. *ταῦτα διδάσκειν*. So MSS and Edd. Perhaps we should read ταὐτὰ διδάσκειν.

26 D. *’Αναξαγόρου*. Baiter strangely requires *Σωκράτους*: Sch. brackets the word: Kr. reads ’Αναξαγόρου οἰς κατηγορεῖν—<ἡ> καὶ κτλ. The sentence is of course a question.

26 E. *πριμένων*. Ridd. reads *πριμένους* against MSS.

*οὕτωσι σοι δοκῶν οὐδένα νομίζω θεόν εἶναι* is the reading of the best MS: I follow Wagner in taking *οὕτωσι σοι δοκῶ* as a question.
Most Edd. read ὀὗτωσι — δοκό — νομίζειν κτλ. with inferior MSS: Sch. once bracketed δοκό, and read νομίζω.

27 c. ἢ τὸν καὶ τὸν παλαιὰ, ἀλλ' ὅς τοῦ κτλ. So Göbel: Sch. and the other Edd. print a full stop (or colon) after παλαιὰ. In 34 ε Göbel’s view seems less natural.

27 E. ἵππων μὲν παῖδας ἤγοοτο ἢ καὶ δῶν [τοῦ ημῶν] κτλ. The words τοῦ ημῶν are in all the MSS, and were already in the text used by Arrian. If they are genuine, ἢ before καὶ must be rejected, as is done by Bekk. Sch. Dyer. Münscher in Fleck. Jahrb. 1865 p. 473 argues that τοῦ ημῶν is genuine, partly on the ground that mules may be considered the bastard offspring of horses and asses just as δαμνοί are spoken of above as νόθοι παιδεῖς of gods and nymphs or other mothers. But the illegitimacy does not require to be illustrated in the simile: and besides, (as I have remarked in my note), if we retain τοῦ ημῶν, and reject ἢ before καὶ, the illustration will then imply that Socrates does not believe in νομοῦν ἢ των ἄλλων, a charge which Meletus has not made. Winckelmann reads ἢ <ἵππων> καὶ δῶν, τοῦ ημῶν, which may possibly be right. Cron and Wohlrab reject καὶ after ἢ as well as τοῦ ημῶν: but καὶ should be retained (so also Ridd.): see my note. Kral reads ιππων μεν παιδας ηγοοτο καὶ δων, ιππους δε καὶ δων μη ηγοοτο ειναι. The simplest view is to hold that τοῦ ημῶν is a gloss by some one who in reading failed to notice the ἢ before the καὶ.

ταύτα—τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην. Herm. Ridd. Cr. Göb. reject τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην: Sch. brackets ταύτα. Wagner and Kral retain both, and take ταύτα with άποστειρόμενος, the latter illustrating the hyperbaton by Apol. 26 ά ου ταύτα λέγεις οτι διδασκων διαφθείρω Crit. 50 έ Απόλ. 26 ά έτος etc. I think it more natural to take the words as I have taken them.

ὁς ου τοῦ αἰτοῦ ἑστηκαν κτλ. The choice clearly lies between Wecklein’s view and that of Cron. The latter omits ου after ὁς: but Cron’s view can hardly be maintained unless τοῦ αἰτοῦ after αδ be also rejected (so Kral). If we follow Cron, the meaning is, ‘you cannot possibly persuade any one who has the slightest understanding that one and the same individual may believe in δαμνοί and in θεῖα and not both in δαμνοί and in θεῖα. I prefer to follow Wecklein 1) because it is natural that Socrates should thus emphatically state his conclusion both positively and negatively, 2) because I think it is bolder to omit τοῦ αἰτοῦ and particularly ου than to assume that the words supplied by Wecklein have fallen out. Bekk. Hermann
Ridd. Whlb. retain the mss reading: but I do not think any one who has mastered the argument of the chapter will agree with them: and besides, the transition to the negative proposition καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ μὴ τε καὶ. is inexplicable except upon Cron or Wecklein's view. The mss text is unsuccessfully defended by Keck (Fleck. 1861 p. 408), Münscher (ibid. 1865 p. 474) and Bäumlein (ibid. 1866 p. 117): see in reply Cron ibid. 1866 p. 123 and Bemerk. p. 96 foll. Göbel's view, according to which ως οὐ—ἡρωας is parenthetical and ως = 'since', is more ingenious than convincing.

28 D. τὰξη ἣ γηγαμένος—ἡ—ταχθῇ. Some mss have τὰξη—ἡ, but the second hand in B 'ἡ punctis notavit' (Sch.) and Stobaeus and other ancient authors quote the passage without ἡ. ἡ is retained by Bekk. St. Herm. Ridd. Wagner: it is bracketed or rejected by Cron Whlb. Sch. Göb. Kr. Wex in Fleck. Jahrb. 1856 p. 670, rejects ἡ with the question 'kann man vielleicht auch sagen: "Wer sich selbst tödtet, entweder aus Lebensüberdruss oder weil er von einem andern getödtet wird"?'

30 B. ἀφερε ἦ μὴ, ἀφερε is proposed by Schlenger (Philologus xli. p. 532 foll.). This is ingenious and at first sight pleasing: but it makes the sentence somewhat abrupt.

30 D. ἀτιμάστειν. MSS ἀτιμάστειν, which is retained by Bekk. St. Ridd. Whlb. Riddell says ἀτιμάζω can bear the same sense as ἀτιμῶ, citing Legg. 762 ῆ περὶ τὰς τῶν νεών ἄρχας ἡμᾶς πάσας, but there the meaning is more general. Hermann's emendation ἀτιμάστειν is confirmed by Stobaeus, as well as by the passage in Rep. viii. 553 B (though there too some mss have ἀτιμασθέντα, cf. Cron Bemerk. p. 99): it is accepted by Cron Sch. Göb. Kr.

30 E. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. So MSS Bekk. Ridd. Wag. Huhle (v. infra): Stallb. Sch. Cron Whlb. Göb. Kr. bracket or reject the words with Hirschig. This whole simile is discussed by Cron in his Bemerkungen p. 99 foll.: Cron there decides that μῦψι is 'a spur.' Huhle in Fleckieisen's Jahrb. 1879 p. 105 foll. proves I think beyond dispute that the word here means a gadfly. To this view the τῦνα (cuiusdam) points as well as γελοιοτερον and νηθεστέρων: the last word (says Huhle) is not equivalent to βραδυτέρων but means 'somewhat lazy' 'träge, der Regsamkeit und Schneidigkeit ermanegelnd,' as in Politicus 310 E. Cron's reply (ibid. p. 403 foll.) proves nothing. Wecklein (ibid. p. 765) interposes in the controversy as an ἐφεδρος, and tries to discover a via media, taking μῆνας in ὑπὸ μῆνας τῶν as 'a spur,' and understanding it in the
rest of the simile as 'a gadfly': but this will convince nobody. Cron finally closed the controversy (ibid. p. 817) by demolishing Wecklein's view.

31 a. Κροῦσαντες. So MSS: Herm. strangely reads ὄρωσαντες. The simile is of course changed (see my note). The notes of Stallbaum and Elberling excite the mirth of Huhle (l. c.). 'Κροῦσαντες quod usurpatur de animalibus vel cornibus vel pedibus furentibus ac pulsantibus' St. 'Hoc vocabulo propterea usus esse videtur, quod civitatem cum equo comparavit; nam κροῦσαντες proprie de animalibus usurpatur, quae cornibus petunt' Elberling.

31 b. ἐχ ον ἐν τινα λόγον. So B and most of the better MSS and all good Edd. Sch. formerly read εἰχεν ἐν with ε etc., but now writes εἰχον ἐν. Wex in Fleck. Jahrb. 1856 p. 670 reads εἰχεν ἐν on the strength of Phaedo 62 b et al., but Apol. 34 B proves εἰχον right here.

31 c. ὡς ἄληθη λέγω. So MSS: Herm. Ridd. ἄληθη ὡς λέγω without MS authority.

31 d. ὅτι μοι τείνω τι καὶ ταμίον γιγνεται φωνή. φωνή although found in all MSS is rejected by all Edd. except Fischer and Riddell. Keck also defends the word: v. Cron Bemerk. p. 102 foll. I think φωνή is an interpolation: if it is retained, it must be viewed as part of the predicate 'that something divine and supernatural becomes to me a voice', and lines 9 and 10 must then be translated 'This I have had from my childhood, becoming a voice (with γιγνομένη for γιγνόμενον cf. in 18 A αὐτή = τοῦτο), and when it becomes this (qua cum fiat) etc.' But the passage quoted from the Euthyphro shews that μοι γιγνεται = 'comes to me.'

32 a. ἀμα καὶ ἄμα ἀν. So Cron with B etc. ἀμ' ἀν Bekk. ἀμ' ἀν καὶ Herm. ἀμα καὶ Ridd. Sch. ἀμα καὶ ἀμ' ἀν Madvig ἀμα Sch. ἀμα καὶ Kr. (the reading of T). Professor Campbell's suggestion (ap. Ridd.) ᾽αλα καὶ ἀλλ' ἀν ἀσολομην 'meet death in sundry forms' seems questionable Greek: μὴ ἀλλα καὶ ἀλλα θορυβεῖτω in 27 D is different.

καὶ δικανικά. Herm. strangely reads οδ δικανικά.

32 b. Ἀντιποθεωσ. So MSS and most Edd. except Wagner and Kral who bracket or reject the word. Cron (Bemerk. p. 104 and in the Appendix to his 8th ed.) inclines to regard the word as a gloss, but refers to Xen. Ages. 1 10 τάς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἀλη-νίδας in support of the text.

καὶ ἐναντία ἐφησιόμενη is bracketed by Herm. and Sch.
APPENDIX II.

33 b. ἐρωτάν. So MSS and Edd. except Göbel, who reads παρέχω ἐμαυτόν (ἐρωτάν καλ., ἢν τε βούλησαι, ἀνοικρυμένος) ἀκοῦειν κτλ.: see his Fulda program 1882 p. 3 foll. I do not think he makes out his case.

34 d. τούτῳ αὐτῷ τὸ του Ὀμῆρου. If the emphasis appears to be excessive, we may perhaps read αὖθι for αὐτῷ (see note in loc.); but it is probably safer to adhere to the MSS (with other Edd.).

34 e. ἄρ' οὖν ἀλήθεις—ψεύδος, ἀλλ' οὖν κτλ. is Göbel's reading: cf. supra on 27 c, App. 2.

τὸν Ἐωράτην. So I read with the second hand in B, Bekk. and St. B has τῷ Ἐωράτην, followed by Ridd. Whlb. (But this could only mean 'Socrates has resolved to excel etc.') Less good MSS read τὸ Ἐωράτην and so Herm. Cron Wagner Göb. Kr. Schmelzer Sch.


35 c. εἰς ταῦτ' ὑπερ. B and other good MSS read εἰς ταῦτ' ὑπερ, which Cron (followed by Wagner) retains, defending the expression by πάρεμι εἰς τι. But, not to speak of syntactical considerations, ἵνα in line 11 makes it almost certain that ὑπερ (the reading of T) is right here.

 bénéfic. So MSS and Bekk. Stallb. Herm. Ridd. Cron Göb.: Sch. and Whlb. bracket bénéfic: Kral omits the word. Partly for the reasons stated in my note, and partly because εἰς τὸ ἵππα καὶ ἔκαστον—ἐνεργεῖτω κτλ. are to my ear kept slightly apart by the sentence-accent, I think bénéficie may be taken with εἰς. The alternative is to reject the word. Infra εὔναῦθα is generally taken as epanaleptic of εἰς δὲ τὸ ἵππα κτλ.: I prefer to regard it as anticipatory of the following participial clause, for the reason stated in my note.

37 b. ἔ μη. B has ἔ: but the second hand writes ἔ along with the other MSS. The Edd. read ἓ, which may be right.

ἀντὶ τοῦτον δὴ ἧξωμαι. B and other good MSS read ἧξωμαι: E has ἧξωμαι τι (so Bekk.). If ἧξωμαι is retained, we can only explain the genitive as a partitive gen. depending on τοῦ (τοῦτον MSS) in τοῦ τιμησάμενος; but it will be allowed that this is somewhat
forced, and unlike the simple style of the Apology. Or if ἔλομαι is supposed to be followed immediately by a partitive genitive, I know no other example of this construction, and here, if τοῦτον is retained, it is so harsh that Bekker felt it necessary to read ἔλομαι τι with inferior mss: while assuming that τοῦ for τοῦτον is right—as most scholars will allow—Socrates is then made to ask what is nearly the same question twice. If on the other hand we read ἔχωμαι, first one question of a more comprehensive character is asked, and then τοῦ τιμησάμενος—the specific question—follows with increased rhetorical effect. I believe Plato wrote ἔχωμαι: after this was corrupted into ἔλομαι, τι was added in some inferior mss to account for the genitive ἦν κτλ. Gomperz conjectures κακόν ἄνων τι; τοῦ κτλ. Göbel, as is clear from his note, felt dissatisfied with the ms reading.

tοῦ τιμησάμενος. Meiser’s emendation is accepted by Sch. Whlb. Wagner Kral.

37 c. χρήματα, ὑπόθεν ἐκτισόν. Hirschig brackets χρήματα, Göbel prints a comma before χρήματα and takes that word as the object after ἐκτισόν.


40 a. η τοῦ δαιμονίου: rejected by Schleiermacher and bracketed by Schanz without sufficient reason.


40 e. πλεῖον. So Fischer Göbel Kral with one inferior ms: B and most edd. read πλεῖον.

41 b. τῶθνηκεν ἀντιπαραβαλλόντι κτλ. So I punctuate with Bekk. Whlb. Kr. Göbel prints a full stop before ὅπότε ἐντίχομαι in line 36 and a comma before ἀντιπαραβαλλοῦντι.

καὶ δὴ καὶ. So T and Bekker: the Edd. generally read καὶ δὴ with the better class of mss; but καὶ δὴ καὶ is very much more commonly used in prose to introduce a climax of this kind: see note on Apol. 26 d.

ἀγαντά. B has ἀγαντα, which is retained by Ridd. Cr. Göb.: most other edd. read ἀγαντά: I think the latter is alone possible here.

41 c. Σώνυφον; ὅ ἀλλος κτλ. I have slightly altered the punctuation, placing the mark of interrogation after Σώνυφον rather than after γναῖκας, where it is generally placed.
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