

LIBANIUS'S *PROGYMNASMATA*



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Libanius's *Progymnasmata*:
Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric

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LIBANIUS'S *PROGYMNASMATA*:
MODEL EXERCISES IN GREEK PROSE
COMPOSITION AND RHETORIC

Translated with an Introduction and Notes

by

Craig A. Gibson

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

LIBANIUS'S *PROGYMNASMATA*:
MODEL EXERCISES IN GREEK PROSE
COMPOSITION AND RHETORIC

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ach.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Acharnenses</i>
Acusilaus	Acusilaus (<i>FGrH</i> 2)
<i>Aen.</i>	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>
Aeschines	Aeschines, <i>Orationes</i>
<i>Aeth.</i>	Heliodorus, <i>Aethiopica</i>
<i>Aj.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Ajax</i>
<i>Alc.</i>	Euripides, <i>Alcestis</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	[Lycophron], <i>Alexandra</i> ; Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i>
<i>Alex. fort.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i>
<i>All.</i>	Heraclitus, <i>Allegoriae</i>
<i>Amic. mult.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De amicorum multitudine</i>
<i>Amph.</i>	Plautus, <i>Amphitruo</i>
<i>Anach.</i>	Lucian, <i>Anacharsis</i>
<i>Andr.</i>	Euripides, <i>Andromache</i>
<i>Anth. pal.</i>	<i>Anthologia palatina</i>
Aphthonius	Aphthonius, <i>Progymnasmata</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	Plato, <i>Apologia</i>
Apostolius and Arsenius	Apostolius and Arsenius, <i>Paroemiae</i>
<i>Argon.</i>	Apollonius of Rhodes, <i>Argonautica</i>
Aristaenetus	Aristaenetus, <i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Athênaiôn politeia</i>
B	Barberinus II 41, nunc Vaticanus Barberinus 220
Ba	Barberinus II 61 olim 392, nunc Vaticanus Barberinus graecus 240
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Calpurnius Flaccus	Calpurnius Flaccus, <i>Declamationes</i>
CGF	<i>Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Edited by George Kaibel. Berlin: Weidmann, 1958.
<i>Cho.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Choephoroi</i>
Cod.	Codex

<i>Coll. Alex.</i>	J. U. Powell, <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1925.
<i>Cyn.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Cynegeticus</i>
<i>Decl. Min.</i>	Pseudo-Quintilian, <i>Declamationes Minores</i>
<i>Deipn.</i>	Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>De Demosthene</i> ; Plutarch, <i>Demosthenes</i>
Demosthenes	Demosthenes, <i>Orationes</i>
<i>Descr.</i>	Pausanias, <i>Graeciae descriptio</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	Seneca, <i>Dialogi</i>
Dictys	Dictys Cretensis, <i>Ephemeris belli Troiani</i>
Diodorus Siculus	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i>
Diogenes Laertius	Diogenes Laertius, <i>Vitae philosophorum</i>
Diogenianus	Diogenianus, <i>Paroemiae</i>
<i>Dion.</i>	Nonnus, <i>Dionysiaca</i>
<i>El.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Elektra</i>
<i>Encom. Demosth.</i>	[Lucian], <i>Demosthenous encomium</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistle, Epistulae</i>
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome</i>
<i>Eum.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Eumenides</i>
<i>Evag.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Evagoras</i>
<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>
FGrH	Felix Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1954–64.
Foerster	Richard Foerster, ed. <i>Libanii Opera</i> . 12 vols. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–27.
frg.	fragment
<i>Gall.</i>	Lucian, <i>Gallus</i>
<i>Geogr.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>
<i>Georg.</i>	Virgil, <i>Georgica</i>
George Pachymeres	George Pachymeres, <i>Progymnasmata</i>
GFA	<i>Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>Gorg.</i>	Plato, <i>Gorgias</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
Gregory of Cyprus	Gregory of Cyprus, <i>Paroemiae, Progymnasmata</i>
HAW	<i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>Hec.</i>	Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i>
<i>Hel.</i>	Euripides, <i>Helena</i>
<i>Hell.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>
<i>Herc. fur.</i>	Euripides, <i>Hercules furens</i>

[Hermogenes]	[Hermogenes], <i>Progymnasmata</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i>
<i>Hist. Conscr.</i>	Lucian, <i>Quomodo historia conscribenda sit</i>
<i>Homil.</i>	Basil, <i>Homiliae</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>Hymn. Del.</i>	Callimachus, <i>Hymnus in Delum</i>
<i>Hymn. Hom. Ap.</i>	<i>Hymnus Homericus ad Apollinem</i>
Hyperides	Hyperides, <i>Orationes</i>
<i>Il.</i>	Eustathius, <i>Ad Iliadem</i> ; Homer, <i>Ilias</i>
<i>Imag.</i>	Philostratus, <i>Imagines</i>
<i>Ind.</i>	Lucian, <i>Adversus indoctum</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	Quintilian, <i>Institutio oratoria</i>
<i>Iph. aul.</i>	Euripides, <i>Iphigenia aulidensis</i>
<i>Iph. taur.</i>	Euripides, <i>Iphigenia taurica</i>
<i>Isocr.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>De Isocrate</i>
<i>JHM</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
Kenyon	Frederic George Kenyon, ed. <i>Hyperides: Orationes et fragmenta</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
L	Laurentianus LVIII 2
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<i>Leg.</i>	Plato, <i>Leges</i>
<i>Leuc. Clit.</i>	Achilles Tatius, <i>Leucippe et Clitophon</i>
<i>Lex.</i>	Photius, <i>Lexicon</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Edited by Hans Christoph Ackermann and Jean-Robert Gisler. Zurich: Artemis, 1981–.
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
<i>Lys.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lysander</i>
Maehler	Herwig Maehler, ed. <i>Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1989–1997.
Maximus of Tyre	Maximus of Tyre, <i>Dissertationes</i>
<i>Med.</i>	Euripides, <i>Medea</i>
<i>MEG</i>	<i>Medioevo greco</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i>
<i>Metam.</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> ; Antoninus Liberalis, <i>Metamorpôseôn synagôge</i>

MIFAO	Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
<i>Mor.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
<i>Mund.</i>	[Aristotle], <i>De mundo</i>
<i>MVPhW</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Vereins klassischer Philologen in Wien</i>
<i>Nat. an.</i>	Aelian, <i>De natura animalium</i>
<i>Nem.</i>	Pindar, <i>Nemeanikai</i>
Nicolaus	Nicolaus, <i>Progygnasmata</i>
Nikephoros Basilakes	Nikephoros Basilakes, <i>Progygnasmata</i>
<i>NJahrb</i>	<i>Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik</i>
<i>Noct. att.</i>	Aulus Gellius, <i>Noctes atticae</i>
<i>Nub.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Nubes</i>
<i>Od.</i>	Eustathius, <i>Ad Odysseam</i> ; Homer, <i>Odyssea</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. 3d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . Edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan et al. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
<i>Ol.</i>	Pindar, <i>Olympionikai</i>
<i>Op.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Opera et dies</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Oratio, Orationes</i>
<i>Orest.</i>	Euripides, <i>Orestes</i>
P	Parisinus graecus 3014
Pack	Roger A. Pack, <i>Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt</i> . 2nd ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965.
<i>Panath.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Panathenaicus</i>
Pap. gr. Vindob.	Papyrus graeca Vindobonensis
Pa	Parisinus graecus 2918
Par	Parisinus graecus 3016
P.Cair.Masp.	<i>Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> . Edited by Jean Maspero. 3 vols. Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut française d'archéologie orientale, 1911–1916.
<i>PCG</i>	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . Edited by Rudolf Kassel, and Colin Austin. 8 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983–2000.

<i>Pel.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Pelopidas</i>
<i>Per.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i>
P.Flor.	Papiri Fiorentini
PG	Patrologia graeca [Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris: Migne, 1857–86.
<i>Phaen.</i>	Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i>
Pherecydes	Pherecydes, <i>Historiae</i> (FGrH 3)
<i>Phil.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Philippus</i>
<i>Phoen.</i>	Euripides, <i>Phoenissae</i>
Pindar	Pindar, <i>Carmina</i>
P.Köln	Papyrologica Coloniensia
<i>Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Politica</i>
Polyaenus	Polyaenus, <i>Strategemata</i>
Polybius	Polybius, <i>Historiae</i>
Pseudo-Nicolaus	Pseudo-Nicolaus, <i>Progymnasmata</i>
PW	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . New edition by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Munich: Metzler and Druckenmüller, 1894–1980.
<i>Pyth.</i>	Pindar, <i>Pythionikai</i>
r.	ruled
Radt	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> , vol. 4: <i>Sophocles</i> . Edited by Stefan Radt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.
<i>Resp.</i>	Plato, <i>Respublica</i>
<i>Rhet. Praec.</i>	Lucian, <i>Rhetorum praeceptor</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RIGI</i>	<i>Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica</i>
<i>RLM</i>	Karl Halm, <i>Rhetores Latini Minores</i> . Leipzig: Teubner, 1863.
Rutilius Lupus	Rutilius Lupus, <i>De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis</i>
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBLWGRW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Greco-Roman World
<i>Scut.</i>	[Hesiod], <i>Scutum</i>
<i>Sept.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Septem contra Thebas</i>
Servius	Servius, <i>In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii</i>
Severus	Severus, <i>Narrationes et ethopoeiae</i>

<i>SIFC</i>	<i>Studi italiani di filologia classica</i>
<i>Stat.</i>	Callistratus, <i>Statuarum Descriptiones</i>
<i>Suppl.</i>	Euripides, <i>Supplices</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	Plato, <i>Symposium</i>
<i>Them.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i>
<i>Theog.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Theogonia</i>
Theognis	Theognis, <i>Elegiae</i>
Theon	Aelius Theon, <i>Progymnasmata</i>
<i>Theophr.</i>	Aeneas of Gaza, <i>Theophrastus</i>
Theopompus	Theopompus, <i>Philippica</i> (FGrH 115)
<i>Ther.</i>	Nicander, <i>Theriaca</i>
<i>Thes.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Theseus</i>
Thucydides	Thucydides, <i>Historiae</i>
<i>Trach.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Trachiniae</i>
<i>Tro.</i>	Euripides, <i>Troades</i>
Valerius Flaccus	Valerius Flaccus, <i>Argonautica</i>
<i>Vit. Const.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Vita Constantini</i>
<i>Vit. soph.</i>	Philostratus, <i>Vitae sophistarum</i>
<i>Vit. X orat.</i>	[Plutarch], <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i>
Walz, <i>Rh. Gr.</i>	Walz, Christian, ed. <i>Rhetores Graeci</i> . 9 vols. in 10. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1832–36.
Zenobius	Zenobius, <i>Paroemiae</i>

INTRODUCTION

LIBANIUS'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

Libanius of Antioch (314–ca. 393 c.e.) is one of the best known and best documented public figures of the later Roman Empire.¹ Born in 314 to a prominent family in Antioch, Libanius lost his father in 324 and was thereafter reared by his mother and two maternal uncles. At the age of fifteen, he decided to pursue a career in rhetoric, but when his first rhetoric teacher died he chose to study with a grammar teacher (who taught literature and prose composition) instead of another rhetorician. In 336 he left home for four years of study in Athens, where he found his teachers incompetent and his fellow students undedicated and rowdy. During the 340s, he taught briefly at Constantinople and Nicaea, and then spent five very happy years in Nicomedia. His fame as a public performer of fictional speeches (declamations) grew during these years. In 349, he was recalled by the emperor to Constantinople

1. The chief sources for Libanius's life are his autobiography (*Or.* 1) and letters. For his autobiography in English translation, see Albert F. Norman, ed. and trans. *Libanius: Autobiography and Selected Letters* (2 vols.; LCL 478–479; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 1:52–337. The brief biographical account given here is based on Scott Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian* (Translated Texts for Historians; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 2–12; Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, *The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric: Classroom Exercises* (SBLWGRW 2; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 113–25; George A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (A History of Rhetoric 3; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 150–63; and J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1–39. More detailed treatments of Libanius's life and writings can be found in Bernard Schouler, *La tradition hellénique chez Libanius* (2 vols.; Collection d'études anciennes; Lille: Atelier national reproduction des thèses, Université Lille III, 1984); Richard Foerster and Karl Münscher, "Libanios," *PW* 12:2485–2551; Otto Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 30.1–2; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906); and Gottlob R. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1868). Libanius's works are edited by Richard Foerster, ed., *Libanii Opera* (12 vols.; Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–1927).

to assume the chair of rhetoric there. Although he hated living and working in Constantinople, he turned down a chair in rhetoric at Athens and later spent the summer vacation of 353 in his beloved Antioch. Appealing to his ailing health (he suffered for much of his life from migraines and gout), Libanius finally persuaded the emperor to allow him to stay in Antioch in 354, and once he was appointed the city's official sophist in 355, he remained there for the rest of his life.

Life as a sophist in late antiquity was a busy one, entailing such varied activities as recruiting and teaching students, delivering encomia of visiting dignitaries, creating and maintaining a professional network, and writing speeches on important political and social issues for public delivery or distribution. Libanius's activities included all of these. Over the course of his long career, Libanius interacted (not always successfully or safely) with some of the most politically powerful people in the empire, from provincial governors to emperors.² Because of his prominent position, he occasionally found himself having to dodge the political machinations of rival sophists, accusations of magic and pederasty, suspicions of conspiracy against the empire (to which some of his friends and former students fell victim), and even assassination attempts. He died probably in 393.

Libanius was a prolific writer, producing an autobiography (*Or.* 1), sixty-three other speeches, and more than fifteen hundred letters.³ Rivalled only by the writings of Cicero for their sheer volume, Libanius's speeches and letters vividly bring to life the social history of a prominent city of the Greek east in the fourth century C.E.⁴ This public servant, social commentator, and local political figure, however, was above all a teacher of rhetoric. Many of his sur-

2. His close friendship with the emperor Julian is well known and richly documented. On Julian, see Glen W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Robert Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).

3. For English translations of many of his orations and letters, see Raffaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 233–321; Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius*; Albert F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius* (Translated Texts for Historians; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000); idem, ed. and trans., *Libanius: Autobiography and Selected Letters*; idem, ed. and trans., *Libanius: The Julianic Oration* (vol. 1 of *Libanius: Selected Works*; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969); and idem, ed. and trans., *Libanius: Selected Oration* (vol. 2 of *Libanius: Selected Works*; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

4. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration*; Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), especially 373–79; Paul Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e*

viving letters are written to or for his present and former students,⁵ many of whom went on to successful careers as teachers and advocates all over the Greek east.⁶ His orations, too, are often connected with his teaching career, whether he is asking the city council of Antioch to provide more pay for his teaching assistants (*Or.* 31), addressing critics of his educational program (*Or.* 34 and 62), chiding his students for abusing a pedagogue (*Or.* 58), or forging an alliance with fellow teachers to prevent students from dropping a class without paying (*Or.* 43).⁷

Although Libanius apparently never composed a handbook on rhetoric, there also survive, in addition to the writings already mentioned, fifty-one declamations on fictional themes (*meletai*), a set of introductions (*hypotheseis*) to the orations of Demosthenes, and a large collection of model exercises in prose composition (*progymnasmata*), all presumably for use in his own teaching.⁸ The *progymnasmata* and declamations are largely based on themes that would have been in common use in most late-antique rhetorical schools. Completion of such a course was expected for young men of the upper class, who would continue throughout their lives to call upon this educational experience in their writing, public speaking, and even social

siècle après J.-C. (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 62; Paris: Guethner, 1955).

5. For which see Cribiore, *School of Libanius*, 233–321.

6. Paul Petit, *Les Étudiants de Libanius: Un professeur de faculté et ses élèves au bas empire* (Études prosopographiques; Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1956). For the career paths that might be followed by such students, see Malcolm Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 277–331.

7. All the speeches referred to in this sentence are translated in Norman, *Antioch as a Centre*.

8. The declamations are edited in Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vols. 5–7; the hypotheses to Demosthenes and the *progymnasmata* are edited in vol. 8. On Libanius's declamations, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:27–34; Peter Wolf, “Libanius und sein Kampf um die hellenische Bildung,” *MH* 11 (1954): 236–39. For selections of Libanius's declamations in English translation, see Donald A. Russell, trans., *Libanius: Imaginary Speeches* (London: Duckworth, 1996); Malcolm Heath, *Hermogenes on Issues: Strategies of Argument in Later Greek Rhetoric* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 160–75, 198–208. For his hypotheses to Demosthenes, see Craig A. Gibson, “The Agenda of Libanius' Hypotheses to Demosthenes,” *GRBS* 40 (1999): 171–202. On Libanius's career as a teacher, see Cribiore, *School of Libanius*; Norman, *Antioch as a Centre*; André J. Festugière, *Antioch païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 194; Paris: de Boccard, 1959), 91–119; Peter Wolf, *Vom Schulwesen der Spätantike: Studien zu Libanius* (Baden-Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1952); idem, “Libanius und sein Kampf”; and Fritz Schemmel, “Der Sophist Libanios als Schüler und Lehrer,” *NJahrb* 19 (1907): 52–69.

interactions. Despite Libanius's frequent complaints about competition from more vocationally oriented training in shorthand, Latin,⁹ the best route to advancement in his day was still through training in Greek rhetoric.¹⁰

LIBANIUS'S PROGYMNASMATA

After learning to read and write, upper-class Greek boys in the late empire would typically enroll with a grammar teacher (*grammatikos*), with whom they would study the great works of classical literature, focusing on such basics as poetic meters, mythological and historical allusions, and etymologies. As teenagers they would continue their study of the classics, either with a *grammatikos* or a rhetorician, and learn to compose a series of exercises called *progymnasmata*, "exercises" (*gymnasmata*) "preliminary to" (*pro-*) the practice of declamation.¹¹ While studying with a rhetorician, students would be introduced to *stasis* theory, a step-by-step method for determining what precisely is at "issue" in a given case,¹² and then practice composing and delivering their own declamations (*meletai*) based on mythological, comedic,

9. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration*, 242–55.

10. Averil Cameron, "Education and Literary Culture," in *The Late Empire*, AD 337–425 (vol. 13 of *The Cambridge Ancient History*; ed. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 673–79; Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (The Curti Lectures 1988; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 35–70.

11. For overviews of the *progymnasmata*, see Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric*, 52–73; Donald L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), 177–212; Helena Cichocka, "Progymnasma as a Literary Form," *SIFC* 10 (1992): 991–1000; and Ruth Webb, "The *Progymnasmata* as Practice," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (ed. Yun L. Too; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 289–316. For the Latin *progymnasmata*, see also Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 250–76; for late-antique and Byzantine collections of *progymnasmata*, see Herbert Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (HAW 12.5.1–2; Munich: Beck, 1978), 1:92–120; and Otmar Schissel, "Rhetorische Progymnastik der Byzantiner," *Byzantinisch-neugriechisches Jahrbuch* 11 (1934): 1–10; for examples of the exercises surviving on papyrus, see Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 220–30; and Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge Classical Studies; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 190–226.

12. Heath, *Hermogenes on Issues*; Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric*, 73–86; Donald A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 40–73.

or historical themes.¹³ Some students would go on to even more advanced training in philosophy.

The course in *progymnasmata* consisted of up to fourteen exercises in prose composition, graded in difficulty: fable (*mythos*), narration (*diêgêma*), anecdote (*chreia*), maxim (*gnômê*), refutation (*anaskeuê*), confirmation (*kataskeuê*), common topics (*koinos topos*), encomium (*enkômion*), invective (*psogos*), comparison (*synkrisis*), speech in character (*êthopoia*), description (*ekphrasis*), thesis (*thesis*), and introduction of a law (*eisphora tou nomou*).¹⁴ If the number of exercises in extant collections is an accurate guide, teachers in late antiquity and Byzantium thought the exercises in narration, speech in character, and description most important, and those in thesis and law least important.¹⁵ More detailed descriptions of each exercise will be given in the introduction to each exercise set, but for now suffice it to say that the *progymnasmata* were designed to give students practice in various compositional modes, proceeding generally from easiest to most difficult. Each exercise emphasized particular compositional skills or subjects; many would later be incorporated as building blocks in more advanced exercises and in complete speeches. Knowledge of Greek mythology, important works of literature (especially the Homeric epics), and the highlights of classical Athenian history formed the necessary background to compositional instruction. Through the *progymnasmata*, students learned to take their knowledge of classical literature—its myths, heroes, and ethical values—and turn it to the service of argument. The *progymnasmata*, then, not only show us in detail how written composition was taught in the Greek-speaking world for more than a thousand years, but also illuminate one important method by which the cultured elite transmitted the values of Hellenism to each new generation.

Greek *progymnasmata* are known to us today through two main sources: (1) treatises written for students and/or teachers, which contain precepts

13. D. H. Berry and Malcolm Heath, "Oratory and Declamation," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period (330 B.C.–A.D. 400)* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 393–420; Russell, *Greek Declamation*.

14. This is the order of the exercises in Aphthonius; for the order in the other treatises, see George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (SBLWGRW 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), xiii. The exercise in introduction of a law is represented in Libanius's collection by a speech in support of a law (*synêgoria*).

15. Willy Stegemann, "Nikolaos (21)," PW 17.1:449; Schissel, "Rhetorische Progymnastik der Byzantiner," 6; Hugo Rabe, ed., *Aphthonii Progymnasmata* (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana and Rhetores Graeci 10; Leipzig: Teubner, 1926), xiii. The exercises in thesis and law were sometimes omitted entirely as being too difficult; see Rabe, *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, xiii.

along with suggested themes and fully or partially elaborated examples of the exercises, and (2) free-standing collections of model exercises. We have four treatises on the *progymnasmata*, namely, those by Theon (first or fifth century C.E.), [Hermogenes] (probably second century), Aphthonius (fourth century), and Nicolaus of Myra (fifth century).¹⁶ Of the collections of model exercises in prose composition that survive from antiquity, the collection attributed to Libanius is the largest.¹⁷ There also survive several other late-antique and Byzantine collections of *progymnasmata* (many of which show knowledge of Libanius's collection), as well as epitomes, introductions, scholia, and commentaries to the very influential treatise by Aphthonius,¹⁸ who was a student of Libanius.¹⁹ Most of this material remains untranslated.

16. On Theon, see Georg Reichel, "Quaestiones Progymnasmaticae" (Ph.D. diss., University of Leipzig, 1909), 20–114; Willy Stegemann, "Theon (5)," *PW* 5A:2037–54; and James R. Butts, "The Progymnasmata of Theon: A New Text with Translation and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1986); text with commentary in Michel Patillon and Giancarlo Bolognesi, eds., *Aelius Théon: Progymnasmata* (Collection des universités de France; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1997). Malcolm Heath ("Theon and the History of the Progymnasmata," *GRBS* 43 [2002–2003]: 129–60) argues for a fifth-century date for Theon. On [Hermogenes], see Ludwig Radermacher, "Hermogenes (22)," *PW* 8:865–77; and Hugo Rabe, "Aus Rhetoren Handschriften, 1: Nachrichten über das Leben des Hermogenes," *RhM* 62 (1907): 247–62; text in Rabe, ed., *Hermogenis Opera* (Rhetores Graeci 6; Leipzig: Teubner, 1913). Heath ("Theon," 158–60) suggests that the author of the treatise attributed to Hermogenes may be Minucianus. On Aphthonius, see Julius Brzoska, "Aphthonius (1)," *PW* 1:2797–2800; text in Rabe, *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*. On Nicolaus, see Stegemann, "Nikolaos," 424–57; text in Joseph Felten, ed., *Nicolai Progymnasmata* (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana and Rhetores Graeci 11; Leipzig: Teubner, 1913). All four treatises have been translated, with introductions and notes, in Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*.

17. On Libanius's *progymnasmata*, see Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 125–26; Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:27, 51–138; Wolf, "Libanius und sein Kampf," 234–36; Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2518–22.

18. For collections of *progymnasmata*, see Herbert Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur*, 1:92–120. For the later influence of Aphthonius, see Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric: The Progymnasmata* (SBLT 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 212–16. See Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 173–228, for translated selections from John of Sardis's commentary. Parallels between these texts and items in Libanius's collection are noted throughout the translation.

19. Although not listed as such in the survey of Libanius's students by Petit, *Les Étudiants*; see Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 122–23; Hugo Rabe, "Aus Rhetoren Handschriften, 2: Aphthonios der Schüler des Libanios," *RhM* 62 (1907): 262–64. A letter from Libanius to Aphthonius is preserved: Libanius, *Ep.* 1065 (Foerster, *Libanii Opera* 11:189).

THE AUTHENTICITY OF ITEMS IN THE COLLECTION

Libanius's *Progymnasmata* were probably collected and edited after his death, and in time the *progymnasmata* of other authors, some identifiable and some not, came to be included in the collection.²⁰ The authenticity of the following items has been doubted.²¹

Fable 1–3 (Norman; Foerster and Münscher regard them as genuine)
 Narration 1–41 (Norman; Foerster and Münscher regard 1–3 as genuine)
 Anecdote 4 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman)
 Maxim 1–3 (Norman; Foerster and Münscher regard 1 as genuine)
 Refutation 2 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman regards it as genuine)
 Confirmation 3 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman)
 Encomium 8 (Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:105) and
 9 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman)
 Invective 8 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman regards it as genuine)
 Speech in Character 7, 9, 16–17, 19 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman
 regards them as genuine)
 Speech in Character 13, 20, 22, 24–27 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman)
 Description 8–30 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman)²²
 Thesis 2–3 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman)
 Law 1 (Foerster and Münscher; Norman)

Two authors of exercises falsely attributed to Libanius can be identified by name. One is Pseudo-Nicolaus, the author of a large extant collection of model *progymnasmata*,²³ who is not to be identified with Nicolaus of Myra, the aforementioned author of an extant treatise on the *progymnasmata*.²⁴

20. Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2518.

21. On the authenticity of individual items in the collection, see especially Norman, *Libanius: The Julianic Orations*, xlix; Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2518–22.

22. Bernhard D. Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken: Archäologischer Kommentar zu den Ekphraseis des Libanios und Nikolaos" (Ph.D. diss., Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1983), 8–9, divides the authorship of the Descriptions as follows: examples 2 and 4 are by Libanius, example 3 by a second author, and the remaining examples by a third author, who, he says, may be Nicolaus of Myra. Hebert also considers the possibility of Aphthonius as their author.

23. Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:263–420.

24. On the date and authorship of the *progymnasmata* of Pseudo-Nicolaus, see Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric*, 198–204, who date Pseudo-Nicolaus between the sixth and thirteenth centuries; Eugenio Amato, "Costantino Porfirogenito ha realmente

Foerster and Münscher suggest that this Pseudo-Nicolaus composed the following items in the collection attributed to Libanius: Narration 19, 22, 24, 31–32, 34, 36–39, Encomium 9, Invective 8, Speech in Character 26, Description 8–28, Thesis 2–3, and Law 1.²⁵ The other named author is Severus of Alexandria,²⁶ a student of Libanius who also composed his own collection of model narrations and speeches in character.²⁷ Severus may be the author of Speech in Character 26 and 27 in Libanius's collection.²⁸

contribuito alla redazione dei *Geoponica*?" *GFA* 9 (2006): 3 n. 17, lowers Hock and O'Neil's *terminus ante quem* to the tenth century; Stegemann, "Nikolaos," 447–57, argues for Aphthonius as their author; Wolfram Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Wiener byzantinistische Studien 16; Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 59–60, 65–68, disputes Stegemann's claim on metrical grounds; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:92; Felten, *Nicolai Progygymnasmata*, xxvii. [Libanius], *Ecphrasis* 25 is attributed to Pseudo-Nicolaus by Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2521–22; Stegemann, "Nikolaos," 449; and Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 8–9. I intend to argue elsewhere that Pseudo-Nicolaus was active in the late fourth or fifth centuries C.E.

25. Stegemann, "Nikolaos," 448–49, attributes the following texts in Libanius's collection to Nicolaus: Narrations 19, 22, 24, 31, 37–39 (omitting Foerster and Münscher's examples 32, 34, and 36); Speech in Character 26; and Description 8–17 (omitting Foerster and Münscher's examples 18–28). On the authorship of the Descriptions, see Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 8–9. Speech in Character 26 has also been attributed to Severus of Alexandria (see below).

26. Not the consul of 470, as was once thought.

27. Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:534–48. On Severus and his *progymnasmata*, see Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 121–22; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:92–120; Karl Gerth, "Severos von Alexandria," *PW Suppl.* 8:715–18; Otmar Schissel, "Severus von Alexandria: Ein verschollener griechischer Schriftsteller des IV. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (I)," *Byzantinisch-neugriechisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1929–1930): 1–13; and Otto Seeck, "Severus (36)," *PW* 2A:2005–6. A new edition is in preparation; see Eugenio Amato, "Prolegomeni all'edizione critica dei *Progimnasmata* di Severo Alessandrino," *MEG* 5 (2005): 31–72.

28. Eugenio Amato, "L'autore dell' εὐνοῦχος ἐρῶν (Ps.-Lib., *ethop.* 26 Foerster) ed il più antico frammento in prosa di etopea d'autore," in *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique: Hommages à Jacques Champ* (ed. Eugenio Amato; Collection Latomus 296; Brussels: Latomus, 2006), 363–75; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:109. Schissel, "Rhetorische Progymnastik der Byzantiner," 6 n. 1, first assigned Speech in Character 26 to Severus on the basis of parallels with Severus, Speech in Character 3 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:541, 17–42, 31; re-edited by Josef Glettner, "Severos von Alexandria: Ein verschollener griechischer Schriftsteller des IV. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. [III]," *Byzantinisch-neugriechisches Jahrbuch* 9 [1930–1931]: 96–103), that were noted by Glettner (100–101); Schissel's view is reported without comment by Gerth, "Severos von Alexandria," 718. Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2521, and Stegemann, "Nikolaos," 449, assign example 26 to

As for anonymous authors in the collection, Foerster and Münscher suggest that Anecdote 4, Maxim 3, Refutation 2, and Confirmation 3 are all by the same author.²⁹ They also point out that Description 29 shows knowledge of an oration of Choricus of Gaza (sixth century C.E.),³⁰ and they identify Description 30 as belonging to the school of Gaza, a rhetorical school prominent in the late fifth and early sixth centuries C.E.³¹

In summary, then, we can say that the collection of *progymnasmata* translated in this volume includes model exercises composed in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries C.E. by Libanius, a student of Libanius (Severus of Alexandria), an imitator of Libanius (Pseudo-Nicolaus), and other unknown authors.

Pseudo-Nicolaus. For the authorship of Speech in Character 27, see Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2521.

29. Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2520.

30. Ibid., 2522. On Choricus, see Barry Baldwin and Anthony Cutler, "Chorikios of Gaza," *ODB* 1:430–31.

31. Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2522. On the school of Gaza, see Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric*, 169–77.

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION

Libanius's *Progymnasmata* as a whole have never been translated into a modern language. The present translation is based on the Greek text of Richard Foerster, ed., *Libanii Opera* (12 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–27), 8:1–571. All deviations from his Greek text are noted where they occur. Each exercise set includes a brief introduction to the exercise as described by the ancient theorists (Theon, [Hermogenes], Aphthonius, Nicolaus), who can be read in the English translation by George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (SBLWGRW 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003). In the first note to each exercise, I cite parallels from these four theorists, other *progymnasmata* collections, and the scholia and commentaries to Aphthonius. These parallels are divided into three categories: “theme,” meaning that the source merely mentions the subject of the exercise; “partial elaboration,” meaning that the source gives some advice on how to elaborate the theme or elaborates one or more heads of the theme; and “full elaboration,” meaning that the source provides a complete exercise. Published translations of these full elaborations are listed in the notes. Other modern translations of exercises in Libanius's collection are listed in the introduction to each exercise set, as well as in the first note to each relevant exercise. I do not cite the scholia and commentaries on Aphthonius for themes when the theme is found in Aphthonius, nor when the theme occurs in the context of an extensive quotation from another ancient theorist (i.e., Theon, [Hermogenes], Nicolaus). I have not traced the influence of the *progymnasmata* in whole or in part on the declamations of Libanius or any other author; some notes to this effect may be found throughout Foerster's edition.

As for Libanius's frequent allusions to Greek mythology, in some cases it is obvious that he is referring to a well-known literary account, while in others the source is unclear. For this reason, I cite parallels from Homer, the Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, Greek tragedy (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides), Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Apollodorus, *The Library* (from J. G. Frazer's Loeb Classical Library edition, with amply documented parallels from other ancient sources), but only rarely from elsewhere. If the precise story is not

found in Apollodorus but is discussed in Frazer's notes, I cite his notes. References to Ovid and Apollodorus are not intended to imply that Libanius drew on these authors but are meant to show only that such stories were current in mythological compendia of the sort discussed by Alan Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (American Classical Studies 48; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 27–32.

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THE EXERCISE IN FABLE

Fable (*mythos, ainos, logos*) was the first exercise in the systems of [Hermogenes], Aphthonius, and Nicolaus, and the second in that of Theon, who placed it after the exercise in anecdote. According to the ancient theorists, a fable was both false and true: it was a fictional story, but it contained an underlying moral or ethical truth ([Hermogenes] 2; Aphthonius 1; cf. Nicolaus 6). This truth was clarified in an explicit statement either at the beginning (*promythion*) or at the end (*epimythion, epilogos*) of the fable (Theon 72; [Hermogenes] 4; Aphthonius 2; Nicolaus 9–10), and this “moral” could be presented paradigmatically, enthymematically, or prosphonetically (see Nicolaus 10 for the terms and examples). Fables were known by various names and could be classified in several ways: in terms of the person introduced as its source (Aesopic, Libyan, Sybaritic, Phrygian, Cilician, Carian, Egyptian, Cyprian, Lydian), with the default type being the Aesopic; as featuring human beings or animals or gods; as being impossible or capable of being true; and as being rational (about human beings), ethical (about animals), or mixed (about human beings and animals; for the various systems, see Theon 73–74; [Hermogenes] 1–2; Aphthonius 1; and Nicolaus 6–7). Though acknowledged as false, fables needed to be plausible, and the best way to achieve this was to choose characters appropriate for the virtues and vices under discussion (e.g., beautiful peacocks, clever foxes), put them in appropriate places and situations, and ascribe to them appropriate words and actions.

Usually regarded as the simplest of the exercises stylistically, the fable could be expanded by adding speeches or compressed by removing them ([Hermogenes] 2–3), recast in different grammatical cases (especially the accusative, as in indirect statement), inserted in a longer narrative, explained (by attaching the “moral”), or refuted and confirmed (Theon 74–78). Students could also be asked to take a given “moral” and construct a fable to fit it, either by recalling various fables that they had read, or by inventing their own (Theon 75–76).

Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix, rejected all three examples of fable as spurious, but they were accepted as genuine by Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2518. On the exercise in fable, see Theon 72–78; [Hermogenes]

1.

(1) Οἱ λύκοι παρὰ τῶν προβάτων εἰρήνην καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἤτουν καὶ ἤδε ἡ ἡμέρα μεγάλων ἄρξει ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν ἔλεγον, ἀπαλλαγείσι γὰρ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἐξέσται παρ' ἀλλήλους φοιτᾶν ἀδεῶς, σπενδώμεθα τοίνυν. ἀλλ' εἰ μέλλει τι βέβαιον ἔσεσθαι ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ οὐ γράψαντες αὐτίκα λύσομεν, τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ πολεμίους κύνας ἀποδιωκτέον ὑμῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν παρὰ τούτων ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ τὸ ὑποπτεῦεσθαι τοὺς λύκους. πολλάκις γὰρ ἀπλῶς παριόντας ἡμᾶς τὰ ποίμνια προεκπηδῶντες ὑλακτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ οὐ σφόδρα θέλοντες παροξύνονται καὶ λυποῦσι. τί οὖν ὑμῖν δεῖ κυνῶν εἰρήνης οὔσης πρὸς λύκους; (2) ὑπήχθη τὰ πρόβατα. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ γένος εὐηθείας γέμον. καὶ οἱ κύνες ἀπεσκορακίζοντο καὶ ἐφεστήκεσαν οἱ λύκοι, τὰ δὲ ἔρημα κατησθίετο.

(3) Τοῖς ἐχθρῶν λόγοις οὐ πιστευτέον τὴν προσήκουσαν φυλακὴν.

2

(1) Σεμνὸς ἦν ὁ ἵππος ἐπὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ ἀπέκναιε τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα σφόδρα ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν χελώνην. λυπηρὸς δὲ ἦν προφέρων τὴν βραδυτῆτα.

1–4; Aphthonius 1–2; and Nicolaus 6–11. On this set of exercises, see Bernard Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:63–69.

FABLE 1: THE WOLVES AND THE SHEEP¹

(1) The wolves were seeking peace and quiet with the sheep, and they said, “This day will be the beginning of great and wonderful things for you and for us;² for when we have rid ourselves of war and other evils, we will be able to roam around among each other without fear. Well then, let us make a treaty.³ But if there is to be any security in this treaty, and if we do not intend to break it as soon as it is ratified, you must chase away those wicked, hostile dogs, since even now they are raising a commotion, and they always hold us wolves in suspicion; for oftentimes, when we are simply passing by the flocks, some of them jump out and bark at us, while others, though reluctantly, become provoked and harass us. So why do you need dogs when there is peace with us wolves?” (2) The sheep were persuaded; for their species is very gullible. And so the dogs were sent packing, and the wolves came into power, and the sheep, now deserted, were gobbled up.⁴

(3) Do not rely on the words of your enemies for the protection you need.

FABLE 2: THE HORSE AND THE TORTOISE⁵

(1) The horse was very proud of his swiftness, and he annoyed all the other animals by praising himself too much, but most of all the tortoise; the horse

1. For other versions of this fable, see Babrius, *Fab.* 93; Aesop, *Fab.* 158 (Hausrath and Hunger, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*). For the theme with partial elaboration, see Nicolaus 8; scholia to Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:573,14–15); with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 5 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:267,13–20); Aphthonius, *Fab.* 21 (ed. Francesco Sbordone, “Recensioni retoriche delle favole esopiane,” *RIGI* 16 [1932]: 52; and August Hausrath and Herbert Hunger, eds., *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* [2nd ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1959–1970], 1.2:142).

2. Loosely modeled on Thucydides 2.12.3.

3. Literally, “let us pour libations” (σπενδώμεθα).

4. In Babrius’s version of the fable, an old ram tries to dissuade the sheep from handing over the dogs for punishment, claiming that they are not safe as it is, even under the dogs’ protection.

5. For the theme, see John of Sardis’s commentary on Aphthonius (Hugo Rabe, ed., *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata* [Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Rhetores Graeci 15; Leipzig: Teubner, 1928], 10,18, 35,2). Cf. also the fable of the tortoise and the hare in Aesop, *Fab.* 254 (Hausrath and Hunger, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*).

ἡ δὲ ἤλγησε τοῖς ὀνείδεσι καὶ ποιεῖται πρόκλησιν εἰς δρόμον. τῷ δὲ ἵππῳ γέλως τε ἦν ἡ πρόκλησις καὶ οὐκ ἡξίου διαμιλλᾶσθαι. γέλωτος δὲ τι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ παράλογον ὁρῶσι τῆς φύσεως. (2) ἐγκειμένης δὲ τῆς χελώνης καὶ δισχυριζομένης ὡς περιέσται ἀναγκάζει τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα τὸν ἵππον μὴ ἀπαρνηθῆναι τὴν ἀγωνίαν. ἀποδείκνυται δὴ τὸ στάδιον καὶ ἡμέρα τῷ δρόμῳ. καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν ἵππος ἐτρύφα παρὰ τῇ φάτνῃ, τῇ δὲ χελώνῃ μελέτη ἦν συνεχῆς καὶ οὐδὲ νυκτὸς προϊούσης ἔληγεν. ἦκε δὲ ἡ κυρία καὶ μεστὸν ἦν τὸ θέατρον καμήλων, ὄνων, ὀρνέων οἷς τε ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλάφους συνήγαγεν ἡ φήμη. καὶ ἐμειδία τὸ θέατρον ὡς παραπαιούσης τῆς χελώνης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦρθη τὸ σημεῖον καὶ θεῖν ἐχρῆν, ὁ μὲν ἵππος ὥσπερ καὶ πρῶτον πεπεδημένος ἔμεινεν ἐν ἀργίᾳ τε καὶ κόρῳ, τῇ δὲ ἡ μελέτη τάχος ἐδεδώκει καὶ νίκην.

(3) Καὶ σύ, ὦ παῖ, μὴ τῇ φύσει πιστεύσας κάθευδε, ἀλλ' οἷου καὶ πόνου δεῖν. εἰ δὲ μή, παραδραμεῖται σε ῥαδίως ἐκεῖνος οὐκ εὖ πεφυκώς.

3

(1) Ἦδοξε τῷ Διὶ βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὀρνίθων γένος καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς ἀγῶνα κάλλους ἐκάλει ὡς δώσων τῷ καλλίστῳ φανέντι τὴν ὀρνίθων ἀρχήν. ἐκαλλωπίζετο γοῦν τὰ ὄρνεα τὰ μὲν ἐν κρήναις, τὰ δ' ἐν πηγαῖς τε καὶ λίμναις καὶ τῶν πτερῶν ἐξετίλλετο ὅποσα αὐτοῖς ὥραν οὐκ ἔφερεν.

hurt him by chiding him for his slowness. The tortoise was stung by his reproaches and challenged the horse to a race. The horse took the challenge as a joke and did not see fit to take the contest seriously. But it also struck the other animals as something of a joke when they considered the tortoise's miscalculation of his own natural abilities. (2) While the tortoise kept pressing him and confidently asserting that he would be victorious, the other animals kept the horse from backing out of the contest. So then a course and a day for the race were chosen. And in the meantime the horse lived decadently beside its trough, but the tortoise trained continuously and did not stop even at nightfall. The agreed upon day arrived, and the theater was full of camels, donkeys, birds, and those animals of which people make use; moreover, announcement of the race even brought out the deer. And the whole theater was smiling, thinking that the tortoise had lost his mind. But when the signal was given and it was time for them to run, the horse, behaving as if he had been in shackles until just recently, remained behind in idleness and decadence, while the tortoise through his training achieved swiftness and victory.

(3) And you, child, do not rest, relying on your natural talent, but realize that there is need of hard work. Otherwise, someone who is not so talented will easily outrun you.

FABLE 3: THE JACKDAW AND THE BEAUTY CONTEST⁶

(1) It was decided by Zeus that there should be a king of the birds, too, and he had Hermes invite them to a beauty contest, saying that he would give the rule over the birds to whichever one appeared the most beautiful. So the birds went about making themselves beautiful—some in springs, some in wells and marshes—and they plucked out all the feathers that did not lend them youthful beauty. (2) But the jackdaw—for he was ugly—came up with the following trick. Gathering up all the feathers floating on the water, he stuck them on

6. See also Babrius, *Fab.* 72; Aesop, *Fab.* 103 (Hausrath and Hunger, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*). There are also fables in which the jackdaw attempts to disguise itself as a peacock (Phaedrus, *Fab.* 1.3), a crow (Aesop, *Fab.* 125), and a pigeon (Aesop, *Fab.* 131). For the theme with full elaboration, see Aphthonius, *Fab.* 31 (Sbordone, "Recensioni retoriche delle favole esopiane," 55; Hausrath and Hunger, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, 1.2:147); Nikephoros Basilakes 5 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:427,22–28,16 = *Progymnasmata* 7, Fable 7, Adriana Pignani, ed. and trans., *Niceforo Basilace: Progimnasmata e Monodie* [Byzantina et neo-hellenica neapolitana 10; Naples: Bibliopolis, 1983]). See also Theophylact Simocatta, *Ep.* 34.4–18, in which the fable is presented in the context of a fictional letter from Themistocles to Chrysippus, Joseph Zanetto, ed., *Theophylacti Simocatae Epistulae* (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Leipzig: Teubner, 1985); and the fable alone in Hausrath and Hunger, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, 1.2:153–54.

(2) ὁ δὲ κολοῖός, ἦν γὰρ ἄμορφος, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιάδε. τῶν πτερῶν ὅποσα ἐπέπλει τοῖς ὕδασιν ἀναιρούμενος ἕκαστον ἑαυτῷ περιετίθει συναρμόττων σοφῶς ἄλλο ἐπ' ἄλλῳ. καὶ χρῆμα ποικιλώτατον γίνεται. καὶ ὡς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπέστρεψε μὲν τῶν ὀρνέων τὰ ὄμματα, θάμβος δὲ ἐνέβαλε καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστῇ, ὥστε ὑπεχώρει μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ λευκότατος κύκνος, μικρὸν δὲ ὁ ταῶς ἐδόκει καὶ αἱ τούτου βαφαί, καταπεφρόνητο δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀετῶν σεμνότης. (3) μέλλοντος δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Διὸς ἐγχειρίζειν αὐτῷ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἢ γλαυξ ἰδοῦσα τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἐν τῷ κολοῖῳ πτερὸν προσιοῦσα ἀπέσπα καὶ ἄλλος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πᾶς τὸ οἰκεῖον. ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐγυμνοῦτο τοῦ κολοιοῦ τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἐγελάτο.

(4) Τὸ μὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις κοσμεῖσθαι βραχεῖαν μὲν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, πολλὴν δὲ ἐλεγχθέντι ποιεῖ τὴν αἰσχύνην.

himself, skillfully attaching them to each other. And he became a very colorful creature. And when he arrived at the contest, the eyes of all the other birds turned toward him, and even the judge himself was struck with astonishment, so that even the whitest swan yielded before him, and the peacock and his colors gave a little, and even the solemn dignity of the eagle was disdained. (3) When Zeus was just about to award him the royal scepter, the owl, seeing one of his own feathers on the jackdaw, came up to him and ripped it off, and each and every bird took his own. When the feathers belonging to the others were gone, the jackdaw's natural appearance was laid bare, and he was ridiculed.

(4) Decorating yourself by using things that are not your own brings enjoyment in the short term, but great shame when you are found out.

THE EXERCISE IN NARRATION

The exercise in narration or narrative (*diêgêma*, *diêgêsis*) was the second exercise in the systems of [Hermogenes], Aphthonius, and Nicolaus, and the third exercise in the system of Theon, who placed it after the exercises in anecdote and fable. Narration is understood by the ancient theorists as a means of presenting a realistic description of a real or unreal event (Theon 78; [Hermogenes] 4; Aphthonius 2; Nicolaus 11–12). Some teachers classified narratives into a four-part system of mythical, fictitious (or dramatic), historical, and political narratives (this last also known as private, judicial, or pragmatic), while others envisioned a three-part system of descriptive, dramatic, and mixed narratives ([Hermogenes] 4; Aphthonius 2; Nicolaus 12–13). Of the forty-one sample exercises in this collection, thirty-seven are mythological, and the remaining four (examples 11, 13, 16, and 29) are based on history or biography.

The components of a narrative would be familiar to any journalist today: who, what, when, where, how, and why (Aphthonius 3; Nicolaus 13–14; cf. Theon 78–79). According to the ancient theorists, writers of narratives should strive to achieve such virtues as clarity, brevity, credibility (Theon 79–85), good Greek (Aphthonius 3), charm, and grandeur (Nicolaus 14), though it was also recognized that it is difficult to achieve all the desired virtues at once (Nicolaus 14). Writers had at their disposal a variety of styles in which to present their narratives, including the direct declarative, indirect declarative, interrogative, comparative, and asyndetic styles ([Hermogenes] 4–5; Nicolaus 16–17; cf. Theon 87–93).

Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2518–19 rejected Narrations 4–41 as spurious, while Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix, rejected all forty-one examples. Foerster and Münscher attribute Narrations 19, 22, 24, 31, 32, 34, and 36–39 to Pseudo-Nicolaus. Stegemann, “Nikolaos,” 448 attributes Narrations 19, 22, 24, 31, and 37–39 to Pseudo-Nicolaus, omitting Foerster and Münscher’s attribution of 32, 34, and 36. On the exercise in narration, see Theon 78–93; [Hermogenes] 4–6; Aphthonius 2–3; and Nicolaus 11–17. On the narrations in this collection, see Alan Cameron, *Greek Mythography*, 74–75; Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:69–79. Johann Jacobs, “De

1. Περὶ Δηιανείρας

Δηιάνειραν τὴν Οἰνέως ἐβούλετο μὲν γαμεῖν Ἡρακλῆς, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀχελῷον ἔρως τῆς κόρης. ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους δεδοικῶς οὐδετέρῳ χαρίζεται. στήσας οὖν ἄθλον τὴν θυγατέρα διαγωνίζεσθαι ἐκέλευε. καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐνίκα παλαίων τὸ κέρασ ἀνασπάσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ τὸ αἶμα ἔρρει καὶ ἡ Γῆ τοῦτο ἐδέχετο, ἀφ' οὗ Σειρήνες γίνονται.

2. Περὶ Ὑακίνθου

Ἀκούεις ἄνθος ὑακίνθον; τοῦτο ἦν πάλαι μενιδάκιον Ἀμυκλαῖον ὠραῖόν τε καὶ καλόν. ἐρασταὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοῦ δύο, Ζέφυρός τε καὶ ὁ Λητοῦς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχαρίζετο τῷ θεῷ, βουλευεὶ φόνον ὁ Ζέφυρος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τηρήσας ἀφιέντα δίσκον, ἐπαιδεύετο γὰρ Ὑακίνθος Ἀπόλλωνι τὰ τοιαῦτα, πνεῖ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταυγέτου καὶ περιτρέπει τῷ μενιδάκι τὴν βολήν. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔκειτο, ἡ δὲ Γῆ ἐλεεῖ τὸ πάθος καὶ ἀνῆκε τὸ ἄνθος.

3. Περὶ Ἀλφειοῦ

Ἔρως ἄπτεται καὶ ποταμῶν. πόθον οὖν ἐμβέβληκεν Ἀλφειῷ Σικελικῆς πηγῆς Ἀρεθούσης τοῦνομα. πληγεὶς δὲ ἔρχεται δι' Ἰονίου παρ' αὐτὴν φυλάττων ἀμιγὲς καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ τὸ ρεῖθρον.

Progymnasmaticorum Studiis Mythographicis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Marburg, 1899) remains a valuable compilation of narrations in the *progymnasmata*, with notes on their mythological sources and interrelations.

NARRATION 1: ON DEIANIRA¹

Heracles wanted to marry Deianira, the daughter of Oeneus, but the river Achelous was in love with the girl, too. Fearing both of them, Oeneus freely offered her to neither. And so, setting his daughter as the prize he ordered them to compete for her. And Heracles won at wrestling by pulling off the river's horn. And the blood flowed and Earth received it; from this the Sirens were born.²

NARRATION 2: ON HYACINTHUS³

Have you heard about the hyacinth flower? In ancient times this was a young man from Amyclae who was beautiful and noble. But two fell in love with him, Zephyr and the son of Leto.⁴ When he showed favor to the god, Zephyr plotted his murder, and waiting for him to hurl the discus—for Apollo had been teaching him this—he sent a wind from Mount Taygetus and turned the discus back against the young man. And he died, but Earth took pity on his suffering and made a new flower spring up.

NARRATION 3: ON ALPHEUS⁵

Love affects rivers, too. So it afflicted Alpheus with longing for a Sicilian spring named Arethusa. Love-struck, he now comes to her through the Ionian sea, keeping his stream fresh even in the midst of the sea.

1. Cf. Narration 31. For the myth, see Sophocles, *Trach.* 9–21; Ovid, *Metam.* 9.1–88; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.8.1; 2.7.5. For the theme, see Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:210,14–15); with full elaboration, Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:202,14–20).

2. Elsewhere the Sirens are said to be the offspring of Achelous by Melpomene (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.3.4) or Sterope (*Bibl.* 1.7.10), or to be the offspring of Earth (Euripides, *Hel.* 167–169) or Phorcys (Sophocles frg. 861 Radt).

3. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 10.162–219; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.3.3. For the theme with full elaboration, see Severus 2 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:537,13–38,5); Narration 3 in Cod. Brancaccianus IV A 5 (Sbordone, "Recensioni retoriche delle favole esopiane," 43).

4. Apollo.

5. Cf. Narration 30. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 5.573–641.

4. Περὶ τῆς Πίτυος

(1) Ἦρα τῆς Πίτυος ὁ Πάν, ἀντήρα δὲ καὶ ὁ Βορέας. ἦν γὰρ κόρη πρότερον ἢ πίτυς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ποιοῦνται τὴν αἵρεσιν ὁποτέρῳ δεῖ χαρίσασθαι. τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐδείκνυσαν τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ, σπεύδων ἐκάτερος ἀμείνων φανῆναι. Βορέας μὲν ἔπνει λαμπρὸς καὶ ἔκαμπτε δένδρα, τὰ δὲ κατέφερεν, ὁ δὲ Πάν ἐσκίρτα, ἐπήδα, δῶρα ἔφερε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἃ ἦν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν νομέων. (2) ἐφέλκεται δὴ τὴν Πίτυν. καὶ ὁ Βορέας ἀλγεῖ καὶ σφοδρῶς ἐπιπεσὼν ὥσέ τε κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν καὶ διέφθειρε τὴν κόρην. ἡ Γῆ δέ, καὶ γὰρ ὥκτειρε τὸ πάθος, ἡμειψεν εἰς φυτὸν τὸ σῶμα. διὰ τοῦτο Πανὶ μὲν ἐκ πίτυος ὁ στέφανος, Βορέας δὲ καὶ τὸ δένδρον λυπεῖ. καὶ φασι τὸν ἥχον ὃν ἡ πίτυς ποιεῖ δεχομένη τὸ πνεῦμα θρῆνον εἶναι.

5. Περὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος

Τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Αὐλίδι συνειλεγμένων Ἀγαμέμνων ἐν θήρᾳ τυχὼν ἐλάφου καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἔφη τὴν τέχνην ὑπεραίρειν τῷ ἔργῳ. λυπεῖ τὸ ῥῆμα τὴν θεόν. καὶ ἐμάχετο τῇ ἀναγωγῇ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ Κάλχας μηνύει τὴν αἰτίαν, ὡς ἡ Ἄρτεμις ταῦτα πράττει διὰ τὸν κόμπον Ἀγαμέμνωνος καὶ οὐ λήξει ποτὲ μὴ δεξαμένων αὐτῆς τῶν βωμῶν τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας αἷμα, παῖς δὲ Ἀγαμέμνωνος αὕτη. πείθεται ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἄγει τὴν κόρην καὶ προσάγει τῷ βωμῷ καὶ καταθύειν ἔμελλε. ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐν χεροῖν ἔλαφον εἶχε τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, οἶμαι, τὴν μὲν ἀφελομένης, τὴν δὲ ἀντιδούσης.

6. Περὶ Δαναοῦ καὶ Αἰγύπτου

(1) Ἐγένοντο Δαναῷ πενήκοντα θυγατέρες, ὁ δὲ Αἴγυπτος, Δαναοῦ δὲ οὗτος ἀδελφός, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν υἱέων πενήκοντα πατήρ. ἐβούλετο οὖν συνοικίσαι τὰς ἐκείνου θυγατέρας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶ. καὶ τῶν γάμων δρωμένων ἐν χερσὶ διδούς ὁ Δαναὸς ταῖς παρθένοις ξίφη ἐκέλευσεν ἐκάστην ᾧ συζευγνύοιτο,

NARRATION 4: ON PITYS⁶

(1) Pan was in love with Pitys, but Boreas was also his rival in love; for the pine tree Pitys used to be a girl, and they forced her to choose which of them she must favor. Then they showed her what good things they had to offer, each hoping that he would look the better. Boreas blew vigorously and bent the trees down and knocked some of them over, while Pan leaped, jumped, and brought her gifts from the dedications that shepherds had made to him. (2) So then he attracted Pitys to him. And Boreas was hurt, and violently attacking her, he pushed her down onto the rocks and killed the girl. But the Earth—for indeed, she took pity on the girl's suffering—turned her body into a tree. For this reason Pan's crown is made from the pine, but Boreas also mourns for the tree. And they say that the sound the pine makes when the wind moves through it is a funeral song.

NARRATION 5: ON AGAMEMNON⁷

When the Achaeans had convened at Aulis, Agamemnon shot a deer while hunting and declared that his skill in this deed surpassed even that of Artemis. His boast hurt the goddess. And the wind fought against their departure, and Calchas revealed the reason, saying that Artemis was doing this because of Agamemnon's boast, and that she would never stop until her altars received the blood of Iphigenia—and this was Agamemnon's daughter. Her father convinced and brought the girl and led her up to the altar and was about to sacrifice her. Then, instead of his daughter he was holding in his hands a deer from Artemis, who, I suppose, took the girl away and gave the deer in her place.

NARRATION 6: ON DANAUS AND AEGYPTUS⁸

(1) Danaus had fifty daughters, while Aegyptus—and this was Danaus's brother—was himself also the father of fifty sons. So the latter wanted to marry the former's daughters to his own sons. And as the weddings were taking place, Danaus put swords into the girls' hands and ordered them each

6. Cf. Narration 32. For the myth, see Nonnus, *Dion.* 42.258–266.

7. For the myth, see Euripides, *Iph. aul.* 87–105, 358–365, 1543–1612; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.24–38; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.21–22. For the theme with full elaboration, see Gregory of Cyprus 18, Sofia Kotzabassi, ed., “Die Progymnasmata des Gregor von Zypern: Fabeln, Erzählung und Ethopoiie,” *Hellenika* 43 (1993): 61–62.

8. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.1.4–5.

τούτον κτείνειν. (2) ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλαις ἐτολμήθη τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀπέθνησκον οἱ νυμφίοι, τῇ δὲ Ὑπερμνήστρᾳ δεινόν τι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφάνη καὶ ἀπειθήσασα τῷ πατρὶ φεῖδεται τοῦ Λυγκέως. φεύγει δὴ Δαναὸς καὶ ἦκων εἰς Πελοπόννησον κατέσχεν Ἄργος.

7. Περὶ Ἡφαίστου

(1) Ῥίπτει τὸν Ἡφαιστον Ἥρα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς αἰσχυνομένη χολείᾳ, ὃ δὲ τῇ τέχνῃ ἐχρήτο. καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ σεσωσμένος ὑπὸ δαιμόνων θαλαττίων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐδημιούργει, τὰ μὲν Εὐρυινόμη, τὰ δὲ Θέτιδι, παρ' ὧν περισέσωστο, ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ θρόνον τῇ μητρὶ δῶρον ἀφανεῖς ἔχοντα δεσμοὺς καὶ πέμπει. καὶ ἡ μάλα τε ἦσθη τῷ δώρῳ καὶ καθιζάνει καὶ ἐδέθη καὶ ὁ λύσων οὐκ ἦν. (2) βουλὴ δὲ γίνεται θεῶν περὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναβάσεως Ἡφαίστου. μόνον γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνον καὶ λύσαι. σιγῶντων οὖν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπορούντων Ἄρης ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ἐλθὼν πράττει μὲν οὐδέν, αἰσchrῶς δὲ ἀπαλλάττεται πυρσοῖς αὐτὸν δειματώσαντος Ἡφαίστου. ταλαιπωρουμένης δὲ τῆς Ἥρας ἤρχετο μετὰ οἴνου Διόνυσος καὶ διὰ μέθης εἶχεν Ἡφαιστον ἐπόμενον. (3) ὃ δὲ ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν μητέρα λύσας ποιεῖ τῆς Ἥρας εὐεργέτην τὸν Διόνυσον. ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμειβομένη πείθει τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς ἕνα τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον εἶναι.

8. Περὶ Ἀκαλανθίδος

Τὴν δὲ Ἀκαλανθίδα γαλῆν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐποίησεν ἡ πρὸς τὴν Ἥραν ἀπάτη. εἰργούσης γὰρ τῆς Ἥρας τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς ἔξοδον, τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ἐποίει ἐφ' ᾧ περὶ τῷ γόνατε συμπλέξαι τῷ χεῖρε, Ἀκαλανθὶς ὥς δὴ τεκούσης οὐπω τεκούσης Ἀλκμήνης ἐκπηδήσασα διέθει τε καὶ ἐμιμεῖτο τὰ

to kill the man she was about to marry. (2) And so, as for the rest the deed was dared and the bridegrooms were killed, but to Hypermnestra the plan seemed something horrible, and disobeying her father, she spared Lynceus's life. So then Danaus fled and upon arriving in the Peloponnese took control of Argos.

NARRATION 7: ON HEPHAESTUS

(1) Hera hurled Hephaestus down from heaven, ashamed at her son's lameness, but he made use of his skill. Having been rescued in the ocean by sea divinities he made many other things—some for Eurynome, some for Thetis, by whom he had been saved⁹—but he also built a throne with invisible chains and sent it as a gift to his mother. And she was very delighted with the gift, and she sat on it and found herself trapped, and there was no one to release her.¹⁰ (2) A council of the gods was held to discuss returning Hephaestus to heaven; for (as they thought) he was the only one who could release her. So while the other gods remained silent and were at a loss for a solution, Ares undertook to do something, and when he got there, he accomplished nothing, but quit in disgrace when Hephaestus threatened him with torches. Since Hera was in such great distress, Dionysus came with wine and, by making Hephaestus drunk, forced him to follow. (3) When he came and released his mother, he made Dionysus Hera's benefactor. And she, rewarding him, convinced the heavenly gods that Dionysus, too, should be one of the heavenly gods.

NARRATION 8: ON ACALANTHIS¹¹

Deceit against Hera made Acalanthis change from a woman into a weasel; for when Hera was preventing Heracles' exit from the womb—she was doing this by folding her hands around her knees—Acalanthis, as if Alcmene had given birth, even though she had not yet given birth, leaped about and ran around and imitated the behavior of one rejoicing, and the goddess, misled, allowed

9. Homer, *Il.* 18.394–405; for a different version of his fall, see Homer, *Il.* 1.590–594.

10. The *Suda* entry for "Hera's binding by her son" (H 481) gives four classical sources for this myth: Plato (*Resp.* 378D); Pindar (frg. 283 Maehler); Klemes (or Klementos, according to the parallel entry in Photius, *Lex.* [H 230], frg. 2; see Andrew R. Dyck, "Notes on Platonic Lexicography in Antiquity," *HSCP* 89 [1985]: 84–86); and Epicharmus (*PCG* 1:50; *CGF* 106). For the story, see also Pausanias, *Descr.* 1.20.3 (cf. 3.17.3).

11. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 9.280–323, where she is called "Galanthis" (9.306); for Alcmene's labor, see Homer, *Il.* 19.95–125; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.4.5.

τῆς χαιρούσης, ἡ θεὸς δὲ παρακρουσθεῖσα ἀνεπέτασεν Ἀλκμήνης τὰς ὠδῖνας.
καὶ δίκην Ἀκαλανθὶς ἐδίδου τῆς ἀπάτης τὴν μεταβολήν.

9. Περὶ Καπανέως

Ἀπειλοῦντα τὸν Καπανέα καὶ ἄκοντος Διὸς αἵρήσειν τὰς Θήβας ὁ Ζεὺς κεραυνῷ βάλλει, τὸν δὲ Ἄδραστον ἵπποις αὐτοῖς διαστᾶσα ἡ γῆ δέχεται. Τυδεὺς δὲ ὑπὸ Μελανίππου τρωθεὶς ἐδεῖτο τῶν ἐταίρων βοηθῆσαι τῷ τεθνεῶτι. κτείναντος δὲ τινος τὸν Μελάνιππον καὶ κομίσαντος ἔτι ζῶντι Τυδεῖ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν λαβὼν αὐτὴν τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἐτιμωρεῖτο, τὴν δ' Ἀθηναῖαν αὐτῷ φέρουσαν ἀθανασίαν τοῦτο ἐκώλυσε μὴ δοῦναι. Πολυνείκης δὲ συγκατενεχθεὶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ ταφῆς ἀπεστερεῖτο μὲν παρὰ Κρέοντος, ἐτύγχανε δὲ παρὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Πολυνείκους Ἀργεῖα συνεφάψασθαι τοῦ ἄθλου.

10. Περὶ Ἀδραστείας

(1) Νενικηκότεες οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Πολυνείκη καταγαγόντας οὐδὲ θάπτειν οὐδενὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπέτρεπον. ἦκον οὖν αἱ τούτων γυναῖκες Ἀθήναζε καὶ ἱκετεύουσαι κινουσι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν τὸν Θησέα, κρατηθέντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ καιομένων τῶν νεκρῶν Εὐάδνην τὴν Καπανέως γυναῖκα λόγος

Alcmene's labor to continue. And Acalanthis paid the penalty for her deceit with a metamorphosis.

NARRATION 9: ON CAPANEUS¹²

When Capaneus boasted that he would conquer Thebes, even with Zeus unwilling, Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt,¹³ but as for Adrastus, the earth split open and swallowed him along with his very horses.¹⁴ But Tydeus, wounded by Melanippus, asked his comrades to help him, who was as good as dead. And when someone¹⁵ killed Melanippus and brought his head to Tydeus while he was still alive, he took it and avenged himself with his teeth,¹⁶ but this prevented Athena, who was just then bringing him the gift of immortality, from actually granting it.¹⁷ Polynices, although he was carried out for burial along with his brother, was deprived of it by Creon but obtained it from his sister.¹⁸ The wife of Polynices, Argeia, is also said to have taken part in the struggle.¹⁹

NARRATION 10: ON ADRASTEIA²⁰

(1) After defeating those who were trying to restore Polynices, the Thebans also did not allow anyone to bury the fallen.²¹ So their wives came to Athens and, supplicating Theseus, aroused his compassion for the corpses, but when the Thebans had been defeated and the corpses were being burned, the story goes that Evadne, the wife of Capaneus, shared the funeral pyre with her

12. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.7–3.7.1. For the sequel, see Narration 10.

13. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.7.

14. According to Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.8, it was Amphiaraus who was swallowed up by the earth; Adrastus, along with his horse Arion, was the only survivor of the battle.

15. Various said to have been Amphiaraus, Capaneus, or Tydeus himself: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.8, with James G. Frazer, *The Library by Apollodorus* (2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), 1:369 n. 4.

16. In Apollodorus's vivid description, "Tydeus split open the head and gulped up the brains" (*Bibl.* 3.6.8, trans. Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*).

17. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.8.

18. Antigone: Aeschylus, *Sept.* 1011–1047; Sophocles, *Antigone*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.7.1.

19. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.1.

20. For the myth, see Euripides, *Supplices*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.7.1–4. For earlier events, see Narration 9.

21. Aeschylus, *Sept.* 1011–1047.

κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς πυρᾶς. (2) τούτων οἱ παῖδες πατράσι τιμωροῦνται καὶ ἐπελθόντες αἰροῦσι Θήβας, ἡγεῖται δὲ ὁ παῖς Ἀδράστου καὶ ἀναιρεῖται μόνος. τοῦ δὲ ἄρα ὁ πατὴρ μόνος τῶν ἐπτὰ λοχαγῶν ἀπεσώθη. ἔδοξε δὴ τοῦ δαιμονίου νεμεσήσαντος τοῦτο τῇδε γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱερῶ τιμῶσι τὴν Νέμεσιν προσειπόντες Ἀδράστειαν τὴν θεόν.

11. Περὶ Πολυκράτους

Πολυκράτους Σάμου μὲν ἄρχοντας, πάντα δὲ εὐτυχοῦντος καὶ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λυπουμένου δέος εἰσῆει μεταβολῆς. ἔπραττεν οὖν ὅπως ἂν ἰάσῃται. καὶ δακτύλιον ὃν εἶχε κτημάτων κάλλιστον ἐκὼν μὲν ἔρριψεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ ἦλγει. γίνεται δὴ πάλιν ὁ δακτύλιος τοῦ Πολυκράτους δι' ἰχθύος, ὃν ἀνελὼν ἀλιεὺς μέγαν τε ὄντα καὶ βασιλέως ἄξιον φέρων ἔδωκεν ἐκείνῳ. ὁ δὲ ἰχθύς, ὡς ἦν χερσὶ τῶν μαγείρων ἀνασχισθεὶς, ἀπέδωκε Πολυκράτει τὸν δακτύλιον.

12. Περὶ Καλλιστοῦς

Τὴν Ἥραν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐλύπει Καλλιστοῦς ἐρῶν καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν ἐρωμένην ἄρκτον τοῦ τὴν Ἥραν λαθεῖν. ὥς δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχοι πλησίον, μεταδίδωσι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ ἔστι Καλλιστὴ τῶν ἀρκτῶν ἀστέρων. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης παῖς Ἀρκάς, ὅθεν Ἀρκάδες, οὗ τεχθέντος Ἑρμῇ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐμέλησεν.

husband.²² (2) The sons of these men sought vengeance for their fathers and attacked and conquered Thebes, but the son of Adrastus led them and was the only one to be killed.²³ And this man's father was the only one of the seven captains to be saved.²⁴ So then, things seemed to turn out this way because of divine indignation. And the Greeks immediately honored Nemesis with a temple, addressing the goddess asAdrasteia.²⁵

NARRATION 11: ON POLYCRATES²⁶

Polycrates was ruler of Samos, but while he was fortunate in every way and not upset by anything, fear of a change for the worse entered his mind. So he arranged for himself to be cured of it. And he purposefully threw his ring, the most beautiful of his possessions, into the sea, but then he deeply regretted not having it. So then, the ring became Polycrates' again through the agency of a fish, which a fisherman caught and gave to him, thinking that it was huge and worthy of a king. But the fish, when it was cut up by the hands of the cooks, gave the ring back to Polycrates.

NARRATION 12: ON CALLISTO²⁷

Zeus was making Hera angry with his love for Callisto, and he turned his beloved into a bear to escape Hera's notice.²⁸ But so that he could keep her nearby, he assigned her a place in the heavens. And Callisto is one of the bear constellations. But from this woman was born a son named Arcas, from whom arose the Arcadians, and at his birth he was turned over to Hermes²⁹ for safekeeping.

22. Euripides, *Suppl.* 990–1071.

23. According to Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.7.2, their leader was Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus. The son of Adrastus, Aegialeus, participated (*Bibl.* 3.7.2) and died in the battle (*Bibl.* 3.7.3).

24. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.8.

25. For her temple, see Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.1.13. The name "Adrasteia Nemesis" is similarly explained in the *Suda* (A 523).

26. Based on Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.41–42.

27. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 2.409–507; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.8.2.

28. Her transformation is variously said to be due to Zeus, Hera, or Artemis: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.8.2, with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 1:395 n. 2.

29. Or to Hermes' mother Maia: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.8.2.

13. Περὶ Σιμωνίδου

Ἐχώρει μὲν ἐπὶ Τάραντα Σιμωνίδης ὁ Κεῖος ὁ Λεωπρέπους ὁ ποιητής, νεκρὸν δὲ ἄταφον ὡς εἶδεν ἐρριμμένον, ἠλέησέ τε καὶ θάπτει. μέλλων δὲ ἡμέρα τῇ μετὰ τὴν ταφὴν πλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν ὀνειράτι εἴργεται μὴ πλεῖν. ἀγνοῶν δὲ τίς ἦν ὁ αὐτὸν ὀνειράτι κωλύων πείθεται μὲν ὁ Σιμωνίδης καὶ μένει, πλεῖ δὲ ἡ ναῦς καὶ βαπτίζεται. ἄλλου δὲ εἰς Τάραντα κομίσαντος τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο ὅσα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοιούτου κακοῦ. Σιμωνίδης δὲ στεφάνους τῇ στήλῃ περιέθηκε καὶ ἐναγίσας τῷ νεκρῷ σωτήρα αὐτοῦ τὸν κείμενον ἐκήρυξεν ἐπιγράμματι. καὶ τοῦτο ἡ στήλη δείκνυσιν.

14. Περὶ Νεοπτολέμου

Ἀποθνήσκει τοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος βέλεσιν Ἀχιλλεύς. θρασυνόμενος δὲ Νεοπτόλεμος ἦται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δίκας τοῦ φόνου. ἔπειτα νοήσας ὡς οὐ καλῶς αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἐπεποίητο, διαλλάξων αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπῆει καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων Δελφούς, οὓς ἐξηπάτησεν Ὀρέστης λέγων αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ τῶν ἱερῶν ἦκειν χρημάτων.

15. Περὶ Ἀλκίστιδος

Ἐθήτευσε μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀδμήτῳ γνῶμη Διός, ἐθεράπευσε δὲ Ἄδμητος τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ἔδει τελευτᾶν, ἀναβάλλει τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς δεηθεὶς τῶν Μοιρῶν, αἱ τῷ μὲν εἶξαν, ἐζήτουν δὲ ὅς ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὸν θάνατον ὑποστήσεται. διελέχθη τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὁ Ἄδμητος γῆρα βεβαρημένοις. οἱ δὲ ἐφιλοψύχουν καὶ οὐκ ἠνείχοντο ἀπιέναι. παρέρχεται δὲ τὴν φύσιν Ἀλκηστὶς ἡ γυνὴ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀποθνήσκει. πένθους δὲ κατέχοντος

NARRATION 13: ON SIMONIDES³⁰

Simonides of Ceos, son of Leoprepes, the poet, was traveling to Tarentum, but when he saw a corpse that had been cast out unburied, he took pity on it and buried it. Intending to sail to Sicily on the day after the burial, he was prevented from sailing by a dream. Not knowing who was using the dream to hold him back, Simonides obeyed and stayed there, but the ship set sail and sank. After another ship brought him safely to Tarentum, he felt those emotions that one might reasonably expect after averting such a disaster. And Simonides put wreaths around the tombstone and, having sacrificed to the dead man, proclaimed by an inscription that the man lying there was his savior. And the monument shows this.

NARRATION 14: ON NEOPTOLEMUS³¹

Achilles was killed by Apollo's arrows.³² Neoptolemus arrogantly demanded that Apollo pay for the murder. Then, realizing that he had acted ignobly, he went off to Delphi to make amends to the god, and he died at the hands of the residents of Delphi,³³ whom Orestes deceived by saying that Neoptolemus had come to plunder the sacred moneys.

NARRATION 15: ON ALCESTIS³⁴

Apollo served as a slave to Admetus by the will of Zeus,³⁵ but Admetus was Apollo's servant. And when the Fates came and it was time for him to die, the god postponed his death by pleading with the Fates, who granted him his request but demanded that someone else submit to death in his place. Admetus discussed it with his parents, as they were extremely old. But they still loved life and refused to give it up. So then, his wife Alcestis surpassed her nature and died herself. But when grief was overwhelming the whole household, Heracles showed up and was entertained as a guest, and having

30. For the story and inscription, see *Anth. pal.* 7.77 with lemma.

31. For the myth, see Euripides, *Andr.* 49–55, 1085–1165; *Orest.* 1653–1658; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.14.

32. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3.

33. Or at the hands of Orestes or Machareus the Phocian: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.14, with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 2:254–257 n. 1.

34. For the myth, see Euripides, *Alcestis*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.15. The story served as a subject for refutation and confirmation: for the theme with full elaboration, see Pseudo-Nicolaus 1 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:284,1–85,26) and 10 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:314,9–16,11).

35. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.4.

τὴν οἰκίαν Ἡρακλῆς ἦκων ξενίζεται καὶ μαθὼν τὴν τύχην καὶ πονέσας καὶ κρατήσας τῶν κάτω δαιμόνων ἐπανάγει τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

16. Περὶ Κανδαύλου

Ἦρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν Γύγην ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τῆς ὥρας. ὁ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἀρνούμενος ἐγκειμένου τοῦ Κανδαύλου συνεχώρησεν. ὅφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ καταστάς ὀπισθεν τῆς θύρας τὴν γυναῖκα καταγυμνουμένην ἰδὼν ἀπηλλάγη. ἡ δὲ μεταστραφεῖσα τὸ πραχθὲν οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, ἦνεγκε δὲ σιγῇ. μεταπέμπεται δὲ τὸν Γύγην, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἦν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθνήσκειν ἀντὶ τῆς θέας ἣ τοῦτο δρᾷν τὸν Κανδαύλην ὑπισχνουμένη συνοικήσειν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸν φόνον. τὸν Γύγην ἤρεσκε μὲν οὐδέτερον, εἰς δὲ τὸ κτείνειν ἀπέκλινε. καὶ διαχρησάμενος καθεύδοντα τὸν δεσπότην γαμῇ τε ἐκείνην καὶ βασιλεῦει Λυδῶν.

17. Περὶ Δάφνης

Δάφνης τὸ κάλλος ἐγέννησε μὲν Λάδων ὁ ποταμός, ἐθαύμασε δ' Ἀπόλλων. παθὼν δέ τι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐρωτικόν, ἐπεὶ πείθειν οὐκ εἶχεν, ἐδίωκεν. ἡ δὲ εὔχεται τῇ Γῇ μὴ ἀλῶναι καὶ τυχοῦσα τῆς εὐχῆς ἀφανίζεται. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα δένδρον ἐγένετο, δάφνη δὲ τὸ δένδρον ἦν. ὁ θεὸς δὲ τὸν πόθον οὐ κατέλυεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν κόρην μετήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς κλάδους καὶ ἔστιν ἐραστής τῶν φύλλων.

learned of her fate and having labored hard and overpowered the gods below, he brought the woman back.

NARRATION 16: ON CANDAULES³⁶

Candaules loved his wife and invited Gyges to gaze upon her beauty. But although he initially refused, when Candaules kept pressing him, he agreed. So then, having also been stationed by him behind the door, after he had seen the woman take off her clothes, he left. But she, having turned around, was not unaware of what had happened, but bore it in silence. The next day she sent for Gyges and ordered him either to die as punishment for what he had seen or to kill Candaules, promising that she would marry him after the murder. Neither choice pleased Gyges, but he inclined toward the killing. And after killing the ruler in his sleep, he both married that master of his and ruled as king over the Lydians.

NARRATION 17: ON DAPHNE³⁷

The river Ladon fathered the beautiful Daphne, but Apollo admired her. Being in love with her, when he was unable to persuade her, he began to chase her. But she prayed to the Earth not to be caught and, obtaining the object of her prayer, disappeared. And her body became a tree, and the tree was the laurel. But the god did not stop longing for her, but rather changed some parts of the girl into limbs and became a lover of her leaves.

36. Based on Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.8–12. Theon 91–92 mentions Herodotus's story of Candaules as an example of how to add a maxim to a narrative. The story also served as a subject for refutation: for the theme with partial elaboration, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 73,14–18); with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 3 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:287,13–88,32). This example, together with Narration 26, is falsely attributed to Gregory of Cyprus in one manuscript; see Kotzabassi, "Die Progymnasmata des Gregor von Zypern," 47 n. 10; cf. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:96 with n. 24, 1:97.

37. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 1.452–567. For the theme, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 30,16); with full elaboration, *Geoponica* 11.2. The story also served as a subject for refutation and confirmation: for the theme, see Nicolaus 31; with partial elaboration, Nicolaus 33; perhaps [Hermogenes] 11; John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 73,2–3, addendum to 83,23); with full elaboration, Aphthonius 10–13, 14–16; scholia to Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:606,1–31).

18. Περὶ Πρόκνης καὶ Φιλομήλας

(1) Ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Τηρεὺς Πρόκνην ἄγεται τὴν Πανδίωνος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς δὲ Τηρεὺς ἐκράτει Θράκης. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἐπιθυμία λαμβάνει τὴν Πρόκνην ἰδεῖν Φιλομήλαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ διὰ Τηρέως τοῦτο ἐπράττετο, ὃς ἐλθὼν Ἀθήναζε καὶ λαβὼν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ μίγνυται τῇ παρθένῳ βιασάμενος, οὐ πείσας. φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν ἔλεγχον τὴν γλῶτταν περιελὼν πόρρῳ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἵδρυσεν ἐν κώμῃ φυλακὴν τινα παρακαταστήσας. (2) ἄλλως μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦν μηνύσαι τῇ Πρόκνῃ τὸ τολμηθὲν, τῆς ἐορτῆς δὲ ἐπελθούσης ἐν ἣ τῇ βασιλίδι τὰς Θράττας δῶρα πέμπειν νόμος ἦν πέμπει πέπλον ἢ Φιλομήλα γράμματα ἐνυφήνασα. τὰ δὲ ἐδήλου τὴν βίαν. (3) ἡ δέ, ὥς ἔγνω, τὴν μὲν μεταπέμπεται, τὸν δὲ Ἴτυν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὃς ἐκ Τηρέως ἦν αὐτῇ, καὶ εἰστίασε τὸν πατέρα τῷ σώματι τοῦ παιδός. ὥς δὲ δὴ ἐκόρεσεν, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὸν ἥτις ἦν ἡ βρώσις τὰ ἀκρωτήρια δείξασα. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐδίωκεν, ὥς ἀποκτείνειεν, αἱ δὲ ἔφευγον. καὶ ἐν τῇ διώξει μετεβλήθησαν εἰς ὄρνις αἶτε γυναῖκες καὶ ὁ Τηρεὺς, χελιδόνα μὲν ἢ Φιλομήλα, ἀηδόνα δὲ ἢ Πρόκνη, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ παιδὸς γευσάμενος ἔποψ γενέσθαι.

19. Ἄλλως

Πρόκνην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἡγάγετο Τηρεὺς τὴν Πανδίωνος, ἐρῶσα δὲ ἡ Πρόκνη τὴν ἀδελφὴν Φιλομήλαν θεάσασθαι Τηρέα ποιεῖται τῆς θεᾶς διάκονον. ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐπόθει μὲν καθ' ὁδὸν καὶ ποθῶν ἐβιάσατο καὶ βιασάμενος ἀφείλε τῶν πραχθέντων τὸν ἔλεγχον τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀποτεμών. ἡ δὲ ἀφικομένη παρὰ τὴν Πρόκνην εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐκ εἶχε τὸ πάθος, διηγεῖται δὲ τὸ συμβὰν τῇ χειρὶ ἰστῷ προσυφάνασα. καὶ μαθοῦσα τὸ πάθος ἡ Πρόκνη τὸν παῖδα τροφήν τῷ πατρὶ παρατίθησιν. ὁ δὲ τρέφεται μὲν οἷς ἡγνόμενα τὰ φίλτατα, τροφὴς δὲ ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρει τὴν θρέψασαν. θεοὶ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῦ παιδὸς οἰκτεῖροντες ἀμφοτέρους εἰς ὀρνίθων μεταβεβλήκασι φύσεις.

NARRATION 18: ON PROCNE AND PHILOMELA³⁸

(1) From Athens, Tereus took in marriage Procne, daughter of Pandion, who was king of the Athenians, but Tereus himself ruled over Thrace. As time passed, Procne was seized with a deep longing to see her sister Philomela, and this was brought about by Tereus, who, after coming to Athens and picking her up, had sex with the girl during the return trip, by raping, not by persuading her. Fearing an inquiry, he ripped out her tongue and stationed her far from her sister in a small village, assigning a guard to her. (2) Ordinarily, then, it would have been impossible for her to reveal to Procne what he had dared to do to her, but when a festival was approaching in which it was customary for Thracian women to send gifts to the queen, Philomela sent her a gown, having embroidered letters upon it. These revealed the rape. (3) When Procne learned of this, she sent for her, but she slaughtered Itys, who was her child by Tereus, and feasted the father on the body of his son. So then, when he had eaten his fill, she told him what the meat actually was, pointing out the hands and feet to him. So he began to chase them, in order to kill them, but they escaped. And during the pursuit both the women and Tereus were transformed into birds—Philomela into a swallow, Procne into a nightingale, and the man who tasted of his child is said to have become a hoopoe.

NARRATION 19: ANOTHER VERSION³⁹

Tereus took Procne, daughter of Pandion, from Athens as his wife, but Procne, deeply desiring to see her sister Philomela, made Tereus serve her need to see her. After picking her up, he began to long for her during the trip, and longing for her, raped her, and having raped her, removed the possibility of an inquiry into what had been done by cutting out her tongue. And she, arriving at Procne's, was unable to speak about her suffering, but explained what happened with her hand by weaving on the loom. And Procne, having learned of her sister's suffering, set her son before his father as food. But he dined on what he did not recognize as his dearest child, and after eating he tried to kill the one who had served him. But the gods, pitying the misfortune of the child, transformed both into birds.

38. Cf. Narration 19. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 6.424–674; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.14.8.

39. Cf. Narration 18 with notes.

20. Περὶ Μαρσύου καὶ αὐλῶν

Ἡὔλει ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ τὸ εἶδωλον αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν ἰδοῦσα τὸν αὐλὸν ἔρριψεν ὥς οὐκ ἔχον εὐσχημοσύνην τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ αὐλεῖν. γίνεται δὴ οὗτος Μαρσύου καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν αὐλητὴν ὀνομαστόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείθετο ἤδη καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι κρείττων καὶ εἰς ἔριν ἐκάλει. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἥριζον, ἐψήφιζον δὲ αἱ Μοῦσαι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐνίκη, δίκην δὲ ἐπιτιθεὶς τῷ αὐλητῇ κρεμάσας ἔδειρε. καὶ τὸ αἷμα γίνεται ποταμός, τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ ὄνομα Μαρσύας.

21. Περὶ Πασιφάης

Ἐγκαλοῦσά τι τῷ Ἥλῳ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη πλήττει τὰς ἐκείνου θυγατέρας ἔρωσι καινοῖς. ἐρᾷ δὴ καὶ Πασιφάη ταύρου καὶ καρτερεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσα φράζει πρὸς τὸν Δαίδαλον τὸ πάθος. ὁ δὲ ἦν Ἀθηναῖος καὶ φεύγων διέτριβεν ἐν Κρήτῃ. πείθεται δὴ καὶ βοηθεῖ τῇ γυναικὶ διὰ βοὸς ξυλίνης. κοίλην γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐργασάμενος καὶ κατακλείσας ταύτῃ τὴν ἐρώσαν δέρματι βοὸς καλύψας τὸ πλάσμα κινεῖ τὸν ταῦρον ἐπὶ τὴν εἰκόνα. καὶ ἐλθὼν μίγνυται δὴ τῇ γυναικί, βοῖ δέ, ὥς ᾤετο. τότε ὁ Μινώταυρος γίνεται ταῦρος μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν, τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωπος.

22. Ἄλλως

Ἡλίου παῖς Πασιφάη γεγένηται καὶ γενομένη τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν θεῶν πάθος ὑπέστη παραλογώτατον. ταύρῳ γὰρ ἐπιμαίνεται καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀποροῦσα

NARRATION 20: ON MARSYAS AND THE FLUTE⁴⁰

Athena was playing the flute, and upon seeing her reflection in the water she threw it down, saying that flute playing did not lend elegance to her face. So then, this flute became Marsyas's and made him well known as a flute player. But then he became convinced that he was even better than Apollo and called him out to a contest. And they competed, but the Muses voted and the god won, and imposing a penalty on the flute player, he hung him up and flayed him. And the blood became a river, and the name of the river was Marsyas.

NARRATION 21: ON PASIPHAË⁴¹

Accusing the Sun god of something,⁴² Aphrodite afflicted his daughters with strange passions. So then, Pasiphaë also fell in love with a bull, and being unable to stand it, declared her passion to Daedalus. He was an Athenian living in exile in Crete. So then, he obeyed her and helped the woman with the aid of a wooden cow; for having made it hollow and having enclosed the love-struck woman in it, concealing his fiction in cowhide, he encouraged the bull to move toward the image. And when the bull reached her he then mated with the woman—but a cow, as he supposed. Then the Minotaur was born, with the head of a bull, but as for the rest of him, human.

NARRATION 22: ANOTHER VERSION⁴³

Pasiphaë was born a child of the Sun god, and though she was born to the fairest of the gods, she was afflicted with a most unreasonable passion; for she was crazy about a bull, and not knowing how she could endure her passion, she

40. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 6.382–400; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.4.2.

41. Cf. Narration 22. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.1.2–4; 3.15.8; Ovid, *Metam.* 8.131–137, 155–156. For the theme with full elaboration, see Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:202,21–30); Nikephoros Basilakes 6 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:434,16–35,13 = Progymnasmata 19, Narration 12 [Pignani, *Niceforo Basilace*]). On Daedalus, cf. Nikephoros Basilakes 5 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:433,24–34,15 = Progymnasmata 18, Narration 11 [Pignani, *Niceforo Basilace*]). The story also served as a subject for refutation and confirmation: for the theme with partial elaboration, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 77,14–15); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:335,17–25); with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 4 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:298,7–301,7) and 7 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:307,10–10,10).

42. The sun-god (Helios) had told Hephaestus about the love affair of Ares and Aphrodite: Homer, *Od.* 8.266–366; cf. Narration 26.

43. Cf. Narration 21 with notes.

διενεγκεῖν πρὸς τὸν Δαίδαλον ἤγγειλεν. ὁ δὲ ξυλίνην μηχανησάμενος βούν δορᾶ τὴν μηχανὴν περιέβαλεν, ἣ παρὰ τὴν ἀγέλην <ὁ ταῦρος> συνήγετο, καὶ τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἔνδον κατακλείσας ἐργάζεται μίξιν ἣν ὁ πρότερος οὐκ ἠπίστατο χρόνος. καὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας ὑπόμνημα παῖς προελήλυθεν ἐφ' ἐνὸς σώματος ἄμφω χαρακτηρίζων τοὺς φύσαντας.

23. Περὶ Ἡρακλέους

Ἀλκμήνη τίκτει τῷ Διὶ μὲν Ἡρακλέα, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιτρύωνι Ἴφικλέα καὶ τὸ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος ἐν τοῖς ἐγγόνιοις ἐδείχθη. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔκειτο ἐσπαργανωμένα ἀρτίγωνα, δράκοντες δὲ ὡς ἐπῆλθον ἐπιβουλευούσης Ἥρας τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πτήσσει μὲν Ἴφικλῆς καὶ ὑπότρομος γίνεται, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ δέχεται τὰ ἔρπετα καὶ ἀποπνίγει.

24. Ἄλλως

(1) Θεῶν αἱ γοναὶ καὶ περὶ τὰ σπάργανα φαίνονται. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ συνοῦσα Διὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνι καὶ συνουσίας διττῆς ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων φέρουσα γνῶρισμα. προῆλθε μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Διός, ὁ δὲ Ἴφικλῆς Ἀμφιτρύωνος. (2) καὶ κειμένων ἐν σπαργάνοις τῶν παίδων Ἥρα μὲν τοῖς παισὶν ἐπαφίησι δράκοντας, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἑωρακῶς ὁμοῦ τῇ θεᾷ προσιόντας ἀνήρηκεν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν Ἴφικλέους καταπεπληγμένου τὴν θεᾷ ἄθλων προοίμιον τὴν τοῦ βίου ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο.

25. Περὶ Λητοῦς

Ἥπειρον αἱ ὠδῖνες τὴν Λητώ. ἐδέχετο δὲ αὐτὴν οὔτε ἥπειρος οὔτε νῆσος οὐδεμία τῶν φανερῶν. ἡ Δῆλος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἠφανίζετο τῇ θαλάττῃ, τότε δὲ γνώμη Διὸς ἀνέδυσεν καὶ ἐξεφάνη καὶ ἐδέξατο τὸν τόκον. τεχθεὶς δὲ ὁ

sent a message to Daedalus. And he, having built a wooden cow, surrounded the contraption with cowhide, with which he lured <the bull> away from the rest of the herd, and having enclosed the woman inside, achieved a mating that earlier times had never known. And a child was born as a monument to their intercourse, displaying in one body distinctive signs of both parents.

NARRATION 23: ON HERACLES⁴⁴

Alcmene bore Heracles to Zeus and Iphicles to Amphytrion,⁴⁵ and the difference in paternity made itself known in the offspring; for the newborns were lying there in their diapers,⁴⁶ but when snakes approached, since Hera was plotting to kill Heracles, Iphicles cowered and trembled in fear, but Heracles grabbed the serpents and throttled them.

NARRATION 24: ANOTHER VERSION⁴⁷

(1) The offspring of gods are obvious even in diapers. And she made this clear, the woman who had sex with Zeus and then with Amphytrion, and who bore a token of this double intercourse in her children;⁴⁸ for Heracles was produced from Zeus, and Iphicles from Amphytrion. (2) And as the children were lying there in their diapers, Hera sent snakes in to attack the boys, but Heracles, having seen them approaching as soon as they came in sight, killed them, and while Iphicles was panic-stricken at the sight, he made the beginning of his life a preamble to his labors.

NARRATION 25: ON LETO⁴⁹

Labor pains were driving Leto from place to place. But neither the mainland nor any of the visible islands would welcome her. Originally, Delos was invisible under the sea, but at that time it emerged from the sea by the will of Zeus and became visible and received the child.⁵⁰ And as soon as Apollo was born

44. Cf. Narration 24. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.4.8.

45. [Hesiod], *Scut.* 27–56.

46. Apollodorus makes the infants eight months old.

47. Cf. Narration 23 with notes.

48. Alcmene.

49. For the myth, see *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 14–18, 25–123; Callimachus, *Hymn. Del.* 55–276; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.4.1.

50. Callimachus, *Hymn. Del.* 35–54; Ovid, *Metam.* 6.184–192.

Ἀπόλλων εὐθύς ἦν τοξότης καὶ ἔργον αὐτῷ πρῶτον ὁ δράκων ὃς ἐπολέμει τῇ Λητοῖ βουλομένη τεκεῖν.

26. Περὶ Ἀλεκτρυόνος

(1) Ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν ὄρνις ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου τὸ πρὶν. ὅτε δὲ ἦν ἄνθρωπος, Ἄρεος ἦν δορυφόρος. τούτῳ παρέδωκε τὰς θύρας τοῦ θαλάμου Ἄρης, ὅτε ἠδίκησεν εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν τὸν Ἥφαιστον, ἐφ' ᾧ πρὸ τοῦ περιόρθρου τὰς θύρας ἀράττειν, ὡς μὴ ἀλφὴ μοιχεύων κατεκοιμήθησαν οὖν ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ ὁ θεράπων καὶ ὁ δεσπότης, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐγνώσθη τῆς ἡμέρας φανείσης. γίνεται οὖν ὄρνις ὁ στρατιώτης ταύτην ὑποσχὼν τὴν δίκην. (3) καὶ πολλὰ δηλοῖ τὸν πάλαι στρατιώτην, ὁ λόφος, ὁ θυμός, τὰ κέντρα. καὶ μεμνημένος γε ἐφ' ᾧ τοῦτο ἔπαθε, πρὶν Ἥλιον ζεύξασθαι τὸ ἄρμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλαύνει τὸν ὕπνον διὰ τῆς ὥδης.

27. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάριδος ἀρπαγῆς

(1) Θέτιν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐθαύμασε τοῦ κάλλους, παρὰ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἀκούσας ὡς ὁ τικτόμενος ἐκ Θέτιδος ἀμείνων ἔσται τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ μίγνυται, Πηλεΐ δὲ δίδωσι. καὶ δέχεται μὲν τοὺς γάμους τὸ Πήλιον καὶ θεῶν ὕμνον καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ὥδην. ἡ δὲ Ἔρις, οὐ γὰρ μετεῖχε τῆς θοίνης, μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἀφίησιν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν. δῶρον εἶναι τῇ καλλίστῃ θεῶν τούτῳ ἐπεγέγραπτο. (2) γίνεται οὖν ἀμφισβήτησις τὸ μῆλον τῇ τοῦ Διὸς γυναικὶ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ. ὁ δὲ <Ζεὺς> φεύγει μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν κρίσιν, ποιεῖ δὲ αὐταῖς Πάριν τὸν Πριάμου κριτὴν. ὡς οὖν ἤκον παρὰ τὸν βουκόλον, νικᾷ μὲν Ἀφροδίτῃ τῷ τῆς Ἑλένης γάμῳ, τοῦτο γὰρ ἄμεινον ὁ Πάρις ἡγήσατο, βασιλείαν δὲ ἦν ἐδίδου τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ Ἥρα, καὶ τὸ μαχόμενον κρατεῖν, ὃ ἦν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑπόσχεσις, παρητήσατο. ναυπηγεῖται οὖν καὶ πλεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὸ Ἴλιον.

he became an archer, and his first victim was the snake that fought against Leto when she wanted to give birth.⁵¹

NARRATION 26: ON ALECTRYON⁵²

(1) The rooster is a bird that used to be a man. But when he was a man, he was a spear-bearer for Ares. Ares would entrust him with the bedroom doors when he wronged Hephaestus and his marriage bed; it was his job to knock on the doors just before dawn, so that Ares would not be caught in the act of adultery.⁵³ (2) And so both of them fell asleep, both the servant and the master, and at daybreak the deed became known. So the soldier was turned into a bird, suffering this as his punishment. (3) And many things reveal the former soldier: the crest, the temperament, the spurs. And in memory of why he suffered this, before the Sun god yokes his chariot he drives away men's sleep through song.

NARRATION 27: ON THE RAPE OF PARIS⁵⁴

(1) Zeus was struck with wonder at Thetis's beauty, but after hearing from Night that the man born to Thetis would be stronger than his father, he did not have sex with her himself, but gave her to Peleus. And Mount Pelion hosted the wedding and the hymn of the gods and the song of Apollo. But Eris—for she did not get to share in the banquet—left a golden apple on the table. It was inscribed as follows: “a gift for the most beautiful of the goddesses.” (2) So the apple became a point of dispute for the wife of Zeus⁵⁵ and Aphrodite and Athena. And <Zeus> avoided having to make the judgment himself, but appointed Paris son of Priam as their judge. So when they came before the shepherd, Aphrodite won by promising a marriage to Helen—for Paris considered this preferable—but he turned down the kingship of Asia, which Hera offered, and the ability to win at battle, which was the promise from Athena. So then he built a ship, set sail, got Helen, and destroyed Ilium.

51. Ovid, *Metam.* 1.438–444.

52. For the myth, see Lucian, *Gall.* 3; Eustathius, *Od.* 8.302. This example, together with Narration 16, is falsely attributed to Gregory of Cyprus in one manuscript; see Kotzabassi, “Die Progymnasmata des Gregor von Zypern,” 47 n. 10; cf. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:96 with n. 24, 1:97.

53. With Aphrodite: Homer, *Od.* 8.266–366.

54. For the many ancient sources for this myth, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.1–4, with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 2:172–73 n. 1, 2:174 n. 1.

55. Hera.

28. Περὶ Ἰκαρίου

Ἐπεφοίτησεν Ἰκαρίῳ Διόνυσος. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ ἐθεράπευσε. καὶ λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρον τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ διδάσκει τὴν τέχνην. ὥς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Θράκην, πίνοντες οἱ Θράκες ἐμεθύσθησαν καὶ ἡγήσαντο φάρμακον τὸν οἶνον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δόξης ὄντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Ἰκάριον.

29. Περὶ Ἀρίωνος

(1) Ὁ Ἀρίων Μηθυμναῖος ὢν ἐκ Μηθύμνης ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κόρινθον καὶ δεικνὺς αὐτόθι τὴν τέχνην εὐδοκιμεῖ. βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενέσθαι λαμπρὸς ἔπλευσε κάκεῖσε καὶ αὐθις εὐδοκιμεῖ. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ χρημάτων μεγάλων νεὼς ἐπιβάς Κορινθίας εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπαναπλεῖ. (2) καὶ οἱ ναῦται τῶν χρημάτων ἐρασθέντες κτείνειν ἐπεχείρουν. ὥς δὲ ἀφιστάμενος αὐτοῖς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπὶ τῷ σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἔπειθε, δευτέρας δεῖται συγχωρήσεως, στήναι ἐν τῇ σκευῇ καὶ ἄσαι καὶ ἐκπηδῆσαι εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τοῦ ἄσματος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπέτρεψαν, ὁ δὲ ἦσε καὶ ἐξεπήδησε. δελφίς δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποθεὶς τῷ κιθαρωδῷ πρὸς Ταΐναρον ἐξεκόμισε.

30. Περὶ Ἀλφειοῦ

Ἐρως καὶ ποταμοῖς ἐνοχλεῖ. δηλοῖ δὲ Ἀλφειὸς Σικελικῆς πηγῆς Ἀρεθούσης ἐρῶν, ὃς προΐων ἐκ τῆς Ἥλιδος τὸ ρεῖθρον οὐκ ἀναμίγνυσιν πολὺ διερχόμενος πέλαγος ὥς ἐκ τούτου δεικνὺς τῇ ποθουμένῃ φυλάττειν ἀκέραιον τὸν τοῦ ἔρωτος πόθον.

31. Περὶ Δηιανείρας

Δηιάνειραν τὴν Οἰνέως ἐπόθει μὲν Ἡρακλῆς, ἀντεπόθει δὲ καὶ Ἀχελῷος ὁ ποταμός. εἰς ἔριν δὲ καταστάντες ἐκ πόθου ἀγῶνι μὲν τὴν ἄμιλλαν ἔκρινον καὶ ἄθλον τὸν τῆς κόρης γάμον προὔτιθεντο. καὶ προσπεσὼν Ἡρακλῆς

NARRATION 28: ON ICARIUS⁵⁶

Dionysus visited Icarius. He welcomed him and saw to his needs. And he received the grapevine as a gift from the god and began teaching the art. But when he went to Thrace, the Thracians, drinking, became drunk and decided that wine was a poison and under this false impression killed Icarius.

NARRATION 29: ON ARION⁵⁷

(1) Arion, being a Methymnian, sailed from Methymna to Corinth and became famous there by displaying his art. But wishing to become well known in Italy, too, he sailed there and once again became famous. Having acquired a great deal of money, he boarded a Corinthian ship and sailed back to Corinth. (2) And the sailors, having lusted after his money, attempted to kill him. But when, though he handed his money over to them for his safety, he did not persuade them, he asked for a second indulgence: to stand in his costume and sing, and to jump off into the sea at the end of the song. And they permitted it, and he sang and jumped off the ship. But a dolphin, having put itself under the musician, carried him to Taenarum.

NARRATION 30: ON ALPHEUS⁵⁸

Love troubles rivers, too. Alpheus clearly loves the Sicilian spring Arethusa; setting out from Elis he does not let his stream mingle as he passes through the great sea, as if showing his beloved that he keeps the desire of his love untainted.

NARRATION 31: ON DEIANIRA⁵⁹

Heracles longed for Deianira, daughter of Oeneus, but the river Achelous longed for her, as well. Coming into conflict because of their desire, they decided the issue with a contest and set marriage to the girl as the prize. And

56. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.14.7.

57. Based on Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.24. For the theme, see [Hermogenes] 4; with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 7 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:271,1–12); Severus 4 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:538,20–30). The story also served as a subject for refutation: for the theme, see Theon 93; with partial elaboration, [Hermogenes] 11; John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 73,3–4, 77,12–13); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:331,19–22).

58. Cf. Narration 3 with notes.

59. Cf. Narration 1 with notes.

παρασπᾶ μὲν Ἀχελῷον τοῦ κέρως, τὸ δὲ καταρρεῦσαν αἷμα τοῦ τραύματος κατεβάλετο Σειρήνων γενεσιν.

32. Περὶ Πίτυος

Ἦρα τῆς Πίτυος ὁ Πάν, ἀντήρα δὲ καὶ ὁ Βορέας αὐτῆς. ἑκατέρου δὲ προσαγομένου τὴν κόρην πρὸς τὸν Πᾶνα μεθίσταται. καὶ ζηλοτυπεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις Βορέας, πνεύσας δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βιαιότερος τὴν μὲν κόρην ὠθεῖ, παραλαβοῦσαι δὲ ταύτην αἱ πέτραι τῷ θανάτῳ παρέδωσαν. Γῆ δὲ ἔλεοῦσα τὸ πάθος ἀνῆκε δένδρον ὁμοίως περὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς διακείμενον. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Πᾶνα στεφανοῖ τῷ θαλλῷ, θρηνεῖ δὲ τοῦ Βορέου προσπνεύσαντος.

33. Περὶ Ἀταλάντης

(1) Πολλοὶ μὲν ἔκειντο μνηστῆρες ὑπὸ Ἀταλάντης ἡττηθέντες ποδωκείᾳ τῆς κόρης, ἔδει γὰρ ἡττώμενον μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, νικῶντα δὲ γαμεῖν, Ἰππομένης δὲ ταύτης ἐπιθυμῶν, δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον δεῖται τῆς Ἀφροδίτης συμπράξει. ἡ δὲ ἔδωκε τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα καὶ εἶπεν ὁ χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ. (2) ὥς οὖν ἔθεον, ὁπότε πλησίον ἡ κόρη γένοιτο, μῆλον ἠφίει, ἡ δὲ ἐθαύμαζε τε καὶ ὑπολειπομένη τὸ μῆλον ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐγγιζούσης δὲ πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐδράτο. καὶ διὰ τοιοῦδε σοφίσματος Ἀταλάντη μὲν εἶχε τὰ μῆλα, Ἰππομένης δὲ Ἀταλάντην.

34. Ἄλλως

Ἀταλάντην τὴν Σχοινέως ἔχειν μὲν ἐπόθουν πολλοί, Ἰππομένης δὲ παρ' ἑτέρους ἀπείληφε. μνωμένων γὰρ τὴν κόρην πολλῶν ἄθλον ἑαυτὴν ἢ παῖς προὔτιθαι τοῖς νικῶσιν εἰς δρόμον. καὶ πάντων ἀπολειπομένων τὸ τάχος

having attacked him Heracles pulled off Achelous's horn, and the blood of the wound running down sowed the birth of the Sirens.

NARRATION 32: ON PITYS⁶⁰

Pan loved Pitys, but Boreas loved her, too. As each was trying to attract the girl to himself, she went over to Pan's side. And Boreas became jealous at this, and blowing against her rather forcefully pushed the girl, but the rocks, taking her up in turn, handed her over to death. Pitying her suffering, Earth produced a tree equally disposed to both lovers; for she crowns Pan with her leaves, but she makes a sound of lamentation when Boreas blows against her.

NARRATION 33: ON ATALANTA⁶¹

(1) Many suitors lay dead, defeated by young Atalanta's swiftness of foot—for the loser was forced to die, but the winner would get to marry her—but Hippomenes,⁶² longing for her but fearing the danger, asked Aphrodite to help him. She gave him golden apples and told him what he had to do during the race. (2) And so, as they were running, whenever the girl got close to him, he dropped an apple, but she was struck with wonder by it and, staying behind, picked the apple up, and when she got close to him again, he did the same thing. And through this sort of trick Atalanta got the apples, but Hippomenes got Atalanta.

NARRATION 34: ANOTHER VERSION⁶³

Many longed to possess Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus,⁶⁴ but Hippomenes was rewarded beyond the rest; for since many suitors were seeking the young woman's hand in marriage, the girl set herself up as the prize for those winning in a footrace. And as everyone else quickly fell behind, Hippomenes

60. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 8 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:271,13–20); cf. *Geoponica* 11.10. Cf. Narration 4 with notes.

61. Cf. Narration 34. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 10.560–680; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.9.2. The story also served as a subject for refutation and confirmation: for the theme with full elaboration, Nikephoros Basilakes (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:449,25–61,14 = *Progymnasmata* 27–28, Refutation 1 and Confirmation 1 [Pignani, *Niceforo Basilace*]).

62. Or Hippomanes, Melanion, or Milanion; see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.9.2, with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 1:399 n. 2.

63. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 10 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:272,1–8). Cf. Narration 33 with notes.

64. Or Iasus, Iasius, Iasion, or Maenalus; see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.9.2, with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 1:398–99 n. 2.

Ἀφροδίτην Ἴππομένης εὖρατο σύμμαχον καὶ μῆλα χρυσᾶ παρ' ἐκείνης λαβὼν ἠφίει παρὰ τὸ στάδιον. καὶ ἡ μὲν τὰ μῆλα συνέλεγεν, ὁ δὲ παρήει συλλέγουσαν καὶ τέχνη μᾶλλον ἢ ῥώμῃ τὸν Ἀταλάντης γάμον ἐκτήσατο.

35. Περὶ Κηφέως καὶ Περσέως

Κηφεὺς εἶχεν Αἰθιοπῶν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ γυναῖκα καλὴν. αὕτη καὶ τὰς Νηρηίδας κάλλει νικᾶν ἐνομίζετο καὶ ἔλεγεν. αἱ δὲ δέονται τοῦ σφῶν ἄρχοντος λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκην. ὥς δὲ ἔπεισαν, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Κηφέως γῆν κῆτος ἔπεμψε, Κηφεὺς δὲ χρησμῷ πειθόμενος πέτρας ἐπικειμένης θαλάττῃ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδήσας παρείχεν ἀπολλύναι τῷ κήτει. ταύτην σώζει τε καὶ λύει Περσεὺς τεμὼν ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ φέρων τὴν Μεδούσης κεφαλὴν λίθον τε ποιήσας τὸ κῆτος.

36. Ἄλλως

Κηφεὺς Αἰθιοπῶν κρατῶν Κασσιέπειαν ἐκέκτητο σύννοικον, ἣ τοσοῦτον ἐπήει διὰ κάλλος φρονεῖν ὥς αὐτὰς οἶεσθαι Νηρηίδας ὑπερβάλλειν. ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ποσειδῶν κῆτος ἀνῆκε τὴν τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν γῆν λυμαινόμενον. ἀπορῶν δὲ Κηφεὺς λύσιν τοῦ δυστυχήματος ἤκουσεν, εἰ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν παραθεῖναι τῷ κήτει. καὶ παρατυχὼν ὁ Περσεὺς ἀπολιθοῖ μὲν τῇ Γοργόνι τὸ κῆτος, σωτηρίας δὲ γέρας τῆς σωθείσης ἐκομίσσατο τὸν γάμον.

37. Περὶ Ῥήνου

Ῥῆνος ὁ βαρβαρικὸς ποταμὸς σωφροσύνης ὑπάρχων κριτὴς παραρρεῖ τοὺς Κελτοὺς. ἐπειδὴν γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἄρτι γένηται παῖς, λαβόντες τῷ ῥείθρῳ παρατιθέασιν. ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἀποδίδωσι μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι τὰ γνήσια, κτείνει δὲ τὰ νόθα παρ' αὐτῷ κατασχών. καὶ διαγινώσκεται τὸ σῶφρον βίῳ τε καὶ θανάτῳ.

found an ally in Aphrodite and, having gotten golden apples from her, began dropping them along the course. And she gathered up the apples, but he passed her by as she was gathering them, and with skill rather than strength he acquired his marriage to Atalanta.

NARRATION 35: ON CEPHEUS AND PERSEUS⁶⁵

Cepheus had both the rule over the Ethiopians and a beautiful wife. This woman believed that her beauty surpassed even that of the Nereids, and she regularly said so. But they asked their leader⁶⁶ to punish her on their behalf. When they had convinced him, he sent a sea monster to the land of Cepheus, but Cepheus, obeying an oracle, having bound his daughter to a rock overlooking the sea, offered her to the sea monster to be killed. Perseus both saved and freed her, having cut off the head of Medusa in Libya and bringing it with him, and having turned the sea monster to stone.

NARRATION 36: ANOTHER VERSION⁶⁷

Cepheus, ruler of the Ethiopians, possessed Cassiopea as his wife, who was so proud of her beauty that she thought she surpassed the Nereids themselves. Angered by this, Poseidon sent a sea monster, which began ravaging the land of the Ethiopians. Not knowing what to do, Cepheus heard the solution to his problem: to hand Andromeda over to the sea monster. And happening to come by, Perseus turned the sea monster to stone, and as a reward for the rescue he received a marriage to the one rescued.

NARRATION 37: ON THE RHINE⁶⁸

The Rhine, the barbarian river, being a judge of self-control, flows through the land of the Celts. For whenever a child has just been born to them, they take it and put it beside the river's edge. But he, taking them up, gives the legitimate ones back to their parents, but kills the illegitimate ones by pouring out over his banks. And he passes judgment on their self-control with both life and death.

65. Cf. Narration 36. For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 4.665–803; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.4.2–3.

66. Poseidon.

67. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 6 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:270,18–26). Cf. Narration 35 with notes.

68. For the story, see *Anth. pal.* 9.125.

38. Περὶ τῶν Ἀλωαδῶν καὶ περὶ Ἑλάτης

Ὡτος καὶ Ἐφιάλης Ἀλωέως μὲν γεγόνασι παῖδες, ἀδελφὰ δὲ εἶχον μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ βουλευμάτα. παραπλησίως γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει φρονούντες τοῦ σώματος βατὸν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν οὐρανὸν κατεσκεύαζον. καὶ θέντες ὄρος ἐπ' ὄρει προιέναι μὲν ἐπειρῶντο παρὰ τοὺς κρείττονας, ἀνακόπτει δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐγχειρημάτων ὁ Ζεὺς σκηπτῷ κατείργων τὸ πρὸς αὐτῶν μελετώμενον. Ἑλάτη δὲ ἡ τούτων ἀδελφὴ παραπλησία μὲν ὑπῆρχε τὸ μέγεθος, δακρύουσα δὲ τὸ συμβὰν δένδρου φύσιν ἠλλάξατο. καὶ μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν φύσιν μένει τὸ μέγεθος ὡς ἐτύγχανε πρότερον. ὅθεν τὸ ἔπος τὴν ἐλάτην οὐρανομήκη προσεῖπεν.

39. Περὶ Ἐνιπέως

Καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποταμοῖς τὸ σῶφρον εὐδοκιμεῖ. δηλὸς δ' Ἐνιπεὺς Τυρῶ μὲν ἐρῶσαν ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἐξ ἀπάτης δὲ τῇ παιδί Ποσειδῶν συναπτόμενος. ἦρα μὲν γὰρ Ἐνιπέως Τυρῶ, ἀντήρα δὲ καὶ Ποσειδῶν τῆς Τυροῦς. καὶ πρὸς Ἐνιπέα τῆς κόρης κλινούσης τὴν Ἐνιπέως Ποσειδῶν ὑπεκρίνετο φύσιν καὶ πείσας τὴν κόρην συνελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος Νηλέα καὶ Πελίαν ἐκ τῆς κόρης παῖδας προήγαγεν, ὡς τὸ ἔπος ἐδήλωσεν.

40. Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρως

Ἰστέον ὅτι περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρως οὕτω φασί. τὴν αἶγα τὴν Ἀμάλθειαν τὴν γῆν τῷ κέρα ἀνορύττουσαν θησαυρὸν κεκρυμμένον ἀποκαλύψαι, τὸν δὲ αἰπόλον πλούσιον ἀντὶ πένητος γεγενῆσθαι. καὶ οὕτως Ἀμαλθείας κέρας παρὰ παροιμιαζομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὀνομάζεται.

NARRATION 38: ON THE ALOADS AND ON ELATE⁶⁹

Otus and Ephialtes were born the sons of Aloeus, but they were brothers in their aspirations as well as in physique; for with ambitions to match the size of their bodies, they were trying to make heaven accessible for themselves, and having piled mountain upon mountain they were trying to get to the heavenly gods, but Zeus beat them back from their attempt, preventing the object of their efforts with a thunderbolt. Their sister Elate resembled them in size, but as she cried over their misfortune she was turned into a tree. And though she is changed in nature, she remains in size the same as she was before.⁷⁰ From this we get the expression, “a silver-fir tree (*elatê*) big as heaven.”⁷¹

NARRATION 39: ON ENIPEUS⁷²

Even among rivers, self-control is held in high regard. Enipeus clearly rejected Tyro, who loved him, while Poseidon clearly used deceit to have sex with the girl; for Tyro was in love with Enipeus, but Poseidon was also in love with Tyro. And when the young woman inclined toward Enipeus, Poseidon took on the appearance of Enipeus, and having convinced the young woman to sleep with him because of his disguise, he produced two sons from the young woman, Neleus and Pelias, as the epic poem made clear.⁷³

NARRATION 40: ON THE HORN OF AMALTHEA⁷⁴

You should know what they say about the horn of Amalthea: that a goat named Amalthea, digging up the ground, uncovered a hidden treasure, and that her goatherd went from poor to rich. So that is how the horn of Amalthea gets its name among people who use proverbial expressions.

69. For the myth, see Homer, *Od.* 11.305–320; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.7.4. For the theme with full elaboration, see Severus 6 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:539,12–20); Nikephoros Basilakes 13 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:439,15–32 = Progymnasmata 14, Narration 7 [Pignani, *Niceforo Basilace*]). The story of Elate’s metamorphosis into a plane-tree (cf. Nikephoros 12 [Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:439,5–14] = Progymnasmata 13, Narration 6 [Pignani, *Niceforo Basilace*]) also served as a subject for exercises in refutation and confirmation: for the theme with full elaboration, see Anonymous (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:609,1–14,18).

70. The story is also found in Eustathius, *Il.* 5.560; 14.287; *Od.* 5.239.

71. Homer, *Od.* 5.239.

72. For the myth, see Homer, *Od.* 11.235–259; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.8.

73. Homer, *Od.* 11.254.

74. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.1.7 and 2.7.5, with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 1:7 n. 3 and 1:257 n. 4.

41. Περὶ Δανάης

Τὴν Δανάην ὁ πατὴρ Ἀκρίσιος ἐφύλαττεν ὡς παῖδα ἐν χαλκῷ θαλάμῳ τὴν παρθένον τηρῶν. Ζεὺς δὲ ἐρασθεὶς καὶ χρυσοῦς διὰ στέγους ῥυεῖς συνεγένετο. ἢ δὲ τίκτει τὸν Περσέα, ὃν Ἀκρίσιος ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ κατακλείσας εἰς λάρνακα παρέδωκε τῇ θαλάσσῃ. Περσεὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτου σώζεται καὶ δίσκον ἀφείς ἐν ἀγῶνι τὸν πάππον ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸ μάντευμα εἰς τέλος ἤγεν.

NARRATION 41: ON DANAE⁷⁵

Her father Acrisius guarded Danae like a child, watching over the young woman in a bronze bedchamber. But Zeus, having fallen in love with her and having poured through the roof in the form of gold, had sex with her. And she gave birth to Perseus, whom Acrisius, having shut inside a chest along with his mother, entrusted to the sea.⁷⁶ But Perseus was rescued even from this, and having hurled the discus in a contest he involuntarily killed his grandfather and brought the prophecy to fulfillment.⁷⁷

75. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.4.1; 2.4.4. For the theme with full elaboration, see Nikephoros Basilakes 10 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:437,27–38,16 = Progymnasmata 12, Narration 5 [Pignani, *Niceforo Basilace*]). The story also served as a subject for refutation and confirmation: for the theme with partial elaboration, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, addendum to 71,10); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:328,29–31); with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 3 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:296,1–98,6).

76. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.4.1.

77. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.4.4.

THE EXERCISE IN ANECDOTE

The exercise in anecdote (*chreia*) was the third exercise in the systems of [Hermogenes], Aphthonius, and Nicolaus, and the first exercise in the system of Theon (for an argument against placing anecdote first in the sequence, see Nicolaus 17–19). The anecdote is a recollection of a noteworthy statement, action, or combination of statement and action. In addition to these three basic categories of verbal, actional, and mixed anecdotes, anecdotes could be classified (Theon 97–99; [Hermogenes] 7; Nicolaus 22–23) and expressed in a variety of ways (Theon 99–101). Usually attributed to a famous person, anecdotes are often framed as the answer to a question asked of that person. Though most anecdotes were regarded as morally “useful” (*chreîôdês*), some ancient authorities recognized that they were sometimes merely entertaining (Nicolaus 21); this is but one way in which the anecdote could be distinguished from the superficially similar exercise in maxim (Theon 96–97; [Hermogenes] 6–7; Nicolaus 25–28; see further under the introduction to the exercise in maxim).

Several texts illustrate how anecdotes were declined in different grammatical cases and numbers; see Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 51–77; cf. Theon 101–103. According to Theon, students might also restate a given anecdote in different words, add a comment on it, refute it, and expand or contract it (Theon 101–105). Nicolaus opposed the practice of refuting anecdotes (21–22). In learning to elaborate an anecdote, students would typically follow this pattern: brief praise of the person represented as speaking or acting, paraphrase of the anecdote, discussion of the rationale behind it (“cause”), elaboration by contrast (or “from the opposite”), elaboration by comparison, discussion of relevant examples from history or mythology, citation of ancient authorities who support the idea behind the anecdote (or “judgment”), and a brief epilogue exhorting the reader to follow the example set out in the anecdote ([Hermogenes] 7–8; Aphthonius 8).

Anecdote 4 has been rejected as spurious by Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2519; and Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix. Foerster and Münscher, 2520, suggested that its unknown author also composed Maxim 3, Refutation 2, and Confirmation 3. Both views are followed by Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia*

1. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρωτηθεὶς παρὰ τινος ποῦ ἂν ἔχοι τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς φίλους ὑπέδειξεν.

(1) Ὅτι μέγας μὲν καὶ θαυμαστός ὁ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν τῶν αὐτοῦ κατορθωμάτων ἐνέπλησε καὶ τοσοῦτον τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον παρήνεγκεν ὥς πρώτην χώραν μὴ δοῦναι, πάντας ἂν ἡγοῦμαι συμφῆσαι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἢ παντάπασιν ἀναισθήτως ἢ λίαν ἀγνωμόνως ἔχοι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καλὰ πράξαι καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑμνεῖν οὐ τύχη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει χρησάμενος πρὸς ἅπαντα καὶ τῇ παρ' ἐκείνης ροπῇ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς φρονήσεως ἀγαθὰ συνεισενεγκών. (2) οὐ γὰρ ταῦτόν ἐπαθε τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσιν οἷς ἄχρηστος μὲν ἢ παιδεία κέκριται, τῆς δὲ εὐδαιμονίας ὄρος ἢ τρυφή, ἀλλ' ἡγησάμενος οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνδραπόδων διαφέρειν τοὺς ἀμοιροῦντας τοῦτου τοῦ κτήματος καὶ βουλευθεὶς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ὄντων ἀμείνων εἶναι τῶν ἀρχομένων Ἀριστοτέλει φέρων ἑαυτὸν συνῆψε καὶ κατέστησε τοῦ σοφωτάτου μαθητήν. καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα λαμπρῶν καὶ βεβοημένων ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον συνουσία τὴν ὑπόθεσιν δέδωκε. (3) περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀνδρείας ἢ τῆς δεινότητος ἢ τοῦ πρὸς ἔργοις ἔχειν ἀεὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων εἰ διεξίοιμι, μακροτέρων ἂν δέοι λόγων· ὥς δὲ κοινὸν ἑαυτὸν κατέστησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας ὁμιλητικὸν ὥστε καὶ ἐρέσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξεῖναι καὶ τυχεῖν ἀποκρίσεως εὐμενοῦς, τοῦτο τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις εἴ τις ἀντιβλέψειεν, ἀδίκημα

and *Ancient Rhetoric*, 136–37. On the exercise in anecdote, see Theon 96–106; [Hermogenes] 6–8; Aphthonius 3–6; and Nicolaus 17–29. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:79–86. The examples here have previously been translated by Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 140–97.

ANECDOTE 1: ALEXANDER, UPON BEING ASKED BY SOMEONE WHERE HE
KEPT HIS TREASURES, POINTED TO HIS FRIENDS.¹

BRIEF PRAISE

(1) That Alexander, king of the Macedonians, was great and remarkable, and that he filled both continents² with his successes and surpassed his predecessors and successors to such an extent as not to grant first place to any of them, I think that everyone would agree, unless there is someone who is totally stupid or completely senseless. He seems to me to have achieved fine things and to have left it to posterity to sing the praises of how, by using not only his good fortune but also his intelligence in every situation, he combined the goods derived from wisdom with the aid of his good fortune.³ (2) For he did not suffer from the same view as other kings who had judged education useless and luxurious living the very definition of happiness; rather, since he believed that people without this asset were no better than slaves, and he wished to be better than his subjects in this most noble of possessions, he went and devoted himself to Aristotle and made himself a student of that most wise man.⁴ And his association with that man has provided the foundation for his subsequent famous and celebrated deeds. (3) And so, as to his valor, his cleverness, his continual application of reason to his actions, or anything of the sort, if I should go through it all in detail, a rather lengthy discussion would be required. But as to how he made himself accessible and friendly to his associates, such that anyone who wanted could both ask him a question and receive a kindly response, who would not admire this? For if one were to look any other ruler directly in the face, it was considered a

1. For the theme, see Theon 100; with full elaboration, see Doxapatres’ commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:283,22–84,32; Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 248–53). This example is translated by Hock and O’Neil, 140–55.

2. Europe and Asia.

3. For a full discussion of Alexander and Fortune, see Plutarch, *Alex. fort.* (*Mor.* 326D–345B).

4. For his father Philip’s choice of Aristotle as a tutor, see Plutarch, *Alex.* 7.1–2; for his education under Aristotle, see *Alex.* 7–8.

νενόμισται· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς ἐντεύξεις ἡμερώτατος φαίνοιτο, πάντων αἰσχιστον ἡγεῖτο.

(4) καὶ γὰρ τοι προσελθὼν τις ἥδιστ' ἄν, ἔφη, τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἴδοιμι τοὺς σοὺς, ὦ βασιλεῦ. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐπαρθῆναι ποιῆσαι ὁρῶν μὲν ἅπαν ἔθνος ἤδη κατεστραμμένον, ἡγούμενος δὲ πλήθει χρημάτων ταῦτα εἰς τέλος ἤκειν. πῶς οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος; οὐχ ὑβρίζειν ὑπέλαβεν, εἴ τις ἐρωτήσῃ προχείρως. ἔπειτα οὐκ ἐκέλευσε τοῖς διακόνοις λαβοῦσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιάγειν καὶ δεικνύναι χρυσίου πλήθος, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τόσα καὶ τόσα, λαφύρων ἀφθονίαν, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς φίλους προστάξας ἰδεῖν μὴ ζητήσης ἕτερον, φησὶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου πλοῦτον. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐμοὶ θησαυροί.

(5) Ὡς τοίνυν εἰκότως ταύτην ἡγήσατο πρέπειν τοῖς φίλοις τὴν προσηγορίαν, ῥάδιον γνῶναι, εἴπερ ἐξετάσομεν τοὺς τε καιροὺς οἷς ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τύχας ἀμείνους καὶ παραπλησίους καὶ χείρονας, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἡλικίας καὶ ὅτε τις βουλευέται.

(6) Οὐκοῦν δύο μὲν καιροὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διαιτῶσι πράγματα, λέγω δὴ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην. <έν> ἐκατέρῳ δὲ μέγιστον ἢ τῶν φίλων ἰσχύει μερίς. οἷον τοῖς πολεμοῦσι δεῖ μὲν χρημάτων, δεῖ δὲ ὅπλων, δεῖ δὲ συμβούλων, δεῖ δὲ συμμάχων. οὐκοῦν λύει μὲν τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν χρημάτων εἰς μέσον τιθεὶς τὰ ὄντα ὁ φίλος οὐχ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἡγούμενος εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν ἢ τοῦ συνήθους, συμβουλάς δὲ τὰς ἀρίστας ἀναζητῶν καὶ λέγων ἐκείναις ὀρθοῖ τὰ πράγματα.

crime. But Alexander would consider it the most shameful thing of all if he did not appear gentle in his dealings with people.

PARAPHRASE

(4) For indeed, someone approaching him once said, “I should very much like to see your treasures, O king.” And the man seems to me to have been induced to do this when he saw that an entire race had already been subjugated and he considered that this had resulted in a great amount of money. How, then, did Alexander react? He did not suppose that someone was behaving insolently if he asked him a question offhand. He did not then order his attendants to take the man around and show him his stockpile of gold, this or that many talents of silver, and an abundance of spoils; rather, Alexander directed him to look toward his friends and said, “Do not seek another source of Alexander’s wealth: for these men are my treasures.”

CAUSE

(5) Well now, it is easy to recognize how reasonably he thought this appellation to suit his friends, if we examine both the critical states that men must necessarily endure and the fortunes better, nearly identical, and worse,⁵ and if, in addition to these, we examine the subject with regard to different stages of life and <(other categories from sects. 6–11); for all these show how important it is to take account of friends>⁶ when one deliberates.

(6) Therefore, two critical times determine human affairs: by this I mean war and peace. <In> both of these the role of friends is extremely important. For example, men who are at war need money, need weapons, need advisors, and need allies. A friend, therefore, resolves the lack of money by sharing his possessions, regarding his property as no more his own than his companion’s, and by seeking out and relaying to him the best advice he helps him set matters straight. At times in the past, some who lacked weapons have looked

5. This translation treats παραπλησίους (“nearly identical”) in 46,13 (65,15 Foerster) as a feminine adjective of two terminations, as in Libanius, *Or.* 61.4. Otherwise, I would emend to παραπλησίας, following a suggestion of Malcolm Heath. It is also possible, although less likely because of the word order, that the words “better, nearly identical, and worse” refer to “men” rather than “fortunes.”

6. There is apparently a lacuna in 46,14 (65,16 Foerster). For discussion of friendship in terms of the “different stages of life” (ἡλικίας), see section 11. The first part of the lacuna might be filled with any of the other categories suggested by the discussion in sections 6–11, except for “critical states” (i.e., peace and war) and “fortunes” (i.e., wealth and poverty), which have already been named above: cities and individuals (section 7), different kinds of governments (section 8), arranging a marriage (section 10), and the loss of loved ones (section 11).

ἤδη δέ τινες ὀπλων ἀποροῦντες εἰς τοὺς φίλους ἰδόντες εὐπόρησαν. καὶ μὴν τό γε τῶν συμμάχων ἀγαθὸν τῆς φιλίας ἡγησαμένης ἂν γένοιτο. (7) τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς καθέκαστα χρήσιμον. καλῶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ πόλεων φίλους τοὺς εὖνους τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν, οὗτοι δὲ <οἱ> νόμους τιθέντες καὶ ψηφίσματα γράφοντες καὶ γνώμας ἀγορεύοντες καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐλέγχοντες καὶ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἀμείβεσθαι πείθοντες. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῖς καθέκαστον μέγα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὸ κέρδος. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ νουθετοῦντες ἁμαρτάνοντας ἢ σφαλλομένους ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω μεθιστῶντες, οἱ δεομένοις ἐπικουροῦντες, οἱ ταῖς εὐπραξίαις χαίροντες, οἱ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσι συναλγοῦντες. ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πολέμους πειρῶνται καταλύειν ὡς ἄριστα καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὡς ἐπιπλεῖστα φυλάττειν καὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκατέρῳ τηροῦντες <καὶ> ἀεὶ τὰ συνοίσοντα πράττοντες. (8) ἀλλὰ μὴν πόλεων τὰς μὲν βασιλεύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ [καὶ] δημοκρατεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίας καθεστάναι. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν οἰκείως ἔχων σώζει μὲν βασιλεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν, τηρεῖ δὲ δήμοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, φυλάττει δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τὸ σχῆμα. (9) ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν πενία συζῶσι, τοῖς δὲ πολὺς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὁ πλοῦτος. ἐκάτερον δὲ δεῖται πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν φίλων ῥοπῆς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ διασώζει τὰ ὄντα, τοῖς δὲ ἐπικουφίζει τὴν πενίαν. (10) καὶ μὴν ἅ γε δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πράττειν ἀδύνατον, ταῦτα τῇ τῶν φίλων προσθήκῃ πληροῦμεν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι δεῖ μὲν γυναικὸς ἀνδρὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον; αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ γαμεῖν μέλλοντες ἐρυθριάσαιεν ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου διαλεγόμενοι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἢ χρεῖα καλεῖ. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς μελετήσας λόγους καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄρας καὶ τὰ οὐκ ὄντα προσθεῖς ῥᾶστα συνάπτει τὰ γένη. (11) ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἀποβολαῖς τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, οὗ πολλάκις τὸ πάθος μεῖζον ἢ φέρειν, τίνες οἱ παρόντες καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀφαιροῦντες καὶ κωλύοντες ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς ξίφος; οὐχ οὗτοι; πᾶς ἂν συμφήσειεν ὅστις οὐκ ἄπειρος φίλων. ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην μέγιστα τοῦ πράγματος ἀπολαύειν. τὸ γῆρας ἐκεῖθεν κουφότερον, τοῖς ἀκμάζουσιν ἀπὸ τούτων οἱ συνεργοί, τοῖς παισὶν οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν οἱ τῶν ἀσκήσεων κοινωνοί. οὕτως οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὃ φαίης ἂν ἔξω καθεστάναι τῆς παρὰ τῶν συνήθων χρείας.

(12) Ἔστι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ ταῦτα σμικρὰ παραδείγματα τοῦ σώφρονα ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, δοκεῖ δ' ἂν μοί τις ἰδεῖν ἀκριβέστερον ἡλίκον

toward their friends and found plenty. Moreover, the benefit from allies could occur only when friendship is in charge. (7) The same thing is useful both to cities and to individuals; for I call those people “friends of cities” who are well-disposed toward those in authority, and these people <are the ones who> establish the laws, propose decrees, give their opinions, cross-examine wrongdoers, and persuade the good to do their fair share. Yet truly, the benefit from friends is great for individuals, as well; for friends are the ones who admonish us when we make mistakes or change us for the better when we falter, who help us when we are in need, who rejoice at our successes, who sympathize with us in our misfortunes. Friends also try to resolve wars as best they can and protect peace as much as possible, watching out for the interests of both sides <and> always doing what will be beneficial. (8) Yet truly, it also happens that some cities are ruled by kings, while some are democracies, and in others oligarchies prevail. But the man who is on intimate terms with those in power preserves the kingship for the king, watches over freedom for democracies, and protects the status quo for oligarchies. (9) Yet truly, some men live in poverty, while for others, their great wealth comes from good luck. Each of these requires the aid of friends to the utmost degree; for this aid preserves the personal property of some, while others it rescues from poverty. (10) Moreover, what is impossible to do through our own agency, we complete with the assistance of friends; for who does not know that, according to Hesiod, a man needs a woman?⁷ The very ones who are about to get married would be embarrassed to raise the subject of marriage. Here is where necessity calls for the friend. And by declaiming many beautiful speeches, exalting his friend’s good qualities, and adding to him qualities that he does not have, the friend very easily brings two families together. (11) But at the loss of children and our closest relatives, from which the suffering is often too great to endure, who are the ones who stand by and ease our grief and keep us from rushing on to our swords? Is it not our friends? Everyone who is not unacquainted with friendship would agree. And I would say, too, that every stage of life enjoys the greatest benefit from it. Old age is lighter because of it; for those at their prime, their associates come from their friends; for children, those who exercise with them come from no other source. Thus there is nothing that you could name that exists beyond the need for companions.

CONTRAST

(12) These examples alone, then, would be no small testimony to the fact that Alexander responded prudently, but I think that one could see more

7. Hesiod, *Op.* 695–705.

τὸ πρᾶγμα τῶν φίλων, εἰ τοὺς ἐστερημένους ἐκείνων σκέψαιτο. (13) οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἐν φόβῳ βέβαιον μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἡγούμενος, ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ μέλλον προσδοκῶν χαλεπὸν; ὧ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι σύμβουλος ἀποστήσων μὲν τοῦ χείρονος, προσάξων δὲ τῷ βελτίονι καὶ πείσων τὰ μὲν φεύγειν, τὰ δὲ διώκειν, πῶς ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἢ πολεμήσειεν, ὅτ' ἄμεινον, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην, ὅτε βέλτιον, ἔχοι; παρὰ τοῦ δ' ἂν τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας προμαθῶν ἀποκρούσαιο πρὸ τῆς πείρας τὰ δυσχερῆ; τίς δ' ἂν αὐτῷ νενικηκότι συμπαιανίσειε; τίς δ' ἂν ἡττημένῳ συναχθεσθείη; τῇ πόλει δὲ κηδεμόνος ἀπορούση τίς τῶν ὄντων ἀσφάλεια, τίς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄδεια; (14) εἶεν. τοῖς δὲ δὴ καθέκαστον οὐκ ἀλγυνότατος ὁ βίος τῆς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας ἐστερημένοις; τίς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς διαλέξεται; τίς ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν ὑποθήσεται; τίς ὃ φυλάξασθαι δεῖ συμβουλεύσει; τίς κουφίσει συμφορὰν; τίς κρινομένῳ παρέσται; (15) ἀφήρηται καὶ τῆς νεότητος ἢ τέρψις ἄνευ φίλων, καὶ γῆρας βαρύτερον, εἰ τοῦτο ἀφέλοι τις, καὶ πενία μὴ τοῦτο ἔχουσα διπλοῦν ἂν εἴη κακόν. ὁ δὲ γε πλούσιος τοὺς μὲν ἐπιβουλεύοντας πολλούς, τοὺς δὲ βοηθοῦντας οὐδαμῶς ὄψεται. καὶ πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λέγειν ἅ τοῖς ἀποροῦσι φίλων συνέζευκται χαλεπά. εἰ τοίνυν τοῖς σπανίζουσι φίλων πάντα περιέστηκε τὰ δεινὰ, τοῖς γε ἐν εὐπορίᾳ γνωρίμων εὐδαιμονία πολλή. καὶ παραπλησίως τοῖς μὲν ἡδιστος, τοῖς δὲ βαρύτερος ὁ βίος.

(16) Καὶ μὴν εἰκότως ἂν μᾶλλον οἱ φίλοι θησαυροὶ προσαγορευθεῖεν ἢ ταῦτα ἃ νῦν οὕτω κέκληται. τί γὰρ τοσοῦτον παρὰ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσον τὸ παρὰ τούτων; παρετάξατο χρήματα πολεμοῦσι καὶ παρεκινδύνευσεν; οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην; ἀλλὰ προκατεμήνυσεν ἐνέδραν; ἀλλ' ἔλυσε στάσιν; ἀλλὰ φρονιμωτέρους ἐποίησεν; οὐδαμῶς. καὶ μὴν πάντα γε ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτων παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ πρὸς γε αὐτὰ τὰ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν γένοιντ' ἂν. ἔτι τοίνυν οἱ μὲν ἄριστοι τῶν φίλων οὐδεπώποτε χείρους τοὺς χρωμένους ἐποίησαν, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀκούομεν πολλάκις εἰς κακίαν συντελεῖν. (17) ὥστε νουνεχόντως Ἀλέξανδρος μετέστησεν ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τούτους τοῦνομα. διόπερ ἀεὶ φίλων δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐδαιμόνως βιώσεσθαι. ὅτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτον κτῆμα, παραπλήσιον ἂν εἴη πεπονθὼς τῷ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐστερημένῳ ταῖν χεροῖν. ὅσον γὰρ ἀλλήλοις οἱ πόδες ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν συνεισφέρουσι, τοσοῦτον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ φίλοι παρέχουσιν.

accurately how important friends are, if he considered those who have been deprived of them. (13) Is the tyrant not in fear because he believes that none of the present advantages is secure and always expects the future to be difficult? For since he does not have a counselor to keep him from the worse course, to lead him toward the better, and to persuade him to avoid the former and pursue the latter, how could such a man either make war, when that is the better course, or keep the peace, when that is preferable? From whom could he learn in advance about those who are plotting against him, and protect himself from the difficulties before they make their attempt? Who would sing a victory song with him when he is victorious? Who would sympathize with him when he has been defeated? For the city that has been deprived of its protector, what security is there for personal property, what reason not to fear the future? (14) Very well, then: in the case of individuals who have been deprived of such fellowship, is life not extremely painful? Who will talk with them in the marketplace? Who will counsel them as to what they should do? Who will advise them as to what they must guard against? Who will lighten the load of their misfortunes? Who will stand by them in court? (15) Without friends, even the joys of youth are removed, and old age is more burdensome if someone takes friendship away, and poverty for those without it would be a double evil. The rich man will see plotters in plenty, but helpers not at all. And it would be possible to name many difficulties that are associated with those who lack friends. Well then, if everything terrible happens to those who lack friends, those who have a wealth of acquaintances have a great deal of happiness. Just as life is very pleasant for the latter, it is likewise very burdensome for the former.

COMPARISON

(16) Moreover, it would be more reasonable to speak of friends as treasures than what are now called by that name; for what is there that comes from money that is as great as what comes from friends? Has money ever marshaled against opponents in war, and run excessive risks? No. Has it ever introduced a motion? Warned anyone in advance about an ambush? Resolved civil strife? Made people wiser? No, never. Moreover, all these and still more benefits would come from friends, and what is more, money itself could come from them. Furthermore, noble friends have never made anyone who enjoyed them worse, but we often hear of money culminating in wickedness. (17) Consequently, Alexander sensibly transferred the name of "treasures" from money to friends. Therefore, there is always a need for friends for those who intend to live happily. But whoever does not have such an asset would suffer like someone deprived of one of his hands; for as much as the feet assist each other in walking, so much do friends offer us in our affairs. One would

οὐχ ἀμάρτοι δ' ἄν τις οὐδὲ τὴν συζυγίαν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν παραβαλὼν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν φίλων.

(18) Ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ παρὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν γινομένων πλῆθος ἀποδείξεων λαβεῖν καὶ μεστός ὁ βίος τῶν εἰς τοῦτο φερόντων, ἔχοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω χρόνους τῶν ἡμιθέων ὁρῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κομίσει τὰ παραδείγματα. τί γὰρ ἐνδοξότερον τῆς Ἡρακλέους καὶ [τῆς] Θησέως φιλίας; ἢ τί τῶν κατωρθωμένων αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ ταῦτα προελεσθαι τε καὶ φρονῆσαι παραπλήσια καὶ συμπενεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἄθλους; ὅτε δὲ ἀποστροφῆς ἐδέχθη αὐθις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, τίς ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν Ἀθήναζε πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἤρκεσεν; ὁ Θησεύς. (19) αὐτὸς τοίνυν οὗτος Θησεύς ὁ Πειρίθῳ χρώμενος ἐξετάσωμεν ἅ τε ἀπήλαυσεν ἅ τε παρέσχεν. οὐκ οὖν ἔδει μὲν τῷ Θησεῖ τὴν Ἑλένην γενέσθαι δι' ἀρπαγῆς; ἐπεὶ δὲ πείθων οὐκ εἶχε λαβεῖν, ἦν δὲ ὁ κίνδυνος οὐ μικρός, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρός, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐτόλμα Θησεύς, οὐκ ἀπελείπετο δὲ Πειρίθους τὴν χάριν πρὸ τῶν φόβων τιθέμενος. (20) καὶ οὐκ ἐμέμψατο τὴν προθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα δὴ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν ἐκομίζετο. βουλευθεὶς γὰρ μνηστεῦσαι Κόρην τὴν Διὸς καὶ Δήμητρος ἐκέλευσε μὲν τῷ Θησεῖ συνακολουθεῖν, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο πρόδηλον εἶναι λέγων τὴν συμφορὰν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πείθειν λέγων οὐκ ἴσχυεν, ἐκοινώνει τῶν κινδύνων εἰδὼς μὲν ἅ πείσεται, παθεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον αἰρούμενος ἢ λυπῆσαι τὸν φίλον. (21) τὸν δὲ παῖδα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος πῶς ἀκούομεν διατεθῆναι μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρός; οὐκ ἠλαύνετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑριννύων, ἐμισεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ιδίων, ἐπάρατος δὲ καὶ δυσσεβὴς ἐδόκει παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ μιαιώτατος εἶναι; ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Πυλάδης οὐκ ἀπεστράφη μετὰ

not go wrong in comparing the partnership of the eyes with the fellowship of friends.

EXAMPLE

(18) And so, even from events that take place every day it is possible to obtain an abundance of proofs, and life is full of things that contribute to the argument, but one would also be able, in looking back to the time of the demigods, to bring in examples from there.⁸ For what is of greater repute than the friendship of Heracles and Theseus?⁹ Or the successes that they achieved by making the same choices and thinking similar thoughts and working together in their struggles? And when Heracles later needed a place of refuge, who brought him to Athens and was sufficient to meet his needs? Theseus.¹⁰ (19) Well then, let us examine what this very Theseus received and what he gave, in enjoying his friendship with Pirithous.¹¹ Did Helen, then, not have to become Theseus's wife through abduction? When he was unable to get her by persuasion, there was no small danger, partly from her father, partly from her brothers and the other men of Sparta. But nevertheless Theseus made the attempt, and Pirithous did not desert him, but he put doing a favor before his fears.¹² (20) And he did not fault Theseus for his eagerness, but very quickly tried to get a favor for himself in return; for when he wanted to marry Kore,¹³ the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, he bade Theseus to accompany him, but his friend at first tried to restrain him by saying that disaster was imminent, and when he was unable to persuade him with speech, he shared in the danger, knowing what he would suffer, but choosing to suffer rather than hurt his friend.¹⁴ (21) How do we hear that the son of Agamemnon managed after the murder of his mother? Was he not driven along by the Furies, and was he not hated by his own people, and was he not thought by everyone to be accursed and unholy and most polluted?¹⁵ But nevertheless, Pylades did not turn his back on the man when Fortune did, nor, taking into consideration

8. Three of the famous pairs that follow (Theseus and Pirithous, Orestes and Pylades, and Achilles and Patroclus) are mentioned in a short list of exemplary friends in Plutarch, *Amic. mult.* (*Mor.* 93E).

9. On which see Plutarch, *Thes.* 26.1; 30.4–5; 35.1–2.

10. Euripides, *Herc. fur.* 1322–1339.

11. On which see Plutarch, *Thes.* 30–31; 35.1.

12. Plutarch, *Thes.* 29.2; 31; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.7; *Epit.* 1.23.

13. Better known as Persephone.

14. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.23–24.

15. Orestes: Aeschylus, *Cho.* 1021–1062 and *Eumenides*; Euripides, *Iph. taur.* 78–94 and *Orest.* 28–51, 211–300.

τῆς τύχης τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὥς μεταλήψεται τῆς ἀδοξίας ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ παρῆν καὶ συνηκολούθει καὶ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ θεραπεύειν οὐκ ἠσχύνετο τὸν αὐτόχειρα τῆς μητρός. (22) μικρὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν Ἀχιλλέως γνώμην κρινόμενα. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ᾗδει σαφῶς ἀκούσας ὥς δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τὸν Ἑκτορα μὴ διαφθεῖρειν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸν τεθνάναι, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐποίησατο τιμωρῆσαι Πατρόκλῳ.

(23) Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μαρτυρία, δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ Εὐριπίδην παραλιπεῖν, πάντως δὲ οὐκ ἀμφισβητήσιμος ἡ σοφία τοῦ ποιητοῦ. τί οὖν ἐκεῖνός φησι; μηδὲν εἶναι προτιμότερον φίλου σαφοῦς, οὐ δεύτερον πᾶν ἐφεξῆς ἄριστον. εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐώρα πλοῦτον καὶ τυραννίδα θαυμάζοντας, διαρρήδην φησὶν· οὐ πλοῦτος, οὐ τυραννὶς τοῦδε βέλτιον.

(24) Εἰκότως ἄρα θησαυροὶ τε ἐνομίσθησαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ὠνομάσθησαν οἱ φίλοι. ἔστι τοίνυν ἐχόντων νοῦν κακεῖνον ἐπαινεῖν τοῦ λόγου καὶ αὐτοὺς μιμεῖσθαι τοῖς ἔργοις, ὥς οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως εὐδαιμόνως βιώσομεν, εἰ μὴ φίλων πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν εὐποροῖμεν.

2. Διογένης μειράκιον ἰδὼν ἀτακτοῦν τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἔπαισεν ἐπειπών·
τί γὰρ τοιαῦτα παιδεύεις;

(1) Ἄπασα μὲν μοι φιλοσοφία τίμιον καὶ δαιμόνιον καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ζῶντας μὴ θαυμάζοντες ἴσως ἂν πάντων τῶν θεῶν ὀλιγωρῆσαι, χρή δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτοὺς ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν λοιπῶν διαφέρειν ὅσον περ

that he would share in his bad reputation, did he hide his face and flee from him; rather, he stayed by him and accompanied him and struggled along with him and was not ashamed to help a man who had murdered his mother.¹⁶ (22) All of this is trivial when judged in comparison to Achilles' way of thinking; for he had been told and knew clearly that he must choose one of two courses, either not to kill Hector or to die himself as well, but nevertheless he put vengeance for Patroclus before his own life.¹⁷

TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS

(23) This is the testimony to Alexander's deeds, but one must also not omit Euripides, and the poet's wisdom is by no means open to debate. What, then, does he say? That nothing is more valuable than a clear friend, after which everything else is second best. Then, when he saw men admiring wealth and sovereignty, he says explicitly: "Neither wealth nor sovereignty is better than this."¹⁸

BRIEF EPILOGUE

(24) It was reasonable, then, for Alexander to regard and name his friends as his treasures. It is therefore the task of those with good sense both to praise him for his words and to imitate his deeds themselves, because there is no way that we will live happily, unless we are well supplied with many good friends.

ANECDOTE 2: DIOGENES, UPON SEEING A CHILD MISBEHAVING, STRUCK HIS PEDAGOGUE, ADDING, "WHY DO YOU TEACH SUCH THINGS?"¹⁹

BRIEF PRAISE

(1) Every philosophy seems to me to be something honorable and divine,²⁰ and people who do not admire those who live by it seem to me perhaps to despise all the gods; one ought to suppose that philosophers are as

16. For the friendship of Orestes and Pylades, see Euripides, *Orestes* and *Iphigenia taurica*; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.25–28.

17. Homer, *Il.* 9.410–416; 18.94–126; 19.400–423.

18. Adapted from Euripides, *Orest.* 1155–1156.

19. For the theme, see [Hermogenes] 6; Aphthonius 4; Nicolaus 20 (similarly, Theon 98–99, 102); with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 1 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:272,21–74,6; Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 212–17); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:284,33–86,6; Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 254–57). This exercise is translated by Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 156–67.

20. Adapted from the opening lines of [Aristotle], *Mund.* (391a).

ἐκείνους τῶν θηρίων· τῶν δ' αὖ τοῦτον ἡρημένων τὸν βίον εἰκότως ἂν μοι δοκῶ Διογένη τε διαφερόντως ἀγασθῆναι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν οὗτος ἤλθε. (2) τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς μέτρα ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης διερευνήσασθαι δρόμους ἄλλοις ἀφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετῆλθεν ἀρετὴν ἢ μάλιστα τοὺς ζῶντας ὀνήσειν ἔμελλε. πλούτου κατεφρόνει, τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐκράτει, τὸ σῶμα παρείχε τοῖς πόνοις, τὴν τῶν δυνατῶν εὐδαιμονίαν δυστυχίαν ἐνόμιζε. πάντας δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἰκείους ἡγούμενος ἐπεμελεῖτο πάντων καὶ συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν Ἡρακλέους ἑαυτὸν ζηλωτὴν κατέστησεν αὐτῇ βακτηρία περιῶν ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίους ποιεῖν οἷς ἐντυγχάνοι.

(3) οἷον δ' αὖ κάκεινο διεπράξατο. παιδὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς παρῆν, τὸν δὲ προσήκοντα κόσμον ὁ παῖς οὐκ ἐφύλαττε, Διογένης δὲ τὸ πραττόμενον ἐπανορθώματος ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι. τί οὖν ποιεῖ; τὸν νέον ὑπερβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐφεσθηκότα φέρεται καὶ παίει κατὰ τοῦ νώτου πολλὰς καὶ προστίθησι ταῖς πληγαῖς τὸν λόγον, ὥς οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ τοιοῦτον εἶναι παιδευτὴν.

(4) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων εἵνεκα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπαινῶ, τοῦ τε μὴ κατοκνήσαι ταῖς χερσὶ χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ σωφρονίσει καὶ τοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν δι' ἣν τοῦτο ἐποίησε. τοὺς τε γὰρ σφόδρα ἀδικοῦντας ἔργῳ παιδεύειν ἡξίου τό τε μὴ σιωπῆσαι καὶ τὸ πόθεν ἐπὶ τὰς πληγὰς παρωρμήθη δηλοῦντος ἦν τῷ πεπονθότι τοῦ χάριν ταῦτ' ἐπεπόνθει. εἰ γὰρ πλήξας ἀπιὼν ὥχετο σιωπῇ, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσε τὸν μὲν παιδαγωγὸν ἀγνοῆσαι πλημμελήσαντα, τῇ δὲ ἀγνοίᾳ μηδὲν βελτίῳ γενέσθαι. (5) καὶ μὴν τὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τοῦ νέου παρὰ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν νοῦν ἐχόντων εὐρήσομεν. ἐνθυμηθῶμεν γὰρ ὅτου χάριν οἱ γονεῖς μισθοῦνται τοὺς ἐπιστησομένους τοῖς υἱέσιν. ἄρα γε μάτην ἐπιθυμοῦντες δαπανᾶσθαι χρήματα, ἀναλίσκειν πλούτον; πόθεν; οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀπόπληκτος. (6) ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί δὴ βλέπουσιν; ἴσασιν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν νεότητα ἐπιρρεπῇ φύσει πρὸς τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, κατὰ δὲ τῶν χρηστῶν ἀεὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν δόξαν ἔχουσιν καὶ φεύγουσιν μὲν ἀφ' ὧν ἔστιν εὐδαιμονίαν λαβεῖν, διώκουσιν δὲ δι' ὧν ἔστιν ἀθλιωτάτους γενέσθαι.

superior to the rest of humanity as humans are to wild animals. Moreover, of those who have chosen this way of life, I think it would be reasonable for me to admire especially Diogenes and the path that he traveled.²¹ (2) For he left it to others to investigate the measurements of heaven and earth and the paths of the sun and moon, but he himself pursued virtue, which he believed would especially benefit the living. He despised wealth, mastered his pleasures, submitted his body to hard work, and believed that the happiness of the powerful was unhappiness. Regarding all men as his kinsmen, he took care of everyone and in general made himself an imitator of Heracles, going around with that famous staff of his to make whomever he encountered a better man.

PARAPHRASE

(3) And how great a thing he accomplished in that, as well. For there was a pedagogue accompanying a boy, but the boy was not preserving the appropriate decorum, and Diogenes thought what was being done required correction. What, then, does he do? Leaving the young man to the side he accosts the one in charge of him, strikes many blows on his back, and adds to the blows the statement that he should not be that sort of teacher.

CAUSE

(4) First, then, I praise the man for both reasons: that he did not hesitate to use his hands to bring someone to his senses, and that he stated the reason for which he did it. For he thought it proper to take action to educate those who were doing great harm, and not passing over in silence the reason for which he had been provoked to blows was the act of one who reveals to the victim why he had suffered; for if after beating him Diogenes had gone away in silence, nothing would have prevented the pedagogue from remaining ignorant of what he had done wrong and, because of his ignorance, becoming in no way better. (5) Moreover, the punishing of the pedagogue for the mistakes of the youth we will find to be characteristic of intelligent individuals. For let us consider why it is that parents hire those who are to supervise their sons. Is it out of a desire to spend money in vain, to squander their wealth? How can that be? No one is so stupid. (6) But what is the goal toward which they are looking? They know that the young have a natural proclivity toward mistakes, that they always hold an opinion opposite to what is best, and that they shun those activities from which they might obtain happiness, while pursuing those through which they might become utterly miserable. (7) And so,

21. For Diogenes' life and philosophical views, see especially the biography in Diogenes Laertius 6.20–81.

(7) ἴν' οὖν τῷ νέῳ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μανθάνειν εἴη, τίσι μὲν προσεκτέον, τίνων δ' ἀφεκτέον, τούτου χάριν τὴν πλείστην πρόνοιαν ἐνταῦθα εἰσφέρονται παιδαγωγοὺς ὡς μάλιστα βελτίστους ἀνερευνᾶν κανόνα τῶν τοῦ παιδὸς πραγμάτων ποιούμενοι τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην. (8) τεκμήριον δέ, τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστος τῷ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ τρόπῳ τεκμαίρεται τὸν τοῦ νέου. καὶ μὲν ἢ χρηστὸς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ περὶ τούτου προσδοκᾷ τὰ βελτίω, μὴ τοιούτου δὲ ὄντος χείρους ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τοῦ νέου λαμβάνει. (9) οὐκοῦν τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς ἀργύριον δοῦναι, τοῦ δὲ παιδαγωγοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν φροντίσαι μηδὲν ὑποσσελλόμενον. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ παίζειν καὶ ἄγχειν καὶ στρεβλοῦν καὶ ἅ τῶν δεσποτῶν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας, ταῦτα καὶ τῶν υἱέων τοῖς ἐφεστῶσιν ἀξιούσιν ὑπάρχειν, ὡς μηδεὶς ἀπόλογος ἐσύτερον ἦ.

(10) Τί οὖν φημι; μᾶλλον δέ, τί Διογένης φησίν; ἂν πίνειν πέρα τοῦ μετρίου βούληται, μηδαμῶς, ὦ τάν, ἐπίτρεπε. καὶ τὸν ὕπνον δὲ τὸν ἔξω τοῦ προσήκοντος διάκοπτε. καὶ πρὸς ἀργίαν ἐκφερόμενον ἀνέγειρε καὶ παρατῆρει βλέμμα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ φωνὴν μὴ παρὰ μέλος συμβῇ. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πειρῶ νοθετεῖν, εἰ δ' ἀντιτείνει, κόλαζε καὶ πικρὸς ὑπὲρ σωφροσύνης φαίνου μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ φιλανθρωπία ζημίου. πάρεστιν ἰμάς. ξαίνει κατὰ τοῦ νώτου πολλὰς. φοβείσθω τὴν σὴν βακτηρίαν. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐκεῖνος τὴν σὴν, σὺ τὴν ἐμήν. τούτους ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ Διογένης τοὺς λόγους. ἐν γὰρ τῷ τί γὰρ τοιαῦτα παιδεύεις; εἰπεῖν ταῦτα πάντα περιεῖληφεν.

(11) Ὅτι τοίνυν ὡδὶ σκεψώμεθα. πότερον οὖν παρῆν τῷ παιδί διαπαντὸς ἢ οὐ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεστάτει, προδότης ἦν τοῦ νέου σαφές· εἰ δὲ συνέζευκτο, πότερον ἠρέσκετο τοῖς πλημμελήμασιν ἢ οὐ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ βουλομένου ταῦτα ἦν ἁμαρτάνεσθαι, τίς τοῦ τοιούτου πονηρότερος; εἰ δὲ οὐ βουλομένου, τί παθῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ χεῖρας ἔμελλεν ὁ νέος ἀνταίρειν. τὸ γὰρ πείθεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀντιβλέπειν ἀναγκαῖον ὃν ἠπίστατο.

(12) εἰ δὲ ἅ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ὁ Διογένης, ταῦτα τὸν νέον ἐτύγχανε δράσας, οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν νομίζομεν; ὦ σοφώτατε Διόγενης, ἐμοὶ γὰρ

in order for the young man to be able to learn from his elders what he must devote himself to and what he must abstain from, for this reason parents give the most forethought here to seeking out the very best possible pedagogues, regarding that man's judgment as the yardstick of their son's actions. (8) And there is proof of this; for every man judges the character of a youth by the character of his pedagogue. And if the latter is a good man, he also expects better results from the former, but if the latter is not such a man, he develops worse hopes about the youth, as well. (9) Therefore, it is the father's job to provide the money, but it is the job of the pedagogue to take thought for everything else, without holding back; for it is for this reason that beating and choking and torturing and everything done by masters toward their slaves—they think that these, too, should be permitted to those who supervise their sons, so that there may be no excuses later.

(10) What, then, am I saying? Or rather, what is Diogenes saying? "If the boy should wish to drink beyond moderation, do not, my good sir, give in. And cut off any sleep of his beyond what is appropriate. And when he succumbs to indolence, rouse him, and closely monitor his facial expressions and bearing and speech²² so that he may not turn out for the worse. And try first to admonish him, but if he resists, punish him and show yourself harsh on behalf of self-control rather than suffering punishment because of your humane treatment. The strap is available. Thrash him many times on the back. Let your staff become an object of fear. But if the boy does not fear yours, then you may fear mine." One should regard these as the words of Diogenes; for in the question, "Why do you teach him such things?" he has encapsulated all these things.

(11) Well then, let us reflect further in this way. Was the pedagogue continually with the boy, or not? For if he usually stayed away, he clearly betrayed the young man. But if he usually stayed close by him, was he pleased with his mistakes, or not? For if the boy was able to behave badly with the pedagogue's consent, who would be more wicked than such a man? But if it was done without his consent, what made him fail to prevent it? For the youth would certainly not have raised his hands against him; for he knew that he must obey and not look his pedagogue directly in the face.

CONTRAST

(12) But if Diogenes had happened to do to the young man what he did to the pedagogue, would we not expect the youth to say, "O wisest Diogenes,

22. Closely adapted from Demosthenes 21.72, where the order is "bearing and facial expressions and speech."

ὑπείληπται καλὸν ὃ δίδωσι πράττειν ὁ κύριος. καὶ νῦν σὺ μὲν ταύτην ἀταξίαν, ἐγὼ δὲ παιδείαν ἡγοῦμαι. σημεῖον δὲ τὸ μὴδὲ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἀποτρέπειν ποιοῦμαι. εἰ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, ἄρ' οὐχ ὡμολόγησεν ἂν ἀκρισίᾳ περὶ τὰς πληγὰς κεχρησθαι; πάνυ γε. διόπερ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἔπραξεν οὔτε ἤκουσεν. (13) ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις προσήκει τῶν πραγμάτων σκοπεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνας πάντα ἀναφέρειν τὰ δεύτερα, τὸ γὰρ παρέχον τὴν ἀφορμὴν καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων κομίζεται τὸν λόγον, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀταξίας ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐγίγνετο, κατεσκεύαστο δὲ τῇ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ ῥαθυμίᾳ, οὐ δὴ ψιλὸν ἐξήτασε τοῦργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δόντα τῷ πράγματι τὴν καταβολὴν καὶ τῷ μὲν πράττοντι συνέγνω, τὸν δὲ δόντα τὴν ἄδειαν ἐμίσησεν. (14) οὐ γὰρ μὴ συγχωρήσαντος οὐκ ἂν ποτ' ἐπέπρακτο, τοῦτον ἡγεῖτο δίκην τῶνπραχθέντων ὀφείλειν. καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων, εἰ μὲν τι τῶν ἀμεινόνων ὑπὸ τῶν νέων γένοιτο, τὸν ἐφεστηκότα τὴν δόξαν καρποῦσθαι, τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐτέρως ἐχόντων μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι. (15) ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἔγνων τὸν μὲν νέον ἀπομνημονεύοντα καλῶς, τὸν δὲ παιδαγωγὸν μέγα φρονεῖν ἀξιοῦντα, καὶ τὸν νέον μὲν ὡς ὀξύτατα συνιέντα, τὸν δὲ μάλιστα σεμνυνόμενον, καὶ τὸν μὲν σωφρονοῦντα, τὸν δέ, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὸν ἐπαινοίῃ, δεινὰ φάσκοντα πάσχειν. (16) καὶ μὴν οἱ γονεῖς ὅταν αἰσθωνται τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ὡς ἄριστα προχωροῦντα καὶ λόγων εἵνεκα καὶ τρόπων, αὐτὸν μὲν οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἂν θαυμάσαιεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐπόπτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἄγοντα ῥέπουσι, κροτοῦσιν, ἐπαινοῦσι, χρήματα προτείνουσι, καὶ τῶν παραχρήμα διδομένων τὰ προσδοκώμενα μείζω. (17) ἔστιν οὖν ἀπλοῦς καὶ δίκαιος λόγος· οὐδεὶς θαυμάσεται τὸν νέον τῶν ἀγαθῶν. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ κολάσει τῶν ἐναντίων. ἐπὶ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἥξει τὸ θαῦμα τῶν δεξιῶν, οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἢ ζημίας. ἢ μέγιστα ἂν εἶεν πλεονεκτοῦντες κἀκείνων δῶρα λαμβάνοντες καὶ τούτων δίκην μὴ διδόντες. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄξιον. ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν τιμῶν καὶ τῆς τιμωρίας, εἰ πλημμελοῖτό τι, κληρονομοῖεν ἂν εἰκότως. καὶ μὴ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀντιποιοῦμενοι ἀγανακτούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς πληγαῖς.

(18) τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον πανταχοῦ σωζόμενον εὐρήσομεν. ἦσεν ὁ χορὸς πλημμελῶς. τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐν αἰτίαις ἔχει τὸ θέατρον, καὶ τῶν μὲν χορευτῶν

I have always assumed that whatever my master allows me to do is good. And now you regard this as misbehavior, but I regard it as education. I consider as evidence the fact that not even the pedagogue turns me away from it”? If he had heard this, would he not have agreed that he had used poor judgment in dealing out the blows? Yes, of course. Therefore, he neither did nor heard such a thing. (13) Since it is appropriate everywhere to examine the beginnings and bases of actions and to attribute everything that follows to them—for what provides the starting point also brings with it the reason for what follows, and while the actual occurrence of misbehavior originated with the child, it was made possible by the negligence of the pedagogue—Diogenes surely did not investigate the matter out of context, but instead considered who gave the action its basis, and while he pardoned the one who performed the action, he hated the one who gave him the opportunity. (14) For if he had not allowed it, it never would have been done; Diogenes believed that this man should pay the penalty for what was done; for indeed, how truly absurd it would be, if the one in charge should reap the glory when something fine is done by his young men, but for this same man not to be held responsible when they behave otherwise. (15) I have often observed that when a youth remembers his lessons well, the pedagogue thinks it proper to be proud; and when the youth exhibits a very keen intelligence, the other affects an especially grave and solemn air; and when the one exhibits self-control, the other, if someone fails to compliment him, claims that he is being ill-treated. (16) Moreover, whenever parents perceive that their child’s education is progressing as well as possible in terms of both his speech and his character, they could show fairly significant admiration toward the child for this, but they incline toward the one who has supervised and brought him to this point; they applaud him, praise him, offer him money—and he expects the rewards yet to come to be even greater than the ones given to him at that moment. (17) There is, then, a message here that is simple and just: “No one will admire the young man for his good qualities; furthermore, no one will even punish him for the opposite. The pedagogue will receive the admiration for the boy’s favorable qualities, and therefore also the punishment for his mistakes.” Otherwise, pedagogues would be profiting most unfairly if they received gifts for the former and paid no penalty for the latter. But this is not right. Instead, it is reasonable for them to share both in the honors and in the punishment, if some mistake is made. And since they are devoting themselves to the pursuit of honor, let them feel no anger at the blows.

COMPARISON

(18) We will find this principle of justice preserved everywhere. The chorus has made a mistake in singing. The audience holds the trainer to

οὐδείς καθάπτεται, τὸν δὲ οὐ καλῶς ρυθμίσαντα τοῦτον ἐλαύνουσι. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς, εἴπερ οὗτος ὑφηγεῖτο τὴν ἀμείνω, ταύτην ἂν ἦλθεν ἐκείνων ἕκαστος. (19) βοῦς δὲ ὅταν κυρίττη, πότερα τὸν βουκόλον ἢ ἐκείνον μεμφόμεθα; πῶλος δὲ ὅταν ἀτακτῇ, πότερον ἐκείνον ἢ τὸν ἡνίοχον κακίζομεν; φροντιζέτω δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ναυτῶν ἀρετῆς ὁ κυβερνήτης ὡς αὐτὸς ὑφέξων λόγον ὧν ἂν ἐκείνοι σφαλῶσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν τὰ τῶν ἐπομένων ἐγκλήματα βαδίζει, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνου νεύματα τῶν πρακτέων τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅρος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων τοῖς νέοις ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ κεφαλὴν δικαίως <ἂν> ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες.

(20) Γένοιτο δ' ἂν ὁ φημι γνωριμώτερον, εἰ πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀποβλέψαιμεν, τὴν Ἀθηναίων λέγω καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντων τῶν πεσόντων ἐν Ἀργινοῦσαις τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς οὐδ' ἐμέμψαντο. καίτοι γε πάντες ὁμοίως ἦσαν ἡμεληκότες τῆς τῶν ἀπελθόντων ταφῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν ῥαθυμίαν ἥδεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὠρμημένην, τούτων τὸ ἔγκλημα καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐποιήσαντο. (21) Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τιμῇ δῆλον κατέστησαν ὡς τῶν τὰς αἰτίας παρεχομένων τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα γίνεται. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς γενναίας ἐκείνας καὶ θαυμαστὰς πράξεις ἃς ἐπεδείκνυντο κατὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ἦκεν εἰς Σπάρτην, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐστεφάνωσαν τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας ἀφορμὴν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἐκείνου διάνοιαν.

(22) Οὐκοῦν Διογένης μὲν ὀρθῶς οἶδεν ὅτῳ προσήκουσιν αἱ πληγαί, δεῖ δὲ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας ἐκείνον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μιμεῖσθαι.

blame, and none of the members is scolded, but they fire the man who failed to train them well; for it is evident that if he had shown them the better way, each of them would have taken it. (19) Whenever an ox butts with its horns, do we blame the oxherd or the ox? And when a colt is unruly, do we admonish it or its rider?²³ And let the ship-owner pay attention to the excellence of his sailors, as he himself will be held accountable for whatever mistakes they make; for just as any complaints against his subordinates come to the army captain—for the nods of his head establish the limits of what the soldiers are allowed to do—so also everyone <would> justly attribute the blame for young men's errors to the head of their pedagogue.

EXAMPLE

(20) What I am saying would become more intelligible if we considered the greatest of the Greek cities, by which I mean Athens and Sparta. The Athenians, then, when those who fell at Arginusae were not recovered, put the generals to death, but did not blame the rest. And yet everyone alike had been negligent about burying the dead; but since they knew that this negligence had originated with the generals, the Athenians accused and passed judgment against them alone.²⁴ (21) And the Spartans, in the honor they showed toward Themistocles, clearly established that everything that follows originates with the ones who furnish the causes; for after those noble and remarkable actions that they displayed against the barbarian,²⁵ Themistocles came to Sparta and they crowned him, regarding his intelligence as the origin of the naval battle at Salamis.²⁶

BRIEF EPILOGUE

(22) Therefore, Diogenes correctly realized who deserved the blows, but those who are wise must praise him and imitate him by their actions.

23. For the thought, see Plato, *Gorg.* 516A.

24. On the naval battle at Arginusae (406 B.C.E.) and the trial of the generals, see Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.7; Diodorus Siculus 13.97.1–103.2.

25. Xerxes.

26. On the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.E.), see Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.83–96; for the Spartan honors to Themistocles, see Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.124; Thucydides 1.74.1; Plutarch, *Them.* 17. The heading of “Testimony of the Ancients” (cf. Anecdote 1.23; 3.36–38; 4.13) is omitted.

3. Ἰσοκράτης τῆς παιδείας τὴν μὲν ρίζαν ἔφη πικράν, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς γλυκεῖς.

(1) Ὁ μὲν τις Ἰσοκράτην ἐπαινεῖ τῶν λόγων οἷς τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐκόσμησεν, ὁ δὲ τῶν συμβουλιῶν ἐν αἷς πολλὴν ἐπεδείξατο τὴν σύνεσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν δικανικῶν ἐν οἷς οὐδενὸς ἐφάνη φαυλότερος. οἱ δὲ τοῦ τῶν ὀνομάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦ τῶν ρυθμῶν ἐαλώκασιν κάλλους. (2) ἡσθόμην δὲ τινων καὶ τὸ μηδὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς αὐτὸν ἐθελῆσαι προσελθεῖν ἐν θαύματι πεποιημένων. λογίζονται γὰρ ὥς, εἰ μὲν ἐγένετο τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, αὐτὸν ἂν μόνον παρέσχε ῥήτορα τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, παιδεύειν δὲ τάξας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ὑψηγεῖσθαι τέχνην πολλοὺς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τῷ βίῳ κατέστησεν. (3) ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἢ σφόδρα ἂν εἶην ἄτοπος, εἰ μὴ βουλοίμην ἐπαινεῖν, οὐδὲν ἦττον μέντοι θαυμάσας ἔχω τὰς ὑποθήκας, αἷς ὅσοι ἐπείσθησαν εὖρον ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ κέρδος. αὐτῶν δὲ γε τῶν ὑποθηκῶν τὰς μὲν ἐν γράμμασι, τὰς δὲ ἀπὸ στόματος οὕτοσιν πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας εἰπὼν ἐν μνήμῃ καταλέλοιπε. (4) τῶν δ' αὖ τῇ μνήμῃ σωζομένων πολλὰς μὲν ἔξεστιν ἐξετάσαι, χαλεπὸν δὲ ἀπάσας. διόπερ ἐνὶ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ παρόν, ὃ περὶ τῆς παιδείας εἶρηκε. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη πρέπον παιδεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντα τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων πρεσβεύειν.

(5) ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὥς εἶδε τοὺς νέους ἀποδιδράσκοντας τῷ φόβῳ τῶν πόνων καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ λογιζομένους ἰδρῶτας, τὸ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν κέρδος οὐ προσενθυμouμένους τί ποιεῖ; παραθεῖς τοῖς πρώτοις τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τοῖς λυπηροῖς τὴν ἡδονὴν μᾶλλον δι' ἐκείνην ἐρρωμενεστέρους κατέστησεν ἢ διὰ ταῦτα ῥαθυμοτέρους. ἢ γὰρ παιδεία, φησὶν, ἔχει μὲν ρίζαν, ἔχει δὲ καρποὺς καὶ τῇ μὲν τὸ πικρὸν πρόσεστιν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἡδιστὸν συνέζευκται.

ANECDOTE 3: ISOCRATES SAID THAT THE ROOT OF EDUCATION IS BITTER
BUT THAT ITS FRUITS ARE SWEET.²⁷

BRIEF PRAISE

(1) One man praises Isocrates for the speeches with which he honored good men; another praises the advisory speeches in which he showed his intelligence to be great; and some also praise his forensic speeches in which he appeared second to none. Some have been captivated by the beauty of his words, others also by the beauty of his rhythms.²⁸ (2) I have even heard of some who have regarded it as admirable that he was also unwilling to enter into public life; for they reckon that if he had been one of those on the rostrum, he would have offered himself only as an orator for the city of Athens, but by assigning himself the job of teaching and instructing people in the art of discourse, he created many by his profession instead of only one.²⁹ (3) I, too, praise these aspects of Isocrates—I would be very strange if I did not want to praise them; yet I have no less admired his teachings, by which all who were persuaded found profit in their affairs. Of his teachings themselves, some he has left behind in his writings, but the ones he delivered orally to his students he has left behind only in their memories. (4) Of those that are preserved in memory, moreover, it is possible to examine many, but difficult to examine all of them. Therefore, I will deal with only one of them at present, the one that he spoke on the subject of education; for indeed, it would be appropriate for one who is striving to be an educator to rank this one above the rest.

PARAPHRASE

(5) For when that man saw the young fleeing from hard work out of fear and taking into account the initial sweat but not looking ahead to the benefit from it, what does he do? By setting the end alongside the beginning, and the pleasure alongside the pain, he made students more vigorous by means of the pleasure rather than more idle by means of the pains. “For education,” he says, “has a root, but it has fruits, and while bitterness is associated with the former, the greatest pleasure is linked with the latter.”

27. For the theme, see Nicolaus 20, 21, 23; with partial elaboration, [Hermogenes] 7–8; Doxapatres’ commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:272,14–17); with full elaboration, Aphthonius 4–6. This exercise is translated by Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 168–87.

28. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Isocr.* 2–3, 13–14; *Dem.* 17–20.

29. Isocrates, *Phil.* 81; *Panath.* 9–10; *Ep.* 1.9; 8.7; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Isocr.* 1; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 837A–E.

(6) Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εὐθύς τὴν ἀλήθειαν; ἐξετάσωμεν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς καιρούς, τὸν τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣν ὀνομάζει ρίζαν, καὶ τὸν τῆς τελευτῆς εἰς ὃν φέρει τὸ τῶν καρπῶν. εὐρήσομεν γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἀποκναίουσιν ἀηδία, τὴν δὲ εὐφραίνουσιν μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς.

(7) Σκόπει γάρ· ἵδρυται μὲν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος, ὥσπερ οἱ δικασταί, φοβερός, συνάγων τὰς ὀφρῦς, θυμὸν ἐμφανίζων, οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον προδεικνύς. δεῖ δὴ τὸν νέον προσιέναι τρέμοντα καὶ συνεσταλμένον ποικίλην ποιησόμενον τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ὣν εὖρεν, ὣν συνέθηκε, μνήμης ἐπὶ τούτοις. κἂν φαύλως αὐτῷ ἢ ταῦτα παρεσκευασμένα, ἀγανακτήσεις, λοιδορίαι, πληγαί, περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπειλαί· ἂν δὲ πάντα αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄκρον ἡσκημένα φαίνηται καὶ μηδαμοῦ μέμψει παρέχῃ χώραν, κέρδος τὸ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς καὶ παραγγέλσεις τοῦ μὴ χεῖρω πρὸς τὰ δεύτερα γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον δέ, τοῖς πάντα ἃ προσήκει πληροῦσιν ἀπόκειται τι χαλεπόν. ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ ἀνενδεῶς ἔδοξεν εἰρῆσθαι καὶ μείζον ὑπομένουσι φορτίον. δοκοῦσι γὰρ καὶ τοῖς μείζοσι τάχιστα ἂν ἀρκέσαι. (8) τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ διδασκάλου τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια, ὁ δὲ δὴ παιδαγωγός, Ἡράκλεις, τῶν δεσποτῶν βαρύτερος ἐφεστηκώς ἀεί, μικροῦ καὶ συνημμένους, ἐπεγείρων συνεχῶς, ἐπιπλήττων διαπαντός, ῥαστώνης ἀπελαύνων, πρὸς ἔργοις τὸν λογισμὸν ἔχειν κελεύων, τῶν μὲν χρηστῶν οὐδὲν ἐπαινῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς μικροῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως κολάζων, ἔνοπλος, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ἐπόμενος βακτηρίαν ἢ σκύτος ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ προφαίνων. (9) ἀλλ' οἱ γονεῖς φιλάνθρωποι τοῖς νέοις. οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν τῶν εἰρημένων ἡμερώτεροι, πολλῶ δὲ χαλεπώτεροι. καὶ γίνεται δεύτερος ἀγὼν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις φαυλότερος. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ σιτίου ἢ ποτοῦ ὀρέξαι τί κατειργάσω καὶ τί προκέκοψαι καὶ τί προσείληφας εἰς λόγους; καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. προσθήσω δὲ καὶ ἃ παρὰ τῆς μητρός ἐστίν, ἢ τὸν νέον ἀνάγκη τὰς εὐθύνας διδόναι. (10) εἰ δὲ τις λήθης αἰτία γένοιτο, μικρὸν εἰπεῖν τὰς πληγὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σιτίων ἀποκεκλειῆσθαι δεῖ. ἐσπέρας δὲ ἐπελθούσης, ἢ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις λύει, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιτείνει τοὺς πόνους καὶ τὴν τέχνην, νύξ δὲ δὴ καιρὸς ἀναπαύλης δοθεὶς ἔργου τοῖς νέοις γίνεται καὶ μεγίστων ἐγκλημάτων, εἰ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ κόρου τὸν ὕπνον ἀποσεΐσαιντο. (11) οὔτ' οὖν προϊοῦσιν οὔτ' οἴκοι διατρίβουσιν, οὐ παρὰ τοῖς παιδευταῖς, οὐ παρὰ τοῖς γονεῦσιν, οὐ νυκτός, οὐχ ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἀναπαύλης σχολή, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων <τά> τῶν πόνων χωρεῖ.

CAUSE

(6) And so, who would not immediately admire the truth of this over all the rest? For let us examine both of the critical times, the one at the beginning that he calls the root, and the one at the end to which he applies the name of fruits; for we will find that while the former wears people out with unpleasantness, the latter brings an excess of delight.

(7) Just consider: the teacher is seated on a lofty seat, like the members of a jury, dreadful, knitting his eyebrows together, exhibiting his anger, showing nothing conciliatory. The young man must approach him trembling and cowering, to make a complicated speech from what he has invented, from what he has composed—and from memory, at that. And if what he has prepared is of poor quality, there will be anger, verbal abuse, blows, and threats about the future. But if everything is shown to have been practiced to perfection and nowhere offers any room for blame, his profit will be not to suffer anything bad and to receive additional orders not to do worse next time. Moreover, something difficult lies in store for all who fulfill what is appropriate; for as soon as it is decided that their speeches leave nothing to be desired, they have to shoulder an even greater burden; for it is thought that they would very soon be equal to even greater demands. (8) These actions and others like them are characteristic of the teacher, but the pedagogue, by Heracles, is harsher than his masters, always standing over them, almost even attached to them, continually rousing, constantly chastising, driving them away from laziness, ordering them to pay attention to their tasks, and praising none of their achievements, but punishing them excessively for the smallest slips, following them around in arms, as one might say, exhibiting a staff or a whip in his right hand. (9) “But parents are humane toward young men.” They are no more gentle than the people just named, but are much harsher. And a second contest happens at home, no easier than the ones in the classroom; for instead of offering him food or drink, there is “what have you accomplished?” and “what progress have you made?” and “what have you added to your speeches?” and questions of that sort from the father. I will also add here what comes from his mother, to whom the young man must give a full accounting. (10) But if some charge of forgetfulness arises, needless to say, there are blows, but he must also be deprived of his food. When evening comes, which releases everyone else from hard work and their trade, but for young men extends them, night, given as a time for rest, becomes for young men a time for work and for greatest complaints, if they cannot shake off sleep until they get their fill. (11) And so, whether they go out or stay at home, whether with their teachers or with their parents, whether night or day, there is never any rest and relaxation, but the hard work goes on continually. For some, at any rate, it is not even possible to

τοῖς δέ γε οὐδὲ ὀνειράτων ἔνεστιν εἰρηνικῶν ἀπολαῦσαι, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνα τῶν μελλόντων ἀλγεινῶν ἔχει τὴν μαντείαν πολλάκις.

(12) Μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ κακῶς ἐσκέφθαι τῆς παιδείας τὴν ρίζαν Ἰσοκράτης; ὀρᾷ τὸ χαλεπὸν, τὸ πικρὸν, τὸ γέμον φροντίδος; οὐ μὴν ἐνταῦθα, φησί, ἔστηκε τὸ πρᾶγμα. οὐδὲ τῆς παιδείας ὅρος τὸ χαλεπὸν, ἀλλ' ἀπόβλεψον εἰς τοὺς καρπούς, καὶ παραθεῖς ἐκείνους τῇ ρίζῃ τάχα τοῖς λυπηροῖς εὐρήσεις τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀντίπαλον. (13) τί δὲ δὴ λαμπρὸν, τί δὲ ὅλως τῶν βελτιόνων ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ τοῦτο κεκοινώνηκεν; ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ νέος ἱκανῶς ἔχη τοῦ παιδεύεσθαι, καλεῖται μὲν εἰς βουλήν, καλεῖται δὲ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, δῆμος δὲ ὅλος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ὀρᾷ, καὶ καθάπερ χρησμοῖς πείθονται ταῖς εἰσηγήσεσι. τούτῳ μείζον μὲν εἰς ἡδονὴν τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἢ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον εἰς λύπην, μείζων δὲ τῶν πληγῶν ὁ στέφανος. πάρεισι δὲ τὴν τῶν παιδαγωγῶν ἀηδίαν ἢ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνή, ὅταν παραστὰς λαμπρῷ τῷ κηρύγματι τὴν εὐνοίαν μαρτυρῇ. (14) δέχου δὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν καρπῶν· πρεσβείας καταλαμβάνει καιρὸς. εὐθύς ἢ ψῆφος ἐπὶ τὸν πεπαιδευμένον. καὶ γίνεται τῇ πατρίδι δι' ἐκείνου τὸ κέρδος. ἐκεῖνος δὲ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις περιφανής, τοῖς τε ἀπεσταλκόσι καὶ παρ' οὓς ἦλθε πρεσβεύων. (15) συμβαίνει διαφορὰ πρὸς ἀστυγείτονας καὶ δεῖ ταύτην κωλυθῆναι. ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἰσχυρὸς, οὐ πλούσιος, οὐ κάλλει διαφέρων, ἀλλ' ὁ παιδεύσει διαφέρων πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων κεχειροτόνηται. (16) ὅλως δὲ τὰ μὲν μέγιστα ταῖς πόλεσι παρὰ τῶν ῥητόρων, οἱ δὲ ῥήτορες ἀπὸ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων. ἐκεῖνοι νόμους, ἐκεῖνοι ψηφίσματα γράφουσιν, οἷς πέφυκεν ἡ πολιτεία συνέχεσθαι. καίτοι τὸ δοκεῖν τὰ μέγιστα παρασχεῖν μείζω τοῖς παρέχουσιν ἢ τοῖς λαμβάνουσι παρέχει τὴν ἡδονήν. αἱ γὰρ εὐεργεσίαι τοῖς μὲν ὠφελουμένοις ἐπανορθοῦσι τὰς χρείας, τοῖς δὲ ὠφελούσιν ἀρετῆς δόξαν κομίζουσι.

(17) Καὶ μὴν κάκεῖνο δῆλον ὡς ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς λελυπηκότας, μὴ παθεῖν δὲ κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάντων μέγιστον. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἄμφω μετὰ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἐστὶ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡδικηκότας αὐτοὺς γράφονται, κρίνουσιν, εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγουσι, παραδιδόασιν τοῖς νόμοις. εἰ δὲ τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔλθοι συκοφάντης, δεινὸν οὐδέν. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡ δεινότης. (18) κηδεῦσαι δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν εὐχὴν ποιήσαιτο τῷ πεπαιδευμένῳ, γενέσθαι δὲ φίλος,

enjoy peaceful dreams; rather, these, too, often contain a prophecy of painful things to come.

(12) Surely nobody thinks that Isocrates did a poor job of considering the root of education? Do you see the difficulty, the bitterness, the abundance of anxiety? “However,” he says, “the matter does not stop there. The difficult part is not all there is to education; instead, look toward the fruits, and in setting them alongside the root you will quickly find that the pleasure balances out the pain.” (13) What is there that is splendid, what in general is there of the finer things with which pain is not associated? For when the young man has been sufficiently educated, he is invited to the Council, he is invited to the Assembly, the whole People looks toward his opinion, and they obey his proposals as if they were oracles. For this man the Prytaneum³⁰ is a greater source of pleasure than the schoolroom was of pain, and the crown is greater than the blows. The voice of the herald surpasses the unpleasantness of the pedagogues, whenever he stands by him and bears witness to his goodwill toward the city with a splendid proclamation. (14) Hear also the rest of the fruits. The time comes for an embassy. Immediately the vote goes to the educated man. And profit comes to his country through him. He is prominent among both parties, both those who sent him and those to whom he has come as ambassador. (15) A dispute arises with the city’s neighbors and must be resolved. The one then elected over all the rest is not the strong man, nor the rich man, nor the one surpassing in beauty, but the one surpassing in education. (16) In general the greatest benefits come to cities from their orators, and the orators come from the educated. Those men propose laws, those men propose decrees, by which the state is naturally held together. And yet the fact that they are thought to be providing the greatest benefits provides more pleasure to the providers than to the recipients; for benefactions supply necessities to those being helped, but to the helpers they bring a reputation for virtue.

(17) Indeed, this is also clear: that punishing those who have caused one pain and not suffering badly at the hands of one’s enemies is the greatest thing of all. Well now, both of these things are in the hands of the educated; for they indict those who have wronged them, prosecute them, lead them into court, and hand them over to the laws. But if some malicious prosecutor should attack them, it is nothing terrible; for their terrible cleverness in speaking is sufficient for their rescue. (18) But who would not pray to be related by marriage to the educated man, to become his friend, and to be called his com-

30. The privilege of free maintenance at public expense in the Prytaneum was extended to state benefactors and Olympic victors at Athens, but (famously) not to Socrates: Plato, *Apol.* 36D–E.

ἐπιτήδειος δὲ κληθῆναι; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς μόνοις ἀρκοῖεν ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἀντὶ λιμένων καθίστανται παρόντες ἐν ταῖς χρεαίαις, ἐν ταῖς ἀκαιρίαις συμμαχοῦντες, παραμυθούμενοι, βοηθοῦντες. (19) ὅπως δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παραπέμπονται, ὅπως δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος λαμπρότερον, ἤνικα ἂν εὐδοκιμήσωσι. καὶ μὴν εἰ χρημάτων ἔρως αὐτοὺς εἰσέλθοι, πλησίον ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ οὗτός γε δίκαιος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης. ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις ἀπόντας μὲν ποθοῦσι, παρόντων δὲ θαρροῦσιν. εἰρήνη δὲ καὶ πόλεμος δι' ἐκείνων πρυτανεύεται, εὐδοξίαν δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσι παρέχουσιν, εὐκλειαν δὲ τοῖς παισὶν ἀπολείπουσι. τὸ δὲ τοῦ γήρως αἰδέσιμον ἐπ' ἐκείνων διπλασιάζεται τῇ παιδείᾳ. τετελευτηκότων δὲ εἰκόνες ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς σῶζουσαι μῆκει χρόνου τὴν μνήμην.

(20) Ὅρᾳς τοὺς καρποὺς ὡς ἀπεναντίας τῇ ρίζῃ πεφύκασιν; ὁρᾳς ὡς τοῦ πονῆσαι πλέον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς παιδείας τὸ τερφθῆναι; ὁρᾳς ὅτι τὸ σκυθρωπὸν ἐκεῖνο καταλαμβάνει τὰ πάντων φαιδρότατα; καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἰκότως οὕτως ἔχειν. ἐξετάσωμεν γὰρ πότερον μικρόν τι καὶ φαῦλον ἢ παιδεία καὶ τοιοῦτον ὃ κἂν διαπτύσαι τις ῥαδίως ἢ τούναντίον μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τῷ κεκτημένῳ συμφορώτατον καὶ τοῖς οὐ κεκτημένοις ζηλωτόν. (21) καὶ μὴν ἃ γε ἄρτι κατελέξαμεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, δείκνυσιν ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἐσχάτῃ μοίρᾳ τεθεῖη δικαίως. πάντα γὰρ ἐφαίνετο λαμβάνουσα, κρότον, ἔπαινον, εὐπορίαν, στεφάνους, τιμὰς ζῶσι καὶ τελευτήσασιν. ἔχει τοίνυν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγγύθεν δι' ἣν ἀνάγκη πονήσαντα κτήσασθαι.

(22) καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει. τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄξια, τὰ δὲ πολλοῦ. τῶν μὲν οὖν προτέρων διὰ ῥαστώνης ἢ κτήσις, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον παραπέμπουσιν οἱ πόνοι καὶ οὔτε τοῖς μικροῖς ἰδρῶτας συνέζευξεν ἢ φύσις οὔτε τοῖς μεγίστοις τὴν ῥαθυμίαν. ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑκατέρου προοίμιον ἀρμόττον τῷ τέλει, ἐκεῖ μὲν τρυφή, τάλαιπωρία δὲ ἐνταῦθα. (23) δεῖ δὲ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τὸ τῆς παιδείας εἰπεῖν μικρὸν εἶναι ἢ μὴ τοῦτο ὁμολογοῦντα δέχεσθαι τοὺς πόρους. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀπαιδευσίας ἢ τινος τῶν φαυλοτέρων Ἰσοκράτης διαλεγόμενος τῶν τοιούτων ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔφησε προσεῖναι πόρους, πάνυ ἂν ἐμεμψάμην, μεστὰ γὰρ ἡδονῆς ἐκείνων αἱ ρίζαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ πράγματος οὗ τὴν δόσιν εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφέρειν ἄξιον λόγον ἀποφαινόμενος τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔφησεν ἀηδεστέρας εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν εὐφροσύνην, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος μέγεθος συναγωνίζεται τῷ λόγῳ.

panion? For not only would such men be sufficient for themselves, but they also stand as safe havens for their associates, being there for them in their time of need, fighting alongside them in bad times, encouraging, helping them. (19) How splendidly are they accompanied to the rostrum, and how much more splendidly from the rostrum, when they are well esteemed. Moreover, if a desire for money should enter into them, wealth is near at hand, and it comes to them justly and from their craft. Furthermore, in public meetings people long for them when they are absent, and are cheerful when they are present. Peace and war are managed by them, they bring good repute to their parents, and they leave behind a good name for their children. The respect given to old age is doubled for them because of their education. And when they are dead, statues of them in the marketplace preserve their memory forever.

(20) Do you see the fruits, how they are naturally the opposite of the root? Do you see how the delights of education outweigh the work? Do you see that the most joyful things of all overtake that depressing part? And to me it seems reasonable that this should be so; for let us examine whether education is something insignificant and trivial and the sort of thing that one would easily spit on, or—completely the opposite—something great and wonderful and most beneficial to the one possessing it and a source of envy to those not possessing it. (21) Indeed, what we have just now related about education shows that it would not be right to put it in the first category; for it has been shown to receive everything: applause, praise, wealth, crowns, and honors for the living and the dead. Well then, education has near at hand the reason for which one must work to acquire it.

CONTRAST

(22) For indeed, this is how things are. In our affairs, some are worth nothing, some worth much. Acquisition of the former, then, comes easily, but the latter are accompanied by hard work, and nature has linked neither sweating with insignificant goals nor ease with the greatest ones. But in each case, the beginning fits the end—leisure in the one case, labor in the other. (23) One of two things is necessary: either education is not much to speak of, or, if one does not agree with that, he must accept the hard work; for if Isocrates had been speaking about a lack of education or any of the baser things, and had claimed that hard work was associated with the beginnings of such things, I would have censured him very much; for the roots of those things are full of pleasure. But when he was presenting his view about a matter that is worthy to attribute to a gift from the gods, he declared that while the beginnings were rather lacking in pleasure, the end was pure bliss. And the importance of the matter contributes to the argument.

(24) τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων. οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα καθεύδουσιν οὐδὲ οἴκοι καθημένοις ἄνευ πραγμάτων ὁ πλοῦτος περιγίνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ μὲν προσεδρεῦσαι λιμένι καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ διαλεχθῆναι, δεῖ δὲ ἐνθήμενον τὰ τε ὄντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν ναῦν γῆν μὲν ἀποκρύψαι, πελάγιον δὲ ἀναχθῆναι πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐφεξῆς νυκτὶ συνάπτοντα. (25) καὶ οὐπω τὸ μείζον εἴρηται. πολλὰς γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄρτι κατὰ πρύμναν ἐστηκότα λήγει πνεύματα, κάτεισι δὲ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, καὶ πάλιν ὅθεν ἀνήχθησαν, ἐκεῖσε καταφέρονται καὶ κέρδος οὐδὲν τοῦ διηनुσμένου. σκηπτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ἐγγὺς τῆς ὀλκάδος καὶ βροντὰς ῥηγνυμένας καὶ τὸ κλυδώνιον ἐπανιστάμενον καὶ τρικυμιῶν φόβον τίς ἂν πρὸς ἀξίαν διέλθοι; ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ πάσης ἀνδρείας ἐνεγκόντες ὠνοῦνται τῶν κινδύνων εὐπορίας. καὶ δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ πολλῶν ἀνέχεσθαι δυσχερῶν ἢ μὴ μείζω ποιῆσαι τὴν οὐσίαν. (26) καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἀντιθεῖναι βούλοιτο τῇ παιδείᾳ τὸν μέγιστον πλοῦτον, γέλως ἂν φανείη παρὰ ταύτην κρινόμενος. τί δὲ θαυμαστόν εἰ προσδεῖται πόνων ἐκείνη μηδὲ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἄνευ τάλαιπωρίας ἐθελόντων περιγίνεσθαι; (27) τὰ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος οἱ γεωργοὶ πῶς σοι δοκοῦσι θερίζειν; ἄρα ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα κατὰ τοὺς Κύκλωπας; μῦθος ἐκεῖνα καὶ λόγος. ἀλλὰ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη θεραπεῦσαι βούν καὶ ἄροτρον πῆξασθαι καὶ ἀναρρῆξαι τὴν γῆν εἰς αὐλακὰς καὶ σπόρου καιρὸν διαγνῶναι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ὀρνέοις ἐπιτρέψαι τὸ καταβληθὲν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ τὰ τοῖς στάχυσι παραφυόμενα πρὸς λύμην ἐκκόψαι. (28) ἐπειδὴν δὲ πᾶν εἶδος ἐπιμελείας εἰσενέγκηται περὶ τὸ λήιον τὸ θέρος ἀναμείνας, οὕτω προσοίσει τὸ δρέπανον. καὶ οὐ δεῖ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν μόνον, ὅτι τὰς ἄλως ἐπλήρωσεν, ἀλλ' ὅσους ὑποστάντι πόνους τοῦτο ὑπῆρξεν ἰδεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιμένων εἴποι τις ἂν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν ὧν οὐ κατὰ παιδείαν τὸ κέρδος.

(29) Καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβειν ἔχοντα παραδείγματα χρήσιμα ἢ λαμπρότερον μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ; τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο μείζον ἢ σεμνότερον Δημοσθένους; οὐ τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ῥήτορος λέγω. ἢ

COMPARISON

(24) The situation with merchants is similar; for wealth does not accrue to them while they sleep on both ears³¹ or sit at home without working, but they have to wait by the harbor and converse with the ship captain, and putting their possessions and bodies on board the ship, they must go out beyond sight of land and put out to sea, combining many days and nights in succession. (25) And the most important fact has not yet been stated; for often the winds, just now standing steady at the stern, cease, and the most contrary winds come sweeping down, and they are blown back to where they started, and they get no profit from a completed trip. Who, for the sake of money, could go through the lightning striking near the ship, the thunder rolling, the small waves swelling, and the fear of huge waves? Enduring these difficulties with all their courage, these men pay for their riches with danger. And one of two things is necessary: they either endure many annoyances, or do not increase their holdings. (26) Moreover, if one should wish to put the greatest riches up against education, he would appear ridiculous in deciding against the latter. Why is it remarkable if education requires additional labor, since not even lesser affairs are likely to succeed without hard work? (27) How do you think that farmers reap the gifts of Demeter? Without sowing or tilling, as among the Cyclopes?³² That is just a myth and a fable. Rather, there is every necessity to take care of the ox, construct a plow, till the earth into furrows, decide the right time for planting, not leave the seed that has been sown for birds to pick up, and cut out the weeds growing alongside the grain in such a way as to cause harm. (28) And when every type of care has been given to the crop, after waiting for the harvest he will thus bring out his sickle. And one must not consider only that he has filled up his threshing floors, but one must see how much hard work it furnished to the man who undertook it. One could also say the same about shepherds and the other trades whose profit does not come from education.³³

EXAMPLE

(29) And why must I spend time on these matters when I have useful examples that more brilliantly attest to the argument? For what could be greater or more revered than Demosthenes? (I am not speaking of the one

31. "A proverbial expression for sleeping soundly," according to Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 179 n. 314.

32. Homer, *Od.* 9.105–111, especially 109.

33. "Does not come from education": reading οὐ κατὰ παιδείαν in 72,24 (93,3 Foerster) with mss BaPL and editors before Foerster, in preference to οὐ κατὰ πόδας ("does not lie at their feet") from ms B, adopted by Foerster.

τί μᾶλλον ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις πάλαι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατέστη; τίς οὐκ ἂν εὖξαιτο τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα μὴ ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἀποφανθῆναι παντελῶς, ἀλλ' ὅπως οὖν προσάψασθαι τοῦ ζήλου; (30) ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν οὐχ ἐστιάσει καὶ πότῳ προσέχων τὸν νοῦν οὐδὲ Συβαριτικὴν παρατιθέμενος τράπεζαν οὐδὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν εὐδαιμονίαν κρίνων οὐδὲ τῇ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενος οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν τὸ πλεῖστον ποιούμενος εἰς τοσοῦτον προὔβη τῆς νῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν κατεχούσης δόξης. (31) ἀλλὰ πόθεν δὴ καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ τοιαύτην συνέλεξε δεινότητα; συνελόντι μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ τῶν πόνων συνεχοῦς, τὰ δὲ καθέκαστα, ἐκ τοῦ φεύγειν τὰ ῥᾶστα, ἐκ τοῦ προστετηκέναι βιβλίοις, ἐκ τοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ οἴνου χρησιμώτερον νομίσαι τῷ γε ἐν λόγοις βιοῦντι, ἐκ τοῦ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ὕπνου καιρὸν ἔργων ποιήσασθαι. (32) ὅς γε οὕτω σύμπαντα ἑαυτὸν ἀνέθηκε τοῖς μαθήμασιν ὥστε ὑπὸ γῆν ὀρύξας οἴκημα καινὴν τινα καὶ ἄτοπον ἐμηχανήσατο οἴκησιν, ὡς ἂν μηδεὶς θόρυβος αἰσθησιν παρέχων ἐκκρούη τῶν προκειμένων τὸν λογισμόν. οὕτω τὸ μέγιστον εἴρηται. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὰς προόδους μέγιστον ἐμπόδισμα ἡγούμενος καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτῷ τετάσθαι τοὺς πόνους ξυρεῖν ψήθη δεῖν τῆς κεφαλῆς τι μέρος τὴν οἴκῳ μονὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενος. (33) οὕτως μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης πικρὰς ἀπήλαυσε τῆς ρίζης, ἀλλ' ἀπήλαυσε μέντοι καὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἡδονῆς. ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν λυπηρῶν ἐκείνων σώζειν οὐ μόνον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐπεπίστευτο καὶ πάντα χαίρειν ἔασαντες εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἔβλεπον μόνον δημαγωγὸν εὖνουν, σύμβουλον ἀγαθόν, ῥήτορα δεξιόν, συνετόν, ὅξυν, πάντα τὰ ἄριστα καλοῦντες καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνον ἡγούντο νόμους τιθέντα, ψηφίσματα γράφοντα, πρεσβείας ὑφιστάμενον, λέγοντα, πείθοντα. (34) καὶ τοι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκείνην ἣν ἐδόκει διαθεῖναι κακῶς ὕστερον ἐστεφανωμένην ἐδείκνυεν. ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς καθεύξεως ἐκείνης καὶ στενῆς διατριβῆς εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὸ κλέος ἐξήνεγκε καὶ τετελευτηκῶς οὐκ ἔληξεν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τελειοῖ τὰς ψυχὰς

who served as general in Sicily,³⁴ but rather the orator.) What became more opportune for both the ancient Athenians and, later, for all mankind? Who would not pray for his own son, not that he would become known as such a man completely, but that he would attain some small part of his zeal? (30) Well now, that man, by not devoting his attention to food and drink, not setting a Sybaritic table,³⁵ not judging pleasure to be happiness, not indulging his belly, and not giving priority to rest, advanced to the great level of glory that now holds sway about him over land and sea. (31) But from where and by what method did he acquire such rhetorical ability? In general, by persevering in hard work, but specifically, by avoiding the easy way, by clinging to his books,³⁶ by regarding water as more beneficial than wine for someone making his living with speeches,³⁷ and by making his time for sleep a time for work.³⁸ (32) He so completely dedicated himself to his lessons that by digging out a room underground he fashioned for himself a strange and unusual dwelling, so that no loud noise becoming perceptible might interrupt his contemplation of the tasks in front of him.³⁹ The most important fact has not yet been stated; for considering time spent out in public the greatest impediment, and wishing to extend his labors, that man thought it necessary to shave part of his head, providing himself thereby an excuse to stay at home.⁴⁰ (33) It was in this way that Demosthenes benefited from the bitter root, but he certainly also benefited from the pleasure of the fruits; for in return for those pains he was entrusted with saving not only the Athenians, but also the rest of the Greeks, and disregarding everyone else, they looked to him alone as a benevolent leader, a noble counselor, a sharp orator, intelligent, and keen, calling him all the best things; and they considered him their all in all as he was proposing laws, passing decrees, agreeing to serve on embassies, speaking, persuading. (34) And yet that head which he saw fit to treat badly he later revealed wearing a crown. In return for that imprisonment and narrow way of life he brought forth glory into the whole inhabited world, and though he has died, he has not, as one might say, ended his life;⁴¹ rather, he continues to perfect the souls both

34. On whom see Thucydides 7 *passim*.

35. The Sybarites' excessive devotion to luxury was proverbial; see, e.g., Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 12.518c–522a.

36. *Encomium* 5.3 with notes.

37. *Encomium* 5.14 with notes.

38. Plutarch, *Dem.* 8.3; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 848C; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 14, 15.

39. Plutarch, *Dem.* 7.3; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 844D; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 14.

40. Plutarch, *Dem.* 7.3; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 844D; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 14.

41. "Life": or "profession" (τὸν βίον).

καὶ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων οἷς ἔρως τῆς ῥητορικῆς. καὶ οὔτε ρίζης ἀηδεστέρας οὔτε καρπῶν βελτιόνων οὐδεὶς ἐγεύσατο.

(35) Τί δὲ ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐκεῖνος ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον γεγωνὸς τὸν Δημοσθένην; ἄρ' ἢ φαῦλός τις ἔδοξεν εἶναι ῥήτωρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἢ τὸ μέγας εἶναι τε καὶ νομίζεσθαι χωρὶς τῶν πόνων ἐκτήσατο; καὶ τίς οὕτως ὀψιμαθῆς ὅστις οὐκ ἀκήκοε τὸ κλινίδιον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ᾧ τὸν ὕπνον διέκοπτεν;

(36) Ὅτι τοίνυν σωφρόνως ὁ λόγος ἔχει, μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν εἰρημένων Ἡσίοδος ὁμολογεῖ, πάντως δὲ οὐδεὶς οὕτω θρασὺς οὐδὲ πάντα τολμῶν, ὅστις ἂν ἐπισκῆψαι τῷ μάρτυρι. οἶμαι γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦτο ἐγνωκέναι, ὡς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ὑμνουμένων ποιητῶν Ἡσίοδος ὁ Μουσόληπτος γένοιτο καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων προσταχθεῖν γένος τε θεῶν καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα χρηστὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄδειν. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς διαλεγόμενος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ μὲν αὐτὴν καθῆσθαι φησιν, ὁδὸν δὲ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνάντη τε εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὴν, ἣν ἀνύσαι χρή μετὰ πολλῶν ιδρώτων τῷ γε τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντι λαβέσθαι. (37) εἷς ἀμφοτέρων ὁ λογισμὸς καὶ πρὸς ταῦτο φέρεται ταῖς γνώμαις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τὸ διαλλάττον. ὅπερ Ἰσοκράτης παιδευσιν, τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ἀρετὴν ἔφη, ὃ δὲ οὗτος ρίζαν, τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος οἶμον, καὶ ἄλιν ὅπερ Ἡσίοδος τραχεῖαν, τοῦτο Ἰσοκράτης πικράν. (38) ὁ δὲ παρὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν εἰπὼν ὠνεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ὠνεῖσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἄργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ πόνων ἄρ' οὐ δοκεῖ καλῶς μὲν Ἰσοκράτει, καλῶς δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ συνάδειν;

(39) Εἴθ' ἡμεῖς οὕτως ἔχομεν ἀγνωμόνως ὥστε τοσούτων ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγαθῶν ἀποστερήσομεν τῷ τὰ πρότερα δεῖσαι καὶ οὐ τῶν μὲν ἐπιθυμήσομεν, τὰ δὲ ἀνδρείως ὑποστησόμεθα; καὶ πῶς οὐ δόξομεν πολλῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν κατεγνωκέναι λῆρον; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον δοκεῖν, ἢ ψέγειν ἢ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον ἢ μὴ πείθεσθαι τούτοις ἢ δὴ θαυμάζομεν;

of young men and old, whoever has a passionate desire for rhetoric. And no one has ever tasted a root more unpleasant nor fruits that are finer.

(35) What about the famous Lycurgus, the one who lived at about the same time as Demosthenes?⁴² Did he seem to the Athenians to be some insignificant orator, or did he both become great and acquire his reputation for that without hard work? And who is so poorly educated that he has not heard of his cot and the way in which he used to cut short his sleep?⁴³

TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS

(36) Well now, that the saying is sensible, Hesiod confirms, along with the many already mentioned, and there is by no means anyone who is so arrogant or utterly bold that he would denounce this witness; for I think that even children know that, more than all the poets who are praised in song, Hesiod would be the one called Muse-inspired, and that he was assigned by them to sing of the generation of the gods and many other topics useful to mankind.⁴⁴ Well then, in discussing virtue in his poems, that man says that it is seated on high, but that the road up to it is steep and rough, which anyone desiring to obtain virtue for himself must complete with much sweat.⁴⁵ (37) The reasoning is one and the same for both men, and it leads toward the same point in conception but different in the expression. What Isocrates called education, the latter called virtue; what the former called a root, the latter called a path; and again, what Hesiod called rough, Isocrates called bitter. (38) Does the man who said that men purchase good things from the gods, not with silver and gold and things of that sort, but with labors,⁴⁶ not seem to correspond well with Isocrates, and well with Hesiod?

BRIEF EPILOGUE

(39) Will we then be so senseless that we will deprive ourselves of so many benefits by fearing the earlier stages, and will we not desire the one and courageously endure the other? And in that case how will we not seem to have accused many wise men of speaking nonsense? And how will we avoid coming to one of two decisions: either to censure what is worth admiring or not to obey those principles that we do in fact admire?

42. Demosthenes lived 384–322 B.C.E.; Lycurgus lived ca. 390–ca. 325/4 B.C.E.

43. [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 841A–844A, especially 842C.

44. Hesiod, *Theog.* 22–34.

45. Hesiod, *Op.* 286–292.

46. The comic poet Epicharmus; the same passage (frg. 287 CGF) is cited in [Hermogenes] 8. Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.1.20, similarly links Hesiod and the unnamed poet. Cf. Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 187 n. 329; Foerster ad loc.

4. Θεόφραστος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶν ἔρως ἔφησε πάθος
 ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης.

(1) Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ Θεόφραστον ἐπαινεῖν, ὃς ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ λαμπρὰν ἐκτήσατο δόξαν ζηλωτῆς Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ διδασκάλου γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πόνους καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου διδασκαλίας δείξας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμμασιν, ᾧ καὶ τοῦνομα διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ λέγειν ὑπῆρξεν ἀρετὴν τῶν τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον τεθναυμάκων προσηγορίαν θεμένων αὐτῷ τὸν Θεόφραστον.

(2) τοῦτον ἤρετό τις προσελθὼν ἀξιῶσας παρ' αὐτοῦ μανθάνειν τί ποτ' ἄρα χρὴ νομίζειν τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ περὶ τί φύεται τῶν ὄντων. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· τὴν ἀφειμένην τῶν φροντίδων ψυχὴν ταύτην τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς κατέχεσθαι πάθεσι καὶ ταύταις ἐνοχλεῖν τὸν ἔρωτα ἔγνωμεν, ὁπόσας ἔστιν εὐρεῖν τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων κεχωρισμένας. (3) εὖ γε τοῦ λόγου, Θεόφραστε. καλῶς ἐμοὶ κατανενοηκέναι δοκεῖς τοῦ πάθους τὰς ἀφορμάς. μαρτύριον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐναργὲς τὸ τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχοντας λογισμοὺς τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ συμβαίνειν. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο τῶν μετεχόντων ἀληθείας ἐστὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοφράστου ῥηθὲν γινῶναι ῥάδιον.

(4) Ἐνθυμηθῶμεν γὰρ οὕτως καὶ λογισώμεθα ψυχὴν εἶναι τινα μήτε παιδείας ὀρεγομένην, δι' ἧς ἢ ῥητορεύειν ἔστιν ἢ φιλοσοφεῖν, μήτ' αὖ μετιοῦσαν τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἐργασίαν, οἷον χαλκευτικὴν ἢ τεκτονικὴν ἢ τὸ ναυπηγεῖσθαι ναῦς ἢ τὴν τῶν οἰκοδομούντων ἢ τὴν ὑφαντικὴν ἢ τινα τοιαύτην ἐτέραν ἢς τὸ ἔργον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. εἰ τοίνυν τοιαύτην εὐρίσκοιμεν ψυχὴν ἀργία χαίρουσαν, ὄκνοις ἡδομένην, ἀτεχνία συνοῦσαν, ἄρα τὴν τοιαύτην οὐκ ἂν ἀποφαινοίμεθα φυγὴν αὐτῶν σπουδασμάτων ἢ τινα χεῖρω νοσεῖν; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν οἴκοι καθήμενον καὶ καταρραθυμούντα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πλεῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ μένοντα μάτην οὐ πεπιστεύκαμεν τῇ διανοίᾳ παρέχειν σχολὴν ὥστε τῶν ἀτόπων ἔρᾶν; (5) καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φύσει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ὁ περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων πεφροντικῶς

ANECDOTE 4: THEOPHRASTUS, UPON BEING ASKED WHAT LOVE IS,
SAID, "THE PASSION OF AN IDLE SOUL."⁴⁷

BRIEF PRAISE

(1) To me it seems best also to praise Theophrastus, who acquired an illustrious reputation for philosophy by becoming an imitator of his teacher Aristotle and displaying that man's work and teachings by means of his own treatises; his name also came about through his excellence in speaking, when those who admired his speech gave him the name Theophrastus.⁴⁸

PARAPHRASE

(2) Someone approached and asked him this question, asking to learn from him just what he ought to believe that love is and in what category of things that exist does it naturally belong. And he replied to him: "We know that the soul that is released from its concerns is what is possessed by erotic passions, and that love harasses every soul that it can find detached from other interests." (3) Well said, Theophrastus! You seem to me to have understood well the origins of this emotion. It is clear proof of the aforementioned that those who reason correctly concur with this statement. And because this is the view of those who share in the truth, it is easy to recognize what has been said by Theophrastus.

CAUSE

(4) For let us consider it like this, and let us reason that there is a soul who neither strives after education, through which it is possible to become an orator or a philosopher, nor practices a trade with his hands, such as bronze-working, carpentry, shipbuilding, homebuilding, weaving, or any other trade such as these whose work is done by the hands. Well now, if we should find such a soul rejoicing in idleness, delighting in laziness, participating in no trade at all, would we not declare that such a soul was suffering from its avoidance of serious pursuits or from something worse? For have we not come to believe that both the man who sits at home and neglects his land instead of farming it and the man who remains idly on the land instead of sailing are intentionally providing themselves with leisure, so that they fall in love with strange pastimes? (5) For indeed, this is how things are, and the matter is naturally like this. Whoever has given no thought to any of the necessities, has

47. A similar definition of love is attributed to Diogenes (Diogenes Laertius 6.51). This exercise is translated by Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 188–97.

48. His name literally means "divinely eloquent." Aristotle gave him this name; his name was originally Tyrtamus (Diogenes Laertius 5.38).

μηδέ γε τῇ ψυχῇ μεριμνήσας μηδὲ ὑπὸ τινων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐλκόμενος οὗτος ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν βελτιόνων ἐρᾶν ἅ τῆς ἀργίας ἐστὶν ὑπομένει τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίας ἡττώμενος καὶ ταύτῃ δουλεύων καὶ ταύτην αἰρούμενος, οὐκ ἐπιτιθεὶς τοῖς ἔρωσι χαλινὸν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σχολήν. (6) καὶ εἰκότως. ὁ γὰρ μήτε δικάζων μήτε νομοθετῶν μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε ψηφίσματα γράφων μήτε συνηγορῶν μήτε πρεσβεύων μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτε πολεμῶν μήτε περὶ τὴν γῆν πονῶν, μὴ περὶ τὸ πλεῖν ἀσχολούμενος, μὴ λόγων ἐρῶν, ὅλως δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις μετιῶν ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶν ἢ πόλιν ὠφελεῖν ἢ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον οἰκονομεῖν, οὗτος τίνας οὐκ ἂν ἐρασθεῖη τῶν πονηρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἷς τὸ σῶμα διδοὺς ἥκιστα τῇ ψυχῇ σωφρονεῖ; καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἂν εὖροις μεθύοντας, κωμάζοντας, γάμοις ἐπιβουλεύοντας, κόρας ἀρπάζοντας, διασπῶντας τὴν σωφροσύνην, ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, μόνον ἐρᾶν ἀντὶ τοῦ σπουδάζειν εἰδότας.

(7) Κατενοήσαμεν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ σπουδαίων σχολάζουσιν. ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἢ τούναντίον διακειμένη φιλοπόνῳ τῇ φύσει κέχρηται. γινῶναι δὲ ῥάδιον οὕτως. πονεῖτω τις ἐν λόγοις καὶ τούτων μόνον ἐράτω. ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐκ ἂν εἰς ἐτέρους ἔρωτας ὀλισθαίνοι τῷ βελτίονι κατεχόμενος. ἄλλος ἐργαζέσθω τὴν γῆν, ἕτερος πλείτω τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ μὲν χαλκευέτω, τῷ δὲ μελέτω τεκτονικῆς, ἐτέρῳ δὲ στρατηγεῖν, τῷ δὲ πρεσβεύειν, καὶ τῷ μὲν νομοθετεῖν, τῷ δὲ ψηφίσματα γράφειν, καὶ τῷ μὲν πολεμεῖν, τῷ δὲ διατιθέναι τὰς πανηγύρεις. (8) τίς οὖν ἂν ἄψαιτό ποτε τῶν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἄτοπος ἔρω; οὐκ ἔστι. τοῦ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνθέλκοντος ὄντος πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ σῶμα ταῖς σπουδαῖς ὑπουργεῖν. καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους καλοῦμέν τε καὶ νομίζομεν σώφρονας, οἷς ἐπιβέβληται τῇ ψυχῇ χαλινός, ὃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔφην, τὰ μάταια τῆς ψυχῆς κατείργων κινήματα καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ φιλοπονεῖν μὴ τοῖς σώμασιν εἴκειν ἀργοῦσι μηδέ γε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξίστασθαι μηδὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ δουλεύειν φύσει, ἀλλ' εἶναι πάντων ἀμείνονα τῶν πεφυκότων ἐπὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατέλκειν.

(9) ἂν ἄγης ἵππον ἄνευ πόνων καὶ τοῦτον ἀφείς παραδιδόναι τοῖς πωλοδάμναις ἄγων τῇ φάτνῃ προσδήσης τρυφᾶν γε μόνον, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς δρόμον ἐξάγων, ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις αὐτὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέποντα τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς φύσεως καὶ κεχρησθαι τῷ κεκτημένῳ γενόμενον ἀνεπιτήδειον; τὸν δὲ γε προσομιλοῦντα τοῖς πόνοις καὶ συνόντα τοῖς δρόμοις καὶ μὴ κατεχόμενον

not been anxious about his soul, and is not drawn to any interests, this man submits to the ways of idleness instead of loving the better pursuits, being overcome by the desires of the body and serving as their slave and choosing them, not applying the leisure found in work as a bridle to his loves. (6) And reasonably so; for the one who neither serves on juries nor establishes laws nor addresses the people, who serves neither as advocate nor ambassador nor general nor soldier nor farm laborer, who does not occupy himself with sailing and does not love words, a man who, in short, pursues none of the human activities by which it is possible either to benefit a city or manage his own livelihood—with which of the wicked desires would such a man not fall in love, having given his body over to which, he retains very little control over his soul? And you would find such men as these drinking, being rowdy, plotting against marriages, raping girls, destroying self-control, and to put it simply, knowing only how to love instead of being serious.

CONTRAST

(7) We have considered the soul at leisure from serious pursuits. Let us look also at the other kind of soul, which, being inclined in the opposite direction, enjoys a natural love of hard work. It is easy to recognize such a soul in this way. Let someone work hard in words, and let him love only these. Such a man as this would not slip into other loves while he is possessed by a better one. Let one man work the land, let another sail the sea. Let one be a bronze-worker, let another practice carpentry; let one be a general, another an ambassador, and another a lawgiver; let one propose decrees, and another serve in the army, and another manage festivals. (8) What strange love, then, could ever lay hold of men following such pursuits? There is not one; for when there is something that pulls the soul off track, there is every necessity for the body also to serve those pursuits. And we both call and recognize such men as these to be self-controlled, on whose souls a bridle has been placed, as I said shortly before, which holds in check the useless movements of the soul and through working hard makes it not yield to lazy bodies and not be moved toward desire and not become a slave to that sort of nature, but instead to be superior to everything that is naturally attracted to such pursuits as these.

COMPARISON

(9) If you take a horse without labors and, having neglected to hand him over to the trainers, tie him to his trough only to live a life of leisure, and you also no longer take him out to the racetrack, would you not see him surrendering himself to his natural inclination and becoming unfit for his owner to use? But as for the horse that is familiar with hard work and participates in races and is not possessed by laziness, will we not find that he has already

ὄκνοις ἄρ' οὐκ ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν εὐρήσομεν ἀποβαλόντα θρασύτητα καὶ πείθεσθαι τὸν ἐπιστάτην ἄγειν εὐκόλως ἐπιστάμενον; ταῦτά δὴ συμβαίνειν οἴου καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· αἱ φύσεις ἐν τῷ πονεῖν σωφρονοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ῥαθυμεῖν ἀκολασταίνουσιν, καὶ τὸ κατέχον οὐκ ἔστι τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα κατέχεσθαι τοῖς πόνοις.

(10) Ὁ Δημοσθένης πόνων ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀτόπους ἔφευγεν ἔρωτας, τῶν ἡρώων ὁ Διομήδης σωφρονέστατος ἦν, ὅτι καὶ πονεῖν ἐπιτήδειος, τῶν φιλοσόφων ὁ Πυθαγόρας, <τῶν> στρατηγῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς <καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς>, ὁ μὲν ἔργον ἔχων τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμιλεῖν, οἱ δ' ὅτι οὖν ἐχρῶντο καλῶς καὶ βουλῇ καὶ χειρὶ τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν ἐκσώζοντες. (11) ἐπεὶ πότ' ἂν ἔρωσι εἰσῆλθε Θεμιστοκλέα τοιοῦτος κατὰ Μήδων παραταττόμενον καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους βουλευόμενον μάχης, περὶ τῶν λογίων ἐνθυμούμενον καὶ τὸ ξύλινον εὐρίσκοντα τεῖχος, τὰς ναῦς, πότε τὸν Περικλέα τὸν πάνυ, τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, ᾧ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐφύτευσαν οἱ πόνοι; καὶ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην τὸ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦτον ἐσπουδακέναι τὸν βίον ἀπάσης ἀμείνω πεποικέναι χείρονος ἐπιθυμίας καὶ δυνατώτερον. (12) εἰ δέ μοι λέγεις Καλλίαν τὸν δημόσιον ἢ Πιττάλακον ἢ μίμους γελοίων τε <καὶ> ποιητὰς ἐπονιδίστων ᾠσμάτων ὅτι τοιούτοις ἐδούλευον ἔρωσιν, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ῥαθυμίαν ὁρῶν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἦν τῶν ἀξίων ἐπαίνου πράττοντας ἐκείνους ἰδεῖν καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ παρεχόντων σχολήν.

(13) Ταῦτα καὶ ποιητῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ῥητορικῇ μέγα δεδυνημένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ μνημονεύειν ἔχω τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἐπήνεσαν, ἐθαύμασαν, ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐπαίδευσαν.

both cast off his inherent boldness and knows how to carry his rider good-naturedly? Suppose that the same also happens with humans: their natures become self-controlled through hard work, they become undisciplined through laziness, and there is nothing to restrain the man who refuses to be possessed by hard work.

EXAMPLE

(10) By desiring hard work Demosthenes also escaped from strange loves. Among the heroes Diomedes was very self-controlled because he was also accustomed to work hard. The same holds true of Pythagoras among the philosophers and Themistocles <and Pericles> among <the> generals; the former had as his task philosophy and his close relationship to the gods, while the latter two, in whatever they dealt with, did a fine job of keeping the city that bore them safe by both their counsel and their hands. (11) For when would such a love ever have entered into Themistocles as he was marshalling his army against the Medes and deliberating about the battle against them,⁴⁹ pondering the oracle and discovering that “the wooden wall” meant the ships?⁵⁰ When would such a love ever have entered into the famous Pericles, the Olympian, whose labors generated this appellation?⁵¹ Moreover, it seems to me that the desire for righteousness and eager pursuit of this lifestyle made Aristides better and more powerful than every worse desire.⁵² (12) But if you say to me that Callias the public slave⁵³ or Pittalacus⁵⁴ or the performers of mimes <and> poets of shameful songs⁵⁵ were slaves to such loves, I would not be surprised, when I see the laziness in their lives and how it was not possible to see them doing any of the activities that are praiseworthy and that provide leisure to the intellect.

TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS

(13) These ideas not a few of the poets and philosophers and those especially capable in rhetoric, even if I cannot remember their names, have praised, admired, and taught in their discourses.

49. The battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.E. (Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.83–96).

50. Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.141–144; Plutarch, *Them.* 10.2.

51. “The famous”: Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.5.1. “Olympian”: Aristophanes, *Ach.* 530; Plutarch, *Per.* 8.2–3; 39.2; Theon 111.

52. Plutarch, *Aristides*.

53. Demosthenes 2.19 with scholia.

54. Aeschines 1.54–55; Demosthenes 19.245.

55. Demosthenes 2.19.

(14) Εἴ τις οὖν ἐπιθυμεῖ κακὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκφεύγειν, ἐράτω τῶν βελτιόνων, ἵνα μὴ τῶν χειρόνων, καὶ σχολαζέτω τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς βλάπτουσι. ταῦτα δὲ ἂν εἴη, καθάπερ ἔδειξα τοῖς λογισμοῖς, οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἔρωτες.

BRIEF EPILOGUE

(14) And so, if one desires to escape from an evil desire, let him love the better so that he may not love the worse, and let him devote his leisure to the more excellent pursuits so that he may not love the harmful ones. And these, as I have shown in my argument, would be the wicked loves of the body.

THE EXERCISE IN MAXIM

The exercise in maxim (*gnômê*) was the fourth exercise in the systems of [Hermogenes], Aphthonius, and Nicolaus, and the first in the system of Theon, who treats it as a type of anecdote (*chreia*). Maxims are pithy, universal statements that usually urge us toward or dissuade us from a particular action or attitude. They can be classified as true, plausible, simple, compound, and hyperbolic ([Hermogenes] 9; Aphthonius 7–8); one can also note whether a maxim provides a justification for itself or not, and whether it explains how things actually are or only how they should be (Nicolaus 26–28). Maxims differ from anecdotes in that maxims are mere statements alone, without a context or speaker (Theon 96–97; [Hermogenes] 6–7; Aphthonius 8; Nicolaus 19, 25); in addition, maxims are always universal (as opposed to particular) and are always morally useful (as opposed to merely entertaining; Theon 96–97; Nicolaus 19, 25).

Maxims are elaborated in the same way as anecdotes: brief praise of the statement and its source, paraphrase of the maxim, discussion of the rationale behind it (“cause”), elaboration by contrast (or “from the opposite”), elaboration by comparison, discussion of relevant examples from history or mythology, citation of ancient authorities who support the idea behind the maxim (or “judgment”), and a brief epilogue exhorting the reader to follow the advice set forth in the maxim ([Hermogenes] 9–10; Aphthonius 8). Maxims can also be confirmed and refuted (Theon 105).

Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2519–20 rejected Maxim 2 and 3 as spurious. In addition, they suggested that the author of Maxim 3 also composed Anecdote 4, Refutation 2, and Confirmation 3; this view is followed by Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 136–37. Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix, rejected all three maxims as spurious. On the exercise in maxim, see Theon 96–106, especially 96–97 and 105; [Hermogenes] 8–10; Aphthonius 7–10; and Nicolaus 25–29. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:79–86.

1. Οὐ χρή παννύχιον εὔδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα.

(1) Ὁ μὲν πολεμικὸς Ὅμηρον θαυμάζετω τῶν τακτικῶν, ὁ δ' αὖ τεκτονικὸς τῶν περὶ τεκτονικῆς ἐμπείρως εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱατροὺς εἴποι τις ἂν ἀπορεῖν ὅθεν αὐτὸν ἀγασθήσονται. ἴδοι δ' ἂν καὶ ἡνίοχος καὶ ναυτικὸς ἀμφοτέρω τὰς ἐαυτῶν τέχνας παρ' αὐτῷ. μακρὸν δ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν μαντικὴν, χαλκευτικὴν, τοὺς ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν λόγους. ἀλλ' ὅ μοι δοκεῖ κοινῇ πάντας ὠφελεῖν, τοῦτο ἔγωγέ φημι τὰς γνώμας, ὧν αἱ μὲν εἴργουσι τῶν πονηρῶν, αἱ δὲ ἐπαίρουσι πρὸς τὰ χρηστά.

(2) πάσας μὲν οὖν ἂν εὔροι τις νοῦν ἐχούσας καὶ προσήκοντα λογισμὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πείθεσθαι φερούσας τὸ κέρδος, δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὰς ἄλλας νικᾶν καὶ πολλῶ γε τῷ μέτρῳ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς προβούλους ἀπεφήνατο περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὸν ὅλον καιρὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ὕπνου ποιεῖσθαι. πάντως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Ὅμηρον εἴ τις ἤρετο, τοῦτο ἂν ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ πολὺ τὰς ἄλλας ἡττᾶσθαι. (3) τί τούτου τεκμήριον; οὐ Νέστωρ αὐτὴν οὐδὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐδὲ ὁ δεῖνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος πεποίηται λέγων. καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἂν αὐτήν, εἰ μὴ πασῶν ἄριστα ἔχουσιν ἑώρα, τῷ πάντων ἀρίστῳ περιῆπτε θεῶν. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς αὐτοὺς προάγοντας ἐξετάσαι τὸν λόγον. (4) Οὐ χρή, φησὶν, ἄνδρα παννύχιον ἀναπαύεσθαι ὅ βουλῆς ἀνάγκη. ὅρα τοίνυν ὅπως τὸ

MAXIM 1: “A MAN WHO IS A COUNSELOR SHOULD NOT SLEEP ALL NIGHT.”¹

BRIEF PRAISE

(1) Let the military man admire Homer for his tactics, and let the carpenter in turn admire him for what he has so expertly said about carpentry. Indeed, one could say that not even doctors lack a reason to admire him. Both the charioteer and the seaman could see their trades illustrated in his works. It would take a long time to discuss prophecy, bronze-working, what he says on righteous living, and what he says on divine matters. But I say that it is his maxims that seem to me to help everyone in common, of which some dissuade us from wicked actions, while others lead us toward good ones.

PARAPHRASE

(2) So one might discover that all his maxims make sense, use proper reasoning, and bring profit to those willing to obey them, but it seems to me that the maxim that beats all the rest and by a sound margin is the one that he addressed to counselors on how one ought not to make the whole night a time for sleep. By all means, even if one were to ask Homer himself, he would reply that the rest are much less important than this one. (3) What is the proof of this? That it was neither Nestor nor Odysseus nor any other Achaean you could name who was depicted as delivering this maxim, but rather the pinnacle of the gods.² Moreover, he would not have attributed it to the best of all the gods, if he had not seen it as embracing the best aspects of all the maxims. But it is worthwhile to examine also the very considerations that lead to this statement. (4) “A man who is obliged to give counsel,” he says, “must not sleep the whole night away.” Well now, observe how he

1. Homer, *Il.* 2.24. For the theme, see [Hermogenes] 8; Aphthonius 7; Nicolaus 26; with partial elaboration, [Hermogenes] 10. The maxim is framed as an anecdote delivered by Alexander to Diogenes: for the theme, see John of Sardis’s commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 39,7–12); with partial elaboration, see the fragments of Sopatros preserved in John of Sardis’s commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 41,4–7, 46,15–18, 48,7–11, 48,14–15, 48,16–18, 50,10–12; Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 110–12). Along with Homer, *Il.* 2.25, it is framed as an anecdote with Homer as the speaker in Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (Josef Glettner, ed., “Die Progymnasmata des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos,” *ByzZ* 33 [1933]: 9–10; Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 356–59). The line is also used in a double anecdote in which Alexander delivers Homer, *Il.* 2.24, and Diogenes replies with Homer, *Il.* 2.25, “a man to whom the people have been entrusted and who has many cares” (Theon 98; Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*). Kennedy explains that “Diogenes’ point was that he was not a ruler” (*Progymnasmata*, 17 n. 68).

2. The maxim is delivered by a dream sent from Zeus.

συμφέρον ἀμφοτέρωθεν προείδετο, τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐ γὰρ ὅλως μὴ καθεύδειν φησὶ δεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθεύδειν ἀεὶ, ὥστε τὸ μὲν τοῦ ὕπνου μέρος σώζει τὸν ἄρχοντα, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν. διὰ ταῦτα μερίζει τὴν νύκτα πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ βουλήν. (5) τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν οὕτως αὐτῷ μετρίως ἔχει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδύνατον οὐδὲ ἀμήχανον προσέταξεν ἐκείνῳ, ὃ δὲ νῦν πεποίηκεν, ἀκριβοῦς συμβουλῆς, ἣν εἰ μὴ φυλάξειεν ὁ βουλευφόρος κατ' αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν Ὀμηρον, οἰχήσεται ταχέως αὐτός τε ἐκείνος καὶ ὧν ἐτάχθη προνοεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ τύχοι πολεμῶν καὶ πολλοῖς ἐφεστηκώς.

(6) ἅπερ ἀμφοτέρα ἦν <έν> ἐκείνοις τοῖς καιροῖς ἐν οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐλέχθη. σκοπῶμεν δὲ οὕτως. ἔστιν ὀπλιτικὸν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἔστι ναυτικὸν πολλάκις, εἰσὶ τοξόται, σφενδονῆται, ψιλοί, πᾶν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν εἶδος εἰς πόλεμον φέρον. τούτων ἀπάντων αὐτῷ φροντιστέον, ὅπως, εἰ μὲν ἔχοι καλῶς, φυλαχθήσεται, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐπανορθώματος τυχόντα μεταστήσεται. (7) ἐπαινέσεται μὲν τὸν μελετῶντα τὴν τέχνην, κακιεῖ δὲ τὸν οὐ θέλοντα παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν ἀγαθὸν στρατιώτην, καὶ τῷ μὲν δώσει τιμάς, τῷ δὲ ζημίας, καὶ τὸν μὲν σωφρονίσει, τὸν δὲ καταστήσει βελτίῳ. ἐκείνῳ μελήσει ναυτῶν, κυβερνητῶν, ὅπλων, πόρων, ἀφορμῶν, καιροῦ πολέμου στρατοπέδῳ ῥοπήν φέροντος. (8) δεῖ μὲν αὐτὸν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνιχνεύειν, δεῖ δὲ πράττειν ὅπως μὴ τὰ αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμοι γνώσονται. εἰ πεζομαχίας ἢ χρεία, τοῦτο ἐξετάσει, εἰ ναυμαχίας, τοῦτο ζητήσεται, εἰ μηχανήματα προσοιστέον, εἰ προδοσίᾳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ληπτέον. δεῖ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς δυσμενέσι στάσιν, δεῖ δὲ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐκκόπτειν. ἰάσεται ναῦς κεκμηκυίας, ἐκπέμψει τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπ' ἔργον, ἐτέρας ναυπηγήσεται. θύσει θεοῖς, χρήσεται μαντείαις. (9) οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐφίκοιτο τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πρόκειται. τούτων ἕκαστον καὶ βουλευθῆναι δεῖ καὶ πραχθῆναι. τό τε γὰρ ἄνευ βουλῆς ἐπιχειρῆσαι τοῖς ἔργοις πολλάκις ἐβλαψεν ἃ φεύγειν ἄξιον ταῦτα ἡμῶν διωκόντων τό τε βουλευέσθαι μόνον, πράττειν δὲ μηδὲν οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ὠνησεν. ἅπαντα γὰρ σκέψις πράξεων ἄμοιρος οὐκ ἔχει τὸ κέρδος. (10) δεῖ τοίνυν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀμφοτέρων. οὐκοῦν τὴν ἡμέραν μὲν ἔργων, τὴν δὲ νύκτα βουλῆς εἶναι δεῖ καιρόν. εἰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὕπνῳ δώσομεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄζομεν τὰ ἀμφοτέρων, ἐλάττων ὁ καιρὸς τῆς χρείας. καὶ δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ πρὶν

has provided for what is beneficial on both scores, for both the man and his actions; for he does not claim that one must not sleep at all, but only that he must not sleep all the time, so that the portion spent in sleep sustains the ruler, but the portion spent awake sustains the rule itself. For this reason he divides the night into a period of rest and a period of planning. (5) Well then, this is a very reasonable thing for him to recommend, and he has not ordered anything impossible or infeasible of the man, but what he has composed here consists of accurate advice, with regard to which, if the counselor does not refrain from disputing Homer himself, both he himself and everyone he was assigned to protect would quickly perish, especially if he happens to be conducting a war and commanding many men.

CAUSE

(6) And both of these conditions applied <in> those circumstances in which this statement was made. Let us look at it this way: commanders have hoplites, they often have a navy, and there are archers, slingers, light-armed troops, and to put it simply, every sort of personnel that contributes to a war. He must give thought to all of them, so that, if they are performing well they will be sustained, but if not, they will meet with reprimands and change for the better. (7) He will praise the one who applies his training, but denounce the one who refuses to present himself as a brave soldier; and to the former he will give honors, but to the latter, punishments; and he will make the former exhibit self-control, and he will improve the latter. The commander is concerned with sailors, helmsmen, weapons, funds, resources, and the aid that the correct timing of a war brings to an army. (8) He must track down the enemy's plans, but he must take action so that the enemy will not know theirs. He will examine whether an infantry or naval battle is needed; he will investigate whether he should bring out the siege engines or try to catch the enemy through deception. He must sow discord among the enemy, but he must repel it from his own troops. He will heal ships when they are sick; he will send the ones that sail the best on missions; he will build others. He will sacrifice to the gods; he will consult oracles. (9) No one else could achieve the number of tasks that are set before kings. Each of these must be both deliberated and carried out; for trying to act without deliberation often does harm because we end up pursuing those goals that are better avoided, and deliberation alone without action is never profitable; for no analysis without action has any benefit. (10) Well then, there is need, as I have said, of both. Therefore, day must be the time for deeds, and night the time for planning. But if we give the nighttime over to sleep and import into the daytime the tasks that belong to both, the available time will be less than we need. And one of two things is necessary: that they either undertake their affairs before finding out what is

μαθεῖν ὅ τι βέλτιστον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ μαθόντας ὅ τι βέλτιστον οὐκ ἔχειν χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν.

(11) Εἰς ταύτην ἄγει τὴν ἀνάγκην τοὺς βασιλέας τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων πλήθος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων καὶ καθεύδειν ἔξεστι. τεκμήριον δέ, οὐδὲν ζημιώσει τὸν ιδιώτην ὕπνος. μικρῶν γάρ, οἶμαι, κύριος, οἰκιδίου φαύλου καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἀνδραπόδων καὶ δραχμῶν οὐ πολλῶν, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπέχρησε μέτρον εἰς βουλήν τε καὶ ἔργον. τί λέγω τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπάσης, ἐπεὶ σμικρὸν ἡμέρας μέτρον ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρωθεν δέχεται; κἂν εἴ τις αὐτῷ κελεύει τὸ μὴ καθεύδειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὥ βέλτιστε, φῆσαι, τί γὰρ περιβέβλημαι τοσοῦτον ὅσον καὶ νυκτὸς προσδεῖν; (12) εἰ τοίνυν οὐδεμία ζημία τοῖς ιδιώταις ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδειν παρὰ τὸ μὴ πολλοῖς ἐφεστηκέναι πράγμασιν, οἷς γε συμβαίνει πολλῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι κυρίοις, τούτοις ἢ μεγίστη βλάβη, τὸν ὕπνον εἰ μὴ φεύγοιεν.

(13) Ὅρας, ὦ ἡγαθέ, τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὃν οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τις ἀμαρτεῖν εἰπὼν βασιλέα τῆς νεώς; οὐ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης ἐπὶ τῶν οἰάκων κάθηται τὰ ὄμματα στήσας ἀκριβῶς πρὸς τὰ ἄστρα καὶ οὐ φιλονικεῖ τοῖς ναύταις περὶ τῆς ἀναπαύλης; καὶ οἱ μὲν κείνται καθεύδοντες μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ῥαστώνης, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν καταστροφμάτων, οἱ δὲ ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ νηί. ὁ δὲ οὐ ζηλοτυπεῖ τῆς ῥαστώνης ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ καθεύδειν αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἀποδίδωσι τὸ τρυφᾶν.

(14) οὐδ' ἔπεισεν ἡ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα τὸν Ἕκτορα ἀναπαύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ μέγιστα κατορθοῦν ἡξίου καὶ συνῆγεν οὓς ἐχρῆν καὶ δώρων ὑποσχέσει πρὸς κατασκοπὴν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐξήγειρε. (15) καὶ μηδεὶς ἐννοεῖτω τὸ τέλος εἶ γε βαρὺ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τὸ βούλευμα λόγον εἶχε τινα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ τύχη κυρία, τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν. (16) ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐκεῖνος εἰ δουλεύειν ᾤετο δεῖν ὕπνῳ, τίς ἂν ἤγειρε τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς σύλλογον; πότε δ' ἂν ὁ Διομήδης Ὀδυσσέα λαβὼν ἐσκέψατο τὰ τῶν

the best course, or having found out what is best, are unable to manage their affairs.

CONTRAST

(11) Kings are led to this necessity because of the number of their responsibilities and the number of people under their rule. But without these it is also possible for one to sleep. The proof of this is that sleep will not damage the private individual at all; for being in charge, I suppose, of little things—a humble little house, three or four slaves, and not many drachmas—the length of the day is sufficient both for planning and for work. Why do I speak of the whole day, when both of these activities together take up only a small part of the day? And if someone should order him not only not to sleep, but also to spend that time in contemplation, he would say, “My good sir, how have I involved myself in so much as to have need of the night, as well?” (12) Well then, if no harm comes to private individuals from sleeping because they are not in charge of many affairs, the greatest harm comes to those who happen to be in charge of many affairs, if they do not avoid sleep.

COMPARISON

(13) Do you see, my good man, the helmsman, whom, it seems to me, one would not be wrong to call the king of the ship? When night has fallen, does he not sit at the helm, fixing his eyes intently on the stars, and compete against the sailors over rest? And they lie there sleeping in great relaxation, some on the deck, others in the ship’s hold. But he is not jealous of them for their leisure; rather, by not sleeping himself, he allows them to live in luxury.

EXAMPLE

(14) Nor did nightfall convince Hector to rest, but instead he saw fit to accomplish the greatest things during the night, and he convened those whom he ought, and with the promise of gifts he roused his friends for a reconnaissance mission.³ (15) And let no one consider whether the outcome was distressing, but only whether or not the plan had some justification;⁴ for Fortune is in charge of the outcome, but we depend on our own resources for the plan. (16) If the famous Agamemnon thought that he had to be a slave to sleep, who would have awakened the nobles for a meeting?⁵ When would

3. Homer, *Il.* 10.299–331.

4. The “outcome was distressing” because Dolon was killed by Odysseus and Diomedes (Homer, *Il.* 10.332–464).

5. Homer, *Il.* 2.41–75.

πολεμίων πράγματα; οὕτω καὶ Τροίαν Ἕλληνες παρεστήσαντο. οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς παρέδωκε τὴν Πριάμου πόλιν τῶν μὲν Τρώων ὑπὸ μέθῃ κειμένων, τῶν δὲ οὐχ ἡττηθέντων ὕπνου.

(17) καὶ τί δεῖ <τὰ> παλαιὰ λέγειν; ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπανταχοῦ περιφερόμενον τίς οὐκ οἶδε λόγον ὃς φησι δεῖν ἐν νυκτὶ βουλῆς ἔχεσθαι; ὁ δὲ σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς τί μαθὼν εὐφρόνην ἀπεκάλει τὴν νύκτα; οὐχ ὅτι τὸ φρονεῖν ὡς ἄριστα τότε μάλιστα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραγίνεται;

(18) Εἰς ταῦτα ὁρῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποσειέσθω τὸν ὕπνον εἰδὼς ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοῦ ῥαθυμεῖν καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπιτάττειν.

2. Ἡ αὐτὴ γνώμη ἐτέρως.

(1) Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς τῷ μὲν τὰς τῶν Τρώων διηγεῖσθαι συμφορὰς ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνην μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παρακαλεῖν δεικνὺς ἃ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἀναμένει κακά, τῷ δὲ λέγειν τοὺς Ὀδυσσέως ἄθλους καρτερικοὺς φαίνεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεργάζεσθαι. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν πάντα φέρειν παιδευθεῖη ὁρῶν ἐκείνον ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ προπηλακιζόμενον, ἔχοντα δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀναμένοντα; (2) ποιῶν δὲ ἀμείνους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῷ τῶν ὑποθέσεων

Diomedes have taken Odysseus along to spy on the affairs of the enemy?⁶ In this way, too, the Greeks conquered Troy. This critical time handed the city of Priam over to the Achaeans, when the Trojans were lying down under the influence of strong wine but the Achaeans had not succumbed to sleep.⁷

TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS

(17) And why must we discuss ancient examples? Who does not know the saying in circulation everywhere, which states that one must hold deliberations at night?⁸ What had the wise Sophocles learned to make him call the night “sensibly minded”?⁹ Was it not because it is especially at that time that men are able to think most effectively?

BRIEF EPILOGUE

(18) Looking to these considerations, let the king shake off sleep, knowing that it is not possible to relax and to be in charge of many men at the same time.

MAXIM 2: THE SAME MAXIM IN A DIFFERENT WAY.¹⁰

BRIEF PRAISE:

(1) Homer the poet, by narrating the misfortunes of the Trojans, seems to me to be summoning mankind to righteousness when he reveals the evils that await wrongdoers, but by discussing the labors of Odysseus, he appears to make mankind more steadfast; for who would not become educated to endure every challenge when he sees that man in the epic being grossly abused by his servants, but having only his two hands to help him and waiting for the right moment to act?¹¹ (2) Making mankind better by the overall purpose of his

6. Homer, *Il.* 10.241–298.

7. Virgil, *Aen.* 2.265; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.17–19.

8. The similar proverbial expression “deliberation at night” (ἐν νυκτὶ βουλευῖν) is discussed by Diogenianus 2.46, in Ernst L. von Leutsch and Friedrich G. Schneidewin, eds., *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1839–1851), 2:25; Gregory of Cyprus 2.4 (Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, 2:68); Apostolius and Arsenius 7.47 (Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, 2:406); and Zenobius 3.97 (Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, 1:82). Similarly, see Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.12; Plutarch, *Them.* 26.2; and the proverb cited in Maxim 2.11.

9. Or “kindly” (εὐφρόνην): Sophocles, *El.* 19.

10. See the introductory note to Maxim 1.

11. Odysseus: Homer, *Od.* 17–24.

βουλήματι οὐχ ἥττον διὰ τῶν παραινέσεων ἃς ἐγκατέπλεκεν ὠφελεῖ νῦν μὲν λέγων ὅπως δεῖ προσφέρεσθαι ξένοις, νῦν δὲ ὅπως θεοῖς, πάλιν δὲ ἥτινι γνώμη χρηστέον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδύνοις.

(3) πάντα μὲν οὖν ἐπαίνων ἄξια, νικᾶται δὲ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ ἀγρυπνίας εἰρημένῳ. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἄρχοντα ποιήσας ἀγαθὸν <ἀγαθοὺς> δι' ἐκείνου <καὶ> τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐποίησε. θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις τὸ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ μελῆσαι καὶ τοῦ περὶ τούτων βουλευομένου. οἷς φεύγειν χρῆναι τὸν ὕπνον εἰπὼν οὐ δι' ὅλου προσέθηκεν, ἀλλ' ἠξίωσε τὸν καιρὸν τέμνειν εἰς ὕπνον καὶ φροντίδα. οὐ χρὴ γάρ φησι παννύχιον εὔδειν ἄνδρα μεγάλην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως εἰπών.

(4) ὅρα γὰρ πόσα περιέστηκε τὸν βασιλεύοντα. πλήθους ἐπιμελήσεται στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὅπως ἔσσονται κρείττους τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μελέτης εἰδὼς ὅτι μετ' ἀμαθίας τὸ πλῆθος ἄχρηστον. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅπλων ποιήσεται καὶ τροφῆς φροντίδα, ὅπως τὰ μὲν ἄριστα κατασκευασθῇ, τὴν δὲ ἔχωσιν ἄφθονον. τοῖς δὲ παρακελεύσεται τὸ τεῖχος παρασκευάζειν, τοῖς δὲ τάφρον περιελαύνειν, τοῖς δὲ σκόλοπας καταπηγνύναι. (5) σκοπεῖτω δὲ τῶν νεῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τούτων τίνες ἀκέραιοι, τίνες δὲ χρήζουσαι θεραπείας. σκοπεῖτω δὲ περὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν, περὶ τῶν ἰππέων, περὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τὰ μὲν καλῶς κείμενα φυλαττέτω, τὰ δὲ κακῶς ἐπανορθοῦτω πρὸς τὸ χρηστότερον, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ὅπως ἕξει στάσιν ποιεῖτω. (6) μυρία παρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἂν ἀπαιτοῖτο, κάπειδὴ μικρὸν εἰς βουλάς καὶ πράξεις τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μέτρον, δεῖται καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀποδιδόναι τῇ περὶ ταῦτα προνοίᾳ. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ διατηρήσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἂν μὲν ἡ νύξ δέχεται τὰς βουλάς, τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας φανείσης ἐπιτελῇ τὰ δόξαντα.

(7) Ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν πολλῶν ἡγούμενον Ὅμηρος λέγει, τὸν δὲ ιδιώτην ἀφίησι καθεύδειν. τί γὰρ ἂν τις αὐτὸν ταύτης ἀποστεροῖ τῆς ἡδονῆς δυοῖν

plots no less than by the exhortations that he wove into his poems, Homer helps us by saying that one must offer hospitality now to strangers, now to the gods, and moreover by saying what outlook one must adopt when undergoing dangers on behalf of one's country.

PARAPHRASE

(3) So while all these maxims are praiseworthy, they are surpassed by the one addressed to kings on the subject of avoiding sleep.¹² For indeed, having made the ruler a good man, he <also> made his subjects <good> through him. One might admire the fact that Homer was concerned both with affairs and with the man who deliberates over them. In saying to these men that they should avoid sleep, he did not add the words "all the time," but instead saw fit to divide that critical time into a period of sleep and a period of reflection; for he declares that "a man having great authority should not sleep all night," saying this beautifully and fittingly.

CAUSE

(4) For see how many responsibilities surround the king. He will be concerned with a great number of soldiers, and with how they will be superior to their adversaries in courage, and with their training in weaponry, knowing that without instruction his great numbers are useless. For these reasons he will take thought for weapons and food, so that the best of both may be prepared and they may have them in abundance. Some he will order to build a wall, others to surround the camp with a trench, and still others to build palisades. (5) Let him consider the number of ships and which of these are in good shape, which in need of repair. Let him think about the archers, about the cavalry, about the hoplites, and let him preserve what is in good condition, but straighten out for the better what is in poor condition, and let him sow dissension among the enemy. (6) The king would be subjected to incessant demands by his affairs, and since the length of a day is too short for deliberation and for action, he also needs to devote no small part of the night to thinking about these things; for if the nighttime receives his deliberations, but he carries out what he has decided when daylight comes, this will protect his rule for him.

CONTRAST

(7) That is what Homer says to the man who is in charge of many, but the private individual he permits to sleep; for why would someone take the

12. Homer, *Il.* 2.24.

ἀνδραπόδοιν κύριον καὶ μνῶν τεττάρων, εἰ δὲ βούλει, πλειόνων ταλάντων; περὶ γὰρ τοσούτων πρὸς τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας καθεύδων τὸ πλεῖον [καὶ] βουλευέσθαι δύναιτ' ἂν ἤδη. (8) τοῖς μὲν οὖν ιδιώταις πολλὴν παρέχει τὴν ἀνάπαυλαν τὸ μὴ περὶ πολλῶν ἡναγκάσθαι φροντίζειν, τοὺς δὲ γε βασιλεῖς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἀρχῶν αἷς ἐφεστήκασιν ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ὕπνον.

καὶ μὴν κάκεῖνο αἰσχρὸν τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὑπομένειν ἀμείνους εἶναι τῶν τὰ τηλικαῦτα ἐγκεχειρισμένων. νόμος γὰρ οὗτος κυβερνητῶν κρείττους εἶναι τῆς ὕπνων δυναστείας. καίτοι τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρώσιν ἐπὶ τῶν καταστροφμάτων καθεύδοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν αὐτῶν ἀφέντες πόνον πρὸς τὰ κείνων καταφέρονται, ἀλλ' ἴσασις ὅτι ναύτης μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἦν τέτακται καθεύδειν τέτακται, κυβερνήτην δὲ ἢ τῆς νεῶς ἀρχὴ βλέπειν ἐπαναγκάζει πρὸς τὰ ἄστρα.

(9) Σκόπει δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν τὴν συμβουλὴν δεξάμενον οἷός τις ἦν ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα. τὸν μὲν ὕπνον ἀπεσεύσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἀρίστους συνήγαγε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων σκεψομένους καὶ τηλικούτον εἰργάσατο διὰ τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἔργον ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Τρῶας εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καίτοι κακῶς πεπραχόσι θαρρῆσαι παρασχεῖν. (10) οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ὁ τῶν Τρώων στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῆς εὐημερίας εἰς ῥαστώνην ἀπέκλινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄθλα προὔτιθει τῆς νυκτὸς τοῖς τολμῶσι τῷ νεωρίῳ προσελθεῖν, καὶ τύχη μὲν ὁ Δόλων ἐχρήσατο χεῖρονι, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐλέγχει τὴν Ἑκτορος βουλὴν ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἀγαθή.

(11) ὅλως δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἡ φύσις συμπράττει πρὸς εὐβουλίαν οὐχ ἐλκομένου τῇδε κάκεῖσε τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πραττομένων ταρattoμένης, ἀλλ' ἡσυχία ῥαδίως εὕρισκούς τὸ

owner of two slaves and four *mnai*—or if you wish, the owner of a great many talents—and deprive him of this pleasure? For if in addition to the night, he were to sleep away most of the day as well, he would still have time to deliberate about so few concerns. (8) To private individuals, then, he offers the great relief of not being forced to take thought for many things, but as for kings, the immensity of the duties for which they are responsible robs them of their sleep.

COMPARISON

Moreover, this is also shameful: for helmsmen to dare to be better than the men who have taken care of so many tasks; for this is the law of helmsmen: to be superior to the power of sleep. And even though they see the rest sleeping on the deck, they do not for this reason relinquish their task and lie down with the others; rather, they know that the sailors have been ordered to sleep because of the post to which they have been assigned, while command of the ship compels the helmsman to look toward the stars.

EXAMPLE

(9) Consider now this man Agamemnon, the one who received this advice, what sort of man he was in the events that followed. He shook off sleep and convened the nobles to consider the affairs of the enemy,¹³ and he accomplished so great a deed through the men sent out during the night¹⁴ that he cast the Trojans into despair and provided the Greeks, although they had fared badly, a reason to take heart. (10) Well now, not only did the general of the Trojans not incline toward laziness during the daytime, but he also put up prizes himself for anyone who would dare to approach the dockyard by night;¹⁵ and Dolon met with very bad luck,¹⁶ but this does not prove that Hector's plan was not a good one.

TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS

(11) In sum, the nature of night contributes to good planning, since one's reasoning is not distracted this way and that, and when the soul is not being disturbed by the great number of things being done during the day, it easily discovers what must be done in peace and quiet. For this reason the night is

13. Homer, *Il.* 2.41–75.

14. Odysseus and Diomedes: Homer, *Il.* 10.241–298.

15. Hector: Homer, *Il.* 10.299–331.

16. Homer, *Il.* 10.332–464.

δέον. ἐντεῦθεν εὐφρόνη καλεῖται παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ἢ νύξ καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐποίησε τὰς βουλάς εἰς τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ἄγειν καιρόν.

(12) Ταῦτα δεῖ πάντα τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐνθυμουμένους ἥκιστα μὲν ὕπνῳ δουλεύειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ φροντίζειν ἔχεσθαι.

3. Δεῖ δὴ χρημάτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων.

(1) Ἔστι μὲν τὸ χρησιμώτατον πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ῥητορικὴ, τῶν δ' αὖ ῥητόρων τὸ κεφάλαιον Δημοσθένης. ὃς παρήλθε μὲν τὸν Ἰσοκράτην, ἀπέκρυψε δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ διδάσκαλον Ἰσαῖον, κρείττων δὲ φανεῖς καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἄμιλλαν ἔδωκεν, ὧν δὲ λέγειν ἄριστος πολὺ βελτίων ἦν τὴν προαίρεσιν, ὃς κατὰ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἐδέξατο χρυσίον, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐνεγκούσης διετέλεσε πονῶν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ γενέσθαι πονηρὸς ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπηνάγκαζεν εἶναι χρηστούς.

(2) τῶν μὲν οὖν πολιτευμάτων οἷς ὥρθου τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐν ἑτέροις καιροῖς μνημονεύομεν, νῦν δέ μοι τὴν γνώμην ἐκείνην ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι, δι' ἧς οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκκλησιάζοντας ἡνίκα παρήλθεν ὤνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς οἷς ὁμιλῆσαι τοῖς ἐκείνου συγγράμμασιν ὑπῆρχεν. ἀποφαίνεται γὰρ τὸ δεῖν χρημάτων ὥς οὐκ ἐνὸν ἄλλως ἢ μετ' ἐκείνων τὰ δέοντα πραχθῆναι.

called “sensibly minded” by the poets,¹⁷ and this gave rise to the proverbial expression “to lead deliberations into the time of night.”¹⁸

BRIEF EPILOGUE

(12) Taking all these points into consideration, kings must become slaves to sleep least of all, and must hold fast to contemplation most of all.

MAXIM 3: “THERE IS NEED OF MONEY, AND WITHOUT IT NONE OF OUR NECESSITIES CAN EXIST.”¹⁹

BRIEF PRAISE

(1) The most useful of all things in life is rhetoric, and of orators the pinnacle is Demosthenes. He surpassed Isocrates, put his teacher Isaeus in the shade,²⁰ and having shown himself superior to both his contemporaries and his predecessors, he left to posterity no way to match him; and though being the best at speaking he was even better in terms of his character—a man who did not accept bribes of gold against his fatherland, but spent his life laboring on behalf of his mother country, and who was so far from being wicked that he even compelled the rest to be virtuous.²¹

PARAPHRASE

(2) The policies, then, by which he set Athens on the right track we will commemorate on other occasions, but at present it has occurred to me to admire this maxim of his, through which he helped not only the members of the Assembly when he came forward to speak, but also everyone in general who has ever had the chance to become acquainted with his published writings; for he affirms the necessity of money on the grounds that it is impossible to achieve what is necessary without it.

17. Or “kindly” (εὐφρόνη). The other version of this maxim (see Maxim 1.17) cites Sophocles, *El.* 19.

18. See note on Maxim 1.17.

19. Demosthenes 1.20, from his recommendation that the Theoric Fund be diverted to military purposes. For the theme, see Aphthonius 7; with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 2 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:279,20–80,31); George Pachymeres (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:555,10–16); and Anonymous (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:605,20–8,31). See also *Invective* 5 and 6.

20. Plutarch says that Demosthenes chose the orator Isaeus as his teacher over the orator Isocrates, either because he preferred Isaeus’s style or because he could not afford Isocrates’ tuition: *Dem.* 5.4; cf. [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 844B–C.

21. Cf. *Encomium* 5.

(3) Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου ταῦτα, μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πράγματα. πρῶτον μὲν, ἴν' ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου ποιήσωμαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαιότατα δι' ἐκείνων γίνεται, τὰ τείχη, τὰ ὅπλα, νῆες, νεώσοικοι, λουτρῶν χάριτες, ἱερῶν κάλλη, χαρακώματα, τάφροι. (4) καὶ μὴν τῶν μὲν θεῶν εὐνοϊαν αἱ θυσίαι προσάγονται, λαμπρῶς δὲ θύειν τοῖς εὐποροῦσιν ὑπάρχει. ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. στρατεία δὲ πῶς ἂν ἐκπεμφθεῖη συμμάχοις κινδυνεύουσιν ἄνευ σιτηρεσίου; σιτηρέσιον δὲ πῶς ἂν γένοιτο χρημάτων χωρίς;

(5) Οὐ τοίνυν τὰ μὲν τῶν πόλεων οὕτω, τὰ δὲ καθέκαστον ἐτέρως, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα τὸ ἴσον κρατεῖ. σκεψώμεθα γάρ. δεῖ μὲν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι, δεῖ δὲ γύναιον ἄγεσθαι, δεῖ δὲ τοὺς γινομένους παῖδας τρέφειν. τούτων δὲ ἕκαστον ἐκ δαπάνης ὀρμᾶται. εἰ τῶν ἀρρωστούντων ἀφέλοις τὰ χρήματα, ταχὺ τεθνήξονται, εἰ τῶν σοφίας ἐπιθυμούντων, οὐδέποτε κτήσονται. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ βιβλία ὠνεῖσθαι, δεῖ δὲ τὰς μαθήσεις παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων πρίασθαι. ἀπλῶς δὲ τῶν τε τὰς ψυχὰς ὠφελούντων καὶ τῶν τὰ σώματα φυλαττόντων οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐκεῖθεν λαμβάνει, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐσθῆτα δεῖ χρημάτων, ὧν χωρὶς οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὴν κτήσασθαι. (6) τίς δ' ἂν ἀποδημία συμφέρουσα γένοιτο μὴ τούτων ὑπόντων; τίς δ' ἂν χρήσιμος πρὸς τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν φανείη μὴ χορηγῶν, μὴ λειτουργῶν, μὴ τριηραρχῶν, μὴ πρῶτος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδόσεσιν ἐνδεικνύμενος; οὐκ ἂν τυραννὶς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρκέσειε πενία συνευγμένη, οὐκ ἂν βασιλεία ταύτης ὑποῦσης. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἴσμεν χρημάτων ἀπορία ταχέως κινουμένην. μετὰ τούτων ἔστι καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ὠφελεῖν καὶ τῶν δυσμενῶν κρατεῖν. πρόχειρον γὰρ τοὺς εὐπόρους ξενικῶν προσθήκη τὰς δυνάμεις αὐξῆσαι.

(7) Εἰ τοίνυν οἷς περιουσία χρημάτων, τούτοις ἅπαντα χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν, ἀνάγκη μὴδὲν πληροῦσθαι τῶν δεόντων, ἔνθα τούτων ἡ σπάνις. οὔτε ἄνευ ὀπλων ἔστι ποιεῖσθαι πόλεμον οὔτε ἄνευ σκάφους περαιοῦσθαι τὴν θάλατταν

CAUSE

(3) That is what Demosthenes says, but the facts corroborate his argument. First, so that I may begin with the most important point, the most necessary items for cities come about through money: walls, weapons, ships, docks, delightful baths, beautiful temples, palisades, and trenches. (4) Moreover, sacrifices elicit the goodwill of the gods, and the ability to perform splendid sacrifices belongs to the rich. Furthermore, one could say the same about dedications, too. And how could an expedition be sent out to support allies who are in danger, without provisions? And how could there be provisions without money?

(5) Well then, it is not the case that the affairs of cities are like this, while those of individuals are different; rather, the maxim is equally valid there, too; for let us consider: it is necessary to build a house, it is necessary to marry a wife, and it is necessary to raise the children that are born. Each of these begins with expenditure. If you rob the sick of their money, they will quickly die; if you take it from those who have a desire for wisdom, they will never acquire it; for it is necessary to buy books; it is necessary to purchase lessons from those with knowledge. In short, of all the things that benefit our souls and protect our bodies, there is nothing that does not have its origin in money, since even in the case of our very clothing there is need of money, without which it is impossible to acquire any. (6) How could a trip abroad be successful if no money were available? Who could prove himself useful to the city that bore him if he could not serve as producer of a choral performance, perform liturgies, outfit a warship, or show himself the leader in voluntary donations?²² A tyranny wedded to poverty would not last long, nor would a kingship under these conditions. And we know that democracy quickly gets into turmoil when there is a lack of money. With money, it is possible both to help one's friends and to master one's enemies; for it is easy for the rich to increase the numbers of our armed forces by the addition of paid mercenaries.

CONTRAST AND COMPARISON

(7) Well then, if for those who have an abundance of money everything goes according to design, it is necessarily the case that none of the necessities will be fulfilled when there is a shortage of it. It is possible neither to make war without weapons, nor to cross the sea without a boat, nor to walk without

22. The author is still thinking of Demosthenes, the source of the maxim under discussion. See the encomium of Demosthenes (Encomium 5, below). Serving as producer of a choral performance (the *choregia*) and paying to outfit a warship (the *trierarchia*) were two of the "liturgies" at Athens, a system of obligatory public benefactions imposed on the very rich.

οὔτε βαδίζειν χωρὶς ποδῶν οὔτε ἄνευ χρημάτων τοῦ δέοντος τυχεῖν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστερημένον οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρᾶν, οὕτω τὸν ἐν ἐνδείᾳ καθεστῶτα χρημάτων ἃ προσῆκεν οὐκ ἔστι ποιεῖν.

(8) Ἀπόβλεψον δὴ εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ παραδείγματος θαυμάση τὸν λόγον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἕως ἐθάρρουν μυρίοις ταλάντοις ἐν ἀκροπόλει κειμένοις, ἡγοῦντο μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκράτουν δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἦσαν δὲ φοβερώτεροι τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ· ἐπεὶ δὲ προΐων ὁ χρόνος ἐξανάλωσε τὰς περιουσίας, ὑπέκυψαν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, τυράννους δὲ παρεδέξαντο, κατέσκαψαν δὲ τὰ τείχη τῶν δυσμενῶν κελευόντων. (9) ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοίνυν τῶν καιρῶν ἐν οἷς ἐπολιτεύετο Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐλυμήνατο τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥς τὸ τῆς ἀπορίας. οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι Φίλιππον ἠΐξῃσεν ἢ τὸ πλουτεῖν, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσε τῷ κεκτηθῆναι χρυσίον ὥστε τῶν ἄμεινον ἡσκημένων πολεμεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἐπρίατο τοὺς παρ' ἐκάστη προστάτας ὠνούμενος.

(10) Οὐ τοίνυν Δημοσθένης μὲν οὕτως, ἄλλως δὲ Πίνδαρος, οὐδ' οὔτοι μὲν πάντα συνάδουσι, Θουκυδίδης δὲ τοῦναντίον φθέγγεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήτορας καὶ συγγραφέας καὶ ποιητὰς ταῦτόν εὐρήσεις λέγοντας· δεῖ χρημάτων τοῖς μὴ μέλλουσιν ἀμαρτήσεσθαι τοῦ δέοντος.

ὥστ', εἴπερ καὶ ὑμῖν ἔρως τοῦ κατορθοῦν, ἐπιμελητέον πόρων.

feet, nor to obtain what is necessary without money; for just as it is impossible for someone deprived of his eyes to see, so also it is impossible for one deprived of money to do what is appropriate.

EXAMPLE

(8) Look now toward the city of the Athenians and admire the argument all the more from their example; for as long as they confidently relied upon their tens of thousands of talents laid up in reserve on the Acropolis, they led the Greeks, dominated the Spartans, and became a real terror to the king of the Persians. But when the passage of time used up their wealth, they submitted to the yoke of their enemies, allowed tyrants to enter in, and destroyed their walls at the behest of the enemy.²³ (9) Furthermore, in the very times in which Demosthenes conducted his political career, nothing was so ruinous to their affairs as the lack of resources. And it was nothing other than being wealthy that made Philip powerful, and he became so strong by possessing gold that he purchased the cities of people who were better trained in warfare, by first purchasing the leaders of each.²⁴

TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS

(10) Well then, it is not the case that Demosthenes says one thing²⁵, while Pindar says the opposite,²⁶ nor that these two authors agree on everything, while Thucydides says something completely different.²⁷ Rather, you will find orators and historians and poets saying the same thing: “There is need of money for those who intend not to miss out on the necessities.”

BRIEF EPILOGUE

So, if you, too, have a passionate desire for success, you must take care of your finances.

23. An overview of fifth-century B.C.E. Athenian history perhaps based on Demosthenes 3.23–26 and Aeschines 2.77.

24. Cf. Encomium 5.6–7, 12, 16 with notes.

25. Demosthenes 1.20.

26. Pindar, *Pyth.* 5.1–4.

27. Thucydides 1.2.1–2.

THE EXERCISES IN REFUTATION AND CONFIRMATION

Refutation (*anaskeuê*) and confirmation (*kataskeuê*) were treated as a single exercise by [Hermogenes] and Nicolaus, as two separate exercises by Aphthonius, and as a skill to be applied to other exercises by Theon. In addition to his main discussion under the heading of narrative (93–96), Theon also discusses the refutation of fable (74, 76–78), anecdote and maxim (101, 103, 104–106), description (120), and law (129–130, with additional text from the Armenian version in the edition of Patillon and Bolognesi, 99–102). Some theorists in antiquity believed that refutation, when inappropriately applied to accounts that everyone does or should believe, could be a waste of the speaker's time and could hurt his reputation. Rather, refutations and confirmations should be attempted only where there is some room for debate ([Hermogenes] 11; Aphthonius 10, 13; Nicolaus 21–22, 29–30). In order to refute a mythological or other narrative, one should argue that it is unclear, implausible, impossible, illogical or inconsistent, inappropriate, and inexpedient, using only those heads that are relevant and placing them in the most effective order.

Refutation 2 and Confirmation 3 were declared spurious by Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2520. They also suggested that the author of these two pieces also composed Anecdote 4 and Maxim 3; this view is followed by Hock and O’Neil, *Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*, 136–37. Norman, *The Julianic Oration*, xlix, however, believed that Refutation 2 was genuine. For more on the exercises in refutation and confirmation, see Theon 93–96; [Hermogenes] 11; Aphthonius 10–16; and Nicolaus 29–35. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:86–97.

1. Ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς τὸν Χρύσην εἰς τὸν ναύσταθμον ἐλθεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

(1) Οὐδ' ἄλλον μὲν ἡξίουσαν οὐδένα τῶν ποιητῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀμελεῖν, ἄλλως θ' ὅτε καὶ παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν κινούμενοί φασι λέγειν ἃ λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν ὅπως τι λέξουσιν ἀληθὲς ἢ ὅπως τὸν ἀκούοντα τέρψουσιν. Ὅμηρον δὲ μάλιστα πάντων ἔδει τοῦτο φυγεῖν οὕτως ὄντα γενναῖον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ. (2) νῦν δὲ φαίνεται καὶ αὐτὸς ψευδῇ διώκων ἐν ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Ἰλιάδος εὐθύς. λέγει γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν Χρύσην ἐπὶ λύσει τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ ποιεῖσθαι διπλὴν τὴν ἰκετείαν, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, τυχόντα δὲ τῶν πολλῶν <εὐμενῶν> χαλεποῦ πειρᾶσθαι τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ λόγους ἀκούειν ἀπειλῆς γέμοντας. ἤλγησε, φησί, οἷς ὑβρίσθη καὶ κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δεόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀμείψασθαι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ δίκην λαβεῖν παρ' Ἑλλήνων. (3) ταῦτά φησιν Ὅμηρος, τούτοις οὐ πείθομαι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐτόλμησε γέρων ἄνθρωπος παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλθεῖν; ὃ μὴδὲ νεανίας ὑπέμεινεν ἂν. οὐς γὰρ ἐπιόντας φεύγειν εἰκός, πῶς εἰς τούτους ἐλθεῖν ἂν ἠθέλησεν, οὐς ἤδει μισοῦντας τὸ Ἴλιον, πορθοῦντας τοὺς περιοίκους; (4) ὁ πόθος τῆς θυγατρὸς ταῦτα ἠνάγκαζεν. ἀλλ' ὁ φόβος τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκώλυεν. ἦν δ' ἱκανὰ κάκεῖνα παραμυθεῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μὴ μόνον δυστυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ὧν παῖδες οἱ μὲν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, οἱ δὲ κατεῖχοντο. ἔπειτα τὸ τῆς βασιλίδος τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα τάξιν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔχειν. ἤκουε γὰρ ἴσως παρὰ τῶν ἀγγελόντων τὴν περὶ τὸ γύναιον τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδὴν, ὡς ἀγαπᾶται καὶ ὡς θαυμάζεται καὶ πάντα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κουφίζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν λύπην ἡδύνατο καὶ φόβον παρῆχεν αἰτεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντι.

(5) Νῆ Δία, ἀλλὰ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ καὶ τοῖς στέμμασιν ἐθάρρει. καὶ τίς λόγος τοῖς πολεμίοις τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις θεῶν; οὐχ ἑώρα τὰς ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως <ἀλούσας> πόλεις πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν ἐν αἷς τεμένη πολλά, πολλοὶ δὲ βωμοί,

THE EXERCISE IN REFUTATION

REFUTATION 1: THAT IT IS NOT PLAUSIBLE THAT CHRYSES WENT TO THE HARBOR OF THE GREEKS.¹

(1) I have never thought it admirable even for one of the other poets to lack a concern for truth, especially when they claim that they say what they are saying under inspiration from the Muses; rather, I have always thought it more admirable for them to be eager to say something true than to delight the listener. But Homer, most of all, should have avoided this, as he is so noble and magnificent. (2) But now he himself, too, is apparently pursuing lies, both in quite a few other passages and in the very first part of the *Iliad*.² For he says that Chryses came to the Greek ships to ransom his daughter and made a two-part supplication, one addressed to the masses and one to the leaders, and that having found the majority <well-disposed toward him> he tested the leader and found him harsh, and he heard from him words that were loaded with threats. He was pained, Homer says, by the fact that he was mistreated, and he fled for refuge to Apollo, begging him to repay them for what had happened and to exact punishment from the Greeks. (3) That is what Homer says, but I do not believe it. For how would an old man have dared to go to the enemy? Not even a young man would risk that. These were people at whose approach he probably would have fled: how could he have been willing to go to them, knowing that they hated Troy and were plundering the surrounding peoples? (4) “Longing for his daughter forced him to do it.” But fear of the enemy prevented him. And the following was sufficient to console him. First, that he was not the only one to suffer, but that he shared this with many others, some of whose children had died, while others were being held hostage. Next, that his daughter held the position of a queen among the Greeks; for he probably heard from those who informed him about the king’s zeal for his concubine that she was loved and admired and meant everything to him.³ And this was able to alleviate his grief, and it offered him a reason to be afraid to ask for her return.

(5) “Yes, by Zeus, but he could be confident in his scepter and ribbons.”⁴ And what stock did the Greeks put in the enemy’s gods? Did he not see the more than twenty cities <sacked> by Achilles,⁵ in which there were many sacred precincts, many altars, many temples, many statues, against all of

1. For the story, see Homer, *Il.* 1.1–52. Cf. Confirmation 2.3–12.

2. Homer, *Il.* 1.1–52.

3. Homer, *Il.* 1.112–115.

4. Homer, *Il.* 1.14, 28; cf. Confirmation 2.5.

5. Homer, *Il.* 9.328–329.

πολλοὶ δὲ νεφέ, πολλὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα, οἷς ἅπασιν σίδηρον καὶ πῦρ ἐπήνεγκαν Ἕλληνες; πῶς οὖν οἱ ταῦτα ἐν φαύλῳ πεποιημένοι πάντα ἔμελλον χαριεῖσθαι τῷ Χρύσῃ διὰ τὸ σκῆπτρον;

(6) Πόσης δὲ ἀνοίας τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους μετὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἰκετεύειν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὄχλος ἐκράτει, τί τοῖς Ἀτρείδαις διελέγετο; εἰ δὲ τῶν Ἀτρείδων τὸ κράτος, τί τῶν πολλῶν ὄφελος;

(7) Ἀλλὰ δεδόσθω τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης ἀμαρτάνειν τοῦ προσήκοντος. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες δοκοῦσιν ἂν πρὶν ὅ τι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀρέσκει μαθεῖν συναγορεῦσαι τῷ γέροντι καὶ βοηθῆσαι; τουτί γὰρ ἦν καταλύειν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰς αὐτοὺς μεθιστάναι. ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ μὲν δημοκρατίας, ἐν βασιλείᾳ δὲ ἡ τοῦ δυναστεύοντος γνώμη νόμος τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐστίν.

(8) Εἰ δ' οὖν ὡς ἀληθῶς συνέβη τι τοιοῦτον καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος κρίσιν ἢ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἔφθασε, δοκῶ μοι μὴ που τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα <ἂν> φιλονεικῆσαι καὶ μάταιον ἐκείνοις ἀποφῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν εἰδότα ὅσαι κατελύθησαν τῶν ἀρχῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀπέχθειαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν πλήθει χειρῶν οὐδ' ἐν ὑπερβολῇ ῥώμῃς τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἔχουσιν οἱ κρατοῦντες τὸ βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπακουόντων εὐνοίᾳ. ἦν εἴ τις μεταστήσειεν ἐπὶ τάναντία, ῥάδιον <ἐκείνους> ἐπαναστῆναι καὶ καθελεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. (9) τοῦτο δὲ οὖν ἐφυλάξατο ἂν καὶ σώματος ἐνὸς ἐπρίατο τὴν βεβαιότητα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν τε πρεσβύτην οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν ὕβρισεν οὗτ' αὐτὸν οὕτε τὸ σκῆπτρον τῷ ἄπρακτον πέμπειν εἰδὼς ἀπαιδευτον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀσελγὲς καὶ πρέπον ἀγοραίῳ τισὶ μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεῖ. (10) τί δ' ἂν καὶ πλέον ἀπὸ τῶν ὕβρισμάτων ἐγένετο κατέχοντι τὴν ἄνθρωπον; ἐξῆν γὰρ δήπου καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν· μάτην ἦκες. οὐ δώσω, τῆς <δ'> εἰς τὸν θεὸν παροινίας οὐχ ὁρῶ τὸ κέρδος. ὅμως δὲ τίς ἢ ταραχὴ τῆς γνώμης; ὥς μὲν γὰρ αἰδοῦμενος τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν προσποιούμενος ἠτίμαζε.

(11) Τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γενέσθαι τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ μειρακύλλιον κομιδῇ μικρὸν πρὸς τοῦτο ἂν ἦλθεν ἀνοίας ὥστε

which the Greeks had brought iron and fire? How, then, were those who had considered all these things worthless going to indulge Chryses' every request, simply because of his scepter?

(6) How foolish could he have been to supplicate the rulers along with their subjects?⁶ For if the masses had the power to decide, why did he discuss it with the Atreidae?⁷ But if power lay with the Atreidae, what was to be gained from the masses?

(7) But let it be granted that he failed to do what was proper because of his grief. Would the Greeks have thought it right to advocate for the old man and help him before learning what was pleasing to the rulers? For this meant destroying their rule and transferring their authority over to themselves. But this is characteristic of a democracy, while in a kingship the will of the sovereign is the law for his subjects.

(8) But if, then, something like this truly occurred and the decision of the king was preempted by that of his subjects, in my opinion there is no way that Agamemnon <would have> behaved contentiously and denounced their enthusiasm in vain, as he knew how many reigns have been destroyed because of the hatred felt by their subjects; for it is not in the great number of their hands nor in their overwhelming strength that rulers find security, but instead in the goodwill of their subordinates, and if someone should turn this goodwill in the opposite direction, it would be easy <for them> to rise up and destroy their reign.⁸ (9) This, then, he would have guarded against, and he would have purchased security for his ruling power at the price of one body. And as for the old man, there is no way that Agamemnon would have abused either him or his scepter by sending him away unsuccessful, since he knew that this behavior was boorish and brutal and more fitting for vulgar men than for a king. (10) And what further advantage could have come to him from abusing the old man, since he was already in possession of the girl? For certainly it was also possible to say this: "You have come in vain. I will not give her back." <And> I do not see the benefit of grossly insulting the god. Still, what is the disorder of his judgment? For he did not kill him, as if out of respect for the god, but he dishonored him, as if making no pretense to respect him.

(11) Who would believe, too, that his curse against the Greeks occurred?⁹ For not even a very young boy would have come to such a point of foolishness

6. Homer, *Il.* 1.15–21.

7. Agamemnon and Menelaus.

8. Cf. Confirmation 2.8.

9. Homer, *Il.* 1.35–42; cf. Confirmation 2.10–12.

παρὰ τῶν βεβοηθηκότων τιμωρίαν ζητεῖν. νῦν δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτης, ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι βεβιωκώς, ὁ τῷ θεῷ φίλος, ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαιοσύνης διδάσκαλος πειρᾶται κινεῖν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βέλη κατὰ τῶν βεβοηθηκότων Ἑλλήνων. (12) καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, ὁ μὲν αἰτεῖται οὕτως ἄτοπα, ὁ δὲ πείθεται καὶ δίδωσιν, ὁ Λητοῦς καὶ Διός, ὁ μισῶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἐγὼ τούτῳ πεισθήσομαι. ἂ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔστιν ἀμαρτεῖν, πῶς ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐχόντων πλημμελοῖτο; ταῦτα καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ βλαβερὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσι. καὶ προσήκει τῶν ποιημάτων ἢ παντάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι ἢ ψυχαγωγίας ἕνεκεν ἅπτεσθαι εἰδότας ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν δύναται ποιεῖν, ἀληθείας δὲ ὠλιγόρηκεν.

2. Ὅτι οὐκ εἰκότα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Αἴαντα τὸν Λοκρόν.

(1) Ἐτερος λόγος οὗτος ψευδὴς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν περὶ τῶν ἐλόντων τὸ Ἴλιον Ἑλλήνων εἰρημένος, βιάσασθαι μὲν τὸν Αἴαντα τὴν Πριάμου Κασάνδραν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδει προσκειμένην τε καὶ δεομένην μὴ τοῦτο παθεῖν, λόγον δὲ οὐδένα τοῦ τετολμημένου ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν Κάλχας εἶπεν ὡς ὠργίζετο ἡ θεός, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην ἐλθεῖν μὲν, λαβεῖν δὲ οὐ δύνηθῆναι προκαταφυγόντος τοῦ τὰ δεινὰ εἰργασμένου πρὸς βωμούς τινας θεῶν. (2) ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκκλησία περὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς. καὶ Μενέλαος μὲν ἐπείγεται καὶ κελεύει πλεῖν εὐθέως, Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ παρήνει προδιαλλάξαντας αὐτοῖς τὴν θεὸν εἶθ' οὕτω πλεῖν. στάσεως δὲ γενομένης τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τινὲς ἦλθόν τε οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπεσώθησαν, ὧν καὶ Νέστωρ ἦν, ὁ Μενέλαος δὲ χειμάζεται καὶ πλὴν πέντε νεῶν ἀπάσας ἀποβαλὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων ἐλαυνόμενος κατηνέχθη.

(3) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο θαυμάσαι τις ἂν, εἰ Αἴας ὁ τῶν Λοκρῶν ἡγεμὼν καὶ τοσαύτας ἄγων ναῦς καὶ πόλεων τοσούτων ἡγούμενος καὶ τιμώμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν οὕτως ἐξεπλάγη παρθένον ἰδὼν ὥστε εὐθὺς μαίνεσθαι καὶ πᾶν δίκαιόν τε καὶ πρέπον

as to seek vengeance on those who had helped him.¹⁰ But now this grown man, a priest, a man who had lived his life among statues of the gods, a friend to the god, a teacher of righteousness for everyone else, is trying to incite the god's arrows against the Greeks who have helped him. (12) And the most terrible thing of all is that while the one is asking for things so absurd, the other obeys and grants them—the son of Leto and Zeus, the god who hates wrongdoers.¹¹ There is no way that I will believe that; for how could those who inhabit the heavens make mistakes that not even the best of men can make? These tales are lies and are harmful to those who hear them. And it is fitting either to stay away from poetry completely or to cling to it because of its power to instruct our souls, knowing that poetry has this power but has always thought little of the truth.

REFUTATION 2: THAT THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST LOCRIAN AJAX ARE NOT PLAUSIBLE.¹²

(1) This is another false story told by the poets about the Greeks who sacked Troy: that Ajax violated Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, who was both sitting beside Athena's shrine and begging not to suffer this; and that the Greeks took no account of this audacious act before Calchas reported that the goddess was angry; and then that the matter came to trial but it was impossible to get a conviction, as the man who had committed these terrible crimes had fled for refuge to certain altars of the gods.¹³ (2) After these events an assembly is held concerning the return voyage. And while Menelaus urges them on and bids them to sail immediately, Agamemnon encourages them to set sail only after reconciling themselves with the goddess.¹⁴ When a disagreement arose among the rest, some, including Nestor, headed for home and got there safely,¹⁵ but Menelaus was tossed by storms and, after losing all but five of his ships, was carried down to Egypt, driven by the winds.¹⁶

(3) First, then, one would be surprised if Ajax—the leader of the Locrians, who led so many ships,¹⁷ commanded so many cities, and was honored among the Greeks for his virtue and for never falling victim to anything disgraceful—was so stricken upon seeing a girl that he immediately went

10. Homer, *Il.* 1.22–23.

11. Apollo.

12. For the theme with partial elaboration, see Theon 94.

13. For the story, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.22–23.

14. Homer, *Od.* 3.134–150.

15. Homer, *Od.* 3.151–192.

16. Homer, *Od.* 3.276–300.

17. Forty ships, according to Homer, *Il.* 2.534.

ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἐννοεῖν ὧν εἰκός, μὴ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, μὴ τοὺς τούτων ἄρχοντας, μὴ φίλους, μὴ δυσμενεῖς, εἴ τινες ἄρα ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, μὴ τὸν νεών, μὴ τοὺς βωμούς, μὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτήν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἦρα τῆς κόρης, καίτοι τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔχον λόγον ἐστὶν ἰδόντα εὐθὺς ἐρασθῆναι. χρόνου γάρ, οἶμαι, τὰ γε τοιαῦτα δεῖται πλείονος καὶ συνεχοῦς ὀψεως καὶ μακροτέρας ὁμιλίας. (4) ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ τοῦτο δοῦναι καὶ ἐγχωρῆσαι, τὴν πρώτην ὅσιν οὕτως ἀφόρητον ἐπιθυμίαν τεκεῖν, τί παθὼν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐμίγνυτο τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀποσπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἄγων ἔπραττεν ὅ τι ἐβούλετο; δεινὸν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο, τὴν ἀδικοῦσαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἀδικουμένην δὲ τὰ μέγιστα μηδὲ τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίας ἀπολαύειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσων ἀρπάζεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν, εἶχε δ' ἂν ἐλάττω τὴν ἀσέβειαν. οὐ γὰρ ἴσον οἶμαι τῷ μίγνυσθαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁρώσης τὸ [τὸν] λαβόντα τὴν κόρην οἴχεσθαι. (5) ἠνάγκαζεν ὁ Ἑρως. ἀλλ' ἡ θεὸς ἐφόβει. πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἄνθρωποι πολλάκις ἀπέχονται καὶ κρείττονας δείσαντες καὶ νόμους καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις λόγον, ἔδει δὲ τὸν Ἑλληνα καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἐρῶντα. (6) θήσω γὰρ <αὐτὸν> τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ κρύψαι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν τιμῶν ὁμολογήσαι τὸ πάθος. ὁμολογήσαντι δὲ καὶ τὴν κόρην ἔχειν ἀξιοῦντι πάντως ἂν ἔδοσαν οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα εἰδότες μεμνημένοι μὲν τῶν πόνων οὓς παρὰ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ἦνεγκεν, αἰδοῦμενοι δὲ τὴν σωφροσύνην τοῦ κατασχόντος αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν ἂν διὰ τέλους τὴν ἐρωμένην, ὥς δὲ νῦν ἔπραξεν, ἀπεστέρηται. δόξας γὰρ ἀδικεῖν καὶ τῆς παρρησίας αὐτὸν οἷς ἔδρασεν ἐκβαλὼν οὐκέτ' εἶχε λέγειν οἷς ποτε ἂν ἐχρήτο.

(7) Εἶεν. ἀλλ' ἡσεβήκει μὲν ἅμα, ἡσεβεῖτο δὲ ἡ θεός, ἔλαθε δὲ τοῦτο οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τί οὖν ἔδει ποιεῖν τοὺς καθημένους; ἀγανακτεῖν, βοᾶν, εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγειν, ἀπαιτεῖν τιμωρίαν, δεικνύειν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. νῦν δὲ τοιοῦτον μὲν οὐδέν, ἡσυχία δὲ πολλή. μᾶλλον δέ, ἡ θεὸς μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πολλὴ δὲ ἡ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν ὁρμή. (8) καὶ ὁ μάντις ἐδίδασκεν ὥς οὕτω καιρός, δεῖν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον θεραπεῦσαι τὴν θεόν. τί γένοιτ' ἂν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνοητότερον; Κάλχαντος ἐδέοντο πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν ὥς

mad, cast out of his mind everything that was just and proper, and took no thought for anything appropriate: not the men over whom he ruled, not the rest of the Greeks, not their leaders, not his friends, not his enemies—if he in fact had any—and most importantly, not the temple, not the altars, and not Athena herself; for even if he was very much in love with the girl—though it is not reasonable that he fell in love with her as soon as he saw her; for such things, I think, require more time and continuous viewing and longer association. (4) But if one must grant and allow the possibility that the first sight of her engendered such insurmountable desire in him, what did he suffer to make him have sex with her before the eyes of the goddess rather than tearing her away and taking her to his tent to do whatever he wanted? For even this would have been a terrible thing—that she who is doing nothing wrong but is being wronged in the worst way possible does not have the benefit of the gods’ help, but instead is snatched from the middle of the temple—but it would have constituted a lesser impiety; for I think that going off after seizing the girl is not equivalent to having sex with her while Athena is watching. (5) “Love compelled him.” But the goddess struck fear into him.¹⁸ Though desirous of many things, men often steer clear of them out of fear of their betters and the laws and what would be said about their actions, and this was what was right for a Greek who was both sensible and a leader and in love. (6) For suppose that <he> had hidden her in his tent but confessed his passion before the Greeks when it was time to distribute honors. If he had confessed and asked to keep the girl, those who knew the man would have handed her over without reservation, remembering the labors that he endured throughout the whole war and standing in awe of this master of self-control. And in this way he could have had his beloved forever, but because he acted right away, he was deprived of her; for having decided to violate her, and by his actions having denied himself the ability to speak freely about her, he could no longer talk to those whom at one time he would have consulted.

(7) Very well. But he committed impiety at the same time, and the goddess was the victim of this impiety, and this did not escape the notice of any of the Greeks. What, then, should those sitting in judgment have done? Get angry, shout, lead him to court, demand punishment, and show anger toward the things done. But no such thing now: there was total calm. Or rather, they took no account of the goddess, while there was a great impetus for setting sail.¹⁹ (8) And the prophet instructed them that it was not yet the right time; for they first had to propitiate the goddess. What could have been more sense-

18. Cf. Confirmation 3.3.

19. Cf. Confirmation 3.6.

θεὸς ὑβριζόμενος ὠργίζετο καὶ ὡς ὀργὴ δαιμόνων μεγάλη ζημία; οὐ γὰρ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ παιδὶ τοῦτό γε δῆλον; οὐ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ τοῖς δορυφόροις τῶν Ἑλλήνων; οὐ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀναισθήτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι βαρβάροις; (9) ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων διὰ σύνεσιν Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ ὁ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ εἰς ἄκρον ἦκων σοφίας ὁ Πύλιος, προσθείην δ' ἂν καὶ τὸν Τυδέως ὃς ἐν πολλαῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεδέδεικτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φρόνησιν, αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐκάθηντο μένοντες τὴν Κάλχαντος μαντικὴν, ἵν' ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς εἴπῃ περὶ τῶν οὕτω προδήλων. λοιπὸν οὖν ἦν εἰς ἐκεῖνον βλέποντας καὶ καθῆσθαι καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ λαλεῖν καὶ σιωπᾶν καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μισεῖν τοὺς κακοὺς. (10) τίνες οὖν ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐδιδάχθησαν; κατεψηφίσαντο τοῦ Λοκροῦ θάνατον, ὃ δὲ διέφυγε καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν. πῶς οὖν εἰς τοσοῦτον, εἰπέ μοι, διέφυγε κακόν; πῶς οὐ γέγονεν ἐκ μέσου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπάσης; πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ταύτην <ἐπὶ κρίσιν> ἐνεχθῆναι πάντως ἂν αὐτὴν ἀνέμενεν ἄδηλον ὃν πότερον γινώσκονται, κεκριμένου δὲ τοῦ δεῖν ἀποθανεῖν εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπέθνησκε λίθοις. οὐ γὰρ ἦν, οἶμαι, τοῦ Παλαμήδους βελτίων. (11) εἰ μὲν οὖν παιδιὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν καὶ αὐτοὶ συνέπραττον αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν ἔργον Ἑλλήνων ἐποίουν· εἰ δ' ὄντως ἤθελον δίκην λαβεῖν, ἔλαβον ἂν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν διάδυσσις τῷ πεπονηρευμένῳ, εἴλκετο δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ δικαίως. καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὕτω κακῶς ἠτίμησαν τὸν βωμὸν οὐδὲ αὖ τὸν θεὸν οὐπὲρ ἦν ὁ βωμός. τουτὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῷ δοκεῖν τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀτιμάζειν τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴπερ τοὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνους ἀσεβοῦντας δι' αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνους ἔσωζον. (12) ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τοσοῦτόν γε ἥδεσαν ὥς τὰς καταφυγὰς ταύτας τοῖς πάσχουσι κακῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐξεῦρον οἱ νόμοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν τὴν ὀφειλομένην τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν πονηρότατον ἀπάντων μετήνεγκαν. εἰ γὰρ ἥρκει βωμὸς εἰς παραίτησιν, τί τὸ κωλύον ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδικημάτων εὐθὺς ἐκεῖσε τρέχειν τὸν ἀνδροφόνον, τὸν μοιχόν, τὸν τυμβωρύχον, τὸν προδότην, τὸν ιεροσύλον,

less than the Greeks? Did they need Calchas in order to understand that a violently mistreated divinity was angry and that the anger of divinities entails great punishment? For is this not clear even to a woman or a child? Or even to the slaves and the spear-bearers of the Greeks? And even to the barbarians, who seem to be without good sense? (9) But no, the man who held the rule on account of his intelligence, Agamemnon, and the orator Odysseus, and the one who through the passage of much time had arrived at the summit of wisdom, the man from Pylos,²⁰ and I would also add the son of Tydeus,²¹ who in many assemblies had revealed his shrewdness—all these men were sitting down there awaiting the prophecy of Calchas, so that he might tell them things that were so absolutely clear. And so the only thing left was to look to him for guidance in sitting and walking, talking and remaining silent, honoring the good and hating the wicked. (10) Who were they,²² then, once they had been instructed? They condemned the Locrian to death, but he escaped and was at the altars. How, then, did he escape, tell me, to cause such a great evil? How come he was not removed from the midst of the whole army?²³ For before this case was brought <to trial> he certainly would have stayed around, since it was unclear which way they would decide, but once it had been decided that he must be killed, he would have been killed immediately by stoning; for he was not, I suppose, any better than Palamedes.²⁴ (11) If, then, the trial was a joke and they themselves were conspiring with him for his acquittal, they were not doing something characteristic of Greek men. But if they actually wanted to punish him, they would have punished him, and there would have been no escape for the criminal, but he would rightfully have been dragged even away from the altar. And he would not so wickedly have dishonored the altar nor, in turn, the goddess whose altar it was; for by seeming to honor the gods, this was actually dishonoring the gods, if in fact the Greeks saved those who committed impiety against the gods for the gods' own sake. (12) Rather, I suppose, they knew to a great extent that the laws devised these altars as a refuge for those who were suffering unjustly, not for those who do wrong, and they would not have transferred the protection owed to good men to the most wicked man of all; for if the altar was sufficient to avert punishment, what was there to prevent the murderer, the adulterer, the tomb robber, the traitor, the temple robber—in short, all those men who

20. Nestor.

21. Diomedes.

22. I.e., how did they behave?

23. Cf. Confirmation 3.8–9.

24. Palamedes was stoned as the result of a false charge that he was planning to betray the Greeks at Troy: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.8; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.34–39, 56–60, 308–312.

πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀπολωλέναι; (13) καὶ οὕτως ἂν οἱ γε βωμοὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐπήσκουν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἂν ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς κακίαν παράκλησις ἐπαγγελλομένων ἄδειαν διὰ τῶν βωμῶν τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγνωκότες οἱ τότε καὶ δι' αὐτό γε μειζόνως ἂν αὐτὸν ἐμίσουν, ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς βωμοὺς οὐδέν τι ἡγεῖτο τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτῷ δὲ ἰσχυροὺς ἀξιῶν εἶναι. (14) οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἦσαν εὐήθεις ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον ἀφέντες ὥσπερ τῶν θεῶν ἀντειλημμένων τῆς μιᾶς κεφαλῆς ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσαντες ἐσκόπουν εἴτ' ἀμελητέον τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εἶτε καὶ μή. τουτὶ δὲ ἴσον ἦν τῷ σκοπεῖν εἴτ' ἄμεινον ἀπολωλέναι τὸν στρατὸν εἶτε καὶ μή. (15) καὶ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ παῖδες Ἀτρέως τότε πρῶτον τοῦτο ποιήσαντες. καὶ ὁ πανταχοῦ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τιμῶν καὶ υπερχόμενος οὗτος μετὰ τοὺς μυρίους ἐκείνους μόχθους οὓς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑλένης ἀνεχόμενος οὐκ ἀπεῖπεν, ἐκεῖνος ὕβριζεν ὑπάγων ἅ τῶν ἐριζόντων ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν πειθομένων. καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ μὲν καὶ λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος ἃ κοινῇ συνοίσειν ἔμελλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πάντων ἀλυσιτελέστατα. (16) τί δ' ἦν τὸ καὶ τὸν Μενέλαον οὕτω κατάγον; οὐκ ἔφ' ᾧ πάντα ἐπραγματεύετο, τοῦτο εἶχε, τὴν Ἑλένην; οὐ μόνος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Τροίας συνώκει τῇ γυναικί; σπεύδειν μὲν οὖν, <ὅτ'> ἠπείγετο ἀπὸ Σπάρτης εἰς Τροίαν, εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν τὴν ἡρπασμένην κομίσασθαι ζητοῦντα, ἔχοντα δὲ καὶ κεκομισμένον καὶ λελυμένον τῶν δεινῶν τίν' εἶχε λόγον μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μὴ βούλεσθαι μένειν; μᾶλλον γὰρ ἦν εἰκὸς τοῦτο παθεῖν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποθοῦντα τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν ἢ τὸν ἀπολαύοντα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος.

(17) Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εὐρίσκω δίκην εἰδυῖαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λαμβάνειν. σκόπει γὰρ ἐπήνεγκε χειμῶνα τῷ Μενελάῳ πλέοντι, διὰ δὲ τούτου πολλὰς μὲν τῶν ἐκείνου νεῶν διέφθειρεν, αὐτὸν δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήνεγκεν, ὅθεν ὕστερον ἀναχθεὶς εἶδε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ πάλιν ἐβασίλευε τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας. (18) οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ὀφείλων ἀποθανεῖν σώζεται, οἱ δ' οὐ σφόδρα μετέχοντες τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμαρτημένων ἀπόλλυνται. καὶ

deserved to die—from immediately running there? (13) And in this way the altars would have been training men to be wicked, and it would have served as an exhortation to wickedness from the gods to men, if the gods proclaimed indemnity to wrongdoers through the altars. And so, knowing these things, the men of that time would have hated him even more on account of the fact that he held absolutely no regard for these same altars, deeming them weak for the rest but strong for himself. (14) They were so simple-minded that after releasing that man, as if the gods had laid claim to his polluted head, they convened an assembly to consider the question whether or not they should neglect matters pertaining to Athena. This was tantamount to considering whether it was better for the army to die or not. (15) And on this occasion, for the very first time, the sons of Atreus disagreed with each other—the one in every case honored Agamemnon, and the other still respected him even after the thousands of hardships that he never refused to endure on behalf of him and Helen. The former vehemently abused the latter, bringing up the sort of statements that are characteristic of men striving against each other in competition, not of men trying to persuade each other. And while the arguments of the latter were typical of someone who is both saying and doing what would benefit everyone in common, the former was himself saying and doing the most unprofitable things of all.²⁵ (16) What was it that was reducing even Menelaus to this level? Did he not have that for which everything had been undertaken—Helen? Was he not the only one of the Achaeans to live with his wife at Troy? So it is plausible that the man who was seeking to recover his kidnapped wife would be in a hurry <when> he was rushing from Sparta to Troy, but once he had gotten and recovered her and had obtained deliverance from this terrible situation, what tiny reason did he have to be unwilling to remain there to do what was necessary?²⁶ For it was more plausible that Agamemnon would suffer such a longing for Clytemnestra than would Agamemnon's brother, who was already enjoying the company of his own wife.

(17) Furthermore, I find that not even Athena knows how to obtain justice on her own behalf; for consider: she brought a storm against Menelaus as he was sailing, and through this she destroyed many of his ships but drove him to Egypt, from which he later set sail to see his house and again rule as king over Sparta.²⁷ (18) Therefore, the one who ought to have died was preserved, while those who played little role in the mistakes made in the assembly were

25. Homer, *Od.* 3.134–150; cf. Confirmation 3.10.

26. Cf. Confirmation 3.11.

27. Homer, *Od.* 3.276–312; 4.1–619.

τίς οὕτως ἀνθρώπων ἄτοπος ὅστις ἐλάττονι μὲν ζημιώσει ζημία τοῦτον ὥς τὰ μέγιστα ἐγκαλεῖ, μεγίστη δὲ ὥς μηδὲν μέμφεται; τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ἦν δήπου τοὺς μὲν ὑπηκόους αὐτοῦ σεσῶσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀπολωλέναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἢ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἢ μὴ βουλομένην δύνασθαι τῆς ἴσης ἀτοπίας.

(19) Ἄλλ' ἢ μὲν θεὸς ἐβούλετο τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ἐθέλη πράττει, τοῖς δὲ ταῦτ' εἰρηκόσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἄξιον.

1. Ὅτι εἰκότα τὰ κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ὅπλων.

(1) Θαυμάζω τῶν ὁμολογούντων μὲν λείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐνθέου μανίας, αὐτοῖς δὲ τούτοις τολμώντων ἐπιτιμᾶν, εἰ μὴ δύνανται συνεῖναι τοῦθ' ὅτι τὰς Μούσας ἐν ταῖς τῶν ποιητῶν αἰτίαις διαβάλλουσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ λεγόμενα ἐκείνων, ἡ φωνὴ δὲ τούτων. (2) ἄλλ' οἳ γε συκοφάνται πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἤκουσι θράσους ὥστε πλάσματα πειρῶνται δεικνύειν τὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν Ἀχιλλέως περὶ τῆς πανοπλίας ἐκείνου λεγόμενα. καίτοι πάντα πρὸς τοῦσχατον ἀληθείας ἥκει.

(3) Σκοπῶμεν δέ. τὸ μὲν σῶμα εἶχεν ἡ Θέτις τοῦ παιδός, μισθὸν δὲ ἔθηκεν εἰς μέσον τῷ κεκομικότι τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Αἴας τε καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν ἐκάτερος τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, νομίσασα μηδετέρῳ δεῖν. χαρίσασθαι δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ψήφῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφῆκεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτερα δοῦναι, τοιοῦτο δὲ εἶχεν οὐδὲν ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλουσα στρατιώτας ἀμείψεσθαι. πάσας γὰρ δημιουργῶν χεῖρας ὑπερέβαλλεν ἢ περὶ ταῦτα τέχνη. καὶ ἅμα ἥδει

destroyed.²⁸ And who among men is so absurd that he would exact a lesser punishment from the person against whom he has made the most serious accusations, while exacting the greatest possible punishment from the one whom he in no way finds blameworthy? For it would have been just, I suppose, for his subordinates to have been saved while he alone perished. It is equally absurd to say either that Athena did not want this to happen, or that if she did want it, was unable to carry it out.²⁹

(19) Rather, the goddess wanted justice to prevail and does whatever she wishes, but those who have said these things deserve to be censured.

THE EXERCISE IN CONFIRMATION

CONFIRMATION 1: THAT THE ACCOUNT OF THE JUDGMENT OF THE ARMS OF ACHILLES IS PLAUSIBLE.³⁰

(1) As for those who admit that they fall short of the poets' divine inspiration but dare to criticize them anyway, I am surprised if they cannot understand that they are slandering the Muses in their charges against the poets; for the content comes from the Muses, and the voice belongs to the poets. (2) But these malicious accusers have reached such a point of arrogance that they are trying to prove that the account of events after the death of Achilles concerning his arms is a fiction. But in fact the whole story meets the highest standard of truth.

(3) Let us consider. Thetis had the body of her son, and she put out his weapons as a reward for whoever had retrieved it; for when Ajax and Odysseus each claimed to have done this,³¹ she decided that she should indulge neither of them and handed the matter over to a jury's vote; for it was possible for her to give them something else, but she had nothing comparable, especially as she was about to give prizes to the soldiers;³² for the workmanship of these arms surpassed the hands of any human craftsmen. And at the same time she knew well that the arms would be ruined lying around at

28. Libanius neglects to mention that Athena sank Ajax's ship and that he was drowned by Poseidon as he struggled to get to shore: Homer, *Od.* 4.499–511; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.6.

29. Cf. Confirmation 3.12–13.

30. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6–7; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.620–13.398. For the theme with full elaboration, see Pseudo-Nicolaus 1 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:292,1–94,9). Cf. Speech in Character 5–7.

31. Odysseus retrieved the body while Ajax fended off attackers; see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.4.

32. Homer, *Od.* 11.543–551; 24.85–92.

καλῶς ὅτι κείμενα μὲν οἴκοι διαφθαρήσεται, κοσμήσαντα δὲ ἕτερον ἀθάνατον καταστήσει τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν μνήμην. ὁ γὰρ ἰδὼν καὶ θαυμάσας εὐθύς ἄν ἤκουσε τὸν πρῶτον δεσπότην. (4) λαβὼν τοίνυν Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐπὲρ ἐβούλετο τὸν Αἴαντα, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀγῶνι λόγων, παῖδα ἄντικρυς ἀπέφηνε. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴδὲν εἶχε λέγειν δίκαιον, τῇ γε δυνάμει τῶν λόγων τάληθες διέστρεφε σοφιζόμενος, τεχνάζων, πάσῃ δεινότητι χρώμενος. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν Ὀδυσσέως ἰσχύσαι ρητορικῇ δυνάμει καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐντεῦθεν εἶχεν. ὅταν δὲ εἴπω ρήτορα, ἄνθρωπον λέγω τὰ μεγάλα μὲν ἱκανὸν ὄντα δεῖξαι μικρά, τὰ μικρά δὲ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄδικα δίκαια, τὰ δίκαια δὲ οὐ τοιαῦτα.

(5) Ὁ δ' αὖ τοῦ Τελαμῶνος ἕτερα ἡπίστατο, ἕτερα πεπαίδευτο, τρέψαι στρατόπεδον ἐναντίων, ἀποσφάζαι πολλούς, δέξασθαι προκαλούμενον, κρατῆσαι ῥαδίως, ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς δυσκολίαν τύχης, ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς συμβαλέσθαι πράγμασιν. (6) ὥσπερ οὖν, εἰ δι' ὅπλων ἔδοξε περὶ τῶν ὅπλων κρίνεσθαι, τὸν Αἴαντα πάντως ἔδει νικᾶν, οὕτως εἰς λόγους τοῦ πράγματος ἦκοντος οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν εἰ τὰς ψήφους Ὀδυσσεὺς ἠνέγκατο, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πολλοὺς ὀρώμεν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ μὲν τῶν δικαίων εἰσιόντας, ἀπιόντας δὲ ἡττημένους οὐ χρήμασι τοῦ δικάζοντος διαφθαρέντος, ἀλλὰ τέχνῃ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀπατήσαντος.

(7) Τὸν οὖν παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ περιφανῶς ἡττημένον τί χρή ποιεῖν; ἐπαινεῖν μὲν τοὺς δικαστάς, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ τὸν νενικηκότα; παρελθόντα δὲ Ὀδυσσεῖ μαρτυρεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος ἦν τὰ πάντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι γελοῖον. ἀλλ' ἀθυμεῖν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ χαλεπαίνειν; οὐκοῦν ταῦτα φασὶν αὐτὸν οἰοῖται πεποιηκέναι. (8) ἦν μὲν τοίνυν ἀνάνδρου καὶ δειλοῦ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀλγεῖν, ἀνδρὸς δὲ μεγαλόφρονος, ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Τελαμῶνος, τὸ καὶ δίκας ἐπιζητεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἡδίκηκόντων λαβεῖν. τοῦτο τοίνυν ὀρᾷ καὶ προθυμηθέντα καὶ πράττοντα. λαμβάνει μὲν τὸ ξίφος, φέρεται δὲ θυμῷ κατὰ τῶν τε οὐ δίκαια γνόντων κατὰ τε τῶν οὐ δικαίως κεκρατηκόντων. (9) βλάπτει δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ τὰς φρένας καὶ τρέπει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τὰ ποίμνια. εἰκότως. ἐκείνῳ γὰρ εἶχε λόγον τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ κωλύειν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ λελυπημένων ἐποίει, ἡ δὲ τὸ τῆς κηδεμόνος καὶ βοηθούσης ἐπλήρου. τοιαύτη

home, but if they decorated another man, they would make the memory of her son immortal; for anyone who saw and admired them would immediately hear about their first owner.³³ (4) Well then, having gotten Ajax exactly where he wanted him—that is, in a contest of words—Odysseus utterly refuted the boy.³⁴ For indeed, if he was unable to say something just, he would distort the truth by playing subtle tricks with the power of words, applying technical artistry, and using all his rhetorical cleverness; for it was characteristic of Odysseus to be strong in his oratorical ability, and he had a reputation among the Greeks for that. And when I say “orator,” I mean a man capable of representing great things as small, and small ones as great, unjust things as just, and just ones as being otherwise.

(5) The son of Telamon, however, was knowledgeable in other areas and had been trained in other skills: putting the enemy’s army to flight, slaughtering many of them, taking up challenges, winning easily, enduring the difficulties of Fortune, and joining in on exploits with his hands.³⁵ (6) And so, just as it is absolutely necessary that Ajax would have won if it had been decided to hold a judgment of arms by using arms, so also one must not be surprised if Odysseus carried the vote when the matter came down to words, since even now we see many in the courts every day who enter with justice on their side but exit in defeat, not because the judge has been corrupted by money, but because the speaker has deceived him with his artistry.

(7) What, then, should the man do who has been undeservedly and conspicuously defeated? Praise the jury, praise the man who defeated him? Go up to Odysseus to inform him that he was a complete joke to the Greeks? Or instead, to become depressed and feel pain and become angry and violent? It is this last, therefore, that the poets say he did. (8) Furthermore, it was characteristic of an unmanly and cowardly man to nurse his pain in peace, but characteristic of a proud man—and the son of Telamon was such a man—to seek also to exact vengeance from those who had wronged him. Well now, this is what you see him both having eagerly desired and now doing. He takes up his sword, and he is swept away with anger against those who made the unjust decision and against those who unjustly defeated him. (9) But Athena unbalances his mind and turns the man against the flocks.³⁶ And naturally so; for it was logical for him to plot, but for her to prevent him; for he was doing what enemies and the aggrieved do, but she was fulfilling the role of protector

33. Homer, *Il.* 18.465–467.

34. Sophocles, *Aj.* 437–446; Speech in Character 5.2–4, 6.3, 6.5, 7.3.

35. Ajax: see Speech in Character 5.3–4, 6.4, and 7.2.

36. Sophocles, *Aj.* 1–65, 231–244, 296–300, *passim*. See Speech in Character 5.1–3, 6.1–3, 6.6.

γὰρ ἡ θεὸς διαπαντὸς παροῦσα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, σώζουσα, ῥυομένη κινδύνων, κράτος παρέχουσα. (10) τοῦ κινδύνου τοίνυν παρελθόντος καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἀπειλήφει μὲν οὗτος τὸ δύνασθαι λογίζεσθαι, γνοὺς δὲ ἅ τε ἐπεχείρησεν ἅ τε ἤμαρτεν ἀποθανεῖν ἡξίου τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς μανίας ἀδοξίαν οὐ φέρων. τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ γενναῖοι καὶ λαμπροὶ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπεραίροντες· εἰ μὴ σὺν καλῷ τῷ σχήματι ζῆν ἐξείη, κούφην ἡγοῦνται τὴν τελευτήν. (11) τί γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐβούλου πράττειν δείξαντα μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν, ἀποσφαλέντα δὲ τῆς πείρας; ποῦ ζῆν ἢ πῶς ἢ τί πράττοντα; παρὰ τοὺς Τρῶας ἐλθεῖν ἔδει καὶ θεῖναι ἰκετηρίαν μετὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ μάχας καὶ νίκας; ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης χωρὶς οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ πείθον ὅτι φείσονται τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεδρακότος τὴν ἐκείνων πόλιν. (12) ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὥσπερ πρότερον διατρίβειν; ποίων; τῶν ἀπεσφαγμένων; τῶν κατακοπέντων; τῶν ἀπολωλότων τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος; καὶ ποίοις ἂν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδας; ποίοις ἂν τὸν Ὀδυσσεά; πῶς δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι λαβόντες ἀπέσχοντο καὶ οὐ κατέλευσαν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῆς μανίας ἦν ἐμάνη μισθὸν ἡγήσαντ' ἂν ὀφείλειν αὐτῷ. (13) λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καθελκύσαντα τὰς ναῦς ἀποπλεῦσαι. ποῖ μέλλοντα προσορμιεῖσθαι, πρὸς Διός; εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῆς Σαλαμῖνος; καὶ τί καλὸν ἂν εἶπε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίας πραγμάτων ἐρωτῶντα, τί δὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφείς ἀτελῇ προαπήρεν; οἷος ἂν ἦν διηγούμενος τὴν κρίσιν, τὸν ἀγῶνα, τοὺς λόγους, τὴν ψῆφον, τὴν ἥτταν, ἦν ἐζήτησε δίκην τῆς γνώμης, τὴν νόσον;

(14) Εἰ δ' ἔδει τὴν ἀπάντων τούτων λύσιν εὑρεῖν καλῶς καὶ πρέπουσαν ἐλευθέρῳ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀπαλλαγὴν, εὖρατο μὴ περιμείνας ἀνδρὸς δυσμενοῦς δεξιάν, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσας αὐτῷ πρὸς θάνατον.

and helper; for that is the sort of god she was: always standing by the Greeks, rescuing them, saving them from dangers, and giving them strength. (10) Well then, when the danger had passed and the Greeks were safe, Ajax recovered his ability to reason, but upon learning what he had attempted and what wrongs he had committed, he decided to die rather than endure the disgrace from his madness;³⁷ for men who are noble and illustrious and superior to the masses are like that: if it becomes impossible for them to live with a noble demeanor, they consider death easy to bear. (11) For what did you want him to do, after he displayed his hatred but failed in the attempt?³⁸ To live where, or how, or doing what?³⁹ Was he supposed to go to the Trojans and make supplication, after the many contests and battles and victories? But also, without shame there was nothing to persuade them to spare the man who had committed such actions against their city. (12) Or was he supposed to live with his own people, just as before? Which ones? The ones who would have been slaughtered, who would have been killed, who would have lost their lives, if it had been up to him? And with what sort of eyes would he have looked at the Atreidae?⁴⁰ Or at Odysseus? And when they got him, how would they have kept their hands off of him and not stoned him to death? For would they not have believed that payment was owed to him for his fit of madness?⁴¹ (13) Well then, the remaining option was for him to drag his ships down to the shore and sail away. But with the intention of coming to anchor where, by Zeus? In the harbor of Salamis? And what noble story could he have told his father when, inquiring about affairs at Troy, he would ask why he had left early, with the war still unfinished? What sort of man would he have been in narrating the judgment, the contest, the speeches, the vote, the defeat, the vengeance he sought for the decision, and the disease?⁴²

(14) If it was necessary to find a noble solution for all these troubles and a release from shame befitting a free man, he found it—not by waiting for the sword hand of a foe, but by proving self-sufficient in death.

37. Sophocles, *Aj.* 815–865. See Speech in Character 5, 6.6–8.

38. I.e., the attempt to kill Odysseus and the other Greek leaders.

39. Ajax considers most of the options mentioned below in Sophocles, *Aj.* 457–480.

40. Agamemnon and Menelaus.

41. See Speech in Character 6.7.

42. See Speech in Character 5.6, 6.8.

2. Ὅτι εἰκότα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως ὀργήν.

(1) Ἐλεεῖν ἄξιον τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας τῶν ποιητῶν, εἰ δὴ τοὺς ἔκφρονας καὶ μεμηνότας ἔλεεῖν ἄξιον. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεστήκασι σαφῶς οἱ τούτοις ἐπιτιμῶντες ὧν πλεῖστόν εἰσι τῆς σοφίας ἀπολειπόμενοι; θαυμάζω δὲ εἰ μὴδὲ τοῦτο δύνανται μαθεῖν, ὅτι προσποιοῦνται μὲν ἐκείνων, κατηγοροῦσι δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν πνεύματος οἱ μὲν ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τούτους λέγουσι κακῶς, ἀνάγκη τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπ' ἐκείνας ἰέναι τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ποιήσεων. (2) πᾶσιν οὖν οἶμαι δεῖν βοηθεῖν τοῖς ποιηταῖς, Ὀμήρῳ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων δίκαιον κοινῷ προγόνῳ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας γεγεννημένῳ. ἤδη γάρ τινες καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀφήκαν τὴν γλώτταν λέγοντες οὐδὲν γεγονέναι τούτων ἀφ' ὧν ὀργισθῆναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα συνέβη. δεικτέον τοίνυν ἡμῖν ὡς πάντα γέγονε καὶ λόγον εἶχεν ὁ θυμός.

(3) Διὰ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἦκεν ὁ Χρύσης ἐπὶ λύσιν τῆς θυγατρὸς παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας; οὐκ ἦν πατήρ; οὐχ οὗτος τῆς φύσεως νόμος προκινδυνεύειν τῶν ἐγγόνων; οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅπλα λαμβάνομεν καὶ παραταττόμεθα καὶ πίπτομεν ἡδέως ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσὶ κτώμενοι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκείνοις; (4) ὁ δὲ καὶ γέρων ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἦν λόγος αὐτῷ περὶ μακροῦ βίου. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπὸ σπινθὲρ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔπειθεν οὐ ματαίαν ἔσεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν λύτρων, τὸ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δεῖν χρημάτων ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας καθημένους, τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους πολλὰς ἀφαικέναι αἰχμαλώτους χρημάτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἤρχετο καταδείξων τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ παλαιῶ χρησόμενος. (5) μεγάλη δὲ κάκεινη συμμαχία τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν προεστηκέναι, τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεικνύναι τὸ σκῆπτρον, τὸ φέρειν τὰ στέμματα. τοὺς γὰρ Ἕλληνας ὄντας Ἕλληνας οὐ ῥαδίως ἠγεῖτο τούτων ὑπερόψεσθαι. (6) εἰ δὲ κατηρᾶτο τοῖς Τρωσὶ καὶ συνηύχετο τούτοις μὴ θαυμάσης. ἤδει γὰρ ὡς οἱ μὲν ἠδίκουν, οἱ δὲ ἠδίκηντο, καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περίοικοι πλεῖστα ἐπεπόνθεσαν κακὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὕβριν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τὸ δίκαιον ἐτίμων, οὐδὲν ἂν τούτοις κακὸν ἦν. (7) εὖ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐψηφίζετο δοῦναι, τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος, ὅξυ πρὸς

CONFIRMATION 2: THAT THE ACCOUNT OF THE WRATH OF ACHILLES IS PLAUSIBLE.⁴³

(1) It is fitting to pity those who make accusations against the poets, if it is in fact fitting to pity madmen and the insane; for how are those who criticize the poets—of whose wisdom they have fallen very short—clearly not out of their minds? I am surprised if they cannot understand that while they pretend to be making accusations against the poets, they are actually making accusations against the Muses; for if poets write their poetry with inspiration from the Muses, and the critics speak badly of them, then the blame ought to go to the origins of the poetic act. (2) And so, I think that it is necessary to help all the poets, and that it is just to help Homer before all the rest, having been the common progenitor of Greek wisdom; for in the past, some have let loose their tongues even against this man, saying that none of the events occurred from which it so happened that Achilles experienced wrath. Well then, we must demonstrate that all of it did happen and that his anger had a reason.

(3) For why would Chryses not have come to the Greeks to ransom his daughter?⁴⁴ Was he not her father? Is it not the law of nature to risk danger for one's children? Do we not take up arms on their behalf and go into battle and die with pleasure, having obtained their freedom with our own hands? (4) Also, he was an old man, and he had no reason to expect a long life. But also, what promised him safety and convinced him that the trip would not be in vain was the huge amount of ransom money, the Greeks' need of money while they sat in a foreign land, and the fact that these same men had already released many female captives for money; for he himself did not come in order to discover and proclaim a new practice, but to make use of an old one. (5) It was also of great assistance that he was in charge of sacred rites, displayed the scepter of the god, and carried ribbons;⁴⁵ for he believed that the Greeks, being Greeks, would not easily despise these things.⁴⁶ (6) But do not be surprised if he cursed the Trojans and prayed for the Greeks; for he knew that the Trojans were the wrongdoers and the Greeks were the ones wronged, and that the peoples living near the Trojans had suffered very many evils due to their violence; for if the Trojans respected justice, nothing bad would have happened to these others. (7) The army also made a good decision in voting

43. For the story, see Homer, *Il.* 1. For the theme with partial elaboration, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 74,15–17).

44. Chryseis: Homer, *Il.* 1.1–52; cf. Refutation 1.

45. Homer, *Il.* 1.14, 28.

46. Cf. Refutation 1.5.

ἔλεον καὶ δεινὸν ἐπικαμφθῆναι πρὸς οἶκτον, καὶ ἅμα μετὴν αὐτοῖς παρρησίας, οὐ γὰρ ἐδούλευον, ἀλλὰ γνώμη συνεμάχουν· ὁ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων ἄρχων ὦν καὶ τῷ λογίζεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς πλεονεκτῶν καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξετάζων καλῶς οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν εὖ φρονῶν. (8) πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἦδει καταλύσων τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιοῖτο. δεύτερον δὲ ἠπίστατο μικρὰ τὰ αὐτοῦ ποιήσων, εἰ τοῦ γέρως ἀποσταίῃ, τρίτον δὲ προδώσων τὸν ἀδελφόν, εἰ τῆς Ἑλένης παρ' ἐκείνοις οὔσης αὐτὸς ἀποπέμποι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰς ἐκείνων γυναικάς καὶ γίγνοιτο πρᾶος εἰς πονηροὺς. καὶ μὴν κάκεῖνο ἐφύλαττε μὴ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἢ πρόφασις ἀφορμὴ γένοιτο τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰς κατασκοπὴν καὶ δοκοῦντες ἐπὶ λύσει φοιτᾶν ἐκμανθάνοιεν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. (9) τοῖς στέμμασι δὲ οὐ προσεῖχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πολέμου νόμῳ. ταῦτα γὰρ πρότερον μὲν ἂν ἠδούντο, νῦν δ' οὐδὲ τούτων ἀπέχονται, ἀλλ' ἅμα τε ἐμβαίνουσιν εἰς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι καὶ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων δυσμενῇ κέκριται, ἢ γῆ, οἱ τάφοι, ὅσα ἱερά. εἰ δὲ τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτὸν ἐποίησε μετριώτερον, τί ἂν ἐκώλυσε τὸν γέροντα ἐκείνον αὐτὰ ταῦτα προτεινόμενον ἀξιοῦν αὐτὸν ἀποστῆναι τῆς Τροίας;

(10) Οὕτωςι μὲν οὖν σωφρόνως ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἱκετηρίας, θαυμαζέτω δὲ μηδεὶς εἰ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκάλει τὸν θεὸν ὁ πρεσβύτης, οἷ συνηγόρουν αὐτῷ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ διὰ τέλους αὐτῷ συνηγωνίσαντο οὐδ' ἔπραξαν ὅπως ἀπολήψεται, ἀλλ' ἐνδειξάμενοί τινα φιланθρωπίαν κατέλειψαν τὴν σπουδὴν ὡς δέον αὐτοὺς εἰρωνεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ παντὶ θυμῷ βοηθεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἠθελον ἀφελόμενοι δοῦναι, τί ἦν ἐμποδῶν; αἱ χεῖρες Ἀγαμέμνονος, νῆ Δία. (11) πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, κατὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ πάντα αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένων ἠὔχετο. ἔπειτα τούτῳ ἦδει μάλιστα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα λυπήσων, εἰ τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ διαφθείροι καὶ διασεῖοι τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ καταλύοι τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ἀνθρώποις εἰς συμφορὰν ἀπελθεῖν εἰσάπαξ ἢ ζῆν εἰς ἀθυμίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τεθνεὼς ἀναισθητος κεῖται, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀνιώμενος ὡς ἀληθῶς κολάζεται. (12) πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἦδει τοῦτο, ὅτι τοῦ

to give him his daughter back,⁴⁷ for such was the nature of the masses—quick to show pity and liable to incline toward compassion; and at the same time they shared the right to speak freely; for they were not slaves but were allies by choice. But Agamemnon—being a leader and being arrogant in his assessment of the masses and examining the matter thoroughly—did not give in, and wisely so.⁴⁸ (8) For first of all, he knew that he would destroy his rule, if he were to put everything in the army's power.⁴⁹ Second, he understood that he would be diminishing his own status, if he were to withdraw from his prize. Third, he knew that he would be betraying his brother,⁵⁰ if while Helen was still in their possession he himself were to send the enemy's women back to them and become gentle toward the wicked. Moreover, he was also guarding against this: that the pretext of the captives might not become an opportunity for the enemy to spy on them, and that while ostensibly visiting in order to pay ransom, they might not find out what the Greeks were up to. (9) And it was because of the law of war that the king paid no heed to the ribbons; for they would have respected them before, but now they do not keep their hands off of even these; rather, at the same time as men embark upon war, everything that belongs to the enemy is judged hostile—the land, the graves, everything sacred. But if the scepter made the king more reserved, what would have prevented that old man from using that very fact as a reason to demand that he withdraw from Troy?

(10) In this way, then, the king was prudent to disdain the supplication, but let no one be surprised if the old man called upon the god against the Greeks who had advocated for him.⁵¹ For first of all, they did not stand by him to the very end, nor did they take action so that he might get her back; rather, having shown him some humanity they abandoned their enthusiasm, as if they had to show willingness at first and then draw back rather than help him with all their anger; for if they wanted to release her and give her back, what was preventing them? The hands of Agamemnon, by Zeus! (11) And so first of all, as I have said, he was praying against the men for not granting his every request. Second, he knew that he would especially hurt Agamemnon, if he were to destroy his affairs and throw his reign into confusion and demolish his rule; for dying at once in disaster and living on in despair are not the same thing to men; for the dead man lies there without feeling, but the man who is distressed by his daily life is truly being punished. (12) In addition, he knew

47. Homer, *Il.* 1.22–23.

48. Homer, *Il.* 1.24–32.

49. Cf. Refutation 1.8.

50. Menelaus.

51. Homer, *Il.* 1.22–23, 35–42; cf. Refutation 1.11.

μὲν τελευτήσαντος ὁ πόλεμος πέπαυται καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰχίσεται τὸ θυγάτριον, εἰ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον πιέζοιτο νόσῳ καὶ ἀναλίσκοιτο, ζήτησις μὲν ἔσται τοῦ κακοῦ, φανεῖται δὲ ἡ πρόφασις καὶ κομιεῖται τὴν παῖδα. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὗτος ταῦτα ἥτει καὶ θεὸς ἐχαρίζετο τῷ θεραπεύοντι τὸν νεῶν ἀντεισφέρων τὰς ἀμοιβάς.

(13) Τῶν τοίνυν Ἑλλήνων πιπτόντων Ἀχιλλεὺς αἰσθάνεται πρῶτος ὃ τι ποτ' ἦν τὸ συμβάν. ἀλλὰ σὺ ἐβούλου τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, τὸν Νέστορα πρὸ τοῦ τῆς ἱατρικῆς ἐπιστήμονος; ἦν συνετὸς ὁ Νέστωρ, ὁμολογῶ. ἦν δεινὸς Ὀδυσσεύς, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπιστῶ. ἀλλὰ τούτων ἐκάτερος ἴσχυεν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις [ἐν] τῷ τὸ δέον ἰδεῖν καὶ δεῖξαι τί τὸν πόλεμον ὀνήσει. ὅπου δὲ καὶ λοιμὸς καὶ νόσος, ὁ καιρὸς τὸν ἱατρὸν ἐκάλει, ὥστε θαυμάζειν <δεῖν> εἰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα μὲν ἐλάνθανεν, ὑπ' ἐκείνων δὲ τὸ λυποῦν εὐρίσκετο δέον τούτῳ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων γενέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος αἴσθησιν. φαίην δ' ἂν ὅτι καὶ γνόντες οὐκ ἂν εἰς μέσον ἤνεγκαν τοῦ κακοῦ τὸν λόγον. πολλὰ γὰρ πολλοῖς σιγᾶται τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας χάριτι. (14) ἔτι δὲ πολλαχόθεν ἔχων τὸ μέγα φρονεῖν εἰκότως ἐχρήτο παρρησίᾳ δικαίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἡξίου κρύπτειν ἃ γνοίη καὶ συνῆγεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κύριος ὢν, φαίην δ' ἂν, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον. σὺ δ' ἐβούλου τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πονεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἄκυρον δὲ εἶναι τοῦ ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν αἰροῦντα τὰς πόλεις, τὸν καταστρεφόμενον, τὸν κομίζοντα λάφυρα, τὸν παρέχοντα πλουτεῖν, τὸν κατακλείοντα τοὺς Τρῶας, ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου ἀνακειμένους ὁ στρατός; (15) οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον ὑπήκουον καλοῦντος, τότε ἂν ὑπήκουον. διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ νοσεῖν καὶ κακῶς πράττειν πολλὰ τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐκίνει. καὶ τὸ προσδοκᾶν ἀκούσεσθαι τι χρηστὸν ταχέως αὐτοὺς συνήγαγεν. οὐτοσί γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις ὁ τρόπος ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων τὸν νοῦν. (16) οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν λοιμὸς ἦν τὸ κατέχον ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ἦν ἰδεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὅθεν ὁ λοιμὸς ἐμπεπτῶκει, τοῦτο δὴ τοῦ μάντεως ἐγίγνετο. οὐκοῦν συνῆγε μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὡς εὐδοκιμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, εὗρισκε δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν φύσιν ὡς ἱατρός. ἐκάλει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν δῆλωσιν τῆς αἰτίας τὸν ταῦτα ἀνιχνεύοντα τῇ μαντικῇ. (17) ὁ δὲ ἔδεισεν, εἶτα ἐθάρρησεν, ἐκάτερον οὐκ ἄνευ λόγου. τὸν μὲν

that Agamemnon's death would be the end of the war and that his daughter would go away with the Greeks; on the other hand, if the army were distressed and exhausted by the plague, he knew that there would be an inquiry into the evil, and the reason for it would become clear, and he would get his daughter back. For this reason, he asked for these things, and the god showed favor to the servant of his temple, granting him these things in return.⁵²

(13) Well then, as the Greeks were falling, Achilles was the first to figure out what in the world had happened.⁵³ But did you want it to be Agamemnon, or Odysseus, or Nestor, before the man who had knowledge of medicine?⁵⁴ Nestor was intelligent, I agree. Odysseus was clever; I also do not doubt that. But each of these men prevailed in assemblies by seeing what was necessary and pointing out what would benefit the war effort. But where there was both pestilence and disease, this critical time called for the doctor, so that <one should> be surprised if it escaped Achilles' notice and those other men had discovered what was causing the pain, even though Achilles must have perceived the matter before the rest. And I would say that, even if they had known, they would not have brought the reason for the evil out into the open; for many keep many things silent out of kindness toward their leaders. (14) But still, having pride for many reasons, he naturally used his rightful freedom of speech and decided not to hide what he knew and convened an assembly, as he was a leader—and also, I would say, the head of the war. Did you want Achilles to work harder than the rest, but not to have the authority to convene an assembly—this man who was sacking cities, plundering them, returning with spoils, making it possible for everyone to become rich, and shutting in the Trojans, and the one on whom the army had pinned all their hopes for the war? (15) But the Greeks, even if they had not previously obeyed his summons, would have obeyed him then. Why? Because the fact that they were sick and faring badly was upsetting many of their established customs. And the expectation that they would hear something useful made them convene quickly; for this is the nature of men in times of misfortune—for their minds to be led by their hopes. (16) Therefore, he was able to use his craft to see that it was a plague that was oppressing them, but as for the reason why the plague had occurred, this was the job of the prophet.⁵⁵ Therefore, he convened an assembly as one famous from his deeds, but he discovered the nature of the evil as a doctor. And to clarify the cause, he summoned the man who investigates such things by his prophetic craft. (17) But he was afraid and then later

52. Homer, *Il.* 1.39–54.

53. Homer, *Il.* 1.54–67.

54. Homer, *Il.* 11.827–831.

55. Calchas.

γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνονα λυπήσων ἦδει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐφοβεῖτο, λαβὼν δὲ ἐγγυητὴν τῆς σωτηρίας τὸν φόβον ἀνείλεν, ὥστε εἰκότως καὶ σιγᾷ τὴν πρώτην καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φθέγγεται.

(18) Τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι τὰ τρία λόγον ἔχει, καὶ τὸ τὸν μάντιν ὑβρίσαι καὶ τὸ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Χρύσου ταχέως ἀποπέμψαι καὶ τὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀφελέσθαι γέρας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐρῶν ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ὡς τοῦ στρατοῦ κηδόμενος, τὸ δὲ ὡς τιμῆς ἀντιποιοῦμενος. ἤλγησεν. ἐπεθύμει γὰρ τῆς γυναικός. ἀπέδωκεν. ἠνάγκαζε γὰρ τὸ κακόν. ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ γέρας Ἀχιλλέως δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τῷ μὲν εἶναι, ἑαυτῷ δὲ μὴ εἶναι. (19) ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν κόρης ἀπέστη τὸν θεσμόν τῆς ἀρχῆς αἰδούμενος, τοῦ πολέμου δὲ ἀπέστη παροινεῖσθαι μὴ φέρων καὶ ἅμα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς δεῖξαι βουλόμενος τὴν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ ῥοπὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπουσίας.

(20) Οὕτω πάντα μετ' ἀληθείας εἴρηται τῷ ποιητῇ, καὶ παραφρονοῦσι σαφῶς οἱ τὸν σοφώτατον Ὅμηρον κακῶς λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦντες.

3. Ὅτι εἰκότα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Αἴαντα τὸν Λοκρόν.

(1) Οἱ τὸν Αἴαντα τὸν Οἰλέως μὴ φάσκοντες ἃ τετόλμηκε περὶ τὴν Κασάνδραν τετολμηκέναι μηδ' ὅσα τούτοις ἠκολούθησε γεγονέναι δοκοῦσί μοι τοῦτο πάσχειν ὅπερ ἐγκαλοῦσιν αὐτοί, ψεύδεσθαί τε καὶ τοῖς ἀληθῶς πεπραγμένοις μάχεσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τί καινὸν ἢ κόρην κάλλει διενεγκεῖν ἢ τοῦτο στρατιώτην ἰδόντα θαυμάσαι ἢ θαυμάσαντα παθεῖν τι πρὸς τὸ κάλλος καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ διδόντος ἐξουσίαν μιγῆναι; (2) νενικηκότες γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων μόλις ἐλόντες πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἡττωμένων ἐτρύφων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἄλλα ἐφαίνετο καλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκτῶντο, Αἴαντα δὲ τὸ τῆς Κασάνδρας πρόσωπον πάντων ἔπειθε τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερορᾶν, καὶ ταύτην ἐδίωκεν. εὐχὴ δὲ ἄρα ἦν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πολεμοῦσι τοῖς ἴσοις τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐκείνων γυναῖκας δρᾶσαι τοῦτο ὃ περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ἐκείνοι. (3) τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ οὐκ αἰσχυνόμενος Αἴας οὐ καλῶς μὲν, ἐρώντος δὲ ἔργον ἔπραττεν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἄγεσθαι καὶ πάντα

took heart, both of these not without reason; for he knew that he would anger Agamemnon and for this reason was afraid, but having obtained a pledge for his safety he overcame his fear, so that it was natural both that he was silent at first and that later he spoke out loud and clear.⁵⁶

(18) Three things were logical for Agamemnon: insulting the prophet, sending Chryses' daughter back quickly, and robbing Achilles of his prize; for one he did as a lover, one as someone who cared for the army, and one as someone seeking to regain honor for himself. He felt pain; for he had a passionate desire for the woman.⁵⁷ He gave her back; for the evil forced him to. He robbed Achilles of his prize, thinking that it would be terrible for him but not so for himself. (19) But Achilles withdrew from the girl out of respect for the principle of authority, and he withdrew from the war because he would not put up with being grossly insulted and, at the same time, because he wanted through his absence to show the Achaeans the importance of his presence.

(20) Thus everything has been stated truthfully by the poet, and those who endeavor to speak badly of the most wise Homer are clearly out of their minds.

CONFIRMATION 3: THAT THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST LOCRIAN AJAX ARE PLAUSIBLE.⁵⁸

(1) Those who deny that Ajax, son of Oileus, dared to do what he dared to do to Cassandra and that all the events that followed actually occurred⁵⁹ seem to me to be suffering from the very thing of which they themselves accuse others: they are both lying and battling against things that truly were done. For, first, what is so strange about a girl being exceptionally beautiful, or a soldier upon seeing her being stunned, or when stunned, being affected by her beauty, and when opportunity allowed, having sex with her? (2) For after conquering, I suppose, and capturing the enemy's city with difficulty, they were running wild among the possessions of the defeated. And so other things appeared good to others, and they took possession of these, but as for Ajax, the appearance of Cassandra induced him to disdain everything else, and he pursued her. When they were still at war the Greeks had prayed to avenge themselves on the enemy, giving like for like, and to do to those men's wives what they had done to Helen. (3) In failing to show respect to Athena, Ajax acted not nobly, but as one in love: that is, to be driven by one more

56. Homer, *Il.* 1.74–92.

57. Homer, *Il.* 1.112–115.

58. For an elaboration of the opposite argument, see Refutation 2.

59. For the story, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.22–23.

τολμᾶν ἀναγκάζοντος τοῦ θεοῦ. θεὸς τοίνυν ἐνίκα θεόν, ὃ Ἔρως τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, μᾶλλον δέ, τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνην αἰδῶ τὰ τούτου βέλη, ὧν οὐδὲν πικρότερον οὐδὲ δυνατώτερον. τοῦτο ἀσθενῇ πάντα τᾶλλα ποιεῖ, πατρὸς λόγους, μητρὸς δεήσεις, φίλων παραινέσεις, νόμων ἀπειλάς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν μοιχευόντων ἕκαστος οἶδε μὲν ὡς οὔτε λαθεῖν ῥάδιον ἄλλως τε ἀποσφαγήσεται, χωρεῖ δὲ ὅμως ἐπ' ἐκείνα ἐν οἷς οἶδε ταῦτα ὄντα. (4) καὶ τί δεῖ τὸν Ἔρωτα λέγειν καὶ τὴν Ἔρωτος δυναστείαν; ἀλλ' ἡ πενία τοὺς ἱεροσύλους ποιεῖ, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενός τις τοῖς ἀγάλασι στεφάνους ἀφελόμενος τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀπῆλθε φέρων, οὐχ ὡς λήσων τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδ' ὡς μὴ ληψόμενος τῆς ἐκείνων πείραν ὀργῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἐώσης τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας οὐδὲν ἐκείνων λογίζεσθαι. καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἴσον εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔρως τε καὶ τὸ σπανίζειν ἀργυρίου τίς τῶν ἀπάντων οὐκ οἶδεν; (5) ὁ τοίνυν Αἴας τῷ λογισμῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔδρα, πάντα δὲ ἐπιθυμία, δι' ἣν ἴσως κάκεῖνο ἔπειθεν ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἐκλέλοιπεν ἡ θεὸς ἐάλωκυῖαν τὴν πόλιν, τῆς δαίμονος δὲ ἀπούσης οὐδὲν ἀμείνων εἶη τῶν βεβήλων ὁ νεῶς. ἡ δὲ ἔνδον τε ἦν καὶ τοῖς γινομένοις ἤλγει καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεῖτο κοινὸν τὸ ἀσέβημα τῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν πεποιημένων. τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ μάντις τῶν ἄλλων βελτίων τῷ τὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαφεύγοντα ἐπίστασθαι. (6) καὶ οὐκ ἂν μὲν φαίην ὡς οὐκ ἦσθοντο τῶν περὶ τὴν Κασάνδραν, ἡγοῦντο δὲ ἴσως, ὥσπερ ἄλλων πολλῶν οὐ λαμβάνουσιν οἱ θεοὶ δίκην, οὕτως οὐδὲ τούτων τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ζητήσιν ἢ καί, νῆ Δία γε, ζητοῦσαν παρὰ μόνου λήψεσθαι τοῦ δεδρακότος. ἀπῆγεν, ὡς εἰκός, αὐτοὺς κάκεῖνα τῆς περὶ αὐτὰ προνοίας ἣ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ νενικηκέναι χαρὰ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν λείαν σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἤδη βλέπειν καὶ τὸ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς μὴ δεινὸν ἐπείσάγειν μηδέν. (7) οἱ μὲν οὕτως ὧν ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἡμέλουν καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἥπτοντο, ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἄριστα γνῶμην εἰδὼς ὁ Κάλχας ὁ καὶ τὸν λοιμὸν αὐτοῖς λευκῶς τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ συνιείς τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὰ γενησόμενα δεινὰ προεώρα καὶ ὅπως τις ἔσται τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἴσας συνεβούλευε σκοπεῖν

powerful and to dare everything, since the god compels it. Well then, divinity conquered divinity, Love trumping Athena—or rather, the respect owed to the latter was vanquished by the arrows of the former, than which nothing is more bitter or more powerful.⁶⁰ This makes everything else weak—the words of a father, the entreaties of a mother, the exhortations of friends, the threat of laws—since even every adulterer knows both that it is not easy to avoid detection and that, if he does not, he will get his throat cut, but nevertheless he goes into those situations in which he knows these dangers lie. (4) And why must we speak of Love and the power of Love? Poverty makes men into temple robbers, and during the night someone makes an attack on the statues, robs the heads of their garlands, and carries them off, not with the idea that he will escape the gods' notice, and not with the idea that he will not obtain proof of their wrath, but instead because his present lack of resources does not permit him to take any of these things into consideration. And who of all people does not know that love and being in need of money are not equally compelling? (5) Well then, Ajax did nothing through rational thought, but everything because of desire, on account of which he perhaps even persuaded himself that the goddess had abandoned the city, now defeated, and that since the divinity had left, her temple would be no better than unsanctified places. But she was inside, and she was pained by what happened and regarded it as an act of impiety shared by all the Greeks who had failed to react; for the prophet⁶¹ was better than the rest by virtue of understanding things that escaped the rest. (6) And I would not say that they failed to perceive matters pertaining to Cassandra, but perhaps they believed that, just as the gods do not exact punishment for many other crimes, so also Athena would not seek punishment for these actions, or even, by Zeus, that in seeking punishment she would exact it only from the one who had actually done the deed. These things, too, in all probability, distracted them from foreseeing this: namely, their joy at having achieved victory, their eagerness for plunder, the fact that they were already looking to the sea, and the idea that they ought not introduce anything extraneous into the present good situation.⁶² (7) Some were thus negligent about what they least ought and took to the ships, while the man who understood best the mind of the gods, Calchas, the one who had both brought an end to the plague for them with his art and comprehended the wrath,⁶³ foresaw the terrible events that were to come, advised them to consider how there might be some healing for the wrongs

60. Cf. Refutation 2.5.

61. Calchas.

62. Cf. Refutation 2.7.

63. I.e., the wrath of Apollo; see Homer, *Il.* 1.

καὶ τίς ἦν ἡ θεὸς πρὸς αὐτοὺς <καὶ> ἐφ' οἷς ὕβριστο παρελθὼν ἔφραζεν. (8) ἐντεῦθεν ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ τὸν πεπαρφηκότα, ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μόνην <ἦν> ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καταφυγὴν εἶδε, τοὺς βωμούς. οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνοί τε ἔπραττον ἅ τῶν τὴν θεὸν δεδοικότες ἦν οὗτός τε <διέφευγε> τὴν τιμωρίαν; ἀποσπᾶν δὲ ἄνδρα τῶν βωμῶν ἐχόμενον οὔτε νόμιμον οὔτε καλὸν καὶ ταῦτα ὁμόφυλον καὶ στρατηγὸν κἂν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκαιρία τὸν ὁμώνυμον πολλαχοῦ μεμιμημένον. (9) ὅλως δὲ οὐκ εἶχε λόγον ταῦτα καὶ μέμφεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ τὴν θεὸν ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι δεινὸν ἡγουμένους αὐτοὺς τῶν βωμῶν καταλύειν τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὰ Αἴαντος κακὰ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν εἰς τὸν Αἴαντα μιμῆσθαι. (10) ταυτὶ μὲν ἐκείνον ἔσωσεν, ὥς δὲ πάλιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἦεσαν, οὐ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαις παρειστήκει φρονεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν καινὸν μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς συμβουλευούουσιν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ ἕτερον δοκεῖν. τοῦτο τοίνυν καὶ τότε συνέβη τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἐπιστατοῦντα τὸ συνοῖσον ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν καθορᾶν, τὸν δὲ Μενέλαον ἀμείνω τὰ χεῖρω νομίζειν. (11) ἀπειληφῶς γάρ, οἶμαι, τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ οὐκέτι ἀξιῶν ὁμοίως εἴκειν Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ σπεύδων ἀποδοῦναι τῷ μὲν οἴκῳ τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν οἶκον δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ πλεον διατριβὴν ἡγούμενος ζημίαν, εὐδαιμον δὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς Σπάρτης δεικνύντα τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἄθλον, διὰ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἀποπλεῖν ἐμάχετο τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμβουλευόντι μένειν κακῶς μὲν φρονῶν, <αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν κοινῇ> συμφερόντων προτιθείς. (12) καὶ τοῦτο ἐμάνθανεν ἥδη πλέων ὁρῶν μὲν τὰς πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀπολλυμένας, ὀρμιζόμενος δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὐκ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ πενθῶν μὲν τοὺς ἀποπνιγέντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὀδυρόμενος δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ξένη καθήμενος, δίκην ταύτην μεγίστην διδοῦς, ὧν ἕνεκα ἠπείγετο, ταῦτα ἡμαρτηκέναι. (13) θεοὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπους οὐ τοῖς

done, and came forward to tell them which goddess it was <and>⁶⁴ in what way she had been outraged. (8) And then they began to move against the one who had so grossly insulted her, but he moved himself to the only refuge <that> he knew in such circumstances, the altars. So then, did those men fail to do what was right for those who fear the goddess, and did Ajax <escape> punishment?⁶⁵ To drag away a man when he is clinging to altars is neither lawful nor good, not to mention a man of the same race and a general, a man who even in times of trouble for the Greeks had very often emulated his homonym.⁶⁶ (9) In short, it was illogical both to criticize and to do the very same things, and for those who considered it a terrible thing to slight the goddess themselves to destroy the respect owed to altars and imitate the evil deeds of Ajax through the very actions done against Ajax. (10) This is what saved that man. But when they once again convened in assembly, it did not occur to the two sons of Atreus⁶⁷ to come to the same conclusion. But there is nothing strange about the fact that the same opinions do not satisfy those deliberating in every individual case, and that one thing seems best to one, and the opposite to the other.⁶⁸ Well now, this also happened on this occasion, that the one who was older and in charge of everything⁶⁹ was looking toward what would benefit all the Greeks, while Menelaus regarded the worse position as better.⁷⁰ (11) For having recovered Helen, I suppose, and likewise no longer thinking that he had to yield to Agamemnon, and eager to restore his wife to his house and his house to his wife, and regarding a lengthy delay as punishment, while considering it bliss to arrive at Sparta and show off his war-prize—it was for all these reasons that he fought with his brother, whose advice was to remain, about the necessity of sailing home, using poor reasoning and putting <himself> before what was beneficial <to everyone in common>.⁷¹ (12) And this he came to understand when he was already at sea—seeing the majority of his ships being destroyed, while coming to anchor in Egypt rather than at Sparta, and grieving for those of his soldiers who had drowned, while mourning for himself for being stranded in a foreign land—paying this as his greatest penalty: that he had failed to attain the very things for which he had been in such

64. I have added <καὶ> (“and”) after αὐτοῦς in 136,1 (153,1 Foerster), following a suggestion of Malcolm Heath.

65. Cf. Refutation 2.10–13.

66. The other Ajax, son of Telamon.

67. Agamemnon and Menelaus.

68. Cf. Refutation 2.15.

69. Agamemnon.

70. Homer, *Od.* 3.134–150.

71. Cf. Refutation 2.16.

αὐτοῖς κολάζουσιν εἶδεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν εἰς πενίαν ἐνέβαλον, τὸν δὲ παίδων ἀπεστέρησαν, τῷ δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἐπήρωσαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν τις ἐτελεύτησεν, ὁ δὲ ζῶν ἐν πλάνῃ κακοπαθεῖ. ταύτην καὶ Μενέλαος ἐδίδου δίκην πόρρῳ μὲν ὧν τῆς οἰκείας, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ τοὺς ζῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰχομένων, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείας <ἀπολαύων> πολλῷ ταπεινότερα τῆς ἀξίας τῆς αὐτοῦ, περὶ θύρας ἀλλοτρίας ἠναγκασμένος περιπατεῖν.

haste. (13) But the gods do not punish men in the same ways; rather, they throw one man into poverty, but deprive another of his children, and disable the body of yet another, and then one man dies, while another, still living, suffers miserably in his wanderings. Menelaus, too, paid this penalty: being far from home, but feeling shame before the living on behalf of the dead, and instead of a kingship in Sparta <suffering> things far beneath a man of his station, forced as he was to wander around other men's thresholds.⁷²

72. Homer, *Od.* 3.276–312. Cf. Refutation 2.17.

THE EXERCISE IN COMMON TOPICS

The exercise in common topics (*topos* or *koinos topos*) asked students to attack an acknowledged criminal, such as an adulterer, or to speak in support of an acknowledged benefactor, such as a war hero or lawgiver. This exercise thus shares some features of encomium and invective, the next two exercises in the sequence. Some theorists, however, rejected the second category (see Nicolaus 37–38), and even among those who did not, it seems that the vast majority of common topics exercises were devoted to attacking criminals. In any case, from such “common” topics, it was believed, students could easily learn to compose speeches aimed at particular individuals.

Four of the five subjects of common topics that appear here (the murderer, traitor, tyrant, and tyrannicide) are standard figures in rhetorical handbooks, but the theme of the physician poisoner (example 3) as a theme for common topics is unique to Libanius’s collection. This last example is a double *topos*, in which either both elements are criminal (e.g., murderous thief) or, as with Libanius’s example, one element complicates the other (e.g., female tyrannicide, temple-robbing priest). Three other popular subjects of common topics exercises make their appearance within Libanius’s examples, as well: the adulterer (1.15–17, 22, 24; 2.13–14, 18; 4.15, 16); the tomb robber (1.18–19, 22; 2.13–14; 4.15); and the temple robber (1.15, 20; 2.13–14, 18; 4.15).

The ancient theorists disagreed on the headings to be included in this exercise and the order in which they should be treated, and Libanius seems to agree precisely with none of them. Instead, his sample exercises take the following form: brief introduction; argument from the opposite of the act; exposition of the act, including a discussion of the subject’s state of mind, a vivid description of the act, and an assessment of its results; argument from comparison to other acts, including a statement about the comprehensive nature of the act; argument from antecedent acts; criticism of the subject’s way of thinking (*gnômê*);¹ rejection of pity (or its opposite, when required),

1. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 79–80, 106–7, incorrectly translates the name of this heading as “maxim” in [Hermogenes] 12 and 14 but correctly as “intent” or “intention” in

1. Κατὰ ἀνδροφόνου.

(1) Ὅτι μὲν καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις πεποιήμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἐγκεκλημένοις οὗτος ἔνοχός ἐστιν οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἀκριβῶς ἐξ ὧν εἴρηκα μεμαθηκέναι. δεῖ τοίνυν ὁ λοιπὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις προσθεῖναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ ψῆφος τῆς ὀργῆς τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀξία. ἢ πλεον οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, εἰ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλλείποι. κατηγορία γὰρ προσήκουσαν τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν προσλαβοῦσα τῶν δικαστῶν ἰσχυρὰ γίνεται, ταύτης δ' ἀπούσης φλυαρία φαίνεται.

(2) Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων εἰς ἃ δεῖ βλέψαντας ὑμᾶς παροξυνθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων ποιήσασθαι βούλομαι τῶν φονικῶν, οἳ πάντων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν

using heads chosen from the legal, the just, the expedient, the possible, the appropriate, honor, and result; and closing with a vivid description of the act, a brief exhortation to the jurors, both, or neither.

All five examples are believed to be authentic (Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2520; Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix). On the exercise in common topics, see Theon 106–109; [Hermogenes] 11–14; Aphthonius 16–21; and Nicolaus 35–47. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:97–108. The third example has previously been translated by Richard M. Ratzen and Gary B. Ferngren, "A Greek Progymnasma on the Physician-Poisoner," *JHM* 48 (1993): 163–70.

COMMON TOPICS 1: AGAINST A MURDERER²

BRIEF INTRODUCTION

(1) That we have both brought this indictment in the interest of all things just and that this man is liable to our accusations, I believe you all have learned in detail from what I have said. It is therefore necessary to add to our arguments the one point that remains, and that is for you to cast a vote worthy of your anger at his crimes. Nothing we have said matters, if you fail in your part; for an accusation becomes forceful when it receives the support of the proper feeling of anger from the jury, but when that is absent, it seems to be nonsense.

FROM THE OPPOSITE

(2) Although there are many things that must make you angry when you consider them, I wish to begin with the homicide laws, which of all our distin-

Aphthonius 17 and 19. Like [Hermogenes], Libanius uses this heading to point to legitimate career paths that the subject could have followed. [Hermogenes]' example of the heading is "Not wanting to work on the land, he wants to get rich from actions like this" (Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*). Aphthonius, however, uses this heading to "attack the state of mind of the doer" (Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*), and his single elaborated example of the heading does not mention alternate careers (see Aphthonius 19). Yet, although [Hermogenes] and Aphthonius treat the heading differently, John Doxapatres makes clear in his commentary on Aphthonius that these are simply two different ways of treating the same heading (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:392,10–22). For further discussion, see Craig A. Gibson, "Two Technical Terms in Greek Progymnasmata Treatises," *Rheinisches Museum* (forthcoming 2008).

2. For the theme, see Theon 106; [Hermogenes] 13; Nicolaus 37 (cf. 39); John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 91,21, 93,3); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:377,10, 2:390,32); Common Topics 2.13, 2.14, 4.15; with partial elaboration, Theon 109; [Hermogenes] 14; Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:396,28–97,4, 397,14–18).

εὐδοκιμούντων πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβέστερον ἔχουσι. τί οὖν ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι; πάντων τῶν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους τετολμημένων τοῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ δεινότατον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χερνίβων εἰργέσθω, φησί, σπονδῶν, κρατήρων, ἱερῶν, ἀγορᾶς ἢ καὶν ὑπὸ τὰς ψήφους ἔλθῃ, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. (3) κάλλιστον μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν τὸ μυστηρίων μετέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὸν ἀνδροφόνον ἀποκεκλείκασι καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀκουσίοις φόνοις παντελῶς συγγνώμην εἶσαν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μισοῦσι μὲν μειζόνως τοὺς ἐκουσίους, τιμωρίαν δὲ κακείνοις εὐρήκασι φυγὴν τάξαντες, δι' ἣν ἔστιν ἀποστερεῖσθαι τῶν καλῶν τῆς οἰκείας. οὕτω δὲ δεινὸν καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν ἡγήσαντο τὸν ἀνδροφόνον ὥστε καὶν τὸν αὐτὸν ὄροφον ὑπέλθῃ τις τῷ τοῦτο τετολμηκότι, κοινωνὸς τῆς ἀδικίας νενόμισται. καὶ τοῦ δεδρακότος οὐ πολὺ τιμιώτερος ὁ τῷ δεδρακότι συγγεγεννημένος. (4) καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας ἂν λέγοιμι τὰ λοιπά, διόπερ παρήσω. τῷ γὰρ τούτοις ἐπεξίοντι μετ' ἀκριβείας οὐκ ἂν εἴη μνημονεῦσαι τῶν ἄλλων. τῆς δ' οὖν τοιαύτης προνοίας καὶ φυλακῆς ἄξιον ἀκοῦσαι τὴν αἰτίαν.

(5) Ἡ πόλις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἕτερον πλὴν τὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων σώματα. καὶ γὰρ ὁ περίβολος καὶ τὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐδάφη καὶ βέλη καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ὄπλα διὰ τούτων ἐστὶ χρήσιμα. πᾶν γάρ, ὅ τι ἂν εἴπῃς, ἄνευ τῶν χρησομένων μάταιον. δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς <τούτων> σωζομένων μόνον τοῖς ὅλοις ἔνεστι συνέχεσθαι. σκοπεῖτε γάρ. δεῖ πλεῖν, δεῖ πεζῇ παρατάττεσθαι, πρεσβεύειν, ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἐνδεικνύναι τοὺς ὀφείλοντας, εἰσάγειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ψηφίσματα γράφειν, νόμους τιθέναι. πάντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργα. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πολυανθρωπία φοβερά μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τουναντίον δὲ λίαν εὐκαταφρόνητον. (6) ἐώρων τοίνυν οἱ ταῦτ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ νόμιμα διελόντες ὥς, εἰ μὴ πικρῶς κολάσουσι τοὺς παρ' ἀλλήλων φόνους, φθήσονται τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ πολῖται σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναλώσαντες. διόπερ τὸν ἐγκαλεῖν τι τῷ πλησίον ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον ὁρᾶν κελεύουσι καὶ δείξαντα ὡς ἡδίκησεν εἰσπράττεσθαι νομίμως τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτόν, ὡς βούλεται,

guished laws are much more precise than the rest. What, then, do those laws say? That of all the crimes committed against men, this one is regarded as the most terrible. And for this reason, the law says: "Let him be excluded from the use of holy water for purifications, from libations, from mixing bowls for wine, from temples, from the marketplace, or if he is also condemned by a vote, let him be punished with death."³ (3) And so, participation in the Mysteries⁴ is a very fine thing and one of the greatest goods, but they exclude the murderer from this, as well, and make no absolute allowance even for involuntary murders; rather, while they hate the voluntary murderers more, they have discovered a punishment for the involuntary ones, as well, imposing on them the penalty of exile, on account of which they can be deprived of their household property.⁵ They regarded the murderer as so terrible and hateful to the gods that even if someone were to enter under the same roof with a man who had committed this crime, he was considered an accomplice in the wrongdoing.⁶ And someone who had associated with the man who committed the crime was not held in much higher regard than the man who had actually done it. (4) And the rest I would be saying to those who are in the know; therefore, I will let it pass; for it would be impossible for someone going through this in detail to mention the rest. So it is worthwhile to hear the reason for such forethought and precaution.

(5) The city is nothing other than the bodies of those who inhabit it; for indeed, it is through these bodies that the perimeter wall, the foundations of our buildings, arrows, ships, horses, and weapons are useful; for everything you could name is pointless without the people who are to use it. It is therefore evident that the whole state can cohere only when <these> are kept safe. Just consider: it is necessary to sail, it is necessary for the infantry to line up for battle, it is necessary to go on embassies, to give official replies, to lodge informations against debtors, to take wrongdoers to court, to pass decrees, to establish laws. All these are the tasks of men. But most importantly, a large population inspires fear in the enemy, while the opposite is very easy to despise. (6) Well then, those who originally ratified these laws saw that, unless they severely punished murders committed by each other, the citizens would destroy themselves before the enemy ever could. It is for this reason that the laws order anyone with an accusation to bring against his neighbor to look to the courts and, having shown that the other party did wrong, to exact punishment legally, but not to exact whatever punishment he wishes himself;

3. This is very similar to the homicide law of Draco as given in Demosthenes 20.158.

4. I.e., the Eleusinian Mysteries.

5. Cf. Demosthenes 21.43.

6. For the thought, see Demosthenes 21.118.

τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀγανακτήσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τυχόντος ἀποκτείνεται τὸν λυπήσαντα, πάλιν δὲ οἱ τοῦτω προσήκοντες τὸν ἀνηρηκότα, ἐκείνους δὲ ἕτεροι, τί πέρας ἔσται τῆς τοιαύτης ὁδοῦ;

(7) τούτοις μέντοι καλῶς οὕτω καὶ σφόδρα εὐσεβῶς κειμένοις ὑμεῖς μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντες πείθεσθε, μόνος δὲ οὗτος ἐξ ἀπάντων ἡναντίωται καὶ νομίσας ὕθλον ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι καὶ γράμματα κενὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δεξιὰν κυριωτέραν τοῦ θεσμοῦ πεποιῆται σχῆμα μὲν ἐπικεῖς προβαλόμενος, γνώμη δὲ πονηρᾷ χρησάμενος καὶ τοῖς φαινομένοις ἐναντίαν τὴν προαίρεσιν κεκτημένος, ἐν μέσῳ μὲν πρῶτος, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις ἀπηνής, λόγῳ μὲν φιλάνθρωπος, ἔργῳ δὲ ὠμότατος, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέτριος, ἔξω δὲ τειχῶν θηριώδης. (8) καταλαβὼν γὰρ τόπον ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον τοὺς μὲν πορευομένους ἀθρεῖ πόρρωθεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνηρημένους ἀφανίζει τὴν νύκτα λαβὼν εἰς τὸ τόλμημα συνεργόν. Ἡράκλεις, οἶων δραμάτων ἐπλήρωσε τὴν ὁδόν. ἡπείγετό τις εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἀπώλλυτο. ἀνέστρεφεν ἕτερος εἰς ἄστν καὶ διεφθείρετο. μετῆι δὲ τις οἰκέτην ἀποδράντα καὶ ἀπεσφάττετο. (9) ῥάδιον δὲ τῷ παρεσκευασμένῳ τὸν ἀφύλακτον κτείνειν, τῷ δὲ πεπτωκότι σωτηρίας οὐκ ἦν πόρος. ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοὺς ἐκβαλὼν ὥθει τὸ ξίφος ἀφειδῶς ἐγκαλεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων, ὅπως δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστερήσας κερδαῖνοι τὸν ἔλεγχον. καὶ οὕτε τὴν νύκτα ἡσχύνετο ἢ ἐμίαινε τοῖς φόνοις οὕτε τὸν ἥλιον προσβαλεῖν μέλλοντα τὴν ἀκτίνα τοῖς σώμασιν οὕτε τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν τὴν δεξαμένην τοὺς νεκρούς. (10) ὦ τῆς ἀπονοίας. οὐκ εἰσῆλθέ σε τότε τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδέν; οὐ σχῆμα πολιτείας ἢς ἐκοινώνεις τοῖς ἀνηρημένοις; οὐκ ἐκκλησίας ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπλήρωσας; οὐ βουλῆς; οὐ δικαστηρίων; οὐχ ἱερῶν; οὐ σπονδῶν; οὐ μυστηρίων; οὐ τελετῶν; οὐκ ἔπαυσε τὴν ὁρμὴν ἄνθρωπος τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἀφιεῖς; οὐκ ἔκλασεν ὁμοιότης σώματος; ἀλλ' ἵκετεύοντας ἔπαιες καὶ δεομένους ἀπέσφαττες καὶ προκυλινδουμένους κατέκοπτες. (11) Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἐτέρων θανάτοις ἐτρύφα, περιῆν δὲ ἡμῖν ἀλγεῖν. ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων οἷς ἐχρώμεθα πρὸς τὴν ἀκοήν. ἡγομεν ἑορτὴν καὶ παραχρῆμά τις ἡγγελλε φόνον καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν τῶν ὀρωμένων ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης διεφθείρετο. διελύομεν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ πάλιν ἕτερος

for if someone upon becoming angry over any random thing were to kill the man who hurt him, and this man's relatives in turn killed the one who slew him, and others killed those people, what would be the end of such a path?

EXPOSITION OF THE ACT

(7) However, you obey these laws which have been laid down so nobly and very reverently, and rightly so, but this man alone of all of us has stood in opposition to the laws and, regarding them as being in reality idle chatter and empty words, has made his own right hand more authoritative than our divinely-ordained laws, donning the proper demeanor but exercising wicked intentions and adopting a character contrary to appearances: in our midst, mild, but in deserted places, harsh; in word, humane, but in action, most savage; in the marketplace, self-controlled, but outside the walls, like a wild beast. (8) Taking up position in a lofty and precipitous spot, he observes travelers from afar, and he hides his victims, taking the night as his accomplice in this audacious act. By Heracles, the sort of dramas with which he has filled the road! One man was hurrying to get to his village and was killed. Another was returning to the city and perished. Someone else went in pursuit of a runaway slave and was murdered. (9) It is easy for a man who has prepared himself to kill someone who is unprotected, but once the latter had fallen, there was no means of rescue. Casting aside all human reasoning, he thrusts his sword without mercy, having no grounds for accusation, but acting in such a way that by stripping the man of his money, he might spare himself the trouble of proving his case. He felt no shame for the night which he defiled with his murders, nor for the sun about to shine its rays on the bodies, nor for the very earth which received the corpses.⁷ (10) O, the madness! Did none of these considerations enter your mind then? Not the form of government you shared with your victims? Not the Assembly you helped them fill? Not the Council? Not the courts? Not the temples? Not the libations? Not the Mysteries? Not the sacred rites? Did hearing a man speaking the same language not put a stop to your attack? Did the similarity of your bodies not hinder you? But no, you were in the habit of striking down suppliants and slaughtering those who beseeched you and cutting to pieces those who groveled at your feet. (11) This man, then, luxuriated in the deaths of others but excelled in causing us pain. Recall those tears that we experienced when we heard the news. We were conducting a festival, and suddenly someone announced a murder, and the delight of the spectators was destroyed by the news. We broke up the gathering. And again another murder was announced, and there was

7. *Invective* 6.11.

φόνος καὶ συνεχῆς οἰμωγὴ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παίδων ὀδυρομένων, γυναικῶν θρηνουσῶν, μετεχόντων τῆς λύπης τῶν οἰκείων, διαβαίνοντος ἐφ' ἅπαν τὸ γένος τοῦ κακοῦ. (12) δεινότατον δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸ μηδὲ τῶν πιπτόντων τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπάρχειν ἀνελέσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ μέλλοντος ὁ φόβος εἴσω πυλῶν καθεῖργεν ἅπαντας καὶ πολλὰ πραχθῆναι δέον ἔλιπε προδήλου τῆς τελευτῆς οὔσης, εἰ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τις φανείη.

(13) Τούτων δὴ γινομένων καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων θρηνουμένων, τοῦ δὲ τούτων αἰτίου λανθάνοντος ἐπράττομεν ὃ μόνον ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἠυχόμεθα τὸν τούτων αἴτιον ὑπὸ χεῖρα λαβεῖν ὥς, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, προσληψόμενοι τὸν δῆμιον. (14) τί οὖν; ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν ἠκολούθησε καὶ πέφηνεν ὁ τέως ἀγνοούμενος καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνδρεῖος καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ νόμοις ὁ καταγελῶν τῶν νόμων, οὐκ ἀγανακτήσετε διότι καὶ τρίς ἀποθανῶν, εἴπερ οἶόν τε, οὐκ ἀρκοῦσαν ἀποδώσει τὴν δίκην; τὸ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ποιῶν ἐπ' ἐρημίας ἰὼν ἡμῖν ἀνεμίγνυτο καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ μiasμάτων ἀγνοοῦντας ἡμᾶς κοινωνοὺς ἐποιεῖτο. ἦ που καὶ ἔλαχε μεθ' ἡμῶν πολλαίς καὶ περὶ φόνου ψῆφον ἐξήνεγκεν. ἦ που καὶ ταῖς νομηνίαις μεθ' ἡμῶν προσήλθε τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν αἷς ἔδρασε τὸν φόνον συνεφήψατο τῶν ἱερῶν θυσιῶν.

(15) παροξύνθητε τοῖνυν ὑπὲρ ἀγορᾶς, ὑπὲρ βωμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἀνακτόρων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφους, ἃ πάντα οὗτος ἔχρανεν ἐνδιατρίβων. λάβετε δὴ ἐν λογισμῷ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ ἀνθρώπους τολμᾶται καὶ παράθετε τῷ κρινομένῳ νῦν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἕκαστον. εὐρήσετε γὰρ τῶν πάνυ νομιζομένων εἶναι δεινῶν τοῦτο χαλεπώτατον. εἰ γὰρ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο, τί μάλιστα μισεῖτε; τὰς μοιχείας εἵποιτ' ἂν καὶ τὰς ἱεροσυλίας καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοὺς κειμένους <νόμους> ἀμαρτάνεται. πρὸς δὲ τὸ παρὸν κάκεῖνα μικρὰ <ἂν> φαίνοιτο. (16) κάλλους τις ἡττηθεὶς ἀδικεῖ μὲν, ἀλλ' ἔχει παραιτήσιν. ἐβιάσθην γὰρ φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἑρωτος δυναστείαν ἀνταίρειν οὐκ εὐπορον. ἔπειτα τῇ γυναικὶ καταλείπεται διορθῶσαι τὸν τρόπον. πολλοὶ γὰρ ὑπαχθεῖσαι τὴν πρώτην εἴτα πρὸς τὰ βελτίω μετέστησαν. ὅλως δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἀκόλαστος μὲν ἡ γνώμη, πρὸς δὲ τὸ θηριῶδες οὐκ ἐκβαίνει, τούτῳ δὲ τί καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰς ἀναχώρησιν; τίς δαίμων ἐπαναγκάσας, τίς εὐπρόσωπος

continuous lamentation throughout the city, with children wailing, women mourning, domestic slaves sharing in our grief, and the evil sweeping through the whole community. (12) But the most terrible part of the disaster was that the majority of those who died could not even be taken up for burial; for fear of what would happen shut everyone inside the gates and, though there were many tasks that had to be done, kept them there, death being clearly in sight if anyone were to appear in front of the walls.

(13) As these events were taking place and the victims were being mourned, while the man responsible for these crimes continued to evade detection, we were doing the only thing one can do in such circumstances: we were praying to catch the man responsible for this in the act, so that, if this happened, we could get the public executioner to help us. (14) What then? Since divine intervention followed and the previously unknown culprit has been revealed—the man who, though now being subject to us, is impudent toward us and who, though now being under the laws, makes a mockery of the laws—will you not feel angry at the fact that even if he were to die three times, if that were possible, he could not pay a sufficient penalty? The most terrible thing of all is that, while he was committing such crimes in the wilderness, he went and associated with us and made us unwitting accomplices in his bloody, disgusting acts. Surely he must often have been allotted public offices with us and cast his vote in murder trials. Surely he must have gone to the temples with us at the new moon and, using those hands with which he committed murder, participated in holy sacrifices.

FROM COMPARISON

(15) Be angry, therefore, on behalf of the marketplace, on behalf of the altars, on behalf of the temples, on behalf of the foundations of the city, all of which this man defiled by spending time here. Take into consideration all the audacious acts that are committed against men, and compare each of those crimes to the one for which he is now on trial; for you will find that of all the crimes firmly believed to be terrible, this one is the harshest; for if someone were to ask you, “What do you hate most of all?” you would say, “Adultery and temple robbery and all those crimes that are committed against the established <laws>.” But in comparison to the present affair even those crimes <would> seem trivial. (16) Someone overcome by beauty does wrong, but he has an excuse: “For I was forced,” he says, “by the god. And it is not easy to resist the power of Love.” Then it is left to his wife to straighten out his character; for many a woman, though initially brought under her husband’s authority, later changes him for the better. In general, the mind is licentious in those situations, but it does not deviate into beastly behavior. And what excuse would this man here have as his last resort? What divinity forced him,

αἰτία; καὶ γάρτοι τοῖς μὲν εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθεῖν οὐ κωλύουσιν οἱ νόμοι, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τούτους κοινωνίαν ἐν ἀδικήμασι κρίνουσιν. (17) ἔτι τοίνυν ὁ μὲν ὥρας σώματος ἥττων γεγεννημένος οὕτω δῆλον εἰ καὶ φόνον ἂν τολμήσειεν, ὁ δὲ φόνον τετολμηκῶς οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' ἂν κατοκνήσειε. καὶ μὴν ὁ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀποστερῶν τὸν συνοικοῦντα τὸ γύναιον αὐτὸ τοῦ ζῆν οὐ προσαποστερεῖται, ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ συνοικοῦντος ἀποστερήσας κάκείνην αὐτὴν ἀφείλετο τοῦ περιεῖναι.

(18) Δεινὸν ὁ τυμβωρύχος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσον ἀνδροφόνος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τεθνεὺς παροινούμενος ἔξω τῆς λύπης καθέστηκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τῶν γιγνομένων ἔξω, τῷ δὲ δεχομένῳ τὴν πληγὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγνοεῖν ἃ πάσχει. ὅσῳ δὴ τοῖς πάσχουσι τοῦτ' ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἀνιαρόν, τοσοῦτ' μιαιώτερος ὁ τοῦτο δρῶν τοῦ τολμῶντος ἐκεῖνο. (19) μᾶλλον δέ, καὶ τὰ τῶν τυμβωρύχων ὁ κρινόμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φόνῳ συνείληφεν. ἀποσφάττων γὰρ προσαφαιρεῖται τὰ ὄντα, τούτων δὲ ἦν ἀποστερῆσαι ταφῆς. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰκριβὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀνοσιώτερος τῶν τυμβωρύχων εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν κειμένων <νόμων> ὕβριν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐ κωλύουσι τῶν νομιζομένων † τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τυχόντας τινὰς ἐκδύουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτ' τυμβωρύχος ἀνδροφόνου πρᾶότερος.

(20) Ἀλλά, νῆ Δία, τὸ τῶν ἱεροσύλων ἀμάρτημα μείζον. τοῖς γὰρ τῶν θεῶν ἀναθήμασι προσάγουσι τὰς χεῖρας. ἄνθρωπος δὲ οὐ θεῶν κτῆμα πολὺ τιμιώτερον τῶν φιαλῶν; αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ φιάλαι τίνων ἀναθέντων ὑπάρχουσιν; οὐκ ἀνθρώπων; θυσίαι δὲ πόθεν καὶ παιᾶνες καὶ πρόσοδοι; βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ νεῶ καὶ τεμένη θεῶν καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα τίνων δημιουργήματα; μὴ τοίνυν ἔλαττον κεκρίσθω πονηρὸς τῶν ἐκεῖνα σεσυληκότων ὁ τούτους διαφθείρας παρ' ὧν ἐκεῖνα γεγένηται.

(21) Φρίττετε τυραννίδος καὶ τοῦνομα νοῦν ἔχοντες, ὡς ἡγοῦμαι. τί ποτ' οὖν τῶν ἐκείνης τοῦτον ὑμῖν ἐμποιεῖ τὸν φόβον; ἄρα γε δημεύσεις καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ τὸ δεδέσθαι τινὰς οὐ δικαίως; οὐ. ἀλλὰ τὸ κωνεῖν τινὰς τῶν πολιτῶν

what specious excuse? For indeed, while the laws do not prevent us from going to the same place as adulterers, they do judge friendly association with murderers as a crime. (17) Furthermore, as for the man overcome by physical beauty, it is not clear whether he would also dare to commit murder, but the man who has dared to commit murder would not hesitate to do the other. Moreover, the one who deprives a husband of his wife does not in addition deprive that very woman of her life, but the one who deprives a wife of her husband has also robbed that very woman of the ability to survive.

(18) A tomb robber is a terrible thing, but not as bad as a murderer; for when a dead man is subjected to violence, he is beyond feeling any pain, since he is also beyond any perception of what is happening, but it is impossible for someone receiving a blow not to realize what he is suffering. Inasmuch as the latter is more painful to the victims than the former, so much more disgustingly bloody is the one who does the latter than the one who dares to do the former. (19) Or rather, the defendant has also included the crimes of tomb robbers in the very act of murder; for when he kills someone he deprives him in addition of his property, while their crime is simply to deprive their victim of a tomb. But if I must spell it out in detail, the defendant is more sacrilegious than tomb robbers in his very violence against the established <laws>; for tomb robbers do not prevent people from obtaining the customary funeral rites, but instead strip those who have already obtained them, while murderers <hide the bodies of their victims and allow them to remain unburied. Inasmuch as it is more essential to obtain funeral rites in the first place than to remain buried forever,>⁸ so much milder is the tomb robber than the murderer.

(20) “No, by Zeus!” someone will say, “The crime of temple robbers is greater; for they lay their hands on the votive offerings of the gods.” But is a human being not a much more valued possession to the gods than ceremonial bowls? From whose dedications do these bowls originate? Is it not human beings? Where do sacrifices and hymns and processions come from? How about altars and temples and sacred precincts of the gods and their very statues—whose works of craftsmanship are these? Let the man who destroyed the people from whom these dedications originated therefore be judged no less wicked than those who have stolen them.

(21) You bristle at the mere mention of tyranny, and sensibly so, in my opinion. So which aspects of it strike fear into you? Is it the confiscations of property and the sentences of exile and the unjust imprisonment of certain

8. I have supplemented Foerster's own supplement, which ends with the words “inasmuch as it is more essential to obtain funeral rites.” Cf. Common Topics 4.15.

ἀναρπάζειν. ἐνθυμεῖσθε γὰρ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πεφευγότας ἔνεστι κατελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφαιρεθέντας ἀπολαβεῖν αὐθις καὶ κομίσασθαι, θάνατον δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἰάσασθαι. ὁ τοίνυν τῶν ἐν τυραννίδι κεφάλαιον, τοῦθ' οὗτος ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετόλμηκε, καὶ τὸ φοβερωτάτην ἐκείνην ποιοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦδε πέπρακται τοῦ ξίφει τὰ κωνείου πληρώσαντος, ὅσπερ δὴ τρόπος τελευτῆς ἀλγεινότατος. (22) εἴτα ἂν μὲν μοιχὸν κρίνητε, δεῖ χαλεπαίνειν καὶ κατὰ τοῦ τυμβωρύχου τὴν ὀργὴν εἶναι μεγάλην, κἂν διασπάσῃσθε, μικρὰν οἴεσθε λαβεῖν τὴν δίκην· νῦν δὲ κάθησθε τῶν ἡμετέρων δεόμενοι λόγων, παρ' οἷς ὕβριστὴς μισεῖται, παρ' οἷς κλέπτῃς κολάζεται. καὶ τί κωλύσει τὴν πόλιν οἴχεσθαι τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους φόνων λαβόντων ἄδειαν; μᾶλλον δέ, πῶς χαλεπανεῖτε τοῖς ταῦτα κακουργοῦσιν, ὅταν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράως ἔχητε; (23) πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις τῶν θηρίων διεστῶσα μάλιστα τῷ μὴ κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἐξεῖναι διέφερεν, οὗτος δὲ συγχεῖ καὶ συνταράττει τοὺς ἄνωθεν καθεστῶτας νόμους. τί λέγω συνταράττει; τῶν θηρίων αὐτῶν ἀγριώτερος πέφηγε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ φεῖδεσθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων φασὶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὧν ἀνθρώπους ὥσπερ τι τῶν θηρίων μετακεχειρίσται.

(24) Νῦν μὲν οὖν εἴληπται τὸ δεινότατον εἰργασμένος, ἤκειν δέ μοι δοκεῖ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων πεπορευμένος. πολλὰ κεκλοφῶς ἔλαθεν, οὐκ ὀλίγους τοίχους διώρυξεν, ἐπεβούλευσε γάμοις, βεβίασται, τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ῥαδίως ἤρπασε. τῷ δ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μὴ διδόναι δίκην ἐπαιδεύθη μὴδὲν ἀποκνεῖν καὶ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἀνδροφόνος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ κεκολασμένος. (25) πόθεν τοῦτο τεκμαιρόμενος λέγω; φύσει τῶν κακούργων ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν οὐ σφόδρα δεινῶν οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῆς πονηρίας ἄρχεται. κατὰ πείραν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις χωρεῖ πρὸς τὰ δεύτερα κάκειθεν τὰ χαλεπώτερα μέτεισι καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ βαδίζει τῶν ἀδικημάτων τὸ κεφάλαιον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν τρόπων ἀρετὴν οὕτως ἴσμεν τελουμένην. οὐδεὶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄκρος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ τοιοῦτος γίνεται.

(26) νῦν οὖν εἰσῆκται μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ φόνῳ, πολλῶν δὲ ὀφείλει δίκην,

people? No. Rather, it is the fact that some of our citizens are snatched away with hemlock; for consider that it is possible for those who have fled into exile to return, and for those who have been robbed of their property to get it back again and recover it, but death cannot be remedied. What is therefore the most important feature of a tyranny, this man has dared to do in a democracy, and the thing that makes tyranny most fearsome has been done by this man here, the one who fulfilled the function of hemlock with his sword, the manner of death which is most painful. (22) Then if you try an adulterer, you must be harsh, and your anger against the tomb robber must be great, and even if you tear him limb from limb, you think you have exacted a small penalty. But now you sit here in need of my words, though it is among you that the violent man becomes hated, and among you that the thief receives his punishment. And what will prevent the city from perishing, when murders are committed against each other with impunity? Or rather, how will you be harsh toward those who do these wicked deeds, when you are gentle toward those very same people? (23) And so, human nature, though differing in many great ways from that of wild animals, previously differed most of all in that human beings were not allowed to kill each other, but this man confounds and confuses the laws established from above. What do I mean by “confuses”? He has appeared more savage than the wild beasts themselves; for they say that the majority of them spare members of their same species and defend each other against attackers, but this one, being a human, has treated humans like one of the wild beasts.

FROM ANTECEDENT ACTS

(24) And so, he has now been caught having committed the most terrible crime, but he seems to me to have arrived at this point by progressing from lesser crimes. He got away with stealing many items, he broke through not a few walls, he plotted against marriages, he committed violent acts, he plundered with ease what does not belong to him. By not paying the penalty for each of these crimes, he was taught to shrink from nothing, and by remaining unpunished for his other crimes, he has come down to us as a murderer. (25) On what evidence do I say this? Every evildoer naturally begins with actions not very terrible and not done out of wickedness. Then, testing himself at the first level, he advances to the second, and from there he moves on to harsher crimes, and finally he comes to the very crowning act of wrongdoing; for we know that moral goodness and virtue of character come to completion in the same way: no one is perfect right from the beginning, but gradually does become so.

WAY OF THINKING

(26) And so, he himself has now been brought up on a charge of murder,

ὅς οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εὐπορεῖν ἀφ' ὧν βέλτιον οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἦλθεν ὁδὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡμῖν. διὰ τί γάρ, ὦ κακὴ κεφαλὴ, τὴν γεωργίαν ἀπεστράφη; διὰ τί τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐμπορίαν πέφευγας; πόνου μὲν δεῖ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τὰ κέρδη, κερδαίνειν δὲ ἔστιν ἄνευ μέψεως. οὐδέτερον βούλει τούτων· ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐργάζου, μεταχειρίζου τέχνην τούτου χρησιμωτέραν. ἀλλ' ἀνδρείος εἶ καὶ γέμεις θυμοῦ· γενοῦ μισθοφόρος, ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ παρατάττου. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τοῦτο μὲν ἰδρῶτος ἦδει προσδεές, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ νῦν τέτραπται, πλοῦτον ἔχειν ἀθρόον, πραγματείας ἄμοιρον.

(27) ὑμεῖς οὖν τὸν σκοπήσαντα μόνον ὅπως τι λήψεται, τὸ δ' εἰ καλῶς ἢ μή, τοῦτο οὐδὲ ζητήσαντα ἀφήσετε λαβόντες; διὰ τί; ὅτι, νῆ Δία, δακρύσει καὶ δείξει τοὺς παῖδας καὶ δεήσεται μὴ τούτους ὀρφανοὺς καταστήσαι. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι λοιπόν, ὃ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ὀφείλεται, τοῖς πονηρευομένοις δοθῆναι. (28) πολὺ διενήνοχεν, ὦ δυσσεβέστατε, πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κακῶς ἢ δικαίως κολάζεσθαι. τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι δαίμονι δυσκόλῳ, τὸ δὲ προαιρέσει δεινῇ κεχηρμένων. μὴ τοίνυν εἰς τοὺς δευτέρους τελῶν τὸν ἄλλοις ἀποκείμενον ἔλεον ὑφάρπαζε. πολλὰς ὑπερεῖδες ἰκετείας τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ κατενεχθέντων. μὴ τοίνυν ὧν οὐ μετέδωκας, ταῦτα ἔχειν παρ' ἐτέρων ἀξίου. πολλὰς δεήσεις διέπτυσας τῶν δεχομένων τὰς πληγὰς. μὴ τοίνυν ζῆτει φιλανθρωπίαν ἣν ἀνήρηκας. (29) δεινὰ πείσεσθαι τοὺς σοὺς παῖδας ἡγῇ σοῦ τεθνεώτος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνων ὧν ἀπέκτεινας οὐ δεινὰ πεπονθέναι; καίτοι τοὺς σοὺς μὲν παραμυθήσεται τὸ τῷ νόμῳ τὸν πατέρα τεθνηκέναι, τοῖς δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ κουφίζει τὴν συμφορὰν. ὅλως δέ, εἰ πλέον ἰσχύσει τοῦ προσήκοντος τὰ δάκρυα, κεκλείσθω τὰ δικαστήρια. τί γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐλέγχειν, εἰ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν θρῆνων σωτηρία; (30) τοιοῦτον ἐβουλόμην εἶναι τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας, ὅποιος νῦν εἶναι πλάττεται, καὶ τὴν μέχρι τοῦ σχήματος ταύτην ἐπιείκειαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων δεικνύναι καὶ μὴ θρασὺν μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἐν δὲ τῷ δίκῃ ὑποσχεῖν ταπεινὸν ὀρᾶσθαι.

but he owes the penalty for many crimes—this man who refused to make a good living from what would have been better and did not travel the same path as the rest of us. For why, you wicked miscreant, did you reject farming? Why did you shun commerce by sea? There is need of hard work to make a profit in those occupations, but it is possible to make a profit without reproach. You say you are willing to do neither of these; so work in the marketplace, or pursue some trade more useful than this. But you say you are courageous and full of spirit; so become a mercenary, and go into battle for money. Rather, I suppose, he knew this required additional sweat, while the activities to which he has now devoted himself—amassing huge piles of wealth—require no effort.

REJECTION OF PITY

(27) And so now that you have caught him, will you release the man who took thought only for how he might acquire something but did not consider at all whether it was good or not? Why? Because, by Zeus, he will cry and exhibit his children and beg you not to make them orphans. For this is all that remains: for what is owed to the unfortunate⁹ to be given to the wicked. (28) There is a great difference, you most sacrilegious man, between suffering undeserved ill-fortune and being punished justly; for the former belongs to those who have suffered under a spiteful divinity, but the latter to those who have suffered under their own terrible character. Do not, therefore, as you end up among the second group, snatch away the pity reserved for the others. You despised many supplications of those brought down by you. Do not therefore ask to get from others what you did not give to these. You spat on many requests of those who received your blows. Do not therefore seek the human kindness which you have destroyed. (29) Do you believe that your children will suffer terribly when you have died, but that the children of those whom you killed have not suffered terribly? And yet the fact that their father was killed in accordance with the law will bring comfort to your children, while the others have nothing to alleviate their misfortune. In sum, if tears are stronger than what is fitting, let the courts be closed; for why must we prosecute wrongdoers, if when convicted they can be rescued by lamentations? (30) I wish this man had been the sort of person out in the wilderness that he pretends to be now, and had shown in his actions there the merciful kindness that extends only to his demeanor, and had not shown himself audacious in the mountains but humble in undergoing a trial.

9. I.e., pity.

(31) Γένεσθε δὴ τῷ λογισμῷ ἐπὶ τῶν φονικῶν, ἐννοήσατε τοῦτον μὲν ἐφεστηκότα μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους, τὸν δὲ εἰλημμένον ἀντιβολουῦντα, θεῶν ἀναμιμνήσκοντα, φύσεως, νόμων, δικαστηρίων, τοῦτον δὲ ταῦτα πάντα λῆρον ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀποσφάττοντα καὶ διαφθείροντα καὶ μὴ ἐπικαμπτόμενον πρὸς τὸν ὀδυρμόν.

2. Κατὰ προδότου.

(1) Τὸ τοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι τήμερον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμῶν δεσπότας παρὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν ὑπῆρξε. δεῖ δὲ ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, τοῖς μὲν ὧν ἐκώλυσαν εἰδέναι χάριν, τὸν δὲ ὧν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀπαιτῆσαι τὴν δίκην. ὥς ἔστι τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐτυχίαν τούτῳ γενέσθαι σωτηρίαν.

(2) οἱ μὲν οὖν εὖ πεπονηκότες τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσι τὰς ἀμοιβάς, οἱ μὲν στεφάνους, οἱ δὲ εἰκόνας, οἱ δὲ ἓν τι τῶν εἰς τιμὴν τοῖς εὐεργέταις εὐρημένων. ἄξιον δὲ ἡμᾶς μὴ μόνον φαίνεσθαι θαυμάζοντας τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισοῦντας τὴν κακίαν. ὥς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔστι τὴν πόλιν σώζεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ταῖς τιμαῖς παρακαλουμένων εἰς τὰ βελτίω, τῶν δὲ ταῖς τιμωρίαις παιδευομένων μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν. (3) τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολεμίοις ἢ τούτου κρίσις συμφορὰ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἅς εἶχον ἐν τούτῳ νῦν ἀπολωλεκότες στένουσιν· ὅστις δὲ κρινόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους λυπεῖ, παρ' ἡμῖν οὗτος ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν εὐλογον ᾧ παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔστιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, τοῦτον ἐνθάδε σωτηρίας τυγχάνειν.

(4) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ὑμεῖς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖτε πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα φέροντες αὐτῇ πάντα ἃ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐκάστῳ φέρειν. ὁ δεῖνα ἐπέδωκε τριήρη, τάλαντον οὗτος, ἕτερος ἔθηκε νόμον συμφέροντα, ψήφισμα ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε γενναῖον. οἱ μὲν ἐπρέσβευσαν δικαίως, οἱ δὲ εἰσηγήσαντο τὰ δέοντα.

VIVID DESCRIPTION

(31) Imagine yourselves at the murder scene. Picture this man standing over a victim with his sword, and the person he has caught is supplicating you, calling to mind the gods, nature, the laws, the courts—but picture this man considering all these things to be nonsense, and slaughtering and destroying and not bending in response to lamentation.

COMMON TOPICS 2: AGAINST A TRAITOR¹⁰

BRIEF INTRODUCTION

(1) That this man is in our hands today but our enemies are not our masters is due to the goodwill of the gods. If you are sensible, you ought to feel gratitude to them for what they prevented, but to demand punishment from him for what he attempted, since it would be one of the most absurd things for our good fortune to become this man's deliverance.

(2) And so, those who have done good service for the city have their reward—some have crowns, others statues, and still others have one of the rewards invented for honoring benefactors. But it is fitting for us to be shown not only to admire virtue, but also to hate wickedness, since it is through both of these attitudes that the city is kept safe, the former using honors to summon people toward the better course, the latter using punishments to teach them to do no wrong. (3) For the enemy, then, the trial of this man is a disaster, and they groan now at having lost the hopes they had placed in him, but whoever pains the enemy by standing trial, it is just for this man to be killed among us; for it is unreasonable for him to find safety here, when it is possible for him to be esteemed among the enemy.

FROM THE OPPOSITE

(4) All you others, then, behave justly toward your country, each of you contributing to it everything that he can. So-and-so voluntarily gave a warship, this man a talent; another established a beneficial law, that one passed a noble decree. Some served justly as ambassadors, while others proposed

10. For the theme, see Theon 106; Nicolaus 39, 41; John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 91,6, 92,22, 96,16); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:376,11–14, 26–27, 391,8, 23); Common Topics 3.22 (cf. 3.19); with partial elaboration, Theon 108 (cf. 109); Nicolaus 42; John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 100,14, 115,5); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:383,13–23, 397,7–14); with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 1 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:319,9–21,14).

καλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων ἀμείνους ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τῶν κινδύνων καλούντων τὰ ὄπλα θέμενοι δυοῖν θάτερον ἀξιοῦσιν, ἢ νικᾶν ἢ πεσεῖν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐπίδειξιν ἐν τῷ σώματι παρεχόμενοι. (5) ταῦτα ὑμεῖς ποιοῦντες ἀκολουθεῖτε τοῖς νόμοις οἱ πολλὴν ποιησάμενοι πρόνοιαν καὶ περὶ τῶν μειζόνων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡττόνων μάλιστα περὶ ταῦτα σπουδάζουσιν ἅφ' ὧν ἔστι φυλακὴ τῷ κοινῷ. καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν τοὺς γεγραμμένους νόμους, ὧν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπον νομοθέτην; ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ διαλέγεται πᾶσι τὴν πατρίδα <πλείστου> ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ τοὺς θεούς. (6) καὶ τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρῶμεν πειθομένους, οἱ τοῖς θηρίοις ἐοίκασιν. καὶ τᾶλλα διεστηκότες τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦτον αἰδοῦνται δικαίως. πολλῶν γὰρ ὀφείλουσιν ἄνθρωποι ταῖς πατρίσι χάριτας, τοῦ φῦναι καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦ τὸν ἥλιον ἐπιδεῖν, ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τροφῆς, παιδείας, γάμων, παιδοποιίας, κτήσεως χρημάτων, δόξης ἀγαθῆς, βίου σχήματος ὅτου ἂν εἴποις ἐνταῦθα. παρ' ἧς οὖν ἡμῖν ταῦτα, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ταύτη τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν εἶναι δίκαιον; μηδεὶς γὰρ οἰέσθω πλείω τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὀφείλειν ἢ τῇ πατρίδι. αὕτη καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς ἡνεγκε καὶ διὰ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἡμῖν πατέρες.

(7) Ἀλλ' οὐ τούτων τῶν πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν νόμων οὗτος ἀκήκοεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀνελών καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξια νομίσας ὅσα διῆλθον καὶ καταγνοὺς φλυαρίαν τούτου τοῦ θεσμοῦ καὶ νομίσας ματαίαν εἶναι σπουδὴν τὸ ταῦτα τηρεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν γῆν ταῦτόν ἡγησάμενος, μᾶλλον δέ, οὐ ταῦτόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἐχθρὰν φίλην, δυσμενῇ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν δικαίων φίλην ἀνέτρεψε καὶ συνέχευε τὰ πανταχοῦ πεπηγότα τὴν μὲν εὐνοίαν ἐκείνοις νεῖμας οὐς ἔδει μισεῖν, μισήσας δὲ τούτους ὧν ἔδει κήδεσθαι. (8) γενόμενος γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὥς οὐκ ἔδει, καὶ τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς οἰκείας κακῷ καὶ εἰς ἄνδρας ἡκων καὶ πιστευθεὶς τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν γνώμας οὐκ ἐζήλωσεν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπείγουσι τῶν καιρῶν παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν χρήσιμον, πλαττόμενος δὲ εὐνοίαν καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ φηλῶν καὶ παρακρουόμενος καὶ διὰ τούτου γινόμενος αἰεὶ τινος κύριος οἶον, ὃ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ τάφοι, βούλευμα ἐβούλευσεν ἐφ' ἡμῖν. (9) παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν ἦν, εἶδε δὲ ἐτέρωσε. μετὰ μὲν ἡμῶν συνέζη, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἔζη. μετὰ μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἔθυε, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις

what they ought.¹¹ And so, these are fine things, too, but much better than these are those men who arm themselves when danger calls and see fit to do one of two things, either to win or to fall, offering in their bodies the proof of their goodwill. (5) In doing these things, you follow the laws which, having given much forethought to what is better and what is worse, are especially serious about those things from which the commonwealth derives protection. And why must we speak of the written laws, for which one can name a human lawgiver? Nature itself teaches everyone to count his country <as most important> after the gods. (6) And it is this law that we see even the barbarians obeying, who resemble wild animals. And though differing from the Greeks in all other respects, they justly revere this law. For men owe thanks to their countries for many things: for being conceived and being born and looking upon the sun, and in addition to this, for their rearing, education, marriages, begetting of children, acquisition of money, good reputation, and whatever way of life you could name here. And so, since these things come to us from our country, how is it not just for our country to receive something from us? For let no one think we owe more to our parents than to our country. The latter gave birth to our parents, and from it came our ancestors.

EXPOSITION OF THE ACT

(7) But this man did not heed these many fine laws; rather, he annulled them all, regarded everything I have discussed as worthless, condemned this divinely-ordained law as nonsense, believed that the effort to protect these things was pointless, and considered the whole earth to be the same—or rather, not the same; instead, he turned everything upside down, treating the enemy's land as dear, while treating the land that was rightfully dear to him as hostile, and he confounded the practices firmly established everywhere by doling out goodwill to those whom he should have hated, but hating these whom he should have cherished. (8) For although he was born among us—as should not have happened—and was raised only to become an evil to his homeland, and reached adulthood, and gained our trust, he did not emulate the attitudes of all the other citizens, nor did he offer himself as useful in dire emergencies, but feigning goodwill and deceiving and leading us astray with his words, and by this means always becoming in charge of something new—O, Earth and Sun and Temples and Graves, what sort of plot he plotted against us! (9) He was among us, but his eyes were elsewhere. He lived

11. For this list of respectable occupations, see also Common Topics 4.17, 5.8. For the donation of warships, see Demosthenes 18.99; 21.160–161.

συνήχετο. βουλῆς ἐκοινώνει καὶ μετεῖχεν ἐκκλησίας καὶ ψηφίσματα ἔγραφεν, οὐχ ὅπως τι γένηται τῶν ἡμετέρων βέλτιον, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκείνων τὰ ἡμέτερα γένοιτο. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἡνίκα τι παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔγνωστο πάντα τούτου φράζοντος καὶ πωλοῦντος. (10) συνήλθες λάθρα τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὧς μισθὸν κεφαλῇ, ἐκοινολογήσω τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐδέξω λόγους κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος, ἐδέξω χρυσίον κατὰ τῆς ἐνεγκούσης, πρατήρ ὑπέμεινας γενέσθαι τῶν τιμιωτάτων, ὑπέσχεσθαι τὴν χεῖρα τῷ λήμματι καὶ οὐκ ἔφριξας ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἐφ' ἧς κερδανεῖς, ἀλλ' ἤγαγες εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα καὶ ὧς κερδανεῖς ἦν ἐπώλεις. (11) εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς τοὺς λόγους οἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑμῖν ἐγένοντο· στήθι μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀφείς τοὺς πολίτας. στήσομαι. δέχου μισθὸν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. δέξομαι. μηδὲν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐκεῖ λανθανέτω. πάντα εἴσεσθε, τούτοις ἴσως προστιθεὶς τὸ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς δεῖσθαι πόνων καὶ πραγματείας πρὸς τὸ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν ὡς τῆς προδοσίας μεῖζον ἰσχυούσης τῶν ὅπλων. (12) βλέψατε δὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν, ἐννοήσατε τὸ μέγεθος, τὸ κάλλος, νεώς, ἀγοράς, τὸν κοινὸν πλοῦτον, τὰ ὄντα ἐκάστοις, ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας, παῖδας, γυναῖκας, ἀφθονίαν, εὐδαιμονίαν. ταῦτα πάντα οὗτος ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπέδοτο καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως πρόσδοτον ἐποιήσατο. καὶ πεπλουτηκὼς ἐκ τοσαύτης ἀσεβείας εἰς ὑμᾶς βλέπει τοὺς πεπραμένους.

(13) καὶ ὑμεῖς μέλλετε καὶ λόγων ἀκούετε; τί τῶν δεινῶν καὶ καθ' ὧν εἰσι τιμωρίαι τῷ παρόντι παραπλήσιον ὀρώντες; ποίαν μοιχείαν, ποῖον φόνον, ποίαν εἰς θεοὺς ὕβριν, ποίαν εἰς οἰχομένους; ὁ μοιχὸς ἔρωτι πληγείς ἔβλαψεν οἰκίαν μίαν. δεινὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐνὶ τὸ κακὸν ἴσταται. ὁ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀποσφάξας οὐ πάντας ἐφεξῆς τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾷ. τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἤψατό τις, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ ἀγάλματα προσαφῆρηται. περὶ νεκρούς τις ἐπλημμέλησε καὶ τάφον ἐκίνησεν, ἀλλ' ὅσων ἀπέσχετο πλείονες ἢ ὅσοις προσῆλθε. (14) καὶ μὴν ἐκείνων ἕκαστος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχετο, τοῦ δὲ οὐ καθαρεύει. ὁ μοιχὸς οὐ πάντως ἀνδροφόνος, ὁ μὴ τὴν χεῖρα καθαρὸς οὐκ ἤδη καὶ ἐμοίχευσε. ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁ πλουτῶν οὐκ ἤδη τυμβωρύχος. ὅτω γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῶν τάφων εὐπορεῖν, ἀπέσχετο τῶν ἱερῶν. προδότην δὲ ὅταν εἴπω, πάντα τὰ ἀδικήματα λέγω. ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνοι διήρηνται, ταῦτα μόνος συνείληφεν. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ'

with us, but he was living for the enemy. He sacrificed with the citizens, but he was praying for the enemy. He shared in the Council and participated in the Assembly and passed decrees, not so that anything of ours might become better, but so that our things might become theirs. And as soon as something became known among us, it also became known among them, as this man told them and sold them everything. (10) You went secretly to the enemy, you bloody miscreant; you communed with our common enemy; you heard words spoken against your fatherland; you received gold against the country that bore you; you dared to become a vendor of the most honored things; you held out your hand for gain and did not shudder to consider at whose expense you were profiting, but instead you brought money into the city against the city and continued to live in the land you had sold. (11) Tell the jury the words that you spoke to each other: "Reject your citizens and stand with us." "I will." "Receive payment against your country." "I will." "Let nothing that happens there escape our attention." "You will know everything." You probably added to these words your assurances that there would be no need for them to exert any effort or go to any trouble in order to take the city, as well, since treachery is more powerful than arms. (12) Gentlemen, look at the whole city; consider its size, beauty, temples, marketplaces, the wealth shared in common, the possessions that each holds privately, the hoplites, cavalry, children, women, and our happiness and prosperity. All these things this man sold like something from the marketplace, and he made the destruction of the city into a source of revenue. And having become rich from such great impiety against you, he now looks to you, the men he has sold.

FROM COMPARISON

(13) And will you delay and hear his words? Why? Which of the actions that are terrible and against which punishments exist do you see as being similar to the present one? What sort of adultery, what sort of murder, what sort of violent attack against the gods, what sort against the dead? The adulterer, smitten by lust, injures one house. This is terrible, but the evil is limited to one thing. The man who slaughters his personal enemy does not go on to do the same to everyone else. Someone lays hands on the votive offerings, but he does not also rob the statues. Someone commits an offense against corpses and disturbs a grave, but he stays away from far more than he approaches. (14) Moreover, each of those men refrains from something but is not guiltless of something else. The adulterer is by no means a murderer; the man with impure hands is not already an adulterer, as well. The man who becomes rich from temples is not already a tomb-robber. Whoever has the idea of getting rich off of graves, stays away from temples. But whenever I say "traitor," I am talking about all these crimes; for what those men have done separately, he

ὅτι πόλεως ἀλούσης γυναῖκες ὑβρίζονται, ἄνδρες ἀποσφάττονται, τάφοι παροινούνται, ἱερὰ οὐ συλᾶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκάπτεται. (15) τῷ τε οὖν πάντας ἀδικεῖν ἐκείνους ὑπερβέβληκε καὶ τῷ καθέκαστον πλείω. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων εἰς μέρος ἢ βλάβη, τῇ δὲ ἐκ τῆς προδοσίας ἀδικία τὸ κοινὸν ζημιούται. μὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο σκοπῶμεν, ὥς οἱ πολέμιοι ταῦτ' ἂν ἔδρων, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκείνοις ταῦτα ἐξεῖναι ὑπῆρξε παρὰ τοῦδε. δεῖ δὲ τὰ ἀδικήματα νομίζειν οὐ τῶν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐργαζομένων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τὸ δυνηθῆναι δεδωκότων. ὁ δὲ νῦν ἐκείνοις τὰ ἡμέτερα διδοὺς οὗτος ἂν ἦν ὁ πάντας ποιῶν ὅσα ὑπ' ἐκείνων πάσχειν ἔδει.

(16) Εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο, τί δεινότατον νομίζετε; πάντες εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φήσετε τὸ συγχυθῆναι τοὺς νόμους, τὸ γενέσθαι τύραννον. ἔστι δὲ τοσούτῳ χαλεπώτερον προδοσία τυραννίδος, ὅσῳ τῇ μὲν τὸ τέλος μηκέτι εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, ἢ δὲ τὰ ἄλλα κινούσα τῆς πόλεως κήδεται. δῆλον γὰρ ἔστι τῷ γε βουλομένῳ τυραννεῖν ὅτι δεῖ σῶζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, εἴ γε κακείνῳ δεῖ τὴν ἐξουσίαν σεσῶσθαι. τῷ προδότῃ δὲ ὁ διδοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει δίδωσι. (17) τί μάλιστα πόλιν ἄρδην ἀπόλλυσι; πολέμιοι κεκρατηκότες οἶδ' ὅτι φήσαιτ' ἂν. ἀλλ' οὐτοσί καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων πολεμίων μᾶλλον ἄξιος μισεῖσθαι. διὰ τί; ὅτι τοῖς μὲν νόμῳ πολέμου τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττεται καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, πολέμιοι γὰρ τὰ πολεμίων ἐργάζονται, ὁ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ συναναιρῶν ἐκείνοις ἐν τῷ διαφθεῖρειν ἦν σῶζειν ἔδει τῶν πολεμίων πικρότερος. ἔτι τοίνυν τούτους μὲν ἐνὶ φυλάξασθαι, κηρύττουσι γὰρ τὴν ἔχθραν, ὁ δὲ συνῶν τούτοις οὕς ἀπόλλυσι λανθάνων κακῶς ποιεῖ.

(18) εἰ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν, πῶς οὐχὶ μικρὰ τούτῳ ζημία θάνατος, ὅς γε ἐκείνους νικᾷ; ἐγὼ πολλάκις τινὰς εἶδον φεύγοντας κλοπῆς καὶ ὑμᾶς ὀργιζομένους εἰκότως. δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀδίκημα πράγους εἶναι. εἴτα τοὺς ἐπὶ πέντε δραχμαῖς ἀλόντας κολάζετε, προδότην δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες οὐ διασπάσεσθε; ὅς νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ κρίνεται, πάντα δὲ ἐκεῖνα

alone has combined.¹² For doubtless you know that when a city is sacked, women are violated, men are murdered, graves are grossly abused, and temples are not only robbed but are also razed to the ground. (15) And so, he has surpassed those men, in that he both wrongs everyone and wrongs them more in each individual case; for the damage from those other criminals is partial, but the whole commonwealth suffers loss with the crime of treason. For let us not consider that it is the enemy who would have done these things, but instead that they were made possible for them by this man here. One ought to regard crimes as no more the responsibility of those who did the deed with their hands than of those who made it possible. But this man who has now betrayed our state to them would have been the one doing to everyone what we would have to have suffered at their hands.

(16) But if someone should say to you, "What do you consider the most terrible thing?", I know well that all of you would say, "For the laws to be confounded, or for a tyrant to arise." But treason is so much harsher than tyranny, in that with the former the city ultimately no longer exists, while the latter, though it is disruptive in all other respects, cherishes the city; for it is evident to whoever wants to become a tyrant that the city must be preserved, at least if his power must also be preserved. But whoever gives to a traitor gives against the very foundations of the city. (17) "What is the thing that most utterly destroys a city?" "When the enemy has conquered it," I know you would say. But this man here deserves to be hated even more than the enemy doing these things. Why? Because for the enemy, such things as these are done by the law of war, and the deed corresponds to its name, for enemies do the things of enemies, but the man who joins them in destroying his own city is more bitter than the enemy in that he destroys what he should have been saving. Moreover, it is possible to guard against the enemy, for they publicly announce their hatred, but the one who associates with them does evil while escaping detection by those he is destroying.

FROM ANTECEDENT ACTS

(18) But if we kill the enemy with great delight, how is death not too small a punishment for this man, who in fact surpasses them? I have often seen individuals defending themselves on a charge of burglary and you being angry at them. And naturally so; for we must not be gentle toward any crime. Then will you punish those convicted in a matter of five drachmas, but when you have a traitor in your hands not tear him to shreds? This man is now being tried for treason, but he has progressed through all those crimes—theft,

12. For the thought, see Common Topics 4.15.

διεξελήλυθε, κλοπᾶς, μοιχείας, ἱεροσυλίας, ἐν οἷς μοι δοκεῖ παιδευθεῖς μηδὲν φοβεῖσθαι τελευτῶν εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκειν. οἱ γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικοῦντες, οἷα νῦν οὗτος, δῆλον ποιοῦσιν ὥς ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων ἐνταυθοῖ προὔβησαν τῷ μὲν λαθεῖν οὐ δόντες δίκην, τῷ δὲ μὴ δοῦναι μειζόνων ἐπιθυμήσαντες.

(19) Ἦν σοι πλουτεῖν, ὦ μιάρων θηρίον, καὶ μὴ κρίνεσθαι. ὁρᾷς τὴν γῆν; γεώργησον. ὁρᾷς τὴν θάλατταν; πλεῦσον. ἀλλὰ φεύγεις ἐκεῖνα καὶ ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖς ἐν ᾧσιν; εἰσὶν ἐργασίαι κἀνταῦθα πολλαὶ δι' ὧν ἕκαστος τῶν μετρίων πολιτῶν αὐτός τε εὐπορεῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει λειτουργεῖ. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, μόνον οἶδας ὅσον λήψη, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ οἶδας, ὥς οὐχ ὅθεν ἄξιον. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν κέρδος ἐθαύμασας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ κέρδους ἀφορμὴν οὐκ ἐζήτησας.

(20) Εἴτα τὸ τῶν οὐδὲν ἔχόντων δίκαιον ποιήσει. δακρύσεται καὶ περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἐλεεῖν πολλὰ διαλέγεται. ἐγὼ δὲ τί φημι; εἰ μὲν ἀτυχεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, σῶζου, δίκαιον γάρ· εἰ δὲ πεπονήρευσαι, μὴ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀδικοῦντων ἐπιτέλει, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἡτυχηκότων ἐπιζήτει. δημοκρατία γὰρ τὸ μὲν τηρεῖ τοῖς ἐπταικόσι, τῷ δὲ χρήται πρὸς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους οἷα σύ. (21) σὲ δ' εἰ σώσουσι, παρὰ τοῦ δίκην ἔτι λήψονται; τοῦ τὰ ἐλάττω κακουργοῦντος; καὶ πῶς; ἀλλὰ τοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ σοι τολμώντος; καὶ πῶς ἐνι προδότῃν νῦν μὲν ἐλεεῖν, νῦν δὲ μισεῖν; οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη μάτην γεγράφθαι τοὺς νόμους, μάτην ἐστάναι τὰ δικαστήρια; τοῦ κολάζειν γὰρ οὐς ἄξιον οὐκ ὄντος ἐν τῇ πόλει τί δεῖ τούτων; (22) οὐ μόνον οὗτος κρίνεται σήμερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοθετεῖτε τῇ ψήφῳ πότερον δεῖ πάντας τὰ τούτου ζηλοῦν ἢ δικαίους εἶναι περὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ οὗτος ἀφεθῇ, προδοταὶ πάντες· ἂν δὲ δῶ δίκην, οὐδεὶς ἐλέου μεμνήσεται. πόλιν ὅλην οὐκ

adultery, temple robbery—in which, as it seems to me, since he was trained to fear nothing, he ultimately arrived at this point; for those who commit the greatest crimes, such as this man here now has done, make it clear that they progressed from lesser crimes to that point because, by escaping detection, they did not pay a penalty, and by not paying a penalty, they longed for greater crimes.

WAY OF THINKING

(19) It was possible for you to become rich, you bloody beast, and not to stand trial. Do you see the earth? Farm it. Do you see the ocean? Sail it. But do you reject those options and long to live in town? There are many occupations there, too, through which each of the average citizens both can become rich himself and perform liturgies for the city. Rather, I suppose, you know only how much you will gain, but you do not know that you are not gaining it from a worthy source.¹³ Instead, you admired the profit but did not inquire into the source of the profit.

REJECTION OF PITY

(20) Next he will do what those do who have no just claim. He will cry and discourse at length on the necessity of pity. And what do I say in reply? If you have met with misfortune, sir, save yourself, for that is just, but if you have behaved wickedly, do not perform the actions of those who commit crimes but then ask for what belongs to those who have met with some misfortune; for democracy safeguards one thing for those who have stumbled, but it applies something else to those who do such actions as you. (21) If they acquit you, from whom will they exact a penalty in the future? Someone who has committed lesser crimes? And how could they? Or someone who dares to do the same things as you? And how is it possible at one time to pity a traitor, at another to hate him? Therefore, is it not necessary that the laws have been written in vain, that the courts have been established in vain? For what need is there of these in the city when there is no punishing of those who deserve it? (22) Not only is this man being tried today, but you will also be establishing a precedent with your vote, whether everyone ought to emulate this man's actions or to behave justly toward the city; for if this man is acquitted, all will become traitors, but if he pays the penalty, no one will ever mention pity again. Since you did not show pity toward the whole city, do you think it fitting for you to be pitied by these people who would have existed no more, if

13. I have not adopted Foerster's supplement of <οὐκ> ("not") before ἀξίον ("worthy") in 164,9 (180,11–12 Foerster).

ἐλέησας ἐλεεῖσθαι παρὰ τούτων ἀξιοῖς οἳ τὸ σὸν μέρος οὐκ εἰσὶ; πολλὰ ἂν ἐδάκρυσαν αἱ ἡμέτεραι γυναῖκες, πολλὰ ἂν οἱ παῖδες, οὓς οὗτος οὐκ ἤλέησε.

(23) μεταστήσατέ μοι τὸν λογισμόν ἀπὸ τῶν τούτου δακρύων ἐπ' ἐκείνην τὴν τύχην ἣ κατεῖχεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν. ὁρᾷν οἴεσθε στρατιὰν προσβάλλουσαν, μηχανήματα προσιόντα, τείχη κατασκαπτόμενα, τάφους ἀναρρηγνυμένους, χρήματα διαρπαζόμενα, γυναῖκας ἐλκομένας, παῖδας ἀγομένους, ἱερὰ συλώμενα, πάντα ἀπολλύμενα σιδήρῳ καὶ πυρί. γέγονε μὲν γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲν μὴδὲ γένοιτο, νοῦν δὲ ἔχόντων ἂν εἴη τοῦ μὲν εἰδέναι τοῖς βεβοηθηκόσι θεοῖς τὴν χάριν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτον νῦν ἔχειν ὀργὴν ἣν εἶχετ' ἂν ἀλίσκόμενοι.

3. Κατὰ ἱατροῦ φαρμακέως.

(1) Ἔχετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸν τῷ καλλίστῳ σχήματι κακῶς κεχρημένον καὶ προσειπόντα μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἱατρόν, ἀπεκτονότα δὲ φαρμάκῳ πλείους τῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεπονημένων βίον. ὃν οὖν, εἰ ὑπείδεσθε, καὶ πάντως ἂν πρὸ τῶν ἔργων κατελύσατε, τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοσούτοις τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν οὐ διασπάσσεσθε; δίκαιον γὰρ ἂ μὴ γενέσθαι βούλοισθ' ἂν, τούτων τετολμημένων τιμωρίαν ἀπαιτεῖν. (2) οἱ μὲν οὖν οἰκείοι τῶν τεθνεώτων περιστάσιν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, δεικνύντες ἂ πεπόνθασι καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὑμῖν δὲ εἰ μὲν ἀναστήσαι τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτου τεθνεώτας ἐνῆν, πάντως ἂν αὐτοῖς ταύτην ἐβοηθεῖτε τὴν βοήθειαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀδυνάτων, δότε τὴν δυνατὴν παραμυθίαν αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον τοῦτον ἀποκτείναντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὡς ἀγανακτεῖτε τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι μείζω θανάτου τιμωρίαν εὐρεῖν. (3) μάλιστα μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ τοῦθ' ἐν ἐκερδαίνομεν μόνον διὰ τῆς τιμωρίας τὸ

it had been up to you? Our wives would have shed many tears, our children many, whom this man did not pity.

VIVID DESCRIPTION AND EXHORTATION

(23) Turn your attention, if you will, from this man's tears to that fate which would have spread over the city. Imagine that you see an army attacking, siege engines approaching, walls being razed to the ground, graves being broken open, money being plundered, women being dragged off, children being led away, temples being robbed, and everything being destroyed by iron and fire. For none of these things has happened—and may they not happen!—but those who are sensible should feel gratitude for this toward the gods who have helped us, and feel the anger against this man that you would have felt if you had been conquered.

COMMON TOPICS 3: AGAINST A PHYSICIAN-POISONER¹⁴

BRIEF INTRODUCTION

(1) You have in your power, gentlemen, the man who has made wicked use of the best of outward appearances, and who called himself a doctor but killed more people with poison than those who make their living in this very way. And so, since if you had suspected him, you would have utterly destroyed him before the deeds, will you not tear this man to shreds for having killed so many? For it is just to demand punishment for these crimes he has dared to commit, which you might wish had never happened. (2) And so, the relatives of the deceased are present, as you can see, displaying what they have suffered both through their clothing and through everything else, and if it were possible for you to resurrect those who died at this man's hands, you would offer them your complete assistance. But since this is impossible, give them the only consolation possible, not only by executing this man, but also by making it clear that you are angry at not being able to discover a punishment greater than death. (3) Above all, then, even if we could derive only this one ben-

14. Cf. the theme of the murdering physician in John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 93,6) and Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:377,13). The poisoning physician is otherwise unknown in the *progymnasmata*, but does appear in both Latin and Greek declamation. See Calpurnius Flaccus 13; Pseudo-Quintilian, *Decl. Min.* 321; the scholia to Hermogenes, *On Issues* (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 4:212,27–13,4, 442,25–43,4, 444,11–32, 566,22–67,7; 5:86,32–87,11, 127,28–28,7, 290,13–16; 7:247,26–30, 354,6–9, 356,14–18, 357,7–13, 358,4–14); and Sopatros, *Division of Questions* (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 8:18,7–20, 54,13–67,2). This example has been translated by Ratzen and Ferngren, "Physician-Poisoner," 163–70.

τὰ τούτου φάρμακα διαφυγεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο μικρὸν ἀπηλλάχθαι τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτου ἱατροῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν ἐζημιώσθαι μόνοις· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἱατροὺς βελτίους ποιήσομεν τῇ δίκῃ δείξαντες ὡς ἕνα δεῖ χρηματισμὸν αὐτοὺς εἰδέναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν σώζειν δυναμένων φαρμάκων, ἀμφοτέρων ἔνεκα κολαστέος, ὅπως μήτ' αὐτὸς εἴῃ μήτ' ἄλλος τοῦτον μηδεὶς ζηλώσειε.

(4) τοὺς μὲν οὖν θεοὺς οὐκ ἂν αἰτιάσαιτό τις ὡς ἡμεληκότας ἡμῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν νοσημάτων ἰσχύι τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκδεδωκότας σώματα, ἀλλ' ἐπαινῶ μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δωρεῶν ὧν ἔδοσαν, ἔδοσαν <γάρ> καρπούς, μυστήρια, λόγους, σοφίαν, ταλασίαν, γεωργίαν, ναυτιλίαν, ἄλλας τέχνας μυρίας, μεγίστῳ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐδωρήσαντο τῇ τῆς ἱατρικῆς τέχνης δόσει. (5) καὶ ποιεῖται παῖδα ὁ Ἀπόλλων Ἀσκληπιόν, δι' οὗ τὴν τέχνην ἐτελειώσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο γίνεται θεός, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου φιλάνθρωποι τε ὄντες καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄξιοι γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἐνέπλησαν τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἢ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐξαιρεῖται θανάτων. (6) εἰ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἱατρικὴ καὶ τοῖς κάμνουσιν ἐπήμυνε, κομιδῇ τινες ἂν ὀλίγοι πρὸς γῆρας ἀφικνοῦντο κατὰ πολλὴν τοῦ κωλύοντος ἐρημίαν τῶν ἀρρωστημάτων κρατούντων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς ἐμέλησε τοῦ γένους, ἐμέλησε δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις τῶν περὶ τὴν τέχνην τοῦ μήτε τῶν δόντων μήτε τοῦ πράγματος ἀναξίους φανῆναι. (7) τί οὖν τὸ πρᾶγμα πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγει; τῶν ἱατρευόντων εἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμήσας γενέσθαι καὶ διδασκάλων τυχὼν μέτασχε ἱκανῶς τῆς τέχνης, χρηστότητα ἄσκει, φιланθρωπίαν μελέτα, καλούμενος τρέχε, εἰσελθὼν ὅλη τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα σκόπει, συνάλγει τοῖς ἀνιωμένοις, σύγχαιρε τοῖς ραῖσας, κοινωνὸν ἡγοῦ σαυτὸν τῶν νοσημάτων εἶναι, κίνει πάντα ὅσα ἐπίστασαι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, τῶν μὲν ἡλικιωτῶν νόμιζε σαυτὸν ἀδελφόν, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων παῖδα, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων πατέρα. κἂν ἐκείνων τις περὶ αὐτὸν ῥαθυμῇ, σοί γε τοῦτο μὴ νόμιζε ἐξεῖναι, ὅλως δὲ τοῦτο δεῖν εἶναι σε τοῖς νοσοῦσιν, ὅπερ οἱ Διόσκουροι τοῖς πλέουσι. (8) ταῦτα χρὴ νομίζειν ἀκούειν τὸν ἱατρὸν παρὰ τῆς ἱατρικῆς. ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱατρῶν ἡμῖν πεφύλακται, οἱ πρὸ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ νενικηκέναι νόσημα δόξαν διώκουσιν. οἶδα ἔγωγε πολλοὺς ἱατροὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν εἰς σώματα πενήτων αὐτοὺς ἀνηλωκότας. εἰκότως. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τέχνη τὴν παρὰ τῶν πόλεων

efit through his punishment—namely, to escape his poisons—it would not be trivial for the city to be relieved of such a doctor and to have suffered only the loss of the deceased. But since we will also be making all the other doctors better with this judgment, showing that they must know that their only business is with the drugs that are able to save lives, he must be punished for both reasons: so that he himself may no longer exist and so that no one else may emulate him.

FROM THE OPPOSITE

(4) One would not, then, accuse the gods of neglecting us and surrendering the human body to the power of diseases, but I praise them for the rest of the gifts they have given us, as well; <for> they have given us fruits, the Mysteries, speech, wisdom, wool-working, farming, sailing, and thousands of other arts, but the greatest gift they have given us is the art of medicine. (5) And Apollo adopts Asclepius as his son, through whom he perfected the art. And for this reason Asclepius becomes a god, but those who both derive their love of humanity from him and are worthy of their father have filled land and sea with the aid that delivers the sick from death. (6) But if medicine did not exist and did not come to the aid of the sick, only a certain few would reach old age, as diseases prevail in the complete absence of something to keep them in check. The gods, then, were concerned for the human race, but it was also a concern, I suppose, to those who were best in the art not to appear unworthy of the givers or of the profession. (7) What, then, does the profession say to them? “Having longed to become a medical practitioner yourself, and having obtained teachers, share fully in the art; practice honesty; exercise a love for humanity; when you are summoned, run; upon arriving, examine the sick person with all your intelligence; sympathize with the distressed; rejoice with them when they recover; consider yourself as being a partner in their illnesses; bring everything that you know to bear on this struggle; consider yourself a brother to your age mates, a son to your seniors, and a father to your juniors. And if any of them is indifferent toward his own health, do not think this is permitted to you, but in general believe that you must be to the sick what the Dioscuri¹⁵ are to sailors.” (8) One should believe that the doctor hears these words from the art of medicine. These precepts, gentlemen, have been safeguarded for us by the other doctors, who instead of money pursue the glory of having defeated an illness. In fact, I know that many doctors, rather than taking money, have spent it themselves on the bodies of the poor. And naturally so; for indeed, the art elicits respect for them from the cities.

15. The gods Castor and Pollux (Polydeuces).

αἰδῶ προξενεῖ. καὶ προσορῶμεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄκρους ὥσπερ θεοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς νομίζοντες τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας.

(9) Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ἐπαινοῦμεν τῷ τε ἀρχηγέτῃ θεῷ καλῶς ἐπομένους καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις οἷς ὤμοσαν ἀπτόμενοι τῆς τέχνης ἐμμένοντας, μόνος δὲ οὗτος ὁ κακουργότατος, ὁ μιαιώτατος, ὁ πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις, πᾶσι δὲ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς τὰ δεινότατα τοῖς καλλίστοις ἀνέμιξε, τοῖς σώζουσι τὰ ἀπολλύντα, τοῖς βοηθοῦσι τὰ πολεμοῦντα, τοῖς ῥυομένοις τὰ διαφθεύοντα. (10) καὶ ἡ μὲν ὑπόσχεσις καλὴ τελευτῆς ἐξαρκάσειν, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τελευτῇ πρὸ μοίρας καὶ θάνατος ἐκ φαρμάκων. παραδοὺς γὰρ αὐτὸν διδασκάλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μαθὼν τὰ τε ἀπαλλάττοντα νόσου καὶ τάναντία τούτων, οὐχ ἵνα ἀμφοτέροις χρήσεται, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς τὴν βλάβην φυλάσσεται καὶ τὸ μὲν προσενέγκῃ, τὸ δὲ φύγῃ, τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἀναστήσας, ἵν' εὐδοκιμήσας πιστευθείῃ, ἐπειδὴ λαμπρὸς ἦν καὶ δόξαν ἐκέκτητο καὶ παρὰ τῶν πλουτούντων καὶ μεγάλα δυναμένων ἐκαλεῖτο, εἰσῆρχετο μὲν ὡς λύσων τὸ κακόν, ἕτερον δὲ προστιθείς ἐξήρχετο. (11) ὦ τῶν λόγων οὐς ἤκουέ τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς τῶν καμνόντων ἐχθρούς· οὗτος ὁ νοσῶν, ἰατρέ, πολλὰ με λελύπηκε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀφέξεται, μέχρις ἂν ἐμπνέῃ. χάρισαι δὴ μοι τὴν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν. τοιαῦτ' ἀκούων ἐπένευεν ὁ χρηστὸς ἰατρὸς καὶ πόσον δὲ τὸν μισθὸν καταβάλλεις; ἡρώτα καὶ οἶσθα δὲ τὸ τόλμημα ὡς δεινὸν καὶ οἶον οὐκ ἄλλο καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὸ κέρδος ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ πονηρεύματι; καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις λαμβάνων οὐκ ἡπάτα τοὺς δεδωκότας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν τοὺς κάμνοντας ἡδίκηκε δίκαιος ἦν πρὸς τοὺς μεμισθωμένους. (12) ἀπὸ τοιούτων τοίνυν τῶν συνθηκῶν εἰσιὼν αἴρων τοῦ νοσήματος τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἰσχὺν φαρμακοποσίας ἔφασκε δεῖν καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν μόνην εἰς σωτηρίαν ῥοπὴν καὶ μὴ δεῖν ὀκνεῖν. ἐπεῖθοντο οἱ πάντα τούτῳ πειθόμενοι. πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἰατρῷ γε πείθεσθαι; τίς δ' ἂν ὑποπτεύσειεν ἰατροῦ κύλικα; καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπινον οἱ δυστυχεῖς χαίροντες, ὁ δὲ πίων τὰ ἔνδον κατησθίετο καί, Ἡράκλεις, καὶ τί πέπωκα; καὶ κάλει τὸν ἰατρόν. ὁ δὲ εἰσέρχεται μειδιῶν ὡς δὴ ταύτην ἔχοντος τοῦ φαρμάκου τὴν φύσιν τὰ πρῶτα λυπεῖν, ἔπειθ' ὕστερον δεικνύναι τὴν ὠφέλειαν. ἐμειδία δὲ ἄρα ὡς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἔργον χωροῦσης. τοιαῦτα εἰσῆγεν οὗτος εἰς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀθλίων φάρμακα. (13) ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτῃ τελευτώντων εἰώθασιν οἱ ἰατροὶ βοᾶν καὶ δεικνύναι τοῖς τοῦ τεθνεῶτος οἰκείοις ἐν τῷ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος σώματι πονηρῶν

And we look upon the most accomplished of them as gods, believing that, after the gods, our hopes for deliverance reside in them.

EXPOSITION OF THE ACT

(9) And so, we praise the others who nobly follow their founding god and abide by the oaths they swore when they undertook the art, but this man alone—the great malefactor, the most abominable, the enemy to all men and all gods—has confounded the most terrible things with the most noble, the destructive with the restorative, the hostile with the helpful, the ruinous with the protective. (10) And his promise to save them from the end was noble, but what he delivered was an end before the fated time and a death from poison. For having entrusted himself to good teachers and learned both the drugs that cure disease and their opposites—not so that he might use both kinds, but instead so that, through his knowledge, he might take precautions against harm, and apply the one but avoid the other—and having revived three or four patients so that he might become well regarded and trusted, once he had become well known and acquired fame and was summoned by the rich and powerful, he would enter under the pretext of destroying the evil, but would leave having added another one to it. (11) O, the words that he both heard and said to the enemies of the sick: “This man who is ill, Doctor, has hurt me greatly and will stop short of nothing as long as he lives and breathes. Grant me the favor of safety for the future.” As he listened to such words the good doctor would nod his assent and ask, “How much money are you offering?” and “You know how terribly daring and unprecedented this act is, and that the profit from it must equal its wickedness?” And saying such words and receiving money for such acts, he did not cheat those who gave it; rather, he behaved justly toward those who hired him in that he behaved unjustly toward the sick. (12) Coming in, therefore, on the basis of such contracts and exaggerating the strength of the disease, he would claim that the patient needed to drink some medicine, and that this contained the only help for his deliverance, and that he must not balk at it. The people who had obeyed him in everything else obeyed him in this. How were they not going to obey a doctor? Who would be suspicious of a doctor’s cup? And some unlucky souls would drink it happily, but another one upon drinking it would be eaten up inside and say, “By Heracles!” and “What have I drunk?!” and “Call the doctor!” And he would come in smiling, saying that the drug has this property of causing pain at first, but that later it shows its benefits. Then he would smile, thinking that his plot was advancing toward its conclusion. Such drugs did this man introduce into the houses of the suffering. (13) In the case of all others who die in this way, then, doctors typically exclaim and show the relatives of the deceased the evidence of wicked poisons in the body of the

σημεῖα φαρμάκων, ὁ δὲ αὐτός τε ὦν ὁ τοῦτο δεδρακώς καὶ κύριος τοῦ παντός ἀκрасίαν τοῦ τεθνεώτος ἐκάλει τὸ πεπραγμένον· τῆς γὰρ προστεταγμένης ἐξελθόντα διαίτης ἀπολωλέναι. καὶ εἶπετο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα δακρύων, ἔτρεχε δὲ ἐκεῖθεν παρὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ κροτοῦντας. (14) καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν διὰ πολλῶν ἤρχετο γενῶν ἱατρὸς λοιμοῦ χαλεπώτερος. πολλοὶ παῖδας διὰ τοῦτον ἀπώλεσαν ἐφήβους, πολλοὶ πατέρας ἄρτι γάλακτος ἀπηλλαγμένοι. πενθεῖ τις ἀδελφὸν χρηστόν, ὁ δὲ γυναῖκα ἀγαθήν, ὁ δὲ κόρην ἡλικίαν ἔχουσιν γάμου. διὰ τίνας; οὐ διὰ πολέμιους οὐδὲ διὰ ληστῶν σίδηρον οὐδ' οἰκετῶν νύκτωρ ἐπαναστάντων οὐδὲ πονηρᾶς γραδὸς λάθρα τῷ οἴνῳ φάρμακον ἀναμιξάσης. ἀλλὰ τίνος ἀπεκτονότος; τοῦ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγωνίζεσθαι τεταγμένου. (15) ἱατρός, Ἄπολλον, ἐκέρασεν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ φάρμακον καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου γε πόματος διπλοῦν ἠνέγκατο μισθόν, τὸν μὲν παρ' ἐκείνων οἷς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπέρτει, τὸν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πεπωκότος, ὦ Ζεῦ. ὁ γὰρ πιὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐδίδου, τῆς πείρας δὲ τάναντία φερούσης εἶχετο τῶν τοῦτου χειρῶν σωτήρα ἐπονομάζων <καὶ> δεόμενος βοηθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἐφειστήκει μέγα φρονῶν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπὶ τῷ διαλύοντι τὰ μέλη φαρμάκῳ. ἥ που καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἢ τὸ φάρμακον ἐσκεύασεν πολλάκις ἐφίλησεν ὁ νοσῶν. ταῦτα θεῶν τις ἰδὼν ἠγανάκτησε καὶ πρᾶγμα οὐ ῥάδιον ἐλεγχθῆναι, δεινὸς γὰρ λαθεῖν φαρμακεὺς ἱατρός, ὅμως εἰς μέσον ἐξήνεγκεν ὥστε τοῦτον μηδὲ εἰ σφόδρα ἐστὶν ἀναιδής, ἔχειν ἀναισχυντεῖν.

(16) Ἐπὶ πᾶσι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἄξιον ὑμᾶς χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τεχνικῶς καὶ ὡς ἥκιστ' ἂν τις ὑπίδοιτο κατασκευαζομένοις. ὁ μὲν οὖν ταύτην ἐλθὼν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ βίου τὴν ὁδὸν ταχέως ἀλίσκεται καὶ δίκην ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀδικημάτων δοίῃ πολλάκις οὐκ ἔχων προκάλυμμα τῆς πονηρίας ἐπιεικές, ὁ δ' ἱατρός μὲν εἶναι λέγων, ποιῶν δ' ἐκεῖνο δύναιτ' ἂν οὐκ ὀλιγάκις καὶ διὰ τέλους ἀσφαλῶς κακουργεῖν παραπετάσματι τῆς κακουργίας τῷ προσχήματι τῆς τέχνης χρώμενος. (17) κάκει μὲν πολλῶν δεῖ τῶν διακονησόντων, οὓς χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν, κἂν εὑρεῖν ὑπάρξῃ, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ποιεῖ τὸν ἔλεγχον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνειδόντων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ δι' ἑνὸς ἅπαντα πληροῦται. αὐτὸς ἂν ὀρύξειεν ὦν εἰς τὸ φάρμακον δεῖ, αὐτὸς ἂν πρὸς ἄλληλα μίξειεν, αὐτὸς ἂν κομίσειεν, αὐτὸς ἂν ὀρέξαι πάντων ὀρώντων μόνον. τοῦτον φαρμακέα οὐδ' ὑποπτεῦσαι καλόν. (18) τοὺς οὖν ὦν εἶναι δοκοῦσι πορρωτάτω, ταῦτ' ἀδικοῦντας καὶ τούτῳ γε αὐτῷ θαρροῦντας

dead man. But this man, being the very one who had done this and being responsible for the whole thing, would label what had been done the dead man's lack of willpower; for he died, he would say, because he departed from the prescribed regimen. And he would accompany them to the tomb in tears, but from there he would run to those applauding him for the murder. (14) And by doing these things, the doctor would go through many families more harshly than a plague. Many lost their teenaged sons because of this man; many only recently weaned from their mother's milk lost their fathers. One laments a fine brother, another a good wife, and another a girl of marriageable age. Because of whom? Not because of the enemy, nor the swords of robbers, nor a slave revolt by night, nor an old woman secretly mixing poison in with the wine. But who killed them? The one also enlisted to combat these things. (15) A doctor, O Apollo, mixed up a poison for death and received double payment for such a drink, one from those people for whom he undertook such tasks, and one from the very person who drank it, O Zeus. For the one who drank it gave him money out of hope, but when the attempt began to produce the opposite effect, he would hold this man's hands, calling him his savior <and> asking him to help. But the doctor would stand over him, exulting, as seems likely, over the poison destroying the man's limbs. Surely the sick man must often have kissed the right hand that prepared the poison? One of the gods, on seeing this, also became angry that the matter could not easily be proved, for the physician poisoner is clever at escaping detection, but nevertheless the god brought it out into the open, so that not even if the man were extremely shameless could he go on behaving shamelessly.

FROM COMPARISON

(16) It is fitting, then, that you be harsh toward all crimes, gentlemen of the jury, but especially toward those contrived using the resources of art and in such a way that one would least suspect them. And so, the one who followed this path from the beginning of his life is quickly caught and would often pay the penalty for his earlier crimes, not having a suitable cover for his wickedness, but the man who claims to be a doctor but does the other would be able to work his evil, not infrequently and in continual safety, using the pretext of his art as a screen for his wicked acts. (17) In the former case, too, there is need of many to assist, whom it is difficult to find, and if it is possible to find them, the sheer number of accomplices serves to convict him, but in the latter case, everything is accomplished through one person. He would dig up what was needed for the poison himself; he would mix everything together himself; he would bring it himself; he would hand it to the patient himself while everyone else just watched. It is bad even to suspect this man of being a poisoner. (18) And so, as for those who are very far from what they are

τῷ δοκεῖν εἶναι πόρρω πολὺ μᾶλλον μισεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι ὧν τοσοῦτον ἀφεστᾶσι τολμῶσι καὶ γίνονται χεῖρονες ἢς ἔχουσι δόξης. (19) φέρε, εἰ κυβερνήτην εἰσῆγον εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸς ἔδρασε τὴν ναῦν ἣν ἐκυβέρνηα, οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον οὗτος ἐμισεῖτο τῶν πολεμίων; τί δέ, εἰ στρατηγὸν <ἀποδόμενον τὸ στρατόπεδον; οὐκ ἂν> μείζω δίκην ἔδοξεν ὀφείλειν ἢς ἂν ἔδωκεν ὁ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀλούς; τί δέ, εἰ παλαιστήν οἷς ἐγύμναζε λυμαινόμενον; ἄρ' <ἂν> ἦν ἀξία δίκη; (20) τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ νῦν. ἄνθρωπος ἔχων τέχνην ἢς ἐστὶν ἔργον τὸ σῶζειν πολλοὺς ἐποίησε τάφους καὶ γέγονε τῶν νοσημάτων τοῖς πολίταις πολεμιώτερος. τὰ μὲν γε πολλάκις ἰατρῶν οὐ παρόντων ἔληξεν αὐτόματα, τοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτου φάρμακα διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἐνῆν.

(21) τοῦ χάριν, ὦ κακὴ κεφαλὴ, ταῦτα ἐτόλμησας; χρημάτων; εἴτ' οὐκ ἦρκει τὰ παρὰ τῶν νοσοῦντων; οὐχ ἑώρας τοὺς καλῶς καὶ δικαίως τῷ πράγματι χρωμένους πεπλουτηκότας; ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡγοῦ τὰ ἐκείνων πλοῦτον οὐδὲ τὰ μετὰ πόνων ἐπήνεις, ἀλλ' ἐζήτεις ἀπόνως τε καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς τυράννους παρελθεῖν τοῖς χρήμασιν. εὗρες οὖν τὸν ἀδικώτατον πόρον καὶ πρᾶσιν τινα ταύτην ἐποιήσω ψυχῶν.

(22) εἴτ' οὐ πέπρακεν οὗτος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ; τίνα δὲ οὐκ

reputed to be, since they do these wrongs and are confident in the very fact that they are reputed to be far from that, they deserve to be hated much more, because they dare to do what they have so greatly distanced themselves from and become worse than the reputation they have. (19) Come now, if I brought a helmsman in before you with the accusation that he himself had done the actions of an enemy to the ship that he steered, would this man not be more hated than the enemy? And what about a general <who betrayed his army? Would he not> seem to owe a greater penalty than what a captured enemy would owe? And what about a wrestler who mistreats those with whom he used to train? <Would> there be a fitting punishment? (20) The present case is also like this. A man in possession of an art whose duty is to save, made many graves and has become a greater enemy to the citizens than their illnesses. Many times, in fact, these illnesses would go away of their own accord with no doctors present, but it was impossible to escape this man and his poisons.

WAY OF THINKING¹⁶

(21) For the sake of what, you wicked miscreant, did you dare to do these things? For money? Then was the money from the sick not enough? Did you not see that those who nobly and justly practice the profession had become rich? But you did not regard what they have as wealth, nor did you praise the results of hard work, but instead you sought to surpass the tyrants in money both quickly and effortlessly. And so, you found the most unjust means of revenue and invented this selling of human lives.

FROM ANTECEDENT ACTS

(22) Next, has this man not also sold his whole generation? What secrets

16. This example of the heading “way of thinking” differs from the others in Libanius’s collection in two ways: it precedes the heading “from antecedent acts” rather than following it (cf. Common Topics 1.26, 2.19, 4.17–18), and the speaker does not say that the subject should have pursued a different career. Libanius has probably placed the heading here in order to avoid interrupting an emotional passage (sections 24–25) that forms a transition between discussion of the doctor’s antecedent acts proper (22–23) and the rejection of pity (26). In this transitional passage, the speaker traces the consequences of the poisoner’s antecedent acts to the present day of the trial and thereby identifies indigent doctors, distrustful patients, and the victims of poisoning as the rightful recipients of pity. Alternate careers are not mentioned in double common topics exercises in which one element is good: since there is nothing wrong with being a doctor, there is no reason to criticize him for choosing medicine over, say, farming or sailing. As with the other examples, however, the speaker in this exercise does criticize the doctor for his greed and reluctance to work hard.

ἐξήνεγκεν ἀπόρρητα φίλων; οὐ τὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς πολεμίοις; οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη τῶν πονηρευμάτων ἀρχή. παλαιᾶς ἐστὶ παιδείας τὸ παρὸν κακόν, μελέτης συνεχοῦς τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνειν ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ. (23) σκοπεῖτε τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὸν τούτου βίον ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ τούτῳ καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκείνον μαθάνειν. καλείτω τις τοὺς τῶν τεθνεώτων οἰκείους, μᾶλλον δ' ὅσους οἶόν τε, πολλοῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ κινεῖσθαι. ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῶν πενθούντων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀκούετε τῶν οἰμωγῶν. τοῦθ' ἅπαν τὸ δεινὸν ἔργον ἐστὶν ἱατροῦ. τούτοις μόνοις οὐκ ἔστι παραμυθίαν εὐρεῖν. τούτοις γὰρ οὐδένες ὅμοια πεπόνθασιν. ἀπώλεσαν τοὺς αὐτῶν. τοῦτο κοινὸν πρὸς ἄλλους. ἀπώλεσαν οὕτω. τούτου κοινωνὸν οὐκ ἔχουσι.

(24) Τοσούτους τοίνυν ἐκ φαρμάκων πονηρῶν διεφθαρκῶς ὁ κατάρτος οὗτος τῷ διαβεβληκέναι τὴν τέχνην πλείους ἀπόλλυσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔτι τῶν νοσοῦντων ἱατρόν, ὡς ἴστε, καλεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς νοσήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντας ὅ τι ἂν ἐκβαίνη φέρειν ἢ τὰ σώματα ἐγχειρίζειν ἱατροῖς τοιαῦτα οἴκοθεν κομίζουσι φάρμακα. οὐκοῦν ἔρημοι μὲν ἱατρῶν οἱ νοσοῦντες, ἄποροι δὲ καὶ ἐνδεεῖς οἱ ἱατροὶ τῆς τέχνης ἀπιστουμένης. εἰς ταῦτα ὁ χρηστὸς οὗτος κατέστησε τὴν πόλιν. πόλις μᾶλλον ἱατρικὴν δέδοικεν ἢ πυρετὸν ἢ λοιμόν. (25) ἀποβλέψατε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἱατρούς, ὡς αἰσχύνονται καὶ συγκαλύπτονται καὶ στένουσιν εἰδότες οἷα πέπονθεν ὑπὸ τούτου τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐλεήσαντες μὲν τούτους, ἐλεήσαντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς τεθνεώτας καὶ <τούς> ζῶντας τῇ τούτου τιμωρίᾳ διαλλάξατε πρὸς τὴν τέχνην τὴν πόλιν.

(26) Ἄλλ' ὅμως ἔλεον αἰτεῖ. τίνα αὐτὸς ἐλεήσας; εἰπάτω. τίνα τῶν πινόντων; τίνα τῶν μελλόντων; τίνα νέον; τίνα γέροντα; τίνα ἄνδρα; τίνα γυναῖκα; οὐκ ἔφριξας, ὦ κατάρτε, τῶν ἀρρωστούντων ἐτοίμως ὑποσχόντων τὰς χεῖρας, οὐκ ἠδέσθης τῶν πιομένων τὴν πίστιν, ἀλλ' ἴστης ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν σοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐχόντων τρόπαια.

(27) ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ μὲν ὅλως ἐγνώκατε μηδένα τῶν ἀδικούντων κολάζειν, μὴ μόνον ἀφήτε τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στεφανώσατε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ἀπάσαις τιμήσατε· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους ἐξαιτήσεται παρ' ὑμῶν, πῶς οὐ πάντων ἀτοπώτατα πράξετε τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐλαττόνων δεικνύντες, τὰ μείζω δὲ ῥαδίως φέροντες; ἢ τί τῶν ἀπάντων οὐχὶ τοῦδε

of his friends did he not reveal? Did he not disclose to the enemy the affairs of the city? This is not the beginning of his wicked acts. The present evil is the result of long training, of continual practice at taking from where one ought not. (23) See this man's whole life therefore in this final act, and you may be able to understand him from that. Let someone call the relatives of the deceased—or rather, as many as possible; for because of their misfortune it is impossible for many of them even to move. Look, gentlemen of the jury, at the crowd of mourners; hear their cries of grief. This whole thing is the terrible deed of a doctor. For these people alone it is impossible to find consolation; for no one has suffered anything like this. They have lost their own; this they share with others. They have lost them in this particular way; in this they have no one to share.

(24) Furthermore, having destroyed so many people with his wicked poisons, this accursed man destroys many more as a result of slandering the art; for no sick person will in the future summon a doctor, as you know; rather, it seems to be safer to entrust themselves to their illnesses and endure whatever comes rather than to put their bodies in the hands of doctors who bring such poisons from home. Therefore, the sick will be devoid of doctors, and the doctors will become poor and needy because their art is distrusted. This fine man has reduced the city to this point. The city fears the art of medicine more than fever or plague. (25) Gentlemen of the jury, look toward the other doctors, how they are ashamed and hide their faces and groan, knowing what the profession has suffered because of this man. And so, pitying these men, but pitying also the dead and <the> living, reconcile the city to the art by punishing this man.

REJECTION OF PITY

(26) But he nevertheless asks for pity. Whom did he himself pity? Let him say. Which of those who took a drink? Which of those who were about to? What youth? What old man? What husband? What wife? You did not shudder, O accursed one, when the sick so readily held out their hands. You did not feel shame at the faith of those who took a drink; rather, you erected battle trophies from those who placed their hopes in you.

EXHORTATION

(27) Gentlemen of the jury, if you have decided not to punish any wrongdoers at all, not only release this man, but also crown him and honor him with all the other honors, but if there is nothing that convicted people can do to obtain a pardon from you, how will you not be doing the most absurd things of all if you display your anger at lesser crimes but take the greater ones lightly? What in the world is not more reasonable than this? What, then,

μετριώτερον; τί οὖν ὑμᾶς δεῖ ποιεῖν; εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε ἦν, πολλάκις ἀποκτεῖναι τοῦτον· τούτου δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντος φύσιν κελεύσατε αὐτὸν δεῦρο ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ κατατῆξαν ἐκεῖνο πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν φάρμακον καὶ ἀναγκάσατε πιεῖν. κείσθω δὲ ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἅπασιν ὁρᾶν τε καὶ ἐκβοᾶν καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὕτω ταῦτα ὦν δέδρακεν ἄξια.

4. Κατὰ τυράννου.

(1) Ἐπειδὴ καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοὶ τετηρήκασιν ἡμῖν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιχειροῦντα καταλῦσαι παρέδωκαν εἰς ἡμᾶς, χρῆσασθε ταῖς ψήφοις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὅπως μηκέτι δικαστηρίου ψῆφος ἰσχύσει παρ' ἡμῖν ἐσπουδακότα. (2) δεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐφ' ἅπαντι ἀδικήματι χρῆσασθαι ταῖς ὠρισμέναις τιμωρίαις, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἷς οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἴσον. τὰς γάρ, οἶμαι, τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὑπερβολὰς ἀπαραιτήτως προσήκει κολάζειν εἰδότας ὡς ἐν μὲν τοῖς μικροῖς εἴ τις φανείη πρᾶος, ἔλαττον ἔβλαψεν, ὁ δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις μὴ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιθείς αὐτὸν ἐζημίωσεν. (3) εἰ μὲν οὖν νῦν ἀφεθéis μὴ πάλιν ἔμελλε τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμήσειν, οὐδ' οὕτω μὲν ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν ὦν ἐβουλεύσατο ἤδη μὴ δοῦναι καὶ δίκην, ἴσως δ' ἂν τις ἦν λόγος μαλακισθεῖσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἔξεται τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅσῳ ἂν καὶ τῆς κρίσεως καὶ ἡμῶν καταγελάσῃ, δότω δίκην ἀμφοτέρων, ὦν τε ἐξελέλεγκεται καὶ ὦν δῆλός ἐστι ποιήσων, εἰ μὴ κολασθεῖη.

(4) Ἐνθυμήθητε δὲ οἷαν πολιτείαν οὗτος ἀναιρῶν οἷαν ἀντεισάγειν ἐπεχείρησεν. ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες μετὰ τῆς πόλεως δημοκρατίαν παρέδωκαν, καθ' ἣν ζῶντες καὶ πολιτευόμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύομεν καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ διαφεύγομεν καὶ νόμοις χρώμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους βίας ἀπούσης. ἡ βουλὴ προβουλεύει, ὁ δῆμος ἐκκλησιάζει, τὰ δικαστήρια τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἀμύνει, τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας κολάζει. (5) ἄρχει δὲ οὐχ ὁ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτῳ τοῦτο

ought you to do? If it were possible, to kill this man many times. But since this is physically impossible, order him to bring that poison here which melted away many of our citizens and force him to drink it. And let him lie dead in the marketplace for all to see and to exclaim over and to declare that even this is insufficient punishment for what he has done.

COMMON TOPICS 4: AGAINST A TYRANT¹⁷

BRIEF INTRODUCTION

(1) Since the gods in their benevolence have safeguarded the laws and the constitution for us and have handed the man over to us who was trying to destroy these things, use your votes against him, this man who has exerted himself so that a court's vote would no longer have any power among us. (2) It is necessary, then, to use the prescribed punishments for every crime, but especially for those equaled by none of the rest; for it is fitting, I suppose, to punish the most excessive crimes without mercy, knowing that if one appears gentle in trivial cases, he does little harm, but he who fails to impose the penalty deserved in the greatest cases is punishing himself. (3) And so, if on his acquittal now he would never again long for the same things and thus should not have to pay the penalty for what he plotted in the past, a case could perhaps be made for being soft on him, but since the more he mocks both this trial and us, the more he will cling to tyranny, let him pay the penalty for both: for what he has already been convicted of, and for what he would obviously do if he were to go unpunished.

FROM THE OPPOSITE

(4) Consider what sort of constitution this man was destroying and what sort he tried to introduce in its place. Our ancestors handed democracy down to us along with the city, and in living and conducting our political life in accordance with it we enjoy good things and avoid difficulties and use laws with each other, with an absence of violence. The Council holds its preliminary meetings, the People meets in assembly, the courts assist the wronged and punish the wrongdoers. (5) Offices are not held by just anyone who

17. For the theme, see Theon 106; [Hermogenes] 13; Common Topics 1.21, 2.16, 3.21; with partial elaboration, Nicolaus 42; John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 98,19–20, 99,17–19, 99,27–100,10, 100,13–14, 102,20–25, 104,19–105,3, 105,15–19); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:382,28–83,4, 397,7–14, 403,27–4,3); with full elaboration, Aphthonius 17–21. See also Common Topics 5.

δίδωσιν ὁ κλῆρος ἢ χειροτονία τοῦ δήμου. κατὰ τούτους γὰρ τοὺς νόμους πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλομεν, πρέσβεσι χρηματίζομεν. τὸ βῆμα δὲ ἀνέφκται τοῖς βουλομένοις λέγειν. τῶν δὲ λεγόντων ὁ μὲν ἂ μὴ προσήκει πείσας ἔδωκε δίκην, ὁ δὲ τὰ δέοντα εἰπὼν τετίμηται. ὁ δὲ πράξας ὅτιοῦν εἰς τοὺς λογιστὰς ἄγεται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ. (6) πολλῶν δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων οἱ τὰ ἀδικήματα κωλύουσι μέγιστα πάντων ὠφελεῖν δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὴν δημοκρατίαν συνέχοντες. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ πικρὰς τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς τυράννοις ὀρίσαντες. καὶ γὰρ ζῶντας μισοῦσι καὶ τεθνεώτας πολεμοῦσιν εἵργοντες ταφῆς καὶ ρίπτειν κελεύοντες εἰς ὕβριν τὰ σώματα. κἂν ἀποκτείνῃ τις τύραννον, χαλκοῦς εὐθέως καὶ μετὰ θεῶν θαυμάζεται. ὁ γὰρ ἡγοῦνται ταῖς πόλεσι βλαβερόν, τοῦτο εἴ τις ἐκκόπτει, καὶ τῷ τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάρεισι. (7) τί μαθόντες οὖν οὗτοι τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἡγοῦνται μέγα; τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. τυραννίδα δὲ καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἔνι συνελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ γεγέννηται τις τῶν ὅλων κύριος καὶ τὴν τοῦτο παθοῦσαν πόλιν ἀνάγκη δουλεύειν. ὅπερ γὰρ τοῖς ἀργυρωνήτοις οἱ δεσπότης, τοῦτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις οἱ τύραννοι. δημοκρατία δὲ τὸ ἴσον νέμει καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τιμᾷ καὶ τὸ πλεον κολάζει καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐκβάλλει κοινὰ πᾶσι τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθὰ προτιθεῖσα. (8) πένης τίς ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ εὐπορος. ὁ μὲν οὖν φαῦλός ἐστι τοὺς τρόπους ἐν τῷ πλουτεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἀμείνων ἐν τῷ πένεσθαι. πλεον ἐστὶν οὐδὲν τοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντος, χρήματα δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τάξει καὶ πιστεύεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπέρριπται καὶ μισεῖται. γαμῆ τις καὶ θαρρεῖ περὶ τῆς γυναικός. παίδων γεγέννηται πατήρ καὶ περὶ τούτων οὐ δέδοικεν ὕβριν. ἔνεστι δὲ εὐπορεῖν μὲν ἄνευ τοῦ διὰ τοῦτο πάσχειν κακῶς, ζῶντα δὲ ἐν μικροῖς τοῖς οὖσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐδοκιμεῖν. (9) ἔτι τοίνυν οἱ δημοκρατούμενοι ζῶσι μὲν σωφρόνως οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ βιαζομένου πρὸς ὕβριν, ζῶσι δὲ ἐλευθερίως. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμποιεῖ φρόνημα

wishes, but only by those to whom an allotment or a vote of the People grants it; for in accordance with these laws we send out ambassadors and negotiate with ambassadors. But the rostrum is open to anyone who wishes to speak. Of those speaking, one pays a penalty for persuading us to do what was inexpedient, while another is honored for saying what was necessary. But the one who has acted in any official capacity is brought before the auditors, and nothing in a democracy should go unexamined. (6) Of the many laws available to us to punish crimes, those that hold the democracy together seem to be the most helpful of all. These are the ones that prescribe bitter punishments for tyrants; for indeed, they hate them when they are alive, and when they are dead they make war on them by preventing them from burial and ordering their bodies to be thrown out for abuse. And if someone kills a tyrant, he is immediately cast in bronze and admired along with the gods.¹⁸ For if someone cuts down what people regard as harmful to cities, he surpasses the rest in the honors he receives, as well. (7) What, then, do these people understand that makes them consider democracy important? Freedom. But tyranny and freedom cannot co-exist; rather, as soon as someone has become lord of the whole state, it is necessary also that the city, in suffering this, be enslaved; for what masters do to their purchased slaves, tyrants do to their subjects. But democracy¹⁹ respects equality, honors justice, punishes excess, and rejects the opposite, putting forth the benefits derived from it to be shared by everyone. (8) One man is poor, another rich. The latter, then, is of poor character in being wealthy, while the former is better in being poor. Nothing is greater than the man who possesses virtue but no money, but the poor man in the rank <of the just is honored>²⁰ and trusted, while the rich man is an outcast and is hated. One marries and is happy about his wife. He becomes the father of children and fears no violence against them. It is possible to be rich without suffering anything bad because of it, and it is possible for the man living in small means to have a good reputation from his virtue. (9) Moreover, those under democratic governance live with self-control, as there is nothing to compel them to violence, but they live free. This instills in them a noble frame

18. As were Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the slayers of the tyrant Hipparchus (cf. Demosthenes 20.70). For the tyrannicide, see Common Topics 5.

19. This brief ode to democracy seems to have been inspired by Pericles' funeral oration (especially Thucydides 2.37.1).

20. A noun in the genitive case governed by ἐν τάξει ("in the rank of") and a verb to answer ἀπέρριπται ("he is an outcast") may have dropped out after the word τάξει in 180,20 (197,19 Foerster). Alternatively, it is possible that ἐν τάξει is a corruption of a verb to answer ἀπέρριπται: "but the poor man [verb] and is trusted, while the rich man is an outcast and is hated."

γενναῖον. τῷ φρονήματι δὲ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ζῶντας τὰ μέγιστα ἂν εὗροι τις καὶ κάλλιστα εἰργασμένους. καὶ τὰ σεμνότατα τρόπαια τούτων ἐστὶ κἂν τοῖς πολέμοις πλέον ἔχουσι τῶν τυραννουμένων. ἅτε γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλως πονοῦντες ἄνδρες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις βουλευόνται τὰ δέοντα προστιθέντες τὰ ἔργα.

(10) διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας ἀτιμάσαντες οἱ πρόγονοι ταύτῃ τὴν πόλιν διώκησαν, οὐτοσί δὲ περινοῶν μείζω τῶν καθεστώτων ἐτράφη μὲν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ὑπερεῖδε δὲ τῶν νόμων καὶ ταπεινὸν ἡγησάμενος τὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμμένειν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀντὶ τῶν ὠρισμένων ἡμῖν δικαίων αὐτὸς καταστῆναι καὶ τὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἰσχὺν εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεταθεῖναι. (11) εἶδεν, ὦ Πῆ καὶ Ἥλιε, πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα, δορυφόρους ἐνενόησεν, ὕβρεως ἐπεθύμησε, βίαν ἐζήτησε καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διέλυσε μὲν τὴν βουλήν, ἔκλεισε δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια, κατέλυσε ἀρχάς, κατέλυσε θυσίας, συνέχεε τὸ ἴσον, ἐπήγαγε δεσποτεῖαν.

(12) Ἡ που ταῦτα πρὸς σαυτὸν, ὦ κακὴ κεφαλὴ, διελέχθης· πλουτῶ. καὶ τί μοι κέρδος εἰς πενίαν οὐ παροινοῦντι; ἐρῶ γυναικός. εἴτα δεῖ με ποθεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν δι' ἀρπαγῆς, κἂν ἀλῶ, κολάζομαι. εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἔπεται κατήγορος καὶ γραφὴ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ψῆφος καὶ τίμημα, ταῦτα τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπιχώρια. δεῖ ποτε γενέσθαι ἐλεύθερον, ὡς νῦν γε δουλεύω τοῖς ῥήμασι. (13) ταῦτα ἴσως εἶπε πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἀπὸ τούτων ἦλθεν ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ καλὸν ἐγχείρημα, οὐ τὴν πείραν ἐκώλυσαν μὲν οἱ θεοί, λογισμῷ δὲ ἰδεῖν ἔστι. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι μὴ πεπόνθαμεν σκοπεῖτω τις, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἤμεν πεπονθότες, εἰ μὴ τις θεῶν ἐκώλυσεν καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ γραψάμενοι. (14) δεῖ τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ὀργὴν ἔχειν οὐ <τὴν> τῶν ἐκπεφυγόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν δουλευόντων. πόσοι μὲν ἂν ἐδέδεντο νῦν, πόσοι δ' ἂν ἔφευγον τὴν οἰκίαν, πόσοι δ' ἂν ἐδημεύοντο, πόσοι δ' ἂν ἔπινον κώνειον. ὁ μὲν τις ἂν ἡμῶν ἐδάκρυε παῖδα σφαττόμενον, ὁ δὲ θυγάτριον

of mind. Actions follow this frame of mind, and one would find that those who live under this constitution have achieved the greatest and finest things. And their most revered possessions are their battle trophies, and in wars they have the advantage over those governed under a tyranny; for inasmuch as they are not laboring for someone else, men in battles make appropriate plans and put them into effect.

EXPOSITION OF THE ACT

(10) It is for these reasons that our ancestors rejected all other constitutions and inhabited the city in this way. But this man here, who thinks that he is greater than the established laws, was raised in the laws but despised the laws and, considering it miserable to abide by the laws, attempted to establish himself in place of the just practices established by us and to transfer the power of the city over to himself. (11) He looked—O, Earth and Sun!—toward the heights,²¹ he contemplated bodyguards, he longed to commit outrageous acts, he sought violence, and on his own authority he dissolved the Council, closed the courts, abolished magistracies, abolished sacrifices, confounded equality, and introduced despotism.

(12) Surely, you wicked miscreant, you talked it over with yourself as follows: “I am rich. And what do my riches profit me, if I cannot grossly abuse the poor? I lust for a woman. Then I am supposed to long for her instead of taking her through rape; and if I am caught, I am punished. Then there immediately follows an accuser, an indictment, a water-clock, a vote, and punishment, these practices that are native to democracy. I must someday become free, because at present I am a slave to words.” (13) That is probably what he said to himself. From there he advanced to this fine undertaking against us, an attempt that the gods prevented, but which it is possible to imagine. For let someone consider not that we have not suffered, but how much we would have suffered, if one of the gods and you prosecutors had not prevented him. (14) We ought therefore to feel anger, not <the anger> of those who have escaped, but of those who live as slaves. How many would now have been in chains, how many would have fled their homeland, how many would have had their property confiscated, and how many would have drunk hemlock? One of us would have shed tears for a son being slaughtered, another for a daughter being torn away from him, another for a wife being grossly abused, and lamentation would have spread over the city for what had

21. I.e., the heights of the Acropolis, where the tyrants of Greek declamation always live: cf. Common Topics 4.19, 5.4, 5.7, 5.13.

ἀποσπώμενον, ὁ δὲ γύναιον παροινούμενον, οἰμωγὴ δ' ἂν κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν γινομένων.

(15) ὧν οὗτος ἀπάντων δότω δίκην καὶ βουλευθεὶς δρᾶσαι δοκεῖτω δεδρακέναι. τί γὰρ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι δεινῶν οὐ νενίκηκε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ; δεῖ τὸν μοιχὸν ἀποθνήσκειν. πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὸν τύραννον. πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀποσφάττει καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἥδιστον αὐτῷ τὸ πολλοὺς κατενεγκεῖν. μισεῖ τις τοὺς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀφαιρουμένους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος οὐδὲν δεῖται κλέπτειν, ἀλλὰ φανερώς ἀρπάζει. χαλεπώτατον κέκριται τὸ κινεῖν τάφους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἀποστερεῖ ταφῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοσοῦτ' ὥστε πολλῶν θανάτων ἄξιος κρίνεσθαι. ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διελόμενοι τολμῶσι μόνος συνείληφε.

(16) Δοκεῖ δέ μοι μὴ τοῦτο εἶναι προοίμιον τῶν τούτου κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐνταῦθα ἤκει τῷ τὴν πόλιν εἰς δουλείαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐθελῆσαι. καὶ καταφρονήσας ἐν ἐκείνοις τῶν νόμων ἤψατο τοῦ κεφαλαίου. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας αἱ μελέται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄγουσι. καὶ δεῖ καὶ τοῦτον νομίζειν πολλὰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὑβρικέναι, πολλοὺς δὲ λευκέναι γάμους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀποστερῆσαι χρημάτων, δίκην δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὐ δόντα κἂν τούτῳ ἐλπίσαι.

(17) Φιλοτιμίας ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὦ κακὴ κεφαλὴ, καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τις. εἴτα οὐκ εἶδες τὰς ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἀφ' ὧν ἔστι καὶ σεμνὸν εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἃς οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλθόντες εὐδοκιμοῦσιν ἀγαπώμενοι; τί δὲ ταυτὰ ἐστι; χρήματα ἐπίδος, χορήγησον ἐκῶν, γενοῦ φιλόανθρωπος εἰς θυγατέρας πενήτων, χρήσαι τῷ πλουτεῖν εἰς δέον, ἐν ἐλευθέροις θαυμάζου. (18) ἀλλὰ

been done in the past, for what would happen in the future, for what was happening in the present.

FROM COMPARISON

(15) For all these things let this man pay a penalty, and since he wished to take action, let him be imagined to have done so; for which of the crimes that are regarded as terrible has he not surpassed by his own actions? It is necessary for an adulterer to die. Much more so the tyrant; <for the tyrant commits many adulteries. And it is necessary for a murderer to die. Much more so the tyrant;>²² for the tyrant slaughters many, and it is the most delightful thing for him to bring down many. One hates those who steal what belongs to the gods, but the tyrant has no need to steal anything; rather, he plunders openly. The disturbing of graves has been judged most harsh, but the tyrant deprives people of burial in the very beginning so much more harshly than the ones who do the other, that he is judged worthy of many deaths; for what those men dare to do separately, this man alone has combined.²³

FROM ANTECEDENT ACTS

(16) It seems to me that this is not the preamble to this man's evils; rather, he has progressed from many great crimes to the point of wishing to hurl the city into slavery. And having despised the laws in those earlier crimes, he reached the top; for indeed, this is how it is: practice leads men to the summit of virtue and of wickedness. And one must believe that this man has also committed many outrageous acts against the people he happened to encounter, destroyed many marriages, and deprived many of their money, and that because he did not pay a penalty in those earlier crimes he had high hopes for this one, as well.

WAY OF THINKING

(17) You have a longing for public distinction, you wicked miscreant, and for being thought to be somebody. Then did you not see the other paths by which one can both be respected and do no wrong, paths which the majority of the citizens follow to become beloved and of good repute? What are they? Donate money, volunteer to serve as choral producer, be generous to the daughters of the poor,²⁴ use your wealth for necessities, and be admired

22. This suppletion to the text after *τύραννος* in 184,5 (200,6 Foerster) was suggested by Malcolm Heath. The leap in thought from adultery to slaughter suggests that something along these lines has dropped out in the course of transmission.

23. For the thought, see *Common Topics* 2.14.

24. I.e., by supplying their dowries.

μικρὰ τούτῳ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἄξια τοῦ φρονήματος, ἐν δὲ ἱκανόν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἢ τυραννὶς καὶ τὸ πάντα συγκεχύσθαι καὶ τὸ μηκέτ' εἶναι τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ δεσπότην ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ νεύματος ἐξεῖναι πληροῦν τὰς ἡδονάς.

(19) Εἴτα ταῦτα βουλευσας καὶ μικροῦ δεδρακῶς εἰς δάκρυα καταφεύξεται. καὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τύραννος οὐκ οἶδε δακρύνοντας ἐλεεῖν; μὴ οὖν οἷς ἐχρήσατο ἂν ὠμῶς, τούτων ἀπολαύετω πράων μηδ' ὄν οὐκ ἐκάμψατ' ἂν δακρύνοντες, ἐνδοτε τούτῳ κλαίοντι. πολλῶν ἂν οὗτος κατεγέλασε δακρύνων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἰσχύων. οὐκ ἂν ἠλέησε γυναῖκας, οὐκ ἂν ῥκτειρε γέροντας.

(20) Πρὸς δὴ τὸν τοιοῦτον τίνας δεῖ γενέσθαι τοὺς δικαστάς; οὐ πικρούς, οὐκ ἀπαραιτήτους; ἢ παρὰ τίνος ἔτι λήψεσθε δίκας, εἰ τυραννίδος μὴ λάβοιτε; καὶ γὰρ εἰ χεῖριστον <μὲν> ἀπάντων εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦτο, δέξεται δὲ συγγνώμην, κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστιν ὀργὴν λαβεῖν. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐν μὲν τοῖς μικροῖς χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τηλικούτοις πράους ὀρᾶσθαι; (21) φοβήθητε τοῦτον αὐτόν. οἶδα οἷος ἔσται σωθεῖς. ὄν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν ἀδικεῖν ὁ τῆς κρίσεως φόβος, οὗτος τί ποιήσει θαρρήσας; φοβήθητε τοὺς τούτῳ παραπλησίους. εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν οἷς οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν οἱ νόμοι. δῆλον γὰρ ὥς, εἰ μὲν κολασθεῖη, πᾶσαν ἄδειαν ἔξομεν· εἰ δ' ἀποφύγοι, πάλιν ἐν φόβοις ἢ πόλιν.

5. Ὑπὲρ τυραννοκτόνου.

(1) Ἀπειλήφαμεν, ὦ πολῖται, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τούτου μὲν ἐπιτεθειμένου τῷ τυράννῳ, τῶν θεῶν δὲ συνηγωνισμένων. εἰκὸς οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνους μὲν θυσίαις

among the free.²⁵ (18) But to this man these goals were trivial and unworthy of his ambition, but the only thing that would suffice, as seems likely, was tyranny, and everything being confounded, and the laws no longer existing, and there being a despot in place of the laws, and the ability to sate himself with pleasures with a mere nod.

REJECTION OF PITY

(19) Then, although he plotted these things and has come close to doing them, he will take refuge in tears. And who does not know that a tyrant does not know how to pity those who are in tears? Do not, then, let him find those gentle whom he would have treated cruelly, and do not give in to this man crying, whom you could not have bent with your own tears. This man would have mocked many tears, exercising his power from the Acropolis. He would not have pitied women, he would not have shown mercy to old men.

EXHORTATION

(20) In response to this sort of man, what must the jury become? Must it not become bitter, not become unmerciful? Or from whom will you exact punishments in the future, if you do not exact them for tyranny? For indeed, if this is considered the worst crime of all, but he receives forgiveness, it is impossible to be angry against the rest; for how is it not absurd to be harsh in small crimes, but to be seen as gentle in the case of ones so great? (21) Fear this man himself. I know what sort of person he will be if acquitted; for if fear of a trial did not prevent him from doing wrong, what will this man do when he has gained confidence? Fear those who resemble this man; for they are, they are the ones for whom the laws are not sufficient. For it is evident that, if he is punished, we will have complete freedom from fear, but if he gets off, the city will again be in fear.

COMMON TOPICS 5: FOR A TYRANNICIDE²⁶

BRIEF INTRODUCTION

(1) We have regained freedom, O citizens, because this man has attacked the tyrant, with the gods struggling on his side. It is reasonable, then, for us

25. Cf. Common Topics 2.4, 5.8.

26. For the theme, see Theon 106; Nicolaus 46–47; Doxapates' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:375,17, 391,5–6, 25); with partial elaboration, Doxapates' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:392,30–93,12, 398,2–13). See also Common Topics 4.

θεραπεύειν, τοῦτον δὲ τιμαῖς ἀμείβεσθαι καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἄρξασθαι πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ διδόντος τῷ καθελόντι τὸν τύραννον γέρας. (2) οἱ μὲν οὖν δορυφόροι καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος γεγενημένοι δίκην διδόασιν, ὅσοι μὴ διαδράντες ὥχοντο. καὶ καλῶς τοῦτο γίνεται. δεῖ γὰρ μὴ τυράννους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἐκείνων ἡρημένους μισεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν ἀκόλουθον τῷ χαλεποῦς εἶναι τοῖς καταλελυκόσι τοὺς νόμους τὸ κοσμεῖν τιμαῖς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων ἡγωνισμένους. (3) εἰ μὲν οὖν δῆλον ἦν ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐθις ἐπιθήσεται τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἔδει τοὺς ἀπηλλαχότας τῶν ἐπικειμένων κακῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι τιμῶν, ἦν δ' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ὁ κίνδυνος· νῦν δ' ὄντων οὐκ ὀλίγων οἱ τὰ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος μιμήσονται καὶ τοὺς τὰ τούτου ζηλώσοντας πολλοὺς ἀποδείξατε. τοῦτο δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἢ παρακαλεῖν εἴωθε τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἐπὶ κινδύνους καλοῦς.

(4) νῦν μὲν οὖν δημοκρατούμεθα καλῶς ποιοῦντες, ἕως δὲ ἤμεν ὑπὸ δεσπότη, καταλέλυτο μὲν ὁ δῆμος, κέκλειστο δὲ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀνήρητο δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια, νόμων δὲ ἴσχυεν οὐδεὶς, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν νόμων ὁ τύραννος ἦν, ὃς τὰ μετέωρα καταλαβὼν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων δορυφόρους καὶ τοξότας καὶ πολλοὺς τινὰς φύλακας τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐκ ἐποίει; διέκοπτε μὲν γάμους, κόρας δὲ γάμων ἀπεστέρει, χρήματα δὲ ἥρπαζε, τῶν δὲ μὴ ταῦτα φερόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐδήμευε, τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλαυνε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέσφαττε, μόνους δὲ φίλους ἡγεῖτο τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τὴν ἀδικίαν. (5) ὧν γιγνομένων πάντα ἦν μεστὰ θρήνων, λύπης, ὀδυρμῶν νύκτωρ ὁμοίως καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν. οἱ μὲν ἔστενον ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεπόνθεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἦσαν κακῶς, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ πάθωσι. τοὺς τικτομένους δὲ ἤλεοῦμεν εἰς οἶαν ἤξουσι πείραν κακῶν.

(6) οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες μέχρι τοῦ καταρᾶσθαι καὶ τοῦτο λάθρα τὸν θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν ἐκείνον ἡμύνοντο, ὁ δὲ γενναῖος οὐτοσί καὶ δημοτικὸς καὶ εὐψυχος μόνος ἀπέδωκε τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ πόλει. λαβὼν γὰρ ἐγχειρίδιον ὑπὸ

to pay honor to them with sacrifices, but to reward this man with honors and begin our democracy anew with the law that grants a prize to whoever kills a tyrant.²⁷ (2) And so, the bodyguards and everyone who was a member of that man's faction has paid the penalty, all those who did not get away. And a fine thing, that; for it is necessary to hate not only tyrants, but also those who side with them. Well then, decorating those with honors who have struggled on behalf of the laws is consistent with being harsh toward those who have destroyed the laws. (3) If it were clear, then, that no one would ever attack the constitution again, even so it would have been right for those who have delivered us from imminent evils to be deemed worthy of honors, but the danger resulting from our failure to show gratitude would have been nil. But now, since there are not a few people who will imitate the actions of the dead man, prove to them that there are also many who will emulate the actions of this man. This would result from the gift which typically summons the good to noble dangers.

FROM THE OPPOSITE

(4) And so, now we are prospering under democratic governance, but while we were under a despot, the People was disbanded, the Council chambers were closed, the courts were abolished, none of the laws was in force, and in place of the laws there was the tyrant, who, having occupied the heights²⁸ and putting spear-bearers and archers and many other guards around himself, what terrible crime did he not commit? He cut down marriages, he deprived brides of their weddings, he plundered money, and as for those who did not have any, from some he confiscated their property, others he banished, and still others he slaughtered, and he regarded those who praised his wrongdoing as his only friends. (5) While these things were happening, everything was full of lamentation, grief, and wailing by night and day alike. Some were groaning at what they had suffered, others were in the midst of suffering badly, and still others were in fear of future suffering. And we pitied those being born for what sort of experience of evils they would have.

EXPOSITION OF THE ACT

(6) Everyone else, then, was defending themselves against that enemy of the gods, but only up to the point of cursing him—and even that, secretly—but this man here, a noble, courageous friend to the People, was the only one to repay the city for his rearing; for taking a dagger under his arm he rushed

27. This is a fictional law of the rhetorical schools.

28. I.e., the heights of the Acropolis.

μάλης ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων δεσπότην. καὶ ὥς ἐπλησίασε ταῖς φυλακαῖς, οὐδὲν ἔφερεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν χειμάρρῳ πάντα κατασύροντι ἢ δαίμονι γε ἀνθρώπους ἐλαύνοντι τὸν μὲν κατέκοπτε, τὸν δὲ ἔμελλε, τοὺς δὲ ἐδίωκε, τοῖς δὲ ἠπείλει. πᾶς δέ, ὅποι βλέψειεν οὗτος, ἔκειτο. (7) καὶ δὴ τρέχων διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν προσπίπτει τελευταῖον τῷ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντι. ὁ δὲ ὥς εἶδεν, ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ πεσὼν εἰς γόνυ ἰκέτευε μὲν, ἐλέου δὲ οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν. ἀλλ' ἀποτέμνων ὁ βέλτιστος οὕτοσι τὸν τράχηλον ἔλεγε· δέχου πληγὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν πτωχεύοντων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑβρισμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν πεφευγόντων, ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνεώτων. ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἥκει καὶ τὸ ξίφος καθαρὸν μὲν ἔχων ἀνέβη, κεκόμικε δ' ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως ἡμαγμένον. καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας τὸ βῆμα δέχεται διὰ τὴν τούτου δεξιάν.

(8) Δότε δὴ, δότε τὴν δωρεὰν ἣν οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς οὗτος ἐπανήγαγε. τιμάσθω μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ πρεσβεύσας δικαίως καὶ ὁ γνώμην εἰπὼν συμφέρουσαν καὶ ὁ νόμον θεῖς λυσιτελοῦντα καὶ ὁ χρήματα καὶ τριήρεις ἐπιδούς, δεῖ γὰρ ἅπαντας τῆς ἴσης τυγχάνειν ἀμοιβῆς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγεὺς ὅσῳ μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν εὐνοίαν δεικνύει, τοσοῦτῳ μείζονι κοσμεῖσθω ταῖς δωρεαῖς καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τοῦτο ἐργαζομένων. (9) διὰ τί; ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐκεῖνο ποιοῦσι παρὰ τῶν συστρατευομένων ὑπάρχει βοήθεια καὶ μικρόν τις τῶν ἄλλων διενέγκη, τῶν κοινῶν πόνων τὴν δόξαν ἠνέγκατο καὶ τις ἤδη τῶν παρεστηκότων φερόμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπεώσατο βέλος, πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἔστι καὶ κράνος καὶ ἀσπίς καὶ δόρυ καὶ κνημίδες καὶ ξίφος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐρχόμενος αἰφνιδίως τῷ λανθάνοντι πιστεύει μόνῳ. δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὰ ἄλλα γυμνόν, εἰ μέλλει τι δράσειν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ προκηρύττειν τὴν γνώμην. εἰ δὲ τὸ μόνον ἐν μέσῳ τοσούτων ὀπλιτῶν στρέφεσθαι μείζον τοῦ μετὰ φάλαγγος ὀρμᾶν, σεμνότερον ἀριστείας ἢ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγῆς.

(10) Μέγα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ νῦν πεπραγμένον, ἄξια δὲ τιμῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου. διδάσκει γὰρ με τὸ νῦν γεγενημένον τίς ἦν οὗτος τὸν παρελθόντα

against the despot of the free. And as he drew near to the guards, nothing could stand in his way, but like a raging river sweeping everything away or a divinity driving men along, he cut down one man, was about to cut down another, pursued some, and threatened others. And wherever this man looked, everyone lay dead. (7) And then, running through the corpses, he at last falls upon the one in power. But when the tyrant saw him, he jumped down off his throne and fell to his knees and begged, but did not receive pity. Rather, while cutting his throat, this fine fellow here said: "Receive these blows on behalf of the destitute, on behalf of the violated, on behalf of the refugees, on behalf of the dead." From such deeds as these he has come, and while he went up holding a clean sword, he brought it back from the Acropolis covered in blood. And now we are in assembly and the rostrum welcomes the orators because of this man's right hand.

FROM COMPARISON

(8) Grant then, grant the gift which the laws order, the laws which this man has restored. For let the man who has served justly as an ambassador be honored, as well as the one who has made an expedient proposal, the one who has established a profitable law, and the one who has voluntarily given money and warships,²⁹ for they all ought to receive equal compensation, but inasmuch as the tyrannicide reveals his goodwill in the face of danger, let him be decorated with gifts so much greater and much more so than those who achieve this in war. (9) Why? Because those who do the other have the help of their fellow soldiers, and if someone surpasses the rest by a little, he gains the glory of their joint efforts; and now one of those standing by him shoves away a weapon aimed at him, and for this man there is a helmet, a shield, a spear, greaves, and a sword. But the man who goes against a tyrant trusts only in his escaping detection unforeseen; for he must be otherwise unequipped, if he intends to do something without proclaiming his intention in advance. But if turning to and fro by himself in the midst of so many hoplites is greater than attacking along with a phalanx, the slaughter of a tyrant is more respectable than bravery in battle.

FROM ANTECEDENT ACTS

(10) And so, what has just now been accomplished is great, but his actions before this are also deserving of honors; for what has just now happened teaches me what sort of man he was in the past; for by having been self-con-

29. Cf. Common Topics 2.14, 4.17. For the donation of warships, see Demosthenes 18.99; 21.160–161.

χρόνον. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι σώφρων τε καὶ δίκαιος γεγεννημένος καὶ μέτριος καὶ φιλόπολις καὶ τὸ σῶμα πόνοις καὶ μαθήμασι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσκῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνων εἰς τὸ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα θαρρεῖν ἀφίχθαι.

(11) τίς οὖν εὖ φρονῶν οὐκ ἂν αἰδεσθεῖη τὴν τούτου γνώμην; ὃς ᾤθη δεῖν ἢ παῦσαι τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἢ μηκέθ' ὄρᾶν τὸν ἥλιον. οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τῶν στρατηγῶν τις ἀνέβαινεν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἤκουσε παρὰ τῶν μάντεων, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔχον αὐτῷ καλῶς ἢ κατενεγκεῖν ἢ πεσεῖν. (12) τῷ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιδόντι τῇ πόλει δότω τιμὴν ἢ πόλιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπαχθὲς οὐδὲν αἰτήσῃ. ποῦ γάρ, εἰπέ μοι, βαρὺ θαλλοῦ στέφανος ἢ κήρυγμα; ποῦ δὲ εἰκὼν ἢ σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείῳ; μᾶλλον δέ, καὶ γῆν εἰ βούλεται καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνειν, λήψεται ἀπὸ τούτων ὧν ἔδωκε καὶ φυλάξας ἅπασιν τὰς οὐσίας μικρὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν σέσωκε κερδανεῖ.

(13) μὴ τοίνυν τῷ τὰ δεινὰ λελύσθαι πρὸς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀγνωμονεῖτω μηδεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖτω τὸν σκηπτὸν ἐκεῖνον, τοὺς δορυφόρους, τὰς ἀρπαγὰς, τὰς οἰμωγὰς, τὸν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα θέοντα, τὸν μαχόμενον ταῖς φυλακαῖς, τὸν ἐμπίπτοντα τῷ τυράννῳ, τὸν οὐ φοβηθέντα τὸν ἀπανταχόθεν ἀστράπτοντα σίδηρον, τὸν κεκρατηκότα τοσαύτης ἰσχύος. (14) Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμηθέντες γένεσθε δίκαιοι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐν ξίφει τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδόντα.

trolled and just and moderate and patriotic, and by exercising his body with labors and his mind with lessons, he seems to me to have come from there to the point of being confident even in the face of such things as these.³⁰

INJECTION/INTRODUCTION OF PITY³¹

(11) What sensible person, then, would not feel shame before this man's decision? He thought that he had either to put a stop to the despair or no longer see the sun. For he did not go up as one of the generals, nor did he hear this from the prophets, but he went thinking that it was noble for him either to bring down the tyrant or to die. (12) And to the man who voluntarily gave his life for the city, let the city pay honor; for he will not ask for anything burdensome;³² for how, tell me, is a crown of olive or a public proclamation onerous? Or a statue, or free maintenance in the Prytaneum?³³ Or rather, even if he wishes to receive land and money, he will get it from what he restored, and having protected everyone's property, he will gain only a little profit from the many things he saved.

VIVID DESCRIPTION AND EXHORTATION

(13) Let no one therefore treat our benefactor unfairly for having put an end to the terror; rather, let him think on that thunderbolt,³⁴ the bodyguards, the plunderings, the lamentations, the man who ran to the heights, who battled the guards, who attacked the tyrant, who did not fear the swords flashing on all sides, and who has defeated such a great power. (14) Having considered these points, then, behave justly toward the man who restored our freedom with his sword.

30. The subsequent heading of "way of thinking" (cf. Common Topics 1.26, 2.19, 3.21, 4.17–18) has been omitted, most likely because there is no better career path that the tyrannicide could have followed.

31. For the positive counterpart to the heading "rejection of pity," see Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:397,26–99,14), where he coins the terms "injection of pity" (ἐλέου ... εἰσβολή, 398,1) and "introduction of pity" (εἰσφορὰν ἐλέου, 399,13).

32. According to the fictional law, the choice of prize fell to the tyrannicide.

33. The privilege of free maintenance at public expense in the Prytaneum was extended to state benefactors and Olympic victors at Athens, but (famously) not to Socrates (Plato, *Apol.* 36D–E).

34. Applied metaphorically to the tyrannicide.

THE EXERCISES IN ENCOMIUM AND INVECTIVE

The exercises in encomium (*enkômion*) and invective (*psogos*) are treated together in Theon and Nicolaus and as two separate exercises in Aphthonius. [Hermogenes] mentions that others discuss invective along with encomium because both use the same topics (15), but he neither agrees nor disagrees with this practice, nor does he discuss invective separately elsewhere. These two exercises are introduced after common topics and before comparison in [Hermogenes], Aphthonius, and Nicolaus; Theon, however, introduces description and speech in character before encomium, invective, and comparison. There is some interest among the theorists in distinguishing encomium from hymn, funeral oration, and *epainos* (Theon 109; [Hermogenes] 15, 17; Aphthonius 21; Nicolaus 47 and 49) and in distinguishing both encomium and invective from the exercise in common topics (Theon 106–107; [Hermogenes] 15; Aphthonius 27; Nicolaus 38 and 54). Encomium also includes speeches of arrival, addresses to officials, wedding speeches, and other kinds of panegyric (Nicolaus 47 and 49).

Encomium is a celebration of people, abstracts (e.g. justice), occasions, places, animals, plants ([Hermogenes] 14–15; Aphthonius 21; cf. Theon 112; Nicolaus 57–58), and activities ([Hermogenes] 17; Nicolaus 57). In the case of people (as in Encomium 1–5), an encomium begins with an appropriate introduction, followed by praise of the subject's origin, including nation, homeland, ancestors, parents ([Hermogenes] 15; Aphthonius 22; Nicolaus 50–51; cf. Theon 111), and miraculous circumstances of birth ([Hermogenes] 15; Nicolaus 51–52). Next comes nurture and upbringing ([Hermogenes] 16; Nicolaus 52); upbringing could be subdivided into habits, acquired skill, and principles of conduct (Aphthonius 22). Next comes praise of the subject's deeds, divided into those attributable to his mind, to his body, and to other factors such as luck, power, wealth, possessions, servants, relatives, and friends ([Hermogenes] 16; Aphthonius 22; Nicolaus 50; cf. Theon 109–112 for the most detailed discussion). In this section, emphasize the subject's deliberate moral choice over "goods that result from chance" (Theon 111), and show how particular actions result from particular virtues (Theon 112; Nicolaus 52). Omit, disguise, or downplay the subject's mistakes, but do not defend

1. Ἐγκώμιον Διομήδους.

(1) Ὅμηρῳ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο φαίην ἂν ἡδεσθαι, ὅτι τὸν Διομήδην ὦν

them (Theon 112; Nicolaus 52–53). Next praise the length of his life, whether long or short, the manner of his death, and events following his death, such as funeral games, oracles, or famous children ([Hermogenes] 16–17). Next comes a comparison showing the superiority of the subject ([Hermogenes] 17; Aphthonius 22). The exercise ends with an epilogue (Aphthonius 22).

Libanius's collection also includes encomia of abstracts (Encomium 6), animals (8), plants (9), and activities (7). The headings for encomia of people could be adapted to other types of encomia. In the case of animals, one should praise the place in which they are found, the gods to whom they are dedicated, their nurture, their minds and bodies, their functions and usefulness, and the length of their lives ([Hermogenes] 17). For plants, substitute a discussion of how much care they need for the section on the mind, and emphasize their usefulness ([Hermogenes] 17–18). For activities, praise their inventors and practitioners ([Hermogenes] 17; Nicolaus 57), with emphasis on the minds and bodies of the latter ([Hermogenes] 17); substitute "the training involved in them" for the section on nurture, and substitute their usefulness and benefits to humans for the section on deeds (Nicolaus 57).

Invective is an attack on any of the things listed above as subjects for encomium. Libanius's collection includes invectives against people (Invective 1–4), abstracts (5–7), and plants (8). The headings of invective are organized in exactly the same way as those of encomium, but with condemnation of each instead of praise (Aphthonius 27–28).

Encomium 9 and Invective 8 have been declared spurious and attributed to Pseudo-Nicolaus by Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2520, but Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix, believed Invective 8 to be genuine. Hunger, *Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1:105, declared Encomium 8 spurious. On the exercises in encomium and invective, see Theon 109–112; [Hermogenes] 14–18; Aphthonius 21–31; and Nicolaus 47–58. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:108–17. An earlier version of my translation of Encomium 4 appeared in Mikeal C. Parsons, *Body and Character in Luke and Acts: The Subversion of Physiognomy in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006), 148–51.

THE EXERCISE IN ENCOMIUM

ENCOMIUM 1: DIOMEDES¹

(1) I would say that Homer delights me for this reason, too: that in his

1. Comparison of Diomedes: with Ajax (Pseudo-Nicolaus 13 [Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:376,25–78,15]); Achilles (Comparison 1).

προσῆκεν ἡξίωσεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπαινῶ πεποιηκότα, τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς μιμήσομαι οὐχ ὥς ἱκανῶς ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ Διομήδους οὐ δεδηλωκότος, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμείνων ἂν εἶην λέγων ὥς δυνατόν ἢ μηδὲ ὅσα ἔξεστι λέγων.

(2) Πατρίς μὲν οὖν τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὸ κάλλιστον αὐτῷ καὶ περιφανέστατον καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Ἥρᾳ κεχαρισμένον. ἀκούεις γὰρ ὁ πρὸς τὸν Δία ἐν μνήμῃ πόλεων ἅς εἶναι φιλτάτας ἑαυτῇ φησι καὶ ὥς πρώτην εἰποῦσα τὴν Ἀργείων ἔπειτα τὰς ἄλλας προστίθῃσι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ Ἄργος πρῶτον ἀνῆκεν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ γῆς καὶ εἰσιν Ἀργεῖοι παλαιότατοι πάντων. (3) τοιαύτην οὖν παρεχόμενος τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἀγαθῶν τε ἔφυ κάκείνων ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέδειξε. Τυδεὺς μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ πατήρ, ἐκείνῳ δ' Οἶνεύς. τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ θεῶν τὸ γένος. τὸν δὲ Τυδέα τοῦτον ἄλλα τε ἐκόσμει πολλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατεία. ὥς γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς Θήβας πεμπόντων Ἀργείων καὶ συνεγένετο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν πρεσβευτοῦ σχήματι, πρὸ τῆς μάχης καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἔργων ἐδείκνυε τοῖς Θηβαίοις ὅσον αὐτῶν Ἀργεῖοι βελτίονες πυκνὰς μὲν τὰς προκλήσεις ποιούμενος, πυκνὰς δὲ τὰς νίκας ἀναιρούμενος. (4) ἐκ τοιούτου δὴ γενόμενος Διομήδης καὶ μητρὸς ἧς ἦν Ἄδραστος πατήρ, ἀνὴρ μετὰ τῆς εὐβουλίας κεκτημένος καὶ μέγεθος τύχης, ἀξίως μὲν ἐπαιδεύετο τῆς εὐγενείας, τοῦ καιροῦ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἦκοντος ἐδείκνυε τὴν παιδείαν. ἀνέβη μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ Πήλιον καὶ ἐφοίτα τῷ Χείρωνι, ταχὺ δὲ ἐλάμβανε τὰς τε τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὰς καὶ ὅσαι τοῦ σώματος ὥστε τῇ μὲν ὁρᾷ ἅ πράττειν ἄξιον, τῷ δ' ἐπιτελεῖν ἅ δόξειε. (5) τοῦ Τρωικοῦ δ' ἐπελθόντος πολέμου καὶ βασανίζοντος ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ὁ μὲν Ἰθακήσιος μαίνεσθαι δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο μᾶλλον ἢ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀναρμοστία τὸ μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἐπλάττετο, Πηλέως δὲ ὁ παῖς καὶ Θέτιδος τὰ παρθένων ἐσχηματίζετο καὶ μετὰ παρθένων

poetry he showed proper respect for Diomedes. And what I praise Homer for having composed, I will myself also imitate, not because the poet has failed sufficiently to demonstrate the virtue of Diomedes, but instead because I would be better off myself if I speak to the best of my ability rather than failing to say even the little I can.

(2) And so, his homeland in the Peloponnese was the thing most beautiful to him,² and it was very famous and especially favored by Hera; for you have heard what she says to Zeus when she mentions the cities that are dearest to her: saying that the city of Argos comes first, she ranks the rest lower.³ This Argos was the first to produce men from the earth, and the Argives are the most ancient people of all.⁴ (3) And so, being furnished with such a city he was born from good people and proved himself worthy of them; for Tydeus was his father, and Oeneus his grandfather.⁵ His family was descended from the gods.⁶ The campaign against Thebes, among many other exploits, decorated this man Tydeus;⁷ for when he went to Thebes on a mission from the Argives and met with the enemy as an ambassador, he showed the Thebans before the battle and their actions together how much better the Argives were than them by issuing frequent challenges and winning frequent victories.⁸ (4) Born from such a father and from a mother whose father was Adrastus⁹—a man who together with wise counsel also possessed very good fortune—he was educated in a manner befitting his good birth, and when the time for action came, he proved his education; for he went up to Mount Pelion and attended Chiron's school,¹⁰ and he soon received both the virtues of the soul and whatever virtues there are of the body, so that with the former he could see what was worthy to do, and with the latter he could achieve what he had decided upon. (5) When the Trojan War came and was putting virtue and vice to the test, the Ithacan wanted people to think him insane rather than join the expedition, and he pretended to be out of his mind through his bizarre behavior with the yoked team,¹¹ while the son of Peleus and Thetis adopted

2. Homer, *Il.* 6.224.

3. Homer, *Il.* 4.51–52.

4. Pausanias, *Descr.* 1.14.2; Acusilaus, *FGrH* 2 F23a.

5. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.8.5.

6. Oeneus was Ares' grandson (Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.* 2.1); Comparison 1.2.

7. Homer, *Il.* 5.802–808; 6.222–224; for the whole story, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6–7; cf. Narration 9.

8. Homer, *Il.* 4.376–398; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.5.

9. Deipyle: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.8.5.

10. Centaur who taught many Greek heroes; see Xenophon *Cyn.* 1.2 for a list; cf. Encomium 2.3, 3.2–4; Invective 1.3; Comparison 1.5.

11. Odysseus was sowing his fields with salt in order to feign madness, until Palam-

διῆγε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ρίψας ἠφάνιζε τῷ πλάσματι τὴν φύσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Τυδέως. ἀλλ' ἡδέως μὲν ἐδέξατο τὸν καιρὸν, ἀσμένως δὲ ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, προθύμως δὲ καθεῖλκε τὰς ναῦς. ἐμέμνητο δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὸν ζῆλον οἴκοθεν εἶχεν. (6) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον εἰς Τροίαν, ὁ μὲν ἐκὼν, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες τὸν κίνδυνον ἄκοντες, ὧν τὸν μὲν Παλαμήδης ἤλεγξε, τὸν δὲ Πηλέως οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ Διομήδης, ἦν μὲν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον χρήσιμος τοῖς πράγμασι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς διεδείχθη τῆς Ἀχιλλέως. μεμψαμένου <γὰρ> τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τοῦτου καὶ τοῦ συμμαχεῖν ἀποστάντος καὶ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸν Δία πεπεικότος μετατάξασθαι καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐκείνου τὰ τῶν Τρώων ἥρημένου καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθείροντος καὶ ἀπολλύντος Διομήδης ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀντιτάξας τῇ τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκολίᾳ καὶ γενομένης μάχης ἐμπίπτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἀποσφάττων. (7) οὕτω δὲ οὐ κατεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν ὥστε τῶν μὲν οἰκείων ἐκπηδῶν, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἀπτόμενος οὐ παρείχε τοῖς ὀρώσι γινώσκειν ὀποτέρων ἦν ὁ στρατιώτης. ἔφερε δὲ τὸν ὀπλίτην οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὅτῳ περιπέσοι, τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἀπέφερεν. οὐχ οὕτω χειμάρρους παρασύρει τὰς γεφύρας ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὰς φάλαγγας. ἔπιπτε μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου Πάνδαρος ἀπὸ τῶν τόξων ὠφελῶν τὴν Πριάμου καὶ δίκην ἐδίδου πρέπουσαν τῷ κεκινηκέναι τὰς σπονδάς. (8) Αἰνείας τοῦ Διομήδους μὲν ἡττᾶται, διὰ δὲ τῶν θεῶν σώζεται. οὕτω δὲ ἐξῆλθεν ἀμείνων καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κτείνων καὶ ποιῶν ἐλάττους αἰὶ ὥστε καταγνόντες ἑαυτῶν ἀφέντες τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐλπίδας εὐχαῖς τῷ Διομήδει τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπανίστασαν, ὁ δὲ θαυμαστὸς Ἑκτωρ ὃς συνέχειν

the guise of a girl and lived with girls and, throwing down his weapons, concealed his true nature with a fiction.¹² But not the son of Tydeus. Rather, he happily received the opportunity, gladly took up arms, and eagerly launched his ships. He remained mindful of his father and clung to the competitive spirit he had brought with him from home. (6) When they arrived at Troy—the one willingly, the other two unwilling and trying to avoid the danger, of whom one was exposed by Palamedes,¹³ while this man Diomedes himself exposed the other, the son of Peleus¹⁴—he was also useful in action for the whole remaining time, but he especially proved himself so after the wrath of Achilles. <For> when this man rebuked Agamemnon and withdrew from the alliance¹⁵ and had persuaded Zeus through his mother to switch sides, and Zeus had magnificently raised up the Trojan side and was destroying and laying waste to the Greek side,¹⁶ Diomedes is the one who set his own nature against this difficult crisis and, when battle began, attacked the enemy and slaughtered them relentlessly.¹⁷ (7) He so failed to restrain himself that when he leaped forth from his friends and engaged the enemy, he did not offer those watching any way of knowing to which side the soldier belonged.¹⁸ Nothing stood in the way of the hoplite; rather, whomever he attacked, he immediately did away with.¹⁹ Nor does a raging river sweep bridges away as that man did phalanxes.²⁰ Pandarus fell by that man's hands as he was helping the city of Priam with his arrows,²¹ and he paid the proper penalty for breaking the truce.²² (8) Aeneas was defeated by Diomedes, but was saved by the gods.²³ And so our man came out better, both killing the barbarians and continually diminishing their numbers, so that condemning themselves and abandoning the hopes they had in weapons, they used prayers to make Athena hostile to

edes found him out: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.7 with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 2:176–77 n. 2; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.34–45, 56–62, 308–312; Encomium 4.5.

12. Achilles: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 2.4, 3.5–6, 4.5; Invective 1.5–7; Comparison 1.4, 2.4. For Chiron's reaction to the news, see Speech in Character 14.

13. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.7; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.34–45, 56–62, 308–312.

14. Comparison 1.5. This is also attributed to Odysseus (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 2.4). See also Encomium 3.5–6; Invective 1.5–8; Comparison 2.4–5.

15. Homer, *Il.* 1; Encomium 2.6, 3.12–14, 4.6; Invective 1.8–10; Comparison 1.7, 2.6–7.

16. Homer, *Il.* 1.495–527; Encomium 2.6, 3.14–15; Invective 1.10; Comparison 2.7, 9.

17. Homer, *Il.* 5; Invective 2.12.

18. Homer, *Il.* 5.85–86.

19. Homer, *Il.* 5.93–94.

20. Homer, *Il.* 5.87–92.

21. Homer, *Il.* 5.290–296.

22. Homer, *Il.* 4.86–140; Invective 2.11.

23. Homer, *Il.* 5.297–317.

ἐδόκει τὰ πράγματα τοῖς Τρωσίν, ὅφ' οὐ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐσώζετο, πρόφασιν εὐρών τῆς οἴκαδε πορείας ἀκμάζουσιν ἀφήκε τὴν μάχην καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει κινήσων τὰς Τρωάδας εἰς εὐχὴν. (9) τοῦτο δὲ ἦν λιπεῖν φόβῳ τὴν τάξιν, οὐ χρεῖαν θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ δεομένην. οὐ γὰρ δὴ στρατηγοῦ φωνὴν ἀπῆτει τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, ὅτι προσῆκεν εὐξασθαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν Ἰδαῖος ἤρκεσε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τις ἂν ἄλλος ἴσως τῶν ἐκείνῳ τεταγμένων ὑπηρετεῖν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τὴν διακονίαν ἤρπασεν εἰς σωτηρίαν.

(10) Οὐ τοίνυν δεινὸς μὲν ἦν τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, θυμῷ δὲ ἐδούλευε καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐχαρίζετο, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἦσκει τούτων ἀπάντων ἐγκράτειαν ὥστε καὶ εἰ μὴ δεινὸς ἦν ἐν μάχαις, ἀπὸ γε τούτων ἰκανῶς <ἂν> εὐδοκίμει. ὅταν οὖν ἀκούης ὡς ἔτρωσε νῦν μὲν τὸν Ἄρην, νῦν δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ταῦτα ἡγοῦ <δηλοῦν> κεκρατῆσθαι τὰ πάθη, ποιητῶν γὰρ νόμος ἀντὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν παθῶν ὀνομάζειν θεούς.

(11) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας πάλιν ἐπανακτέον τὸν λόγον. φανεῖται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἀτυχήμασι μείνας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ μείνας γε μόνος καὶ τῶν φευγόντων κατηγορῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔδοξε τῷ Διὶ τὰ τῶν Τρώων αὐξήσαι καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ τοῦ λαμπροῦ τῆς ἀκαιρίας ἡττηντο, ὁ βασιλεὺς, Ὀδυσσεύς, ὢν πλεῖστος ὁ λόγος, Αἴας ἐκάτερος, Νέστορα δὲ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἵππον κατεῖχε πάθος, ὁ δὲ Ἔκτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπηρμένος σφοδρῶς ἐπέκειτο, Διομήδης ἴσταται πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν τοῦ γέροντος καὶ μεμψάμενος τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα τῆς δειλίας κάκεῖνον εἰς τὸ ἄρμα ἀναλαβὼν αὐθις ἐτάραττε τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βαλλόμενος βέλεσιν οὐ μετεβάλλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ζεὺς ἄνωθεν ἐμάχετο τοῖς κεραυνοῖς, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἠνείχετο καὶ τὴν μὲν

Diomedes,²⁴ while the marvelous Hector, who was thought to be holding it all together for the Trojans, the man by whom Troy was to be saved,²⁵ found an excuse for a trip home, abandoned the battle at its peak, and went to the city to rouse the Trojan women to prayer.²⁶ (9) By doing this he was abandoning his post in fear, not attending to a need required of him; for the message that they should pray did not require the voice of a general; rather, even Idaeus²⁷ would have been sufficient to deliver it, or perhaps any of those assigned to serve Hector. Rather, I believe, he jumped at the chance to do this menial little job for the sake of his own safety.

(10) Furthermore, it is not the case that he was good at routing the enemy while being a slave to anger and delighting in pleasures; rather, he so exercised self-control over all these passions that even if he had not been good at fighting, he <would have> had a sufficiently good reputation from this. And so, whenever you hear that he wounded now Ares, now Aphrodite,²⁸ consider that this <proves that he> had mastered his passions; for it is the practice of poets to substitute the names of gods for these passions.²⁹

(11) But the discussion must be brought back to the battles; for we will see that in the most extreme misfortunes he remained courageous—in fact, he was the only one to remain at all—and condemned those who ran away. For when Zeus decided to raise up the Trojan side,³⁰ and all those who had previously been prominent—the king and Odysseus, who were the most authoritative in speech, and both of the Ajaxes—were being overwhelmed by their predicament, and Nestor was plunged into despair over his horse,³¹ and Hector, who had been raised up by Zeus, was pressing hard on him,³² Diomedes stood up against the old man's misfortune and, after rebuking Odysseus for his cowardice³³ and taking Nestor up on to his chariot,³⁴ again threw the enemy into confusion, when he did not change course even as he was being struck by arrows from heaven.³⁵ But while Zeus was fighting him from above

24. Homer, *Il.* 6.86–101.

25. Homer, *Il.* 6.403.

26. Homer, *Il.* 6.102–116, 269–279; *Invective* 2.12.

27. A Trojan herald who speaks at Homer, *Il.* 3.245–258; 7.372–378; he also appears at 24.468–471.

28. Homer, *Il.* 5.846–859 and 5.330–340; *Comparison* 1.8.

29. For such an interpretation, Heraclitus, *All.* 30.

30. Homer, *Il.* 8.66–77.

31. Homer, *Il.* 8.80–86.

32. Homer, *Il.* 8.87–91.

33. Homer, *Il.* 8.92–96.

34. Homer, *Il.* 8.105–112.

35. Homer, *Il.* 8.133–136; *Encomium* 3.15; *Comparison* 1.10.

ἀνδρείαν ἐν τούτοις ἐνεδείκνυτο, τὸ δὲ εἰδέναι πείθεσθαι συμβούλῳ τῷ μὴ τὴν παραίνεσιν ἀτιμάσαι τοῦ γέροντος, ὃς ἔπειθε τὸν Διομήδην εἶξαι τῷ Διί. (12) σεμνύνει μὲν δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἥρω, πολὺ δ' ἐστὶ καλλίω τὰ δεύτερα. διὰ γάρ τοι τοῦτον καὶ τὴν τούτου παρρησίαν οὐκ ἀπῆλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Τροίας Ἕλληνες ἄπρακτοι. πιεζομένου γὰρ ταῖς συμφοραῖς Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ σαφῶς ἀπειρηκότος καὶ μεμνημένου φυγῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις καὶ κελεύοντος ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὓς ἔδει κωλύειν ἡσυχάζοντων, τοῦτο δέ, οἶμαι, σύμβολον ἦν ἢ τοῦ μὴ τὸ βέλτιστον ὁρᾶν ἢ τοῦ μὴ τολμᾶν ὃ βέλτιστον ἡγοῦντο λέγειν, μόνος ὁ Διομήδης ἡλγησέ τε ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης καὶ τὸ παραστὰν οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἀνδρείως δειλὸν <Ἀγαμέμνονα> ἀποκαλέσας καὶ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνεῶχθαι τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτῷ καλὸν μένειν ἔφησεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ προσήκειν προδοῦναι τὰς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίδας. (13) οὕτω δὴ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀνελὼν καὶ κατασχὼν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρέποντος σχήματος πάλιν ἐτέρᾳ δημηγορίᾳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπέρρωσε διαπτύσας μὲν τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀχιλλέως, μεμψάμενος δὲ τὴν πρεσβείαν καὶ τὸ μὴ συνεῖναι τοῦθ' ὅτι τοῖς δώροις ἐκεῖνος ἔσται χαλεπώτερος. (14) τοῖς μὲν οὖν λόγοις κρείττους ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀπαλλάξας ἀθυμίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπελθούσης καὶ καθεύδοντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὠφελεῖ κουφίζων τοῖς τολμήμασι τὰ δυστυχήματα. ἀπέκτεινε μὲν τοίνυν τὸν Δόλωνα καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἐτήρησε πρὶν ἀποκτεῖναι τάκείνων μαθὼν, εἰδὼς δὲ ὡς καιρὸς ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Θραξίν ἐφειστήκει καὶ κειμένους ἀπέσφαττεν ὕπνῳ κατειλημμένους, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπήλαυσαν οἱ Τρῶες τῆς τοῦ Ῥήσου συμμαχίας, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μᾶλλον εἶπετο μάρτυς ἢ συνεργὸς τῶν ἐκείνῳ δρωμένων. (15) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βληθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεπόνθει, τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδ' οὕτως ἀφειστήκει παντελῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχων τῷ σώματι

with thunderbolts, he endured this, too, and demonstrated his courage in the midst of them, but he showed that he knew how to obey an advisor by not dishonoring the advice of the old man, who was urging Diomedes to yield to Zeus.³⁶ (12) Although these achievements also make us revere the hero, the ones that followed were much finer; for because of this man and his ability to speak frankly, the Greeks did not leave Troy unsuccessful. For when Agamemnon, oppressed by their misfortunes, had obviously given up and had mentioned flight in front of his subjects and was ordering them to set sail,³⁷ and when the others, who should have prevented this, remained quiet³⁸—and this, I believe, was a sign that they either did not see what was best or did not dare to say what they thought was best—Diomedes alone both felt the pain of shame and did not hide what was on his mind; rather, after very bravely calling <Agamemnon> a coward,³⁹ he said that though the sea lay open for the worst of the Greeks, as for himself the noble thing was to stay; for (as he said) it is also not right to betray hopes given by the gods.⁴⁰ (13) After putting an end to their shameful behavior and restraining the army in this way, he again adopted the proper demeanor in another public speech to strengthen the army, condemning the wrath of Achilles while rebuking the embassy for not understanding that the man would be too obstinate to be moved by gifts.⁴¹ (14) And so, with his words he made the Greeks stronger and relieved their despair, and when night fell he also helped the masses while they slept by alleviating their misfortunes with daring deeds. Well then, he killed Dolon,⁴² spied on the enemy in their ignorance of Greek affairs, and killed them after learning of their affairs;⁴³ and knowing that this was a good opportunity to attack the Thracians, he also slaughtered them as they lay there overcome by sleep, so that the Trojans did not benefit from their alliance with Rhesus,⁴⁴ but Odysseus followed him more as an observer than a partner in his deeds.⁴⁵ (15) And when it was necessary for him to be wounded and he had suffered this,⁴⁶ not even so did he withdraw completely from action, but

36. Homer, *Il.* 8.137–144.

37. Homer, *Il.* 9.9–28.

38. Homer, *Il.* 9.29–30.

39. Homer, *Il.* 9.39.

40. Homer, *Il.* 9.42–49.

41. Homer, *Il.* 9.696–709.

42. Homer, *Il.* 10.454–456.

43. Homer, *Il.* 10.405–457.

44. Homer, *Il.* 10.469–497; Comparison 1.11.

45. Homer, *Il.* 10.460–468, 488–493; Encomium 2.9–10.

46. Homer, *Il.* 11.373–378.

συντελεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ συνηγωνίζετο τὰς παρακλήσεις ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν συνεισφέρων τῇ χρεῖα. καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν ἵππων ἀγῶνας καὶ νίκην ἣν ἀνείλετο τὰς Εὐμήλου παραδραμών, ὧν τὸ τάχος Ὅμηρος τοῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀπεικάζει πτεροῖς; (16) Ὅμηρος δέ μοι παίζειν δοκεῖ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἄριστον μετ' Ἀχιλλέα τιθεὶς τὸν Αἴαντα. οἷς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος πεποίηκεν ἀμφοτέρων ἀμείνων ὁ Διομήδης πέφηνε. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐκράτησε μονομαχῶν, ἥνικα ὁ Πατρόκλου τάφος ἐτιμᾶτο τοῖς ἄθλοις καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα δέος ἦνεγκε τοῖς θεωμένοις περὶ τοῦ Τελαμώνος, τὸ δὲ ὅτι κρείττων ἦν Ἀχιλλέως, ἡ τῶν Τρώων πόλις ἐβόα. τὰς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἀρετὰς οἱ πολέμιοι καλῶς ἴσασι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν πεπόνθασι λαμβάνοντες. (17) καὶ μὴν, εἴ τις ἦρετο ὄντιναοῦν τί κατήνεγκε τὸ Ἴλιον, τὴν κλοπὴν εὐθὺς ἀκούσεται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, οὗ μένοντος εἴσω τειχῶν ἔδει μένειν τὴν πόλιν, μεταστάντος δὲ ἐτέρωσε μηκέτ' εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. τοῦτο τοίνυν τοῦ Διομήδους ἔργον. καὶ ὅστις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἴλιον ἦλθε, διὰ τοῦτον εἰσῆλθε. καὶ πάντα ἦν τὰ πάντων γ' ἐνὸς ἥρωος, τοῦ Διομήδους. διὰ τοῦτον ἄνδρας ἔσφαττον, διὰ τοῦτον χρήματα ἥρπαζον, διὰ τοῦτον γυναῖκας ἦγον, διὰ τοῦτον ἔλαβε τέλος ὁ μακρὸς ἐκεῖνος πόλεμος. (18) οὗτος παρέδωκε τὴν Πριάμου πόλιν σιδήρῳ καὶ πυρί. καὶ εἴ τις τὸν ἵππον ὃς ἐδέξατο τὸν λόχον αἰτιάται τῆς τοῦ Ἰλίου καταστροφῆς, μάλιστα μὲν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τοῦτο ἴσχυσε, κατέβη δ' αὖ κἀνταῦθα. καὶ ἦν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους θαυμαζόμενος καὶ τυχὼν ὧν τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐχρῆν ἐμβὰς εἰς τὴν ναὺν λαμπρῶς ἀνήγετο.

instead, though unable to contribute with his body, he joined the struggle with his mind, contributing advice instead of his hands to their need. And why must we mention the chariot races and the victory he won by outrunning the mares of Eumelus,⁴⁷ whose swiftness Homer compared to the wings of birds?⁴⁸ (16) But Homer seems to me to be joking when he ranks Ajax second to Achilles as best of the Achaeans;⁴⁹ for in the poem that he himself composed, Diomedes is shown to be better than both of them; for he defeated one of them in single combat at the funeral games for Patroclus, and the event brought fear to the spectators for the son of Telamon,⁵⁰ but the city of the Trojans shouted that Diomedes was better than Achilles.⁵¹ The enemy knew the virtues of the other side well, taking what they had suffered from each of them as proof of their individual natures. (17) Moreover, if one were to ask anybody at all what brought down Troy, he would immediately hear about the theft of the statue, which as long as it remained inside the walls ensured that the city would remain, but if it were moved elsewhere the city would no longer exist.⁵² Well now, this was the job of Diomedes. And whoever of the Achaeans came to Troy, came there because of him. And all the accomplishments of everyone were due to one hero, Diomedes. Because of him they slaughtered men; because of him they got plunder; because of him they led women away as captives; because of him that long war finally came to an end. (18) This man handed the city of Priam over to iron and fire. And if anyone credits the horse that held the ambush squad with the complete destruction of Troy, Diomedes above all prevailed from that⁵³ in this respect, too, and he entered the contest at this point also.⁵⁴ And he was admired beyond all the rest, and having obtained what the good man ought, he embarked upon his ship and set sail magnificently.

47. Homer, *Il.* 23.287–538.

48. Homer, *Il.* 2.763–765.

49. Homer, *Il.* 17.279–280; *Od.* 11.550–551; Encomium 2.12, 3.23.

50. Ajax: Homer, *Il.* 23.811–825; for the funeral games for Patroclus, see Encomium 3.20; Invective 1.21.

51. Homer, *Il.* 6.96–101.

52. The Palladium: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.3; *Epit.* 5.10–13; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.337–351; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.162–170; Encomium 2.13; Comparison 1.14.

53. I.e., the horse.

54. Homer, *Od.* 4.280–284; Encomium 2.14. The precise meaning of the latter part of this sentence (206,19 [225,10–11 Foerster]) is not clear.

2. Ἐγκώμιον Ὀδυσσέως.

(1) Ἀπάντων ἔμοιγε τῶν ἡρώων Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς θαῦμα γενναῖον ἐκτέθεικεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ Ὀδυσσέως, ὃν τῆς μὲν Ἰλιάδος πεποίηκε κοινωνόν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ ποιήσει μόνον τετίμηκε. (2) καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τῷ προγόνῳ τούτου χαριζόμενος Ἑρμῇ ταῦτα εἰς αὐτὸν σπουδάσαι. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰκότως ἂν ἐπεγείροι πρὸς τὸν ἔπαινον τοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς τέχνης ἢς προστάτης αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ θεός, ὃς γεννήσας Αὐτόλυκον ἔδωκεν ἐντεῦθεν Ὀδυσσεὶ τοῦ γένους τὰς ἀφορμάς. παρ' οὗ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ συνέσει νικᾶν εἰς αὐτὸν καταβῆναι. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ φύντες ἐξ Ἄρεος ἔρωτα πολέμου ἔσχον καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διήνεγκον, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος Ἑρμῇ παρεχόμενος πρόγονον συνέσει πάντας ἀπέκρυσεν.

(3) Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ὕστερον, πατρίς δὲ αὐτῷ νῆσος εὐφυῆς εἰς φορὰν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐ πλήθει καρπῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς τούτων ἀρεταῖς κοσμουμένη. τραφεὶς δὲ ἐν βασιλείοις οὐκ ἡμέλησεν Ὀδυσσεὺς παιδείας, ἀλλ' εἷς ἦν τῶν ὡς Χείρωνα πεφοιτηκότων καὶ μαθόντων ὅποσα Χείρων ἐδίδασκε. καταβὰς γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου τὴν γνώμην ἐν τοῖς ἀεὶ παραπίπτουσι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐδείκνυ. (4) καὶ τῶν τε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης ὄρκων οὗτος αἴτιος ἦν καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν Μενέλαον ὁ Πριάμου παῖς ἀδικήσας εἶχεν ἀρπάσας ἐκείνην, οὕτως ἤλγησεν ὥστ' αὐτὸς περιῶν ἤγειρε τὸν στρατόν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτον Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἔμεινεν ἐν Σκύρῳ μετὰ τῶν παρθένων ἀκούων τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ σὺν ἐκείναις εἶναι διέφερε τὸν πόλεμον ἀκόλουθα πράττων. οὗτος καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίζει. (5) καὶ σιωπῶ τὸν Φιλοκτήτην καὶ μυρία πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα, κρινέσθω δὲ

ENCOMIUM 2: ODYSSEUS⁵⁵

(1) The poet Homer, in my opinion, shows genuine admiration for all the heroes, not least of all for Odysseus, whom he depicts as a participant in the *Iliad*, and in his other poem,⁵⁶ he honors him alone. (2) And in favoring Hermes as this man's ancestor,⁵⁷ he seems to me to have shown him serious respect. This very fact would also naturally incite us to praise, who are of the same skill of which this god is himself the patron,⁵⁸ the god who by fathering Autolycus gave Odysseus in turn the origins of his family line. The ability to win by intelligence also seems to have been passed down to Odysseus from Hermes; for just as the descendants of Ares had a passion for war and were famous for this, so also this man, equipped with Hermes as his ancestor, put everyone in the shade with his intelligence.

(3) But more on this subject later. His homeland was an island naturally suited to producing good men, and it was not decorated with an abundance of fruits more than with the virtues of these men.⁵⁹ Though reared in a palace, Odysseus did not neglect his education, but he was one of those who attended Chiron's school and learned everything that Chiron taught;⁶⁰ for when he came down from Mount Pelion he revealed his intelligence in whatever problems were always falling in his way. (4) And this man was both responsible for the oaths taken on Helen's behalf,⁶¹ and when the son of Priam wronged Menelaus by stealing her away and keeping her,⁶² was so offended that he went around himself and mustered the army.⁶³ And because of this man, Achilles did not remain in Scyros with the girls,⁶⁴ merely hearing about the war, but instead of staying with them spent the war doing his duty. Later,

55. For the theme, see Theon 111. Comparison of Odysseus: with Ajax (Theon 112; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 13.1–398); Heracles ([Hermogenes] 19–20); Nestor (Pseudo-Nicolaus 1 [Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:355,19–58,6]).

56. The *Odyssey*.

57. Hermes is the father of Autolycus (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.16), who is Odysseus's maternal grandfather (Homer, *Od.* 11.84–85; 19.394–395).

58. I.e., rhetoric.

59. Homer, *Od.* 9.27; 13.241–247.

60. Centaur who taught many Greek heroes: see Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1.2 for a list; cf. Encomium 1.4, 3.2–4; Invective 1.3; Comparison 1.5.

61. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.8–9; Encomium 3.5, 3.7, 4.4.

62. Paris: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.1–5; Narration 27.

63. Homer, *Il.* 11.766–769; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.9; Encomium 4.4; Invective 1.5, 2.5–8; Comparison 2.4.

64. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.162–171. See also Encomium 1.5–6, 3.5–6, 4.5; Invective 1.5–8; Comparison 2.4–5. For Chiron's reaction to the news, see Speech in Character 14.

Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀφ' ὧν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ἔπραξεν, εἰ μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνο μικρὸν τὸ πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους θαῦμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητος ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. (6) ἀλλὰ μεθεισθήκει μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς διενεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα κόρης ἔνεκα, συμεθεισθήκει δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὁ Ζεὺς Θέτιδι χαριζόμενος. πεῖραν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίει καὶ φυγῆς ἐμέμνητο, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν, εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔθεον καὶ ὁ πόλεμος διελέλυτο, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἀπολώλει, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνδρὸς ἐδεῖτο τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισχῆσιν τὴν τοσαύτην αἰσχύνην. (7) ἐφάνη τοίνυν οὗτος αὐτὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀρπάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἐφέρετο καὶ πρὸς ὁρμὴν οὕτω ζέουσιν ἀντέταξε τοὺς λόγους, μᾶλλον δέ, πρὸς μὲν οὖς ἀπέχρη λόγος, τούτους κατεῖχε λέγων, οὖς δὲ πληγῶν ἐώρα χρήζοντας, τούτους πληγαῖς ἐπανῆγεν εἰς τὸ μένειν. μετὰ τοιούτου δὴ σχήματος πᾶσαν ἐπιὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπέσπασε τῶν νεῶν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ μένειν τοὺς μὲν ἔπεισε, τοὺς δὲ ἠνάγκασε καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἀνείλε καὶ τοὺς ὀρεγομένους τῆς οἰκείας ἐπαινέτας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῇ δημηγορίᾳ τῇ περὶ τῆς μονῆς. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ὁ ῥήτωρ.

(8) Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνο σημεῖον οὐ μικρὸν τῆς Ὀδυσσεύως δεινότητος τὸ πρεσβείας δεῖσαν ὡς τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα αὐτὸν φέρειν τοῖς ἐκπέμπουσι τὰς ἐλπίδας. σκόπει γάρ. ἔτι μελλόντων ἐξιέναι παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ὁ Νέστωρ ἐκεῖνον ὡς δεινότατον παρεκελεύετο φροντίζειν ὅπως διδάξει τὸν ἄνδρα. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν

Odysseus also brought that man's son to Troy from the island.⁶⁵ (5) And I pass over in silence Philoctetes⁶⁶ and countless other achievements in addition to these, but let Odysseus be judged on the basis of what he did in the Greek misfortunes, unless even the trivial fact that he went on an embassy to the enemy strikes my listeners with wonder at his rhetorical ability.⁶⁷ (6) But Achilles switched sides after quarreling with Agamemnon over a girl,⁶⁸ and Zeus joined him by switching over to the enemy's side as a favor to Thetis.⁶⁹ And the king tested the army and mentioned leaving,⁷⁰ and when they heard him, they immediately began to run toward the ships,⁷¹ and the war came to a standstill, and their mission was in jeopardy, and that emergency truly required a man who would restrain such shameful behavior. (7) Well now, Odysseus showed himself to be this man. He snatched up Agamemnon's scepter and brought it down on those who longed for the sea,⁷² and he marshaled his words to counter such a seething rush; or rather, with those for whom a word would suffice, he restrained them by speaking, while with those whom he saw were in need of blows, he used blows to bring them back to stay.⁷³ It was with this sort of demeanor that he went to the whole army, tore the Greeks away from the ships, and persuaded some but forced others to stay,⁷⁴ and he put an end to their disgraceful behavior, and in his public speech urging them to stay,⁷⁵ he had those who longed for home as his praisers.⁷⁶ So great was the power of the orator.

(8) Moreover, it was also no small sign of Odysseus's rhetorical ability that when an embassy to Achilles was needed, he brought hope to those who sent him.⁷⁷ Just consider: while they were still waiting to be sent out by Agamemnon, Nestor advised Odysseus, because he was the most clever, to

65. Neoptolemus: Homer, *Od.* 11.508–509; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.11; Encomium 3.22; Invective 1.23.

66. Sophocles, *Philoctetes*; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.8; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.45–55, 313–334, 399–404.

67. Homer, *Il.* 3.205–224.

68. Homer, *Il.* 1.1–307; Encomium 1.6, 3.12–14, 4.6; Invective 1.8–10; Comparison 1.7, 2.6–7.

69. Homer, *Il.* 1.495–527; Encomium 1.6, 3.14–15; Invective 1.10; Comparison 2.7, 9.

70. Homer, *Il.* 2.73–74, 110–141; Encomium 4.10.

71. Homer, *Il.* 2.142–154.

72. Homer, *Il.* 2.185–187.

73. Homer, *Il.* 2.188–206.

74. Homer, *Il.* 2.207–210.

75. Homer, *Il.* 2.284–335.

76. Homer, *Il.* 2.333–335.

77. Homer, *Il.* 9; Encomium 3.16–17; Invective 1.11–12; Comparison 1.11.

μὲν μένειν κατὰ χώραν τὸν Νέστορα, τὸν δὲ ἰέναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τίνος σύμβολον; οὐ τοῦ <τοῦτον> τοῖς λόγοις κρατεῖν τοῦ Νέστορος, ὃν αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰς Ἴλιον ἤγαγε τὸ λέγειν δύνασθαι;

(9) Ἄρ' οὖν λέγειν μὲν ἱκανός, πράττειν δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτος; οὐ ταῦτά φησι Διομήδης, ὃς ὑποστὰς τὴν κατασκοπὴν μίαν εὗρεν αὐτῷ σωτηρίαν τὴν Ὀδυσσέως κοινωνίαν διαρρήδην εἰπὼν καὶ πυρὸς καταφρονεῖν ἐκείνου παρόντος. καὶ ὡς οὕτως ἐγίνωσκεν ἐδήλωσε τὸ ἔργον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ τὸν Δόλωνα προῖδων καὶ φράσας τῷ Τυδέως οὔτος ἦν καὶ ὁ τοὺς Θρᾶκας εὐρὼν οὓς ἐμήνυσεν εἰλημμένος ὁ Δόλων οὔτος ἦν καὶ ὁ δείξας τὸν Διομήδην μαθητοῦ τάξιν πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτόν. (10) καὶ τί δεῖ τᾶλλα λέγειν ἃ καθεύδοντας ἔδρασε τοὺς ἐναντίους; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς κεκυκλωμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐξὸν ἀποχωρεῖν μετὰ χείρονος τοῦ σχήματος εἴλετο μένων κινδυνεύειν μετὰ τοῦ κρείττονος. καὶ πάλιν ἕτερα οὐ φαυλότερα τῶν προτέρων ἐπολιτεύετο δευτέραν φυγὴν ἐπισχὼν καὶ δευτέραν αἰσχύνην ἀνελὼν καί, νῆ Δία γε, καὶ συμφορὰν μετὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης. (11) ὁ μὲν γὰρ κελεύων ἀνάγεσθαι πάλιν Ἀγαμέμνων ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἐμφράττων τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ στόμα καὶ κωλύων μὴ τοιοῦτους προῖεσθαι λόγους ὁ Ἰθακήσιος, ὃς εἰ μὴ τότε ἐμποδὼν ἔστη τοῖς κακῶς βεβουλευμένοις, ἅπαντ' ἂν διέφθαρτο τῶν μὲν Τρώων ἐπικειμένων καὶ κατάκρας ἐλαυνόντων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ τῶν νεῶν ἄπτεσθαι κατακοπτομένων.

(12) Τοσαῦτα τοίνυν ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν ὠφελῶν οὐδ' ὅσα δοκεῖ τοῦ σώματος εἶναι καλά, τούτων ἐστέρητο, ῥώμης λέγω καὶ τάχους. φέρε γάρ, τίς ἰσχυρότατος; οὐχ ὁ Τελαμώνιος; τίς ἐν ποδῶν τάχει τὰ πρωτεῖα ἔχων; οὐχ ὁ

reflect on how he would instruct the man.⁷⁸ What can be inferred from the fact that Nestor remained there, while Odysseus went to Achilles? Is it not that <Odysseus> was superior in words to Nestor, the man whom this precise qualification—his speaking ability—had brought to Troy?⁷⁹

(9) And so, was he capable in speech, but otherwise in action? Diomedes does not say so, who, having undertaken the spy mission,⁸⁰ found that his one salvation was his partnership with Odysseus, saying explicitly that he could even look down his nose at fire with Odysseus at his side.⁸¹ And the result made clear just how right he was. For indeed, this was the man who saw Dolon from afar and told the son of Tydeus,⁸² and this was the man who found the Thracians, about whom the captured Dolon had informed them,⁸³ and who showed Diomedes holding toward him the position of a student toward his teacher.⁸⁴ (10) And why must we say what else he did to the enemy while they were sleeping?⁸⁵ But though he was surrounded by the enemy in the most dire emergencies, and though he could have left with a worse bearing, he chose to stay and face the danger with a better one.⁸⁶ And he showed leadership again in ways no less trivial than before when he prevented a second flight and put an end to a second disgrace and, by Zeus, also a disaster along with the disgrace. (11) For the one urging them to set sail was once again Agamemnon,⁸⁷ but the one who shut the king's mouth and prevented him from saying such words was the Ithacan,⁸⁸ and if Odysseus had not at this time blocked those who had made this bad decision, everything would have been destroyed, as the Trojans were pressing upon them and had them in full retreat, and they were being cut to pieces while clinging to the ships.

(12) Furthermore, although he made himself so useful with his speaking, he was also not deprived of what are considered to be the goods of the body, by which I mean strength and speed. For come now, who was the strongest? Was it not the son of Telamon?⁸⁹ Who held first place in the swiftness of his

78. Homer, *Il.* 9.179–181.

79. Homer, *Il.* 1.247–274.

80. Homer, *Il.* 10.219–226.

81. Homer, *Il.* 10.241–247.

82. Diomedes: Homer, *Il.* 10.338–348.

83. Homer, *Il.* 10.469–478.

84. Homer, *Il.* 10.477–481; Encomium 1.14; Comparison 1.11.

85. I.e., that he dragged off the dead: Homer, *Il.* 10.488–493.

86. E.g., Homer, *Il.* 11.434–484.

87. Homer, *Il.* 14.64–81.

88. Odysseus: Homer, *Il.* 14.82–102.

89. For praise of Ajax's abilities (although not specifically his strength), see Homer, *Il.* 17.279–280; *Od.* 11.550–551; Encomium 1.16, 3.23.

τῶν Λοκρῶν ἡγούμενος ὁ ὁμώνυμος τούτου; οὐ τοίνυν ἐν οἷς εὐδοκίμουν οὗτοι, τούτων Ὀδυσσεὺς δεύτερος ἐγίνετο. (13) εἰ δέ τις χαίρει τῶν Τρώων ἡττημένων καὶ τῆς Τροίας ἀλούσης, μὴ κοινὸν ἡγείσθω τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς Ὀδυσσέως καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίας τε καὶ τόλμης, ὃς ἐλθὼν εἰς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἱερὰν ἄγκυραν ὑπέσπασε, λέγω δὴ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, τὸ τῆς Τροίας φυλακτήριον, οὗ στερηθεῖσαν οὐκέτ' εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ἔδει. (14) λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ τοῦ λόχου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπ' ἐκείνον ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου σοφίαν ἐμπλῆσαι τὸν ἵππον τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν. διὰ ταῦτα Ὀμηρος ἀρχόμενος τῆς εἰς ἐκείνον ποιήσεως τὴν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων εὐφημίαν αὐτῷ σέσωκεν εἰπών· ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε. (15) δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν οἴκαδε κομιδὴν δυσκολίαις Ὀδυσσεὺς κεχρῆσθαι καὶ τοσοῦτοις ὠμιληκέναι κακοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἄξιός ἦν κακῶς παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπως οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες τίς ἦν ἐν τοῖς δυσκόλοις ἐπιθυμήσωσι σοφίας ὥς πάντα διαφευγούσης τὰ δυσχερῆ. (16) θεώρει δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ πάντα τὸν πλοῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἔνθα οὐχ εὐρήσεις ἔργα θαύματος ἄξια. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἀναχθεὶς ἐξ Ἰλίου προσβαλὼν Κίκοσιν ἐλὼν τὴν πόλιν ἀπηλλάγη καὶ γεγόνασιν εὐπορώτεροι κοινῇ. προσσχὼν δὲ τοῖς Λωτοφάγοις, ὁ δὲ λωτὸς οὗτος τοὺς γευσασμένους κατεῖχε καὶ πάντα ἐπειθεν ἡγεῖσθαι πλὴν αὐτοῦ μικρά, τοιαύτης τοίνυν γῆς ἐπιβάς καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐπανήγαγε τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ ταῦτα γεγευμένους. (17) τί δ' ἂν τις εἴποι μείζον ἢ ὅτι ὁ Πολύφημος ὁ τοσοῦτος μὲν τῷ σώματι, τοιοῦτος δὲ τῇ ὀμότητι ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων αὐτὸν καὶ μόνον οὐ κατεδηδοκῶς ἐτυφλοῦτο παρ' Ὀδυσσέως; ὥς γὰρ οἶνφ κατεκοίμισε τὸν Κύκλωπα, τᾶλλα ῥαδίως εἰργάζετο. καὶ τὸ ἔτι μείζον, οὕτω κακῶς διαθεὶς αὐτὸν διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ καθήμενον ὑπὸ τι

feet? Was it not the leader of the Locrians, the namesake of the former?⁹⁰ Well now, it is not the case that in the areas in which these men were famous, Odysseus was second to them.⁹¹ (13) But if someone rejoices at the defeat of the Trojans and the sack of Troy, let him not regard this as the common achievement of all the Greeks, but of one man, Odysseus, and his intellect and daring. He went into the midst of the enemy and stole their holy anchor, by which I mean the statue of Athena, which was the protector of Troy, and whose loss meant that the city must exist no more.⁹² (14) Some say, too, that the most important part of the ambush fell to him, and that his wisdom filled the horse with the best men.⁹³ For these reasons, when Homer begins the poem about him, he preserves the man's fame for these deeds by saying, "when he sacked the holy city of Troy."⁹⁴ (15) It seems to me that Odysseus both experienced setbacks on his trip home and encountered such great evils, not because he deserved to suffer badly himself, but so that those who would later hear what sort of man he was in difficult circumstances might eagerly desire wisdom as something to dispel all their troubles. (16) Examine the man throughout the whole voyage; for there is no place where you will not find deeds worthy of admiration. And so, as soon as he set sail from Troy, he attacked the Cicones, sacked their city, and departed, and everyone became richer in common.⁹⁵ And when he landed at the land of the Lotus-eaters—and this lotus would overpower those who tasted it and convince them to regard everything else as worthless—well then, having landed at such a land, he brought his companions back from there, even though they had tasted it.⁹⁶ (17) But what would anyone say is greater than the fact that Polyphemus, who was so huge in body and likewise in brutality, was blinded by Odysseus,⁹⁷ though he had Odysseus in his hands and only just failed to devour him? For once he had put the Cyclops to sleep with wine,⁹⁸ the rest was easily accomplished. And what is still greater is that, having put him in so bad a condition, he escaped from him as he sat in the doorway, bound

90. The lesser Ajax: Homer, *Il.* 14.520–522; 23.791–792; Encomium 3.23.

91. The wrestling match ended in a draw (Homer, *Il.* 23.700–739), and Odysseus won the footrace (23.740–797, especially 778–779).

92. The Palladium: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.3; *Epit.* 5.10–13; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.337–351; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.162–170; Encomium 1.17; Comparison 1.14.

93. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.14–15; Encomium 1.18.

94. Homer, *Od.* 1.2.

95. Homer, *Od.* 9.39–43.

96. Homer, *Od.* 9.83–104.

97. Homer, *Od.* 9.382–390.

98. Homer, *Od.* 9.345–376.

τῶν ἐξιόντων προβάτων ὑποδύς. (18) καὶ δὴ καὶ Λαιστρυγόνων οὐ πολὺ τούτου μετριωτέρων καταγελάσας ἀπῆλθε. Κίρκη δὲ ἡ φαρμακὶς ἢ πρὸς βούλημα μεταποιοῦσα εἰς τὰς τῶν ζώων ιδέας καὶ πάντα ἰσχύουσα τῇ τέχνῃ οὐκ ἴσχυσε κρατῆσαι τῆς Ὀδυσσέως φύσεως, ἀλλ' οὕτως αὐτὸν ἔδεισέ τε καὶ ἐθαύμασεν ὥστε καὶ ὅσους αὐτῷ τῶν ἐταίρων μεταβεβλήκει πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀποκατέστησεν. (19) οἱ τοίνυν ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦτο μέγιστον τῶν αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ὡς ὢν ἐν ζῳσιν ἔτι τοῖς ὑπὸ γῆν ὠμίλησεν. ἦλθε τοίνυν καὶ ταύτην Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἡρακλέους Ἡρακλεῖ παριστοῦται. (20) Σειρήνες δὲ αἱ πάντας ἀπολλύουσαι τοῖς ἄσμοσι μάτην ἦδον Ὀδυσσέως παραπλέοντος. αἱ δὲ ἐρώσαί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέχουσαι καὶ ποιήσιν ἀθάνατον ὑπισχνόμεναι τί σοι φαίνονται μαρτυρεῖν; ἢ γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ὀρώσαι περικαλλῇ τοῦτο ἔπαθον ἢ παρὰ τῆς συνέσεως ὁ ἔρωσ ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ δ' οὕτως ἄρα δίκαιος ὥστε καὶ τῆς τε πατρίδος ἐμέμνητο καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἡμνημόνει καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς εἶχετο, ὥστε ταῦτα πάντα λῆρον ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὸ κομίσασθαι τὴν Ἰθάκην. (21) ἔδει δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ μετὰ ναυάγιον σωθῆναι καὶ πλῆθος κακῶν ὧν οὐκ ἂν τις εἴποι. ὃν νῦν μὲν τῆς νεῶς ῥαγείσης ἡ τρόπις ἔφερε, νῦν δὲ τῆς σχεδίας διαλυθείσης ἡ περὶ τὸ νεῖν ἐξέφερεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον τέχνη, ἣν ᾠκουν οἱ Φαίακες. ἥς καὶ γυμνὸς ἐπιβάς ἐθαυμάζετο παραχρῆμα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλκινόου θυγατρὸς, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον πείραν αὐτοῦ διδοὺς ὑφ' ἀπάντων. ἐκλήθη μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαίακων ἐπὶ θέαν ἄθλων,

underneath one of the departing sheep.⁹⁹ (18) And what is more, he mocked and got away from the Laestrygonians, a people not much more temperate than the Cyclops.¹⁰⁰ The sorceress Circe, who changed people at will into the forms of animals and was omnipotent in her art,¹⁰¹ was unable to master the nature of Odysseus;¹⁰² rather, she so feared and admired him that she even changed all of his companions whom she had transformed back to their original forms.¹⁰³ (19) Furthermore, those who praise Heracles say that the greatest of his deeds is that while still among the living he associated with those in the underworld.¹⁰⁴ Well now, Odysseus also traveled that road and made himself equal to Heracles in this greatest of Heracles' achievements.¹⁰⁵ (20) The Sirens, who destroy everyone with their songs, sang in vain as Odysseus sailed by.¹⁰⁶ And in their loving and detaining him and promising to make him immortal,¹⁰⁷ to what do they appear to you to be testifying? For either they experienced this because they saw a surpassingly beautiful sight, or their love took its origin from his intelligence. But he was so just that he remained mindful of his fatherland and did not forget his son and clung to his wife, so that he considered all these things garbage in comparison to getting back to Ithaca. (21) And it was necessary, as seems reasonable, that he be saved after both the shipwreck and a host of evils that no one could list. Now, when his ship broke apart, the keel carried him;¹⁰⁸ now, when his raft was destroyed, his skill in swimming brought him to the island that the Phaeacians inhabited.¹⁰⁹ Even when he landed there naked, he was immediately admired by the daughter of Alcinoos, and a bit later he proved himself to everyone; for he was invited by the Phaeacians to see some athletic con-

99. Homer, *Od.* 9.417–463. For Odysseus's reaction to being trapped in the cave and seeing his comrades being eaten, see Speech in Character 23–24.

100. Homer, *Od.* 10.114–132, but without any mockery.

101. Homer, *Od.* 10.212–219, 235–243.

102. Homer, *Od.* 10.316–320.

103. Homer, *Od.* 10.325–347, 388–396.

104. Heracles rescued Alcestis (Euripides, *Alcestis*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.15; Narration 15) and Theseus (Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.24), retrieved Cerberus, and had other adventures in Hades (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.12).

105. Homer, *Od.* 11; for Heracles, see Homer, *Od.* 11.601–626.

106. Homer, *Od.* 12.39–54, 158–200.

107. Libanius seems to be thinking of Calypso rather than the Sirens; see Homer, *Od.* 5.135–136, 208–209; 7.255–257.

108. Homer, *Od.* 12.420–425.

109. Scheria: Homer, *Od.* 5.313–463.

ἐκπλήξας δὲ αὐτοὺς οἷς ἐποίησεν ἀπῆλθεν, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ πλουτίσαντες ἀπέπεμπον οἴκαδε. (22) καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βουλομένης, τὸ δὲ βούλεσθαι ταῦτα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἦν ἐκ τοῦ συζῆν ἀρετῇ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά. δι' ἣν καὶ θαλαττίοις δαίμοσιν ἔμελε καὶ ἡ Λευκοθέα νέοντι παρῆν καὶ παρείχεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλε διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κλύδωνα. (23) εἶχεν Ἰθάκην. ἤδη καινὸν θαῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς καρτερίας αὐτοῦ. πράγματα γὰρ ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ἃ κἂν λίθινον ἐξεβιάσατο πρὸς φωνήν, μνηστήρων ὕβριν, χρήματα ἀναλίσκόμενα, φθειρόμενον οἶκον, γυναῖκα ἄκουσαν ἐλκομένην εἰς γάμον, δούλων εἰς αὐτὸν παροινίαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐλακτίζετο, σιγῇ πάντα φέρειν ἡξίου καὶ κρύπτειν ἑαυτὸν ἐν πτωχοῦ σχήματι καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀναμένειν. ὧν ἐπελθόντων ἔδειξέ τε ὅς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ὕβριστάς τοξεύων ἀνήλiske.

(24) Θαυμαστὸς ἦν Αἴας, ἀλλὰ τούτου δεύτερος. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τῶν ὅπλων κρίσις. μέγας ἦν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν ὅπλοις, ὁ δὲ ἐν συνέσει. τοῦτο δὲ ἰσχυρότερον ἐκείνου. ὅλως δὲ ὅ τι πέπρακται ἐπὶ Τροίας γενναῖον, δι' Ὀδυσσεώς πέπρακται τοῦ κατασχόντος τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου μέχρι τέλους. καὶ τὸ ἔτι μείζον, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερος Ἔκτορος ὁ Κύκλωψ, τοσοῦτῳ κρείττων ὁ τούτου κρατήσας τοῦ κτείναντος ἐκείνου. καὶ μὴν τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐπανηκόντων εὐτυχέστερος, τῶν δὲ ἐπανηκόντων σεμνότερος δι' ὧν ἐπαναπλέων κατώρθωσεν.

(25) Εἰ δὲ μέγιστον εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ ὧν τις ἐπιθυμεῖ καλλίστων τυχεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο Ὀδυσσεώς. τὴν γὰρ Ἰθάκην ἰδὼν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ κύριος καταστάς γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτησεν.

tests,¹¹⁰ and having amazed them by what he did,¹¹¹ he departed, so that they sent him home and made him rich.¹¹² (22) And all these things happened by the will of Athena, but Athena's willingness to do them resulted from the fact that Odysseus lived in accordance with virtue. Because of his virtue, the sea divinities cared for him, too, and Leucothea helped him as he swam and provided the means by which he would later escape the waves.¹¹³ (23) He made it back to Ithaca. And now there was a strange, new sight after all his suffering. For seeing how matters stood at his house, which would force even a stone to speak—the insolence of the suitors, his wealth being squandered, his household being destroyed, his wife being dragged into marriage against her will, the gross abuse of his slaves toward him, especially when he was being kicked—he decided to bear it all in silence and hide himself in the guise of a beggar and wait for the right time to act. When that time arrived, he revealed who he was and destroyed the insolent with his bow.¹¹⁴

(24) Ajax was remarkable, but he was second to this man. And the judgment of arms also makes this clear.¹¹⁵ Achilles was great in arms, but Odysseus in intelligence. The latter is more important than the former. In short, everything noble that was accomplished at Troy was accomplished through Odysseus, who kept the Greeks in the war right up to the end. And what is still greater is that, inasmuch as the Cyclops is harder to handle than Hector, so much mightier is the one who defeated the former than the one who killed the latter.¹¹⁶ Moreover, he was more fortunate than those who did not return, and more worthy of respect than those who did return because of what he successfully accomplished as he sailed back.

(25) If the most important part of happiness is to obtain the most noble things that one desires, Odysseus had this, too; for after seeing Ithaca and becoming master of his own domain, he died an old man.¹¹⁷

110. Homer, *Od.* 8.100–103.

111. Homer, *Od.* 8.186–198.

112. Homer, *Od.* 13.1–125.

113. Homer, *Od.* 5.333–350.

114. Homer, *Od.* 22. For Odysseus's words after killing the suitors, see Speech in Character 25.

115. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.620–13.398.

116. Thus Odysseus is far superior to Achilles.

117. For Odysseus's life after the *Odyssey* and stories of his death, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 7.34–40.

3. Ἐγκώμιον Ἀχιλλέως.

(1) Ὅμηρος ἐραστήν με κατέστησεν Ἀχιλλέως, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ πάντας ὅσοι τῆς ἐκείνου μετέσχον ποιήσεως. ἐρεῖν δὲ πάντα οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐπέρχεται μοι τὸν ἥρω κοσμεῖν ἔχοντα μὲν παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν, δίκαιον δὲ ὄντα καὶ τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ δυνάμεως ἀπολαῦσαι, κἂν ἢ σμικρά.

(2) Ὅτι μὲν δὴ πρόγονος αὐτῷ τῶν θεῶν ὁ κορυφαῖος καὶ ὅτι τὸ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν γένος κρεῖττον τῶν ἄλλων ἡμιθέων, περὶ μὲν ταῦτα τί δεῖ καὶ διατρίβειν; ὧν κοινωνοῦντες εὐρίσκονται πλείους. ἀλλ' ἢ γε μήτηρ αὐτοῦ θεὸς καὶ τροφή μυελοὶ λεόντων ἀντὶ γάλακτος. οἷς ἀμφοτέροις πολὺ διήνεγκεν. οὐ γὰρ τίτθη παραλαβοῦσα τὸ παιδίον μαστοῖς ἔτρεφεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ Χείρων ἥδει πρὸς ἀνδρείαν αὐτῷ συμβαλουμένην <τροφὴν>, ταύτην ἐπενόησε τὴν κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀφείς. (3) οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Κένταυρος εἰς πάντας μὲν ἥρωας ἀπέθετο τὰ παιδεύματα, περὶ δὲ τὸν Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος μᾶλλον ἐφιλοτιμήσατο πάσης παιδείας ἐμπιπλὰς αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν, τοῦτο μὲν μουσικῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἱατρικῆς, ὥστε τῇ μὲν πραῦνειν τὸν θυμόν, τῇ δὲ ἀπελαύνειν τὰ νοσήματα. (4) ἥσκει δὲ καὶ τῷ πόδε πρὸς τάχος ἀναγκάζων αὐτὸν παραθεῖν. τὰ γε μὴν πολεμικὰ δεινότατον ἀπάντων ἀπειργάσατο καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔτρεψεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέους ζῆλον, ὥστε πλείονος τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤγεν ὧν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡδέων ἐπεθύμουν ἕτεροι. (5) διέδειξε τοῦτο καλῶς ὁ Τρωικὸς πόλεμος. οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μετασχεῖν ἐποίησε τὸ πρόσθεν ὁμωμοκέναι, ἔδει γὰρ ἢ τοῖς Τρωσὶ πολεμεῖν ἢ πολεμεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν κρείττονων ὥς

ENCOMIUM 3: ACHILLES¹¹⁸

(1) Homer made me a lover of Achilles, and I believe the same is also true of everyone who has experienced his poetry. I would not be able to say everything, but only whatever occurs to me to say in praise of the hero, who does indeed receive his due from the poet, but who also deserves to benefit from my ability, however slight.

(2) As for the fact that his ancestor was the chief of the gods and that the family of the Aeacidae was mightier than the other demigods, why must I dwell on these points?¹¹⁹ So many can be found who share this in common with him. But his mother was a goddess and his food was the marrow of lions instead of milk.¹²⁰ In both of these ways he was very different; for no nurse took up the child and nursed him at her breast; rather, Chiron¹²¹ devised for him whatever <food> he knew would contribute to his courage, rejecting the common food of men. (3) For this Centaur gave instruction to all the heroes,¹²² but with the son of Peleus and Thetis he was more ambitious, filling his soul with every kind of education—in part, music; in part, medicine—so as to tame his anger with the one and drive away disease with the other. (4) He also trained his feet for swiftiness, forcing the boy to run along beside him. Moreover, in matters of war he made him the most clever of all and turned his mind toward the emulation of Heracles, so that he considered competitive struggle more important than the delights that others desired from peace. (5) The Trojan War demonstrated this very well. He had made the rest swear to participate in the war in advance,¹²³ for they either had to make war on the

118. For the theme, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 127,16–19); with partial elaboration, [Hermogenes] 16; Pap. gr. Vindob. 29789, frg. 3 (= Pack 2528) (third to fourth century C.E.; Hans Gerstinger, ed., "Bruchstücke einer antiken Progymnasmata-Sammlung im Pap. gr. Vindob. 29789," *MVPhW* 4 [1927]: 42–47); Nicolaus 52; John of Sardis (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 136.20–21, 177.4). Invective against Achilles: Invective 1. Comparison of Achilles: with Diomedes (Comparison 1); Hector (Aphthonius 32–33; Nicolaus 61); Ajax (John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius 183,6–10, 188,20–21; Comparison 2); Heracles (John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius 186,13–14, 189,20–190.1); Thersites (Theon 112); unnamed others (Nicolaus 59–60).

119. Achilles was the son of Peleus, grandson of Aeacus, and great-grandson of Zeus: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.6; 3.13.6; Invective 1.2; Comparison 1.2, 2.2.

120. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.6; Invective 1.3; Comparison 2.3.

121. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.6.

122. See Xenophon *Cyn.* 1.2 for a list; cf. Encomium 1.4, 2.3; Invective 1.3; Comparison 1.5.

123. This is usually attributed to Odysseus (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.8–9); Encomium 2.4, 4.4.

τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀμελουμένων. εἰ δέ τις μοι λέγει Σκῦρον καὶ παρθενῶνα καὶ σχῆμα γυναικεῖον, συκοφάντην ἔγωγε τοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ κακοδαίμονα καὶ ψευδολόγον. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς παρὰ Πηλέως ἀρετῆς οὔτε τῆς παρὰ Χείρωνι παιδείας οὔτε τῆς Ἀχιλλέως φύσεως ταῦτά γε ἄξια. (6) ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, δῶμεν αὐτὸν καὶ κρυφθῆναι καὶ πάλιν ἐκπηδῆσαι τοῦ παρθενῶνος. τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο μέρος τῆς εὐφημίας εἴη, εἰ τῇ τε μητρὶ φοβουμένη χαρίσασθαι δεῖν ᾤηται καὶ τὴν φύσιν οὐ κατήσχυνεν οἷς ὑπήκουσε τῷ καλοῦντι. (7) ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἐνῆν μὴ στρατεῦειν, ἐνεβίβαζον γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ὄρκοι καὶ σπονδαί, Ἀχιλλέα δὲ ὄρκος μὲν οὐδεὶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἔρωσ ὥπλιζε. (8) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς πλάνης ἀπήλλαξε τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἦδει μὲν γὰρ τὴν χώραν τῶν ἡδικηκότων οὐδεὶς, ὅποι δὲ τύχοι φερόμενοι προσέπιπτον οἷς μὲν ἐνεκάλουν, τούτους εὐρεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι, οὓς δὲ οὐδὲν ἠτιῶντο, τούτους κακῶς ποιοῦντες, τὴν δὲ γε Μυσίαν Τρωάδα νομίσαντες ἐπιβάντες ἐδήουν. (9) ὥς δὲ ἐπῆλθον οἱ Μυσοὶ καὶ μάχη συνειστήκει, τιτρώσκεται μὲν ὁ Τήλεφος, οἱ δὲ γνόντες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀπέπλεον αἰσχυνόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, τοῦ δὲ ἔλκους ἴασιν οὐ δεχομένου χρήται μὲν ὁ τρωθεὶς τῷ θεῷ, πέμπεται δὲ ὥς Ἀχιλλέα μόνον ἀκούσας ἱατρὸν ἔσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰᾶτο, ὁ δὲ ἐδήλου τῶν πολεμίων τὴν γῆν. οὗτος γὰρ ὡμολόγητο μισθός, ὥστε οὐδὲν <ἂν> ἐκώλυε διαφυγεῖν τοὺς Τρῶας τὴν δίκην, εἰ μὴ Ἀχιλλέως τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς Τήλεφον τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἔλυσεν. (10) ἐπεὶ δὲ εὗρον τὴν Τροίαν, Κύκνος μὲν ὁ Ποσειδῶνος, ἐν ᾧ πλείστας εἶχον οἱ Τρῶες τὰς ἐλπίδας, εὐθὺς ἀπέθνησκεν ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ δέισαντες ἔφυγον. καὶ περιῆν τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλήσι τρυφᾶν, τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις κατακεκλεισθαι. καθεύρας γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ παραδοὺς τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκεῖθεν πόλεις ὠφελοῦσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρει περικόπτων αὐτοὺς πανταχόθεν καὶ καθιστὰς εἰς ἐρημίαν φίλων. ἔφερε δὲ τὸν στρατιώτην οὐδεὶς, οὐκ ἠπειρώτης, οὐ νησιώτης, ἀλλὰ

Trojans or have war made on them by the gods for neglecting their oaths. But if anyone says to me “Scyros” or “girls’ quarters” or “female clothing,”¹²⁴ I regard him as a malicious slanderer, a wicked man, and a liar; for these charges are worthy neither of the virtue from Peleus nor the education from Chiron nor the nature of Achilles.¹²⁵ (6) But if it seems best, let us grant that he both hid himself in and then jumped back out of the girls’ quarters; for perhaps this, too, could be part of his good reputation, if he both thought that he had to indulge his mother when she was afraid and then did not disgrace his nature in that he submitted to the man who called him out.¹²⁶ (7) But I return to my earlier point, that it was impossible for the rest to avoid joining the expedition, even if they did not want to go; for their oaths and covenants forced them to board the ships. But no oaths compelled Achilles,¹²⁷ and a love of glory made him take up arms. (8) And in the beginning he delivered the army from their wanderings; for no one knew the location of the wrongdoers, but wherever they happened to be carried, they would attack, being unable to find the guilty party, but wronging people whom they did not blame at all; and believing Mysia to be the Troad they disembarked there and began laying waste to it. (9) When the Mysians came out to meet them and they joined battle, Telephus was wounded, and the rest, realizing their error, sailed off ashamed at what they had done; and when the wound would not heal, the wounded man needed the god, but sent only for Achilles, having heard that he was going to be a doctor.¹²⁸ And the one brought healing, but the other revealed the location of the enemy’s land; for this had been the price agreed upon, so that nothing <would have> prevented the Trojans from escaping punishment, if the spear of Achilles and his remedy for Telephus had not broken their ignorance. (10) When they found Troy, Cynus the son of Poseidon, in whom the Trojans had the highest hopes, was immediately killed at the hands of Achilles, and the rest fled in fear.¹²⁹ And the result was that the Greeks were living in luxury, while the enemy was shut inside; for having confined them inside the city and entrusted to his countrymen the siege against the local cities that were aiding the enemy, he went out laying waste to them on all sides and putting them into a virtual desert of friends. No one

124. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 1.5–6, 2.4, 4.5; Invective 1.5–8; Comparison 1.4–5, 2.4–5.

125. For Chiron’s reaction to the news, see Speech in Character 14.

126. Odysseus (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 2.4) or Diomedes (Encomium 1.5–6; Comparison 1.5). See also Invective 1.5–8; Comparison 2.4–5.

127. See Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.8–9 for a list of sworn suitors; Encomium 2.4, 3.5, 4.4.

128. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.17–20.

129. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.31; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.70–145.

τρεῖς παρέσυρε καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεις. τοσαύτην ἐρημίαν περὶ Ἴλιον εἰργάσατο.
 (11) καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὐ χρημάτων ἔρωσ ἔπειθε κινδυνεύειν αὐτόν, οὐ γὰρ
 αὐτὸς ἐγίνετο τῶν λαφύρων κύριος, ἀλλ' ἰδίους μὲν τοὺς κινδύνους, κοινὰ
 δὲ τὰ ἄθλα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίει, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν ἀπολωλότων εἶχε τὸ
 κοινόν. καὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς εὐπορίας οὐ κατελύσαντο τὸν πόλεμον αἰσχρῶς.
 (12) τοῦ νοσήματος δὲ ἐμπεσόντος καὶ τῶν καταλόγων κενουμένων ὁ μὲν
 ἄρχειν ἀξιῶν αὐτὸς ὦν αἴτιος τῶν κακῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν οὐκ ἐζήτει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 ὁ δεινότατος Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐδὲ ὁ σοφώτατος Νέστωρ οὐδὲν ἤλγησαν, ἀλλ'
 ὁρῶντες φθειρομένην τὴν στρατιὰν ἡσύχαζον. μόνος δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκκλησίαν
 τε ἐποίει καὶ μάντιν ἐκάλεσε καὶ βοηθεῖν ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸ
 θαρρεῖν καὶ οὐ προαπέστη πρὶν εὖρεν ἴασιν τοῖς κακοῖς. (13) ἄριστον μὲν
 οὖν ἦν στεφάνων αὐτόν καὶ ἀναρρήσεων ἐπὶ τούτοις τυγχάνειν, διὰ δὲ τὴν
 τῶν εὐπαθόντων ἀγνωμοσύνην προὔπηλακίζετο καὶ τοῦ γέρωσ ἀπεστερεῖτο
 κύριος μὲν ὦν κατασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἥκοντας ἀποσφάξαι καὶ προσέτι γε τὸν
 ἀπεσταλκότα, πράως δὲ τῆς Βρισηΐδος ἀποστάς τοῦ μὴ πάντα συγχέαι. (14)
 οὐ μὴν ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἐπιείκειαν ἔδειξεν ἐν τῷ μὴ
 φιλονεικῆσαι περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ μὴ παροινούμενος φέρειν ἐν τῷ τῆς
 συμμαχίας ἀποσπῆναι. ἔργῳ γὰρ ἐβούλετο διδάξαι τὸν ὑβριστὴν εἰς ὄντινα
 ὄντα ἡμάρτανε. (15) καὶ οὐκ ἔφθη χαλεπήνας καὶ συμμετέστησεν αὐτῷ τὸν
 Δία, ὥσθ' ὁ πρότερον μείζω ποιῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις
 ἐγκείμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μετὰ βαρβάρων ἐστράτευσε σκηπτοῖς αὐτοὺς
 ἐξελαύνων καὶ τοῖς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεμπομένοις βέλεσιν, οἱ δὲ τειχήρεις ἐκεῖνοι
 καὶ τρέμοντες καὶ οἷς ἤρκει σωθῆναι πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναῦς ἐκόμιζον

stood in this soldier's way—not a mainlander, not an islander—rather, he swept away twenty-three cities.¹³⁰ So great a desert did he make around Troy.¹³¹ (11) And the most important point is that it was not a love of money that convinced him to risk danger; for he did not become the owner of the plunder himself; rather, he made the dangers private but the prizes public for the Greeks, and the commonwealth got the riches of those they killed.¹³² And because of these riches, they did not disgracefully break off the war. (12) When the plague struck and the ranks were being emptied,¹³³ the man who saw fit to rule, though he himself was responsible for the evils, did not seek a way to set them right, nor did the most clever Odysseus or the most wise Nestor experience any grief, but instead they stood idly by as they watched the army being destroyed. Achilles alone convened an assembly, summoned the prophet, promised to help him, encouraged him to be confident, and did not stop until he had found a cure for the evils.¹³⁴ (13) And so, it would have been best for him to receive crowns and public proclamations for this, but because of the stupidity of those who had benefited from this, he was mistreated and deprived of his prize, and though he was entitled to detain and kill those who had come to him and, in addition, the one who had sent them, he gently gave up Briseis without throwing everything into turmoil. (14) He did not, however, remain in the alliance; instead, he showed good sense by not quarreling over the woman, but showed that he would not tolerate being grossly abused by withdrawing from the alliance; for by his actions he wanted to teach that insolent man what sort of person he had wronged.¹³⁵ (15) And he was not premature in his anger, but at the same time he brought Zeus over to his side, so that the god who had previously made the Greek side stronger and held back the barbarians now marched alongside the barbarians against the Greeks,¹³⁶ driving them off with thunderbolts and arrows sent from heaven.¹³⁷ But those men, though formerly shut within their walls and trembling, for whom merely being rescued would have been enough, were now bringing fire against the Greeks' ships¹³⁸ and watching to make sure that they

130. Homer, *Il.* 9.328–329.

131. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.32–33; *Invective* 2.10; *Comparison* 2.5.

132. Homer, *Il.* 9.328–335.

133. Homer, *Il.* 1.9–52.

134. Homer, *Il.* 1.53–91; *Encomium* 1.6, 2.6, 4.6; *Invective* 1.8; *Comparison* 1.7, 2.6–7.

135. *Comparison* 2.7. For Achilles' reaction to being robbed of Briseis, see *Speech in Character* 15.

136. Homer, *Il.* 1.495–527; *Encomium* 1.6, 2.6; *Invective* 1.10; *Comparison* 2.9.

137. Homer, *Il.* 8.133–136; *Encomium* 1.11; *Comparison* 1.10.

138. Homer, *Il.* 15.743–744; 16.122–123; *Invective* 1.14.

καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὺς μὴ λάθωσιν ἀναχθέντες ἐσκόπουν. (16) ἐνταῦθα δὴ φαίνεται τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπόσος ἦν Ἀχιλλεύς. ὥς γὰρ ἔκειτο μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκεκράτηντο δὲ λαμπρῶς, σωτηρίας δὲ πόρος οὐδαμόθεν ἦν, ἐπὶ τὸν ὑβρισμένον ὁ παροινεῖν τολμήσας καταφεύγει δῶρα τὰ μὲν διδούς, τὰ δὲ ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰς τὸ γένος αὐτὸν εἰσάγων, διὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἰκετεύων λῆξαι τῆς ὀργῆς. (17) ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἄρα μειράκιον ῥαδίως ἐλκόμενον οὐδ' ἐξεπλάγη χρυσίον ἀκούων οὐδὲ πόλεις οὐδὲ αἰχμαλώτους, ἀλλ' ἐγνωκῶς αὐτὸν καὶ τίς ὦν ἡτιμάζετο τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ἐφύλαττε, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον διεφθείρετο. πῦρ μὲν ἐπενέμετο τὴν Πρωτεσιλάου ναῦν, ἐλπίς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ πάσας προβήσεσθαι τὸ κακόν, σαφῆς δὲ ὄλεθρος ἐπεκρέματο τοῖς ὅλοις. (18) ἐνταῦθα δακρύει μὲν ὁ Πάτροκλος, κάμπτεται δὲ ὁ Πηλέως τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκείνοις δώροις οὐ μεταπεισθείς. καὶ μέσσην τινὰ ἔρχεται. τοῦ πολέμου μὲν γὰρ οὐ συνεφάπτεται τῇ χειρὶ, τῇ δὲ μοίρᾳ τῶν Μυρμιδόνων τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπλήρωσε καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν Πάτροκλον τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσε παρεῖναι νομιζόμενος ὥστε ἀναπνεῦσαι μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, περιφόβους δὲ γενέσθαι τοὺς Τρῶας, πολλὴν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι φανῆναι τὴν μετάστασιν. (19) ὥς δὲ ἤκουσεν ἀπεσφάχθαι τὸν Πάτροκλον, μικροῦ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, οὕτως ἦν φιλέταιρος καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ συνήθους λόγον, κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπ' Ἀντιλόχου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡπείγετο συμπεσεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν τῷ Πατρόκλου σφαγεῖ καὶ ταῦτα εἰδὼς ὥς κοινὸν αὐτοῦ κάκεινον κατεψηφίζετο θάνατον. ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑκτορι κεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦτο ἦν βούλημα τῶν Μοιρῶν. ὁ δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀποκτείναντος τιμιωτέραν ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς. (20) καὶ λαβὼν ὅπλα παρὰ

would not put out to sea without their knowledge. (16) It was then that Achilles proved how great a man he was in times of trouble; for when the wall had fallen, and they had been spectacularly overwhelmed, and there was no means of rescue anywhere, the one who had dared to mistreat him fled for refuge to the man he had violated, giving him some gifts and promising more, offering to marry him into his family,¹³⁹ begging him through the ambassadors to put aside his anger. (17) But he was not a little boy who could be easily influenced, nor did he lose his wits when he heard about gold and cities and war captives;¹⁴⁰ rather, knowing himself and who he was to have suffered such dishonor, he persisted in his hatred, and the affairs of the Greeks continued to be destroyed all the more. Fire spread over the ship of Protesilaus,¹⁴¹ and there was the expectation that the evil would spread to all the ships, and clear destruction threatened the whole fleet.¹⁴² (18) Then Patroclus cried, and the son of Peleus gave in,¹⁴³ though he had not been persuaded to change his mind by those many gifts. And he came to a compromise; for he did not join in the war with his hands, but supplied reinforcement with the division of the Myrmidons, and after he decorated Patroclus with his own arms, the belief that Achilles was present was so effective that the Greeks recovered, the Trojans became very afraid, and the change in affairs became great.¹⁴⁴ (19) But when he heard that Patroclus had been killed,¹⁴⁵ he almost killed himself—he was so fond of his companion and regarded conversation with his friend as so important—but when he was prevented from doing so by Antilochus,¹⁴⁶ he hurried back into the war, desiring to fall along with the murderer of Patroclus, even knowing that he was voting for a death sentence in common for himself and his friend;¹⁴⁷ for it was necessary for him to fall right after Hector, and this was the will of the Fates.¹⁴⁸ But he considered the punishment of the man who killed his companion worth more than his own head. (20) And

139. Homer, *Il.* 9.283–290; on the embassy to Achilles, see Encomium 2.8; Invective 1.11–13; Comparison 1.11.

140. Homer, *Il.* 9.277–282, 291–299.

141. Homer, *Il.* 16.122–129; it is identified as Protesilaus' ship in Apollodorus, *Epit.* 4.6 (cf. Homer, *Il.* 15.704–706, 718, 743–744; 16.286).

142. For Achilles' reaction when the Greeks are losing, see Speech in Character 4.

143. Homer, *Il.* 16.1–100; Invective 1.15.

144. Homer, *Il.* 16.257–283, 351–357.

145. Homer, *Il.* 18.1–21; Invective 1.17, 2.16. For Achilles' reaction to his death, see Speech in Character 3.

146. Homer, *Il.* 18.32–34.

147. Homer, *Il.* 18.88–93.

148. Homer, *Il.* 18.120–121.

Ἡφαίστου, ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὰ πρότερα τῆς αὐτῆς τέχνης, θεῖα γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω, μεστὸν μὲν τὸ πεδῖον νεκρῶν, μεστὸν δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποίει ὥστε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀνακόπτεσθαι δρόμον, φεύγοντα δὲ τὸν λαμπρὸν ἔδειξε τὸν Πριάμου καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κείμενον [ἐδείκνυ]. πραξάμενος δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν διὰ τοῦ φόνου τὸν μὲν ἐκείνου νεκρὸν ἤσχυεν ἐλκύσας, τὸν Πατρόκλου δὲ ἐτίμησεν ἄθλοις. (21) ἡκούσης δὲ τῷ Πριάμῳ πανταχόθεν συμμαχίας πάντα ἤλεγξε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀπέφηνεν ἄξια Μέμοννά τε διαφθείρας τὸν Αἰθίοπας ἄγοντα καὶ Πενθεσίλειαν ἥ γυναιῖκες ἠκολούθουν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μάχην φοβερώτεραι.

(22) Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐτρώθησαν, οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς τούτων ἠὺδοκίμησαν τραύμασιν, Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ ἀποθνήσκων οὐδενὶ ἀνθρώπων περιέθηκε δόξαν. τόξων δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἠττηθῆναι καὶ κόσμος τῷ πεπονθότι καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον. τῷ πολέμῳ γὰρ τεθνεὺς περιέθηκε δόξαν. καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως οἰκίας ἐάλω. διὰ γὰρ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τὸ πᾶν ἐξεργάσατο.

(23) Ἦν τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ταχύς, ἀλλὰ μετ' Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ καλός, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐκεῖνον. καὶ τί δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον παραβάλλειν Ὀμήρου κηρύξαντος ὡς πάντες μετ' Ἀχιλλέα δεύτεροι.

4. Ἐγκώμιον Θερσίτου.

(1) Παραιτησάμενος Ὀμηρον ἔχειν μοι συγγνώμην ὃν ἐκεῖνος εἰπεῖν ἐβουλήθη κακῶς, τοῦτον αὐτὸς ἐγκωμιάζειν ἐπιχειρῶ, Θερσίτην λέγω. πειράσομαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλεχθῆναι μικρὰ καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον αὐτὸν ἔς τινα παρεχόμενος μάρτυρα.

when he received the arms from Hephaestus¹⁴⁹—and the former set was made with the same skill; for they were both divine¹⁵⁰—he filled the plain with corpses, and he so filled the river with them that it was even driven back in its course to the sea,¹⁵¹ and he made a show of the famous son of Priam first in flight and later lying in death.¹⁵² Having exacted punishment by killing him, he disgraced the man's corpse by dragging it,¹⁵³ but honored Patroclus with games.¹⁵⁴ (21) When allies came to Priam from all over, he put them to the test and declared them all worthless, destroying both Memnon, who led the Ethiopians,¹⁵⁵ and Penthesilea, who was followed by women more fearsome in battle than men.¹⁵⁶

(22) And so, however many other Greeks were wounded, the barbarians won their fame by wounding them, but the death of Achilles brought glory to no man. To be defeated by the arrows of Apollo is both an ornament for the one who suffers it and a very fine thing;¹⁵⁷ for in his death he brought glory to the war. And Troy was not captured without the house of Achilles; for through Neoptolemus he brought the whole affair to completion.¹⁵⁸

(23) One man was swift in the army, but after Achilles,¹⁵⁹ and another man handsome, but after him.¹⁶⁰ And why must we make individual comparisons, when Homer declared that everyone was second to Achilles?¹⁶¹

ENCOMIUM 4: THERSITES¹⁶²

(1) Begging Homer's pardon, I myself will attempt to praise this man of whom the poet wished to speak badly—by whom I mean Thersites. I will try to discuss him a little, offering Homer himself as witness to certain points.

149. Homer, *Il.* 19.1–27.

150. Homer, *Il.* 17.194–196.

151. Homer, *Il.* 21.218–220.

152. Hector: Homer, *Il.* 22, especially 214–366; *Invective* 1.17, 2.17; *Comparison* 1.13.

153. Homer, *Il.* 22.395–404; *Invective* 1.19–20, 2.17.

154. Homer, *Il.* 23.257–897; *Encomium* 1.15–16; *Invective* 1.21.

155. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.576–622.

156. The Amazons: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.1; *Invective* 1.22.

157. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3; *Invective* 1.23; *Comparison* 1.16, 2.13.

158. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.11; *Encomium* 2.4; *Invective* 1.23.

159. Achilles is faster than the lesser Ajax (Homer, *Il.* 23.791–792; cf. 14.520–522), but Antilochus is said to be the fastest Greek warrior (Homer, *Il.* 15.569–570; 23.755–756); *Encomium* 2.12.

160. The most handsome warrior after Achilles is variously claimed to be Ajax (Homer, *Il.* 17.279–280; *Od.* 11.550–551) or Nireus (Homer, *Il.* 2.671–674).

161. Homer, *Il.* 2.768–769; *Encomium* 1.16; *Comparison* 2.1.

162. For the theme, see Polybius 12.26b.5 (who ridicules it along with an invective

(2) Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οὐκ ἐκ φαύλων οὐδὲ ἀνωνύμων ἦν γονέων, εἰ μὴ φαῦλόν τις ἡγεῖται τὸν Ἄγριον καὶ τὸν τούτου πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐβούλετο Θερσίτης ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι σεμνύνειν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων, ὥσπερ ὁ τούτου συγγενῆς Διομήδης, οὐκ ἂν ἠπόρησεν, ἀλλ' εἶχεν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν. Πορθεῖ γὰρ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο. νῦν δὲ οὐδ' ὅτε ἡδικοῖτο ὑπ' Ὀδυσσέως, ἐμνήσθη τῶν πατέρων, ὡς ἂν τις ἀξιῶν αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμεῖν.

(3) τραφεῖς τοίνυν, ὡς εἰκὸς τὸν ἐκ τοιούτων, καὶ δυνάμενος ἔργων κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἥρωσι πρεπόντων ἦκε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν σῦν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀρίστους ὁ Μελέαγρος ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνον λυμεῶνα συνῆγεν, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐκείθεν ἠσθένησέ τε καὶ ἡ νόσος αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα κατέβλαψεν.

(4) οὐ μὴν τὴν γε ψυχὴν ἐποίησε χεῖρονα οὐδὲ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτῆς οὔτε τὴν ἀνδρείαν οὔτε τὸ δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖν. σημεῖον δέ, τῶν γὰρ Ἀτρειδῶν ἀγειρόντων τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους στόλον ἔχων πρόφασιν εὐπρόσωπον, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο ῥαθυμεῖν, τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τύχην οὐκ ἤνεγκεν οἴκοι μένων περὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ἀφειμένος τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ὅρκων ἀνάγκης, ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐνεβίβαζεν, ὥσπερ ἅπαντας ὅρκους ὁμωμοκῶς ἔπλει καὶ παρωξύνετο κατὰ τῶν ἡδικηκότων ὁ χολὸς καὶ φολκὸς νομίζων δεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον

(2) Well now, first of all, he was not descended from lowly or anonymous parents, unless anyone regards Agrius and his father and grandfather as lowly,¹⁶³ but no one sensible would do so. So that if Thersites wanted to exalt himself among the Greeks because of his ancestry, as did his relative Diomedes,¹⁶⁴ he would not have been at a loss for words, but would also have been able to say of himself: "For three blameless sons were born to Porthoeus."¹⁶⁵ But in fact, not even when he was being wronged by Odysseus did he mention his ancestors as one might do, thinking that he deserved good repute among the rest because of his family. (3) Well then, having been raised as seems likely for someone descended from such ancestors, and being able to participate in deeds befitting heroes, he went against the boar, when Meleager also brought together all the other best men against that bane of the land,¹⁶⁶ but after leaving from there he became sick and the disease injured his body. (4) This did not, however, make his soul worse or drive out of it either his courage or his desire for glory. There is evidence for this; for when the Atreidae were assembling the fleet against the barbarians,¹⁶⁷ although, if he wanted to live a carefree life, he had the misfortune to his body as an attractive pretext for doing so, he could not bear hearing about the action as he waited at home;¹⁶⁸ but instead, although he was free of the necessity imposed by the oath, which forced the rest to board the ships,¹⁶⁹ he set sail just as if he had sworn all the oaths, and his anger against the wrongdoers spurred him on; and though he was bandy-legged,¹⁷⁰ he believed that the war needed a soul

against Penelope); Favorinus frg. 1, Adelmo Barigazzi, ed., *Favorino di Arelate: Opere* (Testi greci e latini con commento filologico 4; Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1966), 139–41, from Aulus Gellius, *Noct. att.* 17.12.1–2. Invective against Thersites: Quintilian, *Inst.* 3.7.19. Comparison of Thersites with Achilles: Theon 112. An earlier version of this translation appeared in Parsons, *Body and Character*, 148–51.

163. His father was Agrius (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.8.6), grandfather Porthaeon, and great-grandfather Hippodamas (*Bibl.* 1.7.10).

164. Thersites' father Agrius (scholia to Homer, *Il.* 2.212) had a brother Oeneus (scholia in Homer, *Il.* 2.212; Homer, *Il.* 14.115–117), who was Diomedes' paternal grandfather (Homer, *Il.* 14.118).

165. Homer, *Il.* 14.115. The sons' names were Agrius, Melas, and Oeneus (Homer, *Il.* 14.116–117).

166. Scholia to Homer, *Il.* 2.212, with citations of Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F123) and Euphorion (frg. 106, Powell, *Coll. Alex.*) *infra*. For the story of the Calydonian boar, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.8.2–3.

167. Encomium 2.4; Invective 1.5, 2.5–8; Comparison 2.4.

168. Invective 1.5.

169. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.8–9; Encomium 2.4, 3.5.

170. Homer, *Il.* 2.216–219, especially 217.

ψυχῆς τολμᾶν ἐπισταμένης, ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ποιῆσαι προθυμότερους ὁ τοιοῦτον σῶμα τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ συνεισφέρων. (5) τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡσχύνθη τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρατεῖαν εἶναι ζητῶν Θερσίτου δοράτων καὶ τραυμάτων ἐρῶντος; ἀκούων δέ, ὡς εἰκός, Ὀδυσσέα τε καὶ τὸν Πηλέως τὸν καλὸν αἰσchrῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκλέπτειν τῶν ἀγώνων πειρωμένους καὶ τὸν μὲν σχῆμα κόρης, τὸν δὲ δόξαν μανίας ὑπεισιόντα κατεγέλα τε καὶ λόγους ἔλεγε πρέποντας τῇ τοιαύτῃ κακίᾳ οὐ φθονῶν τῷ μὲν τῆς συνέσεως, τῷ δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας, ἐπεὶ οὕτω γ' ἂν ἐφθόνει μὲν Αἴαντι τῷ Τελαμῶνος, ἐφθόνει δὲ τῷ γλυκυτέρῳ τοῦ μέλιτος Νέστορι. (6) ἀλλ' οἶμαι, τὰ κακὰ τῶν ἔργων μὴ κακίζειν οὐκ εἶχεν. οὐκοῦν οὕτ' ἀντεῖπεν Ἀχιλλεῖ ποιοῦντι τὸν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ σύλλογον οὕτ' ἐφήσθη τὴν τιμὴν ἀφαιρεθέντι, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τούναντίον συνάχεται. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ Ὀδυσσέως τὴν θεωρίαν ἀπάγοντος διαβάλλει τὸν ἐλόμενον. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς πραττομένων ἐκινεῖτο πρὸς λόγους καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων αἰτίας οὐ δεδιὼς τὰς τύχας ἐνίων οὐδὲ τοὺς μὲν δυναστεῖαν ἔχοντας κολακεύων, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ δήμου χαλεπὸς ὢν καὶ προπηλακίζων καὶ ἐλαύνων ἕκαστον τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων. (7) ἥδει γὰρ ὅτι τούτοις μὲν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἀρκεῖ τὸ μὴ τρυφᾶν, τοῖς δὲ ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλήρεσι τραπέζαις καὶ πλούτοις δεῖ τινος ἔχοντος φρόνημα καὶ παρρησίαν συμφέρουσαν, ὃς ἔμελλεν εἴσεσθαι τὰ ἀμαρτανόμενα καὶ ἐπιπλήξειν καὶ καταβοήσεσθαι καὶ τὰ μὲν διακωλύσειν, τὰ δὲ ἐπανορθώσειν καὶ δείσειν τῶν ἀπάντων μηδέν, μὴ σκῆπτρον, μὴ δεινότητα ἀνδρός, μὴ φίλων πλῆθος, μὴ τοὺς ἐκείνων προβεβλημένους. (8) οἶον ὕστερον συνέβη γενέσθαι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τὸν Δημοσθένην, ὃ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον πρὸ τῶν αὐτῷ λυσιτελούντων ἐκέκριτο καὶ λέγων οἷς ἥδει τὸν δῆμον ἀνιάσων μᾶλλον ἥρεῖτο λυπεῖν ἢ χαρίζεσθαι κακῶς. (9) ἐπὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν καὶ Θερσίτης ἔταξε τῆς τάξεως. καὶ πολλαὶ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκκλησίαι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἐδέξαντο

that knew how to be daring, so that it seems to me that the man who contributed such a body to the Trojan War also made the rest more eager to put out to sea. (5) For which of the others would not have been ashamed to seek exemption from military service, when Thersites was so in love with spears and wounds? But hearing, as seems reasonable, that both Odysseus and the noble son of Peleus¹⁷¹ were disgracefully trying to hide themselves from the struggles, and that one had taken on the guise of a girl and the other a reputation for insanity,¹⁷² he both mocked them and spoke words suitable for such wickedness, not because he envied the one his intelligence or the other his courage, since he would thus have envied Ajax, son of Telamon, and he would thus have envied Nestor, who was sweeter than honey.¹⁷³ (6) But, as I believe, he could not resist vilifying their evil actions. Therefore, he did not speak against Achilles when he was convening the assembly during the plague,¹⁷⁴ nor did he delight in Achilles' being robbed of his honor, but—quite the contrary—grieved along with him. Nor, therefore, did he slander the man who had robbed him of it, not even when Odysseus was leading out the embassy.¹⁷⁵ Rather, he was moved to words and accusations against the wrongdoers by the mishandling of the situation, and he did not fear the status of some, and he did not flatter those in power while being harsh to men of the people, foully abusing and persecuting those who were weaker. (7) For he knew that not living a life of luxury would be enough to make the latter behave with self-control, but for those in power and with full tables and riches, there was need of someone with wisdom and a beneficial frankness of speech, who would understand the wrongs being done and would rebuke and shout down and prevent some of them, but correct others, and who would fear nothing at all—neither a scepter, nor a man's rhetorical ability, nor a host of friends, nor those who were shielding them. (8) Just such a man would later happen to be born among the Athenians: Demosthenes, who judged the common benefit more important than what would profit himself, and by saying what he knew would heal the people he chose to anger rather than wickedly gratify them.¹⁷⁶ (9) To this post Thersites also assigned himself. And, as seems likely, many

171. Achilles. These were the two heroes who hated Thersites the most: Homer, *Il.* 2.220.

172. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; *Epit.* 3.7; Encomium 1.5–6, 2.4, 3.5–6; Invective 1.5–8; Comparison 1.4–5, 2.4–5.

173. Homer, *Il.* 1.249.

174. Homer, *Il.* 1.53–67; Encomium 1.6, 2.6, 3.12; Invective 1.8; Comparison 1.7, 2.6–7.

175. The embassy to Chryses is meant: Homer, *Il.* 1.430–431.

176. Cf. Encomium 5.

δημηγορίας τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐ βραχέα περὶ μεγάλων λέγοντος, ἀλλ' ἐκτείνοντος πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν τοὺς λόγους, πάνυ δ' ἄξιον ἄγασθαι τοῦτον τὸν καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρου μνήμης ἠξιωμένον. (10) ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τὸν ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦντα τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτοις δουλεύοντα γυναιξὶ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν αἴτιον λοιμοῦ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ γινόμενον, ποτὲ δὲ ἀποκόπτοντα τῆς δυνάμεως τὸν Ἀχιλλέα νῦν μὲν διὰ τὴν Χρύσου, νῦν δὲ διὰ τὴν Βρισέως καὶ σκοποῦντα μόνον ὅπως ὥρας ἀπολαύοι σωμάτων, εἰ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἔτι χειρόν ἔξει τὰ πράγματα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς οὐ προτιμῶντα καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερώ μεμνημένον φυγῆς, λάθρα δὲ κατασκευάζοντα τὴν μονὴν καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγοντα, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν κολάκων πράττοντα καὶ ποιοῦντα ἔργον μὴ ὅτι βασιλέως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ιδιώτου χρηστοῦ παρελθὼν μάλα ἀξίοις τοῦ γένους ἐχρήσατο λόγοις τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν εὐθύς προφέρων, ὃ καὶ παρ' Ἀχιλλέως εἰς αὐτὸν εἴρητο πρότερον. καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεινόν, ὅταν μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς λέγῃ, μὴ εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἀνόητον, ὅταν δὲ ἕτερος; (11) οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν τοῦ Θερσίτου δικαιοσύνην <δεικνύει> τὸ τάληθῇ κατηγορηκέναι, τὴν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδα τὸ τῆς συμμαχίας ἀποστάντος Ἀχιλλέως ἀγανακτεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖον τὸ θαρρύντως ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι καὶ τὸ φάσκειν εἶναι τὸν ὑβρισμένον ἐκείνου κρείττονα. (12) ὥς δὲ καὶ πόλεσι προσέβαλλε καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἤρει δῆλον οἷς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει ποιεῖ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν τοῖς τάναντία συνειδόσιν οὕτως ἀναιδῶς ἠλαζονεύετο, ἀλλ' ἔχων μαρτυροῦντα τὰ πράγματα σεμνοῖς εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχρῆτο τοῖς λόγοις, πλὴν εἰ μὴ μεμνηνέαι φαίη τις αὐτόν. ἀλλ' οὐχ Ὅμηρός γε τοῦτο ἔφησεν, ἀλλὰ φοξὸν μὲν καὶ ψεδνήν λάχνην καὶ μακρολογεῖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶπε, τοῦτο δ' οὐ προσέθηκεν. οὐκοῦν ἅ γε τοῦ μεμνηνότες ἐστὶν ὁ σωφρονῶν οὐκ ἂν ποτε πάθοι. εἰς οὖν ἦν τῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερῶν ὁ Θερσίτης, εἴ γε τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκείνων δεσμίους ἦγεν. (13) εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτω ταῦτ' εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἦν παντάπασιν ἄχρηστος, οὐκ ἂν ἦκε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐῶντος τοῦ Διομήδους· εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παρώφθη, ταῖς γε ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἂν ἐνοχλεῖν

assemblies received many noble public speeches from this orator, not speaking briefly about important matters, but instead amplifying his words to fit the need. And it is very worthy to admire this man, who was also found worthy to be remembered by Homer. (10) For when Thersites observed the man who saw fit to rule the rest being a slave to captive women, and at one time being responsible for the plague on the army, at another cutting Achilles out of his forces, now because of the daughter of Chryses, now because of the daughter of Briseus, and looking only to how he might enjoy the beauty of their bodies,¹⁷⁷ but not caring whether the affairs of the Greeks would become any worse because of it, and openly mentioning retreat, but secretly preparing to stay,¹⁷⁸ and saying some things himself, but doing others through flatterers, and doing a deed uncharacteristic even of a good private soldier, let alone a king—when he came forward to speak, Thersites used words very worthy of his lineage, immediately bringing up Agamemnon's love of money,¹⁷⁹ for which Achilles had also criticized him earlier.¹⁸⁰ And yet how is it not terrible that whenever Achilles speaks, his speech is not foolish, but when the other speaks, —? (11) Therefore, the fact that he made truthful accusations <demonstrates> the righteousness of Thersites, while his anger over Achilles' withdrawal from the alliance demonstrates his concern for the commonwealth, and his bold criticism of the one in power and his declaration that the one who was being abused was better than him demonstrates his courage. (12) And from what he says about him, Homer makes it clear that he both attacked cities and took captives;¹⁸¹ for he would not have been so shameless as to brag falsely in front of those who knew otherwise; rather, having his actions as his witness he naturally used reverent words in the assembly—unless someone would claim that he had gone mad. But Homer did not say this; rather, he stated that Thersites was pointy-headed and bald with thinning hair, and that he talked too much, and things like that,¹⁸² but he did not add “mad.” Therefore, the man of sound mind would never suffer the symptoms of a madman. And so, Thersites was one of those feared by the enemy, if he was in fact leading their sons off in chains. (13) But if this was not the case, but he instead was absolutely useless, he would not have come at all, because Diomedes would not have allowed it;¹⁸³ but even if Diomedes had overlooked

177. Homer, *Il.* 2.232–233.

178. Homer, *Il.* 2.73–74, 110–141; Encomium 2.6.

179. Homer, *Il.* 2.225–231.

180. Homer, *Il.* 1.122.

181. Homer, *Il.* 2.229–231.

182. Homer, *Il.* 2.212–219.

183. Presumably because of their kinship (Encomium 4.2).

ἐπέτρεπεν οὐδὲ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα αὐτὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν μετεῖχε τῆς αἰσχύνης. (14) φέρε δὴ, τί τούτοις ἦν τοῖς λόγοις χείρων τοῦ Νέστορος; μᾶλλον δέ, πῶς οὐ βελτίων; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους θεραπεύει, τὸν τε ἠπειληκότα καὶ τὸν ὕβρισμένον, καὶ οἶδε μὲν ἅπαντα καλῶς, εἰπεῖν δὲ ἃ φρονεῖ καθαρῶς οὐ τολμᾷ. (15) Θερσίτης δὲ οὐδὲν προκαλυψάμενος πρὸ τῆς τύχης τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄγει. καὶ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν οὐ ζηλοτυπῶν αὐτὸν τῆς Βρισηΐδος, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ἃ συμβήσεται μὴ συμπολεμοῦντος Ἀχιλλέως, ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς Ὀμηρος διηγεῖται. φαίνεται' οὖν ἡ παρρησία παρὰ τῷ Θερσίτῃ μείζων ἢ παρὰ τῷ Νέστορι τῷ γενεᾷ βασιλεύοντι τρίτης. (16) οὐκ οὐκ ἐμίσει μάλιστα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ὀγκούμενον κατεμέμφετο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις, ὅποτε καιρὸς ἦν, ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου προσέκρουεν οὐδένα ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τό γε αὐτοῦ μέρος ἐὼν ἀδικεῖσθαι. (17) καὶ ὅτι γε ἠὲδοκίμει λέγων, ἐμαρτύρησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες οὔτε ἐκβαλεῖν μεταξὺ λέγοντα δεῖν εἰπόντες οὔτε δίκην ἀπαιτῆσαι τῶν εἰρημένων ὡς ἂν, οἶμαι, μετ' ἀληθείας εἰρημένων. ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ὁ παροινῶν, ὁ ῥήτωρ εἶναι βουλόμενος, ὁ δακνόμενος τῷ ῥεύματι τῶν τοῦ Θερσίτου λόγων καὶ ῥήματι διαβάλλων τὴν τέχνην. (18) ἀμφοτέρους τοίνυν ἔλαβε μάρτυρας ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος τοῦ δικαίως κεχρηῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις, τὸν τε πλήξαντα ἐκείνον καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, τὸν μὲν τῷ σιγῆσαι, τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πληῆσαι. τοῦ γὰρ μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐλέγχειν ὁμολογία τοῦτό γε ἦν, οὐ δὴ τοῦ πεπονθότος τοῦτο ψόγος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δράσαντος. (19) καὶ μέφοιτ' ἂν τις εἰκότως ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ σώματος τὴν τύχην, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀσελγείας τὸν παραβάντα τοὺς τῆς Ὑβρεως νόμους. Θερσίτης δὲ καὶ ταύτη θαναμάζοιτ' ἂν, ὅτι πάσχω κακῶς ἡπίστατο φέρειν καὶ οὐκ ἠὲτομόλησε παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὓς καὶ ἐπῆρεν ἂν καὶ θρασεῖς ἐποίησε πάντα ἐξαγγείλας τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπόρρητα.

5. Ἐγκώμιον Δημοσθένους.

(1) Εἰ μὴ Δημοσθένην ἐπαινεσόμεθα, παρ' οὗ γέγονεν ἡμῖν τὸ δύνασθαι λέγειν, πάντων ἀδικώτατα πράζομεν.

that, he would not have allowed him to make a nuisance of himself in the assemblies or praise himself in an unbecoming manner, knowing that he himself would also share in the disgrace. (14) Come now, how was he worse than Nestor in what he said?¹⁸⁴ Or rather, how was he not better? For Nestor tried to placate both men, both the one who had made the threat and the one who had been grossly abused, and he understood everything well but clearly did not dare to say what he was thinking. (15) But Thersites, holding nothing back, put virtue before fortune. And he said this not because he was jealous of him about Briseis, but because he saw what would happen if Achilles did not fight alongside them, which Homer himself also narrates. And so, Thersites' frankness of speech seems greater than Nestor's, who was now serving as king for a third generation.¹⁸⁵ (16) Therefore, he did not especially hate Achilles; rather, as seems reasonable, he criticized him for his self-importance, but collided with the rest on his behalf when circumstances called for it, not allowing anyone to be wronged by anyone else, so far as he could prevent it. (17) And the Greeks testified to his reputation as a good speaker, saying neither that they must throw him out in the midst of his speech, nor that they must demand punishment for what he said, because, as I believe, it would have been spoken truthfully. But there was someone who was behaving with gross violence, who wanted to be a speaker, who was being stung by the flow of words from Thersites and was slandering his skill with a speech.¹⁸⁶ (18) Well then, Thersites took these two men as witnesses to the fact that he had used his words justly—both the one who struck him and Agamemnon, the latter by his silence, the former by the very fact that he struck him;¹⁸⁷ for this was an acknowledgment that he could not refute him at all; this is to the discredit not of the one who suffered the blows, but of the one who dealt them. (19) And one might naturally blame Fortune for his body and the man who violated the laws of hubris for his rude treatment. And Thersites might also be admired for this: that although he was ill-treated, he knew how to bear it and did not desert to the enemy, whom he could have raised up and emboldened by telling them all the secrets of the Greeks.

ENCOMIUM 5: DEMOSTHENES¹⁸⁸

(1) If we do not praise Demosthenes, from whom we have derived our ability to speak, we will be committing the greatest injustice of all.

184. Nestor: Homer, *Il.* 1.254–284, especially 275–276 and 282–284.

185. Homer, *Il.* 1.252.

186. Odysseus: Homer, *Il.* 2.244–264.

187. Odysseus strikes Thersites: Homer, *Il.* 2.265–269.

188. For the theme, see Theon 111; Aphthonius 21. Comparison of Demosthenes:

(2) Εὐθὺς τοίνυν ἐκεῖνο μέγιστόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι γενόμενος ἐξ ἀρίστης πόλεως ἄξιον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐνεγκούσης ἔδειξεν. Ἀθηναῖος μὲν γὰρ ἀνὴρ, πόλεως πρεσβυτάτης καὶ θεοφιλεστάτης, θεοῖς μὲν ἐμβαλούσης ἔρωτα, δεξαμένης δὲ παρ' ἐκείνων δωρεάς, κοινωσάσης δὲ τὰ δοθέντα τῷ <θνητῷ> γένει, μακρὸν λέγειν ναυμαχίας, πεζομαχίας, νίκας, τρόπαια καὶ πάντα τὰ Ἀθηναίων καλά. (3) τεχθεὶς δὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐκ πατρὸς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων ποιούμενου τύχη μὲν βλάπτεται, γνώμη δὲ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἴσταται. καταλειφθεὶς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ καὶ παρούσης ἐξουσίας εἰς τὸ ῥαθυμεῖν οὐκ ἔμεινεν ἐν ἀπαιδευσίᾳ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἡκόντων, οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐπιτάζοντα οὐκ εἶχε, διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ῥαστώνην ἔδραμεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐαυτῷ καταστάς εἶχετο πόνων. καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων τὰς ἀρπαγὰς νέος μὲν ὦν διήνεγκεν, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος διήλεγξεν οὕτω καλοῦς λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου συνθεὶς ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῶν τότε ῥητόρων ἐν θαύματι καθεστάναι. (4) τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐ γὰρ ὅσων ἀπέδειξεν ἀπεστερημένος εἰσεπράξατο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο μικρὰ μὲν λαβών, ἀφείς δὲ τὰ πλείω. τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τοίνυν ἀφ' ἐστίας χρησάμενος αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς χορηγῶν, εἰσφέρων, τριηραρχῶν. (5) ἐν δὲ χορηγιῶν μνήμῃ δίκαιον μὴδ' ἐκεῖνο παρελθεῖν· ἐφειστήκει μὲν γὰρ τὰ Διονύσια, χορηγὸς δὲ οὐκ ἦν τῇ Πανδιονίδι φυλῇ, ταραχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ

(2) Well then, the most important point to mention right off is that, born of a noble city, he showed himself worthy of the city that bore him; for this man was from Athens, a city most ancient and beloved by the gods, which inspired love in the gods, received gifts from them, and shared what it received with the <human> race. It would take a long time to list the naval battles, infantry battles, victories, trophies, and all the noble deeds of the Athenians. (3) Born among them from a good father who made his living from just pursuits,¹⁸⁹ he was harmed by fortune, but by his intelligence faced his fortune.¹⁹⁰ For although he was left as an orphan and had the opportunity to be lazy, he did not remain uneducated—this, of course, is characteristic of those who have come into this state—nor, because he did not have someone to give him orders, did he therefore run to the life of leisure; rather, acting as his own substitute father, he clung to his labors.¹⁹¹ And while he was still a youth he tolerated the plunderings of his guardians, but once he had become a man he utterly exposed them, composing such excellent speeches on behalf of justice that he amazed even the older orators of the day. (4) The finest part of this whole affair was that he did not collect as much as he proved had been stolen from him, but instead, after proving his case he became lenient, recovering a little but waiving the majority.¹⁹² Well then, by using the generosity of his household resources, he himself participated in public affairs by serving as choral producer, paying the property tax, and outfitting triremes.¹⁹³ (5) Since I mentioned choral productions, I should not pass over that topic. For the Dionysia was at hand, but there was no choral producer for the tribe Pandionis, and there was also an uproar among the people because they thought that

with Aeschines (Pseudo-Nicolaus 2 [Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:358,7–61,14]; Comparison 3); Pericles (Pseudo-Nicolaus 14 [Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:378,16–81,3]). On the ancient biographical tradition on Demosthenes, see Brad L. Cook, “Demosthenes and his Biographers” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1996). On Demosthenes’ life and career, see Ian Worthington, ed., *Demosthenes: Statesman and Orator* (London: Routledge, 2000).

189. Plutarch, *Dem.* 4.1; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 11; Comparison 3.2.

190. Demosthenes 18.252–255.

191. Demosthenes 18.257, 265; Plutarch, *Dem.* 5; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 844A–C; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 12; Comparison 3.3.

192. Demosthenes 21.80. For Demosthenes’ prosecution of his guardians, see Demosthenes 27–31; Plutarch, *Dem.* 6.1; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 844C–D.

193. The choral producer (*choregos*) was responsible for financing the production of choral performances. This was one of the “liturgies” at Athens, a system of obligatory public benefactions imposed on the very rich. For the services named here and others, see Demosthenes 8.70–71; 18.257; 19.230; 21.13, 154–157; 27.64; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 16; Comparison 3.4, 11.

δήμῳ καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν ἡμελῆσθαι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὸν θεόν. ὁ δ' ἐκὼν ὑποστὰς <τὸ> τέλος ἀνεῖλε τὰ δυσχερῆ.

(6) Μικρὰ ταῦτα, τὴν προαίρεσιν εἴ τις ἐξετάζοι μεθ' ἧς ἤψατο τοῦ βήματος. ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις τὸν Δημοσθένην καλῶς, εἰ πρότερον σκέψαιτο τὸν Φιλίππου τρόπον. ἐκεῖνος προσέθηκε μηχανὴν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι χαλεπωτάτην τὴν διὰ τῶν χρημάτων. οὐ γὰρ ὀπλίτας συνέστησεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ δι' ἀγώνων ἤρει τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἐδίδου χρυσίον, ὠνεῖτο τοὺς προεστηκότας καὶ δι' ἐκείνων εἶχε τὰς πόλεις. (7) καὶ τοῦ νοσήματος κατασχόντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ πολιτευομένων δεχομένων ἐπὶ ταῖς πατρίσι Δημοσθένης μόνος οὐχ ὑπέσχε τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ἐτέρους πλουτοῦντας αὐτὸς εἰ σώζοι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, κέρδος ἡγεῖτο καὶ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ἀνθίστατο τῷ διδόντι, τοῖς λαμβάνουσι, τῷ δήμῳ τὸν μὲν ἀποκρουόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἐλέγχων τὴν πονηρίαν, τῶν δὲ αἰτιώμενος τὴν ῥαθυμίαν. (8) ἐπῆει Φίλιππος Ὀλυνθίοις, ὁ δὲ ἀνίστη τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀποίκων πυκναῖς δημηγορίαις. καί, τὸ Δημοσθένους μέρος, οὐχ εἶλεν ὁ Φίλιππος Ὀλυνθον, Εὐθυκράτους δὲ ἡ μισθαρνία τὴν τούτου σπουδὴν διέφθειρε. (9) πάλιν πρεσβεύων ὡς τὸν Φίλιππον ἐμίσει τὸν τύραννον καὶ ἐμισεῖτο παρ' αὐτοῦ χαριζόμενος οὐδέν, φεύγων τὰ λήμματα καὶ μέχρι τῶν ξενίων. προὔδιδον ἄλλοι τὴν Θράκην μέλλοντες, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα· σπεύδωμεν.

the god had been neglected by the city. But voluntarily undertaking <the> task he resolved the difficulties.¹⁹⁴

(6) These achievements would seem trivial, if one were to examine the resolution with which he laid hold of the rostrum. But one would be able to see Demosthenes better, if he first considered the character of Philip.¹⁹⁵ That man brought against the Greeks a device most difficult to deal with, one powered by money; for he did not marshal hoplites and armies against them and defeat their cities in battle, but instead handed out gold: he bought the leading men and through them got their cities.¹⁹⁶ (7) And as this disease¹⁹⁷ swept over Greece and the politicians everywhere were accepting money to the detriment of their native cities, Demosthenes alone did not hold out his hand; rather, although he saw others growing rich, he considered it gain if he kept his own city safe, and through his voice he stood up to the giver, to the receivers, and to the People—the first by beating off his attacks, the second by exposing their wickedness, and the third by castigating their inaction.¹⁹⁸ (8) Philip attacked the Olynthians, but our man roused the Athenians to save the colonists with frequent public speeches.¹⁹⁹ And so far as Demosthenes had a hand in it, Philip did not take Olynthus, but the money-grubbing of Euthykrates destroyed his efforts.²⁰⁰ (9) Again, when he served on an embassy to Philip²⁰¹ he hated the tyrant and was hated by him,²⁰² in no way showing him favor, and shunning all profits, even including the guest privileges.²⁰³ Others were betraying Thrace by delaying, but he kept shouting: “Let us hurry!”²⁰⁴ Again, Aeschines was per-

194. Demosthenes 21.13; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 844D; Comparison 3.4, 11.

195. Philip (II) of Macedon (382–336 B.C.E.), whose designs on Greece Demosthenes devoted much of his political career to opposing. See Plutarch, *Dem.* 12.3–4; 16.1; *Invective* 3.

196. Demosthenes 18.61; 19.133, 300; *Invective* 3.5, 4.5; Comparison 3.6.

197. Demosthenes 19.259; Comparison 3.6.

198. Demosthenes 18.297–298; Comparison 3.6.

199. Demosthenes 1–3; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 845D–E; Comparison 3.7.

200. In 348 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 9.56; 19.265–267, 294; *Invective* 3.6; Comparison 3.7. Euthykrates is an Olynthian traitor mentioned in Demosthenes 8.40; 19.265, 342; Hyperides frg. 76 (ed. Kenyon); *Invective* 4.13.

201. In 346 B.C.E., Demosthenes and Aeschines give conflicting reports on the embassies to Philip. See Demosthenes 19 with Aeschines 2; *Invective* 4.6; Comparison 3.7.

202. Aeschines (3.92) refers to Demosthenes as a self-styled “tyrant-hater” (*miso-tyrannos*).

203. Demosthenes 18.109; 19.166–168, 222–223; Aeschines 2.39, 162; Comparison 3.7. More generally, Plutarch *Dem.* 16.1–2.

204. 342–340 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 8–9; 19.155–156 and following; *Invective* 4.8; Comparison 3.8.

πάλιν Φωκέας ἔπειθεν Αἰσχίνης ψευδόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐκώλυε. καὶ Φωκεῖς ἦσαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου λόγων ἢ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἐνίκησεν ἡδονή. (10) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνηρημένων Φωκέων ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' ἔκρινεν ὃν ἡγεῖτο Φιλίππῳ παραδεδωκέναι τὰς πόλεις. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐφενάκισε καὶ πονηρὸς ὢν ἀπέφυγεν. οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο Δημοσθένης ἀγανακτήσας ἀπέστη τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφύλαττε διὰ τέλους τὴν τάξιν πόνοους τῷ Φιλίππῳ παρέχων καὶ τριβὴν ἐμποιῶν. (11) εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο καὶ πρεσβεία Δημοσθένους ἐξηλαύνετο. τῆς Εὐβοίας ἦπτετο καὶ πρεσβείαις ὁμοῦ καὶ στόλῳ ἐξεκρούετο. διὰ μὲν Δημοσθένην ὁ δῆμος ἐκινεῖτο, διὰ δὲ τὸν δῆμον αἱ πόλεις ἐλεύθεροι, Βυζάντιον, Χερρόνησος, Πέρινθος. δι' ἐκείνον οὐκ ἐξέπεσεν ἡ πόλις τῆς θαλάττης. ὁ γὰρ τὸ ναυτικὸν διαφθειρόμενον ἐπανορθώσας τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τὸ πλεῖν Ἀθηναίοις δέδωκε καὶ τὸ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν θάλατταν. (12) συστήσας τοίνυν οὕτω τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐξήρπασεν αὐτὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ὃ προσῆγεν Ἀντιφῶν. οὗτος γὰρ ἦκε μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ καῦσαι τὰς ναῦς, ἐξηρέθη δὲ πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους. μόνος γὰρ ἐκείνος ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἄγρυπνος ἦν καὶ διετέλει γράφων, λέγων, πρεσβεύων, προϊέμενος οἴκοθεν, οὐ λαμβάνων κατὰ τῆς ἐνεγκούσης. (13) οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἔσωζε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως μὴ τὴν χεῖρῳ λάβοι δόξαν ἐπραγματεύετο. Πύθωνος γὰρ ἡκοντος ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖξαι τὴν πόλιν ἀδικοῦσαν ἡναντιώθη καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου φίλους οἱ παρῆσαν μάρτυρας τῇ πόλει κατέστησε τοῦ βελτίονος λόγου. (14) πολλὰς μὲν ἐποιήσατο τὰς πρεσβείας, πανταχόθεν δὲ νικῶν ἀπῆλθε πολλὰς μὲν κρίσεις, αἰεὶ δὲ συκοφαντούμενος ἀπεδείχθη Δημοσθένης. οὐκ ἐφῆκε Φίλιππον προσελθεῖν τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἀλλ' ἔστησεν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὸν κίνδυνον τὴν Θηβαίων

suading the Phocians with his lies, but our man kept blocking him.²⁰⁵ And the Phocians would have survived, if the pleasure they took in their hopes had not won out over the truth of Demosthenes' speeches. (10) But not even when the Phocians had been destroyed did he keep still; rather, he took to court the man he believed had betrayed the cities to Philip.²⁰⁶ But that man once again played his tricks and, though wicked, was acquitted. Nor did Demosthenes, angered by this, abandon the state;²⁰⁷ rather, he continually guarded the constitution, creating hard work for Philip and causing him delays. (11) He crept into the Peloponnese, and by the embassy of Demosthenes was driven out.²⁰⁸ He attached himself to Euboea, and by embassies and a simultaneous expedition was beaten back.²⁰⁹ Through Demosthenes the People was stirred up, and through the People the cities were set free: Byzantium, the Chersonese, Perinthus.²¹⁰ Because of him the city was not deprived of the sea; for by restoring the deteriorating fleet by a law, he gave the Athenians the ability both to sail and to maintain possession of the sea.²¹¹ (12) Furthermore, after organizing the fleet in this way, he rescued it from the fire that Antiphon was bringing against it; for this man had come to burn the ships, but was caught before the attack by Demosthenes.²¹² For he alone was sleepless on behalf of the state and was continually writing, speaking, going on embassies, being sent out from home, not taking bribes to the detriment of the city that bore him. (13) In this way he not only saved the city, but also worked hard to keep it from getting a worse reputation; for when Pytho came to prove that the city was doing wrong, he opposed him and turned Philip's friends in the audience into witnesses of the better argument for the city.²¹³ (14) He conducted many embassies, and he came away from everywhere victorious in many trials, and Demosthenes was always shown to have been falsely slandered.²¹⁴ He did not allow Philip to approach the walls, but brought the danger to a halt at Chaeronea by ensuring that the city of Thebes, which was expected to march with Philip against

205. Invektive 3.11, 4.7; Comparison 3.8.

206. I.e., Aeschines. For the trial, see Demosthenes 19 with Aeschines 2; Invektive 4.8.

207. Comparison 3.9.

208. In 344 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 9.72; 18.79.

209. Philip was involved in Euboea from 342 to 341/340. See Demosthenes 8.36–37; 9.17; 10.8–9; 18.71, 79; Plutarch, *Dem.* 17.1; Comparison 3.10.

210. In 340–339 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 18.80; Plutarch, *Dem.* 17.2; Comparison 3.10.

211. In 340 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 14; 18.102; Comparison 3.10.

212. Demosthenes 18.132–133; Invektive 4.9; Comparison 3.12.

213. In 343 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 7.18–26; 18.136; Plutarch, *Dem.* 9.1; Invektive 4.9; Comparison 3.12.

214. Demosthenes 18.10, 249–250; Plutarch, *Dem.* 21.1.

πόλιν Ἀθηναίους προσθεὶς διὰ πρεσβείας, ἣν ἐλπίς ἦν συνεπιστρατεύσειν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας τῷ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ μοῖραν τηλικαύτην ἀπέκοψε τοῦ πολέμιου, προσένειμε δὲ τοῖς πολίταις. καὶ ταῦτα εἰκότως εἶχε προνοεῖν. κρατήσας γὰρ οἴνου καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλευθερώσας τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ταραχῆς κατὰ πολλὴν ὀξύτητα τῶν φρενῶν ἤδρι τὸ δέον. (15) θαυμαστὸς ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀντηγωνίζετο γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοῖς Ἀργείοις, τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι τοῖς οὐκ ἀναμίξασι προδοσίαν πολέμοις, ὁ δὲ ἀντηγωνίζετο ταῖς Φιλίππου τέχναις, τοῖς δώροις, ταῖς ἀπάταις, ταῖς ἐπιπορκίαις δι' ὧν ἐκεῖνος εἶχε τὰς πόλεις πρὶν ὃ βούλεται δηλῶσαι. (16) Θεμιστοκλῆς κρείττων ἐφάνη τοῦ Πέρσου, τρυφῶντος ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐκλελυμένου καὶ παραπαίοντος καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν δυναμένου, ὁ δὲ κρείττων ἐγένετο τῶν Φιλίππου καὶ πόνων καὶ χρημάτων. (17) καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκολάκευσε τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Μήδῳ καὶ δεσπότην ἐποίησατο τὸν δυσμενῆ, Δημοσθένης δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν τύχην Μακεδόνων γεγονυῖαν, οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον τῶν βεβιωμένων ὑπέμεινε, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ δυοῖν θάτερον ἐχρῆν, ἢ θεραπεῦσαι Μακεδόνας ἢ προαπελθεῖν, μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου φαρμάκῳ θαύματος μὲν ἀξίως βιούς, ἐφάμιλλον δὲ τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν δεξάμενος.

6. Ἐγκώμιον δικαιοσύνης.

(1) Δικαιοσύνην καλὸν μὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν, καλὸν δὲ ἐγκωμιάζειν. περὶ ἧς τί μεῖζον εἴποι τις ἢ ὅτι θεοὶς ἐστὶ φίλη καὶ ταύτην ἀσκοῦσι καὶ ταύτη συζῶσιν.

Athens, was linked to Athens through an embassy, and he cut off a very large piece of the enemy and attached it to the Athenian side.²¹⁵ And it is natural that he was able to plan for this in advance; for having prevailed over wine and set his soul free from the confusion arising from that, he knew what was necessary in keeping with the great sharpness of his wits.²¹⁶ (15) Pericles²¹⁷ was remarkable; for he struggled against the Spartans, the Argives, the Megarians—peoples who did not mix treachery with their wars—but our man struggled against the devices of Philip, the bribes, the deceits, and the false oaths, through which he got the cities before revealing what he wanted. (16) Themistocles²¹⁸ proved mightier than the Persian²¹⁹—a man who was effeminate, dissolute, out of his mind, and unable to say anything expedient—but our man was mightier than both the labors and money of Philip. (17) And the former flattered the barbarian, put himself in the Mede's hands, and made the enemy his master,²²⁰ but Demosthenes, when he learned that fortune had passed to the Macedonians, submitted to nothing unworthy of the life he had lived; rather, when forced to make a choice between serving the Macedonians and departing from life early, he removed himself from life with poison, having lived a life worthy of admiration, and having accepted a death to rival his life.²²¹

ENCOMIUM 6: RIGHTEOUSNESS²²²

(1) It is noble to practice righteousness, and noble to praise it. What better could one say about it than that it is dear to the gods, and that they

215. In 338 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 18.177–178, 181–187, 195, 229–230; Plutarch, *Dem.* 17.3–18.4; *Invective* 3.13, 4.10; *Comparison* 3.13–14. For the battle, see Diodorus Siculus 16.85–86; Polyaeus 4.2.2.

216. Demosthenes 6.30; 19.46; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 15; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 848C; *Invective* 8.12.

217. Famous Athenian general, active from the 460s until his death in 429 B.C.E. He led Athens during the early years of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.E.). For the comparison of Pericles and Demosthenes, see Plutarch, *Dem.* 9.3, and [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 37.

218. Famous Athenian general, mentioned here because of his victory at Salamis over the invading Persians in 480 B.C.E. For the comparison of Themistocles and Demosthenes, cf. [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 37.

219. The Persian king Xerxes is meant.

220. After being ostracized in the late 470s, Themistocles fled to Persia, where in ca. 465 B.C.E. the Persian king Artaxerxes (I) made him a provincial governor.

221. For Demosthenes' suicide by poison in 322 B.C.E., see [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 43–49; Plutarch, *Dem.* 29–30; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 847A–B; *Comparison* 3.16.

222. For the theme, see [Hermogenes] 14; Aphthonius 21. Comparison of righteousness with wealth: [Hermogenes] 19.

ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐτέροις διεστήκασι καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄπλων, τῷ δὲ χαλκείων, τῷ δὲ γάμων μέλει, δίκαιοι δὲ πάντες εἶναι βούλονται καὶ εἰσίν. (2) ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς καὶ πάρεδρον ποιεῖται τὴν Δίκην ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κάλλιον διοικήσων οὔτε τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν οὔτε τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ πράγματα. τῶν δ' αὖ ἡμιθέων ὅσοι τὸν αὐτῶν βίον τοιοῦτον παρέσχοντο, ζῶντες ὁμοίως καὶ μεταστάντες εὐδαιμονέστερον διαιτῶνται. (3) τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἀκήκοε περὶ Μίνως ὡς ὑπὸ γῆν κάθηται τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι δικαστῆς τοῖς μὲν ὁσίως βεβιωκόσιν ἄθλα διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς πέμπων εἰς τὸ τῆς τιμωρίας χωρίον; Αἰακὸς δὲ ὁμοπάτριος μὲν ἀδελφὸς τούτου, γενόμενος δὲ οὐ χείρων τὴν γνώμην πλέον ἴσχυσε τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχίας καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐχμῶν λιμὸν ἔλυσεν εὐχαίς.

(4) Καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τὰ παλαιὰ διατρίβειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῦ πράγματος εὐδοκιμοῦντος; πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν θεοῖς οἱ τοιοῦτοι φίλοι, φίλοι δὲ ὄντες εἰκότως ἂν καὶ τυγχάνοιεν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν, σωτηρίας, υἱείας, πλούτου, τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα νομίζεται. (5) εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ πένησιν εἶναι συμβαίη τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, ἥ γε ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν παρέχει. οἷς γε μᾶλλον τῶν χορηγούντων καὶ χρήματα ἐπιδιδόντων ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπάρχει. καὶ ὅπερ Ὅμηρος ἔφησε περὶ τῶν δεινῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι θεοῖς παραπλήσιοι δι' ἀγορᾶς ἔρχονται, τοῦτ' ἂν τις δικαιότερον ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων εἴποι. τούτους γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἅπαντες αἰδοῦνται καθάπερ δαίμονας. (6) σύλλογός τίς ἐστι καὶ βουλὴ περὶ συμμαχίας. τοῖς τούτων λόγοις οἱ καθήμενοι προσέχουσιν. οὐ γὰρ διαβάλλει τὴν γνώμην ὑποψία χρημάτων. πρεσβείαν ὁ καιρὸς καλεῖ. τούτους χειροτονοῦσι καὶ πέμπουσιν εἰδότες ὡς οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ δώσουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, δι' ἃ προήσονται τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων συμφέρον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις οὐχ ἐτέροις ἐγχειρίζουσιν οἷς γε σώζεσθαι βουλόμενοι νομίζοντες μεῖζον ἰσχύσειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν γνώμην τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. (7) τίς οὐκ ἂν εὖξαιτο τῷ τοιούτῳ κηδεῦσαι; τίς οὐκ ἂν τὴν τούτου διώξειε φιλίαν; τίς δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ τῷ τοιούτῳ πολεμεῖν; ὁ δίκαιος κατηγορῶν πιστεύεται καὶ κρινόμενος ἀποφεύγει καὶ μαρτύρων οὐ δεῖται πολλῶν μαρτυροῦντος τοῦ τρόπου. δικαζομένῳ δὲ εἰ μαρτυρήσειε, κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ ψῆφος ἐξηνέχθη.

practice it and live with it? For in other respects they differ, and one is concerned with arms, one with bronze-working, and one with marriage, but they all wish to be just, and are so. (2) Zeus even makes Justice his partner, as he could not otherwise do a better job of managing either his kingdom in heaven or affairs on earth. Moreover, all the demigods who have furnished such a life for themselves, spend their days more happily both while they are alive and likewise after they have passed away. (3) For who has not heard about Minos, how he sits in the underworld as judge over the departed, giving rewards to those who have lived holy lives, but sending the wicked to the place of punishment?²²³ And Aeacus, his half-brother by the same father,²²⁴ but no less intelligent, was mightier than the common misfortune of the Greeks and broke the famine caused by the drought with his prayers.²²⁵

(4) And why must we spend time on ancient examples, when our subject is still in good standing even today? Well now, first of all, such men are dear to the gods, and being dear to them would also naturally obtain good things from them—safety, health, wealth, and everything that is considered finest and greatest. (5) But if such men should also have the misfortune of being poor, the righteousness in their souls provides them with the pinnacle of happiness. For these men it is possible to be praised and admired by their fellow citizens more than those who serve as choral producer and donate money. And what Homer says about those who are clever at speaking—that they walk through the marketplace like gods²²⁶—one might more justly say about the just; for everyone truly reveres these men as divinities. (6) There is an assembly and a council meeting about an alliance. The delegates pay attention to the words of these men; for no suspicion of bribes discredits their judgment. An emergency calls for an embassy. These are the men they vote for and send, knowing that the enemy will not give them so much that they will disregard what is beneficial to the state's affairs. But also, those who wish to remain safe entrust their armed forces to no others, believing that the general's good attitude will have more force than the army. (7) Who would not pray to have such a man as his in-law? Who would not pursue this man's friendship? Who would not feel ashamed to be at war with such a man? The just man is trusted when prosecuting, and when on trial himself, is acquitted, and he does not need many witnesses, because his good character testifies for him. And if he should testify for a man on trial, the vote would be given in his favor. And if it should become necessary to send a state embassy, who

223. E.g., Homer, *Od.* 11.568–571.

224. I.e., Zeus.

225. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.6.

226. Homer, *Od.* 8.169–173.

θεωρίαν δὲ εἰ δεήσειε πέμπειν, τίς ἂν αἰρεθείη πρὸ τοῦ δικαίου; δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὰ διὰ τούτου γινόμενα κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς. (8) καὶ μὴν οἳ γε ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἢ περὶ γῆς ἢ περὶ χρημάτων τοὺς ἀποδεδειγμένους δικαστὰς ὑπεριδόντες ἐπὶ τούσδε καταφεύγουσι. τούτοις καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπούς καὶ γυναῖκες τίκτουσι, τούτοις ἡδέως ἂν τις γένοιτο σύμπλους ὡς καὶ τῆς θαλάττης κηδομένης τοῦ πλοίου τοῦ τὸν δίκαιον φέροντος. οὗτος ὅλη πόλει σωτήριος οὐ μόνον τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολέμιων παύων θυμόν. καὶ τις ἂν ὅλη πόλει τὰς αἰτίας ἀφείη τὸν δίκαιον αἰδεσθείς. (9) οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ γαστρί δουλεύειεν ἂν οἱ δίκαιοι δεδοικότες μὴ φθείρῃ τὸν τρόπον ἢ πλησμονὴ καὶ τῶν κεκριμένων καλῶν ἐκβάλλῃ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀτόπους ἡδονὰς ἐλκύσῃ. ζῶντες δὲ ἐν τοιαύτῃ διαίτῃ καὶ διαφύγοιεν ἂν νόσους. οἶμαι δ', εἰ καὶ ληστὰι προσπεσόντες ἀφέλοιεν τὰ ὄντα, πολλοὺς ἔσεσθαι τοὺς δώσοντας καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ πλείω κέρδος αὐτῶν ἡγουμένους τὴν δόσιν. (10) οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πλουτήσαντες κακῶς καὶ χαρισάμενοι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐν τῷ βίῳ δεδιότες εἰς Ἄιδου πορεύονται τῶν ἐνταῦθα κακῶν ἐκεῖ τὰς δίκας εἰδότες γινομένης, ὁ δὲ γε δίκαιος χαίρων μεθίσταται καλῶν ἀποδημίαν τὴν τελευτήν, κήπους καὶ ἄνθη καὶ αὔρας ὄνειροπολῶν, καὶ ἀπελθόντος διαρκεῖ τοῦνομα καθάπερ Ἀριστείδου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου. (11) καὶ μόνοις τοῖς δικαίοις καλὰ μὲν τὰ τῆδε, καλλίω δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν. καὶ θάπτονται μὲν σὺν ἐπαίνοις, χωροῦσι δὲ παρὰ φίλους τοὺς ἐκεῖ θεοὺς τοῖς παισὶν οἱ μὲν καταλιπόντες μετὰ χρημάτων τὴν παρὰ πάντων εὖνοιαν, οἱ δ' αὖ τὴν εὖνοιαν ἀντὶ χρημάτων. (12) ὁ ἀριστεὺς ἂν μὴ δίκαιος ᾖ, ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἂν χρήσαιτο. ὁ ρήτωρ ἂν δικαιοσύνης ἀμελῇ, συμφορὰ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐστί. σωφροσύνη δὲ οὐδ' ἂν γένοιτο τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δικαιοσύνης ἡγουμένης. καὶ ὅλως τὰ μὲν ταύτης κεκοινωνηκότα καὶ τοὺς κεκτημένους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἂν ὠφελήσῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐστερημένα καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι κακὰ καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις συζῶσιν.

would be chosen before the just man? For it is evident that this man's endeavors have been favored by the gods. (8) Moreover, those disputing over land or money disdain the appointed judges²²⁷ and flee for refuge to these men here. And to these men the earth bears fruit and women give birth; to these men anyone would gladly become a shipmate, because even the sea cares for the ship that bears the just man. This man brings safety to the whole city, not only by giving the best advice, but also by putting a stop to the enemy's anger. And one might release an entire city from blame out of respect for the just man.²²⁸ (9) Moreover, the just would also not be slaves to their bellies, out of fear that overeating might destroy their character and drive them away from acknowledged goods and drag them toward unusual pleasures. And by living by such a regimen they would also escape diseases. I believe that, even if robbers were to attack and rob them of their belongings, there would be many who would give that much and more, regarding their giving as gain. (10) And so, having wickedly grown rich and indulged the pleasures in life, the rest fearfully go down to Hades, knowing that judgments are given there for evils done here, but the just man departs from this life with joy, calling death a trip abroad, dreaming of gardens and flowers and breezes, and when he is gone, his name endures, just like that of Aristides son of Lysimachus.²²⁹ (11) And for the just alone, life here is good, but the afterlife is better. And they are buried with speeches of praise, but they depart to their friends, the gods in the underworld, some leaving behind for their children universal goodwill in addition to money, others in turn leaving goodwill in place of money. (12) If the war hero were not just, he would use his hands against his fellow citizens, as well. If the orator cared nothing for righteousness, disaster would come to those who follow him. Self-control would not exist at all without righteousness leading the way. And in short, whatever partakes of righteousness would benefit both those who possess it and everyone else, while whatever things lack righteousness would be evil both for those who have them and for all those who live with such people.

227. Classical Athens allowed private disputes to be resolved through arbitrators (*diaitêtai*) of two kinds: those mutually agreed upon by the disputants; and those appointed to serve publicly for one year at age fifty-nine (on the latter, see Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 53).

228. Perhaps an inversion of Hesiod, *Op.* 240–247, in which the whole city suffers for one man's wickedness.

229. Fifth-century B.C.E. Athenian politician famous for his justice (Plutarch, *Aristides*).

7. Ἐγκώμιον γεωργίας.

(1) Φθάσας ἡμᾶς Ἡσίοδος ἐπῆνεσε τὴν γεωργίαν ὁμοίᾳ τε καὶ ἴσῃ σπουδῇ χρησάμενος περὶ τε θεῶν γενεαλογίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ γῆν παιδεύματα. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι μέγα τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος τῆς αὐτοῦ μούσης ἤξιωσε. (2) πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοιούτων καὶ τηλικούτων θεῶν συμπεπορισμένον; ἀκούεις γὰρ ὡς Ἀθηνᾶ βούν τε ἤγαγεν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν καὶ ἄροτρον ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις, Διόνυσος δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀμπέλου χάριν ἔφηνε, πυροὶ δὲ καὶ κριθαὶ Δῆμητρος δόσις. ἐλαία δὲ ὡς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν καὶ εὖρημα τῆς θεοῦ τὸ φυτόν, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ποσειδῶ κρίσει <τῇ> περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐδηλώθη. (3) ἕως μὲν οὖν ἡ τέχνη τῆς γεωργίας ἀπὴν, οὐδὲν διέφερεν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος τοῦ τῶν θηρίων οὐδὲ πόλεων ἦσαν κατασκευαὶ οὐδὲ τάξεις πολιτείας οὐδὲ νόμων θέσις, ἀλλὰ χάριτι τὸ δίκαιον ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὁ ἀσθενὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰσχύοντος εἵλκετό τε καὶ ἤγετο. γεωργίαν δὲ ἡγοῦμαι συναγαγεῖν τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἄσθη κτίσαι καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐμφυτεῦσαι καὶ τὰ διάφορα ἐκεῖθεν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων λύεσθαι.

(4) Μυρία μὲν οὖν ἐπιτηδεύματα κατὰ ἀνθρώπους, ἄριστον δὲ ἡ γεωργία. τὸ γὰρ μέγιστον κέρδος δίδωσι τοῖς γεωργοῦσι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦς ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι. ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἀρούρα προσκείμενος καὶ περὶ τὴν γῆν ἐσπουδακῶς πόρρω μὲν ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ φιλονεικίας, πόρρω δὲ δικαστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἐν δικαστηρίοις συκοφαντιῶν, πόρρω δὲ ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας θορύβων, οὐ γραφόμενος, οὐ ψευδόμενος, οὐ φεύγων, οὐ τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρῶν, οὐ τὴν ἴσῃν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἀπαιτῶν, οὐκ ἐργαζόμενος χρήματα ἐξ ὧν ἕτερον συμφοραῖς περιέβαλλεν, ἀλλὰ σπείρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιήσας ὅποσα περὶ τὰ φυτὰ περιμένει τὰς ὥρας καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν πόρον, μετὰ μὲν εὐχῶν καταβάλλων τὰ σπέρματα, τῶν δὲ καρπῶν ἀπαρχόμενος τοῖς δεδωκόσι θεοῖς, φιλοπραγμοσύνης ὅτι πλεῖστον ἀπέχων ἅτε ἐν βουσί καὶ προβάτοις καὶ αἰξί

ENCOMIUM 7: FARMING²³⁰

(1) Hesiod preceded us in praising farming, using the same and equal zeal in his genealogy of the gods as in his teachings about the land,²³¹ for it is evident that he regarded farming as a good, important subject and thought it worthy of his song. (2) For how could it be trivial, when so many noble gods have helped us acquire it? For you have heard how Athena led the ox under the yoke and gave the plow to men,²³² while Dionysus revealed the boon of the vine, and wheat and barley were the gift of Demeter. It was made clear in the contest with Poseidon over Attica that the olive was sacred to Athena and that this tree was the goddess's discovery.²³³ (3) And so, before the art of farming existed, human life did not differ at all from that of the animals, and there was no building of cities or organization of government or establishment of laws; rather, what was just was decided on a whim, and the weak were dragged off and led away by the strong. Farming, I believe, brought men together and founded cities and instilled harmony, and from then on their disputes were resolved by the laws.²³⁴

(4) And so, there are thousands of human pursuits, but the best one is farming; for it gives the greatest profit to those who farm—namely, that they are good. For a man who is devoted to his fields and serious about his land stays far from the marketplace and quarreling in the marketplace, far from the courts and false accusations in the courts, far from the assembly and uproars in the assembly, neither indicting, nor lying, nor acting as a defendant, nor giving false testimony, nor demanding fair restitution, nor working for money with which to overwhelm another man with disasters.²³⁵ Rather, after sowing and doing everything else for his plants, he awaits the harvest and the resulting profit, planting his seeds with prayers, offering the first-fruits to the gods who have granted them, and refraining as much as possible from being a busybody, inasmuch as he spends his time among oxen and sheep and goats. As a result, farmers also seem to me to obtain what they ask from the gods

230. Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix adduces Themistius, *Or.* 30, as a parallel. Encomium of farming: for the theme with partial elaboration, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 126,10–12). Comparison of farming with seafaring: Pseudo-Nicolaus 5 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:365,8–66,16); Comparison 4.

231. The *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, respectively.

232. [Lycophron], *Alex.* 359 and 520 with scholia. Aristides, *Or.* 37.16, praises Athena for her gift of the ox to the Attic culture-hero Buzyges.

233. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.14.1; Ovid, *Metam.* 6.70–82.

234. Comparison 5.1–2.

235. Hesiod, *Op.* 27–34; Comparison 4.6, 5.3–4, 5.15.

διατρίβων, ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ ῥᾶον τυγχάνειν τῶν θεῶν, ἥνίκα ἂν αὐτοὺς καλῶσιν αἰτοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαθὰ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἑτέροις κακὰ.

(5) Καὶ μὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην παρὰ τοῖς γεωργοῦσι μάλιστα ἂν εὕροιμεν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἑταῖραι καὶ κῶμοι καὶ προαγωγοὶ καὶ μέθαι πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίζουσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἀγρῶν ταῦτα ἐπιχώρια, προσέχουσι δὲ τὸν νοῦν τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὰς δικαίας ἐπίστανται μόνον μίξεις τὰς ὑπὲρ παίδων γονῆς. (6) εἰ δὲ ἀνδρείας ἐστὶ θάλπους ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ψύχους ὑπερβολήν, γεωργοῖς ἀεὶ ἀνάγκη πρὸς ταῦτα μάχεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὑποροφίοις οὖσιν ἀνύοιτ' ἂν τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη πονεῖν ὑπαιθρίοις θέρους τε καὶ χειμῶνος.

(7) Ὅταν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες πονῶσιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ οὗτοι, σφόδρα ἀξιοῦσι τιμᾶσθαι, καὶ μὴν σοφίας γε οὐ μικρὸν μέρος ἔρχεται εἰς γεωργίαν. ἢ γὰρ οὐ σοφίας τὸ ἐπιστήμονας εἶναι τῶν ἄστρον; γεωργὸς τοίνυν ἂν μὴ τι εἰδῇ περὶ πλειάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἃ εἰδότες αὐτῷ λυσιτελήσει, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτῷ γεωργὸς ἂν εἴη, τοῦ δὲ ἔργου πλείστον διαμαρτάνοι, καὶ ἀπολλύοιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ ξύμπας ὁ μόχθος οὐ τοῦ καιροῦ τυγχάνων.

(8) Τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ γεωργεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς γίνονται, διαφεύγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς πολυειδεῖς ταύτας νόσους ἃς ἐντίκτει τὸ τρυφᾶν, ὑφ' ὧν ὀρῶμεν διαφθειρομένους τοὺς εὐδαίμονας καλουμένους. πρὶν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ ἀρρώστημα ἕτερον προσέπεσε, καὶ εἰσι συνεχῶς ἐν χερσὶν ἰατρῶν. γεωργοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν δέοιντο ἰατρῶν. τὸ γὰρ πονεῖν ἀεὶ περὶ γῆν φρουρὰ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ εἰσι κρείττους ἀλῶναι ὑπὸ τοιαύτης προσβολῆς. εἰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἡ υἰεῖα, καὶ τοῦτο γεωργία περιεῖληφεν.

(9) Ἡπείρων μὲν δὴ καὶ νήσων κόσμος αἱ πόλεις, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς πόλεις ὁ συνίστησί τε καὶ συνέχει γεωργία. καὶ γὰρ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τὰ κάλλη τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὰς ἐπ' εἰρήνης εὐωχίας καὶ τὰς εἰς πόλεμον παρασκευὰς γεωργία προστιθεῖς τις οὐκ ἂν ἀδικοίη. (10) γνοίη δ' ἂν τις τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης ῥοπήν, εἰ λογίσαιτο πρὸς ἑαυτόν, τίς ἂν εἴη ὁ βίος ἡμῶν γεωργίας ἀπούσης. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν τε οἶνον ἐξέλοι τις τοὺς τε πυροὺς ὀπώραν τε καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δῶρον, τοῖς λύκοις ἂν ἐξείη πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας ἐρίζειν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις μετὰ ἀλκῆς συμπλεκοίμεθα τοῖς ἐναντίοις. πάλαι γάρ με ἐδίδαξεν Ὅμηρος ὅτι πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος σίτῃ καὶ

easily, whenever they call upon them, because they ask for something good for themselves and certainly not for anything evil for others.

(5) Moreover, we would also especially find self-control among farmers; for no prostitutes or revelers or pimps or bouts of drunkenness provoke them toward Aphrodite; for these are not native to the countryside, but they devote attention to their wives and attend only to rightful intercourse for the production of children.²³⁶ (6) But if it is the job of courage to endure excessive heat and cold, farmers are always compelled to battle against these;²³⁷ for their work would not be completed if they stayed indoors, but instead they are compelled to work hard in the open air both summer and winter.

(7) Whenever philosophers do hard work—and there are very few who do—they strongly insist on being honored; and truly, no small part of wisdom enters into farming; for is their knowledge of the stars not a part of wisdom? Well then, if the farmer knew nothing about the Pleiades and the other stars whose knowledge would benefit him, he would be a farmer in name, but most of his work would completely fail, and absolutely all of his toil would be in vain because it would not be done at the right time.²³⁸

(8) Such men do they become in their souls from farming, but they also escape the wide variety of diseases that luxurious living engenders, by which we see the so-called “happy” people being destroyed; for before they can drive out one illness, another befalls them, and they are continually in the hands of doctors. But farmers would have no need of doctors; for their continual work on the land provides protection to their bodies, and they are too strong to be defeated by such an attack. If health is in fact the most important thing among men, farming includes this, as well.²³⁹

(9) The cities are an ornament of mainlands and islands, but what brings the very cities together and keeps them together is farming.²⁴⁰ For indeed, one would not be unfair in ascribing huge buildings, beautiful temples, the feasts of peacetime, and preparations for war to farming. (10) One could understand its influence, if he considered for himself what our lives would be like if farming did not exist; for if one were to take away wine and wheat and fruit and the gift of Athena,²⁴¹ it would be possible for wolves to compete with us in happiness. But we could not even engage the enemy in battle with strength; for Homer taught me long ago that man naturally acquires his

236. Comparison 4.11, 5.5–8.

237. Comparison 5.11.

238. Comparison 5.9.

239. Comparison 4.8, 5.11–13.

240. Encomium 8.6; Comparison 5.14.

241. I.e., the olive tree and its produce.

οἶνῳ κτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀλκὴν. (11) εἰ δέ τις οἶται τερπνότερον εἶναι τὸν ἐν ἄστει βίον, ἐνθυμηθήτω πρὸς ἑαυτόν, οἶον μὲν ἐστὶν ἄμπελον ὁρᾶν καὶ βότρυς κρεμαμένους, οἶον δὲ ὑπὸ πίτνι καὶ πλατάνῳ μεσημβρίας κεῖσθαι, οἶον δὲ ἰδεῖν λήια ζεφύρων αὔραις κινούμενα, οἶον δὲ ἀκοῦσαι βοῶν μυκωμένων καὶ προβάτων βληχωμένων, οἶον δὲ θέαμα δαμάλεις σκιρτῶσαι καὶ ἔλκουσαι γάλα. (12) ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις δεικνύμενα πρὸς τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἡδονήν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ διὰ τῶν κρουνῶν ὕδωρ καὶ μακρῶν φερόμενον ὀχετῶν φαίην ἂν λείπεσθαι τῶν πηγῶν αὐτῶν. πολλῶ γὰρ καθαρώτερα τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόμενα νάματα τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄσθη τεκτόνων χερσὶν ἀγομένων. (13) καλὸν μὲν τισὶ δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι παλαίειν κᾶτα στεφανοῦσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ῥώμην ἔδειξε τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος, ὥνησε δὲ τοὺς συνελθόντας οὐδέν, γεωργοὶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτῶν πόνοις τρέφουσιν ἅπαντας. (14) Ῥητορικὴν δὲ ὅστις θαυμάζει, λογιζέσθω πρὸς ἑαυτόν ὡς ἄνευ μὲν ῥητορικῆς εἶεν ἂν αἱ πόλεις, ἄνευ δὲ γεωργίας οὐκ ἂν εἶεν, ἀναμνησκέσθω δὲ καὶ τῆς Τριπολέμου διφρείας καὶ τῶν ὑποπτέρων δρακόντων καὶ τῶν μετεώρων σπερμάτων καὶ ὡς οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἐμυθολογήθη, διότι τὸ μὲν, οἶμαι, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ ἐλευθέροις καὶ δούλοις, καὶ Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις, ῥητορικῆς δὲ οὐ τοσαύτη χρεία. τῶν γοῦν Ἑλλήνων αὐτῶν εὖροις ἂν οὐκ ὀλίγους τοῦ πράγματος ἡμεληκότας. (15) Ναυτιλία δὲ ὅστις μάλιστα τίθεται, χρημάτων ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐπιθυμεῖ μετὰ κινδύνων καὶ χειμῶνων καὶ ἔστι δοῦλος κερδῶν. εἰ δὲ ἀποθανεῖται κακῶς, καὶ προσέτι ἄταφος ἔσται φθειρόμενος ἐν τοῖς κύμασιν. ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνος μέντοι ἴστω διὰ τῆς γεωργίας ἔχων τὸ πλεῖν. ἦν γὰρ μὴ τὴν ὀλκάδα τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐμπλήσας ἀνάγηται, πρότερον ἀπολεῖται λιμῶ ἢ τοὺς λιμένας ἐφ' οὓς ἐπείγεται ὄψεται.

(16) Οὕτω γεωργία κάλλιστόν τε καὶ χρησιμώτατον καὶ πάντα νικᾷ τὰ ἐπαινούμενα.

strength from bread and wine.²⁴² (11) But if someone thinks that life in the city is more delightful, let him contemplate for himself what it is like to see a vine and grapes hanging from it, what it is like to sit under a pine or plane tree at midday, what it is like to see crops being stirred by the breezes of the west wind, what it is like to hear oxen lowing and sheep bleating, and what it is like to see calves suckling and bounding about.²⁴³ (12) For performances in the theatres seem to me to be nothing compared to the pleasure from these,²⁴⁴ since I would also say that water drawn through wells and long pipes are inferior to the actual springs; for waters that spring up from the earth are much fresher than those led to cities by the hands of workmen.²⁴⁵ (13) Some think it good to know how to wrestle and then to be crowned, and to be victorious in gymnastic contests. Rather, this shows the strength of the victor but does not profit the audience at all.²⁴⁶ But farmers by their labors feed them all. (14) Whoever admires rhetoric, let him ponder for himself the fact that cities could exist without rhetoric, but without farming they could not, and let him also recall the chariot-driving of Triptolemus and the winged serpents and the seeds sown from the air,²⁴⁷ and that there is no mythological story told anywhere about rhetoric, because, as I believe, the former is necessary for all men, both free and slaves, both Greeks and barbarians, but the need for rhetoric is not as great.²⁴⁸ Indeed, even among the Greeks themselves you would find that not a few had neglected the subject. (15) Whoever is especially devoted to sailing desires money along with dangers and storms, and is a slave to profits. And if he dies badly, he will in addition be unburied, decomposing among the waves. But that man should, however, realize that it is through farming that he has the ability to sail; for if he sets sail without filling his ship with produce from the land, he will die of hunger before he sees the harbors to which he is hurrying.²⁴⁹

(16) Thus farming is both a very fine and a most useful thing, and it beats every object of praise.

242. Homer, *Il.* 9.705–706; 19.160–172 with the sequel in 19.225–233, 342–348.

243. Encomium 8.2; Comparison 4.5, 5.17–20.

244. Comparison 5.17, 18, 20.

245. Comparison 4.10.

246. Comparison 5.19.

247. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.5.2; Ovid, *Metam.* 5.642–661.

248. Comparison 5.9.

249. See in general Comparison 4.

8. Ἐγκώμιον βοὸς συγγραφικῶ χαρακτήρι.

(1) Περὶ βοὸς τί μείζον εἶποι τις ἂν ἢ ὅτι φίλος θεοῖς ὁ βοῦς, τοῦτο μὲν Σελήνῃ, τοῦτο δὲ Δήμητρὶ καὶ ἔτι γε Ἡλίῳ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτους ζευξαμένη πορεύεται τὴν ἑαυτῆς πορείαν, Δημήτηρ δὲ διὰ βοὸς δίδωσι τὰ ἑαυτῆς δῶρα ἀνθρώποις, Ἡλίου δὲ ἱερὰν ἀγέλην ἀκούεις, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν τότινες πεινῶντες, οὕτως ἤλγησεν ὥστε αὐτοὺς πλέοντας ἀπώλεσε διὰ Διός. (2) καὶ στέφανος μὲν οὐρανῷ τὰ ἄστρα, συντελεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ ταῦρος εἰς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν οὐρανοῦ στέφανον. γῇ δὲ οὐχ ἡ μὲν ἔχει βοῦν, ἡ δὲ ἀπεστέρηται τοῦ βοός, ἀλλ' οὗ γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἐνταῦθα καὶ βοῶν, ὥστε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις οὐκ εἶδε βοῖδιον καλὸν μὲν δὴ καὶ εὐθύς γεννώμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ γάλα τῆς τεκούσης τρέχον, κάλλιον δὲ ἤδη μητρὶ παραθέον. καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅτου ἂν εἴπῃς ἥδιον τὸ ἐκείνου σκίρτημα. καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βουκόλων ὁ μόσχος ὥσπερ παιδίον ἀγαπᾶται. (3) τροφή δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ παντός, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα βόσκει τὸ βοῶν γένος. ἐν λειμῶνι δὲ ἀγέλη βοῶν τοῦ λειμῶνος οὐ φαυλότερον θέαμα. τὰ γὰρ χρώματα τῶν ἀνθέων ἐν τῇ τριχὶ δεικνύει, τοὺς μὲν φοινικοῦς, τοὺς δὲ λευκοῦς, τοὺς δὲ ἴοις ἐοικότας, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ πάντα συνάγουσι.

(4) Τοῦ κάλλους δὲ μνησθεὶς ἀνεμνήσθην Ὀμήρου, ὃς ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ὡς εἶησαν ὀφθαλμοὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καλοὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι βοῶπιν αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσε. καὶ τὸ ἐρασθῆναι δὲ Πασιφάν ταύρου μὴ ἄλλο τι νομίζομεν ἢ τεκμήριον εἶναι κάλλους βοῶν; (5) καὶ τί λέγω Πασιφάν; ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰὼ μεταβαλεῖν ἔδει, βοῦν αὐτὴν ἐποίησε καὶ οὕτω συνῆν ὡς οὐ καταβλάψων αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς ὁμιλίας ἡδονὴν ἐν τῷδε τῷ τύπῳ. καὶ ἑαυτὸν δέ, ἐπεὶ χρῆν

ENCOMIUM 8: THE OX,²⁵⁰ IN A LESS FORMAL STYLE²⁵¹

(1) As for the ox, what better could one say than that the ox is dear to the gods—to Selene, to Demeter, and even to Helios? For Selene yokes them together to make her journey, and Demeter through the ox gives her gifts to men, and you have heard that Helios's herd was sacred. But when some men in their hunger laid hands on them, Helios was so hurt that, through Zeus, he destroyed them as they sailed.²⁵² (2) And the stars are the crown of heaven,²⁵³ but the bull also contributes to this crown of heaven.²⁵⁴ It is not the case that there is one land that has the ox while another is deprived of the ox; rather, wherever the race of men exists, there also is the race of oxen, so that there is not a man anywhere who has not seen a little calf—lovely both when it is just being born and when it runs to the milk of the one who gave birth to it, and lovelier now as it runs alongside its mother. And its bounding about is sweeter to the eyes than anything you could name.²⁵⁵ And the young calf is loved by the oxherds like a child. (3) Their food does not come from everything, but plants growing from the earth feed the race of oxen. A herd of oxen in a meadow is no less beautiful a sight than the meadow itself; for in their coats they display the colors of flowers—some crimson, some white, some resembling violets, and there are even some that combine all the colors.

(4) Now that I have mentioned their beauty I am reminded of Homer, who, when he wanted to show that Hera's eyes were big and beautiful, called her "ox-eyed."²⁵⁶ And as to the story that Pasiphae fell in love with a bull, do we not believe that this is nothing other than a proof of the beauty of oxen?²⁵⁷ (5) And why do I mention Pasiphae? When Zeus had to transform Io, he turned her into a cow and joined with her thus on the assumption that he

250. For the theme, see Aphthonius 21; with partial elaboration, John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 125,19–24, 127,22, 169,24, 170,3–5); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:421,7–9, 433,28–31); with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 3 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:332,17–33,32).

251. "In a less formal style": The συγγραφικῶ χαρακτήρι mentioned in the title here (and also in Description 7) denotes a style opposed to that of orators, one that is relaxed, less formal, and not sustained; see Michel Patillon, ed., *Pseudo-Aelius Aristide: Ars rhetoriques* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2002), 2:171 n. 172.

252. Homer, *Od.* 12.260–419.

253. E.g., Homer, *Il.* 18.485.

254. Aratus, *Phaen.* 167–171.

255. Encomium 7.11; Comparison 5.17.

256. Homer, *Il.* 1.551, 568; 4.50; 8.471; 14.159, 222.

257. Pasiphae was the mother of the Minotaur: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.1.4; 3.15.8; Ovid, *Metam.* 8.131–137, 155–156; 9.735–743; Narration 21–22.

ἕτερον εἶδος ὑποδύντα θηρᾶσαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, εἰς ταῦρον μετέστησε καὶ εἶλε τὰ παιδικά. θαυμάσασα γὰρ ἡ κόρη τὴν ὥραν προσελθοῦσα ἐφρίζανει καὶ ἤγετο διὰ θαλάττης εἰς Κρήτην.

(6) Ἔστι μὲν οὖν δὴ τῶν ζώων πολλὰ λαμπρὰ μὲν ἐν ὥρᾳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἴσα βουσί, χρῆσθαι δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδεια, βοῦς δὲ ἐν τῷ ὠφελεῖν ἀνθρώπους τὸ αὐτοῦ κάλλος πάρεισιν. ὠφελεῖ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πάντα. τροφῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οὔσης οὐδ' ἂν ἄνθρωποι εἶησαν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐκ ὄντων οὐδ' ἂν πόλεις εἶησαν οὐδὲ τέχναι οὐδ' ὅσα νῦν ἔστιν. ἄνθρωπος δὲ μετὰ μὲν βοὸς γῆν ἐργάζοιτ' ἄν, ἄνευ δὲ βοὸς οὐκ ἂν ἀρόσαι, μὴ ἀρών δὲ οὐκ ἂν σπείραι, μὴ σπείρων δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀμήσαιτο. οὕτω τὸ τῶν βοῶν γένος συνέχει τὸν βίον ἀνθρώποις. (7) καλῶς ἄρα Ἡσίοδος καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν ἀξίως τρία τίθησιν ἐν πρώτοις, οἶκον καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ βοῦν, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἀντέχοι πρὸς τὰς ὥρας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς παιδοποιοῖτο, διὰ δὲ ἐκείνου καρποῖτο τὴν γῆν καὶ σῶζοιτο. (8) τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ θυμοειδὲς καὶ πρᾶον. δηλοῦται δὲ ἡ μὲν ἰσχὺς τοῖς ἄχθεσιν ἃ βόες ἔλκουσιν, ἡ δὲ πρᾶότης ἐν τῷ τῶν βουκόλων ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ γεωργῶν καὶ ἐκόντα ὑπιέναι ζυγὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰς πληγὰς μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἀσελγές. καὶ τῷ θυμῷ δὲ κέχρηται δικαίως ἐπὶ τὰ βλάπτοντα τῶν θηρίων. (9) κατιδὼν δὲ εἰς τὰ κέρατα γνοίης ἂν σαφῶς ὅτι δὴ μάλιστα θεοῖς ἐμέλησε βοῶν. ἔδοσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸ μέτωπον τὰ ὄπλα καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν βορὰν τοῖς θηρίοις ὥσπερ ἵππους καὶ ὄνους. ὁ βοῦς δὲ οὕτως ἐστὶ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὥστε πρὸς μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ κέρατα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ λίαν ἔστιν. ἔδωκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐλάφῳ κέρατα ἢ φύσις καλὰ, ἀλλὰ τὴνάλλως ταῦτα ἔχει καὶ οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ, ἤδη δὲ καὶ διωκομένην ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἐξημίωσεν. ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτων παρεδόθη τοῖς κυσίν.

(10) Ἴππον δὲ ὅστις ἐπαινεῖ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς ἵππομαχίας, ἀκούσεται παρ' ἡμῶν εἰρήνην καὶ γεωργίαν τιμιωτέραν εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἵππου μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀηδέσιν ἄνθρωποι χρῆζουσιν, βοὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἡδίστοις. (11) ἔτι τοίνυν τὰ μὲν περὶ γῆν ἵπποις οὐ πράττεται. βόες δὲ συντελοῦσιν εἰς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, τοῦτο μὲν τὴν τροφήν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄγοντες, τοῦτο δὲ τὰς ἀσπίδας ποιοῦντες. μὴ γὰρ ἀμνημονεῖτω τις τῆς Αἴαντος, ἣν ὁ Τυχίος ἐδημιούργησε.

would not be ruining his own pleasure in intercourse in this form.²⁵⁸ And when he had to adopt a different form to hunt Europa, he transformed himself into a bull and captured his darling; for admiring his beauty, the girl came to him, sat on his back, and was led over the sea to Crete.²⁵⁹

(6) Of all the animals, then, there are many that are magnificent in their beauty, even if not equal to oxen, but are not very suitable for men to use; but the ox surpasses its beauty in the benefits it provides to men. It benefits them in all the greatest ways; for if there were no food, there would also be no men, and if there were no men, there would also be no cities or arts or anything that now exists. A man could work the land with an ox, but without an ox he could not plow, and if he did not plow, he could not sow, and if he did not sow, he could not reap. Thus the race of oxen holds life together for men.²⁶⁰

(7) Nobly and worthily of the Muses did Hesiod rank three things among the most important—house and wife and ox²⁶¹—so that with the first he could protect himself against the seasons, with the second he could produce children, and with that third one he could reap the fruits of the earth and stay alive. (8) But this same animal is strong and hot-tempered, as well as gentle. The strength of oxen is revealed in the loads that oxen haul, and their gentleness in the fact that they restrain themselves with the oxherds and farmers, willingly submit to the yoke, and do nothing brutal when struck. And they justly use their anger against wild animals that would harm them. (9) Looking at their horns, you would understand clearly that the gods have special concern for oxen; for they gave them weapons on their foreheads and did not abandon them as meat for wild animals, as they did horses and donkeys. The ox is so noble and good that with its friends it has no horns, but with its enemies it has them, and very much so. For nature also gave beautiful horns to the deer, but these are useless and do not benefit it at all, and now when the deer is being pursued by dogs, its horns do it damage; for it is betrayed by them to the dogs.

(10) Whoever praises the horse on account of wars and cavalry battles will hear from us that peace and farming are more valuable. Therefore, men have need of the horse in unpleasant situations, but of the ox in the most pleasant. (11) Furthermore, the work of the land is not done by horses. But oxen contribute to the needs of war, producing food from themselves and making shields; for let no one forget about the shield of Ajax, which Tychius

258. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.1.3; Ovid, *Metam.* 1.583–750.

259. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.1.1; Ovid, *Metam.* 2.836–875; 6.103–107.

260. Encomium 7.9; Comparison 5.14.

261. Hesiod, *Op.* 405.

καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πολεμεῖν ζώντων ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βοός. (12) εἰ δέ μοι λέγεις ἄρματα ἀμιλλητήρια, τέρψιν λέγεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ὠφέλειαν ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις ἐνὶ ζῆν καὶ τρέχειν. αἱ γὰρ κριθαὶ τῶν βοῶν πόνος, ταχὺς ὁ ἵππος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ βοὺς βραδύς. λακτίζει τὸ λυποῦν ὁ ἵππος. ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ βοῖ τοῦτο. καὶ ἔτι προσκέκτηται κέρατα. (13) μέγιστον μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποις εὐνοία θεῶν, τοῦτο δὲ αἱ θυσίαι φιλοῦσιν ἐργάζεσθαι. θύομεν δὲ οὐχ ἵππους, ἀλλὰ βοῦς. καὶ δὴ καὶ γεύσασθαι βοὸς μὲν ἀνθρώποις νόμος, ἵππου δὲ οὐ νόμος. τὰ δὲ κρέα ταῦτα καὶ πολεμοῦσι χρηστά, καθάπερ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ὅταν οὖν τοῦτο καὶ θεοὺς ἡμῖν διαλλάττη καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι παρέχη, πῶς οὐ μέγα νομιστέον;

(14) Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεὺς ὀνομαστοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄθλων, ἐν δὲ ἐκατέρου τοῖς ἄθλοις αἱ μὲν βόες αἱ Γηρυόνοιο τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν δὲ Θησέα εὐδόκιμον ἐποίησεν ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ ταῦρος κατενεχθείς. τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, βοὺς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐστὶ θεὸς καὶ τιμᾶται παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἄπις ὅσαπερ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ὁ Ζεὺς τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι θεοί.

(15) Βοὺς καὶ ζῶν ἀνθρώποις συνεργὸς καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὤνησεν. ὅστις γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων μελίττας σμήνους ἐπιθυμεῖ μελιττῶν, βοῦν κτείνει ροπάλοις, εὐθὺς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τίκτει μελίττας. καὶ ἔστιν ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ βοὸς μελίττης γένεσις.

9. Ἐγκώμιον φοίνικος καὶ μηλέας.

(1) Ἐπαινέσαι φυτὰ προαιρούμενος ἃ προῆλθε θεῶν οὐκ οἶδα μᾶλλον ὅ τι θαυμάσομαι, μηλέαν ἢ φοίνικα. προῆλθε μὲν γὰρ ἄμφω θεῶν, θεῶν δὲ

crafted.²⁶² And war itself is made by the living, and living comes from fruits, and those come from the ox. (12) But if you speak to me of racing chariots, you are talking about pleasure, but I am talking about the benefit from which horses themselves also derive the ability to live and run; for barley comes from the labor of oxen. The horse is swift, but the ox is also not slow. The horse kicks at being goaded. This is possible for the ox, as well. Furthermore, it has horns. (13) And so, the most important thing for men is the goodwill of the gods, and sacrifices customarily achieve this. And it is not horses that we sacrifice, but oxen. What is more, it is customary for men to taste of the ox, but not customary to do so with the horse. Their flesh is also useful for those at war, as in the case of the Achaeans.²⁶³ And so, since the ox both reconciles the gods to us and provides us with something to feast upon, how must we not consider it great?

(14) Heracles and Theseus were famous for their labors, but in their individual labors the oxen of Geryon made Heracles famous,²⁶⁴ and the bull brought down in Crete made Theseus famous.²⁶⁵ And the most important point is that the ox is a god to the Egyptians, and Apis is honored among them as much as Zeus and the other gods combined are honored among the Greeks.²⁶⁶

(15) The ox is a partner to men while it is alive, and it benefits them after its death; for whoever does not have bees but desires to have swarms of bees, kills an ox with clubs, and immediately the body gives birth to bees. And the death of the ox is the birth of the bee.²⁶⁷

ENCOMIUM 9: THE DATE PALM AND THE APPLE TREE²⁶⁸

(1) In deliberately choosing to praise trees that originated from the gods, I do not know which I should praise more, the apple tree or the date palm.

262. Homer, *Il.* 7.219–223.

263. E.g., Homer, *Il.* 7.313–322.

264. Hesiod, *Theog.* 287–294, 979–983; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.10.

265. The Minotaur: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.7–9; Ovid, *Metam.* 8.155–176.

266. Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.153; 3.27–29.

267. Virgil, *Georg.* 4.281–558, especially 281–314, 528–558; Nicander, *Ther.* 741–742; Aelian, *Nat. an.* 2.57; Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophr.* 56.19–23 (Maria E. Colonna, ed., *Teofrasto* [Naples: Iodice, 1958]).

268. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 1 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:329,1–31,13). Comparison of the date palm with the olive tree: Pseudo-Nicolaus 7 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:368,1–69,6). John Geometres composed three encomia of the apple (Antony R. Littlewood, ed., *The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres* [Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1972], 14–30), the first of which (14–18) shows knowledge of and responds to the present encomium. See the commentary of Littlewood, *Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres*, 61–73.

τῶν ἴσων. ὃ τε γὰρ φοῖνιξ προῆλθεν Ἀπόλλωνος τό τε αὖ μήλον εἰς Ἄρην ἀνενήνοχεν, ὥστε μίαν ἀμφοῖν λαβοῦσι τοῦ βίου τὴν γένεσιν ἴσος ἔπαινος ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐποφείλεται.

(2) Καὶ γεγεννημένα τοῦ καλλίστου θεοῦ <παρὰ τοῖς> καλλίστοις χώροις ἐπίσταται φύεσθαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν δένδρων ἢ φύειν οἶδεν <έν> τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἢ προσοικεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, μόνα δὲ τῶν ὄντων μηλέα καὶ φοῖνιξ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμερωτέροις τῶν χωρίων εἶωθε φύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἡμερον τῇ τῶν χωρίων σημαίνει πραότητι, καὶ τὸ δὴ κάλλιστον, φύειν οὐκ οἶδε μὴ πονούσης τῆς τέχνης ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχόμενα φύεσθαι μὴ λαβόντα καὶ φύσιν καὶ τέχνην. (3) καὶ τιμῶντα καὶ φύσιν καὶ πόνον διαιρεῖται ταῖς ὥραις εἰς βλάστην. ἡ μὲν γὰρ οἶδε προῖέναι τοῦ θέρου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν θεῶν προελήλυθεν Ἄρεος καὶ δυεῖν ὥρῶν τῶν ἐπαινουμένων φανεῖσα τὰς μετ' ἐκείνας ἠγγόνησε. χειμῶνα μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ καὶ μετόπωρον, ἃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνεῖλε τὰς πράξεις καὶ τῆς μηλέας συνανεῖλε τὸ κάλλος. φοῖνιξ δὲ τελευτῶν λήγειν οὐκ οἶδε τῆς βλάστης, πρὸς δὲ οὐ μίαν ἦνθησεν ὥραν, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ τῶν ὥρῶν μονιμώτερος καὶ μεταβαλλούσης τῆς ὥρας ἡ τύχη τὴν τοῦ φοίνικος οὐ μετέθηκε βλάστην. (4) μηλέα τοίνυν καὶ φοῖνιξ τιμῶσαν ἔσχε τὴν φύσιν ἐκάτερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ φοῖνιξ ὑψοῦ πρόεισι καὶ γῆς ἀνέχει τὰ μάλιστα καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ὥς εἰπεῖν ἰέναι σπεύδει τὸν οὐρανὸν ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχόμενος μένειν ἐν γῇ καὶ τῆς γῆς γεγονώς. τὸν δὲ τοῦ βίου χρόνον παραπλήσιον ἔχει τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ σώματος. οὐκ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὃς θᾶπτον οἶδεν ἀναιρούμενον φοίνικα, ἀλλ' οἶδε μόνον τῶν φυομένων μακροβιώτατον. (5) κόμη δὲ αὐτῷ προῆλθεν εἰς κάλλος καὶ διαιρεῖ τῇδε κάκεϊσε τὸ βλάστημα, καὶ ὁ τῶν δένδρων ἐπαινετώτατον, ὅτι

For both originated from the gods, and they are equal gods; for the date palm originated from Apollo,²⁶⁹ and the apple tree in turn is traced back to Ares,²⁷⁰ so that we owe equal praise to both for having a single origin of their life.

(2) And plants born of the fairest god know how to grow <in the> fairest places. For other kinds of trees know how to grow <in> the mountains or to live near the sea, but of all existing trees only the apple and the date palm are accustomed to grow in the most gentle of places, and their gentleness is evidenced in the mildness of the places; and their finest characteristic is that they do not know how to grow where human expertise does not labor, as if they cannot tolerate growing without receiving both nature and human expertise. (3) And honoring both nature and labor they differ in their seasons for growth. For the apple tree knows how to come forth during the summer, and it originates from Ares, the fairest of the gods, and after making its appearance during the two seasons that are praised, it does not know the ones after these; for it does not know winter and autumn, which put an end to the activities of men and at the same time put an end to the beauty of the apple tree. But the date palm does not know how to stop growing at the end of the year, and it does not bloom for only one season; rather, it is more stable than even the seasons and, when the season changes, fortune does not alter the growth of the date palm. (4) Well then, the apple tree and the date palm have a nature that brings honor to each. For the date palm goes up high and stays away from the earth to the highest degree and hurries, so to speak, to go to heaven itself, as if it cannot tolerate remaining on the earth and were not born of the earth. And it has a life span to match the size of its body. Therefore, there is no one who knows of a date palm dying very young; rather, everyone knows that it is the only plant to have a very long life. (5) Its foliage comes forth beautifully and its growth divides this way and that, and what is the most praiseworthy

269. This is also mentioned in Pseudo-Nicolaus's invective against the oak tree (Invective 7, Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:349,16). Leto held on to or sat under a date palm while giving birth to Apollo (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 3.14–18; Theognis 1.5–10); cf. Narration 25. Date palms were found near temples of Apollo (Homer, *Od.* 6.162–163; Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.156) and were used by Theseus to make crowns for games to Apollo (Pausanias, *Descr.* 8.48.3).

270. A connection between the apple and Ares is also mentioned in a speech in character by Nikephoros Basilakes (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:485,1). There is no earlier ancient source for it. Four aetiologies for the apple are known: a gift (usually from Earth) at the wedding of Zeus and Hera, a creation by Dionysus, the metamorphosis of Melus, or the metamorphosis of a maiden; see Antony R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1967): 148–49. On Foerster's emendation of Ἄρην ("Ares") for MSS αὐτὸν ("him," i.e., Apollo) in 262,1 (274,2 Foerster), see Littlewood, *Progyrnasmata of Ioannes Geometres*, 65 n.2; cf. section 3, below. For connections between the apple and various gods and heroes, see Littlewood, "Symbolism of the Apple," 159–67.

τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις προϊόντα πανταχῇ τὰ βλαστήματα σώματος εἶδος οὐ δίδωσιν ἴσον, μόνος δὲ φοῖνιξ κατευθὺ προϊὼν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διασώζει τὴν βλάστην δυσὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις καλοῖς κοσμηθεὶς, ἐπὶ μῆκός τε ἰὼν ὡς ἀνέμῳ κλινόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀνθεστηκῶς ὡς μὴ πολὺ τι τῆς γῆς ἐπαρθεὶς. (6) ἢ δ' αὖ μῆλέα βραχὺ τι προελήλυθε καὶ μένει τοῖς ὀρώσιν ἐγγὺς καὶ γεγονὸς ἔρωτος βλάστημα τοῖς ἐρώσι χαρίζεται καὶ τοὺς θεατὰς οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ὄψιν. καὶ κατέχει τὸ δένδρον ἢ φύσις ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ὥσπερ δεῖσασα μὴ τις ἐμπεσὼν διαφθείρειεν ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ βλάστημα πανταχόθεν ἀνίησιν ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ψυχαγωγοῦσα διαπαντός.

(7) Ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ καρποὶ παρ' ἑκατέρω οἷοι; φοῖνικες μὲν γὰρ τὸ χρῶμα παντοδαποί. καὶ πρῶτόν εἰσι τοῦ τεκόντος ἐπώνυμοι, προϊόντες δὲ ἐρυθραίνονται καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν φοινισσόμενοι τὰ μὲν τῷ παντὶ βλαστήματι μένουσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἤλεκτρον φέρονται καὶ πάντα χρώματα τῷ κάλλει διέσωσαν. φοινίσσονται μὲν γὰρ ὡς εἰς ἄλλο τι μὴ μεταπίπτοντες, λευκαίνονται δὲ ὡς ἐτέρῳ μὴ προσγενόμενοι. καὶ συμμεταβάλλει ταῖς ὥραις ἢ πρόσοψις. ὥχρὰν μὲν γὰρ ἔαρ εἴληφεν, εἴτα θέρους φοινίσσεται καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν οὐκ ἀπέοικε μέλιτος. μῆλέα δὲ τὸν καρπὸν διετήρησεν ὅσον ἔρωτος ἐπόθησεν.

(8) Ἄρα καὶ μόνα ταῦτα περὶ τούτων τῶν δένδρων ἔχω διεξελεῖν; πολλὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγειν <ἔχων> ἀποστερῶ τὰ λοιπὰ μὴ προσθεῖς. φοῖνιξ μὲν γὰρ παντὸς ἀγῶνος γίνεται στέφανος καὶ τὸν θαλλὸν ἔχει νίκης ὑπόμνημα, μῆλέα δ' αὖθις στεφανοῖ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Πυθικόν. (9) ἔτι καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐκότερον τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ἐπικουρεῖ. τὰ τε γὰρ φοίνικος εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν προήλθε νοσήματος ἃ τε μῆλον ἐργάζεται, λύσις καθίσταται

characteristic of trees, namely that whereas the growths of other trees go out in every direction and do not present the same physical form, the date palm alone preserves its growth by going straight forward at the top, where it is adorned with the two most opposing goods, both extending horizontally as if being bent by the wind, and standing vertically against the wind as if not raised up very far from the earth. (6) The apple tree, however, has come forth only a little bit and remains close to those who look at it, and born as an offshoot of love,²⁷¹ it gratifies its lovers and does not rob spectators of the sight of it. And nature restrains the tree within itself, as if fearing that a wind might blow in and destroy it, and it sends forth its branches in every direction, as if continually keeping its lovers cool.

(7) However, what are their fruits like in comparison to one another? For dates are variegated in color. And at first they are named after the tree that fathered them,²⁷² but as they come forth they turn red, and as they become dark red in their own right, in some parts they remain that way throughout the whole growth, while in other parts they tend toward amber and preserve all colors in their beauty; for they become dark-colored as if not changing into another color, but they become light-colored as if not having accrued to a different one.²⁷³ And their appearance changes with the seasons; for spring finds them yellow, then during the summer they become dark red, and at their peak they are not unlike honey. But the apple tree guards its fruit as much as love desires it.²⁷⁴

(8) And are these the only things that I can recount about these trees? <Though I am able> to say much more along these lines, I will hold back without adding the rest. For the date palm becomes the crown for every contest, and it has its leaves as a token of victory, while the apple tree, in turn, provides crowns for the Pythian Games.²⁷⁵ (9) Furthermore, in addition to these things, both trees help the sick; for the fruits of the date palm come forth to alleviate sickness, and what the apple can achieve is relief from suf-

271. For ancient thought on the erotic symbolism of the apple, see Littlewood, "Symbolism of the Apple," 149–59.

272. The date palm and its fruit are both called *phoinix* (Hesychius s.v. φοῖνιξ).

273. "Having accrued to": reading aorist προσγενόμενοι in 264,15 (276,13 Foerster) with mss PaPar and Walz, *Rh. Gr.*, in preference to Foerster's present προσγινόμενοι ("accruing to"). Viewers of the dark-colored fruit would think that it could never change color again, while viewers of the light-colored fruit would not believe that it had ever been dark.

274. I.e., as much as a lover of the fruit desires to pick and eat it.

275. Maximus of Tyre 1.4; 34.8 (Michael B. Trapp, ed., *Dissertationes: Maximus Tyrius* [Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994]); Lucian, *Anach.* 9; cf. Littlewood, *Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres*, 64–66, 73; idem, "Symbolism of the Apple," 168–69.

πάθους. (10) εἶτα τίς μηλέα παραθήσει τὸν φοῖνικα; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ κόμης ἐβλάστησε μόνης, ἡ δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἐξανθεῖ τοῦ βλαστήματος. ταύτη μὲν μηλέα φέρει τὸ πλεόν, ὁ φοῖνιξ δὲ πῶς εἰς τὴν τῆς μηλέας ἄνεισι τάξιν; ὁ μὲν εἰς ἅπασαν ἐκόμησεν ὥραν, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν μόνον ἐβλάστησεν.

(11) Ἦν πολλὰ ἕτερα περὶ αὐτῶν διεξελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάτερον. ἃ γὰρ περὶ ἐκατέρου λέγειν καθέστηκεν ἄπορον, συναμφοτέρων ἐστὶν ἀπορώτερον.

1. Ψόγος Ἀχιλλέως.

(1) Εἰ καὶ δόξα τις κεκράτηκεν εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα θαυμαστόν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ βάσανος οὐ τοιοῦτον δείκνυσι, γενώμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν εἰκῇ δοκούντων καὶ φανήτω διὰ τῶν λόγων οἷος ἔστιν, οὐχ οἷος ὑπείληπται.

(2) Καὶ μὴ μέ τις οἰέσθω ἀντερεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἦν δίκαιος Αἰακός, Πηλεὺς δὲ σῶφρων, ἢ συγχωροῦντα χρηστοὺς ἐκείνους γεγονέναι βλαβήσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν ἀπόδειξιν. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ δεινόν ἐστιν, ὅτι βλέπων εἰς πατέρων ἀρετὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ὥρμησε καὶ καλῶν αὐτῷ παραδειγμάτων ἐστηκότων οὐκ ἠβουλήθη μιμήσασθαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ φαύλων, εἰ μὴ ποιοῖτο λόγον τοῦ κρείττονος, ἔνι συγγνώμῃ· τῷ δ' οὐ παρέχοντι τῶν προγόνων ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἔστι παραίτησις, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτ' ὑπερβόλως μισεῖται, ὅσῳ τοὺς προγόνους ἀρνεῖται τῷ τρόπῳ. (3) ὅτι τοίνυν τοιοῦτος ἦν Ἀχιλλεὺς δεῖξω σαφῶς τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὡς οἱ σεμνύνοντες αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ

fering.²⁷⁶ (10) Then will someone compare the date palm to the apple tree? For the former grows in its foliage alone, but the latter blooms throughout the whole growth. In this way the apple tree has the advantage, but how can the date palm rise to the rank of the apple tree? The date palm has foliage for the whole year, but the apple tree grows for only one specific time.

(11) It would have been possible to recount many other details about them, but the sheer number robs both of them; for what has been difficult to say about each of them alone, is more difficult when both are taken together.

THE EXERCISE IN INVECTIVE

INVECTIVE 1: ACHILLES²⁷⁷

(1) Even if the prevailing opinion is that Achilles is admirable, since a careful examination of the facts shows that he is not so, let us be on the side of truth rather than on the side of random opinions, and let it be shown through arguments what sort of man he is, not merely the sort he has been assumed to be.

(2) And let no one suppose that I will contend that Aeacus was not just or Peleus not prudent,²⁷⁸ or that by acknowledging that those men were good, I will be impeded in the present demonstration. For this very fact is also the terrible part of it: that although he was looking toward the virtues of his forefathers he rushed into wickedness, and although he had noble examples, he did not wish to imitate them; for it is possible to forgive a man from a humble family for failing to take account of the better course, but there is no forgiveness for the man who does not show himself worthy of his ancestors; rather, the more he denies his ancestry by his character, the more he is hated. (3) Well then, I will show clearly that Achilles was just such a man, stating by way of

276. For ancient beliefs about apples and health, see Littlewood, *Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres*, 71–72.

277. Encomium of Achilles: for the theme, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 127,16–19); with partial elaboration, [Hermogenes] 16; Pap. gr. Vindob. 29789, frg. 3 (= Pack 2528; third to fourth century C.E., Gerstinger, "Bruchstücke einer antiken Progymnasmata-Sammlung," 42–47); Nicolaus 52; John of Sardis (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 136,20–21, 177,4); Encomium 3. Comparison of Achilles: with Diomedes (Comparison 1); Hector (Aphthonius 32–33, Nicolaus 61); Ajax (John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius [Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 183,6–10, 188,20–21]; Comparison 2); Heracles (John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius [Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 186,13–14, 189,20–190.1]); Thersites (Theon 112); unnamed others (Nicolaus 59–60).

278. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.6; 3.13.6; Encomium 3.2; Comparison 1.2, 2.2.

τροφεῖ τῷ Χείρωνι μυελούς λεόντων ἀντὶ γάλακτος γενέσθαι οἱ τὴν τροφήν. ἔστω τοίνυν θεῖον γενέσθαι τὸν Κένταυρον, καίτοι τίς ἂν πιστεύσειε συντεθῆναι σώματος εἶδος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἵππου; καὶ περὶ τῆς τροφῆς οὐκ ἀμφισβητήσας ἐκεῖνο φαίην ἂν, ὅτι ἡ πρέπουσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τροφή τὸ γάλα καὶ τῷ νόμῳ συμβαίνει τῆς φύσεως. ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ κατὰ τοῦτο τραφῆναι συνέβη, τοῦτο εἰς ἐλάττωμα τῷ τραφέντι σαφῶς ἀφίκται. ἡμέροις ἐκεῖνο πρέπον, τοῦτ' ἂν θηριώδεις ποιοίη.

(4) Ἀλλ' ἐάσθω ταῦτα, μὴ καὶ λίαν ἀκριβολογώμεθα. τὸν στρατιώτην δὲ δοκιμάζωμεν τὸν ἤδη δυνάμενον τοῖς ἔργοις ἀρκεῖν ἔλθωμέν τε ἐπὶ τὸν Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον κάκειθεν λάβωμεν τὴν ἐξέτασιν, ἵν' εἰδῶμεν τί τῶν ἄλλων ποιούντων ἐν τίσιν ἦν ὁ θαυμαστός Ἀχιλλεύς.

(5) Οὐκοῦν ἦγε μὲν ὀργὴ δικαία τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ τὴν Πριάμου πόλιν καὶ τιμωρίαν ἔδει λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὕβρεως, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀρπαζόντων, καὶ τῶν γενναίων καὶ τῶν οὐ τοιούτων, καὶ οὐδὲ Θερσίτου μένοντος οἴκοι τοῦ πρόφασιν ἔχοντος εἰς τὴν μονὴν δικαίαν τὴν τοῦ σώματος βλάβην μόνος Ἀχιλλεύς οὐκ ἐν ὅπλοις ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύρῳ μετὰ τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν πατρῶαν ἐοικέναι γυναιξὶν ἐσχηματίζετο. (6) τοῦτο δὲ εἴτε ἄκων εἴτε ἐκὼν αὐτῇ τῇ μητρὶ χαριζόμενος ἔπλαττεν, ἀμφοτέρωθεν οὐ καλόν. μὴ γάρ μοι μηδὲ γονεῦσι χαριζέσθω μηδεὶς ἀφ' ὧν ἄδοξος ἔσται μηδὲ εἰ κακῶς ἐκεῖνοι βεβούλευνται, βεβαιούτω παρεῖς ἀντιλέγειν. (7) ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠξίου τὸν γε ὄντως ἀγαθὸν ἐξελεῖν τὸ δέος τῆς μητρός, παραθαρῦναι, διαλεχθῆναι περὶ δόξης, ἀντιστατῆσαι τῷ φόβῳ τὸ κλέος, ἀλγῆσαι, δακρῦσαι, πείσαι τὴν βουλομένην φυλάττειν ὅτι τοῦτο θανάτου χαλεπώτερον, καὶ μὴ πείθοντά γε τούτῳ μόνον ἀνιᾶσαι τὴν μητέρα τῷ καὶ ἀκούσης γενέσθαι γενναῖον. (8) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκέ ποτε τέχνη καὶ μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ὑπερβὰς ἐπειράτο τὸν

introduction that those who revere him say that under his guardian Chiron²⁷⁹ his food was the marrow of lions rather than milk.²⁸⁰ Furthermore, let it be granted that the Centaur was divine; and yet who could believe that the form of his body was composed of a man and a horse? And while not disputing the claim about the food, I would say that the proper food for humans is milk, and that this conforms to the law of nature. Whoever has had the misfortune to have been raised in this way, this clearly works to his detriment. The one food is proper for civilized men, but the other would make them like wild animals.²⁸¹

(4) But let these points be granted, and let us not discuss them in too much detail. Let us scrutinize the soldier who was already fully capable for action, and let us come to the Trojan War and take up the review from that point, so that we may learn in what ways Achilles was “the remarkable” in the context of what the rest were doing.

(5) Therefore, it was a just anger that led the Greeks against the city of Priam, and they had to exact punishment from the barbarians for their insolence.²⁸² But while the rest were seizing the opportunity, both nobles and otherwise, and not even Thersites remained at home, though he had the injury to his body as a just excuse for staying behind,²⁸³ Achilles was the only one not at arms; instead, he was at Scyros with the maidens, and having put aside his father’s gear, was contriving to look like a woman.²⁸⁴ (6) He fabricated this either unwillingly or willingly indulging his mother²⁸⁵—in either case it was not noble; for let no one, I say, indulge even his parents in a way that will make him disreputable, and even if they have given bad advice, let him not confirm it by failing to object. (7) For I think the best thing for a man who was actually good would have been to remove his mother’s fear, cheer her up, talk with her about glory, match his honor against her fear, sympathize with her, shed tears, and convince the one wishing to protect him that this would be harsher than death, and if he failed to convince her, to hurt his mother in only this one way—by being noble even against her will. (8) But when at some point he arrived at Troy with artifice²⁸⁶ and with

279. Centaur who taught many Greek heroes: see Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1.2 for a list; cf. Encomium 1.4, 2.3, 3.2–4; Comparison 1.5.

280. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.6; Encomium 3.2; Comparison 2.3.

281. Comparison 2.3.

282. Encomium 2.4, 4.4; Invective 2.5–8; Comparison 2.4.

283. Encomium 4.4.

284. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 1.5, 2.4, 3.5–6, 4.5; Comparison 1.4, 2.4. For Chiron’s reaction to the news, see Speech in Character 14.

285. Thetis: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 3.6.

286. An allusion to the trick of Odysseus (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Ovid, *Metam.*

Ἀγαμέμνονα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ συνῆγεν ἐκκλησίαν ἄκυρος ὦν τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τοὺς ιδιώτας ἔπειθεν ἀναισχυντεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ῥοπὴν ὑπισχνούμενος. (9) τοῦ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονος αὐτὸν σωφρονίζοντος καὶ παιδεύοντος καὶ πειρωμένου βελτίω ποιεῖν τῇ τῆς κόρης ἀφαιρέσει πεσῶν εἰς θυμὸν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπολέσας καὶ κατασχεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τί μὲν οὐκ εἶπε; τί δὲ οὐκ ἔδρασεν; ὥς δὲ πάντα τὰ κακὰ ὑβρίζων διεξεληλύθει, τελευτῶν ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους καὶ εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐκώλυσεν, ἐπέπρακτο ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα <τὸ> δεινόν. (10) ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφίσταται τοῦ συμμαχεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα βλέπων ἀπιούσαν ἔκλαε καὶ κατηράτο τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα φέρειν ἠπίστατο καὶ μεθίστη τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ ὅλως μετεβέβλητο διὰ μίαν αἰχμάλωτον. (11) καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὥς ὠργίσθη μὲν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ταχέως ἐγένετο καὶ πάλιν ἐκοινώνει τῶν πόνων, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀθάνατα ἐμήνιεν ὥστε τοὺς οἰκείους ὁρῶν πράττοντας κακῶς καὶ πρέσβεις ἤκοντας ἐπὶ τῷ λῦσαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ πολλῶν λόγων ἀκούσας καλῶν ἔμενεν ἐν τούτοις ἃ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδει ποιεῖν, οὐ τὴν Αἴαντος συγγένειαν αἰδεσθεῖς, οὐ τὴν Φοῖνικος πολιάν, οὐ τοῦ τροφέως τὰ δάκρυα. (12) καίτοι παρὰ τῶν φύσει πολεμίων πρέσβεις <ἤκοντας> ὁρῶντες οἱ πεπονθότες κακῶς ἐν ταπεινῷ τῷ σχήματι τὸν θυμὸν καταλύουσι καὶ σπεισάμενοι φιланθρωπίας ἀξιοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἕλληνας, ὁ Πηλέως, ὁ πολλὰ δίκαια πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔχων ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψε πρέσβεις αἰδεσίμους καίπερ οὕτως εὐλόγως ἤκοντας. (13) καὶ εἰ μὲν τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο τί πεπονθῶς χαλεπαίνει, τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἶπεν ἂν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου, τὸ δίκην δὲ παρὰ τῶν οὐδὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡδικοκότων λαμβάνειν οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο δεινόν. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἦν, οἶμαι, μὴ πικροῦ καὶ ἀνιανοῦ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις ἐοικότος

difficulty, overstepping his position, he tried to throw Agamemnon out of power and convened an assembly, completely without authority, and tried to persuade the common soldiers to behave shamelessly toward their leader by promising his assistance.²⁸⁷ (9) But when Agamemnon was chastising and teaching and trying to make him better by removing the girl, he became angry and unreasonable and was overcome by wrath—then what did he not say? What did he not do? When he had abusively gone through a full list of evils, he finally attacked him with his sword in the midst of the Achaeans, and if one of the gods had not prevented him, a terrible deed would have been done.²⁸⁸ (10) But in response to this he withdrew from the alliance, and looking toward the woman as she departed, he began to cry,²⁸⁹ and he cursed his kinsmen, did not know how to endure even this trivial slight, transferred his goodwill to the Trojans, and was completely transformed because of one captive woman.²⁹⁰ (11) And one cannot say that he was angered but quickly came to his senses and once again shared in their labors; rather, he was so everlastingly wrathful that, although he saw his kinsmen faring badly and ambassadors arriving to resolve his complaints, and although he heard many fine speeches,²⁹¹ he remained in this state in which he never should have been at all, respecting neither his kinship with Ajax, nor the gray hair of Phoenix, nor the tears of his guardian.²⁹² (12) And yet when those who have been ill-treated see ambassadors from their natural enemies <arriving>, they put an end to their anger in a humble manner and, calling a truce, deem them worthy of humane treatment. But this Greek, the son of Peleus, who had many just obligations toward the Achaeans, sent venerable ambassadors away unsuccessful, although they had come so reasonably. (13) And if someone had asked him what he had suffered to make him so harsh, he would have said “Agamemnon and what he did,” but he considered it nothing terrible to exact punishment from those who had done him no wrong; for it would have been characteristic, I believe, of a man who was not bitter, grievous, and like a wild animal, to save the man who had hurt him along with

13.162–171; Encomium 2.4) or Diomedes (Encomium 1.6; Comparison 1.5) that exposed him at Scyros. See also Encomium 3.5–6, 4.5; Comparison 2.4–5.

287. Homer, *Il.* 1.53–91; Encomium 3.12, 4.6; Comparison 1.7, 2.6–7.

288. Homer, *Il.* 1.188–222.

289. Homer, *Il.* 1.346–356.

290. Homer, *Il.* 1.407–412; Encomium 1.6, 2.6, 3.14–15; Comparison 2.7. For Achilles' reaction to being robbed of Briseis, see Speech in Character 15.

291. From Odysseus, Phoenix, and Ajax: Homer, *Il.* 9.225–655; on the embassy to Achilles, see Encomium 2.8, 3.16–17; Comparison 1.11.

292. Homer, *Il.* 9.432–433.

μετὰ τῆς μηδὲν ἡδίκηκυίας στρατιᾶς σῶσαι τὸν λελυπηκότα ἢ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀργὴν πάντας ἀπολέσαι.

(14) Τοιοῦτος τοίνυν ἐξ ὧν εἶπον πεφηνῶς ἔτι ἀτοπώτερος ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις εὐρίσκεται. τῆς γὰρ τύχης λαμπρότερον μετὰ τῶν Τρώων ἀνθισταμένης καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πιεζομένων ὥστε καὶ ἐμπεπρῆσθαι τὰς ναῦς οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διηλλάττετο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν πολεμίων εἰργασμένος καὶ Πριάμῳ σύμμαχος ἦκων ἔχαιρε μετὰ τῶν νενικηκότων. (15) καὶ τοῦ Πατρόκλου κλάοντος πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων τύχας καὶ θρηνοῦντος τοὺς τετρωμένους καὶ διδάσκοντος ὡς οἴχεται τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπετίμα τοῖς δάκρυσιν καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐκάκιζε καὶ τὸ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐλεεῖν ἐν ὀνείδει προὔφερεν. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἔμενε δεόμενος καὶ πάντα κινῶν, ὅρα, τί ποιεῖ; μένει μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, δίδωσι δ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν σκευὴν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ συνῆγεν εἰς ταῦτ' ἀλλαγὰς καὶ μῖσος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀναστήσαι τὸν ἐταῖρον εἰς συμμαχίαν διηλλαγμένου, τὸ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν παραταττόμενον θυμουμένου. (16) ἐχρῆν δέ, οἶμαι, τὸν μὲν πεπαυμένον τῆς ὀργῆς ἐξιέναι, τὸν δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὄντα μηδενὶ λόγῳ βοηθεῖν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν ποιεῖ μισοῦντος, τὸ δὲ κηδομένου. ποίας ταῦτα παιδείας; μᾶλλον δέ, τίνας οὐκ ἐμπληξίας σχίζεσθαι τὴν γνώμην καὶ μὴ ἔχειν ὁρᾶν τί ποιῶν ἀμείνων ἔσται; (17) ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπασεν ὁ Πάτροκλος καὶ οὐκέτ' ἦν οὐδὲ βουλομένη καθῆσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖνον φονέα μετῆι σφοδρῶς καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμονομάχει, ποῖός τις κἀνταῦθα γίνεται; τέχνη μὲν οὐ λαμπρὸς, τύχη δὲ μέγας οὐδὲ ὡς ἀμείνων ἐκράτησεν Ἑκτορος, ἀλλ' ἀπέσφαξεν ἡτυχηκότα. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν τῶν οὕτω κρινάντων θεῶν, πρὸς ὃ κἂν ὁ φαυλότατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤρκεσε.

(18) Δῶμεν τοίνυν αὐτὸν πάντων ἄριστον εἶναι μάχεσθαι καὶ παραθέντες κακίαν ἢς ἔγεμε σκοπῶμεν εἰ μὴ διὰ ταῦτα μισεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἄξιός ἢ δι' ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζεσθαι. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδενός τινος ἵππου τάχος ὠφέλιμον δι' ἀμαθίαν

the army that had done him no wrong, rather than to destroy them all out of hatred toward that one man.²⁹³

(14) Furthermore, having been shown to be such a person from what I have said so far, he is found to be even more unusual in what followed; for as fortune was rather conspicuously against them and on the Trojan side, and the Greeks were being pressed hard to the point that the ships were even set on fire,²⁹⁴ not even the fire reconciled him to them; rather, he rejoiced along with the victors as if he himself had done this together with the enemy and as if he had come to the war as Priam's ally. (15) And when Patroclus was crying out against their misfortune, lamenting the wounded, and informing him that the Greek cause was lost, he rebuked his tears, vilified his humanity, and reproached him for pitying his countrymen.²⁹⁵ But when that man remained, pleading and trying to move him in every way—look, what does he do? He remains in the tent himself, but gives that man his gear and his troops,²⁹⁶ and he combined reconciliation and hatred in the same action; for to restore his companion to the alliance is the action of a man who has been reconciled, but not to be the one who lines up for battle himself is the action of one who is still angry. (16) The man who had ceased being angry, I believe, should have gone out, but the man who was still angry should not have helped in any way. The latter is doing the deed of one who hates, the former of one who cares. To what sort of education does this behavior belong? Or rather, is it not the height of stupidity to be divided in one's mind and to be unable to see what one should do to be the better man? (17) When Patroclus fell²⁹⁷ and he could no longer sit still, even if he wanted to,²⁹⁸ and he was vehemently pursuing that man's killer and saw him and began to fight him one-on-one,²⁹⁹ what sort of a person did he become then, as well? Not one distinguished in skill, but one great by chance; nor did he defeat Hector as the better man, but killed him because he was unlucky. And the deed was due to the gods deciding so, for which even the lowliest of the Greeks would have sufficed.³⁰⁰

(18) Well then, let us grant that he was the best of all at fighting, and putting aside the wickedness that filled him, let us consider whether or not he deserves to be hated for the latter rather than admired for the former; for

293. For Achilles' reaction when the Greeks are losing, see Speech in Character 4.

294. Homer, *Il.* 15.743–744; 16.122–129; Encomium 3.15, 17.

295. Homer, *Il.* 16.2–19; Encomium 3.18.

296. Homer, *Il.* 16.130–224.

297. Homer, *Il.* 16.783–861; Encomium 3.19; Invective 2.16.

298. Homer, *Il.* 18.1–126.

299. Homer, *Il.* 22.

300. Homer, *Il.* 22.214–366; Encomium 3.20; Invective 2.17; Comparison 1.13, 2.12.

οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὕτω κακοδαίμων ὅστις ἐθέλει κεκτῆσθαι θρέμμα οὕτως ἄχρηστον, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀνδρὸς μετὰ πολεμικῆς ἐμπειρίας πονηρίᾳ συζώντος. πλέον γὰρ ἂν βλάψειεν ἢ δοίη κερδᾶναι. (19) ὄρα τοίνυν ὅπως καὶ τὴν νίκην κατήσχυεν ἐν οἷς μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἔπραξεν. Ἑκτορος ὁ νεκρὸς εἵλκετο τεθνεῶτος ἐξημμένος τοῦ ἄρματος. ὁ δ' οὕτως ἦν ἀνόητος ὥστε λυπεῖν ᾤετο τὸ σῶμα ἀναίσθητον καὶ οὐκ εἶχε συνιδεῖν ὅτι ὄν μὲν ἠγεῖτο λυπῆσαι, τοῦτον οὐχ ὕβριζεν, ὑβρίζετο δὲ ὁ τῆς φύσεως ἐν τῷ τετελευτηκότῳ νόμος ὃς τὸν ἀπελθόντα γῇ κρύπτεσθαι βούλεται. (20) παρὰ ποίων ταῦτα βαρβάρων ἔμαθεν Ἀχιλλεύς; τίς αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκεν ὥς ἄρα προσήκει καὶ κειμένοις πολεμεῖν; ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν πεποιήται πρόσοδον. καὶ τὸ σῶμα Πρίαμος μὲν ὁ πατὴρ ὠνεῖτο πολλῶν χρημάτων, ἐπώλει δὲ ὁ λαμπρὸς Ἀχιλλεύς καὶ οὐς ἠκίζετο τεθνεῶτας, ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπλούτει.

(21) Καὶ οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνον ἔξω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐφέρετο νόμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Πατρόκλου τάφῳ τιμὰς ἀλλοκότους εὑρίσκειν ἀντὶ βοσκημάτων αἰχμαλώτους σφάττων ἐν τῇ πυρᾷ. καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς ὁ πολέμιος ἀλοῦς οὐκ ἔτ' ἐστὶ δυσμενής, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κεκρατῆσθαι μεταβάλλει τὴν προσηγορίαν ἱκέτης ἀντ' ἐχθροῦ καλούμενος.

(22) Εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνέξομαι τῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἄριστος Ἀχιλλεύς τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐλθόντων; τίνος ἔνεκα; τῆς ἀσελγείας; τῆς παροινίας; τῆς ἀσπονδίας; τῆς ἀπληστίας; τῆς ἀσεβείας; τῆς ἀκρασίας; ἦν οὐχ ἡ Βρισηὶς ἐλέγχει μόνον ζῶσα κόρη, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκρά. οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος μετὰ τὸν φόνον ἐρῶν καὶ τῇ Πενθεσιλείᾳ κειμένη ἐπιχυθείς. καί, νῆ Δία γε, εἰκότως. τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πολεμεῖν νεκροῖς καὶ νεκρῶν ἐρᾶν. (23) οὗτος ἔστιν ὃν ἐποίει προδότην τῶν ὁμοφύλων τῆς Πολυξένης τὸ κάλλος. ὡς γὰρ εἶδεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐθαύμασε καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἦν καὶ ὡς μὲν δοῦλος ἀφροδισίων ἐμνήστευεν, ὡς δὲ ἡλίθιος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπίστευε καὶ τῇ τῆς πίστεως ἐλπίδι δελεασθεὶς ἐν χερσὶ τῶν δυσμενῶν ἦν καὶ ἀπεσφάττετο παῖδα καταλιπὼν τῆς

just as no horse's speed is beneficial if the horse is unmanageable, and there is no one so mad as to want to own a creature so useless, the same is true of a man with military experience who lives in wickedness; for he would do more harm than he would bring profit. (19) Well now, see how he also disgraced his victory by what he did after the victory. The corpse of the dead Hector was dragged behind his chariot.³⁰¹ And he was so stupid that he thought that an unsensing body would feel pain, and he was unable to comprehend that he was not violating the one he thought he was hurting, but the law of nature was being violated in the dead man, the law that wants the departed to be hidden in the ground. (20) From what sort of barbarians did Achilles learn to do this? Who taught him that it was proper to wage war even on the dead? And he also turned the corpse into a source of revenue. And Hector's father Priam purchased the body for a lot of money, but the magnificent Achilles sold it and got rich off of dead men he had tortured.³⁰²

(21) And not only in these ways was he carried beyond Greek customs, but he also invented strange honors for the burial of Patroclus when he sacrificed war captives instead of cattle on the funeral pyre.³⁰³ And yet who does not know that an enemy once captured is no longer hostile, but because of this very defeat changes his title, being called now a suppliant instead of an enemy?

(22) Then in response to these things will I put up any longer with those who say that Achilles was the best of those who came to Troy? For what? His brutality? His gross violence? His implacability? His greed? His impiety? His bad temperament? Which not only Briseis proved, a living girl, but also a dead one; for this is the man who fell in love with the Amazon after killing her and threw himself on her when she lay dead.³⁰⁴ And naturally so, by Zeus; for it is characteristic of the same soul both to make war on the dead and to love the dead. (23) This is the man whom the beauty of Polyxena made a traitor to his countrymen;³⁰⁵ for when he saw her, he admired her and fell prey to the enemy and, like a slave to sexual pleasure, courted her, but like a fool, trusted the enemy, and enticed by the expectation of trust, put himself in the enemy's hands and was killed,³⁰⁶ leaving behind his son

301. Homer, *Il.* 22.395–404; Encomium 3.20; Invective 2.17.

302. Homer, *Il.* 24.501–502, 555–556, 578–579, 594–595; Invective 2.17.

303. Homer, *Il.* 23.175–182; for the funeral games for Patroclus, see Encomium 1.15–16, 3.20.

304. Penthesilea: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.1; Encomium 3.21.

305. Comparison 1.14.

306. For the story, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3 with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 2:215 n. 1; Encomium 3.22; Comparison 1.16, 2.13.

μανίας κληρονόμον τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον, ἢ χρώμενος ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ τὸν νεῶν ἀπεσφάττετο.

2. Ψόγος Ἑκτορος.

(1) Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν Ἑκτορα φῆσαιμ' ἂν εἶναι γενναῖον, κἂν εἴ τιςιν ἔδοξεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ οὔτε ἐκ τοιούτων. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτὸν βάρβαρον, τίς δὲ οὐ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐγγυτάτω τῶν θηρίων ἤκειν; τῷ δὲ ἄρα καὶ Φρύγα εἶναι συνέβαιεν, ἐν δὲ τῇ κλήσει ταύτη τὴν δειλίαν ὅση τοὺς Φρύγας ἔχει τίς ἀγνοεῖ; (2) τὸ δὲ Ἴλιον εἰς ἀκοὴν ἀνθρώποις ἐρχόμενον ἀθυμίαν φέρον προσέρχεται. ῥηθὲν γὰρ τοῦνομα συμφορῶν πλήθους ἀναμμνήσκει καὶ δὴ ὅστις βούλεται μέγα σημῆναι πάθος, Ἰλιάδα προσαγορεύει κακῶν. πρὸς τοιαύτην ἤκει παροιμίαν ἢ τῆς ἐκείνου πόλεως τύχη. (3) τοὺς προγόνους δὲ αὐτοῦ λαμπροὺς οὐκ ἂν εὖροι τις ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους εἴωθε ποιεῖν, ἀγῶνας λέγω καὶ μάχας καὶ πολέμους καὶ τρόπαια καὶ τὸ συμμαχεῖσθαι φίλοις καὶ τὸ κολάσαι δυσμενεῖς καὶ τὸ μείζω καταστήσαι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτό τις ἡγεῖται λαμπρὸν τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν θεῶν καὶ παροινεῖν εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὰς συνθήκας παραβαίνειν. ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ Λαομέδοντος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμέμψατο τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ' ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν κειμένην ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους. (4) καὶ τοιούτων ἐπειρᾶτο κακῶν καὶ ὁ παῖς μὲν ἐκείνου, πατὴρ δὲ Ἑκτορος. ὃν ὅτι ἐκτρέφει γενόμενον, ὥς ἐν βαρβάροις εἰκὸς καὶ τυραννίδι, ἐν μέθῃ καὶ ὕβρει καὶ ἀπαιδευσίᾳ, δῆλον ἐκ τῆς κακίας ἦν ἔδειξεν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθῶν. (5) ἐπιχειροῦντος γὰρ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ παρεσκευασμένου πλεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ φανερώς ναυπηγουμένου καὶ πόλεμον εἰσάγοντος εἰς τὴν Τρῳάδα βαρύν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον ὥς οἱ πεπονθότες κακῶς καὶ τιμωρίαν ζητήσουσιν, ὁρῶν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος οὐ παρήνεσεν, οὐκ ἀπέτρεψε μὴ τολμᾶν, οὐκ ἔπεισεν, οὐκ

Neoptolemus as an heir to his madness, who suffering from this was killed at Delphi near the temple.³⁰⁷

INVECTIVE 2: HECTOR³⁰⁸

(1) But I would also say that Hector was not noble, even if he has seemed so to some; for he was neither a good man nor descended from such; for who does not know that he was a barbarian, and who does not know that barbarians come closest to wild animals? It was also his misfortune to be Phrygian, and speaking of this name, who does not know how great a cowardice possesses the Phrygians?³⁰⁹ (2) And when the name of Troy comes to men's ears, it comes bringing despondency with it; for when the name is mentioned it calls to mind a great number of disasters, and in addition, whoever wishes to signify great suffering, uses the phrase "an *Iliad* of woes."³¹⁰ To such a proverb has the fortune of that man's city come. (3) One would not discover his ancestors to be splendid from what usually makes the rest so—by which I mean contests, battles, wars, trophies, alliances with friends, the punishment of enemies, and increasing one's rule—unless he would consider it splendid to despise the gods, grossly abuse one's benefactor Heracles, and break contracts; for this is what Laomedon did, but he had nothing to complain about in the penalty; rather, he saw his city laid waste by Heracles.³¹¹ (4) And his son, the father of Hector, also experienced such evils.³¹² That Priam raised the child born to him, as is likely among barbarians and in a tyranny, in drunkenness and violence and the absence of education, is evident from the wickedness he displayed when he came to manhood. (5) For when Alexander was turning his hand to the greatest crimes and preparing to sail to the Peloponnese to kidnap Helen,³¹³ and was obviously building himself a ship and bringing grievous war against the Troad—for it was not unclear that those who had been ill-treated would also seek revenge—seeing this, Hector did not offer advice, nor did he try to turn him away from the attempt, or persuade him,

307. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.14; Narration 14; Encomium 2.4, 3.22.

308. Comparison of Hector: with Achilles (Aphthonius 32–33); Aeneas (Pseudo-Nicolaus 12 [Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:375,1–76,24]).

309. For the "half-man" (*semiviri*) Phrygians, see Virgil, *Aen.* 4.215–217; 12.99–100; cf. 9.614–620.

310. Demosthenes 19.148.

311. Homer, *Il.* 5.638–651; 21.441–457; cf. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.9; 2.6.4; Ovid, *Metam.* 11.197–220.

312. Priam: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.21.

313. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.1–5; Narration 27; Encomium 2.4, 4.4; Invective 1.5; Comparison 2.4.

ἡνάγκασεν, οὐδὲν οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα ἐποίησε κωλύων τὴν ἀδικίαν. (6) εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ἔπλει καὶ ἐλάμβανεν, ὁ δ' ἐξὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἐνεδίδου πλεῖν, ἐκοινώνει τῶν πονηρευμάτων τῇ γνώμῃ, μᾶλλον δέ, πᾶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔρχεται τὸν κύριον ὄντα μὴ συγχωρῆσαι ταῦτα γενέσθαι.

(7) Ἄρ' οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα παρῆκε καὶ ἦν ἡ Μενελάου γυνὴ παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσὶ καὶ κίνησις ἐγγέγονε μεγίστη τῶν <Ἑλλήνων> ἀπαιτούντων ἡμέρως τὸ πρῶτον καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εὐθύς, διωρθώσατό τι τῶν οὐ καλῶς ἡμελημένων καὶ παρελθὼν ἀπέδωκε τὴν ἀνθρωπον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡλευθέρωσεν ὀλέθρου σαφῶς; οὐκ ἔστιν. (8) ἀλλ' ὁρῶν πρεσβείαν ἐπὶ δικαίοις ἀφιγμένην καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄγων διὰ τὸ γῆρας τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυριώτερος ὢν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἐφεστηκῶς οὐκ ἐξέβαλε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν συμφορῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ τὸ γύναιον μένει, μᾶλλον Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐθεράπευεν ἢ δι' ὧν ἔσται σώζεσθαι προὐνοεῖτο. (9) πόλεμος ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ στρατιὰ τοὺς ὁμόρους ἔφθειρε. τοῦτο δὲ ἀσθενῆ τὰ τῶν Τρώων ποιήσιν ἔμελλεν. Ἄρ' οὖν ἐκινήθη, παρωξύνθη, τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβε, δύναμιν ἄγων ἦκε τοῖς κακουμένοις; οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἐκάθητο τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν περιμένων ὁπότε λήψεται τῆς πόλεως. (10) καὶ δὴ προσέσχον τῇ ἐκείνου φερόμενοι καὶ τὰς ναῦς καθελκύσαντες τοὺς περιοίκους ἤρπαζον. πάλιν Ἐκτωρ τὰ τῶν γειτόνων κακὰ ἐπυνθάνετο, παρῆν δὲ τῶν πορθουμένων οὐδενί. τὴν ἥϊονα τῶν σκηνῶν ἐνεπίμπλασαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐθεᾶτο τῶν γυναικῶν. τὸ σεμνὸν δὲ ἦν προκύψαι τῶν πυλῶν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἔργοις καὶ μάχαις, ἀλλ' ὥστε προσιόντων πολεμίων φεύγειν. (11) μέγας γάρ, νῆ Δία, καὶ φοβερὸς Ἀχιλλεύς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν Πηλέως. καλῶς. ὃν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὠργίζετο χρόνον καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφειστήκει καὶ λαμπρὰς ἀπήλαυον τῆς τύχης οἱ Τρῶες, ἔδειξεν ἐν τούτοις ἀρετῆς τι μετέχον; ποίας; οὐ τοὺς ὄρκους ὁρῶν ὀλιγωρούμενους καὶ συνθήκας λυομένας καθ' ἃς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μενέλαος ἐμονομάχει τὴν ἡσυχίαν

or force him, nor did he do anything great or small to prevent the crime. (6) But if the one man sailed and took her, while the other, though it was in his power to prevent it, allowed him to sail, he intentionally shared in his wicked acts; or rather, the whole misdeed is attributable to him, as the one who had the authority not to let it happen.

(7) And so, since he disregarded this, and Menelaus's wife was with the Trojans, and a very great commotion arose as the <Greeks> were demanding her back—politely at first and not immediately at arms—did he correct any of what he had wrongly neglected, come forward and give the woman back, and free his city from clear destruction? By no means, no. (8) Rather, though he saw that the embassy had come for just reasons,³¹⁴ and though he was leading the city because of his father's old age, had more authority than Alexander, and was in charge of the whole state, he did not expel the reason for their misfortunes; rather, knowing that the woman remained to the detriment of the entire city, he served the pleasures of Alexander rather than taking forethought for how they might be saved. (9) War then came, and the expedition of the Greeks was destroying their neighbors.³¹⁵ This was bound to make the Trojan side weak. And so, was he disturbed? Was he provoked? Did he take up arms? Did he come leading a force to help those in distress? By no means, no. Rather, he sat waiting to see when the conflagration would overtake his city. (10) And then, being carried there, they turned their attention to that man's city, and launching their ships began pillaging the nearby peoples.³¹⁶ Again Hector learned of his neighbors' sufferings, but he came to help none of them as they were being destroyed. The Greeks filled the shore with their tents, but he watched from the walls with the very women. What he prided himself on was to peep out from the gates, not for action and battles, but so as to flee when the enemy approached.³¹⁷ (11) "For great and dreadful was Achilles, by Zeus, and it was impossible to withstand the son of Peleus." Very well, then. But what about the period of time when that man was angry and had withdrawn from action, and the Trojans were enjoying splendidly good luck? What action involving courage did he exhibit during this time? What kind of courage? When he saw the oaths being despised and the agreements being broken by which Menelaus was fighting Alexander one-on-one, did he

314. Homer, *Il.* 3.205–224; 11.138–142; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.28–29; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.196–204.

315. The Mysians: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.17–18.

316. Homer, *Il.* 9.328–329; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.32–33; Encomium 3.10; Comparison 2.5.

317. Homer, *Il.* 22.136–138.

ἦγεν; ἀλλὰ τί χρῆν ποιεῖν; ἀποσπάσαντα τὴν Ἑλένην δοῦναι τῷ νενικηκότι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δειλὸν ὄντα κελεῦσαι μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἔχθου. (12) οὐ τοῦ Διομήδους εὐδοκιμοῦντος καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμπίπτοντος καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ ζητοῦντος στρατιώτην ἀρκοῦντα στήσαι τὴν συμφορὰν ἀφείς τὴν τάξιν τῆς μάχης Ἑκάβη τῇ μητρὶ διελέγετο καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ συνῆν καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐχρῆτο; (13) οὐχ οὗτος ὁ θρασὺς μὲν προκαλέσασθαι, φαῦλος δὲ μαχέσασθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ῥήμασι λαμπρός, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ταπεινὸς οὗτος παρ' Αἴαντος λίθῳ κατενεχθεὶς μόλις ἀναστὰς ἐπινίκιον ἦσεν εἰς τὸν ἐχθρόν; (14) καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν τὸν Πηλέως καὶ τὸν Τελαμώνος; οὐ τὸν Ἀτρέως ἔτρεψε; πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πληγῆς οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἦγε καθ' Ἑλλήνων ἀξίων εἶναί τις.

(15) Ἦδη τοίνυν τις αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔσχε τὸ δέον εὐρεῖν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ἠκολούθησεν εὐρόντι, τοῦτο δὲ ἔλαττον εἰς εὐφημίαν ἐκείνου, σῶσαι δὲ ἀρκεῖ τὸν πειθόμενον. Ἐκτῶρ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀνοίας ἀπειθείαν εἶχε καὶ οὐθ' ἑώρα οὐτ' ἐπείθετο καὶ τοῦ Πολυδάμαντος καταφρονῶν ἄχρηστον ἐποίει παρὰ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἐκείνου σύνεσιν τῷ τέλει μανθάνων ὡς ἄρα πεπεῖσθαι κάλλιον ἦν.

(16) Ὁ δὲ τῆς Πατρόκλου μεμνημένος τελευτῆς ἐν ἐπαίνοις Ἑκτορος οὐκ οἶδεν ἀντ' Εὐφόρβου τὸν Ἑκτορα θαυμάζων. οὐχ ὁ κειμένοις ἐπεμβαίνων ἀνδρεῖος, ἀλλ' ὁ πρῶτος κατενεγκών, ὃν τὸ μὲν Εὐφόρβου, τὸ δὲ Ἑκτορος.

not remain quiet?³¹⁸ But what should he have done? He should have dragged Helen off, given her to the victor, and ordered Alexander, being cowardly, not to hold on to other people's property. (12) When Diomedes was distinguishing himself and attacking the enemy,³¹⁹ and the crisis called for a soldier capable of stopping the disaster, did he not, abandoning his post during battle,³²⁰ go talk to his mother Hecabe,³²¹ visit his wife,³²² and use prayers instead of weapons?³²³ (13) Did this man who was bold at issuing challenges but bad at fighting, and who was splendid in his words but wretched in action, did this man, barely standing up again after being knocked down by a stone thrown by Ajax, not sing a victory song over his enemy?³²⁴ (14) And what need is there to mention the son of Peleus and the son of Telamon?³²⁵ Did he not fear the son of Atreus?³²⁶ For there was no sign of Hector before Agamemnon was wounded,³²⁷ but after this he was a leader against the Greeks, thinking himself worthy of being somebody.³²⁸

(15) Well now, "somebody" was now unable to discover what was necessary himself, but he followed another man who had discovered it, and this was less to Hector's credit, but it would have been sufficient to save him if he had obeyed him. But along with stupidity Hector possessed disobedience, and neither saw nor obeyed, and by despising Polydamas made that man's intelligence useless in the army,³²⁹ though he found out in the end that it would have been better to have obeyed.

(16) Whoever mentions the death of Patroclus among the praises of Hector does not know that he is admiring Hector in place of Euphorbus.³³⁰ The courageous man is not the one who tramples on the dead, but the first one

318. Hector is not mentioned when Pandarus breaks the truce by shooting Menelaus: Homer, *Il.* 4.64–140; Encomium 1.7.

319. Homer, *Il.* 5; Encomium 1.6.

320. Homer, *Il.* 6.110–116.

321. Homer, *Il.* 6.251–285.

322. Homer, *Il.* 6.365–502.

323. Homer, *Il.* 6.102–116, 269–312; Encomium 1.8–9.

324. Homer, *Il.* 7.268–272; Comparison 1.13, 2.11–12. Hector did not quite "sing a victory song," but while his speech in *Il.* 7.287–302 implies that the battle with Ajax ended in a draw, his fellow Trojans knew better (*Il.* 7.306–310), and the poet claims victory for Ajax (*Il.* 7.311–312).

325. Achilles and Ajax, respectively.

326. Agamemnon: Homer, *Il.* 11.162–194.

327. Homer, *Il.* 11.251–283.

328. From Homer, *Il.* 11.284–309 on.

329. Homer, *Il.* 12.230–250.

330. Homer, *Il.* 16.806–812; Encomium 3.19; Invective 1.17.

ὅταν δὲ ἐννοήσω τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐπεθύμει κρατῆσαι τοῦ σώματος, ὁρῶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἀκριβῶς καὶ μισῶ τὸν τρόπον. ἐπὶ γὰρ ὕβρει λαβεῖν ἔσπευδε καὶ τῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ τὰ τῶν θηρίων ἐπὶ τὸν οἰχόμενον ἐζήλου. (17) καὶ τὴν μὲν γνώμην ἔδειξεν οἷς ἐβούλετο, τὴν δὲ ἀσθένειαν οἷς οὐκ ἴσχυε, τὸ δὲ οὐδ' ἀδικαίως ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῷ δικαίως αὐτὸς παραπλήσια παθεῖν. ὥς γὰρ ἔπεσεν ὑπ' Ἀχιλλεῖ θράσει μὲν ἔξω τείχους μείνας, δειλὴν δὲ προσιόντος φυγών, ἀπεσφαγμένος εἴλκετο καὶ ὑβρίζετο πάσχων ἃ δρᾶσαι βουλευθεὶς οὐκ ἔσχε. καὶ τὸ δὴ καινότατον, ἐπράθη νεκρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τῷ πατρί.

(18) Μὴ δὴ συγχωρεῖτω τις ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν Πριαμιδῶν τὸν Ἕκτορα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄδηλον, πῶς ποτ' ἂν ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς τρόποις τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν κακίαν ἐωράκαμεν ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν.

(19) Καὶ τὸ δὴ πέρας τῶν κακῶν, Ἀνδρομάχη ἐμίγνυτο Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ παιδί τοῦ τὸν Ἕκτορα ἀποκτείναντος, τὸν δὲ παῖδά τις ἐκείνου λαβὼν ἔρριπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους.

3. Ψόγος Φιλίππου.

(1) Εἰ τοὺς πονηροὺς ψέγειν δίκαιον καὶ τοῖς τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν ἔπαινον ἔχον, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτου με χρὴ κατηγορεῖν ἀφέντα Φίλιππον. τύραννος μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν τὸ χεῖριστον, τῶν δὲ τυράννων ἀπάντων Φίλιππος. (2) τί γὰρ ἂν τις εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ καλόν; τὴν πατρίδα; βάρβαρος ἦν. τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος; καὶ τί φαυλότερον τῆς Πέλλης; οἱ πρόγονοι δὲ αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν ἐδούλευον δεχόμενοι μὲν ἐπιτάγματα παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, φόρους δὲ φέροντες τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλει. (3) παῖς δὲ ὢν Ἀμύντου Φίλιππος, ὁ δὲ Ἀμύντας ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔργου λαμπρὸς, ἐν ἥθει

to bring them down, of which the latter was done by Euphorbus, the former by Hector. Whenever I reflect on why he desired to get control of the body, I see the barbarian accurately and hate his character; for he was in a hurry to get it in order to violate it and cut off its head, and he emulated the actions of wild animals against the departed.³³¹ (17) And he revealed his intention by what he wished to do, but his weakness by what he was unable to do, and the injustice of his attempt by justly suffering something similar himself; for when he fell to Achilles, having remained outside the walls in bravery but fleeing his approach in cowardice,³³² having been killed he was dragged and violated,³³³ suffering what he wanted but had been unable to do. And the strangest part of it all was that his corpse was sold to his father by the enemy.³³⁴

(18) Let no one agree that Hector is the best of the sons of Priam;³³⁵ for as for the rest it is unclear how they would have used their character in exercising authority, but we have seen this man's worthlessness as a commander.

(19) And the end of these evils was that Andromache lay with Neoptolemus, the son of the man who killed Hector,³³⁶ but someone took Hector's son and hurled him from the wall.³³⁷

INVECTIVE 3: PHILIP³³⁸

(1) If it is just to inveigh against the wicked and it brings praise to those who do this, I do not know whom I should accuse if I were to let Philip pass; for a tyrant is the worst of evils among men, but Philip is the worst of all tyrants. (2) For what could anyone name about him that is good? His fatherland? He was a barbarian. The size of his city? And what is more insignificant than Pella? His ancestors, thinking that they were ruling, served as slaves, taking orders from the Persian king and paying tribute to the city of Athens.³³⁹ (3) Being a son of Amyntas—and Amyntas was distinguished by

331. Homer, *Il.* 17.125–127.

332. Homer, *Il.* 22; Encomium 3.20; Invective 1.17; Comparison 1.13, 2.12.

333. Homer, *Il.* 22.395–404; Encomium 3.20; Invective 1.19–20.

334. Homer, *Il.* 24.501–502, 555–556, 578–579, 594–595; Invective 1.20.

335. For Priam's wives and children, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.5.

336. Euripides, *Tro.* 271–273, 658–660; *Andromache*; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.23; 6.12.

337. Astyanax: Euripides, *Tro.* 719–739, 1133–1135; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.23. For Andromache's reaction to Hector's death, see Speech in Character 2.

338. Philip II of Macedon, 382–336 B.C.E. For another elaboration of this theme, see Aphthonius 28–31. Encomium of Philip: Theon 110–111. See also Encomium 5.6–16; Invective 4.5–10. On Philip's life and career, see N. G. L. Hammond, *Philip of Macedon* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); George Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon* (London: Faber & Faber, 1978).

339. Demosthenes 11.16.

βαρβαρικοῖς ἐτύγχανε τραφεῖς, ἐν οἷς οὐ μουσικῆς ἔρω, οὐ σοφίας ἄσκησις, οὐκ ἐπιθυμία λόγων, οὐ σωφροσύνης φροντίς, οὐ δικαιοσύνη τίμιον, ἀλλ' οἶνος πολὺς καὶ μέθη καὶ πλησμονὴ καὶ χαρίσασθαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ μηδὲν τῶν αἰσχίστων ὀκνῆσαι. (4) ταῦτα ἐμάνθανε Φίλιππος, ἐν τούτοις ἐπαιδεύετο, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς μελέτης εἰς ἄνδρας ἦκε. παῖς δὲ ὢν ἔτι παρὰ Θηβαίοις ὠμήρευσεν. ὃ σημεῖον ἦν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀσθενείας, δεῖγμα δὲ τῆς τούτου κακοδαιμονίας τὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀπεῖναι. οὐ μὲν ἡμέλητο παντάπασι παρὰ τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν αὐτοῦ Παμμένους ἐρώμενος καὶ νέος ἐραστής, ὃ δὲ φιλάνθρωπός τε ἦν καὶ ἐχαρίζετο. (5) παραλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ σωθεὶς σαφῶς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς σεσωκότας τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐχρήσατο τρόπῳ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἀποστερῶν, τὴν Ποτίδαιαν ἀρπάζων. πολλὰς μὲν εἴλε πόλεις, μετὰ δὲ καλοῦ σχήματος οὐδεμίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ μαχόμενος κρείττων ἐγένετο τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ δελεάζων καὶ κολακεύων καὶ φιλίαν πλαττόμενος καὶ δωρούμενος τὰ πατρῶα δούλους εἶχε τοὺς λαμβάνοντας. θαυμαστὸν δὲ ἦν οὐ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν Φιλίππου στρατοπέδων, ἀλλὰ τὸ χρυσίον ὃ τοῖς πολιτευομένοις ἤρχετο. τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰκείνου μηχανήματα, δοῦναι, φενακίσαι, παρακρούσασθαι. (6) χρηστὴ μὲν ἡ ἐπαγγελία, παμπόνηρα δὲ τὰ ἔργα. τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν πολιορκῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων ἔφασκε τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὥς δὲ εἶλεν, ἐζήτουν εὐθύς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. Θετταλοῖς ἔδοξε <τὴν> τυραννίδα καταλύειν καὶ πιστευθεὶς εὐθύς ἐφίστη τυραννίδα χαλεπωτέραν. Ὀλυνθίοις ἠφίει τι χωρίον ὥς δὴ φιλόδωρος, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Θράκης Ὀλύνθιοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς, δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις.

no deed—Philip happened to be raised among barbarian customs, in which there was no love of music, no practice of wisdom, no desire for rhetoric, no thought for self-control, where what was valued was not righteousness, but a lot of wine, drunkenness, gluttony, indulging in pleasures, and shrinking from none of the most disgraceful behaviors.³⁴⁰ (4) This is what Philip learned; in this Philip was educated; from this training he came to manhood. While still a boy he served as a hostage among the Thebans.³⁴¹ This was evidence of his father's weakness, but the proof of Philip's misfortune was his absence from his family. He was not, however, altogether neglected among the Thebans; rather, he remained there as the beloved and the young lover of Pammenes, who both loved his fellow man³⁴² and indulged him.³⁴³ (5) Having come into power³⁴⁴ and clearly having been saved by the Athenians, he used his character against those who had saved him by depriving them of Amphipolis and snatching Potidaea.³⁴⁵ He captured many cities, but none of them in a noble fashion; for he did not overcome men by fighting them, but by enticing, flattering, feigning friendship, and making gifts from his patrimony he held those who took from him as slaves. It was not the levy of Philip's armies that was remarkable, but the gold that came to the politicians; for such were the devices of that man—to bribe, to cheat, to mislead.³⁴⁶ (6) His promises were good, but his actions were absolutely evil. When he was besieging Amphipolis he claimed to be doing this for the Athenians,³⁴⁷ but when he captured it, the Athenians immediately felt the loss of Potidaea, as well.³⁴⁸ He seemed to be dissolving <the> tyranny for the Thessalians, but once he had their confidence, he immediately established a harsher tyranny over them.³⁴⁹ He relinquished a small plot of land to the Olynthians as if out of generosity, and a little later the Olynthians were nowhere in Thrace³⁵⁰—or

340. Demosthenes 2.18–19; Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F224, 225ab, with Michael Flower, *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 104–11. Cf. section 9, below.

341. Probably 369–367 B.C.E. See Plutarch, *Pel.* 26.4–5; Justinus, *Epit.* 6.9.7.

342. “Loved his fellow man”: a pun on the usually positive sense of φιλόανθρωπος.

343. Plutarch, *Pel.* 26.5.

344. In 359 B.C.E.

345. In 357 and 356 B.C.E., respectively. See Demosthenes 1.12; 2.6–7; 6.20; 23.116.

346. Demosthenes 18.61; 19.133, 187, 300; Encomium 5.6–7; Invective 4.5; Comparison 3.6.

347. Demosthenes 7.27–28.

348. See section 5, above.

349. In 352 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 6.22; 9.26; 11.4.

350. In 348 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 6.20–21; Encomium 5.8; Comparison 3.7.

(7) καίτοι τοιαῦτα ποιῶν οὐ Χαλκιδεῦσιν ἐπολέμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, οἱ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐτιμῶντο, ὧν οὐκ ἔδεισε <μῆνιν> κατασκάπτων ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς ἀνατρέπων καὶ θυσίας συγγέων. Ἀμφίπολιτῶν τινὰς θεραπεύσας εἶχεν Ἀμφίπολιν. ὥς δὲ ἦν δεσπότης, δι' ὧν εἰλήφει τὴν πόλιν, τούτους ἐξήλαυνε. (8) πρὸς δέ γε τοὺς Πυθναίους οὐ διέστησεν ἀπὸ τῶν σπονδῶν τὰς σφαγὰς, ἀλλ' ἀνέμιξεν ἀμφότερα. ταῖς αὐτοῦ τέχναις οὐ λαμβάνων Φεράς Ὡρεὸν ἐδηοῦτο. καὶ οὐ χαλεπὸς μὲν τοῖς προδοθεῖσι, πιστὸς δὲ τοῖς προδόταις, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν χρεῖαν πᾶς ὁ συμπράξας ἄτιμος.

(9) Οὐ τοίνυν τὰς μὲν πόλεις οὕτως ἔκλεπτε, τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ βίῳ προσῆν τι κόσμου καὶ τάξεως, ἀλλ' ἐμέθυεν, ἐκορδάκιζε, συνῆγε τοὺς ἀσελεγεῖς, τούτοις συνέπινε, μετὰ τούτων ἡσχημόνει, καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἦν ἀλλαχοῦ ζῆν, τούτοις ἦν εὐδοκιμεῖν παρ' ἐκείνῳ. Καλλίας ἦν τις δημόσιος Ἀθήνησι. τούτου τὴν βδελυρίαν μὴ φέρων ὁ δῆμος ἐξέβαλεν. οὗτος οὐκ ἠγνόησεν οἱ χρὴ δραμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἤκέ τε τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκέκριτο. (10) νοσῶν τοίνυν τὴν τῆς φιλοτιμίας νόσον καὶ ζημίαν ἠγούμενος, εἰ μὴ τις εἶη παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν βελτιόνων ἡττων ἀφροδισίων, οὐ τούτων μόνον τῶν ἐχόντων δὴ τινὰ παραίτησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα νόμῳ φύσεως κεκώλυται, οὐκ ἡσχύνετο τῷ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἀφιγμένῳ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς διαλεγόμενος ὥρας.

(11) Φίλιππος ἦν ὁ τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ζητῶν ἐν ᾧ πολεμεῖν ἔδει, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ποιῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης καιρῷ. ὧν τὸ μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ πονηρίας δεῖγμα. δι' ἐκείνον ἢ περὶ τὸν Πύθιον χώρα πολλὴν ἐρημίαν ἐδέξατο καὶ δύο

rather, the Chalcidians, thirty-two cities.³⁵¹ (7) And yet in doing such things he made war not only on the Chalcidians, but also on the gods who were honored by them, whose <wrath> he did not fear as he razed their temples to the ground, overturned their altars, and confounded their sacrifices.³⁵² By placating some of the Amphipolitans he held Amphipolis. And when he had become its master, he banished those through whom he had taken the city.³⁵³ (8) With the people of Pydna he did not separate the slaughters from the oaths, but mixed them both up together.³⁵⁴ Failing to take Pherae by his arts³⁵⁵ he enslaved Oreus.³⁵⁶ And it is not the case that he was harsh to the betrayed but trustworthy to the traitors; rather, after he had no more need of them, everyone who had collaborated was disenfranchised.³⁵⁷

(9) Furthermore, it is not the case that he stole the cities in this manner, while in the rest of his life there was something of decorum and discipline present; rather, he would get drunk, dance licentiously, convene the brutal, drink with them, disgrace himself with them, and those who could not even remain alive elsewhere had a place of honor at his house.³⁵⁸ Callias was a public slave at Athens.³⁵⁹ Not tolerating his brutality the People banished him. This man was not ignorant of where he ought to run, but he both came to Philip and was singled out above the rest. (10) Furthermore, suffering from the sickness of ambition,³⁶⁰ and regarding it as punishment if he could not get one of the better sort to succumb to sexual desires with him—not only those desires that are pardonable, but also all those forbidden by the law of nature—he was not ashamed to talk with a man who had come from Athens about his son's beauty.³⁶¹

(11) Philip was the one who sought peace when he should have been making war, and who made war in the proper time for peace.³⁶² The former of these is proof of weakness, the latter of wickedness. Because of that man the land around Delphi became greatly deserted, and twenty-two cities that

351. In 349–348 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 9.26; Comparison 3.7.

352. Justinus, *Epit.* 8.3.4–5; 8.5.5.

353. Demosthenes 1.5; Diodorus Siculus 16.8.2.

354. In 357 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 1.5.

355. In 353 B.C.E.; he was successful there the next year. See Demosthenes 1.13; 7.32; 9.12.

356. In 342/1 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 8.18, 59; 9.12, 33, 59–65; 10.9; 18.71.

357. Demosthenes 1.5; 8.40; 18.46, 231.

358. See section 3, above, with notes.

359. Demosthenes 2.19 with scholia.

360. Demosthenes 2.18.

361. Phryno: Demosthenes 19.230, 233; Comparison 3.7.

362. Demosthenes 6.1–2, 36; 12.19; 19.133.

καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεις πιστεύσασαι διφκίσθησαν. ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὃς τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ὑπερβάς δεσποτείαν ἐπῆγε τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις Ἑλλησι σπενδόμενος, εἴτα διορύττων τὰς πόλεις.

(12) Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοιοῦτος, οἷον ἂν τις ἰδὼν οἰωνίσαιτο, χωλεύων, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένος, πολλὰ τῶν μελῶν πεπηρωμένος.

(13) Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ Φιλίππου θαυμάζουσιν ἔνιοι τὰ περὶ τὴν Χαιρώνειαν, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τροπαίων ἂν ἀξιωθείη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐκέκλητο, τοῦτο ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν ἐτράπη τὸ μὲν τῶν κεκληκότων ἀφίεις, τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ σκοπῶν. ἔπειτα Θραξὶ μὲν χρώμενος Ἀθηναίοις ἐπῆει καὶ Θηβαίοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐμάνθανε τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἡττάτο γὰρ καὶ πρώτην μάχην καὶ δευτέραν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην οὐ δικαίως ἡτύχρει, τὸ δὲ τῆς τύχης ἐπιεικῶς τοιοῦτον· μετὰ τῶν φαυλοτέρων ἴσταται τὰ πολλὰ.

(14) Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς οὐ δικαίας τύχης ἀπήλαυσεν, ἀλλ' ὀφείλων δίκην τοῖς Ἑλληνίοις θεοῖς ἀνθ' ὧν παρήλθεν ὕβρει τοὺς Θρακῶν βασιλεῖς ἐδέξατο τελευτήν οὐδὲν ἐπαίνοις προσήκουσαν. Πausanías γάρ, ὃ γε Φίλιππος <ἐχθρὸς ὧν> ἐτύγχανεν αἰσχύνας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νεότητα, τὸ ξίφος εἰς αὐτὸν ὥσας ἀπέκτεινεν.

4. Ψόγος Αἰσχίνου.

(1) Οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἂν ἐμαυτῷ συγγνοίην, εἰ μὴ διεξέλθοιμι κατ' Αἰσχίνου

trusted him were dispersed.³⁶³ That man was the one who overstepped his position and brought despotism to the most free Greeks by taking oaths and then utterly destroying their cities.

(12) Moreover, he was also the sort of man physically whom anyone seeing would consider an evil omen—limping, with one eye knocked out, and maimed in many of his limbs.³⁶⁴

(13) But not even if some admire what happened at Chaeronea as being due to Philip would he be judged worthy of trophies even there.³⁶⁵ For first of all, he did not do the job for which he had been invited,³⁶⁶ but he took a different path, abandoning the cause of those who had invited him and looking out for his own. Then, using the Thracians he attacked the Athenians and Thebans, but he learned from their actions that he was making an attempt on his betters; for he was defeated in both the first battle and the second,³⁶⁷ and in the third he unjustly experienced good fortune, and such is naturally the way of Fortune: it often stands on the side of the worse.

(14) He did not, however, enjoy his unjust good fortune for long; rather, owing a penalty to the Greek gods in return for how he surpassed the Thracian kings in violence, he received a death in no way befitting praises; for Pausanias, to whom Philip happened <to be an enemy> because he had disgraced his youth, thrust a sword into him and killed him.³⁶⁸

INVECTIVE 4: AESCHINES³⁶⁹

(1) I do not know how I could forgive myself, if I did not fully narrate

363. In 346 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 19.53–54, 123; Encomium 5.9; Invective 4.7; Comparison 3.8.

364. For discussion of the ancient sources, see Alice S. Riginos, “The Wounding of Philip II of Macedon: Fact and Fabrication,” *JHS* 114 (1994): 103–19.

365. In 338 B.C.E. See Encomium 5.14; Invective 4.10; Comparison 3.13–14. For the battle, see Diodorus Siculus 16.85–86; Polyaeus 4.2.2.

366. I.e., to lead the Amphictyons against Amphissa: Demosthenes 18.143; Aeschines 3.128–129.

367. Demosthenes 18.216 (“the battle at the river and the winter battle”).

368. In 336 B.C.E. See Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.8.10 (1311b); Diodorus Siculus 16.93–94; Justinus, *Epit.* 9.6; Plutarch, *Alex.* 10.4.

369. Athenian orator and political enemy of Demosthenes, ca. 397–ca. 322 B.C.E. Comparison of Aeschines with Demosthenes: Pseudo-Nicolaus 2 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:358,7–61,14); Comparison 3; see also Invective 3. For the ancient biographical tradition on Aeschines, see [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 840A–841A; Photius, *Bibl.* 20a13–20b27 and 490a33–490b39; and the three biographies preserved in mss of Aeschines (Mervin R. Dils, ed., *Scholia in Aeschinem* [Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1992], 1–6). On Aeschines’ life and career, see Edward

λόγους ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε.

(2) Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν εἰ γεγονῶς ἐκ δούλου πατρὸς καὶ τούτου πονηροῦ καὶ πόρνης μητρὸς καὶ τραφεὶς ὡς εἰκὸς τὸν ἐκ τοιούτων φύντα μηδὲν γενναῖον μηδὲ καλὸν μήτε ἐπετήδευσε μήτε εἶπε μήτε ἔπραξεν. (3) ὃς εὐθὺς μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμιμεῖτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα τοῖς βουλομένοις μεταδιδούς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νεότητος καὶ κοινωνῶν τελετῶν ἐφ' αἷς ἤδη δίκην εἰλήφεσαν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τῶν τελούντων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος χοροὺς εἶχε γραδίων μέγα ποιούμενος, εἰ κιττοφόρος ἀκούσειε. (4) καὶ ταῦτα ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ νεηλάτων καὶ στρεπτῶν. οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ μισθός, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τραύματα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς ἐν θεάτροις ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ὑπέμεινεν ἑτέρων, σύκων καὶ βοτρυῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἡδὺς ἦν, ἀλλ' εἶχε πολεμοῦντα τὸν θεατὴν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἅπαντα ᾤετο δεῖν ἀνέχεσθαι. πενίαν δὲ ὅταν εἴπω, δυσμένειαν λέγω θεῶν. (5) πῶς οὖν οὗτος ὁ γεγονῶς ἐκ τοιούτων Ἀθηναῖος ἔδοξε; παρενέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς Κοθωκίδας τοὺς νόμους τῆς πόλεως παραβάς. καὶ πάλιν βλέψας <πλουτοδότας> οὐκ ὄντας τοὺς νόμους ἐν οἷς ἐγραμμάτευε Φίλιππον ὁρῶν δεόμενον προδοτῶν καὶ διδόντα πολὺ χρυσίον καὶ πόλεις ὠνούμενον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβη καὶ σπεύδων κύριος γενέσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι, εἰ μὴ δόξει τὸν Φίλιππον μισεῖν, οὐδὲν πιστευθήσεται, λέγει κακῶς τὸν Μακεδόνα καὶ προσποιεῖται χαλεπῶς φέρειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος διορτυττομένης. (6) εἶτα εὖνους νομισθεὶς ἤκεν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ πάλιν ἐχρήτο

against Aeschines the words of which that man himself showed himself worthy.

(2) And it is not at all surprising if one who was born and raised by a slave father—and a wicked one, at that—and a whore for a mother,³⁷⁰ neither practiced nor said nor did anything noble or fine, as seems reasonable for someone born from such parents. (3) Right from the beginning he imitated his mother, sharing his youth with whoever wanted him and participating in rites³⁷¹ for which the Athenians at times in the past had punished those who practiced them,³⁷² but having become a man he had choruses of old hags, considering it important to be known as “ivy-wreathed.”³⁷³ (4) And he endured this for new-cakes and rolls;³⁷⁴ for this was his pay, since he also endured the wounds and the dangers in theatres for different things along the same line—figs and grapes; for not even on stage was he pleasing, but he had to battle with the spectators.³⁷⁵ But nevertheless he thought that he had to endure everything because of poverty.³⁷⁶ And when I say poverty, I mean the enmity of the gods. (5) And so, how could someone born from such parents be considered an Athenian? He illegally enrolled himself into the deme Cothocidae, breaking the laws of the city.³⁷⁷ And again, when he observed that the laws under which he was serving as secretary³⁷⁸ were not <bringers of riches>, and he saw that Philip needed traitors and that he was giving a lot of gold and buying cities,³⁷⁹ he mounted the rostrum, and eager to become an authority in affairs and knowing clearly that if he did not seem to hate Philip he would not be believed at all, he spoke badly of the Macedonian³⁸⁰ and pretended to take it hard that a channel was being dug through Greece.³⁸¹ (6) Then, once he was thought benevolent, he went to

M. Harris, *Aeschines and Athenian Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

370. Demosthenes 18.129–130; Comparison 3.2.

371. Demosthenes 18.259–260; 19.199, 281; Comparison 3.3.

372. Demosthenes 19.281; the scholiast relates that a certain Ninos was prosecuted for making love potions for her sons. For the punishment of the priestess Theoris, see Plutarch, *Dem.* 14.4.

373. Demosthenes 18.260.

374. Demosthenes 18.260.

375. Demosthenes 18.262; Comparison 3.4.

376. Demosthenes 18.131, 258–263.

377. Demosthenes 18.130–131, 261; Comparison 3.5.

378. Demosthenes 18.261; 19.200; Comparison 3.5.

379. Demosthenes 18.61; 19.133, 300; Encomium 5.6–7; Invective 3.5; Comparison 3.6.

380. Demosthenes 19.9–10, 27, 302, 310; Comparison 3.6.

381. For the channel, see Demosthenes 6.30; 7.40.

τῇ τέχνῃ κάκειθεν ἦκων τῆς αὐτῆς πάλιν εἶχετο, ἕως ἐνεχειρίσθη τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πρεσβείαν, ὃν ᾗδει δώσοντα χρυσίον. ἀφείς γὰρ τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ τοὺς τὴν πατρίδα σώζεσθαι βουλομένους προσέθηκεν αὐτὸν Φιλοκράτει τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄνισον ποιοῦντι, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἀπελαύνοντι. τὸν Φίλιππον δὲ ἰδὼν εὐθύς αὐτῷ φίλος ἦν κοινολογούμενος ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων συνῶν, δειπνῶν παρὰ τυράννοις ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τῶν ταλαιπώρων Ὀλυνθίων. (7) μικρὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις. αἱ δὲ ἦσαν· ἀπολεῖ Φίλιππος Θηβαίους, σώσει Φωκέας, πάντα ποιήσει κατὰ νοῦν Ἀθηναίους. ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐλπίζων ἐκάθητο, Φωκεῖς δὲ διακίζοντο, Πύλας δὲ ἔσχεν ὁ Φίλιππος, ὧν ἐγκρατὴς καταστάς ἐτίθει μὲν τὰ Πύθια, μέγας δὲ ἐγεγόνει τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀπειλῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει μείζω τῆς δυνάμεως θρασύνεσθαι. (8) ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Φωκέων ὁ τὴν Θράκην ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ πεποιηκὼς Αἰσχίνης ἦν, ὁ μὴ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, ὁ κωλύων σπεύδοντας. τῇ τοίνυν ἀπάτῃ τοῦ δήμου προσέθηκε τὴν τῶν δικαστῶν ἐν οἷς ἐκρίνετο, καὶ τοσούτοις Ἀθηναίοις αἴτιος ἐπιπορκίας κατέστη. (9) νομίζων δὲ βραχὺ τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ κεχαρίσθαι, πόλεις τοσαύτας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἕως ἂν ἔχωσι τὸ ναυτικόν, ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι πάντα ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα τὸ πῦρ ἐγνωκότα προσάγειν ταῖς τριήρεσι παρεκάλει πρὸς τὴν ἐγχείρησιν. σημεῖον δέ, ἀλόντα γὰρ καὶ κινδυνεύοντα διασώζειν ἐπειράτο. καὶ προΐων

Arcadia and again used his art,³⁸² and when he came back he again clung to the same art, until he was entrusted with the embassy to that man, whom he knew would give him gold.³⁸³ For abandoning Demosthenes and those who wanted the fatherland to be saved, he attached himself to Philocrates, the one who made the peace unfair and excluded the allies.³⁸⁴ As soon as he saw Philip, he was consulted as a friend, meeting with him apart from the rest,³⁸⁵ dining with tyrant men to the detriment of the miserable Olynthians.³⁸⁶ (7) These facts are trivial in comparison to his offers and promises, which were: "Philip will destroy the Thebans; he will save the Phocians; and he will do everything in accordance with the will of the Athenians."³⁸⁷ Because of these words the People sat still and hoped for the best, but the Phocians were dispersed,³⁸⁸ and Philip got control of Pylae, and having become master of it he put on the Pythian Games³⁸⁹ and became important among the Greeks, and in his threats he did not seem to be bolder than his ability.³⁹⁰ (8) But also, before the Phocians, the one who had put Thrace under that man's power, who did not hurry to secure the oaths, and who prevented those who were in a hurry to do so, was Aeschines.³⁹¹ Furthermore, to his deception of the People he added the deception of the jury that tried him, and he became guilty of swearing false oaths to so many Athenians.³⁹² (9) But considering it somewhat trivial to have gratified Philip with so many cities, and considering that as long as the Athenians had their fleet, they would be capable of restoring everything, he encouraged Antiphon, since he knew how to bring fire against the ships, to undertake it.³⁹³ And there is evidence for this; for he tried to save him when he had been caught and was in danger. And as time passed he did not cease from wickedness, but he kindly received spies and

382. This and most of the subsequent events mentioned occurred in 346 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 19.9–11, 304–307, 310; cf. Aeschines 2.79.

383. Demosthenes 19.12, 166–168; for the embassy, see Encomium 5.9; Comparison 3.7.

384. Demosthenes 19.14–16, and frequently elsewhere.

385. Demosthenes 18.33; 19.175, 279, 307–308; Comparison 3.7.

386. Demosthenes 19.192–198; more generally, Plutarch, *Dem.* 16.1–2.

387. Demosthenes 19.19–23, 60–61; Comparison 3.8.

388. Demosthenes 19.53–54, 123; Encomium 5.9; Invective 3.11; Comparison 3.8.

389. Demosthenes 9.32.

390. Demosthenes 1.3; 4.9; 8.62; 10.64.

391. Demosthenes 8–9; 19.155–156 and following; Encomium 5.9; Comparison 3.8.

392. See Aeschines 2 with Demosthenes 19; Encomium 5.10.

393. Demosthenes 18.132–133; Encomium 5.12; Comparison 3.12.

οὐκ ἀπέστη τῆς πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐδέχετο μὲν κατασκόπους εὐμενῶς καὶ πάντα ἐξεδίδασκε, συνηγόρει δὲ τῷ Πύθωνι καταχέοντι τὴν πόλιν.

(10) Ἐκεῖνον ἐγὼ καὶ τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ αἰτιῶμαι συμφορᾶς. ἡ μὲν γὰρ μάχη ταύτην ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ἔξοδον Ἐλάτεια κατειλημμένη. τοῦτο δὲ ἔσχεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ταραχῆς, ἡ ταραχὴ δὲ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἔργον Αἰσχίνου. πάντα τοίνυν ὅσα τῇ κατὰ Χαιρώνειαν ἠκολούθησε πληγῇ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰσχίνου λόγων ἔσχεν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος κακῶς ἐν τῇ πυλαίᾳ διεξῆλθεν.

(11) Ὡς μὲν οὖν πονηρὸς ἡδίκηει τὴν πόλιν, ὡς δὲ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐδίδου δίκην, ὡς δ' οὐ λανθάνων ὅτι δύσνους ἦν οὐκ ἐτιμᾶτο, ὡς δὲ βάσκανος ἐρρήγνυτο τιμωμένων ἐτέρων. (12) ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον καλῶς ἐποίησεν, ὅτι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα γραψάμενος ἔφυγεν Ἀθήνηθεν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν ἥτταν καὶ διατρίβων ἐν νήσῳ καὶ τινὰ τρόπον <τὰ τοῦ> πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύων πόρρω τῆς οἰκείας ἀπέθανεν. (13) ὑπερβαλόμενος μὲν Εὐθυκράτη καὶ Λασθένη τῇ προδοσίᾳ, νικήσας δὲ τοὺς Θετταλίαν πεπρακότας, πλείονας μὲν ὀφείλων τῇ πόλει χάριτας, ἐν ᾗ δοῦλος ὢν ἐπολιτεύετο, δούλην ταύτην ἐπεχείρησε ποιῆσαι, κοινῇ δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπώλλυε διὰ μιᾶς ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς αὐτῶν προδιδόντες ἐκεῖνας μόνας ἀφηροῦντο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀθήναις λαμβάνων κατὰ παντὸς ἐλάμβανε τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένους.

thoroughly instructed them in everything,³⁹⁴ and supported Pytho when he was pouring down upon the city.³⁹⁵

(10) I also blame that man for the disaster at Chaeronea.³⁹⁶ For the battle caused this, but the capture of Elatea caused them to march out. And Philip got this result because of the confusion of the Amphictyons, but the confusion of the Amphictyons was the work of Aeschines.³⁹⁷ Well then, everything that followed the blow against Chaeronea had its origin in Aeschines' speeches, which that man wickedly delivered at the Pylaea.³⁹⁸

(11) And so, because he was wicked he wronged the city, but because he was clever at speaking he did not pay the penalty; and because his malevolence went undetected he received no honor, but because he was malicious³⁹⁹ he could not contain himself as others received honors. (12) For he did only this one good thing: after indicting Ctesiphon⁴⁰⁰ he fled from Athens, unable to endure the defeat, and living on an island and in some way practicing his father's <profession>, far from home he died.⁴⁰¹ (13) Surpassing Euthycrates and Lasthenes in treachery⁴⁰² and outdoing those who sold Thessaly,⁴⁰³ and owing numerous favors to the city in which, though being a slave, he lived as a citizen,⁴⁰⁴ he endeavored to make Athens a slave, but destroyed all the Greeks in common through this one city, so that the rest who betrayed only their own cities were robbed of their freedom, but he, when he took bribes at Athens, took them to the detriment of the whole race of Greeks.

394. Demosthenes 18.82, 137.

395. In 343 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 7.18–26; 18.136; Plutarch, *Dem.* 9.1; Encomium 5.13; Comparison 3.12.

396. In 338 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 18.177–178, 181–187, 195, 229–230; Encomium 5.14; Invective 3.13; Comparison 3.13–14. For the battle, see Diodorus Siculus 16.85–86; Polyaeus 4.2.2.

397. Elatea was captured in 339 B.C.E. See Demosthenes 18.143, 147–153, 168–169; Comparison 3.13.

398. Demosthenes 18.147–150.

399. Greek βάσκαρος; Demosthenes 18.119, 132, 139.

400. In 330 B.C.E. See Aeschines 3 with Demosthenes 18.

401. In ca. 322 B.C.E. For Aeschines' defeat and move to Rhodes, see Quintilian, *Inst.* 12.10.19; Plutarch, *Dem.* 24.2; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 840C–E; Photius, *Bibl.* 20a18–33, 490b28–39; *Life of Aeschines* 1.4–6; 3.2–5 (Dilts, *Scholia in Aeschinem*, 1–2, 5–6); Comparison 3.15.

402. Demosthenes 8.40; 19.265, 342; Hyperides frg. 76 (ed. Kenyon); Encomium 5.8.

403. Demosthenes 18.48, 295.

404. Demosthenes 18.131; cf. section 5, above.

5. Ψόγος πλούτου.

(1) Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ πολλοὺς λυπήσω φιλοχρημάτους λέγων περὶ πλούτου τάληθῃ, τῆς γε ἀληθείας οὐδὲν πρότερον ποιήσομαι. φημί τοίνυν ἀγαπᾶσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶς τὰς γνώμας διακειμένων, εἶναι δὲ μέγιστον τοῖς ἔχουσι κακόν.

(2) Καὶ πρῶτόν γε ἐντεῦθεν γνοίη τις ἂν τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ· πλοῦτος οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ θεοῖς οὐδ' ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἐσθήματα, οὐδ' ἕτερος εὐπορώτερος ἑτέρου. καίτοι τῶν γε καλῶν εἴπερ ἦν, ἀνάγκη παρ' ἐκείνοις ἂν ἦν, ὥσπερ τᾶλλα τὰ φύσει καλά, δικαιοσύνη καὶ ὁμόνοια καὶ φιλία. (3) ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς εὐδοκίμησαντας παῖδας τῶν θεῶν εὕροιμεν ἂν περὶ χρήματα σπουδάσαντας, οἷον Ἡρακλέα καὶ Θησέα καὶ Πειρίθουν καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους. καίτοι πλείστον τῶν ἄλλων διενεγκόντες καὶ δυνάμενοι ῥαδίως, εἴπερ ἐβούλοντο, τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχειν, οὐκ ἠξίωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰ κεκτηῖσθαι λαβεῖν ὄνομα.

(4) Μητέρα τοίνυν ἔγωγε νομίζω πλούτου πλεονεξίαν εἶναι καὶ τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἴσοις τὸ ἴσον ἀγαπᾶν. οὗτος πολέμους ἔτεκεν, οὗτος ληστείας ἐποίησε. τὸ γὰρ τὰ τῶν πλησίον ἐθέλειν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς φιλοχρημάτους ἡγάγε καὶ μάχας κατέδειξε καὶ παρατάξεις καὶ τροπὰς καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ πόλεων κατασκαφάς. (5) καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν θάλατταν ἢ φιλοχρηματία τῶν κακῶν ἀφήκεν εἶναι καθάραν, ἄλλ' ἐναυπηγήσατο πλοῖα ληστρικὰ καὶ κακούργους ἐνεβίβασε καὶ τραύματα καὶ φόβους εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. (6) ὁ τύραννος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλούτου καθίσταται καὶ ὅπως ἔτι μᾶλλον πλουτήσειεν, ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς δυναστείας, γενόμενος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων κύριος, τοὺς μὲν πένητας ἔῃ, τοὺς δὲ εὐπόρους σφάττει, καὶ γίνεται τοῖς μὲν ἢ πενία σωτηρία, τοῖς δὲ ὀλεθρος ἢ περιουσία. (7) καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ τοιχωρύχοι τοὺς τῶν πλουσίων περισκοποῦσι τοίχους καὶ προσέρχονται μετὰ τῶν ὀργάνων ὅθεν ἔστι πολλὰ λαβεῖν, εἰ δὲ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀδικοῦμενοι βούλονται, μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπώλεσαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἔργῳ μαθόντες ὅτι κρεῖττον ἦν ἄρα πένεσθαι.

(8) Καὶ μὴν ὅστις μὲν εὐπορεῖ, φθονεῖται καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεται, κἂν καταλάβῃ ποτὲ αἰτία καὶ περιστῇ κίνδυνος, πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἐπικειμένους ἐγκαλεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἴσως ἔχοντας, δακνομένους δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐκείνῳ τὸ πλεόν εἶναι. (9) τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ τεθνεώσιν ἤδη παρακολουθεῖ τὸ πάσχειν κακῶς. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ταφῶσιν ἀξίως τῆς τύχης, πολλοὺς ἔχουσι τοὺς οὐκ

INVECTIVE 5: WEALTH⁴⁰⁵

(1) But even if I anger many money-lovers by telling the truth about wealth, I will put nothing before the truth. Well then, I say that it is cherished by those with bad judgment, and that it is the greatest evil for those who have it.

(2) And first of all, one might understand its nature from this fact: there is no wealth among the gods, nor is there silver, gold, furniture, or clothing, nor is any of them richer than the next. And yet if these items were among the things that are good, they would necessarily exist among the gods, just as everything else that is naturally good, such as righteousness, harmony, and friendship.⁴⁰⁶ (3) But we would not even find the famous children of the gods being eager for money, such as Heracles, Theseus, Pirithous, and many others. And yet, although they very greatly surpassed the rest and, if they wished, could easily have had what the rest did, they did not see fit to get their name from great possessions.

(4) Furthermore, I believe that the mother of wealth is greed and not being content with equal shares on an equal basis. This gave birth to wars; this created piracy; for wishing to have a neighbor's possessions led money-lovers to take up arms, and invented battles, musterings, routs, siege engines, and total destructions of cities. (5) And the love of money allowed not even the sea to be free from evil, but it built pirate ships, put evildoers on board, and brought wounds and fears to the sea. (6) The tyrant is established by wealth, and he longs for power so that he might become even richer, but once he becomes in charge of affairs, he leaves the poor alone but slaughters the rich, and the poverty of the former becomes their salvation, but abundance means destruction for the latter. (7) Moreover, burglars⁴⁰⁷ also thoroughly check out the walls of the rich and approach with tools with which they can get a lot, but if the victims wish to help themselves, they lose their lives along with their money, learning in reality that it would have been better to be poor.

(8) Moreover, whoever is rich is envied and plotted against, and if ever an accusation overtakes him and danger surrounds him, he has many who are set against him, who probably have no complaint with him, but are irked by the fact that he has more.⁴⁰⁸ (9) Terrible suffering follows the rich even when they are already dead; for whenever they are buried in a manner befitting their

405. Comparison of wealth: with righteousness ([Hermogenes] 19); poverty (Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius [Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:483,10]). See also Invective 6; Maxim 3. Norman (*The Julianic Orations*, xlix) adduces as parallels Libanius, *Or.* 7 and 8.

406. Invective 6.2.

407. Literally, "wall-breakers" (τοιχωρύχοι).

408. Invective 6.14.

έώντας ακίνητον μένειν τὸν τάφον, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη τὸ σῶμα ρίπτεσθαι καὶ δευτέρας δεῖσθαι ταφῆς. (10) παῖδες δὲ πολλῆς οὐσίας κληρονόμοι πολλοὺς ἔχουσι τοὺς σπαράττοντας καὶ ἔλκοντας καὶ λαβεῖν βουλομένους ἐξ αὐτῶν τι καὶ φοβοῦντας, εἰ μὴ δοῖεν, καὶ τὸ λαβεῖν ἀφορμὴν ποιουμένους δευτέρας ἀρπαγῆς. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἔλκεσθαι τε καὶ θορυβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀμελεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν περισταμένων κακῶν.

(11) Καὶ μὴν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δεινῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων λαμβάνει τὰς ἀφορμὰς. οὕτω διαφθείρονται γάμοι χρημάτων διδομένων, οὕτω νέων ὥρα μισθοῦ προτεινομένου. τοῦτο τὰς προδοσίας ἐργάζεται, καὶ νῦν μὲν στρατηγὸς ἀπέδοτο τὸ στρατόπεδον, νῦν δὲ πρεσβευτὴς ἃ πεπίστευται, χρημάτων ἐπιθυμήσας ἑκάτερος. (12) οἱ δὲ τῶν θεῶν καταφρονοῦντες καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶντες, οἱ δὲ θήκας κινοῦντες καὶ τάφους ἀνορύττοντες πόθεν ἐπὶ τὸ τοιαῦτα τολμᾶν ὀρμῶνται; ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ χρήματα μεμνημένοι. (13) ἐξέταξέ μοι τοὺς θρασεῖς καὶ τοὺς ὕβριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς καὶ ὅσοι διαπτύουσι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πλουτούντων τούτους εὐρήσεις, οὐ τῶν ἐν μετρίοις διαζώντων. (14) ὁ πλοῦτος οὐκ ἔᾶ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐρᾶν παρακαλεῖ. ὁ πλουτῶν ἀμελεῖ παιδείας ὥς ἀρκούντων αὐτῷ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὸν πέλας ἀδικεῖ προσπεριβαλέσθαι <τι> τοῖς οὖσιν ἐθέλων. μέτρον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπίσταται περιουσίας. (15) καὶ δειλία δὲ τούτοις ἐνοικεῖ. τὸ γὰρ αἰεὶ κολακεύεσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν καὶ μεθύειν καὶ ζῆν ἐν καλοῖς ἀκούσμασιν οὐκ ἔᾶ κινδύνων ἐνδόξων ἐπιθυμητὰς γενέσθαι. (16) καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ἥδιστον, οἱ δὲ γέμουσι νοσημάτων. τὸ γὰρ ὑπερεσθίειν καὶ τῇ γαστρὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἐφέλκεται νοσημάτων. (17) ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις λείπουσι τὰς τάξεις καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν κτύπον ὑπομένουσι τῶν ἀσπίδων. Ἴλιον τὸ πολὺ χρυσὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ μάλα εὐπορούντων ἠλίσκετο. Ξέρξης ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας δεσπότης, ὁ μεταποιῶν τὴν γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγων ἠλαύνετο. τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους εὖροις ἄν, ὅτε

status, they have many who do not allow the grave to remain undisturbed, so that the body is inevitably thrown out and requires a second burial.⁴⁰⁹

(10) Their children, on becoming heirs to a large estate, have many who tear them to pieces, drag them about, want to get something from them, make them afraid not to give, and consider getting something as the beginning of a second opportunity for plunder. They are therefore inevitably dragged about, thrown into confusion, and troubled, and they have to neglect the mind because of the sheer number of evils surrounding them.⁴¹⁰

(11) Moreover, the greatest of the terrible things among men take their origins from such things. Thus marriages are corrupted by the giving of money;⁴¹¹ thus the beauty of young men is corrupted when payment is offered. This produces acts of treason, and now a general sells out his army, and now an ambassador sells out what has been entrusted to him, each out of a desire for money.⁴¹² (12) As for those who despise the gods and rob temples, and those who disturb graves and break open tombs—for what reason do they set out to dare such deeds? Because they are crazy about money.⁴¹³ (13) Examine, if you will, the bold, the violent, the brutal, and all those who spit on whomever they meet; for you will find these among the rich, not among those who live in moderation. (14) Wealth does not allow one to have self-control, but encourages him to lust. The rich man neglects education on the grounds that his wealth is sufficient for him, and he wrongs his neighbor out of a wish to increase his possessions; for he recognizes no limit to abundance of possessions. (15) And cowardice dwells among the wealthy; for constantly being flattered, living a life of luxury, being drunk, and living in the midst of beautiful music does not permit them to become desirers of honorable dangers. (16) Moreover, being healthy is the sweetest thing, but they are full of diseases; for overeating, indulging the belly, and not exercising the body with labors attracts every type of disease.⁴¹⁴ (17) Furthermore, in battles they abandon their posts and run away, and they cannot even bear the clashing of shields. Troy, rich in gold, was sacked by the Greeks when they were not very wealthy.⁴¹⁵ Xerxes, the despot of Asia, who exchanged the land with the sea, was driven out by only a few men.⁴¹⁶ You would find the Athenians, when

409. *Invective* 6.15.

410. *Invective* 6.7.

411. *Invective* 6.13.

412. *Invective* 6.9.

413. *Invective* 6.11.

414. *Invective* 6.17.

415. Homer, *Il.* 18.288–289.

416. Persian king who bridged the Hellespont (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.33–36) and dug a

πλείστα ἐκτήσαντο, μάλιστα κακῶς ἀπαλλάξαντας, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους νόμῳ μὲν πενομένους, ἡγουμένους δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκούσαντας παρὰ τοῦ Πυθίου φυλάττεσθαι τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν ὡς ὀλεθρον ἔχουσιν.

(18) Ἡ μανία δὲ δεινὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἔγκλημα τῆς γνώμης. ἀφήσει γὰρ ἢ τύχῃ τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα τῆς αἰτίας, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος αὐτὴν διαφθείρει τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ποιεῖ κακὸν τὸν ἔχοντα. καὶ μανίας μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε δίκην ἔδωκε, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλούτου ἀδικίαν ὀρώμεν πολλοὺς κολαζομένους.

6. Ψόγος πενίας.

(1) Ἐμὲ δὲ εἴ τις ἔροιτο τί μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων κακῶν, πενίαν εἵπομι' ἄν. οἶμαι δὲ οὐ πρῶτος ταύτην φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς, πολλοῖς δὲ ῥήτορσιν ἀκολουθεῖν, οἳ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐσκέψαντο τοῦ πράγματος καὶ κατηγορήσαν ἱκανῶς. (2) πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον κατηγορεῖν τῆς ὑπὸ θεῶν μεμισσημένης τε καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης οὐρανοῦ; ὅταν γὰρ Ὅμηρος λέγῃ χρυσοῦν εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ δάπεδον, ὁμολογεῖ πλοῦτον εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τοῦ πλούτου καλά. (3) ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἅς φιλοῦσι πλοῦτον ταύταις δεδώκασιν. σημεῖον δέ, Ῥοδίοις γάρ φησι Πίνδαρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ῥυῆναι χρυσόν. Θουκυδίδου δὲ ἀκούεις λέγοντος ταπεινῶς διακεῖσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ πρῶτον, ἕως μὴ χρήματα ἐνῆν. (4) ἔνθεν ἴδοι τις ἂν καὶ νῦν τῶν πόλεων τὰς χρημάτων ἀπορούσας ταπεινάς τε οὔσας καὶ φαύλας καὶ ἀμόρφους. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τεῖχος ἰσχυρὸν περιβάλοιτο πόλις οὔτ' ἂν τὸ μέτρον ἑαυτῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς γῆς ἐκτείνειεν οὔτ' ἂν ναοὺς κατασκευάσαιτο περιφανεῖς οὔτ' ἂν οἰκίας λαμπράς, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου χορηγίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔχοι. (5) πολέμου δὲ καταλαβόντος ἐν ἡ πενία, πόθεν ἂν εἴη τῇ τοιαύτῃ σωτηρία μὴθ' ὅπλων ὑπαρχόντων μὴτε νεῶν μὴτε τριηράρχων μὴτε ξενικοῦ προσγινομένου μὴτε τροφῆς τοῖς στρατευομένοις οὔσης; (6) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν

they possessed the most, faring especially badly,⁴¹⁷ but you would find the Spartans, though poor by law, leading the Greeks, as they had heard from the Pythian oracle to guard against the love of money on the grounds that it brings destruction.⁴¹⁸

(18) Madness is a terrible thing, but there is no accusation against the mind; for his misfortune releases the sinner from blame. But wealth destroys the very soul and makes the man who has it evil. And no one has ever paid a penalty for madness, but we see men being punished because of the injustice of wealth.

INVECTIVE 6: POVERTY⁴¹⁹

(1) If someone were to ask me what I consider the greatest of human evils, I would say poverty. I believe that I am not the first to cast this vote, but that I am following many poets and many orators, who both investigated the nature of the matter and sufficiently accused it. (2) For how were they not going to accuse what was hated by the gods and cast out of heaven? For when Homer says that the gods' floor is made of gold,⁴²⁰ he is acknowledging that wealth is found among them and that the products of wealth are good,⁴²¹ (3) since they have also given wealth to those cities that they love. And there is proof of this; for Pindar says that gold flows to the Rhodians from heaven.⁴²² And you hear Thucydides saying that Greece was at first in a wretched state, as long as there was no money.⁴²³ (4) Wherefore, even today one could see those cities that lack money being wretched, low, and unsightly; for a city could neither put up a strong perimeter wall, nor extend its boundaries over most of the land, nor construct spectacular temples or splendid houses, if it did not have the resources from wealth to do so. (5) When war befalls a city in which there is poverty, where would such a city find rescue, when neither weapons nor ships nor financiers of warships are available, nor foreign auxiliaries, nor food

canal through Mount Athos (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.22–24), both of which acts were frequently cited by Greek rhetoricians (Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 18). He fled Greece after losing to much smaller numbers at the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.E. (Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.70–95).

417. Athens lost the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C.E. after more than a half century of ruling a wealthy empire.

418. Diodorus Siculus 7.12.5.

419. Comparison of poverty with wealth: Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:483,10). See also Invective 5; Maxim 3. Norman (*The Julianic Orations*, xlix) adduces as parallels Libanius, *Or.* 7 and 8.

420. Homer, *Il.* 4.2.

421. Invective 5.2.

422. Pindar, *Ol.* 7.34.

423. Thucydides 1.2.2.

εἰρήνην φαιδρὰν εἶναι τοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς οἷόν τε τῆς πενίας τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τέρψιν ἀφανιζούσης. ὁ πένης εἰ μὲν ἄγαμος διαμείνειεν, ὑπ' ἐρημίας πιέζοιτ' ἄν· γήμας δὲ αὐτῷ παραπλησίαν διπλοῦν αὐτῷ πεποίηκε τὸ κακόν. (7) παῖδες δὲ εἰ γένοιτο, μείζων τῆς πενίας ἢ αἴσθησις, καὶ δεῖ δακρύνειν ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς εὐπόροις ἐορτάζειν ὑπάρχει, ὥστε οὐ παῖδας ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. οἱ δὲ δὴ γενόμενοι πρὸς τὰς δουλοπρεπεῖς καταφέρονται τέχνας ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ποιούμενοι τὸν βίον, ἐλευθερίου δὲ μαθήματος οὐκ ἔα μεταλαμβάνειν ἢ πενία, οὐ κτᾶσθαι ῥητορικὴν, οὐκ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατρίβειν. (8) οὐδεὶς πένης ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φιλοτιμιῶν λαμπρὸς οὐδὲ περίβλεπτος οὐ χορηγεῖν δυνάμενος, οὐκ ἐπιδοῦναι ναῦν, οὐ λῦσαι λιμὸν ἐκ τῶν ἔνδον ἀποκειμένων. (9) οὗτοι κἂν φρονήσει διενέγκωσι, κἂν συμβουλὴν ἔλθωσι κομίζοντες χρησίμην, κατεφρονήθησαν διὰ τὴν τύχην καὶ τοὺς πειθομένους οὐκ ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ κἂν στρατηγικός τις ἢ πένης ὧν, παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχει καὶ τοὺς ἐγχειριοῦντας τὸ στράτευμα οὐκ ἔχει. πένης πρεσβεύων κἂν ὡς δικαιότατα διακονήσῃ, δωροδοκεῖν ὑποπτεύεται. (10) καὶ ὅλως τὰς ἀρετάς, εἴ τινες ἄρα γένοιτο, σπάνιον δέ, κωλύει λάμπειν. ὡς τὰ γε πολλὰ πονηρίας ἐστὶ διδάσκαλος ἀναγκάζουσα κακὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀποροῦντα. (11) ἀπὸ τούτων εἰσὶν οἱ τολμῶντες κερδαίνειν ἐκ τῶν τάφων καὶ τὰς θήκας τῶν οἰχομένων ἀναρρηγνύναι, ἀπὸ τούτων οἱ τοίχους ὀρύττοντες, ἱερόσυλοι, κλέπτει μὴτ' ἀνθρώπους αἰδούμενοι μῆτε θεοὺς δεδιότες. οὗτοι τὰς δεξιὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις ὀπλίζουσι κατὰ τῶν ὁδοιπόρων καὶ σφάττουσιν οἷς οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἐγκαλεῖν ἐσθῆτος ἕνεκα φαύλης ἢ δραχμῶν ὀλίγων. τούτοις δοῦναι καὶ παρακαταθήκην σφαλερόν. ἴσασι γὰρ ἀποστερεῖν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιорκεῖν.

(12) Πένης ἐπίτιμος οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀτίμων διαφέρει τὴν γλῶτταν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ὡς ἔφη πού Θεόγνις, δεδεμένος. καὶ περιέρχονται κατὰ πόλιν σκυθρωποὶ καὶ κύπτοντες εἰς γῆν ἀποβεβληκότες μὲν οὐδένα τῶν οἰκείων, στένοντες δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς πενόμενοι, παραχωροῦντες θώκων, ὑποχωροῦντες

for the soldiers? (6) But it is impossible even for peace to be joyous for such people, as poverty obliterates the delight that comes from security. If the poor man should remain unmarried, he would be burdened by loneliness, but if he marries someone in a similar situation, he has doubled the evil for himself. (7) If children should be born, the feeling of poverty would be greater, and the parents must shed tears over what the rich have available to entertain themselves with, so that they do not ask of the gods to see children, but rather the opposite. Their offspring are reduced to occupations fit for slaves, making a living with their hands, and poverty does not allow them to take part in a liberal education, nor to acquire rhetoric, nor to spend time on philosophy.⁴²⁴ (8) No one who is poor becomes famous or widely admired for his benefactions toward the city, as he is unable to serve as choral producer, donate a ship, or relieve a famine with what is stored in his house. (9) Even if these men are superior in intelligence, and even if they come bearing useful advice, they are looked down upon because of their status and have no hold over their audience, since even if someone who is poor becomes a general, he suffers something similar and has no hold over those who are to entrust him with the army. A poor man serving on an embassy, even if he serves as justly as possible, is suspected of taking bribes.⁴²⁵ (10) And in short, poverty prevents the virtues—if in fact there are any, and that is seldom so—from shining through, because in most cases it is the teacher of wickedness, forcing the needy man to be evil. (11) From these men come those who dare to profit from graves and break open the tombs of the departed; from these come those who dig through house walls, temple robbers, and thieves who neither respect men nor fear the gods.⁴²⁶ These arm their right hands against travelers in the wilderness and kill those against whom they have no grounds for an accusation, all for the sake of shoddy clothing or a few drachmas.⁴²⁷ It is perilous even to give them a deposit for safe-keeping; for they know how to defraud people and perjure themselves later.

(12) A poor man with citizen rights does not differ much from the disenfranchised, with his tongue bound by Fortune, as Theognis says somewhere.⁴²⁸ And they go all around the city scowling and stooping toward the ground and looking none of their friends or relatives in the eye, but groaning that they are poor, giving up their seats, giving way in the streets, being happy

424. *Invective* 5.10.

425. *Invective* 5.11.

426. *Invective* 5.12.

427. *Common Topics* 1.9.

428. *Theognis* 1.177–178.

όδῶν, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ μὴ πάθοιεν κακῶς, τὰ σώματα μὲν τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ἐοικότες, τὰς ψυχὰς δὲ τοῖς ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι μέλλουσι.

(13) Θυγάτηρ τῷ πένητι συμφορὰ καὶ μνηστήρ οὐδαμοῦ, ἡ δ' ἄγαμος ἐλεεινὸν τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀτυχίαν μειζόνως ἐλέγχοντος. (14) ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν δικαστηρίοις, εἰ μὲν διώκει πένης ἀδικούμενος, συκοφαντεῖν ἔδοξεν· εἰ δὲ φεύγει μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, ῥαδίως ἦλω. (15) τέθνηκε. περὶ ταφῆς ἢ φροντίς, καὶ δακρύουσιν οὐχ οὕτω τὴν τελευτὴν οἱ προσήκοντες ὥς τὸ μὴ κρύψαι τὸ σῶμα πρεπόντως ἔχειν.

(16) Οὐδὲν τοσοῦτον ἡ δουλεία. ὁ μὲν γε οἰκέτης καθεύδει ῥαθύμως ταῖς τοῦ δεσπότης φροντίσι τρεφόμενος καὶ τᾶλλα ἔχων ὧν δεῖται τὸ σῶμα, πένης δὲ ἐλεύθερος ἀγρυπνῶν διατελεῖ ζητῶν ὅθεν θρέψεται, χαλεπὴν ἔχων δέσποιναν τὴν ἀπορίαν ἀναγκάζουσιν λιμώττειν. (17) δεινὸν ἡ νόσος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ ἀρρωστήμασι κάμνειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν εὐπόρῳ πολλαχόθεν ἡ παραμυθία καὶ ἰατροὶ καὶ φάρμακα καὶ θεραπεία συχνὴ καὶ τέχνη· πένης δὲ ἀρρωστῶν διπλὴ προσπαλαίει νόσῳ. φαίη δ' ἂν τις ἀκριβῶς ἐσκεμμένος τὴν πενίαν κουφότερον εἶναι τὸ μετ' εὐπορίας νοσεῖν ἢ μετὰ τοῦ χρημάτων σπανίζειν ὑγιαίνειν.

7. Ψόγος ὀργῆς.

(1) Καὶ αὐτός ποτε βλαβεῖς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, πολλάκις δὲ αὐτῆς κεκρατηκῶς καὶ πείρα μαθὼν οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ταύτης καὶ περιεῖναι καὶ μὴ, βούλομαι περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν ἃ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἄξιον, μᾶλλον δέ, ὅσον μὲν ἄξιον, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅσα δὲ ἐγχωρεῖ, καλὸν μὴ σιωπῆσαι.

(2) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μὴ νομίζωμεν αὐτὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ τε καὶ τῇ τῶν θεῶν εἶναι διαίτη μὴδ' ὑμᾶς μηδεὶς ἐξαπατάτω ποιητῆς τοιαῦτα ληρῶν. εἰ γὰρ εὐδαίμονες μὲν οἱ θεοί, καὶ τοῦτο ἀνωμολόγηται, στασιάζειν δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν, αἱ δὲ ὀργαὶ στάσεις ποιοῦσι, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὰ πράγματα τῶν θεῶν καθαρεύειν ὀργῆς; (3) ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτῶν γε τῶν ποιητῶν ἀκούομεν ῥεῖα ζῶειν τοὺς θεοὺς λεγόντων, οὐκ ὀργῇ καὶ τῷ χαλεπῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχειν <χρωμένους>. πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη ῥεῖα ζῶειν; (4) τὴν μὲν οὖν

if they should avoid being ill-treated, and being similar in body to the sick, but in soul to those who are always about to receive a beating.

(13) To a poor man, a daughter is a disaster, and a suitor for her is nowhere to be found, but the unmarried girl is an object of pity, as this crisis proves her misfortune all the more.⁴²⁹ (14) Furthermore, in the courts, if a poor man who has been wronged brings a prosecution, he is thought to be doing so maliciously; but if he is the defendant, he is easily convicted, even if he has done nothing wrong.⁴³⁰ (15) Now he is dead. There is anxiety over his burial, and his relatives cry not so much for his death as for the fact that they cannot bury the body in a suitable manner.⁴³¹

(16) Slavery is not like this at all. The domestic slave sleeps soundly, nourished by his master's care and having everything that the body needs, while a free but poor man is sleepless and continually seeking a source of nourishment, with scarcity as a harsh mistress forcing him to go hungry. (17) Disease and being weakened by illness is a terrible thing for men, but for the rich man, encouragement, doctors, drugs, continual care, and medical expertise are found on all sides; but when the poor man is sick, he wrestles with a double disease. Having analyzed poverty in detail, one might say that being sick in the company of wealth is easier than being healthy in a scarcity of money.⁴³²

INVECTIVE 7: ANGER

(1) Having also myself been harmed at some point by anger, and having often conquered it myself and learned through experience what it is like both to overcome it and not to do so, I wish to say about it what deserves to be said about such a topic—or rather, though it is impossible to say as much as it deserves, it is good not to keep silent as much as one can say.

(2) First of all, then, let us not believe that anger is found in heaven and is part of the lifestyle of the gods, nor let any poet deceive you by saying such garbage; for if the gods are happy—and this is well acknowledged—and if it is impossible for them to quarrel and be happy at the same time, and if anger results in quarrels, how is it not necessarily the case that the affairs of the gods are free from anger? (3) Yet truly we hear the poets themselves saying that the gods live a life of ease,⁴³³ not <experiencing> anger and harshness toward one another; for how could they live a life of ease otherwise? (4) And so, they say

429. *Invective* 5.11.

430. *Invective* 5.8.

431. *Invective* 5.9.

432. *Invective* 5.16.

433. E.g., Homer, *Il.* 6.138; *Od.* 4.805.

Ἄτην φασὶν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐκεῖθεν, ὅπως μηδὲν τῶν αὐτῆς παρ' ἐκείνοις ποιῇ, ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν εἰ τὴν μὲν Ἄτην οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖαν ἡγοῦντο συνδιατρίβειν αὐτοῖς, τὴν δὲ ὀργὴν ἡγάπων, ἀφ' ἧς ἥδεσαν οὐκ ἐλάττω γενησόμενα κακά. (5) οὐκοῦν καὶ ταύτην ἐξέρριψαν ἂν ἢ μετ' ἐκείνης ἢ πρὸ ἐκείνης ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην εὐθύς, μᾶλλον δέ, οὐδετέραν ἐξέωσαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρεδέξαντο. θεῶν γὰρ ἦν ἰδεῖν, οἶμαι, πρὶν παθεῖν τὸ μέλλον.

(6) Οὐκοῦν ἀνθρώπων τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ οὐδὲ τούτων πεπαιδευμένων. οὐκ οὖν τοὺς γε γνησίως φιλοσοφοῦντας ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους κατεχομένους, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ὄντα πρῶτον φιλοσοφίας καρπὸν, τὸ καθαρὰν ὀργῆς τὴν ψυχὴν παρέχεσθαι. (7) καὶ τὸν γε ὀργῇ δουλεύοντα καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγοις ἡκιστα γέ φαμεν φιλοσοφεῖν, τὸν δὲ κρείττονα ταύτης, κἂν μὴ δεινὸς ἢ τᾱκείνων, ἐν ἄκροις γραφόμεθα. οὕτω μέγιστος ἄθλων ἔστιν ὀργὴν φανῆναι νικῶντα, ἢ ποιεῖ μὲν κακῶς ἄλλους, ποιεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἔχοντα.

(8) Σκοπῶμεν δὲ οὕτως· πατὴρ ἦττων ὀργῆς ἀφόρητος υἱέσιν ὑβρίζων, ἐλαύνων, παίων. καὶ πολλοὶ τὸν γε τοιοῦτον ἀποδράντες ἀλᾶσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ πτωχεύειν ἐδέξαντο καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους σφίσιν οἴκους οἰκειοτέρους ἔκριναν. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μετενεγκὼν ταχέως κάκεινὴν ἐξήλασεν. (9) ἥκων δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας πολλοὺς δραπετάς ἐποίησεν, ἔστι δὲ οὖς καὶ φονέας. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἤρκεσεν ἀπελθοῦσιν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν, τοῖς δ' ἔδοξε καὶ δίκην λαβεῖν. καὶ νύκτας ἀναμείναντες τῶν πληγῶν καὶ τῶν μαστίγων ξίφεσι τὴν δίκην ἔλαβον. (10) πάλιν τοίνυν γυνὴ μὲν εἰς ὀργὴν ἔτοιμος ἀνδρὸς τε καὶ οἴκου καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀγαθῶν αὐτὴν ἀπεστέρησε, παῖδες δέ, τὸ δεινότατον τοῦτο καὶ δυσσεβές, πατέρας ἐπάταξαν καὶ γραφὰς ὑπέμειναν καὶ δικαστὰς εἶδον, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἢ συγγνώμη. (11) ὀργὴ καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖν ἀνέπεισε, καὶ μεῖζον τῆς τύχης ἔβλεψε τε καὶ ἐφθέγγατο καὶ τὴν χεῖρα κινήσας οὐ κατὰ νόμον μύλωνα καὶ πέδας ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ φρονήματος ἔσχεν. (12) αὕτη καὶ φιλίας δεσμοὺς διακόπτειν πέφυκε τὸν μὲν ὀργιζόμενον ἐφ' ἅπαν ἐξάγουσα ῥῆμα, τὸν δὲ παροινούμενον ἐχθρὸν ἀντὶ φίλου τῇ λύπῃ ποιοῦσα. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι ῥάδιον τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐ νέοις, οὐ πρεσβύταις, οὐκ ἀνδράσιν, οὐ γυναιξίν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρους, οὐ δούλοις. (13) γείτων ὀργίλος ἔν τε ἀγρῷ καὶ πόλει μεγάλη τῷ πέλας

that Delusion was banished from there, so that she might cause none of her problems among them,⁴³⁴ but I would be surprised if they considered Delusion unfit to live among them but cherished anger, from which they knew that problems no less evil would result. (5) Therefore, they also threw the latter out either at the same time as, or before, or right after the former—or rather, they did not expel either of them, but never welcomed them in the first place; for the gods had the power, I believe, to see what would happen before experiencing it.

(6) Therefore, the ways of anger belong to men, and not even to those who are educated. It is therefore impossible to see genuine philosophers overwhelmed by this passion; rather, one can see that this is the first fruit of philosophy, the ability to furnish oneself with a soul free from anger. (7) And we say that the man who is a slave to anger and not to the words of philosophy is least of all a philosopher, but we list among the most excellent the man who can master it, even if he is not clever in the pursuits of philosophers. Thus the greatest task is to prove that one can conquer anger, which does harm to others and does harm to the one who has it.

(8) Let us consider it this way: A father who cannot resist anger is unbearable to his sons, abusing, striking, and beating them. And many who run away from such a father prefer wandering around and begging, and judge other people's houses as better homes for themselves. But the father, transferring his anger from his children to his wife, quickly drives her off, as well. (9) Coming down to the domestic slaves he turns many of them into run-aways, and some he even turns into murderers; for to some of them, when they leave, it is enough to be rid of their evils, but others think it best to exact punishment, as well. And waiting for nightfall, they take vengeance with their swords for the beatings and whippings. (10) Furthermore, a woman, in turn, who is prone to anger deprives herself of a husband, a house, and the good things inherent in these, while angry children—this is the most terrible and unholy thing—beat their fathers, endure indictments, and face juries, and forgiveness is nowhere to be found. (11) Anger also convinces the domestic slave to forget himself, and he both looks and talks above his station, and when he moves his hand illegally he gets the millhouse and fetters instead of a good attitude. (12) This also naturally breaks through the bonds of friendship, driving the angry man to say anything and everything, but making the victim of his gross abuse an enemy instead of a friend by means of the pain; for it is not easy to bear the results of anger, not for the young, not for the old, not for men, not for women, not for the free, not for slaves. (13) A man who is prone

434. Homer, *Il.* 19.90–94, 126–131.

συμφορά. ἡσυχάζειν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἔξεστι χρόνον, αἰεὶ δὲ ἐν κραυγῇ καὶ θορύβῳ καὶ ῥήμασι πικροῖς εἰσι καὶ μάχαις, κἂν νυξ ἀφέληται, πάλιν ἦκεν ἡμέρα τὰ τῆς προτέρας φέρουσα καὶ τὸν ἐπεικέστερον ἢ σιγῇ δεῖ φέρειν, τοῦτο δὲ οὐ ῥάδιον, ἢ τῶν τρόπων ἐκβάντα ἀσχημονεῖν. (14) τοῦτο καὶ στρατηγὸν ἂν ποιήσειεν ἄχρηστον καὶ στρατόπεδον ἀθυμότερον, τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντα χρῆσθαι τῇ τέχνῃ παρὰ τὴν ὀργήν, τὸ δὲ οὐχ ἡδέως τῷ τοιούτῳ παρέχον αὐτό. (15) βαρεῖς καὶ τῷ νέων χορῷ διδάσκαλοι ὀργῇ χρώμενοι καὶ οὗτ' ἂν ἐκείνοι ρυθμίζοιντο καλῶς πληττόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς λόγοις οὗτ' ἂν οὗτοι δέχοιντο τὰς μαθήσεις ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκηπτόμενοι νοσεῖν οἴκοι πολλάκις ἂν μένοιν δεδιότες τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥηγνυμένην ὀργήν. (16) ταῦτόν ἂν καὶ ἀθλητῆς πάθοι τοιούτῳ παιδοτρίβῃ περιπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πίπτων εἰς ὀργήν ἐν τοῖς ἄθλοις ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης αὐτῷ παρηγγελμένων τοῖς παραπίπτουσιν ἂν χρῶτο. (17) ἐν νηὶ δὲ ὀργῇ τῶν πλεόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντὶ χειμῶνος καὶ ζάλης γίγνοιτ' ἂν τῷ σκάφει. (18) ἡνίοχος ὀργῇ κατειλημμένος χεῖρους ἂν ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἵππους τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν χαλινῶν ἀλγήμασιν ἀναγκάζων κακουργεῖν. καὶ περὶ τοὺς βοῦς ἂν ταῦτό γίγνοιτο παρὰ τοῦ βοηλάτου ταῦτόν ἐκείνῳ πεπονθότος. (19) δῆμος δὲ τραχὺς καὶ ῥαδίως ὀργιζόμενος πολλάκις ἀποστερεῖται τοῦ τὰ δέοντα μαθεῖν τῶν ἐχόντων εἰπεῖν τι φόβῳ σιγῶντων καὶ δίκην ἣν ἔδει παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ταύτην παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἥσθη λαβών. (20) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δικαστῆς γένοιτ' ἂν τῶν δικαίων ἀγαθὸς φύλαξ μετ' ὀργῆς <ἀκροώμενος> τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων. οὐ γὰρ ἔπεται τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ χαρίζεται τῷ θυμῷ. (21) ὁ βασιλεὺς ἕως μὲν ἔστι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἥπιος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὅπερ ὀνομάζεται χαλεπὸς δὲ γινόμενος καὶ διδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ὀργῇ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκβάλλον τῶν ὄρων, τοὺς δὲ δέων, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτιννύς εἰς τύραννον ἐκκεκύλισται, κἂν σφόδρα φεύγη τοῦνομα τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἔχῃται. (22) ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτῆς ἀρέσκει κραυγὴν καὶ μέμψεις καὶ ἐγκλήματα ἐκείνων παρ' οὓς ἀφίεται δυνάμενος ἐνεγκεῖν, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς χειμαζόμενος ταχέως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς βεβοηθηκῶς ἀπέρχεται τὰ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ ποιήσας ἀσθενῇ, τὰ κείνων δὲ ἀσθενῇ δείξας ἰσχύοντα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ μάλιστα πάντα δι' ὧν ἦν κρατεῖν παρεσκευασμένος ἦλθεν, ἢ γε ὀργῇ προσπεσοῦσα πᾶν τὸ ἐσκεμμένον ἐσκέδασε καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἴσον τῷ μηδὲν φροντίσαντι τὴν ἀρχήν. (23) ἀλλότριον ὀργῇ γάμων,

to anger is a great misfortune to his neighbor both in the country and in the city; for it is impossible for such people to live in peace for even a short time, but they are always involved in yelling, screaming, bitter words, and fights, and even if night takes it away, a new day comes bringing with it the problems of the day before, and the man who is more reasonable must either bear it in silence—but this is not easy to do—or do something shameful, acting out of character. (14) This would also make a general useless and an army dispirited, the one being unable to use his skill in the face of anger, the other not gladly offering itself to such a man. (15) Teachers who indulge their anger are also grievous to the chorus of youths,⁴³⁵ and such students would neither train well, struck to the heart by the words stemming from anger, nor would they accurately receive their lessons, but instead they would often even pretend to be sick and stay at home, fearing the anger erupting against them. (16) An athlete would also suffer the same if he encountered such a trainer, and if he became angry in competition himself, he would use whatever came to mind instead of the instructions he received from the art. (17) On a ship, the anger of sailors against one another would take the place of storms and driving rain for the boat. (18) A charioteer overcome by anger would make his horses worse by forcing them to do wrong with pains from the bit. And if the ox-driver suffered the same as that man, the same would happen with his oxen. (19) A democracy that is harsh and easily angered is often deprived of knowing what it must do, as those who are able to say something remain silent out of fear; and the penalty that they should have exacted from the enemy, they delight in exacting from their kinsmen. (20) But neither would a juror be a good guardian of justice <if he listened to> the disputants with anger; for he does not follow the laws, but indulges his wrath. (21) As long as the king is gentle toward his subjects, “king” is what he is called; but if he becomes harsh and gives himself over to anger, and because of this robs some of their money, but banishes others beyond the borders, puts others in prison, and kills still others, he is plunged headlong into tyranny, even if he actively avoids this name and holds on to the title of king. To me, an ambassador is also pleasing when he can endure the shouting, reproaches, and accusations of those whom he visits, but the one who is storm-driven by anger departs quickly, having helped the enemy by making his strong points weak and showing their weak points to be strong; for indeed, if he comes fully prepared in everything that would make it possible for him to win, anger descending upon him scatters all that he had planned and makes him exactly like a man who had given it

435. Not a literal chorus with its trainer but a common metaphor for a teacher's pupils.

ἀλλότριον θυσίας, ἀλλότριον κώμων, ἀλλότριον συμποσίων. τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ τῷ τέρπειν ἀλλήλους τὴν εὐφροσύνην ἔχει, τῆς δὲ ὀργῆς ἐπεισελθούσης ταραχὴ καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λυπεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀνάγκη. (24) ἔτι τοίνυν ἀποστερεῖ μὲν τὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα βοηθείας, ἀποστερεῖ δὲ τὸν ἱατρὸν εὐδοξίας. εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν χαλεπὸς εἶη πρὸς τὸν μεμνημένον φαρμάκων, ὁ δ' ἀποπηδᾷ τοῦ κάμνοντος οἷς ἤκουσεν ἀνιώμενος, ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι πρὸς τὸ νόσημα σύμμαχον, ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς τοὺς κατηγόρους ὡς ἂν προδότης τοῦ κάμνοντος.

(25) Οὕτω δὲ ἐστὶ φύσει κακὸν ὁ θυμὸς τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὥστ' εἰ καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα αὐτοῖς ἃ δοκεῖ ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπάρχει παρὰ τῆς Τύχης, αὐτοὶ γε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀθλιωτέρους τῶν ἀτυχούντων ποιοῦσι. (26) βαρὺ μὲν τὸ ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ ζῆν, ἀθυμία δὲ καταναγκάζει τὸ τινα αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατεγνωκένας, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν ὡς ἡμαρτήκασιν εἰδόντων, τὸ δ' ἁμαρτάνειν πυκνὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ἔργον οἶμαι τοῦ λογισμοῦ μὲν παρεωσμένου, τοῦ θυμοῦ δὲ τυραννοῦντος. (27) τὸν τοιοῦτον αἰεὶ γε βοᾷν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν μὲν καρδίαν οἶον ἐκπηδᾷ νομίζειν, τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ ὥσπερ διίστασθαι, φωνὴν δὲ ἀκραιφνῇ μὴ δύνασθαι δεικνύναι, τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς διαπύρους. πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ νόσου δεινῆς ἀρχὴν ἤνεγκεν ὀργῆς ὑπερβολή. (28) ὑπὸ μόνων δὲ τούτων ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἀτιμάζεται τὰ θεῖα. καὶ καταρῶνται μὲν γῇ, καταρῶνται δὲ οὐρανῷ, κακῶς δὲ ἀγορεύουσι τὸν τούτων δημιουργόν. ἃ κατὰ τοῦ δυσμενοῦς οὐκ ἂν ἀνὴρ σωφρονῶν φθέγγαιτο, ταῦτα ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τοὺς κρείττους ἀφιέντες οὐκ ἀξιούσι δεδοικέναι τοῦ Διὸς τὸ πῦρ.

(29) Δεινὸν τὸ κέρδους ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ χρήματα συλλέγειν ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ταῖς ἐτέρων βλάβαις τὰ αὐτοῦ μείζω ποιεῖν, ὀργὴ δὲ πρὶν ἕτερον αὐτὸν ζημιοῖ τὸν ὀργιζόμενον. (30) δεινὸν ἡττᾶσθαι κάλλους σωματῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοῦτο παθὼν πρῶτον μὲν ἐν μικρῷ μέρει τῆς ἡμέρας ὁμιλήσας τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἅπτοιτ' ἂν ἔργων καλλιόνων, ἔπειτα μετὰ τῆς ὥρας ἦν ἐθαύμασε λήγει νοσῶν. ὅτῳ δὲ θυμὸς ἐμπέφυκε ζέων, πανταχοῦ τε αὐτὸν ἀπόλλυσι καὶ θανάτῳ μόνῳ παύεται. (31) μέμφεσθαι μὲν ἄξιον τοὺς οἰνόφυλγας καὶ ὅσοι μέχρι μέθης πίνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι πίνοντες μὲν εἰσιν ἀηδεῖς, πρὶν δὲ πιεῖν οὐ τοιοῦτοι, ὥστ' εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη κωλύσειε μὴ πιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἂν χεῖρους εἶεν τῶν ἄλλων. τὸν δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς κρατούμενον τίς ἂν ἀπαλλάξειε τῆς δεσποίνης μηχανῆς; ἔτι μὲν τοι καὶ τῶν μεθυσκομένων τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ δεινότατον, ὅτι τὸν νοῦν διαφθείραντες εἰς ὀργὴν ἐκφέρονται.

no thought at all. (23) Anger is foreign to marriages, foreign to sacrifice, foreign to revelries, foreign to symposia; for each of these has its festive mood in calmness and in delighting one another, but when anger enters in, there is turmoil and war and a compulsion to hurt one another. (24) Furthermore, it deprives the sick man of help, while it deprives the doctor of good repute; for if the former is harsh toward the one who has mentioned drugs, but the latter runs away from the sick man, grieved by what he hears, the former would not have an ally against the disease, while the latter would have many people accusing him of betraying the sick man.

(25) Wrath is so naturally an evil to those who have it, that even if Fortune provides them with everything else that is thought to bring happiness, they themselves make themselves more wretched than the unfortunate. (26) It is burdensome to live in hopelessness, but hopelessness forces a man to condemn himself, and this is the prerogative of those who know that they have made mistakes, and making frequent mistakes, I believe, is the result of anger, when reasoning is pushed aside and wrath rules as tyrant. (27) Such a man as this is always necessarily shouting and believing that his heart, as it were, is leaping out of his chest, but that his head, so to speak, is splitting open, and that he cannot display his voice untainted by anger, and that his eyes are full of fire. For many people an excess of anger also brings the beginning of terrible illness. (28) By these people alone are divine things dishonored on an equal basis with human ones. And they curse the earth, and curse heaven, and speak badly of the one who created it all. The words that a self-controlled man would not utter against his enemy, they easily hurl against the gods, not seeing fit to fear the fire of Zeus.

(29) It is terrible to be overcome by profit and to collect money from unworthy sources, but this is to make one's own possessions greater by doing harm to others, while anger punishes the angry man himself before anyone else. (30) It is terrible to be overcome by physical beauty, but the one who suffers this would at first participate in more noble deeds, associating with his sweethearts for only a small part of the day, and later his sickness would end along with the youthful beauty that he admired; but anyone in whom a seething wrath is engendered, destroys himself all the time and stops only in death. (31) It is worthy to reproach drunkards and whoever drinks to the point of drunkenness, but while those men are unpleasant when they drink, they are not so before they drink, so that if some necessity prevents them from drinking, they would be no worse than the rest; but for the one who is controlled by anger, what device would rid him of this mistress? Moreover, this is also the most terrible thing about those who get drunk, that having destroyed their minds they are carried away into anger.

(32) Ὀργή τὴν Μήδειαν ὥπλισε κατὰ τῶν τέκνων, ὀργή τὴν Πρόκνην κατὰ τοῦ μηδὲν ἡδίκηκότος Ἴτυος καὶ προσέθηκεν ἑτέραν ὀμότητα δεῖπνον τῷ πατρὶ παραθεῖσα τὸν υἱόν. ὀργῆς ἦν καὶ τὰ Θηβαίων εἰς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ τῶν Ἀργείων πεσόντας, οἱ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἀποστεροῦντες ταφῆς ἑαυτοῖς ἀσεβείας τε δόξαν ἐποίησαν καὶ κινδύνους ἑτέρους πρὸς Θησέως. (33) τὴν Ἀχιλλέως ὀργήν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἡ Ἰλιάς, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐφ' ἧ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καταδυσόμενον ὀρώμεν καὶ τῇ ἐρωμένη καταρώμενον ὡς τῆς ἀφορμῆς τῶν κακῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἠκούσης. (34) ὀργή Τυδέα διεκώλυσεν ἀθανασίας τυχεῖν. ὀργῇ Καμβύσης τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα ἐξήμαρτε. δι' ὀργὴν ἡ πόλις ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δέκα στρατηγῶν ἀγαθῶν ἑαυτὴν ἀπεστέρησε καὶ τὸν λαμπρὸν ἐκείνον Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐν πολέμοις ἀήττητον ὀργῇ κατέστησεν αἰτίαις οὐ μικραῖς ἔνοχον.

(35) Καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐζημιωμένους καταλέγειν ἐθέλοι, ἀδύνατ' ἂν ζητοίῃ. διόπερ τούτου μὲν ἀφέξομαι, κρείττων δὲ ὀργῆς εἶναι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰτῶ.

8. Ψόγος ἀμπέλου.

(1) Οὐχ ὅτι πολλοὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ χαίρουσιν, ὁκνήσω περὶ αὐτῆς τάληθες εἰπεῖν. πλεόν γὰρ αἰδοῦμαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἢ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος, οἱ τὴν ἄμπελον ἡγοῦνται ἀγαθὸν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν κακῶν ἃ βλάπτει μὲν ὁμολογουμένως, τέρπει δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐπαινεῖται.

(32) Anger armed Medea against her children;⁴³⁶ anger armed Procne against Itys, who had done nothing wrong, and added to this another act of savagery, setting the son before his father as dinner.⁴³⁷ It was because of anger, as well, what the Thebans did to those of the Argives who fell at the Cadmea; by depriving the dead of burial, they created for themselves both a reputation for impiety and other dangers with Theseus.⁴³⁸ (33) There is no one among men who does not know about the anger of Achilles, with which the *Iliad* is concerned,⁴³⁹ and under whose power we see Achilles being overcome with shame and cursing his beloved on the grounds that the beginning of his evils came from there.⁴⁴⁰ (34) Anger prevented Tydeus from obtaining immortality.⁴⁴¹ It was through anger that Cambyses made those many mistakes of his.⁴⁴² On account of anger the city of Athens deprived itself of ten brave generals,⁴⁴³ and anger made that brilliant man Alexander, who was undefeated in war, liable to not insignificant charges.⁴⁴⁴

(35) And if anyone should wish to list all those who have been punished by anger, he would be seeking to do the impossible. Wherefore I will abstain from doing so, but I ask of the gods that I be superior to anger.

INVECTIVE 8: THE GRAPEVINE⁴⁴⁵

(1) The fact that many delight in the vine will not make me hesitate to speak the truth about it; for I respect the truth more than I do the huge number of people who consider the vine to be good, just like many other bad things that admittedly cause injury but give delight, and so for this reason are praised as being good.

436. Euripides, *Medea*, especially 1236–1250; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28.

437. Ovid, *Metam.* 6.424–674; Narration 18–19.

438. Narration 10.

439. As announced in the first line of the poem.

440. Homer, *Il.* 19.56–62.

441. Narration 9.

442. Persian king, r. 530–522 B.C.E.; for his madness and wicked acts, see Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.27–28.

443. I.e., the Arginusae generals: Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.6.24–1.7.34; Diodorus Siculus 13.97–102.

444. Plutarch, *Mor.* 458B (*Cohib. ira*); Seneca *Dial.* 3.17.1–2; 3.23.1–2.

445. For a full elaboration of this theme, see Pseudo-Nicolaus 3 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:343,1–44,32); see also the invective against drunkenness in Pseudo-Nicolaus 4 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:345,1–31). Encomium of the grapevine: for the theme, see Aphthonius 21; with partial elaboration, John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 124,15); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:433,31–34,6).

(2) Τὸν τοίνυν πρῶτον περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάσαντα Ἰκάριον εὐρήσομεν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ σπουδασθὲν ἀποθανόντα. ὥς γὰρ περιῆει παιδεύων τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἔγευσε μὲν τοῦ οἴνου τοὺς Θρᾷκας, οἱ δὲ ἔπασχον τὰ τῶν μαινομένων παίοντες τοὺς πλησίον, προπηλακίζοντες, παρειμένοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν, φερόμενοι τῇδε κάκεισε, οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ἔπιπτον. ἃ ὁρῶντες οἱ μὴ πεπωκότες φάρμακον ἡγήσαντο τὸν Ἰκάριον κεράσαι τοῖς μεθύουσι καὶ λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν. (3) οὕτω μὲν ἡμεῖς τὸν πρῶτον ἢ ἄμπελος φυτουργόν, ἔχει δὲ οὐδὲ κάλλος οὐδὲ πάχος οὐδὲ μέγεθος οὐδὲ κλάδους ἰσχυροὺς, ἃ ἔν τε φοῖνιξιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ καρύαις καὶ δρυσὶ καὶ κυπαρίττοις, οὐδὲ συντελεῖ εἰς οἰκίαν μὴ ὅτι εὐδαίμονι καὶ λαμπρῶς οἰκοδομουμένῳ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πένητι καὶ φαύλῳ. (4) πῶς δ' ἂν ἢ τοίχους συνδήσειεν ἢ κέραμον ἐνέγκαι ἢ γε οὐδ' αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ ἵστασθαι ἀρκεῖ, ἀλλὰ δεῖ πολλῆς ἐπικουρίας; ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ μεθύοντες ἄλλων ἀνέχονται χερσὶ, κἂν ἀποστῶσιν οἱ βοηθοῦντες, οἶδε κατέπεσον, οὕτω καὶ ἢ ἄμπελος δεῖται τῶν ὀρθωσόντων. (5) κάμακας ὑποκεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ χάρακας, μὴ που κατενεχθῇ. διὰ γὰρ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς σχήματος δηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ φύσιν. ἃ γὰρ οἶνος ἐργάζεται τοὺς πίνοντας, ταῦτα αὐτῇ πέπονθεν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ προβαίνει τοῖς κλήμασιν ὅποι ἂν τύχη τοῖς τῶν γειτόνων ὑπ' ἀσελγείας ἐπιούσα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μῆκος ἀσθένεια γίνεται τοῦ φυτοῦ. (6) πῶς οὖν ἂν ἐρίσειε τῇ ἐλαίᾳ οὕτω μὲν καλῇ, οὕτω δὲ ἰσχυρᾷ, οὕτω δὲ μεγάλῃ καὶ αἰεὶ κομώσῃ τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον γεγυμνωμένη τῆς κόμης; καὶ μὴν περὶ μὲν ἐκείνην βραχὺς πόνος ἢ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀναμένουσι τὸν καρπὸν καθήμενοι. ἢ δὲ γε ἄμπελος πολλάκις καλεῖ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοὺς θεραπεύσοντας καὶ πολὺς οὕτω πόνος ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναλοῦται. (7) τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀδικημάτων οἶνος ποιεῖ, τοὺς ἔρωτας, τὰς μοιχεῖας, πληγὰς, ὕβρεις, προπηλακισμούς, ὑπεροψίας τῶν νόμων. καὶ τις ἐπάταξε τὸν πατέρα μεθυσθεὶς, ὁ δὲ βωμὸν ἀνέτρεψε, ὁ δὲ ἄγαλμα κατήνεγκεν. (8) ὄχλος δὲ εἰ μεθυσθεῖη, στάσεως ἂν ἐπιθυμήσειεν. ὁ γὰρ οἶνος ἐλαύνει τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τυραννήσας τὴν ψυχὴν ὠθεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τὰ δεινότερα καθάπερ πνεῦμα βίαιον. (9) στρατιῶται δὲ οἶνου γέμοντες εἰ συμπλακεῖεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ῥᾶστοι εἰσι κρατηθῆναι, μᾶλλον ἢ παῖδες νήφοντες. διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα καὶ Ἑκτωρ διωθεῖται τῆς μητρὸς προσαγοῦσης

(2) Well now, we will find that the first person to have devoted serious attention to it, Icarius, died on account of the very pursuit to which he was devoted.⁴⁴⁶ For as he was going around teaching people how to cultivate it, he gave a taste of wine to the Thracians, but they suffered the symptoms of madmen—striking their neighbors, verbally abusing them, feeling their eyes and tongues loosen up, being carried in this direction and that—and some of them fell down. Seeing this, the ones who had not tasted it believed that Icarius had mixed up a poison to give to those who were now drunk, and they took him and killed him. (3) Thus the vine rewarded its first cultivator. And it has neither beauty nor thickness nor height nor strong branches, which one may see in date palms, walnut trees, oaks, and cypresses, nor does it contribute to a house, not only not for a man who is well-off and building a magnificent house, but also not for a poor commoner. (4) How could it help to hold walls together or support a roof, since it is not even capable of standing up by itself, but needs a lot of help? For just as those who are drunk are supported by the hands of others—and if those who are helping them step aside, they fall down⁴⁴⁷—so also the vine needs things to hold it up straight. (5) Props and poles must be put under it, so that it may not fall down anywhere; for it makes the nature of its fruit evident through its own outward appearance; for what wine does to those who drink it, it suffers itself because of its nature.⁴⁴⁸ And it advances by means of its branches, wherever it happens to overtake those of its neighbors by brute force. But this extension becomes the plant's weakness. (6) How, then, could it compete with the olive tree—so beautiful, so strong, so big, and always so leafy—when, for most of the time, it is stripped of its foliage? Furthermore, the labor needed for the olive tree is little or none; rather, its cultivators sit around and wait for the fruit. But the vine often summons people to itself to take care of it, and much labor is thus expended to the detriment of men.⁴⁴⁹ (7) For wine causes the majority of crimes: lust, adultery, beatings, violence, verbal abuse, and contempt for the laws. And one man strikes his father while drunk, while another overturns an altar, and still another knocks down a statue. (8) If the masses should become drunk, they would desire political revolution; for wine drives away reason, and once it has established itself as tyrant over the soul, it pushes a man to the most terrible acts, just like a violent wind. (9) If soldiers full of wine should engage the enemy, they are easy to beat, even easier than children who are sober. For this reason, too, Hector rejected

446. Narration 28.

447. For a vivid description of just such a man, see Description 6.

448. I.e., wine makes people who drink it unable to stand up without assistance, just as the grapevine itself is unable to stand up without assistance.

449. Cf. section 13, below, with note.

λέγων ἐκπεσεῖσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως, εἰ μεταλάβοι τοῦ ποτοῦ. (10) δικαστῆς οἶνῳ χαίρων ἀπολέσειεν ἂν τοὺς κρινομένους. ἀθλητῆς ἄριστος τάχιστα δὴ γίνεται κάκιστος οἶνῳ προσκείμενος. λόγοις δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ τί οὕτως ἐμποδῶν ὥς οἶνος; ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὕπνῳ κατειλημμένον κεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ τοῦτον φυγῶν ἀγαθὸς ἂν ἔμπορος εἴη παιδείας. (11) καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑγείᾳ πολέμιος οὐκ ἔῶν οὔτε τὴν διάνοιαν οὔτε τὸ σῶμα ἐρρῶσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖ μαλακόν, τὴν δὲ μανικὴν. καὶ πολλοὶ πίνοντες ἀπὸ μέθης εἰς μανίαν προῆλθον. (12) εἰ μὴ ἔδεισε τὸν οἶνον ὁ Δημοσθένης, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀφίκετο τῆς τέχνης. εἰ μὴ Λαῖος ἔπescen εἰς πολὺν πότον, οὐκ ἂν ἔσπειρε τὸν Οἰδίπουν. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὁ Κενταύρων καὶ Λαπιθῶν πόλεμος οἶνου ἔργον. ὃς καὶ Πολύφημον τὸν Κύκλωπα τηλικούτον ὄντα ὑπὸ μικρῶν κρατούμενον ἔδειξε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Τροίαν οὕτως ἀλῶναι πινόντων καὶ ὀρχουμένων τῶν Τρώων.

(13) Τί οὖν φασιν οἱ θαυμάζοντες τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐλαίας αὐτὴν ἄγοντες, ὅταν φαίνεται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ βλάπτειν χεῖρῳ βλαβερωτάτῃ οὔσα πάντων τῶν φυτῶν; οὐδ' ἴσον κακὸν ἐμποιεῖν ἢ παύειν. ὦν τὸ μὲν ἐστίν

wine when his mother brought it to him, saying that he would be deprived of his power, if he were to take a drink.⁴⁵⁰ (10) A jury member delighting in wine would destroy the people on trial. The best athlete quickly becomes the worst when addicted to wine. What stands in the way of oratory and philosophy more than wine? For the one overwhelmed by it is forced to remain lying down. But the one who shuns it would be a good trafficker in education. (11) Moreover, it is also an enemy to health, as it allows neither the mind nor the body to flourish; for the latter it makes soft, but the former insane. And many who drink progress from drunkenness to insanity. (12) If Demosthenes had not feared wine, he would not have attained such a great level of the art.⁴⁵¹ If Laius had not drunk so heavily, he would not have begotten Oedipus.⁴⁵² Moreover, the war between the Centaurs and Lapiths was also the result of wine.⁴⁵³ This also exposed Polyphemus the Cyclops, although being so huge, as being mastered by little ones.⁴⁵⁴ It is said, too, that Troy was thus sacked while the Trojans were drinking and dancing.⁴⁵⁵

(13) What, then, are those people saying who admire the vine and rank it above the olive tree, since (as they claim) it seems not to do worse harm than the rest, although it is (supposedly) the most harmful of all plants?⁴⁵⁶ But I say that it is not the same to cause evil as to put a stop to it. The former of

450. Homer, *Il.* 6.264–265.

451. Demosthenes 6.30; 19.46; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 15; [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat* 848C; *Encomium* 5.14.

452. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.5.7.

453. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.21; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.210–535.

454. Homer, *Od.* 9.105–566, especially 315–467.

455. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.17; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.265.

456. Reading τῶν ἄλλων (“the rest”) in 316,14 (328,6–7 Foerster) with all mss and most editions before Foerster, in preference to Reiske’s conjecture of τῶν ἀνθρώπων (“men”), which is adopted by Foerster, and which I must confess not to understand. The change of perspective indicated in the translation by the words “(as they claim)” and “(supposedly)” is not signaled in the Greek but seems necessary to make sense of the argument. For fully elaborated comparisons of the olive tree and the vine, see Pseudo-Nicolaus 9 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:370,30–71,33); George Pachymeres (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:572,12–74,28); and Doxapatres’ commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:491,25–92,28). None of these commits the alleged error of praising the vine more than the olive tree, although Doxapatres plays down the vine’s bad qualities in order to prove that the vine and the olive are equally good. Partially elaborated comparisons of the vine and olive appear in Pseudo-Nicolaus’s encomium of the olive (4, Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:335,6–12) and invective against the vine (3, Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:344,27–31); cf. section 6, above. Comparison of the olive with the date palm: Pseudo-Nicolaus 7 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:368,1–69,6). Encomium of the olive: Aphthonius 21; [Hermogenes] 18; Doxapatres’ commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:434,6–8); Pseudo-Nicolaus 4 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:334,1–35,12).

ἀμπέλου, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνης. τοὺς γὰρ παραφρονοῦντας δι' οἶνον ἔλαιον πέφυκεν
εἰς νοῦν ἐπανάγειν.

these belongs to the vine, the latter to the olive; for olive oil naturally brings those who are out of their minds because of wine back to their senses.⁴⁵⁷

457. For the olive as a cure for drunkenness, see scholia to Aristophanes, *Nub.* 1237; Pseudo-Nicolaus, Encomium 4 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:335,6–12, 371,28–32); as a cure for other ailments, see Pseudo-Nicolaus, Comparison 9 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:371,20–21); George Pachymeres (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:574,24–26).

THE EXERCISE IN COMPARISON

The exercise in comparison (*synkrisis*) naturally follows the exercise(s) in encomium and invective (Nicolaus 60), as it takes the form of a double encomium, double invective, or a combination of encomium and invective (Aphthonius 31; cf. [Hermogenes] 18; Nicolaus 59–60). Comparison as a heading had also been used earlier in the exercises in anecdote and maxim, as well as in common topics, encomium, and invective (as noted by [Hermogenes] 18; Nicolaus 59). All the subjects of encomium and invective can be treated in a comparison (Theon 112, 113–114; [Hermogenes] 19; Aphthonius 31; cf. Nicolaus 63). The exercise can be used to show that two things are equal in all or most respects; that while two things are not equal, both are praiseworthy; or that an apparent lesser (e.g., Odysseus) is actually equal to an apparent greater (e.g., Heracles; [Hermogenes] 19–20). Theon 112–113 recommends that the two subjects should not differ greatly (e.g., as would Achilles and Thersites), but this is clearly not a view shared by Libanius. As for organization, compare the two subjects heading by heading, following the same order of headings as in encomium and invective (Theon 113–114; [Hermogenes] 19; Aphthonius 31–32; Nicolaus 61–62), but omitting the section on comparison (Aphthonius 31–32).

All five examples are authentic, according to Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2520; and Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix. On the exercise in comparison, see Theon 112–115; [Hermogenes] 18–20; Aphthonius 31–33; and Nicolaus 59–63. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:117–18.

1. Σύγκρισις Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Διομήδους.

(1) Οὐ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν πείσομαι πάθος οὐδ' ἡγήσομαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα βελτίω τοῦ Διομήδους, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἐκείνον Ἀχιλλέως, εἰ καὶ μὴ διὰ πάντων, ἀλλ' ἔν γε τοῖς πλείοσιν.

(2) Αὐτίκα γὰρ τὸ γένος εἴ τις θαυμάζει τὸν Πηλέα καὶ τὸν Αἰακὸν σκοπῶν καὶ τὸν Δία, καὶ περὶ Διομήδους ἔχοι ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς σπέρμα θεῖον ἦν. Θετταλίαν δὲ εἰ πάνυ τις θαυμάζει, τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ γε καὶ ἄκων εἴξει. (3) αὐξηθείσης τοίνυν τῆς παιδείας ἴσης ἀμφοτέροις οἴους εἰκὸς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων σκοπήσωμεν. (4) οὐκοῦν ἐκάλει μὲν ὁ Τρωικὸς πόλεμος τοὺς ἀρίστους δοκιμάζων στρατιώτου εὐψυχίαν, ὁ δὲ γενναῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰπὼν χαίρειν ὅπλοις καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς Σκῦρον καταφεύγει καὶ εἰς παρθενῶνα κατέδυ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔκρυψε τῷ σχήματι κόρη δοκεῖν εἶναι βουλόμενος ἢ παρατάξασθαι. (5) Διομήδης δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ὑπήκουε τῷ καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀργῶς διακειμένους ἐκίνει καὶ πρῶτον τοῦτον αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ Χείρωνος ἐπὶ τὰς παρθένους δραμόντα. πῶς οὖν τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔλκοντος ὁ τοῦτο πάσχων ἀνδρειότερος ἂν εἴη; (6) ὥς τοίνυν ἦκον εἰς Ἴλιον, φοβηθέντων εὐθὺς τῶν πολέμιων ἐθαυμάζετο μὲν οὗτος, ἐπηνείτο δὲ ἐκεῖνος τῶν ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως πραττομένων ἀνιούσης ἐπὶ τὸν Διομήδην τῆς εὐδοξίας, δι' ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐκοινώνησε τῶν ἀγώνων.

COMPARISON 1: ACHILLES AND DIOMEDES¹

(1) I will not suffer what the masses have suffered, nor will I consider Achilles better than Diomedes, but—to the contrary—I say that the latter is better than Achilles, if not in every respect, then at least in most of them.

(2) For first of all, if someone admires Achilles' lineage, considering Peleus and Aeacus and Zeus,² he would also be able to say about Diomedes that he, too, was of divine stock.³ If someone greatly admires Thessaly, he will also reluctantly defer to the Peloponnese. (3) Well then, granting that both had equally glorious educations,⁴ let us consider on the basis of their actions what sort of men they likely became. (4) Therefore, the Trojan War was summoning the best men, testing each soldier's courage, but the noble Achilles, though he claimed that he rejoiced in arms and in his father's glory, fled for refuge to Scyros, slinked into the girls' quarters, and hid his nature with a disguise, wishing to be thought a girl rather than line up for battle.⁵ (5) Diomedes, on the other hand, not only answered the call of the crisis himself, but also roused those who were disposed to be lazy, foremost among them this very man as he ran from Chiron to the girls.⁶ And so, how could the one suffering this be more manly than the one dragging him off to the war? (6) Well now, when they arrived at Troy, and the enemy was immediately struck with fear, this one was marveled at, but the praise went to the other, as the glory for Achilles' accomplishments accrued to Diomedes, on

1. Encomium of Achilles: for the theme, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 127,16–19); with partial elaboration, [Hermogenes] 16; Pap. gr. Vindob. 29789, frg. 3 (= Pack 2528; third to fourth century C.E., Gerstinger, "Bruchstücke einer antiken Progymnasmata-Sammlung," 42–47); Nicolaus 52; John of Sardis (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 136,20–21, 177,4); Encomium 3. Invective against Achilles: Invective 1. Comparison of Achilles: with Hector (Aphthonius 32–33; Nicolaus 61); Ajax (John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius [Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 183,6–10, 188,20–21]; Comparison 2); Heracles (John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius [Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 186,13–14, 189,20–190,1]); Thersites (Theon 112); unnamed others (Nicolaus 59–60). Encomium of Diomedes: Encomium 1. Comparison of Diomedes with Ajax: Pseudo-Nicolaus 13 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:376,25–78,15).

2. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.6; 3.13.6; Encomium 3.2; Invective 1.2; Comparison 2.2.

3. His grandfather Oeneus was a descendant of Ares (Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.* 2.1); Encomium 1.3.

4. Both were students of the Centaur Chiron (Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1.2); Encomium 1.4, 3.2–4; Invective 1.3.

5. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 1.5, 2.4, 3.5, 4.5; Invective 1.5; Comparison 2.4. For Chiron's reaction to the news, see Speech in Character 14.

6. Encomium 1.5–6. This is also attributed to Odysseus (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 2.4). See also Encomium 3.5–6, 4.5; Invective 1.5–8; Comparison 2.4–5.

(7) χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου νοσοῦντος σκοπεῖτω τις τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν τῶν ἡθῶν Ἀχιλλέως. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνῆγε παρώσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα νόμους ἐτάραξεν. ἔπειτα ὕβρισεν οὕτως ἀσελγῶς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα φειδόμενος οὐδενὸς ῥήματος ὥς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄρχων τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατιώτην. τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ ξίφος ἐγύμνωσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐκώλυσεν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν ἐμποδῶν πάντα ἐκεῖνα μάτην τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πεπονῆσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν αἰχμαλώτου μιᾶς ἐρῶν, ἣν ὁρῶν ἀγομένην ἐδάκρυεν. οὕτως ἐδούλευε ταῖς ἡδοναῖς. (8) ἀλλ' οὐ Διομήδης ἐθαύμασεν αἰχμαλώτου κάλλος, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἀπεῖχεν ἡδονῆς πονηρᾶς καὶ θυμοῦ τὸ μέτρον ἐκβαίνοντος. καὶ ταῦτα ὅστις οἶδεν Ὅμηρον ἱκανῶς ἐξεπίσταται. ὁ γὰρ Ἄρης ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ τιτρωσκόμενος καὶ ἡ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχουσα Ἀφροδίτη μαρτυροῦσι κρεῖττον ἢ οἱ πληγέντες σιδήρῳ.

(9) Πόθεν τοίνυν Ἀχιλλεὺς βελτίων Διομήδους; οὐχ ὁ μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ὁ δὲ παρετάττετο; οὐχ ὁ μὲν ὠργίζετο, ὁ δὲ ἤλαυνε τοὺς πολεμίους; οὐχ ὁ μὲν ἦδε πρὸς λύραν, ὁ δὲ πρὸς οἰμωγὰς τοὺς ἐναντίους καθίστη; (10) καὶ ταῦτα ἔπραττε Διομήδης τῆς Τύχης ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους μεθεστηκυίας καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ἄνωθεν βέλεσι συναγωνιζομένου τοῖς Τρωσί. δεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν δοκιμάζειν οὐκ ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἀκαιρίαις. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἐκείναις καὶ τοὺς φαυλοτέρους ὁρῶμεν εὐδοκιμοῦντας, ἐν δὲ ταύταις τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντας ἀντέχοντας. (11) εἰκότως ἄρα τῶν πρεσβευόντων ὥς ἐκείνων ἀπράκτων ἐπανελθόντων ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ πεπομφότι. τὸ δὲ νυκτερινὸν ἔργον πότ' ἂν Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπέμεινεν; ᾧ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ὥστε πεπτωκὸς τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπέρρωσε ταῖς τῶν ἐναντίων σφαγαῖς. (12) καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ

account of whom he had come to participate in the struggle. (7) But when, after a long time had passed and the army was sick, let one consider the madness and boorishness of Achilles' character. Well then, first of all, pushing the king aside he convened an assembly⁷ and threw the customs regarding this into confusion. Next, he so brutally abused Agamemnon, sparing not a word, as no leader would ever have done to his own soldier.⁸ Finally, he even unsheathed his sword against him, and if one of the gods had not stopped him,⁹ there would have been nothing to prevent all the hard work of the Greeks from having been done in vain. And he did all this out of love for one captive girl, over whom he wept as she was led away.¹⁰ Such a slave was he to pleasure. (8) But Diomedes did not admire the beauty of a captive; rather, he stayed away from base pleasure and immoderate anger alike. And whoever knows Homer fully understands all this; for Ares, who was wounded by him, and Aphrodite, who suffered the same,¹¹ are better witnesses than the men struck by his sword.

(9) Well then, on what basis is Achilles better than Diomedes? Surely not that the one sat idly by, while the other kept lining up for battle? Or that the one continued to be angry, while the other kept routing the enemy? Or that the former was singing and playing the lyre,¹² while the other kept reducing the enemy to tears?¹³ (10) And Diomedes did all this, even though Fortune had switched over to the enemy's side and Zeus was fighting on the Trojans' side with arrows from above.¹⁴ But one must scrutinize their manliness not in times of success but in times of misfortune; for in the former we see even the worse sort of men earning good reputations, but in the latter we see those who surpass the rest enduring. (11) It was only natural, then, that when the ambassadors to that man returned unsuccessful, Diomedes censured the one who had sent them.¹⁵ Could Achilles ever have endured the night mission?¹⁶ For which Diomedes was so strong that he restored the Greeks' shattered

7. Homer, *Il.* 1.54; Encomium 1.6, 2.6, 3.12, 4.6; Invective 1.8; Comparison 2.6–7.

8. Homer, *Il.* 1.90–91, 122–123, 148–171, 223–244, 292–303; Comparison 2.7.

9. Athena: Homer, *Il.* 1.188–222; Comparison 2.7.

10. Briseis: Homer, *Il.* 1.348–350. For Achilles' reaction to being robbed of Briseis, see Speech in Character 15.

11. Homer, *Il.* 5.330–340, 846–859; Encomium 1.10.

12. Homer, *Il.* 9.185–191.

13. Especially in Homer, *Il.* 5.

14. Homer, *Il.* 8.133–136; Encomium 1.11, 3.15. For Achilles' reaction when the Greeks are losing, see Speech in Character 4.

15. I.e., Agamemnon (Homer, *Il.* 9.696–700). On the embassy to Achilles, see Encomium 2.8, 3.16–17; Invective 1.11–13.

16. Homer, *Il.* 10.203–579.

λέγειν; οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι πάλαι τὴν ψῆφον ἐνηνόχασιν. ὅταν γὰρ λέγωσιν· οὐδ' Ἀχιλλέα ποτὲ οὕτως ἐδείσαμεν, τότε διδάσκουσιν ἅπαντας ὥς οὐ δεῖ φιλονικεῖν οὐδ' εἰς ἴσον ἄγειν τῷ Διομήδει τὸν πολὺ λειπόμενον. κριταὶ γὰρ ἀκριβεῖς τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀρετῆς οἱ πολέμιοι παρ' αὐτῶν ὧν ἔπαθον μεμαθηκότες τίς ἀμείνων καὶ τίς δεύτερος.

(13) Εἴτά μοι τὸν Ἑκτορα λέγεις ὥς ἀπέθανεν ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως, τὸ δὲ πῶς ὑπερβαίνει. οἶσθα γὰρ ὥς, εἴ τις προσθεῖη τῆς νίκης τὸν τρόπον, ἐτέρου μὲν φανεῖται τὸ ἔργον, ἐτέρου δὲ ἡ δόξα. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑκτορα πολὺ μὲν πρότερον Αἴας Ἀχιλλέως κατέβαλεν ἐν τῇ μονομαχίᾳ. ταῦτό δ' ἂν ἐπεποιήκει Διομήδης, εἴπερ ἦν λαχών. σημεῖον δέ, καὶ τοῦτον ἤϋξατο τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν λαγχανόντων εἶναι τῇ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδι πρὸς τὴν εὐχὴν ἀγόμενοι. (14) εἴθ' ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς αὐτὰ κατήσχυε τὰ πεπραγμένα Πολυξένης ἐρῶν, πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σπενδόμενος, τοὺς οἰκείους προδιδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξῆλθε μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τηρῶν τὴν τάξιν τῆς εὐνοίας, δι' ἣν ἦλθε μὲν εἰς μέσην τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πόλιν, ἐγύμνωσε δὲ τοῦ μόνου φυλακτηρίου τὸ Ἴλιον. (15) εἰ οὖν ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν ὁ πᾶς συνειστήκει πόλεμος, τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὴν Διομήδους τόλμαν ἐπράκται, πῶς οὐ μικρὰ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τὰ τοῦδε τῶν τόσους καὶ τόσους ἀποκτεινάντων;

(16) Ἔτι τοίνυν ὁ μὲν αἰσchrῶς ἀποθνήσκει παρὰ τοῦ δειλοτάτου καὶ τοξότου Πάριδος, ὁ δὲ τό τε ἄστν τῶν δυσμενῶν ἐπολιόρκησε καὶ μετ' εὐκλείας ἀπέπλευσε καὶ τῆς οἴκοι ταραχῆς καταγνοὺς οἰκιστῆς ἐτέρωθι

morale by slaughtering the enemy.¹⁷ (12) And why must one say everything that happened? For the enemy cast their vote long ago; for whenever they say, "We never so feared Achilles,"¹⁸ then they teach everybody that one must not be obstinate about counting as an equal to Diomedes a man who falls far short of him; for the enemy were accurate judges of courage among the Greeks, having learned from what they experienced who was better and who was in second place.

(13) Next, you mention Hector to me, that he died at the hands of Achilles,¹⁹ but you omit how it happened; for you know that, if someone should provide another with the means for victory, the deed will appear to be the latter's, but the glory is the former's. Ajax struck down this Hector in single combat, long before Achilles.²⁰ Diomedes would have done the same, if it had been allotted to him. And there is proof of this: the army prayed for this man to be one of the ones allotted, being led to prayer by the hope of victory.²¹ (14) Then he immediately brought shame on their very accomplishments by falling in love with Polyxena, pouring libations with the enemy, and betraying his kinsmen.²² But the other went on right to the end, maintaining his position of loyalty, on account of which he went to the middle of the enemy's city and stripped Troy of its only protection.²³ (15) And so, if the whole war had arisen for the sake of sacking the city, and this was accomplished due to the daring of Diomedes, how are all the accomplishments of the rest, who killed this many or that many, not trivial in comparison to the accomplishments of this man here?

(16) Furthermore, the one died disgracefully at the hands of a great coward and archer, Paris,²⁴ but the other besieged the enemy's city and sailed away with glory, and having discovered turmoil at home, became founder of a

17. Homer, *Il.* 10.405–497; Encomium 1.14, 2.9–10.

18. Homer, *Il.* 6.99.

19. Homer, *Il.* 22.214–366; Encomium 3.20; Invective 1.17, 2.17; Comparison 2.12.

20. Homer, *Il.* 7.268–272; 14.409–420; Invective 2.13; Comparison 2.11.

21. Homer, *Il.* 7.175–180.

22. For the story, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3 with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 2:215 n. 1; Invective 1.23.

23. The Palladium: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.3; *Epit.* 5.10–13; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.337–351; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.162–170; Encomium 1.17, 2.13.

24. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.598–611; Encomium 3.22; Invective 1.23; Comparison 2.13.

γίνεται, καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἣς ὁ Τυδεὺς ἔτυχε μικροῦ, ταύτης ἀπήλαυσε Διομήδης.

2. Σύγκρισις Αἴαντος καὶ Ἀχιλλέως.

(1) Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ παράδοξον ἐνίοις φανεῖται τὸ πανταχοῦ δεύτερον παρ' ἐμοὶ κεκρίσθαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τῆς Αἴαντος ἀρετῆς, ὅμως οὐκ ὀκνήσω δείξαι τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχον πρὸ τῆς φήμης τὴν ἀλήθειαν ποιούμενος.

(2) Τὰ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτῶν ἴσα, Πηλεὺς γὰρ καὶ Τελαμῶν Αἰακοῦ παῖδες, ἐκεῖνος δὲ Διός, καὶ τῷ Τροίαν συνεξελεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν Τελαμῶνα τὴν ἐπὶ Κενταύρους στρατείαν ἔχοι τις <ἄν> ἀντιθεῖναι Πηλέως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι τὸ ἴσον ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι σώζεται. ποῦ γὰρ ἴσον Θετταλία, τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔσχατον, καὶ Σαλαμίς, ἡ μικροῦ μέρος τῆς Ἀττικῆς;

city elsewhere;²⁵ and the immortality that Tydeus almost obtained, Diomedes enjoyed.²⁶

COMPARISON 2: AJAX AND ACHILLES²⁷

(1) But even if it will appear paradoxical to some that I am consistent in my judgment that Achilles is second to Ajax in courage,²⁸ nevertheless I will not hesitate to show that this is so, considering the truth more important than reputation.

(2) For as for their noble birth they are equal; for Peleus and Telamon were the sons of Aeacus, and Aeacus the son of Zeus.²⁹ And one <might> be able to compare Peleus's expedition against the Centaurs to Telamon's assistance to Heracles in sacking Troy,³⁰ but their equality is no longer preserved when it comes to their native lands; for how can Thessaly, at the furthest extreme of Greece, and Salamis, which is almost a part of Attica, be equal?

25. Argyrip(p)a: Virgil, *Aen.* 11.246; Servius A. 7.286 (cf. A. 8.9; 11.243; 11.246; 11.269); scholia to [Lycophron], *Alex.* 592. Diomedes is also said to have founded Equumtuticum (Servius A. 8.9), Beneventum (8.9; 11.246), and Venusia, Canusium, and Venafrum (11.246). For the myth, see Ovid, *Metam.* 14.457–511.

26. Pindar, *Nem.* 10.7, with scholia to 10.12; Narration 9.

27. For the theme, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 188,20–21); with partial elaboration, 183,6–10. Encomium of Ajax: George Pachymeres (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:564,17–68,25). Comparison of Ajax: with Odysseus (Theon 112; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 13.1–398); Diomedes (Pseudo-Nicolaus 13 [Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:376,25–78,15]). Encomium of Achilles: for the theme, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 127,16–19); with partial elaboration, [Hermogenes] 16; Pap. gr. Vindob. 29789, frg. 3 (= Pack 2528; third to fourth century C.E., Gerstinger, "Progymnasmata-Sammlung," 42–47); Nicolaus 52; John of Sardis (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 136,20–21, 177,4); Encomium 3. Invective against Achilles: Invective 1. Comparison of Achilles: with Diomedes (Comparison 1); Hector (Aphthonius 32–33, Nicolaus 61); Heracles (John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius [Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 186,13–14, 189,20–190,1]); Thersites (Theon 112); unnamed others (Nicolaus 59–60).

28. The standard view is that Ajax is second only to Achilles: Homer, *Il.* 2.768–769; 17.279–280; Sophocles, *Aj.* 1338–1341.

29. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.6; Encomium 3.2; Invective 1.2; Comparison 1.2.

30. Apparently borrowed from Isocrates, *Evag.* 16. The first reference is probably to Peleus's participation in the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs (Ovid, *Metam.* 12.366–392; for the story, cf. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.21). On another occasion he had to fight the Centaurs on Mount Pelion and was rescued by Chiron (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.3). For Telamon's sack of Troy, see Sophocles, *Aj.* 434–436, 462–466; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.6.4; 3.12.7; Ovid, *Metam.* 11.211–217; 13.22–23. Libanius does not mention the tradition in which Peleus assisted Heracles, either along with or instead of Telamon; see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.7 with Frazer, *Library by Apollodorus*, 2:61 n. 3; Ovid, *Metam.* 11.211–220.

(3) Καινόν τις ἡγείται τραφήναι μυελοῖς λεόντων τὸν Ἀχιλλέα. πρὸς τοῦτον ἐρῶ νομιμωτέραν τροφήν τοῦ Αἴαντος. ὅστις οὖν ἄνθρωπος ὢν ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ προσήκει τέθραπται, βελτίων ἐστὶν ἐκείνου κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦ τραφέντος ἕξω τῶν νόμων.

(4) Ἄλλ' ὁ Τρωικὸς πόλεμος βελτίω τὸν Ἀχιλλέα δείκνυσιν. εἴτα τὸ κρύπτεσθαι μετὰ παρθένων ἄμεινον τοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπίπτειν; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς ὑβρισμένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος διὰ τῶν εἰς τὸν Μενέλαον ἀδικημάτων καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντος τοὺς δυναμένους ἀγανακτεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν Αἴας μὲν καθεῖλκε τὰς ναῦς καὶ ἐνέβαινε καὶ ἦν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ τοὺς ἡδίκηκός τας ἔσπευδεν ἰδεῖν, ὁ δὲ θαυμαστός Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς Σκῦρον ἔρχεται καὶ ταῖς Λυκομήδους ἀναμίγνυται θυγατράσιν ὡς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν κόρη καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φυγῶν τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπλάττετο; (5) ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ ποτε μετέσχε καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ δὲ ὅπως ἀφήσω, τί λαμπρότερον Αἴαντος ἐπεδείξατο; τελευταῖος ἐσκηνώσατο δι' ἀνδρείαν. καὶ γὰρ Αἴας ἐπὶ θάτερα τελευταῖος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας. ἐληΐζετο τοὺς περιοίκους ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντας. (6) καὶ τοσαῦτα τὴν στρατιὰν ὠφελῶν οὐδέποτε ἐπήρθη πρὸς ὕβριν, ὃ ποιῶν Ἀχιλλεὺς διετέλει κινῶν τὴν τάξιν, τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα συγχέων, ἐκῶν ἀγνοῶν ἅ τοις βασιλεῦσιν ὀφείλεται. (7) ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ συνάγων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν παρώσας τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπαίρων αὐτοῦ καταφρονεῖν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διαρρήδην ὑβρίζων ἐν μέσοις τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἔλκων ἐπὶ τὸν κρατοῦντα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον προδιδούς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους καὶ κατευχόμενος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καθήμενος ἐπὶ σκηνῆς καὶ τρυφῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς κακοῖς.

(3) Someone considers it striking that Achilles was raised on the marrow of lions.³¹ To this person I will say that Ajax's food was more normal. And so, any man who has been raised as befits a man is better in this very respect than one raised outside of human customs.³²

(4) "But the Trojan War shows that Achilles was better." Then hiding out with girls is better than attacking enemies? For who does not know that when Greece was being violated by the crimes against Menelaus, and the crisis was summoning those able to feel anger over such evils,³³ Ajax launched his ships,³⁴ embarked, was among the first to go, and hurried to see the wrongdoers, while the wonderful Achilles went to Scyros and mingled with the daughters of Lycomedes, as if he were also a girl himself, and fleeing the ways of men, feigned the ways of women?³⁵ (5) But when he eventually began to take part in affairs—and I will pass over how this happened³⁶—what display did he make that was more glorious than Ajax? "He pitched his tent at the end of the line because of his manliness." For indeed, Ajax was the last at the other end of the line for the same reason.³⁷ That man was plundering the nearby peoples,³⁸ but this one was plundering even those who lived very far away.³⁹ (6) And while helping the army in so many ways, he was never led to insolence, as Achilles continually was—stirring up the troops, confounding what was inappropriate, and willfully ignoring what was owed to kings. (7) That man was the one who convened an assembly, thrusting Agamemnon aside and exhorting the common soldiers to despise him, and later explicitly insulting him in the midst of the Greeks⁴⁰ and drawing his sword against his leader,⁴¹ and finally betraying his countrymen and praying against the Achaeans⁴² while sitting in his tent and living in luxury in the midst of Greek evils.⁴³

31. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.6; Encomium 3.2; Invective 1.3.

32. Invective 1.3.

33. Encomium 2.4, 4.4; Invective 1.5, 2.5–8.

34. Homer, *Il.* 2.557–558.

35. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 1.5, 2.4, 3.5, 4.5; Invective 1.5; Comparison 1.4. For Chiron's reaction to the news, see Speech in Character 14.

36. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Encomium 1.6, 2.4, 3.6; Invective 1.5–8; Comparison 1.5.

37. Homer, *Il.* 8.220–226; 11.5–9.

38. Homer, *Il.* 9.328–329; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.32–33; Encomium 3.10; Invective 2.10.

39. The peoples of the Thracian Chersonese, according to Dictys 2.18.

40. Homer, *Il.* 1.90–91, 122–123, 148–171, 223–244, 292–303; Encomium 1.6, 2.6, 3.12, 4.6; Invective 1.8–9; Comparison 1.7.

41. Homer, *Il.* 1.188–222; Comparison 1.7.

42. Homer, *Il.* 1.407–412.

43. Homer, *Il.* 9.185–191; Invective 1.10. For Achilles' reaction to being robbed of Briseis, see Speech in Character 15.

(8) Ὁ δὲ λέγων ὥς μετὰ μὲν ἐκείνου κρείττους ἦσαν τῶν ἐναντίων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀφεστηκότος δὲ ἤττηντο, τὸ πᾶν ἀγνοεῖ. οὐ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐποίησεν ἐκάτερον, ἀλλ' ἢ Τύχη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ καὶ πάλιν ἀσθενεῖς. (9) ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐλαμπρύνετο, τοῦτο δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου ἂν ἦν στρατιώτου, τὴν δὲ Αἴαντος ἀρετὴν ἐξέφηνεν ἢ τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκολία. τοῦ γὰρ Διὸς ἀποδιδόντος τῇ Θέτιδι χάριν καὶ ποιοῦντος τὰ τῶν Τρώων μείζω μόνος Αἴας εἰς σωτηρίαν ἤρκει καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ σώμασι δύο πολέμους πολεμῶν, τὸν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὴν Τύχην.

(10) Τὸ δὲ μὴ τοῖς φίλοις ἐθέλειν βοηθεῖν Ἀχιλλέως ἦν, ὁ δὲ πείθων ἐπικουρεῖν Αἴας ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὠργίζετο, τουτέστιν ἐνόσει τὴν γνώμην, ὁ δ' ὅπως παύσεται τοῦ νοσήματος ἔπραττε.

(11) Πάντα τοίνυν τᾶλλα ἀφείς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς Ἑκτορα δεῖξω τὸ μέσον ἀμφοῖν Ὀμήρῳ μάρτυρι χρώμενος. λέγει γὰρ ὥς ὁ μέγας Αἴας ἐν τῇ μονομαχίᾳ κατέβαλε τὸν Πριάμου, καὶ εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐκώλυσεν, ἀπέσφακτο ἂν ὁ Πριάμου, καὶ ὥς αὐτὸς ἰκέτευεν Ἑκτωρ ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς μάχης. (12) ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος μεμνημένος τῆς Ἑκτορος τελευτῆς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔδωκεν Ἀχιλλεῖ σύμμαχον. οὐκοῦν Αἴας μὲν ἐκράτησεν Ἑκτορος θεοῦ παρόντος Ἑκτορι, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν Ἀχιλλεὺς θεοῦ βλάπτοντος Ἑκτορα.

(13) Ἀχιλλέα μὲν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποκτινύνει, ἐφ' ᾧ Πρίαμος ἡσχύνετο, τὸν δὲ Τελαμῶνος οὐδείς ἠτύχησεν ἀποκτεῖναι. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ξίφος αὐτὸς μὲν

(8) Whoever says that the Greeks were superior to the enemy with that man's help, but inferior when he had withdrawn, is completely ignorant; for Achilles did not accomplish either of these; rather, it is Fortune that makes the same men strong and weak again. (9) And so, in times of good fortune Achilles distinguished himself—but this, I believe, would have been true even of the lowliest soldier—but the difficulty of the crisis made Ajax's courage shine through; for when Zeus was returning a favor to Thetis and making the Trojan side greater,⁴⁴ only Ajax was sufficient for their safety,⁴⁵ using both ships and bodies to conduct two wars—one against the enemy, and one against Fortune.

(10) Refusing to aid his friends was characteristic of Achilles, while it was Ajax who tried to persuade him to help.⁴⁶ And the one remained angry—that is, he remained diseased in his mind—while the other acted so as to stop the disease.⁴⁷

(11) Well then, leaving aside everything else down to the events with Hector, I will reveal the difference between the two, using Homer as my witness; for he says that the great Ajax struck down the son of Priam in single combat, and if one of the gods had not prevented it, the son of Priam would have been killed;⁴⁸ and he says that Hector himself pleaded to be delivered from the battle.⁴⁹ (12) But this same Homer, when he recalled the death of Hector,⁵⁰ gave Athena to Achilles as an ally.⁵¹ Therefore Ajax defeated Hector while a god stood by Hector, and Achilles defeated the same man again while a god struck Hector down.⁵²

(13) And so, Achilles was killed by Alexander,⁵³ of whom Priam was ashamed, but no one had the good fortune to kill the son of Telamon; for he thrust the sword himself, and received it himself.⁵⁴ Having examined these

44. Homer, *Il.* 1.495–527; Encomium 1.6, 2.6, 3.15. For Achilles' reaction when the Greeks are losing, see Speech in Character 4.

45. Homer, *Il.* 7.181–199.

46. Homer, *Il.* 9.622–642.

47. Homer, *Il.* 9.622–655.

48. Apollo saved Hector: Homer, *Il.* 7.272; Invective 2.13; Comparison 1.13.

49. Homer, *Il.* 7.290–292.

50. Homer, *Il.* 22, especially 214–366.

51. Homer, *Il.* 20.438–440.

52. Homer, *Il.* 22, especially 214–366; Encomium 3.20; Invective 1.17, 2.17; Comparison 1.13.

53. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.598–611; Encomium 3.22; Invective 1.23; Comparison 1.16.

54. Most memorably in Sophocles, *Ajax*; cf. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6–7.

ᾧσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδέξατο. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ σκοπήσας πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἡγησάμην δοκεῖν μὲν Ἑκτορος ἀμείνω τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, εἶναι δὲ Ἀχιλλέως τὸν Αἴαντα.

3. Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Αἰσχίνου.

(1) Οὐτε κάλλιον οὐδὲν Ἀθήνησι γέγονε Δημοσθένους κάκιόν τε οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνου. λέγω δὲ οὔτε μάτην ἐκείνῳ λοιδορούμενος οὔτε τούτῳ χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰς πράγματα βλέπων.

(2) Ὡς μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖός τε οὗτος καὶ πατὴρ ἀμέμπτου καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων ἔχοντας, οὐδεὶς <ἄν> ἀντείποι· τὸν δὲ Αἰσχίνην οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν Ἀθηναῖον, εἶγε δοῦλος ἦν ὁ πατήρ ἐκείνῳ καὶ οὐ δοῦλος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πονηρὸς οἰκέτης. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν πέδαις ἦν, εἰ μὴ πολλάκις εἴληπτο κακουργῶν. πᾶς οὖν εὖ φρονῶν ἐπήνεσε τὴν μητέρα Δημοσθένους, τὴν δὲ Αἰσχίνου Γλαυκοθέαν ἐπήνουν οἱ χρώμενοι μόνοι. (3) ἐκ τοιούτων δὴ γεγονότες ὁ μὲν ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ πόνων εἶχετο καὶ συνῆν παιδευταῖς ἀφ' ὧν ἦν γενέσθαι βελτίω, τὸν δὲ Αἰσχίνην ἔδει νῦν μὲν εὐτρεπίζειν τῷ πατρὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον, νῦν δὲ συνεφάπτεσθαι τῇ μητρὶ τελετῶν οὐ νενομισμένων. (4) ἔχω λέγειν χορηγίας Δημοσθένους, εἰσφοράς, τριηραρχίας. εἴποι τις ἂν Αἰσχίνου τοὺς ὄφεις καὶ τοὺς θιάσους καὶ νεήλατα καὶ γραδίων χορούς. ὁ μὲν φιλοτιμούμενος εἰς τοὺς δεσμώτας τῶν φίλων καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ δαπάνας οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ὁ δὲ περιήει τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς τρεφόμενος οὐδὲ πάνυ τέρπων τοὺς θεωμένους. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐλάμβανε τραύματα.

facts for myself, I have come to believe that while Achilles is thought to be better than Hector, Ajax is better than Achilles.

COMPARISON 3: DEMOSTHENES AND AESCHINES⁵⁵

(1) Athens has produced nothing better than Demosthenes and nothing worse than Aeschines. I say this neither idly abusing the latter nor flattering the former, but looking toward the facts.

(2) And so, no one <would> deny that this man was an Athenian and was descended from a blameless father who made his living from just pursuits,⁵⁶ but one cannot call Aeschines an Athenian, if in fact his father was a slave—and not only a slave, but also a wicked house slave; for he would not have been in shackles, if he had not often been caught doing wicked deeds.⁵⁷ And so, everyone with good sense praised Demosthenes' mother, but the only ones to praise Aeschines' mother Glaucotea were those who made use of her.⁵⁸ (3) Born from such parents, the one clung to his labors in his orphaned state and studied with teachers from whom he could become better,⁵⁹ but Aeschines sometimes had to prepare the schoolroom for his father, and sometimes had to join his mother in carrying out unconventional religious rites.⁶⁰ (4) I am able to mention Demosthenes' financing of choral productions, special contributions, and outfittings of triremes.⁶¹ One could mention Aeschines' snakes, bands of revelers, new cakes, and choruses of old hags.⁶² Making lavish outlays for those of his friends who were prisoners,⁶³ the one also did not avoid expenditures for the good, while the other went around the countryside supported by his voice but not delighting the audience very much; for otherwise he would not have received wounds.⁶⁴

55. For the theme with full elaboration, see Pseudo-Nicolaus 2 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:358,7–61,14). Comparison of Demosthenes with Pericles: Pseudo-Nicolaus 14 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:378,16–81,3). Encomium of Demosthenes: Theon 111; Aphthonius 21; Encomium 5. Invective against Aeschines: Invective 4.

56. Plutarch, *Dem.* 4.1; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 11; Encomium 5.3.

57. Demosthenes 18.129–130; Invective 4.2.

58. Demosthenes 18.129–130; Invective 4.2.

59. Demosthenes 18.257, 265; Plutarch, *Dem.* 5; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 844A–C; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 12; Encomium 5.3.

60. Demosthenes 18.258–260; 19.199, 281; Invective 4.3.

61. For the services named here and others, see Demosthenes 8.70–71; 18.257; 19.230; 21.13, 154–157; 27.64; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 844D; [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 16; Encomium 5.4–5; Comparison 3.11.

62. Demosthenes 18.260; Invective 4.3–4.

63. Demosthenes 8.70; 18.268; 19.230.

64. Demosthenes 18.262; Invective 4.4.

(5) Πῶς οὖν Ἀθηναῖος ἐνομίσθη δοῦλος ὧν; ἐνέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς δημότας τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ γραμματεὺς ὧν οὐκ ἀπείχετο τοῦ καὶ ἐνταῦθα πονηρεῦσθαι.

(6) Σκοπῶμεν τοίνυν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις. ταῦτα δὲ λέγω τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ μὲν ὦνησε λέγων, ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ προσῆλθε τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἐζημίωσε. Φιλίππου γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσαντος τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις οὐ πάνυ προσέχοντος, διὰ δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων ὠνουμένου τὰς πόλεις καὶ πανταχοῦ τοῦ νοσήματος ἐπελθόντος ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης τῷ τε διδόντι καὶ τοῖς λαμβάνουσι πολεμῶν διετέλει γράφων μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνον ἀποστόλους, ὑπάγων δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου πλουτοῦντας, ὁ δ' Αἰσχίνης τῷ Φιλίππῳ μικρὸν λοιδορησάμενος εἰς τὸ πιστευθῆναι τὴν πατρίδα ἀφείς ἐμφανῶς μετετάξατο καὶ τοσαῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅσα Φιλίππῳ συμφέροι, πραττούσης μὲν ἄμεινον τῆς πόλεως σιωπῶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνης πταίσμασιν εἰς παρρησίαν ἐρχόμενος. (7) προσήει ὁ Φίλιππος Ὀλυνθίοις. τίς οὖν ὁ συμβουλευὼν, ὁ κεκραγώς, ὁ τῶν προγόνων ἀναμνησκων, ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἐγείρων, ὁ τὰ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδέων διεξιών; ὁ Δημοσθένης. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρεσβεύοντες ἦλθον ὡς Φίλιππον, οὐχ ὁ μὲν ἀνήλυσκεν, ὁ δὲ ἐλάμβανεν; οὐχ <ὁ μὲν> αἰχμαλώτοις πολίταις ἐπηνώρθου τὰς τύχας καὶ τὰ τοῦ τυραννοῦντος ξένια διωθεῖτο, τῷ δὲ ἐδόκει δέχεσθαι; οὐχ ὁ μὲν ἔφευγε τὸ δεῖπνον Ξενοφρονος, ὁ δ' ἡσχημόνι μεθύων Φρύνωνα μιμούμενος καὶ Φρύνωνι χαίρων, ὃς διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐχαρίζετο Φιλίππῳ; (8) τίς ἦν ὁ γράφων σπεύδειν ἐπὶ Θράκην καὶ μὴ διδόναι Φιλίππῳ πρὸ τῶν ὅρκων ἀρπάζειν τὰ χωρία; τίς δὲ ὁ πράττων ὅπως ἔσται Φιλίππῳ χρόνος εἰς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν χωρίων; (9) ἐν μὲν τοῦτο τοσοῦτον,

(5) And so, how did he, being a slave, come to be considered an Athenian? He inflicted himself on his demesmen with his art,⁶⁵ and while serving as city secretary did not refrain from behaving wickedly there, as well.⁶⁶

(6) Well now, let us examine them in the most important area itself, by which I mean the affairs of the city. The one brought benefit by speaking, but when the other entered public life, he caused damage.⁶⁷ For when Philip had set his heart on Greece and was not devoting much attention to arms, but was purchasing the cities through their politicians,⁶⁸ and the disease⁶⁹ was threatening on all sides, Demosthenes, making war on both the giver and the receivers, continually proposed expeditions against him and brought those who were getting rich off of him before the laws,⁷⁰ while Aeschines, after verbally abusing Philip a little bit in order to gain credibility,⁷¹ having given up his fatherland, openly switched sides and said anything that would benefit Philip, remaining silent when the city was faring better, but using his freedom of speech in the midst of their misfortunes.⁷² (7) Philip was attacking the Olynthians. And so, who was the one advising them, crying out, reminding them of their ancestors, rousing the People, narrating the affairs of the Chalcidians in Thrace?⁷³ Demosthenes. But when they went as ambassadors to Philip,⁷⁴ did the one not spend money, while the other received it? Did <the one> not restore the fortunes of citizens who were prisoners of war and reject the tyrant's guest-gifts, while the other thought it best to receive them?⁷⁵ Did the one not avoid the dinner of Xenophron, while the other disgraced himself by getting drunk, imitating Phryno and delighting in Phryno, who was indulging Philip with his son?⁷⁶ (8) Who was the one proposing to hurry to Thrace and not to allow Philip to snatch territory before the oaths? And who was the one acting so that Philip would have time to snatch terri-

65. Demosthenes 18.130–131, 261; *Invective* 4.5.

66. Demosthenes 18.261; 19.200; *Invective* 4.5.

67. *Invective* 4.5.

68. Demosthenes 18.61; 19.133, 300; *Encomium* 5.6–7; *Invective* 3.5, 4.5.

69. Demosthenes 19.259; *Encomium* 5.7.

70. Demosthenes 18.297–298; *Encomium* 5.7. More generally, Plutarch, *Dem.* 12.3–4; 16.1.

71. Demosthenes 19.9–10, 27, 302, 310; *Invective* 4.5.

72. Demosthenes 18.198.

73. Demosthenes 1–3; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 845D–E; *Encomium* 5.8; *Invective* 3.6.

74. *Encomium* 5.9; *Invective* 4.6.

75. Demosthenes 18.109; 19.166–170, 222–223, 230; Aeschines 2.39, 162; *Encomium* 5.9. More generally, Plutarch, *Dem.* 16.1–2.

76. Demosthenes 19.196–198, 230; *Invective* 3.10.

τὴν πόλιν ὁ μὲν ἔβλαψεν, ὁ δὲ ἔπραττε μὴ συμβῆναι. Φωκέας δὲ ἐννοήσας, ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀπολωλός, πόλεις εἴκοσι καὶ δύο διεσπασμένας, τίς οὐκ ἂν στενάξειεν Ἑλλήν ἀκούων τοὺς τρόπους; τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν πολλὴν ἐρημίαν Αἰσχίνης εἵργασται ῥήμασι πεπλασμένοις Θηβαίους ἀπολεῖσθαι λέγων, Φωκέων Φιλίππῳ μέλειν, οἷς πιστεύσας ὁ δῆμος εὐθὺς οὐκ ἐξήτει Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ ἀνήρηντο. (9bis.) ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένην ἐλάνθανεν ἐξαπατῶν, ἀλλ' ἐβόα καὶ ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ σώζειν ἐπειράτο τὰς πόλεις. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τοῦ δήμου γὰρ τοῖς κολακεύουσι προσκειμένου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγουσιν οὐδ' οὕτως ἀγανακτήσας ἐνέλιπεν ἔλκων αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν χαριζομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ἃ συμφέροι. (10) δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔπλεον στόλοι ὑπὲρ Περινθίων, Βυζαντίων, Χερρονησιτῶν, τῆς Εὐβοίας, δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐσώζοντο μὲν οἱ κινδυνεύοντες, ἐστεφανοῦντο δὲ οἱ σώσαντες. καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνάγεσθαι τε παρήνει καὶ ὅπως πλεύσονται τῆς πόλεως ἀξίως προὔνοετο τὸν νόμον τιθεὶς τὸν ἐπανορθοῦντα τὰς περὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἁμαρτίας. ἐκεῖνος ἐψιλωμένην τὴν πόλιν συμμάχων ἐξ ἡπείρου καὶ θαλάττης ἀπέφραττε. (11) καὶ οὐκ ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἐδείκνυ τὸ πρόθυμον ὥς οὐδεὶς, εἰ δ' ἔδει τι προέσθαι, φείδεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡρεῖτο, ἀλλ' εἰστία τὴν φυλὴν, ἐχορήγει Παναθηναίοις, ἐχορήγει Διονυσίοις, ἐπεδίδου τριήρεις καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ρεῖν ἐποίει πρὸς τε τὸν δῆμον κοινῇ καὶ τοὺς καθέκαστον. πολλὰ πενήτων θυγατέρες δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔτυχον γάμων. (12) ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων τί τις ἂν ἔχοι διελθεῖν Αἰσχίνου; ποῖαν πρόσοδον; ποῖον νόμον; ποῖον χωρίον; ποῖαν φιλοτιμίαν; ἀνδρείος ἦν ἐν οἷς Ἀντιφῶντι συνηγωνίζετο κατὰ μὲν τῶν τριήρων ἦκοντι, ταῖς δὲ φροντίσι τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐξευρημένῳ, δίκαιος Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ σκοπῷ συνών. καλὴν

tory?⁷⁷ In this single so important affair, the one injured the city, while the other acted so that it would not happen. Upon reflecting on the Phocians—such a great people lost, twenty-two cities dispersed⁷⁸—what Greek would not groan to hear how it happened? Yet this suffering and great desolation Aeschines achieved with fabricated speeches, saying that the Thebans would be destroyed and that Philip cared about the Phocians;⁷⁹ and believing his words the People did not immediately intercede for the Phocians, and they were destroyed.⁸⁰ (9) However, he did not get away with deceiving Demosthenes; rather, the latter shouted and testified and tried to save the cities. And the most important point is this: for while the People were devoted to those who flattered them rather than those who stated the best course of action, not even so did he become angry and abandon them, drawing them away from those who indulged them toward doing what was expedient.⁸¹ (10) On account of that man expeditions sailed on behalf of Perinthus, Byzantium, the Chersonese, Euboea;⁸² on account of that man those who were in danger were rescued, while those who rescued them were crowned. And he himself both exhorted them to set sail and took thought for how they might sail in a manner worthy of the city, by establishing a law to correct their mistakes with regard to the fleet.⁸³ That man made the city secure by land and sea when it had been stripped of its allies. (11) And it is not the case that in his speeches he revealed his passion like nobody else, while if he had to incur some expenditure, he preferred to be sparing; rather, he feasted his tribe, served as choral producer for the Panathenaea, served as choral producer for the Dionysia, donated triremes, and made wealth flow both for the People in common and for each individual.⁸⁴ Many daughters of poor men obtained marriages on account of him.⁸⁵ (12) In response to all this what could one narrate about Aeschines? What sort of revenue? What sort of law? What sort of territory? What sort of ambition for honor? He was “courageous” in how he worked with Antiphon when the latter went against the ships but was discovered by the attention of Demosthenes,⁸⁶ and he was “just” in his dealings with Anax-

77. Demosthenes 8–9; 19.155–156 and following; Encomium 5.9; Invective 4.8.

78. Demosthenes 19.123.

79. Demosthenes 19.19–23, 60–61; Invective 4.7.

80. Demosthenes 19.53–54, 123; Encomium 5.9; Invective 3.11, 4.7.

81. Encomium 5.10.

82. Demosthenes 18.79–80; Plutarch *Dem.* 17.1–2; Encomium 5.11.

83. Demosthenes 14; 18.102; Encomium 5.11.

84. See section 4, above, with note.

85. Demosthenes 18.268.

86. Demosthenes 18.132–133; Encomium 5.12; Invective 4.9.

ἀπέδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν χάριν Πύθωνι μαρτυρῶν, ὃ τὸ στόμα ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐνέφραξε τοῖς ἐλέγχοις.

(13) Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ κακῶν αἰτιῶμαι τὸν Αἰσχίνην. οὐκ ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἐξῆλθον εἰς Χαιρώνειαν Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ κατειλημμένης Ἑλατείας, οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἑλάτειαν Φίλιππος μὴ τῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν εὐπορήσας ἀφορμῶν. παρ' οὗ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔλαβεν, Αἰσχίνης ἦν. (14) ἔρχεται δύναμις, ἣν ἐδέξατο μὲν Χαιρώνεια κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ἤγετο δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὑπ' Αἰσχίνου. ὁ δὲ Θηβαίους προσλαβὼν καὶ συστήσας καὶ ταῦτα μεμερισμένους καὶ τοῖς ἀττικίζουσι τοὺς τὰ Φιλίππου φρονοῦντας ἀφομοιώσας ἀπεκρούσατο τῆς χώρας τὴν μάχην καὶ ἐστεφανοῦτο. τῷ δ' Αἰσχίνῃ ποῖος στέφανος; τοῦ Φιλίππου δὲ μεθεστηκότος καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἡκούσης ἐτήρησεν ἑκάτερος τὴν γνώμην, ὁ μὲν πολεμῶν, ὁ δὲ θεραπεύων τὸν τύραννον.

(15) Εἶπω τὸ μέγιστον δεῖγμα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς τούτου κακίας; ἐξητήθη παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν Δημοσθένης, ὁ δὲ ἐθαυμάζετο. καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ μὲν ἐτιμᾶτο, ὁ δὲ ἐφθόνηι. καὶ γραφόμενος αὐτὸν τοῦτο ἐδείκνυ τὸ φθονεῖν, ἐλεῖν δὲ οὐκ εἶχε καὶ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλεν αὐτῷ καὶ μεθειστήκει καὶ ῥόδος εἶχεν αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μετῆρει καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φιλανθρωπίας εἰς τὴν κάθοδον οὐκ ἀπήλαυσε μόνος.

inus the spy.⁸⁷ He returned a good favor to the Athenians by testifying for Pytho, whose mouth Demosthenes stopped up with refutations.⁸⁸

(13) I also blame Aeschines for the evils at Chaeronea.⁸⁹ For the Athenians would not have marched out to Chaeronea if Elatea had not been captured, but Philip would not have gone to Elatea if he had not gotten rich off of Amphicytonic funds. And the man from whom he got these funds was Aeschines.⁹⁰ (14) There comes a military force, which Chaeronea received in accordance with a decree of Demosthenes,⁹¹ but which was led against Attica itself by Aeschines.⁹² And Demosthenes, by taking the Thebans as partners and uniting those who were divided over this, as well, and making the partisans of Philip resemble supporters of Athens,⁹³ drove the battle from their land⁹⁴ and received a crown.⁹⁵ But what sort of crown was there for Aeschines? When Philip passed away and the rule had come to Alexander, both men preserved their dispositions, the one making war on the tyrant, the other serving him.⁹⁶

(15) Should I say the greatest proof of that man's virtue and this man's vice? Demosthenes was demanded by the enemy for surrender,⁹⁷ while the other was admired by them. And among the citizens the one was honored, while the other was hated. And when Demosthenes indicted him this hatred was revealed, and Aeschines was unable to win, and he chose voluntary exile and emigrated, and Rhodes held him. And he followed his father's occupation, and he alone did not enjoy the humanity of the Athenians in the form of a return from exile.⁹⁸

87. Demosthenes 18.137.

88. Demosthenes 7.18–26; 18.136; Plutarch, *Dem.* 9.1; Encomium 5.13; Invective 4.9.

89. Demosthenes 18.177–178, 181–187, 195, 229–230; Encomium 5.14; Invective 3.13, 4.10. For the battle, see Diodorus Siculus 16.85–86; Polyaeus 4.2.2.

90. Demosthenes 18.143, 147–153, 168–169; Invective 4.10.

91. Demosthenes 18.177–178, 181–187.

92. Demosthenes 18.143.

93. Demosthenes 18.195, 229–230; Plutarch *Dem.* 17.3–18.4; Encomium 5.14.

94. Not through victory, as this might be taken to imply, but by making sure the battle occurred at Chaeronea instead of at Athens, as Aeschines would have preferred.

95. This is the subject of Demosthenes 18 (*On the Crown*).

96. Demosthenes 18.51–52, 296–298; Plutarch, *Dem.* 23; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 840D.

97. Plutarch, *Dem.* 23.3.

98. For the indictment, see Demosthenes 18 with Aeschines 3. For Aeschines' subsequent life, see Quintilian, *Inst.* 12.10.19; Plutarch *Dem.* 24.2; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 840C–E; Photius, *Bibl.* 20a18–33, 490b28–39; *Life of Aeschines* 1.4–6; 3.2–5 (Dilts, *Scholia in Aeschinem*, 1–2, 5–6); Invective 4.12.

(16) Σκόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους τελευτήν. εἶχε γάρ τι καὶ αὕτη θαυμαστόν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἤρετο τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνης ὥστ' ἤδη καὶ ῥήτορας ἐκεῖθεν λαμβάνειν, ὥχετο φαρμάκῳ χρησάμενος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν κολακεῦσαι τυράννους.

4. Σύγκρισις ναυτιλίας καὶ γεωργίας.

(1) Τερπέσθω μὲν ὅστις ἐθέλει ναυτιλίᾳ καὶ πλείτῳ καὶ κινδυνεύετω, ἐμοὶ δὲ γεωργίαν τε ἔπεισιν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ γεωργεῖν εὐδαιμονίζειν. καὶ δῆτα ἐξεταζέσθω πρὸς ἄλληλα διὰ τοῦ λόγου. φανεῖται γὰρ μετὰ μὲν τῆς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, γεωργία δὲ ἔχουσα πάντα τὰ βέλτιστα.

(2) Παλαιότατον μὲν δὴ πρᾶγμα γεωργία καὶ ἅμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς τὸν βίον συνεισελθόν. ἔδει γὰρ εὐθὺς μὲν γενομένους δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς τροφῶν, δεηθέντας δὲ τὴν γῆν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐργάζεσθαι. ναυτιλίαν δὲ καὶ τὸ πλεῖν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον ἢ πλεονεξία. τὸ γὰρ δὴ πλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔρωσ τοῦ πλείονος ἠνάγκαζε καὶ τοῦ τολμᾶν. (3) καὶ πρῶτον ἔργα τῶν νεῶν ληστεῖται καὶ τὸ ἀρπάζειν τὰ ἀλλήλων. καὶ μὴν τὸ πλεῖν μὲν αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄνευ κινδύνων, πᾶν δὲ φυγῆς ἄξιον οὐ πολὺ τὸ κινδυνεύειν. τούτου δὲ ὄντος τοιούτου μεστή μὲν κινδύνων ἢ θάλαττα, καθαρὰ δὲ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ ταύτην ἐργάζεσθαι. (4) τίς μὲν φόβος ἐν τῷ ζεύξαντα τοὺς βοῦς ἀναρρῆξαι τὴν γῆν, τίς δὲ ἐν τῷ σπέρματα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφεῖναι; οἱ πλωτῆρες δὲ ἐπειδὴν λύσαντες παραμείψωσι τῶν λιμένων τὰ στόματα, πλησίον ἔχοντες τὸν θάνατον πλέουσιν εἰς λεπτήν ὁρῶντες σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα τὰ ξύλα ἐφ' ὧν φέρονται.

(5) Καὶ μὴν θεαμάτων μὲν ἡδιστον ἀγρός, ἄμπελοι, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δῶρον, καρποί, φυτά, λήϊα, πικρότατον δὲ ἡ θάλαττα κυκλωμένη ταῖς τῶν ἀνέμων προσβολαῖς κύματά τε κυρτούμενα καὶ ἀφρὸς φοβερός. ὥστε καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τούτων διεσώθῃ, διὰ πάσης ἀηδίας ἀφικόμενος σέσωσται.

(6) Ἔτι τοίνυν δικαιοσύνη μὲν κάλλιστον, ἀδικία δὲ κάκιστον. ποιεῖ δὲ γεωργία μὲν δικαίους, ναυτιλία δὲ ἀδίκους. ὁ μὲν γὰρ γεωργὸς σπείρας καὶ

(16) Consider also the death of Demosthenes; for this, too, had something admirable; for when the status of the Macedonian had risen so that now he was even taking orators from there, he departed from life by using poison, not putting up with having to flatter tyrants.⁹⁹

COMPARISON 4: SEAFARING AND FARMING¹⁰⁰

(1) Let anyone who wishes take delight in seafaring, and let him sail and risk danger, but it has occurred to me both to praise farming and to count as happy those engaged in farming. And, to be sure, one must examine them in comparison to each other through discourse; for it will become clear that, while many terrible things come with seafaring, farming has all the best ones.

(2) The oldest occupation is farming, and it came into our lives at the same time as human beings; for they must have needed foods from the earth as soon as they came into existence, and in their need they must have endeavored to work the land. But seafaring and sailing were introduced into our lives by greed; for the lust for more and for adventure compelled them to sail. (3) And from the very first the business of ships was piracy and snatching each other's property. Moreover, sailing itself is not without danger, and everything is worth shunning where the danger is great. With this being the case, the sea is full of dangers, but the land and the working of it are free of them. (4) What fear lies in yoking one's oxen and breaking the soil, and what fear lies in dropping seeds into the ground? But when sailors, after casting off, pass beyond the mouths of harbors, they sail with death close at hand, looking toward a thin hope of safety—the timbers on which they are carried.

(5) Moreover, the sweetest of sights is a field, vines, the gift of Athena,¹⁰¹ fruits, trees, and crops,¹⁰² but the most bitter is the sea being tossed by the onslaught of winds, and the waves breaking and the dreadful surf, so that even if one gets through all this safely, it is only after arriving through total unpleasantness that he is safe at all.

(6) Furthermore, justice is a very noble thing, but injustice a very bad one. Farming makes men just, seafaring unjust; for the farmer, after sowing

99. "The Macedonian": Antipater. On Demosthenes' death, see [Lucian], *Encom. Demosth.* 43–49; Plutarch, *Dem.* 29–30; [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 847A–B; Encomium 5.17.

100. For the theme, see Encomium 7.15; with full elaboration, Pseudo-Nicolaus 5 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:365,8–66,16). Encomium of farming: for the theme with partial elaboration, see John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 126,10–12); with full elaboration, Encomium 7. Invective against seafaring: Pseudo-Nicolaus 6 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:347,27–49,9). See also Comparison 5; Thesis 3.

101. I.e., the olive tree and its produce.

102. Encomium 7.11; Comparison 5.17–20.

εὐξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ἀναμένει τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ δέχεται τὰς ἀμοιβὰς παρὰ τῆς γῆς λυπήσας οὐδένα οὐδέν. (7) τοῖς δέ γε ἐμπόροις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιπορκίαις τὰ ὄντα αὖξεται καὶ ἡ τέχνη πρὸς τὸ πλουτεῖν τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν πλέουσι τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν ἐργαζόμενοι, ψευδόμενοι, παράγοντες, παρακρουόμενοι. καὶ ὅστις ἄριστα οἶδε τοῦτο ποιεῖν, οὗτος εὐπορώτατος ἄπεισιν.

(8) Ὑγεία παρὰ γεωργοῖς, συνεχεῖς γὰρ οἱ πόνοι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔργα καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὥρων. τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ κινεῖσθαι καὶ φιλοτεχνεῖν νοσήματα μὲν ἀποκλείει, τὸ ὑγιαίνειν δὲ διατηρεῖ. (9) πλωτῆρες δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἄργοι κεῖνται, τοῦτο μὲν χειμῶνος καὶ πάλιν ἐν καπηλείοις καὶ καπνῷ, τοῦτο δὲ θέρους, ἡνίκα ἂν εὐτυχῶσιν. ἦν γὰρ ἐξ οὐρίων φέρωνται, κάθηνται ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων πίνοντες συνεχῶς καὶ ἐσθίωντες ἔξω τοῦ μετρίου. καὶ ταῦτα εἴωθε τοῖς σώμασι νοσήματα ἐντίκτειν. (10) ὥς ἡδὺ μὲν γεωργῷ διψήσαντι πιεῖν ἐκ πηγῆς προσθέντι τὸ στόμα τοῖς νάμασι, λυπηρὸν δὲ ναύτη πολὺν χρόνον ἐν πελάγει κάμνοντι πιεῖν ὕδωρ οὐδὲν βέλτιον βορβόρου. (11) τῷ γεωργῷ μὲν ἐσπέρας οἴκαδε ἐπανήκοντι γυνή ἐστι παραμυθία καὶ παῖδες ὀρώντές τε καὶ ὀρώμενοι, ὁ δὲ πλέων δέδιδε μὲν αὐτὸς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ταράττεται δὲ τῷ περὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀδήλῳ. (12) Κερδαλέον ἡ θάλαττα καὶ τὸ πλεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡσθόμην καὶ γεωργοὺς πλουτοῦντας ἢ τοὺς πλέοντας. ἀλλὰ δῶμεν, εἰ δοκεῖ, πλείονα διδόναι κέρδη τὴν θάλατταν. ἀλλ' ἡ διδοῦσα αὕτη καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ μετὰ τῶν φορτίων προσαφαιρεῖται καὶ τὰς ψυχάς. καὶ τις ἀναχθεὶς μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἢ συγκατέδυ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ ἀπεσώθη γυμνός. (13) καὶ πλείστους δὴ ἀνθρώπων ἀπειργάσατο τοῦτο ἡ θάλαττα. καὶ ὁ τῶν ἐμπόρων εὐπορώτατος ἕως ἂν πλὴν, οὐκέτι πλούσιός ἐστιν οὐδὲ κέκτηται οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἔστι τῶν ἀνέμων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου. ἦδη δὲ τινες ὀρώντες τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τοῖς ὄρμοις προσπλέοντες ῥαγείσης ἐξαίφνης τῆς νεῶς ἐξέπνευσαν ἐλεεινότερον τῶν ἀποπνιγέντων.

(14) Ὅδιστον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ταφῆναι καὶ εἰπόντα τι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπελθεῖν. τοῦτο γεωργοῖς παρέχει τὸ γεωργεῖν, τῶν δὲ πεπλευκότων πολλοὶς οὐδαμοῦ τάφος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ναυαγίαις γαστέρας ἰχθύων ἐπλήρωσαν.

and praying to the gods, waits for the fruits and receives his reward from the earth, having caused no pain to anyone.¹⁰³ (7) But as for merchants, their holdings are increased by false oaths, and the art of becoming rich is to show contempt toward the gods, and they sail to every city, doing this evil, lying, deceiving, and misleading. And whoever knows how to do this best will come away richest.

(8) Health is found among farmers; for their labors are continuous, and there are jobs for them to do both in summer and winter and in the other seasons; for always being active and having a love for their craft prevents disease and protects health.¹⁰⁴ (9) But sailors lie around lazily most of the time, both during the winter when they are back home again in taverns and smoke, and during the summer, whenever they are lucky; for if they are being carried by fair winds, they sit on the decks drinking continuously and eating beyond moderation. And these practices customarily engender diseases in bodies. (10) How sweet it is for a farmer, when thirsty, to drink from a spring, putting his mouth to the running water,¹⁰⁵ but how grievous for a sailor, weary from the long time spent on the sea, to drink water no better than muddy slime. (11) For the farmer returning home in the evening, his wife is a consolation, and his children both seeing him and being seen,¹⁰⁶ while the sailor himself fears for himself, but is troubled by uncertainty about his loved ones. (12) Profitable are the sea and sailing, but I have also noticed that farmers become rich rather than sailors. But let us grant, if it seems best, that the sea bestows greater profits. But this one who gives also takes away, and along with the cargo she takes away their lives, as well. And one who sets sail with a lot of money either sinks along with the money or is rescued naked. (13) And the sea does this to most men. And as long as he is at sea, the most well-provisioned of merchants is not yet wealthy, nor does he possess anything, but both he himself and his cargo belong to the winds. And at times in the past, some men, as they see their homeland and are sailing toward safe harbor, when the ship suddenly breaks apart, have expired more pitifully than those choked to death.

(14) The sweetest thing is to be buried in one's native city and to depart from life having said something to one's family. Farming provides this to farmers, but for many of those who have sailed there is nowhere a grave, but in shipwrecks they have filled the bellies of fish.

103. *Encomium* 7.4; *Comparison* 5.3–4, 15.

104. *Encomium* 7.8; *Comparison* 5.11–13.

105. *Encomium* 7.12.

106. *Encomium* 7.5; *Comparison* 5.5–8.

5. Σύγκρισις ἀγροῦ καὶ πόλεως.

(1) Μεγέθει μὲν ἡττᾶσθαι πόλεως ἀγρὸν ὁμολογῶ, νικᾶν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις φαῖν ἂν ἀγρὸν. καὶ πρῶτά γε τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀγρὸν εἶναι πρεσβύτερον. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὥς οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἐπὶ γῆς ἄνθρωποι τῶν ὀρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς κορυφαῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς μέσοις οἰκοῦντες ἀντὶ πόλεων ἀγροὺς τοῖς ἐγγόνις παρέδοσαν, ὅψε δέ ποτε καὶ μόλις συνελθόντες ῥκισαν πόλεις; εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τιμιώτερον, ἀγρὸς πόλεως τιμιώτερος. (2) οὐ μὴν ἀμείνους γε τοὺς συνελθόντας ἢ σύνοδος ἔδειξεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ κακῶς ποιεῖν ἀλλήλους μᾶλλον προήγαγε. κἂν ἐξετάζη τις, πλείω τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ τοῖς ἀγροῖς εὐρήσει. (3) τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔργον περὶ τὴν γῆν πονεῖν καὶ ταύτην τὰ πολλὰ διαγίγνονται σπεύροντες, ἀμώντες, τρυγῶντες, καὶ ζῶσιν ἰδρῶσι τὰς εὐπορίας κτῶμενοι. οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσι γραφαῖς καὶ κατηγορίαις καὶ συκοφανταῖς κτῶνται τὰ χρήματα τάλληλων ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ μηχανὰς ἅς πλέκουσι τῆς νυκτὸς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀλλήλοις ἐπάγουσι. (4) καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἀγορὰ χωρίον ἐπιβουλευμάτων τοῦ μὲν ἐκείνου, ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦτον ἀπολέσαι ζητοῦντος. καὶ μισθὸς ῥήτορσιν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ δίδεται τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ λόγοι γράφονται κατὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων καὶ χρήματα μάρτυρας εἰσάγει ψευδεῖς καὶ διαφθείρει δικαστάς. (5) τὸ γὰρ ἀργεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτην ἄγει τὴν ἐργασίαν ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν σωμάτων ἔρωτας. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἄστεσι πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ τοῖς νέοις ἐπιτιθέμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ γάμους ἀδικοῦντες ἔχοντες εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα διακόνους τὸ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων γένος μαστροπῶν. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ τέχνη πόλεως, οὐκ ἀγροῦ νόσημα. οὗτοι δὲ μεθύοντες καὶ κωμάζοντες καὶ ἐρώντες καὶ ἀντερῶντες ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα φιλονεικίας καὶ διὰ λοιδοριῶν καὶ πληγῶν καὶ τραυμάτων ἀφικόμενοι πολλάκις εἰς φόνον τελευτῶσιν. (6) ἀγρὸς δὲ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια μανιῶν καθαρός, ἐρώσι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον οἰκοῦντες ἀρότρου καὶ βοὸς καὶ ἀμάξης καὶ αὐλακος καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας ἴσασιν ὁμιλίαν, ἐταῖρα δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ μεθίστησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων οὐδὲ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναλώμασι ποιεῖ πένητας. (7) οὐδ' ἡριστικῶς ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπὶ κύβους φέρεται οὐδὲ δεδειπνηκῶς ἐπὶ τὸ θυροκοπεῖν οὐδ' ὑβρίζει καὶ παίζει καὶ νομίζει νεανικὸν εἶναι τὸ κακὸν τι μέγα ἐργάσασθαι. ὅλως δὲ ὅσα ὑπὸ

COMPARISON 5: COUNTRY AND CITY¹⁰⁷

(1) I admit that the country is inferior to the city in size, but I would say that the country is superior in all other respects. Primarily, in that the country is older than the city; for who does not know that the first men to appear on the earth—some dwelling on the peaks of mountains, others in the lands between them—handed the country down to their offspring rather than cities, but that a long time later and with difficulty they came together and founded cities?¹⁰⁸ If antiquity is more worthy of honor, then the country is more worthy of honor than the city. (2) This gathering together did not, however, reveal those who came together as being better, but instead led them more to do evil to each other.¹⁰⁹ And if someone should examine it, he will find more crime in the cities than in the country. (3) For the one group has the job of working the land, and most of their lives are spent sowing, reaping, and gathering in crops, and they live acquiring their abundance with their sweat. But those in the cities acquire it with indictments, accusations, and malicious prosecutions, robbing each other of their possessions; and the devices that they weave by night they bring against each other during the day.¹¹⁰ (4) And the marketplace is the location of these plots—this man seeking to destroy that man, and that man this. And payment is given to orators for the destruction of their fellow citizens, and speeches are written against the weaker, and money brings in false witnesses and corrupts the jury. (5) For laziness leads them to this occupation, just as it also in turn leads them to the lust for bodies; for in the cities there are many who are attached to young men, but many who commit crimes against marriages, having as their assistants in such deeds the race of sinful pimps; for indeed, this is the handiwork of the city, not an illness of the country. These men, getting drunk, reveling, lusting, and competing over the objects of their lust, go from quarreling over all this, to verbal abuse, blows, and wounds, and often in the end to murder. (6) But the country is free from the obsession with sexual pleasure, and those who live there love the plow, the ox, the wagon, and the furrow, and they know intercourse with their own wives, but the prostitute does not turn them away from their wives toward her, nor does she make them poor through their expenditures on her. (7) The farmer is led neither to gamble after breakfast nor to knock on doors after dinner, nor does he abuse and strike people and consider it fun to do some great evil. In short, nothing that is engendered

107. See also *Encomium 7* and *Comparison 4*.

108. Cf. the detailed account of postdeluge human development in Plato, *Leg.* 3 (677A–681D).

109. *Encomium 7.3*.

110. Hesiod, *Op.* 27–34; *Encomium 7.4*; *Comparison 4.6*, 5.15.

μέθης τίκτεται, τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν οὐ μεθυσκομένων γένοιτο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξιν αὐταῖς ὑπὲρ παιδων μόνον πλησιάζουσι γενέσεως. (8) εἰ δὴ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἢ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν ἡδοναῖς, τουτὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀγροῖς οἰκούντων, οὐ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ταύτη νικῶν ἀγρὸς ἄστρῳ φανεῖται;

(9) Ἔτι τοίνυν εἰ μέλλουσιν ἀπολαύσεσθαι τῆς γῆς, ὥρων τε καὶ ἄστρον αὐτοὺς ἐμπείρους εἶναι προσήκει καὶ τοῦ πότε τι δεῖ πονεῖν καὶ γῆς φύσεως καὶ τί μὲν αὕτη δύναται ἂν φέρειν, τί δὲ ἐκείνη, τί δὲ οὐκ ἂν δύναται. ταύτην δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων προτιμήσειε τὴν σοφίαν τῆς ἐν ἄστεσιν, ἢ ποιεῖ δύνασθαι λέγειν, ἢ πολλοὶ πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσαν δεινότητι νόμων κρατήσαντες;

(10) Ἀνδρειότερους τοίνυν ποτέρους χρὴ νομίζειν εἶναι, τοὺς εἴσω τείχους ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν καὶ κουρείων καὶ μυροπωλείων ἀλλήλοις συνόντας καὶ διαλεγομένους ἢ οἵτινες πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν πολλάκις ἄρκτους καὶ λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις θηρῶνται; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς λύκους καὶ συνεχῆς σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος ἀμυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῶν βοσκημάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τέχναις παντοδαπαῖς ταῦτα αἰροῦσι τὰ θηρία. καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς τῶν ἐρπετῶν ἐφόδους, ὧν ἀνάγκη κρατεῖν τὸν γε οὐκ ἀπολούμενον. ἀφ' ὧν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τις εἰς παράταξιν ἐλθὼν μᾶλλον ἂν θαρρῆσαι πολεμίους ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι λήρων.

(11) Ὑγείας τοίνυν πότεροι μᾶλλον μετέχουσιν, οἱ κρύος καὶ καῦμα φέρειν μεμελετηκότες καὶ τροφῇ κεκολασμένη χρώμενοι καὶ λουτρῷ πηγαῖς τε καὶ ποταμοῖς ἢ οἱ τοῦ θέρους μὲν τὴν ἀκτῖνα φεύγοντες, χειμῶνος δὲ ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς κείμενοι, λουόμενοι δὲ ἐν βαλανείοις, εἰς δὲ τὴν γαστέρα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν μαγείρων ἐγκατατιθέμενοι κακά; (12) λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἱατρῶν παῖδες ἐν πολὺ βελτίονι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀέρι διαιτᾶσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἐν ἄστει νοσοῦντας ἐκεῖσε κομίζουσι σύμμαχον τῇ τέχνῃ τὸν ἀέρα προσλαμβάνοντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν φαρμάκων ἐνταῦθα τι πλεον ὦνησαν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀπέχρησεν αὐτὸ τὸ ἐκεῖσε κομίσαι τὸν κάμνοντα. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄθλα ἐτίθετο μακροτέρου βίου, τῶν ἐν ἀγροῖς ταῦτ' ἂν ἐγίνετο. (13) ἔτι τοίνυν ὁ μὲν ἀγρὸν οἰκῶν ἐλθὼν εἰς ἄστρῳ σκοτοδινίᾳ καὶ πειράται πάλιν τὴν ταχίστην εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐπανελθεῖν πόθῳ τῆς ἡσυχίας. οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσιν ὁπότεν

by drunkenness would be done by those who are not drunk, since they even consort with their very wives only for the procreation of children. (8) If self-control and not being a slave to pleasure are in fact the greatest goods, and these belong to those who live in the country, not to those who live in the cities, how will the country not be proven to be superior to the city in this way, as well?¹¹¹

(9) Furthermore, if they intend to have enjoyment of the land, it befits them to have experience of the seasons and the stars,¹¹² and of when one must do which tasks, and of the nature of the earth, and what this land or that one would be able or not able to produce. What man with good sense would not value this wisdom over the one in the cities that makes it possible to speak, by which many have destroyed many, overpowering the laws with clever speaking?¹¹³

(10) Furthermore, which of the two should one believe are more courageous, those who meet and chat with each other inside the walls at banks, barbershops, and perfume-sellers, or those who often hunt bears and lions and leopards outdoors? For they have continual war against the wolves, too, as they defend the cattle, and they destroy these wild animals by all kinds of arts, as well. And I will pass over in silence the incursions of snakes, which one must defeat if he is not to be killed. It seems to me that someone coming to a battle line from such stock would feel more courageous against the enemy than someone from the garbage in the cities.

(11) Furthermore, which of the two would have a greater share of health, those who have been trained to endure frost and burning heat¹¹⁴ and who take food in moderation and use springs and rivers for bathing, or those who flee the sun's rays in summer and lie in their beds in winter, wash themselves in public baths, and put the junk from chefs into their stomachs? (12) Doctors also say that those in the country live in much better air, and for this reason they bring those who are sick in the city there, taking the air as an ally to the art. And some people benefit somewhat more from the medicines themselves there, while for others, even the very act of taking the sick person there is sufficient. And if prizes were also given for a longer life, they would go to those in the country.¹¹⁵ (13) Furthermore, the man who lives in the country, upon coming to the city, suffers from dizziness and tries to get back home to the country as quickly as possible, out of a longing for peace and quiet.

111. For sections 5–8, cf. *Encomium* 7.5; *Comparison* 4.11.

112. *Encomium* 7.7.

113. *Encomium* 7.14.

114. *Encomium* 7.6.

115. *Encomium* 7.8; *Comparison* 4.8.

ἀναπνεῦσαι βουληθῶσιν, εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς θέουσι τὰς μὲν πόλεις κλύδωνας, τοὺς δὲ ἀγροὺς λιμένας νομίζοντες, καὶ ἢ τε γνώμη ῥάων εὐθύς τό τε σῶμα κουφότερον. (14) εἰ δὲ πανταχοῦ τοῦ δεομένου τὸ πληροῦν τὴν χρεῖαν βέλτιον, ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἢ τροφή ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοις ἀπὸ τούτων. (15) βασάνους τοίνυν καὶ τὸν μαστιγούμενον καὶ τὸν στρεβλούμενον καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ξίφος καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πῦρ ψήφῳ δικαστῶν πεμπόμενον οἱ μὲν ὀρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀκούουσιν. ὅσῳ τοίνυν ἥττων εἰς λύπην ὄψεως ἀκοή, τοσοῦτ' ἤσσεται διαίτης ἢ κατ' ἀγρὸν ἀμείνων. (16) χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν δύναιτ' ἂν αὐτῶν φυλάττειν τοὺς τρόπους, τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλείους ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἐπιμιξίας κινουῦνται καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀποστάντες τὰ ἐκείνων ἐζήλωσαν. (17) εἰ δὲ σκηνῇ καὶ θαυματοποιοῖς καὶ τοιούτοις θεάμασιν ἀγρὸς ἡττάται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ κρείττων ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων διαπέφευγε λύμην πρὸς τὸ βελτίους ἡδονὰς καρποῦσθαι. ἢ μικρὸν εἰς ἡδονὴν μόσχων τε καὶ ἐρίφων καὶ ἀρνῶν φωνή; εἰ δὲ οὐπω ταῦτα μεγάλα, τί ἂν ἀντιθεῖη πόλις ταῖς ἀηδόνων φωναῖς; (18) ποίας δὲ οὐ γραφῆς τερπνότερον ἰωνιὰ καὶ ῥοδωνιὰ καὶ λειμῶνες καὶ κλάδοι τέττιγας φέροντες, αὐλοὶ δὲ καὶ σύριγγες νομέων εἰς αὐλὴν ἐλαυνόντων βοῶν ἀγέλας καὶ αἰπόλια καὶ ποίμνια ποίων θεάτρων οὐχ ἡδίω; (19) τὴν δὲ τῶν παλαιστῶν κόνιν καὶ τὸ τῶν πυκτῶν αἶμα τῇ κινήσει τῶν ληϊῶν παραβάλλειν ἄξιον; παγκρατιαστῶν δὲ πληγὰς τοῖς ταύρων ἀγῶσιν; (20) ἐστιαθῆναι δ' ἥδιον ὑπ' ὀρόφῳ τῷ παρὰ τῶν τεκτόνων ἢ ὑπὸ σκιᾷ τῇ παρὰ τῶν δένδρων ὑπεραιωρουμένων βοτρυῶν; τίς οὕτως ἐν θεάτρῳ χορὸς ἀκοὴν εὐφρανεν ὥς οἱ τοὺς βότρυς πατοῦντες ἐν τοῖς ληνοῖς καὶ οἶνον ποιοῦντες σὺν ἄσμασιν;

(21) Ἔστι μὲν οὖν εὐδαιμονέστατον θεὸν ἰδεῖν καὶ θεῷ συγγενέσθαι, τούτου δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ τις ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν πόλει τύχοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ποιμαίνων ταῖς Μούσαις ἐνέτυχε καὶ Φιλιππίδης ὕστερον πολλοῖς χρόνοις τῷ Πανὶ περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον. (22) εἰ δὲ βελτίους αἱ πόλεις, οὐκ ἂν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι καὶ

But whenever people in the cities wish to catch their breath, they run to the country, regarding the cities as waves and the country as a harbor, and their minds immediately feel better and their bodies lighter. (14) But if it is better to fill the need for what is universally required, food comes to the cities from the country, but not to the latter from the former.¹¹⁶ (15) Furthermore, the one group sees torture and men being whipped, racked, and sent to the sword or the flame by the vote of a jury, but the others only hear about it.¹¹⁷ Therefore, inasmuch as hearing about something is less painful than seeing it, so much better is country life than city life. (16) Without these problems the one group would be able to preserve their own character, while the majority of men in the cities are disturbed by intermixing with foreigners, and many have revolted from themselves and embraced the practices of those people. (17) If the country is inferior in regard to the theatre and circus acts and spectacles such as these,¹¹⁸ this is the way in which it is better, that it has also fled from the corruption from such things toward reaping the fruits of better pleasures. Or is the sound of calves and kids and lambs trivial in terms of pleasure? But if these features are not great at all, what would the city have to compare with the songs of nightingales? (18) Than what sort of painting are beds of violets and roses and meadows and branches holding grasshoppers not a more delightful sight? Than what sort of theatres are the flutes and pipes of shepherds as they drive herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats into their pens not sweeter? (19) Is it worth comparing the dust of wrestlers and the blood of boxers to the rustling of crops? The blows of pancratiasts to struggles between bulls?¹¹⁹ (20) Is it sweeter to enjoy a feast under a roof made by carpenters than under the shade made by bunches of grapes suspended from trees? What chorus in the theatre ever so delighted the ear as much as people stomping on grapes in the wine vats and making wine while they sing?¹²⁰

(21) And so, it is a most blessed thing to see a god and commune with a god, but one would obtain this in the country rather than in the city, since Hesiod also encountered the Muses while tending his flocks¹²¹ and, much later in time, Philippiades encountered Pan around Mount Parthenion.¹²²

116. Encomium 7.9, 8.6.

117. Encomium 7.4; Comparison 4.6, 5.3–4.

118. Encomium 7.12.

119. Encomium 7.13. The *pancratation* was a particularly violent sporting event in which “boxing and wrestling were combined with kicking, strangling, and twisting” (OCD s.v.).

120. Encomium 7.11, 8.2; Comparison 4.5.

121. Hesiod, *Theog.* 22–34.

122. Also known as Pheidippides; for the story, see Herodotus, *Hist.* 6.105.

Περί τὰς Μούσας διατρίβειν ἠκούομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν πόλεων.
νῦν δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐν ἀγρῷ φαίνεται τῷ Ἰκαρίῳ διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τυχῶν ξενίων
καὶ δοῦς τὴν ἄμπελον.

(22) But if cities were better, we would hear about the Muses spending time not on Mount Helicon and at Pieria, but in the greatest of cities. And now Dionysus is also shown to have conversed with Icarius, received guest-gifts from him, and given him the grapevine in the country.¹²³

123. Narration 28.

THE EXERCISE IN SPEECH IN CHARACTER

The exercise in *êthopoiia* (variously translated as “speech in character,” “characterization,” and “personification”) is introduced after the exercise in comparison in [Hermogenes], Aphthonius, and Nicolaus. Theon, however, calls the exercise *prosôpopoiia* and places it sixth in the sequence, between description and encomium/invective. This exercise asks the student to produce an imitation of someone or something speaking in a particular situation, and it can be divided into three types, based on the type of speaker: *êthopoiia* imagines a living person speaking, while in *eidôlopoiia* the speaker is dead, and in *prosôpopoiia* it is a personified thing or abstract ([Hermogenes] 20; Aphthonius 34; cf. Nicolaus 64–65). *Êthopoiiai* can feature either definite or indefinite persons ([Hermogenes] 20), and can be classified into ethical (emphasizing character), pathetic (emphasizing emotion), and mixed types ([Hermogenes] 21; Aphthonius 35; Nicolaus 64). The particulars of the person and the occasion must be carefully considered in order to produce a good imitation (Theon 115–116; [Hermogenes] 21). Three of the theorists recommend organizing the speeches temporally: the present experience, contrasted with past experiences, and ending with expectations for the future ([Hermogenes] 21–22; Aphthonius 35; similarly, Nicolaus 65–66). Theon and Nicolaus envision various practical applications for the exercise, including letter writing (Theon 115; Nicolaus 67) and speeches in which one exhorts, dissuades, consoles, or seeks forgiveness (Theon 115, 116–117).

All the examples in Libanius’s collection are *êthopoiiai*, with twenty-one featuring mythological characters (“definite”), and six featuring general types (“indefinite”): a painter (11, 27), a prostitute (18), a coward (19–20), and a eunuch (26).

Foerster and Münscher (“Libanios,” 2520–21) declared as spurious examples 7, 9, 13, 16–17, 19–20, 22, and 24–27, while Norman (*The Julianic Orations*, xlix) declared spurious only examples 13, 20, 22, and 24–27. Severus of Alexandria may be the author of examples 26 and 27, although example

1. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Μήδεια μέλλουσα
ἀποσφάττειν τοὺς ἐαυτῆς παῖδας;

(1) Εἶχον ἄρα καὶ αὐτὴ βοήθειαν τὴν παρὰ τῆς τέχνης καὶ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀλγήσειν μόνον ἀδικουμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ λήψεσθαι δίκην. οὐκέτι βασιλεὺς Ἰάσων, οὐκέτι τῷ Κορινθίῳ ἐπαιρόμενος πλούτῳ. πάντα ἀνέτρεψεν ὁ στέφανος, πάντα διέφθειρεν ὁ πέπλος, πάντα συγκέχυται τῷ πυρί. καὶ πρόσεστι τῇ συμφορᾷ τὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας μέρος, τὸ μηδὲν ὑπιδέσθαι τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ. (2) τί οὖν; ἀρκεῖν ἡγησόμεθα ταῦτα καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ζητήσομεν;

26 has also been attributed to Pseudo-Nicolaus.¹ On the exercise in speech in character, see Theon 115–118; [Hermogenes] 20–22; Aphthonius 34–36; Nicolaus 63–67. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:119–24. For a catalogue of themes and surviving elaborations, see Eugenio Amato and Gianluca Ventrella, “L’ethopée dans la pratique scolaire et littéraire: Répertoire complet,” in *Ethopoia: La représentation de caractères entre fiction scolaire et réalité vivante à l’époque impériale et tardive* (ed. Eugenio Amato and Jacques Schamp; Cardo 3; Salerno: Helios, 2005), 213–31. Example 11 has been translated into German by Karl Pichler, “Severos von Alexandria: Ein verschollener griechischer Schriftsteller des IV. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (V),” *Byzantinisch-neugriechisches Jahrbuch* 11 (1934–35): 19–20. Example 27 has been translated into German by Pichler, “Severos von Alexandria,” 13–14, and into Italian by Antonio Stramaglia, “Amori impossibili: P.Köln 250, le raccolte proginnasmatiche e la tradizione retorica dell’ ‘amante di un ritratto,’” in *Studium Declamatorium: Untersuchungen zu Schülübungen und Prunkreden von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit* (ed. Bianca-Jeanette Schröder and Jens-Peter Schröder; Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 176; Leipzig: Sauer, 2003), 235–36.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 1: WHAT WORDS WOULD MEDEA SAY WHEN
SHE IS ABOUT TO MURDER HER CHILDREN?²

(1) I myself, then, also had help from my craft, and being wronged, I intended not only to cause pain, but also to take vengeance. No longer is Jason king; no longer is he exalted by the wealth of the Corinthians. The crown overturned everything; the gown destroyed everything; everything has been confounded by fire.³ And the role of ignorance contributes to the disaster, the fact that they suspected none of the things that I did. (2) What then? Will we regard

1. On example 26, see Amato, “L’autore dell’ εὐνοῦχος ἐρῶν,” 363–75. Schissel, “Rhetorische Progymnastik der Byzantiner,” 6 n. 1 (followed by Gerth, “Severos von Alexandria,” 718 and Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:109) first assigned example 26 to Severus on the basis of parallels with Severus 3 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:541,17–42,31, re-edited with German translation in Glettner, “Severos von Alexandria,” 96–103) that were noted by Glettner, 100–101. Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2521, and Stegemann, “Nikolaos,” 449, assign example 26 to Pseudo-Nicolaus. For the attribution of example 27, see Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2521.

2. For the theme with partial elaboration, see John of Sardis’s commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 207,14–16); Doxapatres’ commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:500,24–27). For the myth, see Euripides, *Medea*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28. For Medea as speaker in this collection, see also Speech in Character 17. Cf. Description 20.

3. Euripides, *Med.* 1156–1221.

μηδαμῶς. ἔστιν ἑτέρα τιμωρία χαλεπωτέρα τῆς προτέρας οὐδὲν δεομένη φαρμάκων καὶ λανθανούσης μηχανῆς, ἀλλὰ γνώμης ἀνδρειοτέρας καὶ δεξιᾶς μηδὲν ὀκνούσης. εἰσὶ παῖδες τῷ πάντων ἀδικωτάτῳ καὶ καλεῖται πατήρ. ἀφελώμεθα ταύτην αὐτὸν τὴν παραμυθίαν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν.

(3) Οὐδὲν ἔα με τῶν δικαίων ἐξετάζειν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ὅταν λογίσωμαι τί δράσασα τίνων ἀπολέλαικα, πάντα πρὸς δίκην ἡγοῦμαι μικρά. Αἰήτης ἐμοὶ πατήρ καὶ Σκυθῶν ἦν βασιλεὺς. καὶ παρθενία καὶ φήμη βελτίων καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει μνηστῆρες καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐλπίδες ἀμείνους. (4) κατέπλευσεν ὁ μισαρὸς οὗτος ὁ μήτε θεοὺς φοβούμενος μήτ' ἀνθρώπους αἰδούμενος καὶ ἦν ἐν πᾶσι κακοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἔδει γενέσθαι κρείττω, ταύρων πῦρ ἀφιέντων, ὀπλιτῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀνατρεχόντων, δράκοντος οὐκ εἰδότος καθεύδειν. (5) τὸ μὲν οὖν δίκαιον ἦν ἦττω δειχθῆναι τῶν ὅλων καὶ πεσεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν νίκην γενέσθαι τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μὴ καταγελάσαι τῆς Αἰήτου βασιλείας ἄνθρωπον ἐνὸς πλοίου δεσπότην. ἐγὼ δὲ ἢ πάντας μὲν παρελθοῦσα προδότας πονηρίᾳ, πάντας δὲ ἀνοήτους μωρίᾳ τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ἐχθροὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς οἰκείους ἡγησάμην καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἔστην μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀντέταξα τῇ φύσει. (6) τῶν θηρίων ἔσβεστο τὸ πῦρ, ἦνεγκαν οἱ ταῦροι τὸν ζυγόν, εἶξεν ἀρότρῳ γῇ πάντων στερροτέρα, καθεύδων ὥφθη δράκων οὐπω πρότερον τοῦτο παθών, ἐν χερσὶν ἦν τὸ δέρας τοῦ τρέμοντος, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὴν ναῦν πολλαῖς πιστεύσασα καὶ μεγάλας ἐπαγγελίας, ὄρκοις, αὐταῖς ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις. ἐδέξατο τῆς ἐμῆς εὐνοίας ἀπόδειξιν καὶ Ἰωλκός, οὗ βασιλεὺς Πελίας δυσμενῆς γέρων ὑπὸ τούτων ἄς ἐγέννησε κατεκόπτετο νεότητος ἐλπίδι προαπελθὼν ἀπάτῃ. (7) τὰ μὲν εἰς Ἰάσονα παρ' ἐμοῦ τοιαῦτα, τὰ μὲν οἴκοι, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος· αἱ δὲ ἀμοιβαί τίνες; Κόρινθον εἶδε καὶ τὴν Κρέοντος ἀρχὴν καὶ περὶ τῆς Γλαύκης ἤκουσε καὶ λόγος οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐγάμει παῖδας ἔχων. ἦδεν ὑμέναιον ζώσης

these things as sufficient and seek nothing more? By no means, no. There is another act of vengeance, harsher than the previous one, not requiring poisons or a secret device, but a more manly mind and a right hand shirking from nothing. There are children who belong to this most unjust man of all, and he is called "father." Let us rob him of this consolation and this name.

(3) Nothing allows me to examine the number of my just claims and the extent of my evils, but whenever I calculate what I have had to do in order to enjoy what I have, I consider everything in view of justice insignificant. Aeetes was my father and the king of the Scythians. And I had my virginity, and a better reputation, and many suitors from among the ruling class, and hopes better than the present circumstances. (4) This detestable criminal, the man who neither fears the gods nor respects human beings,⁴ sailed in and was in dire straits, and he had to rise superior to impossible circumstances—bulls spouting forth fire, and armed men springing up from the ground, and a serpent that did not know how to sleep.⁵ (5) So, it would have been just for him to have been proved inferior to all these and to have fallen, and for the victory to have been my father's, and for a man who commanded only one boat not to have made a mockery of the royal power of Aeetes; but I, surpassing every traitor in my wickedness, regarded all my close relatives—ignorant in their foolishness—as enemies, but all my enemies as close relatives, and I stood against my homeland with men from a foreign tribe and marshaled my craft against nature. (6) The fire of wild beasts was quenched; bulls submitted to the yoke; the hardest soil of all yielded to the plow; the serpent was seen sleeping, having never before experienced this; the fleece was in the hands of a man frightened; but after this I embarked upon their ship, trusting in many great promises, oaths, and actual benefactions.⁶ Iolcus, too, received proof of my goodwill, whose king Pelias, an aged enemy, was cut to pieces by the very daughters whom he sired, succumbing to deceit out of a false hope of renewed youth.⁷ (7) Such were the benefits that Jason received from me, some at home, some in Greece; but what did I get in return? He saw Corinth and the power of Creon, and he heard about Glaucus, and he gave no thought to my situation, but married her even though he already had children.⁸ He sang

4. Euripides, *Med.* 492–498.

5. With the help of Medea's magic, Jason yoked fire-breathing bulls to plow a field, defeated an army sown from serpent's teeth, and put a dragon to sleep: Euripides, *Med.* 475–482; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 3.1225–1407; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.23; Ovid, *Metam.* 7.100–158.

6. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 4; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.23–26.

7. Euripides, *Med.* 483–487; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.27.

8. Euripides, *Med.* 1–35, 488–491; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28.

ἐμοῦ καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐξεβέβλητο καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς δυναστείας αἱ παρ' ἐμοῦ χάριτες ἡμέληντο. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἡλαυνόμην, ὕβριζόμην, προὔπηλακίζόμην. ἐντεῦθεν εἰκότως μὲν ἡγανάκτουν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μόνην καταφυγὴν εἶδον, τὴν τέχνην, ἣ δὲ ἤρκεσε. (8) χωρῶμεν δὴ καὶ διὰ τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἴωμεν. πλήττε, Μήδεια, παῖδας, σφάττε παῖδας τοὺς Ἰάσονος, ἀνδρὸς ἀδίκου, πονηροῦ πατρός, ξένου κακοῦ. μηδὲν σε τῶν πάντων διαλλαττέτω, μὴ φύσις, μὴ γαστήρ, μὴ λογισμὸς ὠδίνων, μὴ τροφή, μὴ φωνή, μὴ μορφή. ζημιούσθω μὲν Ἰάσων τοῖς παισίν, οἱ δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαφευγέτωσαν αἰκίαν. μὴ γὰρ λάβοιεν τούτους οἱ Γλαύκης συγγενεῖς μηδ' ἀφείεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸν θυμόν. (9) δεινὸν μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀκόλουθον τῷ προτέρῳ. περὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀσεβήσομεν. τοῦτο πάλοι τετολμήκαμεν. ἀδελφοῦ φόνος ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν παιδῶν παραπέμπει φόνον. τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο γνώμη, τῆς αὐτῆς δεξιὰς.

(10) Ἦκετε, ὦ παῖδες, ὑπὸ τὸ ξίφος, ἦκετε. τοῦτο εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ πατὴρ ὠθεῖ δι' ἐμοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἦν χρηστός, οὐδὲν γε τούτων ἔδει. καλαί γε αἱ μορφαί, καλὸς ὁ τύπος τοῦ σώματος. ἀλλ' εἰκασί τῷ πατρί. τοῦθ' ἡδὶ μοι ποιήσει τὸν φόνον.

(11) Οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα κείσονται, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἀέρος μέσου τὸν ἀλιτήριον ὄψομαι, καὶ στένων καὶ πάντα ποιῶν βοήσεται μὲν, οὐ μὴν λήψεταιί μου. τοιοῦτῳ ζεύγει θαρρῶ δρακόντων. ἐπιβᾶσα δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐκείσε τὴν λύπην ἀποθήσομαι.

2. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀνδρομάχη ἐπὶ Ἑκτορι;

(1) Ἦκει δὴ πρὸς ἔργον ὁ φόβος καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους Ἑκτωρ ὑπεριδὼν ἔγνω με τὰ βέλτιστα εἰσηγουμένην. παρήνουν ἑαυτοῦ φείδεσθαι. ὁ δὲ

the wedding song while I was still alive, and all those facts were cast aside, and all the favors from me were rejected in his lust for power. And as if that were not enough, I was driven away, treated violently, and verbally abused.⁹ As a result I naturally became angry, but I looked toward my only refuge—my craft—and found it sufficient.¹⁰ (8) Let us proceed, then, and let us go through the rest and as far as possible. Strike down, Medea, the children; slaughter the children of Jason, an unjust man, a bad father, a wicked foreign guest. Let nothing dissuade you from the whole thing—not your nature, not your womb, not contemplation of your labor pains, not your nurturing, not their voices, not the shapes of their bodies.¹¹ Let Jason be punished with the loss of his children, but let them escape outrageous treatment from their enemies; for let the relatives of Glaucus not take them and release their anger against them.¹² (9) This deed is a terrible one, but consistent with the one before. We will commit impiety against nature. This we dared to do long ago. The murder of my brother¹³ brings me to the murder of my children. This, too, is the product of the same mind, the same right hand.

(10) You have come, O children, under the sword, you have come. Your father forced this upon you through me; for if he had been a good man, none of this would have been necessary. Beautiful are the shapes of your bodies, beautiful the lines of your features. But they resemble your father. This will make the murder sweeter for me.

(11) And so they will shortly lie dead,¹⁴ but I will see the sinner from above, from the middle of the air, and groaning and doing everything he will shout, but he will not catch me. From such a brace of yoked dragons do I take courage. And setting foot in Athens I will there put aside my pain.¹⁵

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 2: WHAT WORDS WOULD ANDROMACHE SAY OVER
THE DEAD HECTOR?¹⁶

(1) My fear has come to fulfillment, and though he disdained my words, Hector has recognized that I was proposing what was best. I encouraged him

9. I.e., by Glaucus's father Creon: Euripides, *Med.* 271–356.

10. Euripides, *Med.* 772–810, 1116–1221.

11. Euripides, *Med.* 1021–1080, 1236–1250.

12. This is implied as likely by Euripides, *Med.* 1238–1241.

13. Apsyrtus: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.24.

14. Euripides, *Med.* 1270a–1279.

15. Euripides, *Med.* 1317–1414; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28.

16. For the theme, see [Hermogenes] 21; Nicolaus 64; John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 200,22–201,1, 205,18); scholia to

ἡφείδησε. τοιγαροῦν τέθνηκεν οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις, ὦ θεοί, χερσίν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως. (2) τὸ δὲ ἐκείνον τεθνάναι τὸν Πρίαμόν ἐστιν ἀπολωλέναι, τὴν Ἑκάβην, τοὺς ἀδελφούς, τουτὶ τὸ παιδίον, ἐμέ, τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. ἐκείνος ἔσωζε τὸ Ἴλιον. πόθεν οὖν ἔτι σωθήσεται; ἔρρει πάντα καὶ διέφθαρται. καὶ γέγονα γυναικῶν ἀθλιωτάτη. οἷας με γεύσας ὁ δαίμων εὐδαιμονίας ἀπεστέρησεν; (3) ἦν μοι πατήρ καὶ μήτηρ ἐν βασιλείοις καὶ χορὸς ἀδελφῶν καὶ πάντα λαμπρά. τούτοις προσεγένετο μείζον ἕτερον, σύνοικος Ἑκτωρ, ὀπλίτης θαυμαστός, <σύμβουλος> ἀγαθός. ἐβλεπόμην, εὐδαιμονιζόμην. καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομάχην τις προσειπὼν τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προσέθηκεν ἄν, τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος, τὴν μακαρίαν. (4) ἔδει μὲν οὖν μέχρι γήρωος δι' ὁμοίας ἀφικέσθαι τῆς τύχης, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶασεν ὁ χαλεπὸς οὗτος Ἀχιλλεύς, ὃν ἡ Θέτις ἔτεκεν ἐπ' ἐμοί. κατήνεγκέ μοι τὸν πατέρα, ἀπέσφαξε τοὺς ἀδελφούς, δουλείαν ἐπέβαλε τῇ μητρί, εἶτα ἀπέδοτο, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ περίεστι. (5) καὶ ταῦτα δεινὰ μὲν, φορητὰ δὲ ἐποίησας, Ἑκτορ, τὰ δυστυχήματα καὶ τὰ πάντων παρῆχες μόνος καὶ ὦν ἐστερόμην, ὥμην εἶναί μοι διὰ σέ. ἀλλ' ἀπεσφάγης, ἐδέξω τὴν πληγὴν. ψόχόμεθα, ἀπολώλαμεν. πρόσεισι τὰ δεινὰ, πλησίον ὁ κίνδυνος, ἐγγὺς τὸ πῦρ. ὁρᾷ μοι δοκῶ τοὺς Τρῶας κατακοπτομένους, τὰς γυναῖκας ὕβριζομένας, <τὰς παρθένους> αἰσχυνομένας, τοὺς παῖδας ἐλκομένους, ὁρᾷ τὸν σίδηρον, ὁρᾷ τὴν φλόγα. ἀνέφκται τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ Ἴλιον οὐκέτι σοῦ προβεβλημένου τῶν πυλῶν.

(6) ὦ παιδίον, ἴσως σε λαβὼν τις τῶν πολεμίων προσαράξει τῷ πύργῳ. γενναῖος ἦν ὁ πατήρ. ὀφείλεις δίκας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἐμὲ δὲ ἄρα ἀποκτενεῖ τις. τοῦτο γοῦν εὐτυχήσομεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι. δουλεία με μένει καὶ διακονία, πληγαὶ καὶ διὰ τέλους δάκρυα. καὶ γῆν ἴσως ὄψομαι παρ' ἧς ἡμῖν οὗτος ὁ πολέμιος ἐπῆλθε. τάχα που καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἀναγκασθήσομαι, μίγνυσθαι τῷ τὸν Ἑκτορα ἀπεκτονότι.

to spare himself. But he was unsparing. For that very reason he has died not in my arms, O gods, but at the hands of Achilles. (2) And his death means the destruction of Priam, Hecuba, his brothers, this child here, me, and the entire city. That man used to keep Troy safe.¹⁷ By whom, then, will it be saved now? Everything has perished and has been destroyed. And I have become the most miserable of women. What sort of happiness did the divinity let me taste, only to deprive me of it? (3) I had a father and mother in the palace, and a chorus of brothers, and everything splendid.¹⁸ To these was added something else greater: my husband Hector, a remarkable warrior, a good <counselor>. I looked upon him; I was happy. And someone calling Andromache by name would add “the general’s wife, the ruler’s wife, the blessed one.” (4) And so, we should have arrived at old age through the same fortune, but this harsh man Achilles did not allow it, whom Thetis bore to my detriment. He brought down my father; he murdered my brothers; he cast my mother into slavery and then sold her, and not even she herself survives.¹⁹ (5) And these things were terrible, but you made my misfortunes bearable, Hector, and you alone provided what all of them had before, and what I was deprived of, I thought that I had on account of you.²⁰ But you were murdered; you received the blow. I am done for; I have perished. Terrible events are at hand; danger is close by; fire is near. I imagine that I see the Trojans being cut down, their wives being assaulted, <girls> being shamed, boys being dragged off; that I see the iron, see the flame. Troy has been opened up to the enemy now that you no longer stand before the gates.²¹

(6) O child, perhaps one of the enemy will take you and dash you against the tower.²² Your father was noble. You owe a penalty to the Achaeans. But someone will kill me, then. In this, at least, I will be fortunate. But it is not possible. Slavery and service await me, blows and continual tears. And perhaps I will see the land from which this enemy came to us.²³ Perhaps I will also be forced to perform the terrible act—to lie with the man who killed Hector.²⁴

Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:644,19). Cf. [Hermogenes] 20. For the myth, see Homer, *Il.* 6.390–493; 22.437–515.

17. Homer, *Il.* 6.403.

18. Homer, *Il.* 6.395–397, 413–430.

19. Homer, *Il.* 6.413–430.

20. Homer, *Il.* 6.429–430.

21. Euripides, *Tro.* 577–683.

22. For the death of Astyanax, see Euripides, *Tro.* 709–789, 1119–1250; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.23.

23. Homer, *Il.* 6.450–465.

24. Andromache was allotted to Achilles’ son Neoptolemus: Euripides, *Tro.* 271–273, 658–660; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.23.

3. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ κειμένῳ;

(1) Οἷμοι τῆς παρούσης συμφορᾶς. πέπτωκας, Πάτροκλε. ἐφ' ἐτέραις μὲν ἐπέμπου ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐτέρας δὲ τῆς τύχης ἐπειράθης. ἐγὼ μὲν ἠλπιζόν σε νενικηκότα δέχεσθαι, νυνὶ δὲ τετελευτηκότα θρηνῶ. ἐπὶ κακῷ τότε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐβοήθησας. οὐκέτι γὰρ ὄψομαί σε τὸν φιλέταιρον, τὸν πάντων μοι τῶν ἐταίρων τιμιώτατον. εἴθε μοι κατὰ σκηνὴν ἔμενες, καὶ τούτων ἂν ἦμεν ἡμεῖς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τῶν θρήνων. ταῦτ' ἐφοβούμην, ταῦτ' ἐκβέβηκεν. (2) ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀναμιμνήσκομαι τῶν πρότερον ἀγαθῶν, τῶν τότε, ὅτε μὲν κατεφρόνεις Ἀγαμέμνωνος, ἐμὲ δὲ ἠγάπας, ὅτε ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸν σὸν γηροβοσκεῖν πατέρα τὴν μετ' ἐμοῦ πορείαν εἴλου καὶ οὔτε μήτηρ οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἔπειθέ σε μένειν. (3) τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐλάττω· σὺ γὰρ ἦσθα ὁ φιλῶν μὲν οὐς ἠγάπων, μισῶν δὲ οἷς ἀπηχθόμην, χαίρων δὲ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἤθεσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων, εὐνοῶν, συμβουλευόμενος, τιμὴν ἀπονέμων τὴν ἀξίαν, συνοργιζόμενος, ᾧ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπίστευσα πανοπλίαν, ὅτε πολεμεῖν ἐβουλήθης, ὅτε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ πάσας τὰς ναῦς τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπήλλαξας. (4) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως, τὰ δ' ἐντεῦθεν δάκρυα, θρήνοι, ὀδυρμοί. τίς μοι τὴν σὴν πληρώσει τάξιν; ποίοις ἂν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἴδοιμι τὸν σὸν πατέρα, ὅταν ἐνθάδε κείμενόν σε καταλελοιπῶς ἀνέλθω; (5) ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦτό γε παθεῖν ἐχρῆν, ὥς οὐκ ὤφελεν, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος ἀπολείψομαι, ἀλλ' ἀμυνῶ σοι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ κάμῃ τὸν βίον καταλῦσαι δέῃ, σὺν σοὶ κείσομαι. οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις μεθ' οὗ ζῶν διετέλουν, τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐχθρὸν γενέσθαι. (6) εἶεν, ἐχέτω μὲν ταῦτα

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 3: WHAT WORDS WOULD ACHILLES SAY
OVER THE DEAD PATROCLUS?²⁵

(1) Alas for my present misfortune! You have fallen, Patroclus.²⁶ For one kind of hopes you were sent out, but a different kind of fortune you experienced. I expected to welcome you back victorious, but now I mourn you dead. It was for ill that you helped the Greeks then; for no longer will I see you, my beloved companion, the most valuable to me of all my companions. If only you had stayed with me in the tent, I would have been relieved of these lamentations, as well. This is what I feared; this is what has come to pass. (2) But I will remember the good times before, the ones at the time when you disdained Agamemnon but cherished me,²⁷ when instead of tending to your father in his old age you chose the journey with me, and neither your mother nor anyone else could convince you to stay.²⁸ (3) I will remember what followed no less: for you were the one who loved those whom I cherished, but hated those whom I loathed, and rejoiced in my ways rather than in those of the rest; who showed me goodwill, advised me, apportioned honor as deserved, shared in my anger; the one to whom I entrusted my armor, when you wanted to make war,²⁹ when you delivered the Greeks and all the ships from the fire.³⁰ (4) And that was then, but now there are tears, lamentations, wailing. Who will fill your post for me? With what sort of eyes am I to see your father, whenever I return, having left you behind here dead? (5) But since it was necessary to suffer this—as I wish it had not been—I will not also leave you behind dead, but will defend you as best I can. But whenever I, too, must bring my life to an end, I will lie here with you;³¹ for I have no right to become an enemy of this man with whom I used to live, now that he has died. (6) Well, let these things be for us as they are, but I will at last

25. For the theme, see Nicolaus 64; with partial elaboration, [Hermogenes] 21; Aphthonius 35; John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 207,14–19); Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonius (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 2:500,27–30, 501,12–15, 502,11–15). For the myth, see Homer, *Il.* 18.12–137; 18.231–238; 18.314–355; 23.1–257; cf. Encomium 3.19–20. In his commentary on Aphthonius, John of Sardis also mentions a theme in which Briseis speaks over the dead Patroclus (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 205,19). For Achilles as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 4, 12, 13, 15.

26. Homer, *Il.* 16.

27. Homer, *Il.* 1.304–307.

28. Homer, *Il.* 11.764–790; 18.324–327.

29. Homer, *Il.* 16.40–144.

30. Homer, *Il.* 16.122–129, 293–296. For sections 2–3, cf. Encomium 3.12–18.

31. Homer, *Il.* 23.83–92, 123–126, 243–248; *Od.* 24.71–84.

ἡμῖν ὡς ἔχει, ἐγὼ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα τρέψομαι καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνήσω πρὶν ἂν τοῦ σοῦ γεγονότος φονέως λαβόμενος καὶ τοῦτον ἀνελὼν περὶ τὸ σὸν ἐλκύσω μνήμα οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐμαυτῷ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπὶ σοὶ πάθους διὰ τῆς Ἑκτορος ἀναιρέσεως παραμυθίαν διδούς. (7) ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα λέγω γυμνὸς ὄπλων ἄνθρωπος τῷ πάντων μοι τῶν ἐταίρων τιμιωτάτῳ τὴν ἐμὴν διὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀσφάλειαν συναπολωλεκώς, ἐφ' ἣ νῦν ὁ πάντων ἔχθιστος φαιδρύνεται; πόθεν οὖν ὄπλων εὐπορήσομεν; οὔτε γὰρ Αἴαντα ἀφοπλίζειν καλὸν τὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων οὐχ ἀρμόδια. (8) ἀλλ' εὗρον δι' ὧν εὐπορήσομεν ὄπλων. ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα πορεύσομαι. αὕτη πρὸς τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἀφίξεται. ἐκεῖθ' ἐμοὶ τὴν πρέπουσαν πανοπλίαν κομιεῖ, ἢ χρησάμενος τιμωρήσω τῷ πεπτωκότι φίλῳ καὶ δίκην λήψομαι παρὰ τοῦ ταύτης τῆς συμφορᾶς αἰτίου.

4. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡττωμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων;

(1) Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν Ἀγαμέμνων γινώσκει τὴν ἡμετέραν ῥοπὴν καὶ παθὼν μεμάθηκε μὴ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀτιμάζειν. φεύγει καὶ τρέμει καὶ πέφρικε καὶ περὶ ἀποπλοίας ποιεῖται λόγον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὁ νεανίας. καίτοι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν, εἰ σωφρονεῖν ἤθελε καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λυμαίνεσθαι πράγμασι. (2) καλῶς, ὦ θεοί, καλῶς ἐδικάσατε τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς ἄραντες μεγάλους, τοὺς Τρῶας, τοὺς δὲ φοβεροὺς δι' ἐμοῦ πρότερον ταπεινώσαντες, τοὺς Ἑλληνας. μηδεὶς γὰρ ἀχάριστος εὖ πραττέτω. οὐκ ἡσχύνθη τὰς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεις τὰς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεσοῦσας Ἀγαμέμνων, οὐ τοὺς κατὰ θάλατταν πόνους, οὐ τὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ τालαιπωρίας, οὐ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκείνων ὃν εἰς αὐτὸν μετένεγκα, οὐ λάφυρα, οὐ γυναῖκας, ὧν μεστήν ἔχων τὴν σκηνὴν ἐτέρων

turn to the battle and to Hector, and I will not give up until I have caught the man who has become your murderer,³² and having killed him I will drag him around your tomb, giving myself no small consolation for my present suffering over you through the destruction of Hector.³³ (7) But why do I say all this, a man stripped of his arms, when I have lost along with the most valuable to me of all my companions the security that I had in arms, in which the most hateful man of all now gleams brightly?³⁴ Where, then, will I find a source of arms? For it would not be good to rob Ajax of his arms,³⁵ and no one else's would suit me. (8) But I have found a source of arms. I will go see my mother. She will pay a visit to Hephaestus.³⁶ She will bring me a fitting suit of armor from there,³⁷ and using it I will avenge my fallen friend and punish the man responsible for this disaster.³⁸

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 4: WHAT WORDS WOULD ACHILLES SAY
WHEN THE GREEKS ARE BEING BEATEN?³⁹

(1) But even if he did not do so before, Agamemnon now understands our influence and, having suffered, has learned not to dishonor the best men. He flees and trembles and has shuddered with fear, and now the little man is making a speech among the Achaeans about sailing away.⁴⁰ And yet none of this would have happened, if he had been willing to show self-control and not mistreat us by his actions. (2) Nobly, O gods, nobly have you judged, having raised the humble up to be great—the Trojans—and having previously humbled the dreaded ones through me—the Greeks. For let no one who is ungrateful fare well. Agamemnon showed no respect for the twenty-three cities that fell by my hand,⁴¹ nor my labors by sea, nor my hardships on land, nor the wealth of those that I brought to him, nor the spoils, nor the women,

32. Homer, *Il.* 22.321–363.

33. Homer, *Il.* 22.395–404; 24.14–18.

34. Homer, *Il.* 18.82–85, 130–132. In his commentary on Aphthonius, John of Sardis rejects as incredible (*apithanon*) a theme in which Achilles' shield speaks as it is being carried by Hector (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 204,22–23).

35. Homer, *Il.* 18.192–195, perhaps with a sly wink toward the themes of Speech in Character 5–7.

36. Homer, *Il.* 18.130–147, 368–467.

37. Homer, *Il.* 18.615–616.

38. Homer, *Il.* 19–22. For sections 4–8, cf. Encomium 3.19–20.

39. For the myth, see Homer, *Il.* 9; cf. Encomium 3.15–17. For Achilles as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 3, 12, 13, 15.

40. Homer, *Il.* 9.16–28.

41. Homer, *Il.* 9.328–329; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.32–33.

ἐπεθύμει. (3) καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ἐγὼ μήτε τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἔχων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ γῆς ἐγκαλεῖν μήθ' ὄρκων ἀνάγκη κατειλημμένος, ἀλλ' ἔπλεον δόξης τ' ἔρωτι καὶ τῷ τοῖς ὑβρισμένοις ἐθέλειν χαρίζεσθαι. (4) τίνα δὴ καὶ τὰ λυπήσαντα τὸν χρηστὸν βασιλέα; ταῦτα ἃ καὶ μόνῃ δικαίως ἂν μοι τιμὰς ἤνεγκεν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐτύγχανον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοὺς πολεμίους λελυπηκώς. ἐξεπολέμωσε τῷ στρατῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλω γυναικὸς ἕνεκα μιᾶς ἧς τὸν πατέρα γέροντα ἄνθρωπον μικροῦ συνέκοψεν, ὃ τρόπον τινὰ συνεπρέσβευσεν ὁ θεός. εἴθ' οἱ μὲν ἀνηλίσκοντο λοιμῷ, ὁ δὲ τῆς Χρυσηίδος ἀπήλαυεν, ἔμελε δὲ οὐδενὶ τοῦ πράγματος. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἐφρόντισα, ἤλγησα, ὁμολογῶ, τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους ἤλθησα. (5) τίνες οὖν οἱ τούτων μισθοί; κήρυκες εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸ γέρας τοῦμὸν καὶ ἀφείλοντο. καὶ πολὺ τούτων χαλεπώτερα ῥήματα, ἐν οἷς δύσεριν καὶ φιλόνηκον καὶ ἀφόρητον καὶ βαρὺν ὠνόμαζε καὶ ἀνάγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκέλευεν ὥς ἐν ἄλλοις ἔχων τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας. (6) πῶς οὖν ἐνίκησεν; ἔτι καὶ τεῖχος προὔβαλετο τῶν νεῶν. οὕτως ἀρκοῦσι πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ὅλων αἱ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐλπίδες. εὐδαίμων εἰμὶ τις τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἰδὼν, οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι, ἢ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνέτρεψε τύχην. (7) ὁ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ κρυπτόμενος Ἔκτωρ, ἐπίδειξιν δὲ νομίζων ἀνδρείας τὸ μέχρι τῆς δρυὸς προελθεῖν μέμφεται τῇ νυκτὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐξελομένη τοῦ πυρός. καὶ καλῶς γε μέμφεται. κἂν ἡμέρα φανῇ, δυνήσεται τὸ πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν ἐμοῦ μὲν ἡσυχάζοντος, τοῦ Διὸς δὲ τοῖς ὑβρικόσι πολεμοῦντος. (8) ἡγοῦμαι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τῶν ἀδικημάτων κοινωνεῖν. εἰ γὰρ λαβόντες λίθους οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον τῷ τοιαῦτα βλάπτοντι τὰ πράγματα, πάντως ἂν, κἂν ἄκων,

of whom though he had a tent full he set his heart on others.⁴² (3) And I did all this even though I had no quarrel with the Trojans over my own land⁴³ and was not bound by the oaths;⁴⁴ rather, I sailed out of a love of glory and out of a wish to show favor to those who had been abused. (4) What, then, were the things that also pained the good king? Those which even alone would justly have brought me honors, even if I had not actually pained the enemy in arms at all. He drove Apollo to make war on the army on account of one woman, whose father, an old man, he had almost beaten up, a man whom the god somehow accompanied on his mission.⁴⁵ Then they were being destroyed by the plague,⁴⁶ while he enjoyed Chryseis, and the matter was a concern to no one. But as time passed, I was concerned, I was distressed, and—I admit it—I pitied those perishing.⁴⁷ (5) What, then, was my reward for this? Heralds immediately came and took my prize away.⁴⁸ And his words were much harsher than this, in which he called me contentious and quarrel-loving and unbearable and grievous, and he bade me to set sail as quickly as possible, as he held his hopes of victory in others.⁴⁹ (6) How, then, was he “victorious”? Moreover, he had a wall put in front of the ships!⁵⁰ That is how sufficient the hopes of the “best” men are for everyone’s safety. I am a happy man now that I have seen this day—I do not deny it—which overturned the previous good fortune of our affairs. (7) Hector, though for the most part hiding himself, but believing that coming out as far as the oak tree was proof of courage,⁵¹ blamed the night-time for delivering the ships from the fire.⁵² And rightly so. Even when day breaks, he will be able to throw fire on them,⁵³ with me sitting idly by and Zeus making war on those who have done me violence.⁵⁴ (8) I believe that the whole army shares in his crimes, as well; for if they had taken up stones and not entrusted their affairs to one so harmful, he would have shown total self-control, even if unwilling. But now he has treated me like a brute,

42. Homer, *Il.* 1.161–171. For section 2, cf. Encomium 3.10–11.

43. Homer, *Il.* 1.152–157.

44. For a list of sworn suitors, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.8–9. For section 3, cf. Encomium 3.5–7.

45. Chryses: Homer, *Il.* 1.9–42. Cf. Refutation 1; Confirmation 2.3–12.

46. Homer, *Il.* 1.43–53.

47. Homer, *Il.* 1.53–56.

48. Briseis: Homer, *Il.* 1.327–348; Confirmation 2.13–19; Speech in Character 15.

49. Homer, *Il.* 1.172–187. For sections 1–5, cf. Encomium 3.12–14.

50. Homer, *Il.* 7.433–441; 9.348–350.

51. Homer, *Il.* 9.352–354.

52. Homer, *Il.* 8.497–501.

53. Homer, *Il.* 9.240–243.

54. Homer, *Il.* 8.469–477.

έσωφρόνει. νῦν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἡσέλγαιεν, οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπων. διὰ τοῦτο ἐλαύνονται, σφάττονται καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα δεδοίκασιν ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βελῶν. (9) οἶδα τοίνυν ὡς ὀδύρεται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν Ἀγαμέμνων, κατηγορήσει δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ μανίας, ἐκπέμψει δὲ τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους. αἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποσχέσεις εἰς ἔργον ἤξουσιν. δῶρων μοι μεμνήσεται πολλῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν οὕτως οὔτ' ὄψομαι οὔτ' ἀκούσομαι μέγα, δι' ὃ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐκβαλὼν συμπαρατάξομαι.

5. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Αἴας μέλλων ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάττειν;

(1) Ὡς δύο μεγίστων κακῶν, μανίας τε ἣν ἐμάνην καὶ σωφροσύνης ἣν νῦν σωφρονῶ. δρῶν μὲν οὐκ ἤδειν ἅ ἔδρων, δράσας δὲ μανθάνω τὰ πεπραγμένα. ἀπέκτεινα μὲν, ἀλλὰ βοσκήματα. ἀπέκτεινα μὲν, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἤθελον. καὶ ἠὺφραινόμενη μὲν ὡς δίκην λαμβάνων, ἐσφάττετο δὲ βοσκήματα, ζῶσι δὲ οἱ πονηρότατοι βασιλεῖς καὶ ὁ κατάρατος Ὀδυσσεύς. (2) μικρὸν δὲ εἰς συμφορὰν ἤδη μοι φαίνεται τὸ μὴ τῶν ὀπλων τυχεῖν. ὑπερβέβληκε μανία τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις λύπην καὶ τὴν γε μανίαν αὐτὴν τὸ πάλιν ἀνελθεῖν. (3) τίς μοι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐτάραξε τῶν θεῶν; τίς τῷ μὲν ἡδίκημένῳ πεπολέμηκε, τοῖς δὲ ἡδίκηκόσι κεχάρισται; τίς οὕτω κρίσιν ἄτοπον ἐπήνεσεν; Αἴας Ὀδυσσέως φαυλότερος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ παραταξάμενος πρὸς τὴν τύχην; οὐ μείζω μὲν ἐγγέγονει τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ ἀπῆει ὑβρισμένος; τοιαῦτα γὰρ τοῖς ἀρίστοις παρὰ τῶν

while they remained silent. For this reason they are routed, they are slaughtered, and they fear Hector just like one of the arrows from heaven.⁵⁵ (9) Well now, I know that Agamemnon is grieving over the present situation,⁵⁶ that he will blame his own insanity,⁵⁷ and that he will send out men to apologize.⁵⁸ But the promises of Athena will come to fulfillment.⁵⁹ Agamemnon will mention many gifts to me,⁶⁰ but I will neither see nor hear anything so great that I will rejoin him, having cast aside my anger.⁶¹

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 5: WHAT WORDS WOULD AJAX SAY
WHEN HE IS ABOUT TO KILL HIMSELF?⁶²

(1) O, for the two greatest evils: the madness that I experienced, and the sanity that I now experience! I did not know what I was doing while I was doing it, but having done it I understand what has been achieved. I killed—but cattle.⁶³ I killed—but not as I wished. And I was delighted that I was taking vengeance, but cattle were slaughtered, and those most wicked kings⁶⁴ and the accursed Odysseus still live.⁶⁵ (2) Not getting the arms⁶⁶ now seems a little thing to me in comparison to this misfortune. Madness has exceeded my anger at them, and coming back to my senses has exceeded the madness itself.⁶⁷ (3) Which of the gods disturbed my soul?⁶⁸ Who has made war on the man wronged, while gratifying the wrongdoers? Who praised so strange a decision? Is Ajax more base than Odysseus, Ajax, who was drawn up in battle alongside the Greeks in the face of fortune? Did the enemy's situation not improve, while Achilles went away insulted?⁶⁹ For such are the prizes for the best men from the

55. Homer, *Il.* 8.133–136.

56. Homer, *Il.* 9.9–28.

57. Homer, *Il.* 9.115–120.

58. Homer, *Il.* 9.165–172.

59. Homer, *Il.* 1.207–214.

60. Homer, *Il.* 9.120–157, 262–299.

61. Homer, *Il.* 9.307–429. For section 9, cf. Encomium 3.16–17.

62. For the myth, see Sophocles, *Ajax*, especially 815–865; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6–7; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.384–398; cf. Confirmation 1; Comparison 2.13. For Ajax as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 6, 7. Cf. Description 23.

63. Sophocles, *Aj.* 1–65, 231–244, 296–304; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6.

64. Agamemnon and Menelaus.

65. Sophocles, *Aj.* 43, 57, 97–117, 302–304.

66. I.e., the arms of Achilles: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6.

67. Sophocles, *Aj.* 305–327 and following.

68. Athena: Sophocles, *Aj.* 51–54; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6.

69. Homer, *Il.* 1.

Ἀτρειδῶν τὰ γέρα. μέγας δ' ἦν Ἑκτωρ καὶ βαρὺς θεῶν εὐνοία τεθαρρηκώς. οὐ φανέντος ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν τάξιν ὁ γενναῖος καὶ τιμῶν ἄξιος, ἔλιπον δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει, φυγῆς δὲ ὁ βασιλεύων ἐμέμνητο πολλάκις, αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες ἐπιελοίπεσαν. (4) τίς οὖν ἀντέσχε πρὸς ἐκείνον τὸν χειμάρρουν; τίς μονομαχῶν μὲν κατέβαλε τὸν Πριάμου, τὸ πῦρ δὲ ἀπεκρούσατο τῶν νεῶν; διὰ τίνα καὶ σκηνὰς ἔχουσι καὶ πλεῖν δύνανται καὶ ζῶσι καὶ δικάζουσιν; ἐὼ τοὺς περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀγῶνας. ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς συγγενείας δίκαιον τίνος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πανοπλίαν; νῦν δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλέως ἀνεψιὸς ἄτιμος, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἐκείνῳ προσήκων κεκόσμηται. (5) ταῦτα οὐ ξίφους <ἄξια>; ἀλλ' οὐ κατέκοπτον τοὺς δυσμενεῖς. ἀλλὰ χαρίζομαι δὴ τι καὶ τρίτον Ὀδυσσεῖ, καὶ τουτὶ τὸ ξίφος. ἐπεὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἐμὲ κτεινάτω. δόξῃ συμβεβίωκα καὶ τὴν νῦν αἰσχύνην οὐ φέρω. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἢ ζῆν εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἢ τεθνηκέναι. μὴ γὰρ ἴδοιμι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἔτι, μηδ' εἰ μέλλοιέν μου φεῖδεσθαι, μηδὲ δοίην ἑμαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις. (6) αἰσχύνομαι τὰ κατωρθωμένα, οὐ δύναμαι δὲ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφόρητον. παῖς εἰμι Τελαμῶνος τοῦ ταύτην μὲν καθελόντος τὴν πόλιν, ἀριστεῖα δὲ κεκομικότος εἰς Σαλαμίνα. πολλῶν οὖν μοι θανάτων δεινότερον εἶπεῖν πρὸς ἐκείνον καὶ διηγῆσασθαι τὰ κατ' ἑμαυτόν. κειμένῳ δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπεμβαινέτω.

Atreidae.⁷⁰ Great and grievous was Hector, having taken heart at the goodwill of the gods.⁷¹ When he appeared, this man noble and worthy of honors abandoned his post,⁷² and many of the others in charge abandoned theirs, and the king often mentioned flight, and their hopes had failed them.⁷³ (4) So who opposed that raging torrent?⁷⁴ Who knocked down the son of Priam in single combat⁷⁵ and beat back the fire from the ships?⁷⁶ On account of whom do they have tents and are they able to sail and do they live and pass judgments? I let pass the struggles over corpses.⁷⁷ But by the rights of kinship, who should have received the arms? But now the first cousin of Achilles is dishonored,⁷⁸ while a man completely unrelated to him has been decorated. (5) Is this not <worthy> of the sword? But I did not cut down my enemies. Rather, I am in fact gratifying Odysseus with something for the third time, and it is this sword here. Since it did not kill my enemies, let it kill me. I have lived my life with glory, and I cannot bear the current shame; for the good must either live in good repute, or be dead.⁷⁹ For may I no longer see the Greeks, not even if they were going to spare me,⁸⁰ nor may I give myself to the enemy on their behalf.⁸¹ (6) I am ashamed at what I have accomplished, and I cannot sail home. The future is unbearable. I am the son of Telamon, who utterly destroyed this city, and who brought prizes for his valor back to Salamis.⁸² And so, it would be more terrible than many deaths to speak to him and tell him what has happened to me.⁸³ Let anyone who wishes trample on me as I lie dead.

70. Agamemnon and Menelaus.

71. Homer, *Il.* 7.37–91.

72. Odysseus: Homer, *Il.* 8.92–98.

73. Homer, *Il.* 9.9–28.

74. For the image applied to Hector, see Homer, *Il.* 13.136–145.

75. Hector: Sophocles, *Aj.* 1283–1287; Homer, *Il.* 7.268–272.

76. Sophocles, *Aj.* 1272–1282; Homer, *Il.* 15.743–746.

77. E.g., the struggles over the corpses of Sarpedon (Homer, *Il.* 16.552–683, especially 555–562) and Patroclus (*Il.* 17.113–18.238).

78. Telamon, father of Ajax, and Peleus, father of Achilles, were the sons of Aeacus: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.6. For sections 3–4, cf. Comparison 2.

79. Sophocles, *Aj.* 479–480.

80. Sophocles, *Aj.* 458–461.

81. Sophocles, *Aj.* 466–469.

82. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.6.4; 3.12.7; Ovid, *Metam.* 11.211–217; 13.22–23.

83. Sophocles, *Aj.* 462–466, 470–472.

6. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Αἴας μετὰ τὴν μανίαν;

(1) Ὡς τῆς ἄρτι μανίας, ὧς τῆς νῦν σωφροσύνης, οἷα μὲν ἔδρασα παραφρονήσας, οἷα δὲ αἰσθάνομαι δράσας. ἐμάνην ψήφῳ θεῶν. τί οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς μανίας οὐκ ἔμεινα; ἀπέλαβον τοὺς λογισμοὺς εἰς τὸ μειζόνως δυστυχεῖν. τίς ἄρα μοι συνεξέπλευσεν Ἑριννὺς ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος πλέοντι; (2) ὧ πολλῶν κατορθωμάτων, εἰς οἷον ἦκω πέρας; ἐξέστην τῶν φρενῶν, ἐμαυτὸν ἠγνόησα. τιμωρίαν ὥμην λαμβάνειν, ἥδειν δὲ ὧν ἐποίουν οὐδέν. οὐκ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦν ὁ δεχόμενος τὴν πληγὴν, ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς, ὁ πανοῦργος, οὐδὲ Μενέλαος ὁ μαλακὸς οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων, ὃν κακῶς ποιῶν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀχιλλεύς. (3) ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ὁρμὴ κατ' ἐκείνων, αἱ δὲ σφαγαὶ κατὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων. καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν δείξας ἠτύχησα τῶν ἔργων. καίτοι δίκαια μὲν ἐβουλόμην, δικαίοις δ' ἐπεχείρουν. ἀνθρώπους ἀναισθήτους, ἀγνώμονας, κακῶς δικάσαντας μετήειν, θαυμάσαντας δὲ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως κομπείαν, οὐδαμοῦ θέντας τὰς ἐμὰς ἀριστείας. (4) ὁ πλέων ἐγὼ πανταχοῦ καὶ τροφὴν ἀγείρων τῷ στρατῷ καὶ τὴν ἴσιν εἰσφέρων Ἀχιλλεῖ ροπήν, ὁ πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὁ πλείω πράττων ἢ λαλῶν, ὁ τὸν Ἑκτορα κομπῶν ἀποφήνας, ὁ καταβαλὼν ῥαδίως, ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ' ἀνδρείααν Ἑκτορος, ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπόντος Ἀχιλλέως ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀρκέσας, ὁ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἐπηρεία τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀντιτάξας, ὁ βοῶν, ὁ προτρέπων, ὁ μαχόμενος, ὁ ῥυόμενος τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαρπάσας ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων, ὁ τὸ σῶμα Ἀχιλλέως κομίσας, ὁ τὰ ὅπλα, ὧς θεοί, οἷων ἔτυχον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. (5) κρίσις ἦν

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 6: WHAT WORDS WOULD AJAX SAY
AFTER HIS MADNESS?⁸⁴

(1) O, for the recent madness! O, for the present sanity! Such things I did while out of my mind; and such things I now perceive that I did.⁸⁵ I went mad by a vote of the gods.⁸⁶ And so, what did I not endure during the madness? I regained my senses to become more unfortunate. What Fury sailed out with me, then, as I sailed from Salamis? (2) O, for my many successes! To what sort of end have I come? I was out of my mind; I did not know myself. I thought that I was taking vengeance, but I knew nothing of what I was doing. Odysseus, the enemy of the gods, the villain, was not the one receiving the blow, nor Menelaus the soft,⁸⁷ nor Agamemnon,⁸⁸ whom Achilles did badly not to have killed.⁸⁹ (3) Rather, while the attack was against them, the slaughters were against cattle. And though I received their enmity, I was unlucky in my actions. And yet I wanted what was right, and I attacked the right people. I went after men who were senseless, unfeeling, wicked judges, and who admired the subtle speech of Odysseus but counted my valor for nothing. (4) I was the one who sailed everywhere and gathered food for the army and brought to bear an influence equal to that of Achilles,⁹⁰ the one mild toward the leaders, the one who did more than he talked, the one who proved Hector to be a pretty-boy, who easily knocked him down,⁹¹ who was admired by Hector himself for bravery;⁹² the one who later, after Achilles' departure, was sufficient for affairs in his place; the one who marshaled his virtue against the spiteful abuse of Fortune; the one who shouted, who urged men on, who fought, who rescued the fleet,⁹³ who snatched the corpses of brave men from the enemy,⁹⁴ who brought back the body of Achilles,⁹⁵ who—the arms!—O, gods, what things

84. For the myth, see Sophocles, *Ajax*; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6–7; cf. Confirmation 1. For Ajax as speaker in this collection, see also Speech in Character 5 and 7. Cf. Description 23.

85. Sophocles, *Aj.* 1–65, 231–244, 296–304; for his recovery, see 305–327 and following.

86. Namely, Athena: Sophocles, *Aj.* 51–54; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6.

87. Homer, *Il.* 17.587–588; Plato, *Symp.* 174C.

88. Sophocles, *Aj.* 43, 57, 97–117, 302–304.

89. Homer, *Il.* 1.188–222.

90. Sophocles, *Aj.* 1338–1341.

91. Sophocles, *Aj.* 1283–1287; Homer, *Il.* 7.268–272.

92. Homer, *Il.* 7.287–292.

93. Sophocles, *Aj.* 1272–1282; Homer, *Il.* 15.743–746.

94. E.g., the corpses of Sarpedon (Homer, *Il.* 16.552–683, especially 555–562) and Patroclus (*Il.* 17.113–18.238).

95. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.4.

καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀνίστατο φιλονεικῆσων καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτῶν ἐντεχνάζειν. καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἡ μαρτυρία παρῶστο καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐγὼ μὲν ἄτιμος, ὁ δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις κοσμούμενος τοῖς ἐμοῖς μετ' Ἀχιλλέα. ταῦτα οὐκ ὀργῆς ἄξια; ταῦτα οὐ δίκης; ταῦτα οὐ ξίφους; (6) ἀπεπλάνησέ με τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ὁ δαίμων καὶ ἀπήνεγκεν ἐτέρωσε καὶ προσέθηκε τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ψήφῳ τὴν τῆς μανίας αἰσχύνην. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔχω τῶν συμφορῶν τὴν λύσιν. ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνους οὐκ ἠδυνήθην, ταῦτα ἐμαυτὸν δυνήσομαι δρᾶσαι. (7) ὦ σφαγεῦ, σὺ μοι παρ' Ἑκτορος ἐγένου, πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἄρκεσον. ἐχθροῦ δῶρον εἶ, σοὶ πρέπει τοῦργον. τίς γένωμαι ζῶν; ποῖαν ὁδὸν ἔλθω πραγματείας; συμπαρατάξομαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι; ἀλλ' οὔτε φέρω τοιαῦτ' εἰργασμένος οὔτ' ἀσφαλές. ἀλλὰ μετατάξομαι πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας; ἀλλ' οὔτ' εὐπρεπές οὔτ' ἄλλως ἀσφαλές. τῶν τε γὰρ νῦν ὄντων ὀνειδῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον εἰς αἰσχύνην βαρβάρους ὑπ' Αἴαντος εὖ παθεῖν οὐς τε εἰργασμαι τοσαῦτα δεινά, τούτοις οὐκ ἔνι πιστεῦσαι. (8) τί δὴ λοιπόν; ἐπαναπλεῖν οἴκαδε μετὰ λαμπροῦ γε τοῦ σχήματος; καὶ τί πρὸς τὸν πατέρα λέξω τῆς νεῶς ἐκβάς τὸν συγκαθελόντα μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν Τροίαν, ἀπελθόντα δὲ σὺν ἀριστείοις; τί διηγῆσομαι πυνθανομένῳ; τὰ ὅπλα; τὴν κρίσιν; τὴν ἥτταν; τὰ βεβουλευμένα μοι; τὰ ἡμαρτημένα; μήποτ' ἐκείνην ἴδοιμι τὴν ἡμέραν. ὥρα δὲ δὴ τὸν σίδηρον ὠθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς θεοῖς μελήσει καὶ Τεύκρῳ.

7. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Αἴας στερηθεὶς τῶν ὅπλων;

(1) Πάλαι μὲν κατὰ βαρβάρων Ἑλληνες ὠπλιζόμεθα τὴν ἐκ βαρβάρων εἰς

I have obtained from the Achaeans!⁹⁶ (5) There was a hearing, and Odysseus stood up to quarrel and demanding to make an elaborate argument. And the evidence of deeds was rejected, and I went away dishonored,⁹⁷ but he was the one being decorated by the arms, my arms, after Achilles. Are these things not worthy of anger? Are they not worthy of justice? Are they not worthy of the sword? (6) The divinity led me astray from my undertaking and carried me off elsewhere and added to the Greeks' vote the disgrace of madness. But I have the solution to my misfortunes; for what I was unable to do to them, I will be able to do to myself. (7) O slayer,⁹⁸ you came to me from Hector; be sufficient for my need. You were the gift of the enemy; the job suits you.⁹⁹ Who am I to become, alive? What occupation am I to pursue? Will I stand by the Greeks in the line of battle?¹⁰⁰ But neither can I bear it, after what I have done, nor is it safe. But will I go and line up with the Trojans? But this is neither fitting nor otherwise safe; for given the present reproaches, it would be no less a cause for shame for the barbarians to benefit because of Ajax, and it would be impossible to trust those to whom I have done so many terrible things. (8) What is left? To sail back home with a splendid demeanor? And what will I say to my father as I disembark from the ship,¹⁰¹ the man who destroyed Troy along with Heracles and left with prizes for valor?¹⁰² What story will I tell him when he inquires? The arms? The judgment? The loss? The things I planned? The ones I failed to do? May I never see that day. It is time to thrust the sword.¹⁰³ The gods and Teucer will take care of my son.¹⁰⁴

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 7: WHAT WORDS WOULD AJAX SAY
UPON BEING DEPRIVED OF THE ARMS?¹⁰⁵

(1) Long ago, we Greeks armed ourselves against the barbarians, defending

96. For section 4, cf. Comparison 2.

97. Sophocles, *Aj.* 437–446.

98. Ajax here addresses his sword.

99. Homer, *Il.* 7.299–305; Sophocles, *Aj.* 661–665, 815–822, 1032–1035.

100. Sophocles, *Aj.* 458–461.

101. Telamon: Sophocles, *Aj.* 462–466, 470–472.

102. Sophocles, *Aj.* 434–436, 462–466; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.6.4; 3.12.7; Ovid, *Metam.* 11.211–217; 13.22–23.

103. Sophocles, *Aj.* 815–865.

104. Eurysaces: Sophocles, *Aj.* 560–570.

105. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6–7; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.620–13.398; cf. Confirmation 1. For Ajax as speaker in this collection, see also Speech in Character 5 and 6. Cf. Description 23.

ἡμᾶς ἀδικίαν ἀμυνόμενοι, νῦν δὲ κατηγορεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἀφέντες τὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων κατοδυρόμεθα δράματα. τί ταῦτα, σύμμαχοι, φάσκω; τίς Ἕλλην ὑπάρχων τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμιμήσατο; ὁ Λαέρτου τὰ δυσμενῶν κατ' Αἴαντος ἐβουλεύσατο. (2) ἔσπευσα τῆς πανοπλίας κρατήσῃν τοῖς πόνοις. ἐπορεύθην τοῖς κινδύνους ἐμαυτὸν παραβαλλόμενος, οὐ δόλον ὑφορώμενος, οὐ συμφορὰν λογιζόμενος, οὐκ ὀκνήσας τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν βλημάτων λαθόμενος. ἐκράτησα τοίνυν βουλήματος, ἤνυσα τὸν ἄθλον, οὐ διήμαρτον τοῦ πόνου. ἀλλὰ κρατήσας νενικημένος ἐλέγχομαι καὶ μόνον τὸν πόνον κληρονομήσας πεφώραμαι τῶν μὲν κινδύνων πειραθείς, τοῦ δὲ ἔρωτος ἀφαιρούμενος. (3) τίς τοίνυν ὁ παραπείσας; τίς ὁ κατ' ἐμοῦ κωμάσας τῆς πανοπλίας σοφίσματι <κρατήσας>; Ἰθακήσιος ἀνὴρ, οἶμοι, Λαέρτου παῖς, ὁ συνασπίσας πρότερον, νῦν δὲ πολεμῶν, βουλευματι στρατεύσας κατὰ τῶν Τρώων, Τρώς δὲ τὴν γνώμην γενόμενος, ὁ τὰς Πριαμίδων ὑπερβαλλόμενος τύχας καὶ Δαρδάνου παῖδας ταῖς ἀδικίαις νικήσας. μὴ γὰρ γύναιον ἥρπασε. κοῦφον ἦν τὸ τόλμημα, εἰ κόρην ἐσύλησε. τῆς γὰρ ἡδονῆς στερηθεὶς παραμυθίαν <ἄν> ἐλάμβανον. ἀλλὰ γυμνὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος, ἔρημος τῆς πανοπλίας, ἄοπλος ἀναπέφηνα. τῶν τῆς ἀριστείας ὀργάνων σεσυλημένος ἐλέγχομαι. (4) καλεῖ πόλεμος Αἴαντα. παρατάξεως ἡ χρεία. πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἡ μάχη. ἐξιέναι, στρατεύεσθαι, παρατάττεσθαι προσήκει. πῶς οὖν στρατεύσομαι τῆς πανοπλίας στερούμενος; πῶς δὲ γυμνὸς τοῦ θώρακος φοβήσω; τεῖχος ἀριστεύως ἢ πανοπλία νενόμισται, φρούριον ἀρραγὲς ἢ πανοπλία πεπίστευται, κακὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος νικηφόρος ὀνομάζομαι. οὕτω με Τρώες ἐθαύμαζον στρατευόμενον. οὕτως ἐφόβησα τὸν πολέμιον μαχόμενος μίξας προθυμία τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸ κατόρθωμα.

ourselves against the injustice done by the barbarians against us,¹⁰⁶ but now, having given up accusing the enemy, we deplore the actions of our fellow-tribesmen. Why, allies, do I say this? What Greek who ever lived emulated the ways of barbarians? The son of Laertes¹⁰⁷ plotted the deeds of enemies against Ajax. (2) I was eager to win the armor by my labors. I traveled, putting myself in danger, not suspecting treachery, not figuring on disaster, not shirking danger, but out of love of virtue and unmindful of wounds.¹⁰⁸ Well then, I prevailed in my intent, I succeeded in the struggle, I did not fail in my labor. But though I prevailed, I have been shown up and defeated, and I am caught in possession of the labor alone, having experienced the dangers, but being deprived of my desire. (3) Well now, who is the man who won them over? Who is the one who reveled against me, <having won> the armor by his sophistry? The man from Ithaca—alas!—the son of Laertes, who formerly carried a shield by my side, but now makes war against me; who once by his will marched against the Trojans, but now in his mind has become Trojan; who exceeded the fortunes of the sons of Priam and surpassed the children of Dardanus with his acts of injustice; for he certainly did not steal a woman. That bold act would have been easy to bear, if he had carried off my girl as spoils;¹⁰⁹ for I <would have> taken consolation in being deprived of pleasure. But stripped of the shield, bereft of the armor, I have been plainly revealed as weaponless. I have been shown up and robbed of the instruments of courage. (4) War summons Ajax. There is need of lining up for battle. The battle is before the city. It is fitting to go out, to march, to line up for battle. How, then, will I march, deprived of armor? How will I strike fear into them, stripped of the breastplate? The armor of a war-hero is regarded as a wall;¹¹⁰ the armor is believed to be an unbreakable citadel; and because of my shield I am called “victory-bringing.”¹¹¹ Thus did the Trojans admire my soldiering. Thus did I strike fear into the enemy in battle, having combined success with the zeal of my shield.

106. I.e., Paris's abduction of Helen, the cause of the Trojan War.

107. Odysseus.

108. Cf. Sophocles, *Aj.* 1266–1271.

109. This is an allusion to Agamemnon's theft of Achilles' concubine Briseis (Homer, *Il.* 1).

110. Homer, *Il.* 7.219; 11.485; 17.128.

111. For a description of the shield, see Homer, *Il.* 7.219–223.

8. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ἡ Νιόβη κειμένων τῶν παίδων;

(1) Ὡς θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες, πόθεν ταυτὶ τὰ πολλὰ βέλη καὶ δεινὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ τῶν ἐμῶν παίδων; φεῦ τῶν κακῶν. ἀπολώλεκα τοὺς ἐμαυτῆς ἅπαντας τοὺς δώδεκα. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ προσερῶν ἔτι με μητέρα τὴν ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων ἄρτι τοῦτο καλουμένην. (2) ὦ τῶν ἐμπεπηγόντων τοῖς σώμασιν οἰστῶν. ὦ τοῦ ῥέοντος διὰ τῶν σωμάτων αἵματος. ὦ κάλλους θυγατέρων, ὦ κάλλους υἱέων. ὦ πλοκάμων ὥρα, ὦ προσώπων χάριτες. ὦ στέρνων φιλτάτων. οὐδὲν ἄρα τούτων ἡδέσθησαν οἱ τοξεύοντες. (3) τίني πρῶτον περιχυθῶ; τίνα κλαύσω δεύτερον; ἐπὶ τίνα ἔλθω τρίτον; τίνα ὑπερβῶ; τίνος ἄψωμαι; πόθεν ἂν μοι γένοιτο πληθὸς δακρύων ἀποχρῶν νεκροῖς δώδεκα; τίς ἔσται τῆς ἐκφορᾶς ὁ τρόπος; ἀθρόους δεήσει κομίζειν καὶ κλίνη κλίνην ἀκολουθεῖν ἢ τὸν μὲν θάπτειν, ἐφ' ἕτερον δὲ τρέχειν; εἷς ἔσται τάφος ἅπασιν ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον εἷς, καὶ δώδεκα στῆλαι καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐπιγράμματα; (4) ὦ καινοῦ πάθους. ἐν ἀνδρῶσι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν παρθενῶσι τὰ τῶν παρατάξεων. ἀφελκέτω τις τὰ βέλη, καλυπτέτω τοὺς νεκρούς. ἀπείρηκα βλέπουσα τὰ τραύματα. τίς ἡμῖν ἐπεστράτευσεν δαίμων; αἰσθάνομαι ἢ κακοδαίμων, συνίημι μόλις· ἢ μήτηρ ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες, ἀπολώλεκεν. ἐγὼ τὴν τύχην ὑμῖν μετέβαλον καὶ τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις τὰς περὶ ἐμοῦ φωνάς. ἦσαν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν· ὡς εὐδαίμων ἡ Νιόβη, γεγυῖα μὲν ἐκ τοιούτων, τεκοῦσα δὲ τοιούτους καὶ προσέτι τοσοῦτους. τῷ δὲ ἄρα γε καὶ μείζον ἕτερον προσῆν, συνουσία θεοῦ καὶ φιλία Λητοῦς, ἣν ὅρᾳ παροῦσαν, ἥς ἀκούει λαλούσης. (5) πρὸς ταύτην ἐγὼ ποτε παίζουσα τὴν θεὸν ἢ δυστυχῆς ἡρίθμησα τοὺς ἐμαυτῆς, ἢ δὲ οὐκ ἦνεγκε γυναῖκα μωραίνουσιν. ἀλλὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ μακρὰν φιλίαν ῥῆμα μικρὸν φθάσαν τὸν λογισμὸν διέσπασε καὶ διέλυσεν. ἴδε, πόσα δύναται γλώττης ἁμαρτία. (6) ὦ τῆς υπερβολῆς, ὦ τῆς ὀμότητος. οὐκ ἦν ἱκανὸν ἀποστερησαί με τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁμιλίας, οὐκ ἦν ἱκανὸν ἐκβαλεῖν με τῆς συνουσίας; ἀλλ' ἔδει τι καὶ σώματι παθεῖν. ἦσαν αὗται αἱ χεῖρες, ἦσαν ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ πόδες.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 8: WHAT WORDS WOULD NIOBE SAY
WHEN HER CHILDREN LIE DEAD?¹¹²

(1) O gods and divinities, where did these many arrows come from, both terrible and all against my children? Alas, for the evils! I have utterly lost all my twelve children.¹¹³ And there is no one to call me “mother” any more, who was called this by so many just recently. (2) O, for the arrows implanted in their bodies! O, for the blood flowing through the bodies! O, for the beauty of the daughters; O, for the beauty of the sons! O, the loveliness of their braids; O, the outward grace of their faces! O, for their most dear chests! Those who shot the arrows¹¹⁴ respected none of this. (3) Whom am I to embrace first? Whom am I to lament second? To whom am I to go third? Whom am I to pass over? Whom am I to lay hold of? Where am I to find a multitude of tears sufficient for twelve corpses? What will be the manner of the funeral? Will it be necessary to carry them all as a group and for bier to follow bier, or to bury one and then run to the next? Will there be one tomb for all, or one for each, and will there be twelve markers and so many epitaphs? (4) O, for the strange suffering! In the boys’ rooms the implements of war, in the girls’ rooms the implements of the battle line. Let someone pull out the arrows; let someone cover the corpses. I have refused to look at the wounds. What divinity made war on us? I, the ill-starred, perceive it; I barely comprehend it. Your mother, O children, has destroyed you. I changed your fortune and other people’s talk about me; for formerly they would say, “How blessed is Niobe, born from such parents, having given birth to such children, and moreover, to so many! To this indeed something even greater was added, association with a god and the friendship of Leto, whom she sees present, whom she hears talking.” (5) Making fun of this goddess at some point, I, the unfortunate one, counted up my children, but she did not tolerate a woman being foolish.¹¹⁵ Rather, one little statement, having outrun my powers of reason, ripped apart and destroyed that great, long friendship. See how much a slip of the tongue can do! (6) O, for the excessiveness; O, for the savagery! Was it not sufficient to deprive me of conversation with her? Was it not sufficient to throw me out of the relationship? But I, too, should have suffered something physically.

112. For the theme with full elaboration, see Aphthonius 35–36, which is used by Pseudo-Nicolaus (Speech in Character 1, reported but not printed in Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:382,6–8 with n. 3). For the myth, see Homer, *Il.* 24.602–617; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.5.6; Ovid, *Metam.* 6.148–312. Cf. Speech in Character 9.

113. Homer, *Il.* 24.603–604.

114. Artemis and Apollo.

115. Homer, *Il.* 24.607–608.

τούτων ἔδει τι πεπηρώσθαι, μάλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν οὐκ εἰδυῖαν σιωπᾶν γλῶτταν. (7) ἀλλ' ἔδει τινὰ πεσεῖν πάντως τοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος βέλεσι. τί οὖν; οὐκ ἦν ἐμοὶ σῶμα τῇ φθεγξαμένῃ, τῇ πεπονηρευμένῃ; οὐχ οὕτως ἂν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐσώζετο τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδικοῦσαν ἐλθούσης; νῦν δέ, ὦ θεοὶ καὶ νόμοι καὶ δίκη, κακὴ μὲν ἡ μήτηρ, ἀναμάρτητοι δὲ οἱ παῖδες. καὶ ζῆ μὲν ἡ μήτηρ, τεθναῖσι δὲ οἱ παῖδες. τί πλημμελοῦντες, ὦ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἄρτεμι καὶ Ἄπολλον καὶ βέλη; (8) ἀλλ' ἔδει τοῦτο τηλικούτον ὄν παροφθῆναι τὸ δίκαιον. εἷς παῖς ἀποθνησκέτω, μία κόρη πιπτέτω. εἰ δὲ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, νειμώμεθα τοὺς ἐμούς. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ πλείονας ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατάλιπέ μοι τὸ καλεῖσθαι μητέρα φεισαμένη σώματος ἐνὸς ἀφ' ἑκατέρου γένους. (9) ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐμούς παῖδας πάντας καὶ πάσας ἐξαλειφθῆναι. τί οὖν μὴ κάμῃ προσέθηκας, ἀλλὰ κολάζεις τῷ ζῆν; (10) τουτὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ κακὸν ἐμαυτῇ λύσω. διὰ τί γὰρ βιώσομαι; ἵνα δακρύοιμι καὶ θρηνοῖην καὶ ταῦτά μοι συνειδεῖν μόνα ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ; ἵνα ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους τρέχοιμι καὶ μάτην καλοῖην τοὺς ἐμαυτῆς καὶ καλοῖμην ἀθλιωτάτη πασῶν; (11) τί με παραμυθήσεται τῶν πάντων; τίς ἕτερος τοιαῦτα παθῶν; καλὴ γε ἡ νίκη τῶν θεῶν. οἶκον εὐδαίμονα κεκενώκασιν. ἥ που φιλοτιμοῦνται νῦν ὡς ἀπεκτονότες δώδεκα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσονται δώδεκα, οὐ. προστίθετε γὰρ καὶ τρισκαιδεκάτην δι' ὑμᾶς ἀπολουμένην ἐμέ.

9. Τὸ αὐτό.

(1) Ὡ δεινοῦ πάθους καὶ παραδόξου συμφορᾶς καὶ δεινῆς ἁωρίας τῶν μεγάλων συμφορῶν. κεῖται μοι πλήρωμα παίδων δυστυχὲς εἰς ἑκατέραν μεμερισμένον τὴν φύσιν, ἴσην ἐνὶ καιρῷ τὴν συμφορὰν δεξάμενον, κρεῖττον παραδείγματος οὔτε πραχθὲν πρότερον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐνδεχόμενον συμβῆναι. (2) ὦ πολλὰς ὠδῖνας ὠδίνασα ἐγώ, πολλὰ δὲ αὐχῆσασα πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ, μέγαν δὲ ἐγείρασα ἐπὶ τοῖς κειμένοις τὸν θρήνον, ἅπαις ἡ δυστυχῆς, ἐν ἐρημίᾳ μὲν τῶν παίδων, ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ δὲ πολλῶν δακρύων καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θρήνων. (3) μεῖζον ἐφρόνησα τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως, ἡμιλλήθην πρὸς τὴν τῶν κρείττωνων εὐπαιδίαν, ἐπὶ πολλῇ δὲ τῇ ζημίᾳ ἐπέγνων ὡς μὴ ποτ' ὠφελον μήτηρ εἶναι, ἢ ἐγενόμην εὐτυχῆς, ὡς ἐνόμιζον, καὶ παίδων γενέσει

There were these hands; there were eyes and feet. One of these should have been maimed, or rather, instead of these, the tongue that does not know how to remain silent. (7) But someone had to fall completely by the arrows of Apollo.¹¹⁶ What, then? Did I not have a body, I, the one who made the utterance, who had behaved wickedly? Would justice not also have been preserved in this way, if the punishment had come to the wrongdoer? But now, O gods and laws and justice, the mother was wicked, while the children were blameless. And the mother lives, while the children are dead. What mistake did they make, O Leto and Artemis and Apollo and arrows? (8) But this question of justice, being so important, should have been considered in passing. Let one boy die; let one girl fall. But if this is too little, let me divide up my children. And if even more have to perish, at least leave me the ability to be called "mother," sparing one body of each sex. (9) Instead, all my boys and all my girls are compelled to be utterly wiped out. Why, then, did you not add me, too, rather than punishing me with living? (10) This evil, then, I will resolve for myself; for why will I go on living? So that I may shed tears and wail, and so that night and day may see only this for me? So that I may run to the tombs and call to my children in vain, and be called the most wretched woman of all? (11) What will give me consolation for this? Who else has suffered such losses? The victory of the gods is indeed fine. They have emptied my happy home. I suppose they are now proud that they have killed twelve. But there will not be twelve, no; for add also a thirteenth, about to destroy myself because of you.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 9: THE SAME THEME¹¹⁷

(1) O, for the terrible suffering and paradoxical disaster and terrible, untimely season of great disasters! My full complement of children lies dead, unfortunate, divided into two sexes, having received an equal disaster at one time, exceeding any precedent in that it has never been done before, nor is it possible to happen in the future. (2) O, the many labor pains that I suffered, formerly having boasted much about the children, and having raised up a great lament over them as they lay dead; I, the unlucky childless one, in an absence of children, but in an abundance of many tears and laments over them. (3) I was more arrogant than belongs to mortal nature; I contended with the gods' own blessed children;¹¹⁸ but in my great punishment I discovered that I ought never to have been a mother, I who was fortunate, as

116. Homer, *Il.* 24.604–605.

117. Cf. Speech in Character 8 with first note.

118. Homer, *Il.* 24.607–608.

διέφερον τῶν πολλῶν ἐκατέρῳ τῷ γένει κομῶσα, πολλοῖς μὲν ἡθέοις, πολλαῖς δὲ παρθένοις ἀγαλλομένη, αἱ δὲ εὐτυχίαι πολλάκις τὴν γνώμην διαφθείρουσι. (4) καὶ τοῦτο οἶδα παθοῦσα, ὅτε τῆς Λητοῦς μείζον ἐφρόνησα. οὐ συνίην ἢ δυστυχῆς ὡς τὰ μὲν θεῖα ἀθάνατα καὶ διαρκῆ καὶ πάντων ἀπαθῆ κακῶν, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ὑπόκειται. (5) ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἐξήμαρτον, ἐμὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑπομεῖναι ἐχρῆν καὶ τοῖς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος βέλεσι τοξευθῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐδίκασαν ἡμῖν οἱ κρείττους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς πόρρω τῆς αἰτίας, τοὺς οὐδὲν εἰπόντας οὐδὲ αὐχῆσαντας, οἷον ἢ δυστυχῆς ἐγώ, τούτους ἀπολωλέκασι. (6) φεῦ τῶν ἐλπίδων τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς παρουσίας ταύτης μεταβολῆς. ἐγώ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ὦμην προσάψειν τοῖς ἡθέοις καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, ἔφθη δὲ ἡ συμφορὰ τὰς ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐλπίδας. (7) τίνα ὀδυροῦμαι πρῶτον; τίνα στενάξω; τίνα ἀνακαλέσομαι τῶν κειμένων; τίς χρόνος ἀρκέσει μοι πρὸς τὸν χορόν; ποῖον δακρύων πληθος ἀποδώσει κατ' ἀξίαν τοῖς κειμένοις; τίς ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσται μοι βίος; οὔτε γὰρ λήθην δύναμαι λαβεῖν τῶν ἐμαυτῆς κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄψει τὰ δυσχερῆ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ οὐδεὶς χρόνος τηλικούτος <δς> ἀρκέσει πρὸς τὸν θρήνον ἐμοί. (8) μία γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγὴ, εἰ συναπέλθοιμι τοῖς δάκρυσιν εἰς ἀναισθητον μεταβολὴν ἢ τῷ θανάτῳ σβέσαιμι τὸ δεινὸν ἀγχόνη χρησαμένη ἢ κατὰ θαλάττης καὶ πετρῶν ἐμαυτὴν ἀφείσα ἢ κατ' ἐμαυτῆς ἐνέγκασα τὴν καιρίαν.

10. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ Βελλεροφόντης μέλλων μάχεσθαι τῇ Χιμαίρᾳ;

(1) Ἡδίστης ξενίας πικρὸν ὁρῶ τὸ τέλος καὶ μεγίστην φιλοτιμίαν λαμπρὸς διαδέχεται πόλεμος. ταύτην δίδωμι σωφροσύνης δίκην, ταύτην τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπομένω τιμωρίαν. (2) ἦν μοι βίος εὐδαίμων ἐν Ἀργεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴ τῶν φαινομένων κακῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐγένετο. ἐθαυμαζόμεν ὁρώμενος, ἀφανεῖ δὲ τῷ κάλλει τὸ φαινόμενον κοσμήσας πειρῶμαι κινδύνων. ἦρα μου γυνὴ βασιλέως, ἐγὼ δὲ σωφροσύνης. (3) καὶ τότε μὲν ἐνίκησεν ἔρως ἐμός, ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς

I believed; and in giving birth to children I surpassed most people, priding myself on both sexes, exulting in many young men, many young women, but fortunate times often corrupt the mind. (4) And I have learned this through suffering, when I thought myself better than Leto.¹¹⁹ I, the unlucky one, did not understand that the divine world is immortal and long-lasting and unsuffering of all evils, while the human world is subject to change. (5) But since I made these mistakes, I should have been the one to undergo punishment and be shot by the arrows of Apollo.¹²⁰ But the gods did not so decide for us; instead, they have destroyed the children who were far from blame, who neither said nor boasted anything of the sort that I, unlucky, did. (6) Alas for those former hopes and this present change! I thought I would light a wedding torch for my young men and young women, but the disaster preempted my hopes for them. (7) Whom will I mourn first? For whom will I groan? Which of those lying dead will I invoke? What time will be sufficient for me for the whole chorus of them? What multitude of tears will duly repay those lying dead? What life will there be for me after this? For I cannot obtain forgetfulness of my evils, but hateful things are in my sight and terrible ones before my eyes, and there is no time so great <which> will be sufficient for me for lamentation. (8) There might be one release: if I were to perish along with my tears to an insensible change or extinguish the horror in death, by hanging myself or throwing myself down upon the sea or on to rocks, or by bringing a mortal wound against myself.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 10: WHAT WORDS WOULD BELLEROPHON SAY
WHEN HE IS ABOUT TO FIGHT THE CHIMAERA?¹²¹

(1) I see the end of a very sweet guest-friendship turned bitter, and brilliant war succeeds a very great quest for honor. I pay this penalty for self-control; I undergo this punishment for my virtue. (2) Life for me was happy in Argos,¹²² but the beginning of evils now visible to me arose from there. Being seen, I was admired, but having embellished visible with invisible beauty,¹²³ I become acquainted with dangers. A king's wife was in love with me, but I with self-control.¹²⁴ (3) And at that time my desire was the victor, but that of

119. Homer, *Il.* 24.607–608.

120. Homer, *Il.* 24.604–605.

121. For the myth, see Homer, *Il.* 6.152–183; Hesiod, *Theog.* 319–325; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.3.1–2.

122. Homer, *Il.* 6.152–155.

123. I.e., the invisible beauty of his virtue.

124. Anteia (elsewhere named Sthenoboea): Homer, *Il.* 6.156–162.

ἡττώμενος πικρῶς ἐπεξέρχεται καὶ τῆς ἡττης ἀμύνεται ἀπάτην καὶ ψεῦδος παρακαλέσασα συμμάχους. (4) ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος ὀργιζόμενος ἐφείσατο, ὁ δὲ μηδὲν θυμωθεὶς γέγονεν ἀπάτης ὡμῆς διακονία καὶ ξένον ἐποίησε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μάχην οἷαν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἤκουσε. (5) σύνοδον εὔρε θηρίων καινὴν καὶ χαλεπὰς ἔμιξε φύσεις πολλάς. προβέβληται μὲν ὁ λέων κομῶν, ὁ δὲ κατόπιν πολέμιος δράκων ἐστί. τὴν δὲ Χίμαιραν ἐκ νώτων ἔχει προκύπτουσιν ὡς ἐξ ὕλης πολλὴν τὴν τοῦ στόματος ἀποπέμπουσιν φλόγα. καὶ τριπλοῦς ὁ κίνδυνος, ὁδοῦσι λέοντος ἀλῶναι καὶ δράκοντος ἰῶ καὶ ῥύμη πυρός. (6) καὶ προσιόντα δέδοικα τὸν θῆρα καὶ στρεφόμενον οὐκ ἔχω τὸν δράκοντα θαρρεῖν κἂν θέλω προσελθεῖν, οὐ τολμῶ κωλύοντος τοῦ πυρός. (7) ἀλλ' εἰς καιρὸν μοι τὰ Πηγᾶσου πτερὰ. μεταβήσομαι πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα μετάρσιος, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἰστάμενος νικήσει τὸ τοσοῦτον κακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν προσλαβὼν τὸν ἀέρα βοηθὸν καὶ καινῶ χρησάμενος ὀχήματι καὶ χεῖρας παρακαλέσας καὶ ῥώμην καὶ ἀνδρίαν συμμαχῆσαι τῇ ἀδελφῇ σωφροσύνῃ μηδὲν χεῖρον ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔρωσι συνεμάχησεν ἀπάτη καὶ συκοφαντία καὶ δόλος.

11. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ζωγράφος γράφων τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα εἰς δάφνινον ξύλον τοῦ ξύλου μὴ δεχομένου τὰ χρώματα;

(1) Ἀρνεῖται σου τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ μέχρι δένδρων, Ἄπολλον, ἢ ποθουμένη παρθένος. οὐ βούλεται σοι σπένδεσθαι καὶ μεταβληθεῖσα τὴν φύσιν. σωφροσύνην ἀσπάζεται καὶ δένδρον γενομένη. φεύγει καὶ τὸν τύπον ἐν

the wife, when defeated, bitterly proceeded against me, and she defended herself against the fraud and lie of the defeat by summoning allies.¹²⁵ (4) But that king, though angered, spared me,¹²⁶ while the other, though he felt no wrath, became the means of serving her savage fraud, and he made a strange war and a battle the likes of which no man has ever heard.¹²⁷ (5) He discovered a strange union of wild beasts and combined many difficult natures. On the front is placed a lion with flowing mane, while in the back is a hostile serpent. It has a she-goat leaning forward from its back, sending forth much flame from its mouth as if from wood. And the danger is three-fold: to be caught by the lion's teeth and the serpent's poison and the fire's vehemence.¹²⁸ (6) And I fear the beast advancing, and I am unable to show courage at the serpent writhing, and even if I want to go toward it, I do not dare, as the fire prevents it. (7) But the wings of Pegasus have come to me just in time.¹²⁹ I will pass over to the sky, high above the ground; for no one standing on the ground will be able to defeat so great an evil, but only someone who both takes the very air as his helper, uses a strange means of conveyance, and summons his hands and strength and courage to fight along with their sister, self-control, no less effectively than fraud and false accusation and treachery battled alongside the opposing desires.¹³⁰

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 11: WHAT WORDS WOULD A PAINTER SAY
WHEN, AS HE IS TRYING TO PAINT A PICTURE OF APOLLO ON LAUREL
WOOD, THE WOOD WILL NOT ABSORB THE PAINT?¹³¹

(1) The girl of your desire, Apollo, denies your love even as far as the trees. She does not wish to make peace with you, even though transformed in nature. She cleaves to self-control, even though having become a tree. She flees even

125. Homer, *Il.* 6.163–165.

126. Homer, *Il.* 6.166–170.

127. Anteia's father (elsewhere identified as Iobates): Homer, *Il.* 6.171–182.

128. Homer, *Il.* 6.179–182; Hesiod, *Theog.* 319–325. Cf. Description 21.

129. Hesiod, *Theog.* 325; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.3.2. Pegasus is not mentioned in Homer's account.

130. I.e., the opposing desires of Anteia (see section 3).

131. This example has been translated into German by Pichler, "Severos von Alexandra," 19–20. For the myth of Apollo and Daphne ("Laurel"), see Ovid, *Metam.* 1.452–567; Narration 17. For the theme with full elaboration, see John Kinnamos, ed. György Bánhegyi, *Cinnami Ethopoeia* (Magyar-görög tanulmányok 23; Budapest: Kir. M. Pazmany Péter Tudományegyetemi Görög Filológiai intézet, 1943), 6–11. The myth of Daphne is also the subject of exercises in narration, refutation, and confirmation (see Narration 17 with notes). For a painter as speaker in this collection, see also Speech in Character 27.

τοῖς χρώμασι δεικνύμενον καὶ καταισχύνει μου τὴν τέχνην μὴ δεχομένη τὴν γραφήν. ἡ μὲν χεὶρ χαράττει θεόν, τὰ δὲ χρώματα λύεται πολεμούμενα τῷ ξύλῳ. (2) τί ταῦτα, ζωγράφοι; οὐκέτι τοῖς βουλήμασιν ἡμῶν συντρέχει τὰ χρώματα, οἷς δὲ βούλεται ἡ δεξιὰ διαμάχεται τὰ ξύλα. ἦν ἄρα καὶ δένδρον ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένον. οἰκεῖ τὸ δένδρον μετὰ τῆς προσηγορίας. Δάφνη μὲν ἡ κόρη, Δάφνη δὲ τὸ φυτόν. τὸ μῖσος ἐν ἀμφοτέροις. ἔφυγεν οὔσα παρθένος δρόμον ἔχουσα σύμμαχον, νῦν δὲ γενομένη φυτὸν φεύγει πάλιν τὴν κοινωνίαν. οὐ δέχεται σε, Πύθιε, κἂν περιπτύσῃ τοῖς χρώμασι, κἂν εἰκόνι συμπλέκῃ. πάλιν ἀρνεῖται τὸν πόθον. (3) ταύτην οἶδεν ἡ τέχνη θυσίαν παρέχειν τοῖς θεοῖς τύποις καὶ γραφαῖς εἰκόνων τὸ θεῖον ἐναπομάττουσα. ὦ Ζεῦ, θεῶν πάτερ, καὶ σὲ μὲν ἐγεγράφειν καὶ ἐξ Ὀλύμπου τύπον εἰς ἀνθρώπους μετήνεγκα. Ἦραν συζυγίαν τῷ θεῷ χαράττων οὐ διήμαρτον. Ἀθηνᾶ πρόμαχε, μετὰ πατρός σε συνέγραψα, ἀλλὰ χαίρουσα πάλαι πολέμοις οὐκ ἐπολέμεις τῇ γραφῇ. ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ τῆς Ἥχοῦς κατεψευσάμην τὸν πόθον καὶ τὴν ἀσώματον θεὸν ἀποτυπώσας οὐκ ἤσχαλλον καὶ φωνὴν ἐβιαζόμενην παρθένον δεῖξαι τοῖς τύποις, ὑπηρετεῖ δέ μοι ἡ τέχνη χρώμασιν ἀναγκασθεῖσα. (4) νῦν δὲ παρθένος μόνη με νικᾷ μνήμη καὶ προσρήματι. καὶ οὔσα δένδρον τοῦνομα, συνδεδένδρωται καὶ τὸ βούλημα. ἰσοφρονεῖ κόρη φυτόν, μᾶλλον δέ, κόρη γίνεται. τὸν γὰρ λογισμὸν οὐκ ἤμειψε. (5) καὶ νῦν ἔσται διήγημα τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἀπιστούμενον. διηγοῦνται μεταβολὴν καὶ μῦθον ἥδον τοῖς παισί. διηγήσονται καὶ φυτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα φυγὴν καὶ τινες ἔξουσι τοὺς δεξιόμενους τὸν λόγον. (6) ὦ θεὸς μηδὲ χρώμασι τῇ κόρῃ διαλλαττόμενος, ὦ θεὸς νενικημένος, κἂν περιπτύσσῃται φυτόν. ποῦ σου τὸ τόξον, Ἀπόλλων; ὁ μόνη Δάφνη νενίκηκε. μετὰ σοῦ κεκρατημένου κεκράτῃται καὶ τὰ χρώματα.

12. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐρῶν μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Πενθεσιλείας;

(1) Ἀπιστον καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάθος τὸ διήγημα. μετὰ τρόπαιον δακρύω, μετὰ νίκην ὀδύρομαι. ἕλῳ κατωρθώσας τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ τῆς πολέμιας, οἶμοι τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, κρατῶν ἐγενόμην αἰχμάλωτος. αἰνίγματι γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς παραπλήσια. ὦ πόλεμε τῷ νικήσαντι χαλεπώτατε, μετέστησας ἡμῖν τὴν προσδοκίαν ἐπὶ θάτερον. (2) ἐγέλων ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως παιδιὰν τὴν μάχην οἰόμενος καὶ γυναικῶν εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον ὑπολαμβάνων. ἀρκέσειν ἐνόμιζον

the sketch being revealed in paint, and she dishonors my art by not receiving the painting. My hand sketches the god, but the paint is dissolved as it makes war against the wood. (2) What about this, painters? Paint no longer concurs with our wishes, but the wood battles continuously against what my right hand wishes. She was, then, even as a tree, not released from her soul. The tree dwells with the name: Daphne the girl, Daphne the tree, hatred in both. She fled, being a girl, with her running as her ally, but now, having become a tree, she again flees your fellowship. She does not welcome you, Pythian, even if you embrace her in paint, even if you enfold her in image. Again she denies your desire. (3) Art knows how to offer this sacrifice to the gods, stamping the divine in the sketches and paintings of images. O Zeus, father of the gods, I have even painted you, and I brought a sketch of you from Olympus to men. I made no mistake in sketching Hera, the god's yoke-mate. Champion Athena, I painted you along with your father, but though delighting for a long time in wars, you did not make war against my painting. At some time in the past I even fictionalized the desire of Echo and was not distressed at sketching the bodiless goddess, and I forced the girl to display her voice in sketches, but my art served me, compelled by paint.¹³² (4) But now one girl is conquering me by her memory and her name. And being a tree in name, her will has become a tree, as well. The tree thinks just like the girl, or rather, has become a girl; for she did not exchange her mind. (5) And now there will be an unbelievable story for the poets. They currently tell the story of her transformation and sing the myth to children. In the future, they will also tell of the tree's flight from Apollo, and they will have some who will accept the account. (6) O god unreconciled to the girl even in paint, O god defeated, even if he embraces the tree! Where is your bow, Apollo? Which only Daphne has beaten. Along with your defeat, my paint has been defeated, as well.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 12: WHAT WORDS WOULD ACHILLES SAY
WHEN HE FALLS IN LOVE WITH PENTHESILEA AFTER HER DEATH?¹³³

(1) This story is unbelievable even after suffering it. After setting up battle trophies, I shed tears; after victory, I lament. I have been defeated, though having succeeded in the war. And in defeating my enemy—alas for my misfortune!—I became a captive; for what has happened to me is like a riddle. O war, most harsh to the victor, you have reversed our expectations. (2) I used to laugh in the ranks, considering battle a joke and assuming war to be

¹³² Ovid, *Metam.* 3.356–401.

¹³³ Cf. Speech in Character 13. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.1; cf. *Invective* 1.22. For Achilles as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 3, 4, and 15.

τὴν θέαν πρὸς κατόρθωμα, ἀλλ', ὥς ἔοικε, δυσκαταγώνιστος ἦν ὁ πόλεμος. καὶ ἀσθενεῖν μὲν Ἀμαζόνες ἐδόκουν φαινόμεναι, δύσμαχοι δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφάνησαν ὑπερβαίνουσαι τῷ τολμήματι τὴν φύσιν, νικῶσαι καὶ πίπτουσαι καὶ χεῖρω δεικνύουσαι βεβλημέναι τὸν ἀριστεύσαντα. (3) κατ' ἐκείνης πέμπων τὴν βολὴν ἐξετόξευον, οὐκ ἦδιν δὲ ὥς κατ' Ἄρεος ὁρμῶν Ἀφροδίτην εὕρήσω. ὦ πᾶσιν Ἑρως πολεμιώτατε, εἴλες Ἀχιλλέα δι' ἀψύχου σώματος. ἐκάλυπτεν ἡ σκευὴ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀγνοῶν διαφθεῖραι τὴν πολεμίαν ἐσπούδαζον. ἀλλ' εἰ γυμνὴ καθ' ἡμῶν παρετάξω, εἶχες ἂν πρὸ τῆς βολῆς ἡττώμενον τὸν πολέμιον. (4) πῶς διαγράψω τὸ φαινόμενον; ἀδυνατεῖ γὰρ καὶ λόγος καὶ τέχνη τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς κόρης τεχνάσασθαι. ἀκόρεστος ἡ θεὰ γοητεύουσα τὸν ἐρώντα πρὸς πόθον. οἷας ἡμᾶς ἀπεστέρησεν ἡ δεξιὰ. ὥς πολεμίαν τὴν παροῦσαν ἀριστείαν νενίκηκα. (5) ἀλλὰ παραμυθήσομαι τοῖς δευτέροις τὴν συμφορὰν. ἀπολογήσομαί σοι κειμένη πληρῶν τὰ τῆς ὀσίας περιφανέστατα. ἀνείλον ὥς πολεμίαν. ὥς οἰκείαν κοσμήσω τῷ τάφῳ. ἀναθήσω σοι τὸ ξίφος τὰ τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης ἐν τούτῳ πιστούμενος.

13. Τὸ αὐτό.

(1) Ἄγε, τί ταῦτα; μετὰ νίκην δεδουλώμεθα, μετὰ τρόπαιον πεπτώκαμεν. οἷα τῶν κειμένων τὰ σκύλα. οὕτω λαφυραγωγοῦνται νεκροί. πόθος ἡμῖν μετὰ νίκην μάχεται καὶ καταπολεμεῖ θεὸς ἐν ἀψύχῳ σώματι. ἡγνόουν τοιούτους πολεμίους ἔχων. ἰσχυρότερα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὰ σώματα. ἃ γὰρ ζῶντα οὐκ ἔδρασαν, μετὰ θάνατον δεδύνηνται. (2) μέμφομαι τὴν νίκην. οὐ φέρω τὸ κατόρθωμα. ἐγκαλῶ τῷ πολέμῳ ὅτι μοι τοιαύτην νίκην ἐβράβευσεν ἐξ ἧς ὦφθην αἰχμάλωτος. μὴ γὰρ πόλεμον ἐπολέμησα; κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ συμφορὰν ἤγειρα. μὴ γὰρ νίκην ἠτύχησα; δουλείας μελέτην ἠγωνιζόμην. εἴθε μήποτε τοιαύτην μάχην ἐτόλμησα. Ὡ πόλεμε μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἀπάνθρωπε, τοιούτους ἡμῖν νεκροὺς δεδώρησαι τοὺς μετὰ θάνατον βλάπτοντας. (3) ἐγὼ καὶ τῇ μελῖα μέμφομαι καὶ μισῶ ξίφος ἐν ᾧ νενίκηκα, ὅτι μοι κατὰ πάντων ἀφειδῶς ὥρμησαν. τί γὰρ ὁ δειλῆος ἐμαινόμενος ἀνήμερα; οὐκ ἦσαν καὶ νίκης ἕτεροι τρόποι; πόσα πολέμιων αἰχμάλωτα σώματα; εἰ μοι περιῆς, ὦ φιλτάτη, ἀπὸ τῆς

women's work. I used to believe that the sight¹³⁴ was sufficient for success, but the war, as it seems, was difficult to overcome. And the Amazons were thought to be weak when they appeared, but they proved hard to fight by their actions, surpassing their nature in boldness, conquering and falling and showing when struck that the hero was inferior. (3) I shot out, sending the missile against that woman, but I did not know that in rushing out against Ares I would find Aphrodite. O Love, the greatest enemy to all, you defeated Achilles through a lifeless body. Her gear concealed her good looks, and ignorant of her beauty I was eager to destroy my enemy. But if you had faced us naked in battle, you would have had your enemy defeated before the first cast. (4) How am I to describe her appearance? For both words and art are unable to contrive an image of the girl. The sight of her is insatiable in bewitching the lover to desire. Of what a woman has my right hand deprived me! I have defeated this war-heroine here as an enemy. (5) But I will take consolation for my misfortune in the next best way. I will defend myself to you as you lie dead, fulfilling the most conspicuous rites of divine law. I destroyed you as an enemy. I will decorate you with a grave as a family member. I will dedicate my sword to you, confident that in this lies respect.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 13: THE SAME THEME¹³⁵

(1) Come now, what is this? After victory, we have been enslaved; after setting up battle trophies, we have fallen. Such are the spoils of those who lie dead. Thus do corpses take plunder. Desire battles against us after victory, and a god makes war against us through a lifeless body. I was unaware that I had such enemies. Bodies are stronger after death; for what they could not do while living, after death they have become able to do. (2) I reproach the victory. I cannot bear this success. I blame the war for deciding on such a victory for me from which I was seen a captive. For I did not actually fight a war, did I? I raised up a disaster for myself. For I was not actually lucky in victory, was I? The contest was an exercise in slavery. If only I had never dared such a battle! O war, inhuman after victory, you have given us as a gift such corpses as injure us after death! (3) I both reproach the ashen spear and hate the sword with which I have won, because they unsparingly urged me against everyone. For why was I, the wretched one, so savagely insane? Were there not also other means of victory? How many captive bodies of the enemy? If you had survived for me, O dearest, I would have rushed from the battle to

134. I.e., the mere sight of me by the enemy (Homer, *Il.* 18.196–229).

135. Cf. Speech in Character 12 with first note.

μάχης ἄν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον ὥρμησα, ἀπὸ τῆς παρατάξεως εἰς ὑμέναιον. γάμος ὁμοῦ καὶ πόλεμος, εὐωχία καὶ λύθρος, ὑμέναιοι καὶ σφαγαί. εἶδεν ἄν τις ἐκ παρατάξεως νυμφίον στεφάνῳ κοσμούμενον, οὐχ οἶον εἶδεν ὁ Ἐνυάλιος, ἀλλ' οἶον Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐν παστάσιν. (4) εὐδαίμων ἦν ὁ Πηλεὺς θαλαττία συνοικῶν δαίμονι καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ. τοῦτον ἄν, εἴ μοι περιῆς, ἀνεκαινίσαμεν.

14. Τίνας ἄν εἴποι λόγους ὁ Χείρων
ἀκούσας ἐν τῷ παρθενῶνι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα εἶναι;

(1) Ὡ Πήλιον, ἀλλότρια σῆς χορείας τὰ θρυλλούμενα, ὦ παιδεῖα καὶ ἀρετὴ καταισχυνθεῖσα τοῖς λόγοις. τίς τῶν τῆς ἀδοξίας ῥημάτων ἄγγελος; τίς αἰσχυρᾷ φήμῃ ὑπηρετεῖν ἐτόλμησεν ἄπιστα μὲν λέγων κατηγορῶν τῆς ἀληθείας, τάχα δέ που καὶ πιστευόμενος; (2) τίνα καταιτιάσομαι τῆς ἀδοξίας ἐραστήν; τίνα τῶν προγόνων μιμησάμενος Ἀχιλλεὺς τὰ τῶν παρθένων ἠγάπησεν; Αἰακὸν ἢ τὸν Πηλέα; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ Διὸς χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο, ὁ δὲ σωφροσύνης ἄθλον τὸν Θέτιδος γάμον καὶ θεῶν κηδεστῆς θνητὸς ὢν ἀνηγόρευται καὶ οἷς πεπαίδευται παραπλήσια κατείργασται. (3) τοῦτον, νῆ Δία, τὸ Πήλιον ἀκοντίοις σεμνυνόμενον ἔτρεμε, τούτου καὶ δεξιὰν ἔφριττε θῆρ καταγωνιζόμενος. ποῦ σοι, παῖ Πηλέως, τῆς ἵππικῆς τὰ διδάγματα; ποῦ δρόμοι καὶ γυμνάσια, δι' ὧν ἐφάνης ἀήττητος; (4) εἰς τοιοῦτον ἄρα τέλος ἐξεπαίδευσεν, ἐξέπεμπον διαθλήσοντα, ἵνα Χείρωνος δεξιὰν διαδέξωνται παρθένοι; ἵνα μετὰ Πήλιον Λυκομήδης οἰκειώσῃται; ἵνα τὸν Πηλέως, σιωπῶ καὶ τοῦνομα, κόραι σύννομον ἐκδέξωνται; ὦ μόνος τῶν ἀνομοίων κοινωνίαν εἰργασμένος, Λυκομήδους καὶ Χείρωνος. καὶ μετὰ πάλην ὁ θάλαμος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἵππικὴν ἰστουργία, παρθενῶν μετὰ κυνηγέσια. πῶς ταλασία τὰ διδάγματα τοῦ Χείρωνος; πῶς ἐδίδαξε δεξιὰν τόξον φέρειν διδαχθεῖσαν τὰ

the bedroom, from the battle line to the wedding. Marriage and war together; feasting and gore; wedding songs and slaughter. From the battle line someone could have seen a bridegroom being decorated by a crown, not one such as Enyalios¹³⁶ saw, but one such as Aphrodite saw in bridal chambers. (4) Happy was Peleus in being married to a sea-nymph and being admired at his wedding.¹³⁷ We could have repeated this, if you had survived for me.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 14: WHAT WORDS WOULD CHIRON SAY
WHEN HE HEARS THAT ACHILLES IS LIVING IN THE GIRLS' QUARTERS?¹³⁸

(1) O Mount Pelion, how alien to your dancing is the subject being discussed everywhere! O education and virtue, disgraced by these words! Who is the messenger of these sayings of ill-repute? Who dared to serve disgraceful rumor, saying unbelievable things, making accusations against the truth, and perhaps even being believed? What lover of ill-repute will I accuse? In imitation of which of his ancestors did Achilles begin to love the life of girls? Aeacus? Or Peleus? But the former received an appointment from Zeus,¹³⁹ while the latter as a prize for self-control received his marriage to Thetis,¹⁴⁰ and though being mortal, he has been publicly proclaimed a son-in-law to the gods, and has achieved things in line with what he has been taught. (3) At this man, by Zeus, trembled Pelion, majestic in spears, and at this man's right hand the wild beast he struggled against shuddered in fear. What, child of Peleus, has become of your instructions in horsemanship? What has become of the race tracks and gymnasia, through which you proved invincible? (4) Was it, then, to such an end that I educated you? Did I send you forth to contend in battle, so that girls might succeed the right hand of Chiron? So that, after Pelion, he might become the intimate of Lycomedes?¹⁴¹ So that the son of Peleus—I remain silent also as to the name—so that girls might take him up as a partner? O, the only one who has created a fellowship between dissimilars, of Lycomedes and Chiron! And after wrestling, the bedroom; and after horsemanship, weaving; after hunting trips, girls' chambers. How did the teachings of Chiron become wool-working? How did he teach a right hand

136. Ares.

137. For the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.5; Catullus 64.1–51, 265–408.

138. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8; cf. *Invective* 1.2–7.

139. Aeacus successfully petitioned Zeus to end a drought, and he held special privileges in Hades: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.6.

140. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.5.

141. Lycomedes is the king at whose court Achilles hid.

τῶν παρθένων ἐργάζεσθαι; (5) οἷμοι τῆς ἀκοῆς. ἄρα καὶ χλαῖνα γυναικεία κατεκόσμησεν; ἄρα καὶ κρήδεμνον καταισχύνει τὸν βόστρυχον; <βαυκίδας> ὑπέμειναν πόδες κατὰ θηρίων ἐπ' ὄρεσι βαίνοντες, δρόμῳ φθάσαντες τοὺς τάχει πάντων κρατήσαντας; σὰς χεῖρας οὐ διέφυγεν οὐθ' ἵππος κροαίνων οὔτε λέων ὀρμῇ φερόμενος. σὴν ψυχὴν νενίκηκεν οὐ φόβος, οὐ τρόμος, οὐκ ἀπειλὴ δυσμενῶν. (6) ἀλλ' ὦν ἠπιστάμην τάναντία νῦν ἀγγέλλουσι, κἂν ἀπώσωμεν τοὺς λόγους, ἢ φήμη πολλοῖς πεπίστευται· τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως πρόγονοι θεοί. οἷς τὴν ἀδοξίαν αὐτὸς προσανέθηκεν. ἔστι γὰρ αἷμα θεῶν, παρθένος δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν. (7) τίς ἄρα Θέτιδι τούτων ἄγγελος γενήσεται; θεὸς γὰρ οὐσα καὶ γυνὴ τοῖς παροῦσιν αἰσχυνθήσεται, διὸ μήτηρ ἀνδρὸς κληθεῖσα καὶ κόρης εἰσαυθὺς κληθήσεται ἐπιμελείας <χωρίς> τῆς φύσεως διττὸν λαβοῦσα τὸ πρόσρημα καὶ δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ φιλτάτου τοῖς ἐναντίοις κληθεῖσα. (8) λυέσθω μοι τοῖνυν τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς παιδευτήρια, ἀφείσθω μοι νέων κατάλογος προσφιλεῖς. τὸ γὰρ τῆς παιδείας φοβεῖ με τέλος ὡς ἀκλεές.

15. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀφαιρούμενος τὴν Βρισηίδα;

(1) Ἔστηκας, ὦ Μενέλαε, <ἐν> τῇ γῇ τὴν ὄψιν πηξάμενος. ἀπεστράφης, Διόμηδες, μὴ θέλων ἀπιούσαν τὴν κόρην θεάσασθαι. σιωπᾶς, ὦ γέρον, ἔτι μὴ πιστεύων τῷ δράματι. ἐσφάλημεν Πάριν ἔχοντες ἕτερον ὀπλιζόμενον κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. τί τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀγαμέμνων ἀμύνεται μάτην; ἄμφω τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀρπάζουσιν. εὐτρέπιζε μετὰ μικρόν, Ὀδυσσεῦ, τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐπιθυμήσαντι. τραγώδησον, πρύτανι, τὰς ὡραίας τῶν γυναικῶν τῷ κρατοῦντι προσφέρεσθαι. (2) τί οὖν ὄφελος ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐστερημένῳ διὰ

trained to carry a bow to do the work of girls? (5) Alas for the news! And does a woman's shawl adorn you? And does a veil disgrace your curly hair? Do your feet—going after beasts in the mountains, having outraced men who defeated everyone in swiftness—endure <women's shoes>? Neither a horse stamping nor a lion rushing forth ever escaped your hands. Neither fear, nor trembling, nor a threat from enemies has conquered your soul. (6) But they are now announcing things the opposite of what I believed, and even if we reject the words, the report has been believed by many. Achilles' ancestors are the gods.¹⁴² It is against them that he has brought this ill-repute himself; for he is the blood of the gods, but a girl by deliberate choice. (7) Who, then, will be a messenger of this to Thetis? For being a goddess and a woman she will be ashamed at the present situation, in that, having been called the mother of a man, she will also henceforth be called the mother of a girl, having received a double designation of responsibility <apart from> nature, and having been called that name by her enemies through the one most dear to her. (8) Well then, let my school of virtue be dissolved, let my beloved roster of youths be dismissed;¹⁴³ for the outcome of this education, because dishonorable, makes me afraid.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 15: WHAT WORDS WOULD ACHILLES SAY
WHEN HE IS BEING DEPRIVED OF BRISEIS?¹⁴⁴

(1) You stand there, O Menelaus, fixing your eyes <on> the ground. You turned away, Diomedes, refusing to look at the girl as she departed. You are silent, old man,¹⁴⁵ still not believing the drama. We came to grief in having another Paris armed against our country. Why does Agamemnon punish Alexander in vain? Both steal other men's women.¹⁴⁶ Get ready, Odysseus, for the king after a short time to set his heart on Penelope. Tell the tragic story, my lord,¹⁴⁷ of the beautiful young women being brought to the commander. (2) What need is there, then, for me to arm myself on Helen's account, when I

142. Achilles was the great-grandson of Zeus: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.6; 3.13.6.

143. For the list of his famous pupils, see Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1.2.

144. For the myth, see Homer, *Il.* 1; cf. Encomium 3.12–14. For Achilles as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 3, 4, 12, 13. For an elaboration of Briseis's words on this occasion, see Severus 5 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:544, 11–19, re-edited with German translation in F. P. Karntaler, "Severus von Alexandria: Ein verschollener griechischer Schriftsteller des IV. Jhr. n. Chr. [II]," *Byzantinisch-neugriechisches Jahrbuch* 8 [1929–1930]: 327–30).

145. Nestor.

146. Paris/Alexander abducted Helen: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.1–5.

147. "My lord": it is unclear whether he is still addressing Odysseus.

τὴν Ἑλένην ὀπλίζεσθαι; δυσσεβῶ εἰ βάρβαρον ἡδίκηκότα μηδὲν ἀμύνομαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λυπήσαντός με δεινῶς. ἀλλ' οὐκέτι καθάψεται χεὶρ Ἀχιλλέως Τρωικῆς παρατάξεως μετὰ τὴν Βρισηΐδος ἀφαίρεσιν. ἐσφαλὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρωμένης ὀπλιζόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ αἰχμάλωτον εὖρον οὔτε ταύτην ἀφήρημαι. (3) ἐκέρδανας, ὦ Τροία, διὰ τὴν Βρισηΐδα τὴν ἄλωσιν. ξέσει Πρίαμος ἐν λίθῳ τὴν κόρην ἀνάθημα τῆς Ἰλίου σωτήριον, παρὰ τὸ τῆς Τύχης τέμενος ἀνορθώσει ταύτης τὸ ξόανον. γράψει Φρῦξ αὐτὴν παρὰ τὴν ἐστίαν φυγῶν μου τὸ δόρυ τὸ μείλινον. (4) Διόμηδες φίλτατε, μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καταβόα τῇ σάλπιγγι. ὅταν με τοῦ ξίφους ὁ κτύπος προτρέψηται, μέλος με κατασχήσει τῆς φόρμιγγος. ἄσπις ὅταν ἐρεθίσῃ κτυπούμενη τῷ δόρατι, πληκτρὸν με καταθέλξει καὶ χορδὴ κρουομένη τοῖς ἄσμασι. (5) τίνα δοκεῖς, ὦ Πάτροκλε, τὸν ἀήτην περιπνέοντα; ἐπισκόπει τὴν αὔραν τὴν ἐπὶ Φθίαν ἄγουσαν. ἀποπλευσώμεν ἀπὸ τῆς Τροίας χάριν ἔχοντες τοῖς βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων πολεμούμενοι. (6) μάτην ἐκοπίασα, μάτην ἐπῆλθον οὐχ ἐκὼν πόλεις ἅς τεθέαμαι, ὁδὸν δ' ἔδωκα τούτων τὰ τεῖχη τοῖς βαδίζειν ἐθέλουσιν. οἰκεῖ τις τὴν ἐρημίαν ἄπολις ὦν διὰ τὸν Θέτιδος. ἔτι τις θρηνῶν υἱὸν πατὴρ τὴν Περσεφόνην ἠσπάσατο, ἔτι τις λέγων· ποῦ ποτ' ἐστὶν ὁ Θετταλός; τῷ πλησίον ἠσπάσατο, ὁ δὲ καὶ δεικνὺς τῷ ἀγνοοῦντι συντέθνηκεν. ἅπαντα δὲ ἦν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ τῆς πορείας Ἀχιλλέως ἐγκώμια. (7) τὰ δὲ πάντα συνδήσας τῷ κρατοῦντι προσέφερον. μίαν δὲ ἑμαυτῷ παραμυθίαν ἐτήρουν αἰχμάλωτον. ὁ δὲ με τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀμειβόμενος καὶ τῆς μιᾶς αἰχμαλώτου Βρισηΐδος ἀπεστέρησεν. (8) ἀλλ' εἶεν. ἵνα μὴ καιρὸν εὖρω τῆς σάλπιγγος διηγούμενος,

have been deprived of my girl? I am impious if I punish a barbarian who has not wronged me at all¹⁴⁸ on behalf of a man who has grieved me terribly. But no longer will the hand of Achilles lay hold of the Trojan line after the theft of Briseis.¹⁴⁹ I also came to grief in initially arming myself against my beloved; for neither did I find a captive, nor have I been robbed of one.¹⁵⁰ (3) You have gained your means of conquest, O Troy, through Briseis. Priam will polish a statue of the girl in stone as the salvation of Ilium; he will erect a wooden image of this girl in the sacred precinct of Fortune. A Phrygian, having fled my ashen spear, will paint her by the altar. (4) Dearest Diomedes, cry out with your trumpet far from me.¹⁵¹ Whenever the clashing of the sword urges me forward, the music of the lyre will restrain me. Whenever a shield clanging against a spear provokes me to fight, the plectrum and the lyre-string being plucked in song will magically subdue me.¹⁵² (5) What wind, O Patroclus, do you think is blowing around? Look toward the breeze that leads to Phthia.¹⁵³ Let us sail away from Troy, feeling kindly disposed toward the barbarians, but with the Argives making war against us. (6) In vain I toiled, in vain I unwillingly attacked the cities that I saw,¹⁵⁴ but I turned their walls into open roads for whoever wanted to walk through. One man dwells in the wilderness, being cityless because of the son of Thetis. Moreover, a father still mourning his son greets Persephone. Furthermore, someone greets his neighbor, saying "Where is the Thessalian?", and the neighbor, even as he points, dies together with the man who did not recognize him. All things were, so to speak, encomia of Achilles' passage.¹⁵⁵ (7) Having bound all these things together I brought them to the commander. I kept watch over one captive woman as my consolation. But he, repaying my good deeds, deprived me even of the one captive, Briseis. (8) But so be it. So that I may not find an opportunity for the trumpet

148. Homer, *Il.* 1.152–157.

149. Homer, *Il.* 1.337–344.

150. I.e., Achilles and Briseis, far from being captor and captive, truly loved each other.

151. Cf. Libanius, *Or.* 64.68. For Diomedes as trumpeter in ancient art and literature, see Christine Heusch, *Die Achilles-Ethopoeie des Codex Salmasianus: Untersuchungen zu einer spätlateinischen Versdeklamation* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 1.12; Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997), 77–78, 99–100. Cod. Salmasianus includes a fifth- or sixth-century *ethopoeia* in Latin on the theme of "the words of Achilles in the girls' chambers, when he heard the trumpet (*tubam*) of Diomedes" (edited with German translation by Heusch, 90–97).

152. Homer, *Il.* 9.185–191.

153. Homer, *Il.* 9.356–363.

154. Homer, *Il.* 9.328–329; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.32–33.

155. Cf. Encomium 3.10.

ἐν ἔτι βούλομαι φθέγξασθαι προπετὲς ὡς ἀδικούμενος. ἐράτω τις, ὦ θεοί, καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἐν Ἄργει. τῶν ἴσων Ἀγαμέμνων τύχοι, καὶ πείθομαι.

16. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Πολυξένη κελευομένη παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κομίζεσθαι λεγόντων αὐτῇ ὅτι νύμφη ἔση τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως;

(1) Ὅτε δι' Ἑκτορος ἀδελφὸν ἐστράτευες, Ἀγάμεμνον, οὐχ οὕτως ἦλθες ὀπλιζόμενος. οὐ τῷ Τηλεμάχῳ νύμφην <ᾗ> μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος, Ἰθακήσιε. ὦ παῖ τοῦ γαμοῦντος, ὅστις εἶ, δίχα με τῶν ξιφῶν τῷ θαλάμῳ προπέμψατε. ποίαν ἔχω τὴν διαφορὰν πολεμουμένη καὶ νυμφευομένη διὰ τοῦ δόρατος; (2) μίαν καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς κόρη χάριν αἰτῶ. ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρὶν τρέμουσα τὸν Πηλέως οὐ τεθέαμαι, δειξάτω μοι τις αὐτόν, ἵνα τὸν νυμφίον ἀσπάσωμαι. ἤκουον αὐτὸν παντὸς τοῦ γένους ἀντίπαλον. ἰδεῖν ἐπείγομαι, παρθένου Φρυγίας εἰ πόθῳ δεδούλωται. (3) οὐκ ἐβόας πρὸ μικροῦ, Διόμηδες, πεπτωκότα τὸν Θέτιδος; καὶ τίني με προσάγεις; ἀπόκριναι. ἀπολέσας τὴν Ἑλένην, στερηθεὶς Ἀχιλλέως ἐθρήνεις, Μενέλαε. καὶ τίς, εἰπέ μοι, πρὸς θεῶν, ὁ νυμφευόμενος; ἐρωτῶ. μαρτυρεῖ μοι τὰ φθάσαντα; αἰκίζει τις τὸν Θετταλὸν ὄνειρός τε καὶ φάντασμα; εἰ δὲ τὸ σπουδαζόμενον ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνελεῖν με, μὴ με νύμφην Ἀχιλλέως ὀνομάζοντες σφαγιάσητε. (4) πάτερ, ὦ γέρον Πρίαμε, τί κόπτεις

while I am telling my story, I still want to say one thing in a hurry, as I am being wronged. Let someone, O gods, also be loving Clytemnestra in Argos. May Agamemnon receive the same treatment¹⁵⁶—and I comply.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 16: WHAT WORDS WOULD POLYXENA SAY
WHEN THE ORDER IS GIVEN FOR HER TO BE TAKEN BY THE GREEKS AS
THEY TELL HER THAT SHE IS TO BECOME THE BRIDE OF ACHILLES?¹⁵⁷

(1) When you marched on account of Hector's brother,¹⁵⁸ Agamemnon, you did not come so armed. <You would not marry> a bride to Telemachus with a shield, Ithacan.¹⁵⁹ O son of the bridegroom, whoever you are,¹⁶⁰ send me forth to the bedroom apart from swords. What sort of distinction do I have in having war made against me and being married by the spear? (2) As a girl, I also ask one favor from you. Since, being afraid, I have not seen the son of Peleus before,¹⁶¹ let someone point him out to me, so that I may greet my bridegroom. I have heard that he is the champion of their whole race. I am eager to see if he has been enslaved by desire for a Phrygian girl. (3) Were you not shouting a little while ago, Diomedes, that the son of Thetis had fallen?¹⁶² And to whom are you leading me? Answer me. When you lost Helen, when you were deprived of Achilles, you wailed, Menelaus. And who—tell me, by the gods—is the one marrying me? I am asking you. Do past events offer me any evidence? Does some dream and vision torment the Thessalian?¹⁶³ But if your purpose is to kill me, do not slaughter me while calling me the bride of Achilles. (4) Father, O aged Priam, why do you strike your grey head? You

156. Agamemnon was murdered upon his return home by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus: Homer, *Od.* 11.405–434; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.23.

157. For the myth, see Euripides, *Hec.* 518–582; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.23; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.439–480. For the theme, cf. PFlor. III 390 (fifth century C.E.), ed. Ernst Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3.49 and 58; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), text 37, pp. 124–25; P.Cair.Masp. II 67186 (sixth century C.E.), ed. Jean-Luc Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle: La bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodite* (2 vols.; MIFAO 115; Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1999), 1:451. Cf. Description 18.

158. Paris, who abducted Helen.

159. Odysseus.

160. Neoptolemus.

161. Achilles.

162. Achilles: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3.

163. Achilles.

κατὰ μικρὸν τὸν πολιόν σου πλόκαμον; ἤξω νύμφην τὴν Πολυξένην θεάσασθαι. ἰδοῦ, σοί τις δαίμων καινότερως ἐπεβούλευσε, καὶ τὰ καλά σου τῆς ἀριστείας, ὦ Πάρι, τρόπαια τοῦ γένους ὑπάρχει πολέμια. ἐν βέλος κατ' Ἀχιλλέως ἠκόνησας, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν σῶν ἐάσης [κἄν] λείψανον. κρεῖττον δέ μοι γενήσεται κατοικεῖν κάτω μετὰ τοῦ Ἑκτορος. τί γὰρ ὄψομαι τερπνὸν μετὰ τῶν ζώντων αἰχμάλωτος;

17. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Μήδεια γαμοῦντος ἐτέραν Ἰάσονος;

(1) Νῦν ἤθελον παρεῖναι μετὰ τῶν ταύρων καὶ τὸν δράκοντα, ἵνα παρ' αὐτοῖς τῷ Θετταλῷ συστῶ καὶ δικάσωμαι. νυμφίος Ἰάσων ἐτέρας μεθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ δέρας καὶ τὸν Ἄψυρτον. χορεῦει τις παρὰ τὸν γάμον παίζων μου τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. σκιρτᾷ τις ὑφ' ἡδονῆς γελῶν με· τί μετ' Ἀργείων ἢ βάρβαρος; ἄλλος ὑπὸ Διονύσου βαλλόμενος περιπλέκεται με δακρύουσαν καὶ παρενοχλεῖ μου τὰς ἀκοὰς ψιθυρίζων ἀντὶ Ἰάσονος ἔχειν με. (2) καὶ σιωπῶ γένος θεῶν ὃ πολλάκις ὁμνύων ἠσέβησεν. ἐν γῇ Σκυθῶν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ὤμνυε, τὸν Ποσειδῶνα παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, παρὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον. πάντας λέγει τοὺς ἀρίστους, πῶς οὐκ οἶδα, θεοὺς. πολλοὺς γάρ μοι κατεβόα ψευδόμενος. ἰδοῦ, κάκείνοις κάμοι καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἀγνωμονεῖ. (3) τὸν ἔσπερον περιμένεις, ὦ Θετταλέ, τὸν ἐράσμιον. κἀγὼ τοῦτον φυλάττω πρὸς φόνους ἐπιτήδειον. ὄνειροπολεῖς τὴν παστάδα καὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ γαμήλιον. κἀγὼ τὸ ξίφος καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν Ἡφαίστειον. σπεύδεις ἀνάψαι τὴν δᾶδα τῇ Κύπριδι.

prayed to see Polyxena a bride. Look, some divinity has rather strangely plotted against you, and the fine trophies of your bravery, O Paris, are the enemies of our race. You sharpened one arrow against Achilles,¹⁶⁴ so that you might leave no remnant of your people. But it will be better for me to dwell below with Hector;¹⁶⁵ for what will I see that is delightful as a captive among the living?

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 17: WHAT WORDS WOULD MEDEA SAY
WHEN JASON IS MARRYING ANOTHER WOMAN?¹⁶⁶

(1) Now I wish that the dragon were here along with the bulls,¹⁶⁷ so that I could stand beside them with the Thessalian and be judged. O Jason, the husband of another woman after me,¹⁶⁸ and the fleece,¹⁶⁹ and Apsyrtus!¹⁷⁰ Someone dances at the wedding, making fun of my situation. Another jumps for joy, laughing at me: “What does a barbarian woman have to do with Argives?” Yet another, being smitten by Dionysus,¹⁷¹ embraces me as I cry and bothers my ears, whispering that he instead of Jason is holding me. (2) And I pass over in silence the race of the gods against which he has committed impiety by often swearing on them. In the land of the Scythians he swore on Artemis; on the sea, on Poseidon; in Greece, on Athena and Olympian Zeus. He calls all of them the best—how, I do not know—gods; for he has cried out to many of them in lying to me.¹⁷² Look, he is acting unfairly toward them, and toward me, and toward his children. (3) You await, O Thessalian, the evening of your desire; I watch for this, too, as one favorable for murders.¹⁷³ You dream of the bridal chamber and the wedding fire; I, too, of the sword¹⁷⁴ and the Hephaestian crown. You are eager to light the torch to the

164. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3.

165. Her brother, killed by Achilles in Homer, *Il.* 22.

166. For the myth, see Euripides, *Medea*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28. For Medea as speaker in this collection, see also Speech in Character 1. Cf. Description 20.

167. Euripides, *Med.* 475–482; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 3.1225–1407; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.23; Ovid, *Metam.* 7.100–158.

168. Euripides, *Med.* 1–35, 488–491; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28.

169. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 4.92–211; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.23.

170. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 4.452–551; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.24.

171. I.e., drunk.

172. Euripides, *Med.* 20–23, 160–163, 492–498, etc.

173. Euripides, *Med.* 772–810.

174. I.e., the sword with which she will murder her children: Euripides, *Med.* 1244–1250.

κάγῳ τῷ σῷ Ἐρωτι τὴν σὴν νύμφην. χαριστήριον πλεῖον ὧν δέδωκα δίδωμί σοι τὰ δάκρυα. (4) ἔτοιμος ἵσταται τῶν δρακόντων ὁ δίφρος. μετὰ τὴν τόλμαν φευξοῦμαι μετέωρος. εὐγενίσω δὲ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν μονογάμους καὶ νόμον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι θήσω τὸν σώφρονα. δείξω γὰρ φόβῳ τῆς ἐμῆς ἱστορίας ἐτέρων ἐρᾶν τοὺς συνοίκους μὴ βούλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ταύτας ἔχειν κυρίας γυναικας ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ὧν καὶ τὸ ἄνθος τῆς παρθενίας ἐμίαναν.

18. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους πόρνη σωφρονήσασα;

(1) Ἐρρέτω μοι γένος προαγωγῶν. οὐκέτι δύο καὶ τριῶν ὀβολῶν τῷ προσιόντι πιπράσκομαι. καθελεῖ μοί τις τὰ περὶ τὴν Κύπριν τῶν ἐραστῶν ἀναθήματα, ὧν καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ μόνη μέμφομαι τὰ μιάσματα. (2) ἤρπαζον τὸ ρόδον, ἤσκουν τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν, ὠνειροπόλουν τὰ χεῖρονα, ἔσπευδον τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἡμέρας αἰσχυρότεραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἔτι περιπλεκομένη τὸν δεῖνα τὸν πλησίον ἐθήρευον, ἐπέσκωπτον τῷ γείτονι ψιθυρίζουσα. ἐμὸς ἦν ὁ ληστής, ἐφίλουν τὸν ἀποκήρυκτον, μεστὴν εἶχον τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνδρῶν ἀπρεπῶν. (3) ἀλλὰ καθαίρω τὴν γνώμην, φεύγω τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, φιλῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν ἐπιείκειαν. νόμον ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ θήσω τοῦτον, ἵνα τοῦ γράμματος ἔχη τὴν δύναμιν· ἐξόν σοι, γύναι, καὶ σωφρονεῖν καὶ φεύγειν τὴν Ἀφρογένειαν μή σου τῆς ἀσελγείας ἀφορμὴν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην προβάλλου μοι. οὐ πέφρακται

Cyprian;¹⁷⁵ I, too, your bride to your Love.¹⁷⁶ As a thank-offering greater than what I have given, I give you tears.¹⁷⁷ (4) The chariot of dragons stands ready. After my bold act I will flee on high.¹⁷⁸ And I will ennoble the women of a single marriage and make the self-controlled man the norm in Greece;¹⁷⁹ for I will show husbands, through fear of my story, that they should not wish to love other women, but should hold as their lawful wives right up until death those whose bloom of virginity they also defiled.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 18: WHAT WORDS WOULD A PROSTITUTE SAY
UPON GAINING SELF-CONTROL?¹⁸⁰

(1) Let the race of pimps be gone from me! I am no longer for sale to any comer for two or three obols. Let someone destroy for me the dedications of lovers to the Cyprian,¹⁸¹ whose defilements I rebuke even when merely reminded of them. (2) I plucked the rose;¹⁸² I practiced shamelessness; I dreamed of worse things; I hurried to make the night more disgraceful than the day. While still in an embrace, I would hunt the anonymous fellow nearby; I would make jokes, whispering to his neighbor. Mine was the robber; I loved the disinherited son; I had a house full of indecent men. (3) But I am purifying my mind; I shun Aphrodite; I love the reasonableness of Athena. I will post this law on Mount Lebanon,¹⁸³ so that it might have the force of a written law: "It being permitted to you, woman, both to show self-control and to shun the Foam-born one,¹⁸⁴ do not put forth Aphrodite to me as the reason for

175. Aphrodite.

176. I.e., "I, too, am eager to set your bride on fire as a tribute to your Love." See Euripides, *Med.* 1156–1203.

177. Euripides, *Med.* 625–626.

178. Euripides, *Med.* 1317–1414; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28.

179. For the self-control of Jason, see Euripides, *Med.* 549, 884–885.

180. The only other example of a prostitute as speaker is reportedly in an *ethopoeia* by Procopius of Gaza ("what would a prostitute say to lovers passing by her?"), forthcoming in an edition by Eugenio Amato and Ilaria Ramelli (according to Amato and Ventrella, "L'ethopée dans la pratique scolaire et littéraire," 217 n. 15).

181. Aphrodite, who was born on Cyprus: Hesiod, *Theog.* 199.

182. For the rose as euphemism for female sexuality, see LSJ s.v. ῥόδον III; Jeffrey Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 135. Cf. Description 30.14.

183. At Aphaca in Phoenicia, the site of a cult of Aphrodite destroyed by Constantine: Lucian, *Ind.* 3; Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.55.

184. Aphrodite, who was born from the severed genitals of Uranus: Hesiod, *Theog.* 188–206.

ταῖς σώφροσιν ἰκετεύειν τέμενος. φεύγει καὶ Κύπρις τὸν γάμον, εὖ οἶδα, τὸν ἐφύβριστον, ὅπου πολλάκις ἀγνοεῖ τὸ σπέρμα πατὴρ ὃ πεφύτευκεν, <καὶ> ὁ δεύτερος τοῦ πρώτου σφετερίζεται καὶ μίσγεται τὰ γένη καὶ πάντα τίκτει δυσσέβειαν. ταῦτα γράφω καὶ γράψω καὶ τούτοις χρήσομαι. τάχα τῶν ἐταιρῶν ἀνελῶ τὸ πικρὸν ἐργαστήριον.

19. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους δειλὸς θεασάμενος
πόλεμον ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ οἰκίᾳ γεγραμμένον;

(1) Τίς, ὦ θεοί, στρατόπεδον ἀπέδειξε τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν; ποῖος ὥπλισεν Ἄρης; ποῖος στρατηγὸς ταύτας ἤγαγε τὰς τάξεις οὐδὲ συμβαλεῖν μελλούσας; ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος ἀκμάζει καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς μάχης γεγένηται. (2) πρότερον <τῶν> ἔξω θορύβων καταφυγὴν εἶχον τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ μακρὰς ἐρεσχελίας οὐ φέρων τῶν πολιτῶν διασώζειν ἑμαυτὸν ἐβουλευόμην ἐν τῇδε. νῦν δὲ τῆς φυγῆς ἀξίαν ὁρῶ καὶ προσιδεῖν οὐ δύναμαί πως. (3) ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἦν ἐκκλησία. τῶν συνιόντων ἐγενόμην. εἴτα πόλεμον ἠπέλησαν οἱ ῥήτορες. ὡς βέλη πολεμίων φεύγων τοὺς λόγους ἔθεον οἴκαδε, τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἔνδον τῆς καλῆς οἰκίας εὗρισκον, ἣν ὁ ζωγράφος ὁ δεινὸς τὴν τέχνην ὥπλισε καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ πόλεμον ἔστησε πολὺν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, πόλεμον οἷον αἱ πόλεις κατασκευάζουσιν ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων. (4) πάσας μὲν ἔστησε τὰς τάξεις, ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας, τοξότας, σφενδονήτας, καὶ μένει ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος τῶν ἱππέων πολὺς καὶ χεῖρες ἐνεργοῦσι γενναῖαι καὶ βέλη προσομιλεῖ τε τοῖς σώμασι καὶ μέλλει προσομιλεῖν ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ πᾶν ὄργανον ἐνεργεῖ καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἠκονημένον ὁρῶ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν λαμπεδόνα. ἀπλοῖδες ὅσαι φοίνισσαι, τραυματαῖαι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ θνήσκοντες τὸ εἶδος. αἶρουσι πολλοὺς ἐταῖροι καὶ φεύγων ἕτερος λαμβάνεται καὶ γενόμενος ἰκέτης μετὰ τῆς ἰκετείας δέχεται τὴν πληγὴν. (5) τούτοις ἀναγκάζομαι συζῆν καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἡμέρας πολλὰς καὶ διαίτας διάγειν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι κόρον οὐδὲ τέλος τοῦ ἔργου. ἀπηνέστεροι τῶν μαχομένων ἀληθῶς εἰσι, χαλεπώτεροι τῶν ἐν πεδίοις. ἐκείνοις μὲν καὶ νύξ ἐπῆλθε καὶ διήλλαξε καὶ δείπνου καιρὸς καὶ πεσόντων ἀναίρεσις, τούτους δὲ θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἀποστήσει τῶν πολέμων. (6) Ἡράκλεις, οἱ μὲν ἀναμένουσιν ὡς ἐτάχθησαν οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μικρὸν εἶκειν ἀνάγκη. φεύγειν

your brutality. This sacred precinct has not been fenced in for self-controlled women to make supplication. Even the Cyprian flees the wanton marriage, I know well, where often a father does not know the seed that he planted, <and> a second father appropriates what belongs to the first, and the lineages are mixed up, and everything begets impiety.” These words I write, and will write, and I will apply them. Let me quickly destroy the bitter workshop of the courtesans.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 19: WHAT WORDS WOULD A COWARD SAY UPON SEEING THAT A PICTURE OF A WAR HAS BEEN PAINTED IN HIS HOUSE?¹⁸⁵

(1) Who, O gods, turned my house into a military camp? What sort of Ares armed it? What sort of general led these battle lines not even about to join battle? Rather, the war is at its peak and most of the battle has occurred. (2) Formerly I had this house as a refuge from <the> uproars outside, and unable to endure the lengthy banterings of my fellow citizens, I planned to keep myself safe here in it. But now I see it as worth fleeing and cannot look at it at all. (3) There was an assembly meeting about peace. I was one of those who convened. Then the orators threatened war. Fleeing their words like the arrows of the enemy, I ran home. I used to find concord inside my beautiful house, which the painter, clever in his art, armed against me; and he made a great war in a short time, a war such as cities prepare from a lot of money. (4) He set up all the battle lines, hoplites, cavalry, archers, and slingers, and nothing remains at rest; rather, the war of the cavalry is great, and noble hands are active, and arrows are both fixed in bodies and about to be fixed in them from the air, and every weapon is in active use, and I see the iron sharpened, and it has great luster. How many one-piece crimson cloaks, and woundings, and many, too, with the appearance of dying! Their comrades pick up many; and another man fleeing is caught and, becoming a suppliant, receives the blow along with his supplication. (5) With these I am forced to live, and with these for many days actually to pass my time. For they do not get their fill, nor do they have an end to their work. They are wilder than real fighters, harder to bear than men on the battlefield. For those men, night falls and brings a truce, and there is dinner time and the taking up of the fallen, but no one of the gods or men will make these men turn away from their wars. (6) By Heracles! They remain just as they were stationed, not knowing how to yield to necessity, not even a little. It is good to flee from there. I am giving up my

185. A short poem on this subject is preserved in *Anth. pal.* 11.211. Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 29, criticizes a would-be military historian who had never even seen a war painted on a wall. For a coward as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 20.

έντεῦθεν καλόν. ἐξίσταμαι τοῦ κτήματος. ἐχέτω τὴν οἰκίαν πλήρη μάχης ὁ στρατιώτης. μόνος ὑμᾶς ὁ ζωγράφος θεωρεῖτω.

20. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους δειλὸς φιλάργυρος εὐρῶν χρύσειον ξίφος;

(1) Ὡς Τύχης καινὰ δῶρα, ὧς γνώμης ἀμφίβολα τολμήματα. τί γὰρ καὶ δράσομεν; εἴχομεν τῷ φόβῳ; ἀλλὰ μένειν κελεύει τὸ κέρδος ἐλεύθερον. εἴθε μήποτε τέχνας ἐξήσκησαν ἄνθρωποι. τί γὰρ καὶ βούλονται; οὐκέτι τὸν ἵππον ἀγαπῶσι τῇ μάχῃ. πλουτοῦσι τῷ πολέμῳ ἢ χρυσῷ κατ' ἀλλήλων ὀπλίζονται. καὶ μὴν οὐ μᾶλλον σίδηρος ἢ χρυσὸς βάλλειν ἐπίσταται; (2) ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα μάτην λογιζομαι; οὕτω καθ' ἡμῶν βραβεύει τὸ δαιμόνιον. τοιαύτας ἀναιρεῖ τὰς δωρεὰς ἡ Τύχη. εἴθε πονηρὸς ἐγενόμην ἐγώ. ἐκέρδησά γε ἂν τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πλούτῳ φόβον. τί γὰρ με δειλὸν ἡ φύσις ἔτεκε; τί δὲ φιλοκερδὴς ἐγενόμην ἄνωθεν; εἴθε μοι τὰς ὠδῖνας ἔφθῃ ἢ πρὸ ταύτης σιγῇ τῆς θέας, ἣν οὐ φέρω ἰδεῖν τάχα καὶ μόνη τῇ θέᾳ. εἴθε ἦν παρὸν καὶ τὸ κέρδος τῷ τραύματι. πολλάκις ὀνομάζειν φοβοῦμαι τὸ ξίφος. ἀναγκάζει τὸ κέρδος. (3) ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα διέξιμι; εἴπω γειτόνων τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν. ἐξεῦρον γάρ τι πρὸς τὸ παρόν, ὧς Τύχῃ. κοινωνήσω τοῖς διοδεύουσι τοῦ κτήματος, ὅτε τὴν θέαν πεφόβημαι, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα περιθίξω καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις τούτων κινηθεὶς κουφίσω τὸν δειμὸν ἐννοῶν τὸ κέρδος. (4) εἴθε μοι ἦν τάλαντον ἢ χρυσοῦ κόσμος ἕτερος. καλὸς ἂν ἦν ὁ θησαυρός. νυνὶ δὲ μείζων ὁ φόβος τοῦ κτήματος. εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶ πολλαὶ κέρδους προφάσεις. προσεδρεύσω τῷ τόπῳ. ἐνταυθοῖ μενῶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἱκετεύων συμμαχήσαί μοι. τῷ χρόνῳ μελετήσας τὸ τόλμημα τάφον ἢ κέρδος ἔξω τὸ προκείμενον.

21. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ Μενέλαος
μαθὼν περὶ τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος τελευτῆς;

(1) Φεῦ τῆς μαντείας τῆς δυστυχοῦς. οἷα ἔσπευδον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν ἃ

property. Let the soldier have the house full of battle. Let the painter alone gaze upon you.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 20: WHAT WORDS WOULD A MONEY-LOVING
COWARD SAY UPON FINDING A GOLDEN SWORD?¹⁸⁶

(1) O strange gifts of Fortune; O ambiguous adventures of the mind! For what will I do? Will I yield to fear? But free profit bids me to stay. If only men had never practiced the arts! For what do they want? They no longer love the horse for battle. They are rich in war or arm themselves against one another with gold. However, does iron not know better than gold how to strike? (2) But why do I ponder these questions in vain? The divinity thus decides against us. Fortune destroys gifts such as these. If only I had been born wicked! I would have spared myself the fear at this wealth. For why did nature beget me as a coward? But why was I originally born greedy for profit? If only a silence in the face of this sight—a sight which I cannot bear to look at for a moment, even just to look at it—had preempted my mental anguish.¹⁸⁷ If only profit were also present in a wound! I am often afraid to say the word “sword.” Profit compels me. (3) But why do I go through all this? Let me speak to my closest neighbors; for I have discovered something for the present, O Fortune. When I am seized with fear at the sight, I will share my property with passersby; and when I have placed my hand on it and become disturbed by their intentions, I will lighten my fear by reflecting on profit. (4) If only I had a talent or a different ornament of gold! The treasure would have been fine. But now, my fear is greater than the property; for there are, there are many pretexts for profit. I will sit by the place. There I will remain, supplicating the gods to be my ally. In time, having exercised my daring, I will have what lies before me as grave or profit.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 21: WHAT WORDS WOULD MENELAUS SAY
UPON LEARNING OF THE DEATH OF AGAMEMNON?¹⁸⁸

(1) Alas for the unlucky prophecy! What sort of things I was eager to hear

186. Similarly, Aesop, *Fab.* 72 (Hausrath and Hunger, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopiarum*), where the money-loving coward finds a golden lion. For a coward as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 19.

187. That is, “If only I had stayed silent and not tortured myself by trying to think through this impossible situation, then I might have been able either to take the sword or simply walk away, in either case without regrets.” But the text here is uncertain; see Foerster’s (*Libanii Opera*) critical apparatus to 420,9–11.

188. For the theme with full elaboration, see Pseudo-Nicolaus 13 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.*

κέρδος ἦν ἔμοιγε μέχρι παντός ἀγνοεῖν. οἷχεται Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ τέθνηκεν ὁ πάντων ἐμοὶ φίλτατος οὐκ ἐν καλῷ τὴν πληγὴν δεξάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἥκιστ' ἐχρῆν. (2) καὶ μείζω τὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τῆς ἀπηντηκυίας συμφορᾶς. ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ἡγούμενος, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου πολέμου στρατηγός, ὁ τοῖς Ἡρακλέους κατορθώμασιν ἀμιλληθεὶς καὶ τὸ μέγα κατὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐγείρας τρόπαιον οἴκοι γενόμενος ἔχει τὴν καιρίαν καὶ τέθνηκε καὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τύχης κρείττων ἀναφανείς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθὼν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐστίας καὶ οἴκοι γενόμενος διέφθαρται. (3) ὦ δυστυχῆς ἐγὼ τῶν παρόντων. εἰς οἷαν ἀφίκται μοι τὰ πράγματα μεταβολήν. πρότερον μὲν λαμπρὸς ἦν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπίσημος τῇ δόξῃ κοινὰ πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα σκῆπτρα ἔχων καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ἡγούμενος, καὶ τὸ Πελόπειον γένος ἐμὸν ἦν καὶ δι' ἡμῶν ἔσχε τῆς δόξης τὴν ἐπίδοσιν. νῦν δὲ ὁ μὲν οἷχεται οὗτ' ἐπὶ παρατάξεως πεσὼν οὗτ' ἐν καλῷ δεξάμενος τὴν πληγὴν, ἀλλὰ γυναικείας ἐπιβουλῆς γενόμενος πάρεργον. (4) ἐμὲ δὲ δαίμων τις ἀπάγει τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ πόρρῳ κατέχει τῆς οἰκείας καὶ τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων Ἀγαμέμνων ἔρημος. οὐ γὰρ ἥρκει ὁ πρότερος ἐκείνῳ πόλεμος <ὁ> μακρὸς καὶ συνεχῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας πάντας καὶ τὰ τῶν κινδύνων συνεχῇ πολλαῖς περιόδοις ἐνιαυτῶν μετρούμενα, ἀλλ' ὅτε μετὰ τὴν νίκην τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπέκειτο καὶ ἐν ραστώνῃ τὸν βίον διεξάγειν ἐξῆν, εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀφίγμεθα μεταβολήν. (5) ὁ μὲν κεῖται πεσὼν, ἐγὼ δὲ πολλῇ θαλάττῃ κατεχόμενος καὶ μακρὰν ἀνύων πλάνην οὕπῳ δεδύνημαι τῆς οἰκείας ἐπιβῆναι οὐδ' ἀποδοῦναι τὸν ἴσον Ἀγαμέμνονι ἔρανον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τὰ δεινότατα ὑπέστη τοσοῦτοις <ἐαυτὸν> πολέμοις παραβαλλόμενος καὶ προκινδυνεύων τοῦ παντός Ἑλληνικοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην ἐπαμῦναι κειμένῳ, ἀλλ' ἡ φήμη καταλαβοῦσα διὰ τῆς μαντείας μοι τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπήγγειλεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἔχειν πλέον ἢ στένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπηντηκόσιν. (6) ἦ που νῦν Αἰγισθος μέγα φρονεῖ καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχει πολλοὺς τοὺς ὑπακούοντας. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ

and to learn, which would have been profitable for me to remain ignorant of forever! Agamemnon has perished, and the dearest man to me of all has died, not receiving the blow in a noble way, but from what he least ought. (2) And my shame over his suffering is greater than the misfortune that has happened to me. The man leading all of Greece, the general of the great war, the one who vied with the successes of Heracles and raised up the great war trophy against Asia,¹⁸⁹ upon reaching home received a mortal wound and has died, and though clearly revealed as superior to the fortune of war, and having suffered nothing incurable while at arms, in peace time and at his own hearth and having reached home, he has been killed. (3) O, unfortunate am I in present circumstances! To what sort of change have matters come for me! Formerly I was splendid and distinguished among everyone in my glory, holding the scepter in common with Agamemnon and leading all of Greece, and the race of Pelops was mine, and through us it received a contribution to its glory. But now he has perished, having neither fallen in the battle line nor received the blow in a noble way, but having become the by-product of a woman's plot.¹⁹⁰ (4) But some divinity leads me away from Greece and keeps me far from home, and Agamemnon is bereft of people to help him.¹⁹¹ For the former war, <the one> long and continual against everyone from Asia, and the continuous dangers measured in many circuits of the years, was not sufficient for him; rather, when after the victory the benefits of peace lay in store for us and it was possible for us to live life at our ease, we have come to the opposite change. (5) He lies dead, having fallen, while I, being hindered by the vast sea and completing a long wandering, have not yet been able to set foot in my homeland nor to pay Agamemnon back in kind. But that man submitted to the most terrible things on my behalf, exposing <himself> to such great wars and risking danger for the whole Greek race, while I was unable to defend him as he lay dead; rather, the report came to me through the prophecy and announced the disaster, that there was nothing more for me to do but to groan at what had happened.¹⁹² (6) I suppose that Aegisthus is now quite proud, and having taken up the scepter of Agamemnon, has many as his subjects.¹⁹³ But I cannot punish him.¹⁹⁴ But in that case why must I go on living

1:391,22–92,21). For the myth, see Homer, *Od.* 3.248–312; 4.81–92, 351–587; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.23, 6.29.

189. Like Menelaus, Heracles also sacked Troy: Apollodorus *Bibl.* 2.6.4; 3.12.7.

190. I.e., Clytemnestra's plot to kill him.

191. Homer, *Od.* 3.276–303; 4.81–92, 351–381, 465–480, 512–547.

192. Homer, *Od.* 4.512–541.

193. This is the situation envisioned at the end of Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*.

194. Menelaus did not return home in time: Homer, *Od.* 3.309–312; 4.543–547.

δύναμαι δίκην παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν. τί γάρ με δεῖ περιεῖναι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν; τίς ἡδονὴ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα βίου, εἰ μὴ δίκην ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου λήψομαι;

22. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Μενοικεὺς ὑπὲρ νίκης
τῆς πατρίδος ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάξαι βουλόμενος;

(1) Ὁ μάντις ἔφηνε τῆς γνώμης τὴν ἀφορμὴν καὶ ἡ δέον ἐστὶ σῶζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοῦναντίον οἴχεσθαι προηγόρευσεν. ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ὅλος τῆς φύσεώς ἐστι καὶ τὸν παῖδα βούλεται σῶζεσθαι καὶ φυγῆς μοι δίδωσι σύνθημα ἀναίρεσιν καὶ ἀνδραποδισμόν τῆς πατρίδος καταψηφιζόμενος. (2) ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἂν προδότης γενοίμην τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ οὐδὲ φιλόψυχος οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἀγεννῆς ὥς μὴ δοῦναι τῇ πατρίδι τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ μείναι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἴσου σχήματος. (3) κοινὸς μὲν ἀπάντων ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πάντας γενομένους ἀποθανεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἐν καλῷ τῷ σχήματι δέξασθαι τὴν τελευτὴν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἴδιον. εἰ μὲν οὖν πεισθεῖν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ φυγῇ χρησαίμην, ἀλώσεται μὲν ἡ πόλις, πεσεῖται δὲ τὰ τείχη ταύτης, πολὺς δὲ ὁ φόνος τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἀνδραποδισθήσονται δὲ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τῶν Θηβῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔξει τὴν δόξαν. (4) ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπονείδιστος ὁ βίος, εἰ μὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προαπελθεῖν ἐλοίμην. εἰ δὲ ὑποσταίην τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ τὴν πληγὴν ἐνέγκαιμι, πεσεῖται μὲν τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατόπεδον, δίκην δὲ ὑφέξουσιν οἱ στρατεύσαντες ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἡ πόλις δ' ἔσται περιβόητος ἐπὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις μεγάλην τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχουσα, ἀγαλλομένη τῇ νίκῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπιγράψουσιν ἅπαντες καὶ πολὺς ὁ Μενοικεὺς ἐν ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἐγκωμίοις ἰσοθέους τιμὰς ἔχων.

(5) Οὐ δεῖ δὴ μαλακίζεσθαι. ὦ πόσοι πεπτώκασιν ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως. πόσοι πολεμοῦντες ἐδέξαντο τὴν πληγὴν. τούτων ἓνα με καὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι δεῖ καὶ μείζονα ἐκείνων τὴν δόξαν λαβεῖν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐγκώμιον τῆς πατρίδος προαπελθοῦσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἀπόκειται τῆς δόξης καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἰσοθέους ἔξω καὶ τὴν μνήμην παρὰ πᾶσι τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ πατρίδος προαπελθῶν.

and being proud? What pleasure can there be in life after this, if I do not take vengeance on his behalf?¹⁹⁵

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 22: WHAT WORDS WOULD MENOECESUS SAY WHEN HE WISHES TO COMMIT SUICIDE ON BEHALF OF A VICTORY FOR HIS HOMELAND?¹⁹⁶

(1) The prophet revealed the resources of his intellect and named the means by which it is necessary for the city to be saved rather than, to the contrary, to perish.¹⁹⁷ But my father is entirely in possession of his nature¹⁹⁸ and wishes his son to be saved, and he gives me a pledge of flight, voting for the destruction and slavery of his country.¹⁹⁹ (2) But I would not become a traitor to my country, nor am I so in love with life and ignoble in the face of death as not to give my country victory and the ability to remain for the future always in the same form.²⁰⁰ (3) Death is common to all, and all who are born are compelled to die, but the ability to welcome the end with a noble demeanor belongs only to the wise. And so, if I should obey my father and take advantage of flight, the city will be sacked, its walls will fall, the slaughter of those in their prime will be great, their children and wives will be enslaved, and the great name of Thebes will no longer have glory in Greece. (4) My life would be worthy of reproach if I did not choose to die for Greece. And if I submit to the sacrifice and bring the blow against myself, the enemy's army will fall, and those who marched against us will suffer punishment, and the city will be widely hailed, having great freedom in its war trophies, glorying in its victory. Everyone will ascribe these results to me, and Menoeceus will be great in praises and encomia, having honors equal to the gods.

(5) I must not show cowardice. O, how many have fallen in the battle line! How many have received blows while fighting! I must also become one of these myself and obtain greater glory than they did; for there is no encomium for those who have died for their country, but complete glory lies in store for me, and I will have honors equal to the gods, and in dying for my country, I will be remembered by all.

195. Orestes avenged his father by killing his mother and Aegisthus: Homer, *Od.* 1.28–43, 298–300; 3.304–310; Aeschylus, *Choephoroi*; Sophocles, *Elektra*; Euripides, *Elektra*; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.24–25.

196. For the myth, see Euripides, *Phoen.* 903–1018; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.7. For the theme with full elaboration, see Pseudo-Nicolaus 2 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:382,9–83,7).

197. Tiresias: Euripides, *Phoen.* 911–959.

198. I.e., his nature as a father. Menoeceus's father is Creon.

199. Euripides, *Phoen.* 962–990.

200. For this sentiment and what follows, see Euripides, *Phoen.* 991–1005.

23. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπηλαίῳ καταληφθείς;

(1) Φεῦ τῆς ἀτόπου θέας καὶ τῆς ἄγαν κινδύνων ὑπερβολῆς. ἐπιλέλοιπέ με τὰ τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ὧς χρήσομαι πρὸς τὸν πονηρὸν οὐκ ἔχω. πῶς ἂν δυνηθείην τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκφυγεῖν; ἄμαχος τὴν γνώμην καὶ θηριώδης τὸ ἦθος καὶ τῆς τῶν γιγάντων φύσεως ἀτοπώτερος καὶ τοσοῦτος τὴν ῥώμην καὶ τηλικούτος τὸ μέγεθος ὥς μόνοις ἂν τοῖς Διὸς σκηπτοῖς κατενεχθῆναι. (2) ἀποτετείσχισαί μοι τὰ τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ τὰ τῆς αὐλῆς ἀποκέκλεισται. μηχανὴν δὲ εὔρεῖν ἢ λύσιν τῶν δεινῶν ἀμήχανον. προκείμεθα γὰρ τῷ θηρίῳ πρὸς βοράν. μικρὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ δυάδας λαβεῖν καὶ διαχειρίσασθαι. οἱ μὲν ἤδη τεθνήκασιν, ὧν τὰ λείψανα οὐκ εὐτυχῇ πρόκειται, οἱ δὲ ἔχουσι τὸν φόβον, ἅπαντες δὲ κατεπτήχασιν, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς ὀρώσι καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν τέχνην καὶ σύνεσιν. (3) πολλοῖς ὠμίλησα κακοῖς, πολλοῖς προσεγυμνάσθην πολέμοις. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ εἰωθότα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλοις ἦν βιάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐκφυγεῖν. μέγα ὁ τῶν Ἰλίων πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς εἶχον τοὺς συνισταμένους, καὶ τὰς νίκας μὲν ἦν ἐπεξίεναι, τὴν ἥτταν δὲ παραμυθεῖσθαι τῇ φυγῇ. (4) πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πόνους ἐπεδειξάμην τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἤδη δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπέστην τῷ Τρωικῷ, τὸν Δόλωνα ἀνείλον, τὸν Ῥῆσον διεχειρισάμην, τοῖς πολλοῖς Θραξὶν ἐπέστησα τὴν συμφοράν, εἰς μέσους ἐγενόμην τοὺς πολεμίους σχῆμα ὑποκρινάμενος ἕτερον καὶ τὸ φυλακτήριον τῆς Τροίας ἐξειλόμην καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι παρέδωκα τῆς νίκης τὸ ἐνέχυρον ἔχειν. τὴν Σώκου πληγὴν ἦνεγκα γενναίως, τοῦ τελευταίου λόχου καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγεμῶν ἐγενόμην. (5) τὴν Τροίαν κατήνεγκα, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄπορά μοι τὰ τῶν λογισμῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν. Κίκονας ἀνείλον, ἦν γὰρ πρὸς ἴσους ὁ πόλεμος. κρείττων ἐγενόμην τῆς Λωτοφάγων ἡδονῆς, ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦν τὸ φυλάξασθαι. τὴν Λαιστρυγόνων

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 23: WHAT WORDS WOULD ODYSSEUS SAY
UPON BEING TRAPPED IN THE CAVE OF THE CYCLOPS?²⁰¹

(1) Alas for the strange sight and the great excess of dangers! My power of reason has failed me, and I have nothing to use against the wretch. How could I escape the danger? Invincible in his mind, beastly in his character, more unnatural than the race of giants, so great in strength and so large in size that he could be struck down only by the thunderbolts of Zeus.²⁰² (2) He has walled off my means of exit and barred the door to the courtyard.²⁰³ It is impossible to find a device or solution to this terrible situation; for we are set before the beast for his meat. It is a small thing for him to take us two at a time and kill us.²⁰⁴ Some have already died, whose unfortunate remains lie before us, while others are afraid, and all are cowered down, and they are looking toward us and our skill and intelligence. (3) I have associated with many evils; I have competed against many enemies. But they were both human and normal, and it was possible to overcome some by weapons and escape others through my power of reason. The war with the people of Ilium was great, but I had many standing beside me, and it was possible to execute victories, while taking consolation for defeat in flight. (4) I openly displayed many labors to the enemy, and one time I surprised the Trojan army by night,²⁰⁵ killed Dolon,²⁰⁶ slayed Rhesus, and brought disaster to many Thracians.²⁰⁷ Having adopted a disguise, I went into the midst of the enemy, stole the guardian of Troy, and handed it over to the Greeks to have as a guarantee of victory.²⁰⁸ I bore the blow of Socus nobly,²⁰⁹ and I myself was leader of the final ambush.²¹⁰ (5) I brought down Troy, but now my power of reason is useless to save me. I killed the Cicones; for the war was against equals.²¹¹ I mastered the pleasure of the Lotus-eaters; for protection was in my power.²¹² I escaped the savagery of the

201. For the myth, see Homer, *Od.* 9.105–566; cf. Encomium 2.17. For Odysseus as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 24, 25.

202. Homer, *Od.* 9.186–192; cf. *Od.* 9.273–279.

203. Homer, *Od.* 9.184–186, 240–244.

204. Homer, *Od.* 9.287–293, 310–311.

205. For the night mission, see Homer, *Il.* 10.254–579.

206. Actually, Diomedes killed Dolon: Homer, *Il.* 10.446–457.

207. Homer, *Il.* 10.469–502.

208. The Palladium: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.3; *Epit.* 5.10–13; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.337–351; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.163–168.

209. Homer, *Il.* 11.427–488.

210. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.14–15. For section 4, cf. Encomium 2.9–14.

211. Homer, *Od.* 9.39–61.

212. Homer, *Od.* 9.82–104.

ώμότητα διέφυγον, καιρὸν γὰρ εἶχον τῆς φυγῆς. (6) ἀλλὰ νῦν ὥσπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθεῖργμαι, ὃ μήτε διαρρηῆξαι ῥάδιον μήτε παρακινήσαι τὴν ἐν θύραις ἐμβολὴν τοῦ λίθου. ἐστρατήγηται μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρῶτά μοι καλῶς, οἶνω κατεπόντισα τὸ θηρίον, καὶ πρόκειται, εἴ γε βουλοίμην διαχειρίσασθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ τελευτήσκειν, ἡμῖν ἀπόκειται λιμῶ διαφθαρῆναι οὐκ οὔσης ἐξόδου οὐδὲ δυνάμεως τοσαύτης ἣτις ἀρκέσει πρὸς ἔκβασιν ἐλευθερῶσαι τῆς ἐπικειμένης πέτρας. μόνης γὰρ τῆς Κύκλωπος χειρὸς καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι τὸν λίθον καὶ ἀφελέσθαι. (7) οὐκοῦν περιεῖναι δεῖ, εἴ γε μέλλοιμεν τὰς ἐξόδους ἔχειν. περιόντος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σώζεσθαι. μέσον δεῖ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων. τῶν πυλῶν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἡμῖν εἰ μὴ δι' ἐκείνον ἀφαίρεσιν, ἔξω δὲ καταστᾶσι μηδὲ δυνηθῆναι ἐκείνου λαβεῖν. συνῆκα τὸ πρακτέον, ὃψὲ μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως συνῆκα. πῆρῳσιν δεῖ καταψηφίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκτυφλοῦν. οὕτω γὰρ γενήσεται ὥς δυνηθῆναι τὸν λίθον ἐξελεῖν καὶ ἀδεῆς ἡμῖν ἔσται οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι χρήσεται ἑαυτῷ. (8) ταῦτα δεδόχθω, ταῦτα τολμῶμεν. στέλεχος ἐλαίας τουτὶ πρόκειται. πυρῶσαι δεῖ καὶ ἐκτριβέντι εἰς ὃξ ὥσπερ αἰχμῇ κατὰ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ χρήσασθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ξύλον οὕτοι μετεωρίσουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐρείσας πηρὸν ἀποδείξαι πειράσομαι. εὖ γε τῆς ἐπινοίας, εὖ γε τοῦ τολμήματος. γένοιτο δὲ εἰς καλὸν ἐκβῆναι τῇ τύχῃ.

24. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ὀδυσσεὺς
πρὸς τὸν Κύκλωπα ὁρῶν τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐσθίοντα;

(1) Πολλῶν μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλων πεπείραμαι κακῶν καὶ πάλαι μὲν, ὅτε βαρβάρους πρῶτον κατεπολέμησα, καὶ νῦν ὅτε κακῶς τὴν θάλατταν ἔπλευσα, ἅτε στρατιώτης οὐκ εὐτυχὴς καὶ ναύτης δυστυχής· ἔδει δέ με καὶ πρὸς Κυκλώπων

Laestrygonians; for I had an opportunity for flight.²¹³ (6) But now I am caged just as in a prison, where it is easy neither to break through nor to move aside the mass of stone in the doorway; for the first part has been conducted beautifully—I drowned the beast in wine—and he lies there before me, if I should wish to slay him.²¹⁴ But if he should die, what lies in store for us is to perish by starvation, since we have no way out, nor do we have such great power as would be sufficient to make us free to leave, with the rock standing in the way; for it belongs to the Cyclops' hand and his strength alone both to put the stone on and to take it off.²¹⁵ (7) Therefore he must survive, if we are going to have a way out. But if he survives, it is impossible for us to be saved. A middle course between both of these is needed. It is impossible for us to find a way to remove the gates except through him, but it is also impossible for us, once outside, to be able to catch him, <unless he is somehow disabled>.²¹⁶ I just figured out what has to be done—after a long time, yes, but nevertheless I just figured it out. We must vote to maim him, and blind the one eye; for in this way it will come to pass that he will be able to remove the stone; and he will cause us no fear, as he has nothing to use. (8) Let it be resolved; let us dare to do it. This stump of olive lies right here before us. We must burn it and use it like a spear against his eye, once it has been honed sharp.²¹⁷ And these men will raise the wood up high, while I, driving it into his eye, will try to make him blind.²¹⁸ Bravo for the idea, bravo for the daring! May it turn out for the best by fortune.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 24: WHAT WORDS WOULD ODYSSEUS SAY
TO THE CYCLOPS WHEN HE SEES HIM EATING HIS COMRADES?²¹⁹

(1) Many other evils have I experienced, and for a long time: first, when I battled against the barbarians, and now, when I began to sail the sea with difficulty, inasmuch as I was not lucky as a soldier and am unlucky as a sailor.

213. Actually, this occurred after the Cyclops episode: Homer, *Od.* 10.80–134. For section 5, cf. Encomium 2.16–18.

214. Homer, *Od.* 9.345–374.

215. Homer, *Od.* 9.303–305, 312–314.

216. The text of 414,9–11 (428,9–11 Foerster) is corrupt; see Foerster's critical apparatus. At a minimum, some such suppletion after λαβεῖν in 414,11 (428,11 Foerster) is needed to retain the parallelism among the different options that Odysseus is weighing here, as suggested to me by Malcolm Heath.

217. Homer, *Od.* 9.319–335.

218. Homer, *Od.* 9.375–390.

219. For the myth, see Homer, *Od.* 9.105–566; cf. Encomium 2.17. For Odysseus as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 23, 25.

ἄντρα ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀσεβῆ σου ταύτην, Πολύφημε, τράπεζαν ἰδεῖν, ἣν παρέθηκας σαυτῷ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος πληρώσας αὐτὴν πανδαισίας κακῶν. (2) ἐνέτυχον μὲν οὖν πρὸ σοῦ ἀνδράσι ληστροκοῖς καὶ βαρβάροις ἀνημέροις, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ ἄνομον τράπεζαν τεθεαμένος πλήν ταύτης ἥς γέγονας ἡγεμῶν πληρώσας αὐτὴν τοσούτων νεκρῶν ὀλοκλήρων. (3) εἶθε μὲν οὖν σου πρῶτον ἔργον ἐγενόμην ἢ τελευταῖος τεθνήξεσθαι, οἶδα γὰρ ὡς παραθήσεις με τελευταῖον τροφῆς ἀπανθρώπου λείψανον, καὶ εἶθε Κικόνων ἐγενόμην ἔργον καὶ μὴ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους νενικήκειν, ἄμεινον ἡττημένος ἢ νίκην νενικηκῶς λοιδορουμένην. ἐγὼ δ' ἡδέως Λαιστρυγόνων <ἄν> ἠνεσχόμην, ἵν' ἔχωσι τάφους οἱ νεκροί. οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν παραμύθιον ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποθνήσκοντι στήλη καὶ τάφος. ὀλόκληρον κατέχει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ στήλη. (4) νῦν δὲ εὖρηταί τις ἐν ἀνθρώποις τάφος τοσούτων σωμάτων γαστήρ αὕτη τὴν ἄσπαρτον μιμουμένη καὶ θυμὸς ἀπαραίτητος δαπάνην ὅλης εἰρεσίας ναυτικῆς. ὁ γὰρ σοι, Πολύφημε, λογισμὸς ὄκνον οὐκ ἔχει οὐδ' ἐβουλεύσω ποτὲ ἀνθρώπινον, ἀλλ' ἔλεον μὲν ἐξέγκισας σεαυτοῦ, δίκη δὲ λοιδορῇ πάντοτε, χαίρεις δὲ τροφαῖς ἀθέσμοις. παρὰ μικρὸν ὅλον ὁρῶ βίον δαπανώμενον. (5) τίς ἢ τοσαύτη φθορὰ τῶν σωμάτων; τίς πολλὴ νόσος κατέσχε ψυχὰς ἀνθρωπίνας; νενίκηκας τὴν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας καταβαίνουσαν λοιμώδη νόσον. ὦ πόλεμοι παλαιοὶ καὶ τάξεις ἀρχαῖαι καὶ μάχαι συνεχεῖς.

25. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς μνηστήρας ἀνελών;

(1) Ἐν ἀγώνισμά μοι κατελείπετο καὶ τοῦτο ἔχει τέλος εὐτυχές καὶ κεῖται τὸ τῶν μνηστήρων πλήρωμα. οἷχονται πάντες οἱ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀναιδῶς χρώμενοι. καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως μὲν ἐλευθέρα ἢ γυνή, ἐλεύθερος δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ παῖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ περίεστι τῶν οἴκοι κρατεῖν. (2) πολλοῖς μὲν ἐνήθλησα κινδύνους κακοῖς, οὐδὲν δὲ παρέσχε μοι τῆς ἀγωνίας τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ὡς ἢ ὑπὸ μνηστήρων ὕβρις τῆς γυναικός. παρανόημα ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου τὸ κινήσαν τὸν πόλεμον

But I also had to come to the cave of the Cyclops and see this impious table of yours, Polyphemus, which you have set before yourself, the first and only creature to fill it with a complete banquet of evils. (2) And so I have encountered pirate men and savage barbarians before you, but I do not know that I have ever seen a lawless table except this one of which you have become the leader, filling it with so many whole corpses.²²⁰ (3) So I wish that I had been your first victim rather than dying last; for I know that you will set me out as the last remnant of your inhuman food.²²¹ And I wish that I had been the victim of the Cicones and had not won the war against them²²²—better to have been defeated than to have won a victory that is reviled. But I <would have> gladly held out against the Laestrygonians,²²³ so that the corpses might have graves; for a marker and a grave are no small consolation to a dying man. A marker covers the whole man.²²⁴ (4) But now a grave of so many bodies has been found among men: this belly, imitating the untilled sea, and a spirit unmerciful in its consumption of all the ship's rowers; for your reasoning, Polyphemus, shows no hesitation, nor did you ever deliberate humanely; rather, you banished pity from your house, but you revile justice at all times, and delight in unlawful foods. I see my whole life shortly being consumed. (5) What is so great a destruction of bodies? What great disease has afflicted human souls? You have surpassed the plague that comes down from Ethiopia.²²⁵ O, ancient wars and old battle lines and continuous battles!

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 25: WHAT WORDS WOULD ODYSSEUS SAY
AFTER KILLING THE SUITORS?²²⁶

(1) One struggle remained for me, and this has a happy outcome, and the full complement of suitors lies dead. All those who shamelessly used my possessions have perished. And my wife is free of their violence, and my son is free of their plotting, and to me it remains to rule over my household. (2) I struggled against many evil dangers, but nothing presented me with such an excess of anguish as the violence done by the suitors to my wife. It was the transgression of a barbarian man that stirred up the war and armed Greece against

220. Homer, *Od.* 9.287–298, 310–312.

221. Homer, *Od.* 9.368–370.

222. Homer, *Od.* 9.39–61.

223. Actually, this occurred after the Cyclops episode: Homer, *Od.* 10.80–134.

224. For section 3, cf. Encomium 2.16–18.

225. Thucydides 2.48.1.

226. For the myth, see Homer, *Od.* 22; cf. Encomium 2.23. For Odysseus as speaker in this collection, see Speech in Character 23, 24.

καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξοπλίσαν κατὰ τῆς βαρβάρου. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν στόλον ἐκείνον συνεκρότησα καὶ φεύγοντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπέσχον. ἐγὼ καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ὤπλισα καὶ παρέδωκα σύμμαχον τοῖς Ἕλλησι. (3) τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Τροίας, Σῶκον οὐ λέγω καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῶν Λυκίων ἔθνος, ὅσους αὐτὸς διεχειρισάμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δόλωνα εἶλον καὶ τοῖς Θραξὶν ἐπέστην καὶ τὸ σύνθημα ἔδωκα τοῦ φόνου τῷ Διομήδει. ἐγὼ τὸ μέγα φυλακτήριον τῆς Τροίας ἐξήγαγον καὶ παρέδωκα τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς νίκης τὴν ἀφορμὴν. ἐγὼ καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος παρευδοκίμησα περὶ τῶν ὅπλων κρινόμενος καὶ τὸν τελευταῖον λόχον συνεκρότησα τὸν Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δουρείου <ἵππου> τόλμημα ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐγένετο. (4) τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πλάνης πολλὰ καὶ μυρία. Κίκονας εἶλον, Λαιστρυγόνων ἐξέφυγον τὴν ὠμότητα, Κύκλωπα ἡμυνάμην, τῶν Καλυψοῦς ὑπερεῖδον ἐρώτων, τοῦ Κίρκης κυκεῶνος κρείττων ἐγενόμην. (5) τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης δεινὰ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ μυρία διήθλησα. τὴν Σκύλλαν ὑπομείνας, τὴν Χάρυβδιν καὶ μέσος ἐκατέρων ἐλθὼν τὰς Σειρῆνας παρέπλευσα φωνῆς αὐτῶν οὔτε ἀνήκοος μείνας καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων μὴ παθὼν. Λωτοφάγους δὲ οὐ λέγω οὐδὲ ὅσα μοι περὶ τὴν Αἰολίαν ἐπέπρακται. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὴν εἰς Ἄιδου

the barbarian land.²²⁷ But I organized that expedition²²⁸ and restrained the Greeks from fleeing.²²⁹ I also armed Achilles and handed him over as an ally to the Greeks.²³⁰ (3) But as for what happened in Troy, I make no mention of Socus and his brother²³¹ and the great tribe of the Lycians,²³² all of whom I myself killed; but I also killed Dolon,²³³ surprised the Thracians,²³⁴ and gave the signal for murder to Diomedes.²³⁵ I brought out the great protector of Troy and handed it over to the Greeks as a means of victory.²³⁶ I also surpassed the son of Telamon in glory in the judgment over the arms,²³⁷ and I organized the final Greek ambush, and the bold act of the wooden <horse> was my deed.²³⁸ (4) The things that happened during my wandering were many and countless.²³⁹ I killed the Cicones;²⁴⁰ I escaped the savagery of the Laestrygonians;²⁴¹ I defended myself against the Cyclops;²⁴² I snubbed the sexual delights of Calypso;²⁴³ I mastered the potion of Circe.²⁴⁴ (5) The terrible things that happened on the sea, many and countless, I struggled through. Having endured Scylla and Charybdis, and having passed between the two,²⁴⁵ I sailed past the Sirens, neither remaining without hearing their voices nor yet suffering the fate of those who hear them.²⁴⁶ I make no mention of the Lotus-eaters,²⁴⁷ nor of everything that was done with regard to Aeolia.²⁴⁸ But I made the journey

227. I.e., Paris's abduction of Helen, the cause of the Trojan War.

228. Homer, *Il.* 11.766–769; Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.10.9.

229. Homer, *Il.* 2.185–210, 284–335.

230. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8.

231. Homer, *Il.* 11.426–455.

232. Homer, *Il.* 5.674–678.

233. Actually, Diomedes killed Dolon: Homer, *Il.* 10.446–457.

234. Homer, *Il.* 10.469–502.

235. Homer, *Il.* 10.475–481, 502.

236. The Palladium: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.3; *Epit.* 5.10–13; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.337–351; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.163–168.

237. Ajax: Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.620–13.398; cf. Speech in Character 5–7.

238. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.14–15. For sections 2–3, cf. Encomium 2.4–14.

239. Homer, *Od.* 9–12.

240. Homer, *Od.* 9.39–61.

241. Homer, *Od.* 10.80–134.

242. Homer, *Od.* 9.105–566, especially 319–394.

243. Homer, *Od.* 5.1–268, especially 200–224.

244. Homer, *Od.* 10.210–335.

245. Homer, *Od.* 12.55–126, 201–259.

246. Homer, *Od.* 12.39–54, 154–200.

247. Homer, *Od.* 9.82–104.

248. Homer, *Od.* 10.1–79.

πορείαν ἦλθον μόνος Ἡρακλεῖ τὰ ἴσα τολμήσας καὶ δυνηθείς. (6) ἀλλ' ἀπέκειτο τῶν προειρημένων χαλεπώτερα τὰ οἴκοι καὶ τὰ τῶν μνηστήρων τολμήματα. ἐκεῖνοι ἐπείρων τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἔσπευδον ἀνελεῖν, τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνήλυσκον περιουσίαν, ὕβριζον παρόντα. ἀλλὰ δεδώκασι δίκην καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοξείας πάρεργον γεγόνασιν. ἐπ' ἀδείας ἀπόκειται τῶν οἴκοι κρατεῖν. (7) ἀλλὰ συστήσονται τούτοις οἱ προσήκοντες καὶ ἐπεξελεύσονται ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηρημένων καὶ μάχης μοι δεήσει. οὐκοῦν οἴκοι μένειν ἀκαιρία δεινὴ. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν γενοίμην, ἔστι καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἐλθόντα κρατεῖν καὶ μηχανὴν εὐρεῖν δι' ἧς ἔσται σπεισάμενον ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ μένειν.

26. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους εὐνοῦχος ἐρῶν;

(1) Ἐν ἔτι λοιπὸν Ἔρωτι λείπεται τὸ καὶ τοὺς τεθνηκότας ἀλλήλων παρασκευάζειν ἐρᾶν. νεκρὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς ἡδονὰς οὐ διέφυγον, ἀλλ' ἤδη γέγονα τοῖς ἐκείνου βέλεσι θήραμα. ὑπηρέτης κατέστην αὐτοῦ πράττειν ὃ βούλεται μὴ δυνάμενος. (2) ὦ πόθου πέρας οὐκ ἔχοντος. κἂν γὰρ ἀποτύχω, γέγονα δυστυχῆς, κἂν τύχω, πάλιν εἰμὶ δυστυχέστερος ἄγειν οὐκ ἔχων εἰς πράξιν τὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως. οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ Ἔρω, ἐν ἐμοὶ τελεῖσθαι τὰ σά. μάτην ἡμῖν ἐπαφῆκας τὰ βέλη καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν ἐκένωσας καὶ πρὸς γάμον ἠνάγκασας σπουδάζειν τὸν οὐκ εἰδότα συνάπτεσθαι. (3) οὐκ ἔστι συνάγειν ἃ μὴ συνελθεῖν ἢ φύσις ἀφῆκε. προῆλθον ἀνὴρ καὶ γέγονα διὰ τέχνης ἀμφίβολος ἄνθρωπος καὶ μὴ πράττων ὡς ἄνθρωπος μόνον πρὸς τὸ νοσεῖν κατέστην ἀνὴρ. τὸ γὰρ πράττειν ἀφῆρημαι. οὔτε μένειν εἴασεν ὅπερ ὑπῆρχον ἡ Τύχη οὔτε μεταβεβλημένον ἀφῆκεν ὁ Ἔρως. (4) ἤκουον καὶ πρώην ἐρώτων καὶ παραδόξους τούτους ἐνόμιζον. νῦν δὲ μικροὶ πάντες πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν

to Hades, the only man who has dared things equal to Heracles and been able to do them.²⁴⁹ (6) But things at home and the bold deeds of the suitors, more difficult than the aforementioned, lay in store for me. Those men were making trial of my wife and were eager to kill my son; they were using up my wealth; they were doing violence to me in my presence. But they have paid the penalty and have become the by-product of my archery. What lies in store for me is to rule over my household without fear. (7) But the relatives of these men will band together and march out against me on behalf of the ones killed, and there will be need of battle for me.²⁵⁰ Therefore, it is a terrible time to stay at home. But if I should go to the country,²⁵¹ it is possible both to prevail, after coming through the dangers, and to find a means by which it will be possible to make a truce and remain under my own power.²⁵²

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 26: WHAT WORDS WOULD A EUNUCH SAY
WHEN HE FALLS IN LOVE?²⁵³

(1) One thing yet remains for Love: to make even the dead love each other; for though being a corpse, even I myself did not escape sexual pleasures, but have now become quarry to his arrows. I became his servant, though unable to do what he wishes. (2) O, for desire having no fulfillment! For if I miss my target, I have become unfortunate, and if I hit it, I am again more unfortunate, not being able to bring into action the result of my choice. It is not, O Love, in my power to fulfill your tasks. In vain you shot your arrows at me, emptied your quiver, and compelled me to be eager for marriage, a man who does not know how to have intercourse. (3) It is not possible to bring together what nature has not allowed to come together. I was born a man, and I have become an ambiguous human being through craftsmanship; and not acting as a human being I have become a man only in regard to suffering sickness; for I have been robbed of the ability to act. Neither did Fortune permit me to remain as I was, nor did Love release me once transformed. (4) Until recently I would hear of love affairs and consider them paradoxical. But

249. Homer, *Od.* 11. For Heracles, see Homer, *Od.* 11.601–626. Heracles rescued Alcestis (Euripides, *Alcestis*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.15; Narration 15) and Theseus (Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.24), retrieved Cerberus, and had other adventures in Hades (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.12). For sections 4–5, cf. Encomium 2.16–20.

250. Homer, *Od.* 24.412–437, 463–471.

251. Homer, *Od.* 24.205–206.

252. Homer, *Od.* 24.472–548.

253. For the theme with partial elaboration, see Favorinus, frg. 18 (Barigazzi, *Favorino di Arelate: Opere*, 163–64).

παράλογον κατέστησαν ἔρωτα. ἦλω Πασιφάη ποτὲ ταύρου καὶ τέχνην ἔσχε πρὸς τὴν μίξιν ἐπίκουρον. ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως κομισάμενος ἐκ τέχνης ἠτύχησα. (5) ἀλλ', ὦ Ἔρω, ἢ παῦσον τὸ πάθος ἢ τὴν φύσιν μετάβαλε. τούτων γὰρ πέφυκεν ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ πολέμιον.

27. Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ζωγράφος γράψας κόρην καὶ ἐρασθεὶς αὐτῆς;

(1) Οὐδὲν ἄρα κάλλους ἐστὶ δυνατότερον, εἴγε καὶ διὰ χρωμάτων θηρᾶν ἐπίσταται καὶ τοῖς ἀψύχοις ἀλίσκεσθαι παρασκευάζει τὰ ἔμψυχα. συνήλθε πεποικιλμένῳ κηρῷ καὶ τὸν εἰργασμένον ἐρᾶν κατηνάγκασε τούτου. ὦ τέχνης προελθούσης κατὰ τοῦ κτησαμένου, ὦ δεξιᾶς ἀδικούσης μετὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν. τεχνίτης καλεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ἀγαθὸς ἐραστής νῦν ἀτυχῆς ὀνομάζομαι. (2) ἔγραψα πολλάκις ἐρώντων ὑπόθεσιν καὶ διετύπουν χρώμασι τὰ τούτων μυστήρια. ἐποιοῦν Ἔρωτός τινα τετρωμένον τῷ βέλει μὴ παρούσης πληγῆς. ἐξήπτετο καὶ πάλιν ἐκ λαμπάδος μὴ φαινομένης πῦρ. φωνὴν παρείχον διὰ τῆς τέχνης ὡς εἰπεῖν τῷ κηρῷ καὶ σκιὰν δοκεῖν διαλέγεσθαι παρεσκευάζον. ἔγραφον ἄρτι μὲν τὸν ἐρώντα δυσφοροῦντα πολὺ, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην δηλοῦντα σχήματι τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἄλλοτε δὲ δῶρον ἐκπέμποντα, καὶ πολλάκις ψυχαγωγούμενον οἷα δὴ πεπεικότα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀποτυγχάνοντα καὶ πάλιν δακρύοντα. (3) καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἐμιμούμην εἰκόνι, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς παρειχόμεν δουλεύοντας Ἔρωτι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων φύσιν μετέπλαττον πρὸς ὃ μὴ πάσχειν πεφύκασιν, οἷον τὸν Δία βούν ἐποιοῦν δι' ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπὶ τῶν νώτων φέρειν ἠνάγκαζον καὶ περαιοῦσθαι διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων τὴν θάλασσαν. κύκνος ἦν δι' ἐμὲ καὶ ὅτε πλούτῳ χαρίζεσθαι προηρούμην, χρυσός. ἔγραφον πάλιν αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ καὶ σώζων τὸ φοβερόν ἀπεστρεφόμεν τὸ δεδιός. (4) τί δέ; Ἀπόλλων βραδύτερος κόρης διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐγίγνετο δεξιᾶς

now all of them have become trivial in comparison to my unexpected love. Pasiphae once succumbed to a bull and had craftsmanship to aid her in sexual intercourse.²⁵⁴ But I, though having received everything from nature, became unlucky because of craftsmanship. (5) But, O Love, either stop this passion or transform my nature; for one of these is naturally hostile to the other.

SPEECH IN CHARACTER 27: WHAT WORDS WOULD A PAINTER SAY
UPON PAINTING A PICTURE OF A GIRL AND FALLING IN LOVE WITH HER?²⁵⁵

(1) Nothing is more powerful than beauty, if it in fact both knows how to hunt with paint and makes things with souls be captured by things without them. It joined with the many-colored wax and forced the one who made the picture to love it. O, for the art advancing against the one who acquired it! O, for the right hand wronging the mind along with the eyes! Wishing to be called a good artist, I am now named an unlucky lover. (2) I often painted the subject of lovers and sketched their mysteries with paint. I would make someone wounded by Love's arrow, with no blow present. And again fire would be kindled from a lamp not apparent. I would furnish wax with a voice, so to speak, through my art, and make shading seem to hold a conversation. I was just recently painting a lover being very upset, and a short time later making his purpose clear to his beloved with a gesture, and at another time sending a gift, and often beguiling her soul with what he had suffered, but often both failing and again shedding tears. (3) And I would not only imitate love affairs among humans with an image, but I would also show the gods being slaves to Love, and I would remodel their nature toward what they do not naturally suffer; for instance, I would make Zeus a bull on account of love, and I would force him to carry Europa on his back and cross the sea, through paint.²⁵⁶ He was a swan because of me,²⁵⁷ and when I chose to gratify wealth, he was gold.²⁵⁸ Again I would paint him with the thunderbolt, and though preserving

254. For the myth, see Narration 21–22; Ovid, *Metam.* 8.131–137, 155–156; 9.735–743.

255. = Severus 8 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:546,11–48,9, re-edited with German translation in Pichler, “Severos von Alexandria,” 13–14, translated into Italian by Stramaglia, “Amori impossibili,” 235–36). Cf. Aristaenetus 2.10; Onomarchus of Andros (in Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 2.18, with partial elaboration); and P.Köln 250 (ed. Stramaglia, “Amori impossibili,” 216–20, with Italian translation). For a painter as speaker in this collection, see also Speech in Character 11.

256. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.1.1.

257. I.e., in order to pursue Leda: Euripides, *Hel.* 16–21; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.7.

258. I.e., in order to pursue Danae: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.4.1; Narration 41.

καὶ δρόμον ἀπέραντον ἐνετίθουν τοῖς χρώμασιν ἐν οὐ κινουμένοις ποσίν. οἶδα κηρῷ δήσας τὸν Ἄρεα. καὶ πᾶν ἀπλῶς ἐγίγνετό μοι ὑπόθεσις. ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν ἑτέροις γεγένημαι. (5) γράφετε, ὦ τεχνῖται, καινόν τι τὸν ἐμὸν ἔρωτα ἐκδιηγούμενοι. οἷς ἔπλασα, τούτοις ἐάλωκα. κόρης ἐρῶ. καὶ τυχεῖν μὲν ταύτης γέγονεν εὖπορον, οὔτε γὰρ βαδίζειν οὔτε παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν πράξιν ἐπίσταται, μίγνυσθαι δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἄγειν εἰς πέρας ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον. πείθω τὴν οὐ πεφυκυῖαν πείθεσθαι, ἀσπάζομαι φύσιν ἀναίσθητον. (6) ἀλλ', ὦ χρώματα, τῆς τοιαύτης παύεσθε χάριτος καὶ μὴ πάθος ἐγείρετε μὴ παρεχόμενα μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἴασιν.

its dread, I would fend off my own fear. (4) What else? Apollo would become slower than a girl through my right hand, and I would put in an endless race with paint, through feet unmoving.²⁵⁹ I know how to bind Ares with wax.²⁶⁰ And everything, in a word, became a subject to me. But now I have become one for others. (5) Paint something unusual, O artists, fully relating the story of my love. I have been conquered by what I fashioned. I am in love with a girl. And it has become easy to obtain her; for she knows neither how to walk away nor how to beg off from action. But it is impossible to have sex with her and bring my desire to fulfillment. I am trying to persuade one who is not naturally persuaded; I am kissing a nature that is unfeeling. (6) But, O Paint, stop favoring me so, and do not arouse my passion if you cannot afterwards provide the cure.

259. For the myth of Apollo and Daphne, see Ovid, *Metam.* 1.452–567; Narration 17.

260. Ares was bound by the Aloads and released by Hermes: Homer, *Il.* 5.385–391; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.7.4.

THE EXERCISE IN DESCRIPTION

The exercise in description (*ekphrasis*) gives the student practice in vividly describing something in such a way as to bring it before the reader's or listener's eyes. There are many possible subjects for ekphrasis: persons; places; times, including festivals (Nicolaus 68) and seasons; events; objects, including works of art (Nicolaus 69); and plants and animals (Aphthonius 37). (For a full list of subjects, see Theon 118; [Hermogenes] 22; Aphthonius 37; Nicolaus 68–69.) An ekphrasis combining two of these categories (for example, a night battle) is called a mixed or compound ekphrasis (Theon 119; [Hermogenes] 22; Aphthonius 46–47). This collection includes ekphrases of times (5, 7, 29), events (1, 10, 11), places (8, 9, 25), paintings (2–4, and perhaps 21), statues (12–20, 22–23, 26–28; cf. 25), animals (21, 24; cf. 27), and persons (6, 30).

Although ekphrasis is similar to narration in that both exercises describe persons, places, times, and objects (cf. Theon 119; [Hermogenes] 23), it differs from narration in its emphasis on specificity and clarity (Nicolaus 68, 68–69). Theon disapproves of the practice of refuting or confirming ekphrases, which he prefers to see treated under refutations and confirmations of narrations (Theon 120); there is no trace of this practice in the other three theorists.

Stylistic recommendations vary considerably among the theorists (see Theon 119–120; [Hermogenes] 23; Aphthonius 37–38; Nicolaus 70–71). In the spurious ekphrases of statues in examples 12–20, 22–23, and 26–28, the author emphasizes the intent of the sculptor, the emotional state of the sculpted figure, and the effect on the viewer. This is reminiscent of Nicolaus's instructions: "Whenever we compose ecphrases, and especially descriptions of statues or pictures or anything of that sort, we should try to add an account of this or that impression made by the painter or by the molded form; for example, that he painted the figure as angry for this reason, or as pleased; or we shall mention some other emotion as occurring because of the history of what is being described" (Nicolaus 69, trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*).

Examples 8–30 are spurious, according to Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2521–22, and Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix. Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2521–22, attribute Descriptions 8–28 to Pseudo-Nicolaus; Stegemann, "Nikolaos," 449 attributes to him only Descriptions

1. πεζομαχίας.

(1) Ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἐπειδὴν εἰς πόλεμον καταστῶσι, κατὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ποιοῦσι τοὺς ἀγῶνας, οἷς μὲν εἰσι νῆες, ναυσίν, οἷς δὲ ἵπποι, ἵππεῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἰσχύοντες ταύτη κρίνονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς δὲ ἔστι τὰ πάντα, διὰ πάντων μάχονται. (2) καλαὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ ναυμαχίαι καὶ τέχνης δέονται, πεζομαχίαι δὲ ἀξιολογώτατόν τε καὶ ἀρχαιότατον. ἐγὼ δὲ θεατῆς γενόμενος μάχης τοιαύτης ἐθέλω σοι δεῖξαι λόγῳ τὴν θέαν.

(3) Πόλεις ἐν ἡπείρῳ κείμεναι πλησίον ἀλλήλων εἰς ἔχθραν ἦκον, ἐπειδὴ τῇ μὲν ἐδόκει πλεονεκτῆσαι, ἢ δ' οὐκ ἠνείχετο ἐλαττοῦσθαι. λόγοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ἑκατέρῃ τῶν ῥητόρων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κρατεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὑπείκειν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνέβαλον ἔρωτα τοῖς αὐτῶν τοῦ ἄρχειν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. (4) καὶ ἠνίκα πολεμεῖν καιρὸς ἦν, ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦσαν τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε ἐξετάζοντες καὶ συμμάχους ἀγείροντες, ἐπιόντων δὲ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἀντεπεξήεσαν οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι. καὶ ἐδέξατο χωρίον ἀμφοτέρους λεῖόν τε καὶ εὐρὺ καὶ ἀρκοῦν τῷ ἔργῳ. (5) ἐτάξαντο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπὶ μὲν ἑκατέρου κέρως ἦσαν ἀμφοτέροις οἱ ἵππεῖς, τὸ δὲ μέσον ἐπεῖχον οἱ ὀπλίται, <οἱ> τοξόται δὲ καὶ ὅσον ψιλὸν

8–17; Hebert, “Kunstwerken,” 8–9, is more tentative. Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2522 also point out that Description 29 shows knowledge of an oration of Choricus of Gaza (sixth century c.e.), and they identify Description 30 as belonging to the school of Gaza, a rhetorical school prominent in the late fifth and early sixth century c.e. On the exercise in description, see Theon 118–120; [Hermogenes] 22–23; Aphthonius 36–41; Nicolaus 67–71. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:124–32. For the influence of such ecphrases on Byzantine literature, see Hunger, *Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1:117, 170–88. Examples 2–4, 12–20, 22–23, and 25–28 are edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Kunstwerken.” Example 25 has also been translated into English by Andrew Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander’s Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 11; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 383–84, and into French by Jean-Pierre Callu, “Julius Valère, le Pseudo-Libanios et le tombeau d’Alexandrie,” *Ktêma* 19 (1994): 272–73. Example 27 has also been translated into English by Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 397–400.

DESCRIPTION 1: AN INFANTRY BATTLE¹

(1) Whenever people go to war, they conduct these contests according to the resources available to them: those who have ships use ships, while those who have horses use cavalry, and those who are strong in hoplites are judged against each other in this area, while those who have all these go to battle using them all. (2) So, while naval battles are a fine sight and require skill, infantry battles are the most noteworthy and most ancient type. And I, having become a spectator of such a battle, wish to show you the sight in words.

(3) Cities located on the mainland near each other have come into enmity, since one thought it best to be greedy, and the other refused to be diminished. There were speeches by the orators in each, of whom some urged them to conquer, while others urged them not to submit, and some instilled their people with a love of ruling, others with a love of freedom. (4) And when it was time to make war, they were in preparation, both examining the available resources and mustering allies, and when the wrongdoers attacked, the defenders marched out to meet them. And a place received both sides that was level and wide and sufficient for the task. (5) And they lined up as follows: on each wing were the cavalry of both sides, while the hoplites held the middle, and <the> archers and all the light-armed troops followed. Having

1. For the theme, see [Hermogenes] 22; Aphthonius 37. For the theme of war in general, see Theon 118; Nicolaus 68–69; with partial elaboration, Theon 119; [Hermogenes] 23. Cf. also Description 11 (naval battle).

ἐφείποντο. θήξαντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ταῖς παρακλήσεσι τῶν μαχομένων τὰς γνώμας ἐκέλευον ἄραι τὰ σημεῖα. (6) καὶ ἦρχον τοξόται τῆς μάχης καὶ βέλη πολλὰ ἐφέρετο, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰ σώματα, τὰ δὲ ἀπετύγγανεν. ὥς δὲ ἀνήλωτο τὰ βέλη τοῖς τοξόταις, ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη καὶ δορατισμὸς πολὺς καὶ πάταγος καὶ φόνος ὃν εἰργάζετο τέως τὰ δόρατα. (7) ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἦν ἔτι χρῆσθαι, ξίφεσιν ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀπεκόπη χεὶρ, τοῦ δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐξεκόπη, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ βουβῶνι πληγείς ἔκειτο, τοῦ δὲ τις ἀνέρρηξε τὴν γαστέρα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στήθει τὴν πληγὴν, τὸν δὲ κακὸν εἶδες ἄν κατὰ τοῦ νώτου τοῦτο παθόντα. κτείνας τις τοῦτον ἐσκύλευσε κείμενον, τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν τις σκυλεύοντα πλήξας ἐπικατήνεγκεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνον ἕτερος. (8) ὁ μὲν τις πολλοὺς κτείνας ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ ὀλίγους. ὁ δὲ τις οὐδὲν δράσας ἔκειτό γε ἐπ' ἀσπίδι τεθνεώς, ὁ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδὲι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τεθνάναι σχηματιζόμενοι τοὺς ἐφισταμένους κάτωθεν ἐτίτρωσκον. (9) ἵππεὺς ἔκτεινεν ὀπλίτην, ὀπλίτης ἵππεά, ὁ μὲν ἐκβαλὼν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν στρατιώτην, ὁ δὲ πρότερον πλήξας τὸν ἵππον, ἔπειτα ἐκείνον δυνηθείς. τὸ δὲ αἶμα τὴν γῆν ἐφοίνισσε καὶ ἐπιβαίνοντες τοῖς νεκροῖς οἱ ζῶντες τὰ λοιπὰ ἔπραττον. ἤδη δὲ τις καὶ ζῶν εἰλημμένος λύτρων ἐμέμνητο πρὸς τὸν ἐλόντα, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔμελε χρημάτων, ἀλλ' ἐπλήρου τὸν πόθον. (10) μέχρι μὲν οὖν μεσημβρίας σταθερᾶς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἦν ἔργα γενναῖα, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἔδοσαν δίκην οἱ ἀδικοῦντες. τῶν γὰρ ἱππέων αὐτοὺς περικλειόντων δείσαντες μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὥχοντο φεύγοντες. οἱ δὲ ἐνέκειντο σὺν βοῇ, ἦν ἠφίεσαν χαίροντές τε τῇ τροπῇ καὶ ἅμα ἐκείνους προσεκπλήττοντες. (11) διώκοντες δὲ τοῦ ζωγρεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ φονεῦειν ἐγίνοντο καὶ εἶλον αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν τετρωμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἄνευ τραυμάτων. οἱ δὲ διαφυγόντες κατέφυγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ ἀνείλοντο νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους. οἱ δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἄγοντες καὶ λάφυρα παιανίζοντες ἀνέστρεφον. (12) καὶ ἦν παρὰ μὲν τοῖς νενικηκόσι τὰ τῶν κρατούντων, θυσίαι, πρόσοδοι, στεφανοῦν τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας, οἱ δὲ ἡττημένοι τοὺς ῥήτορας εἶχον ἐν μέμψει, κατηγοροῦν δὲ ἅμα τῶν στρατηγούντων οἱ ῥήτορες. καὶ

steeled the minds of the fighters with exhortations, the generals ordered them to raise the standards. (6) And archers began the battle, and many arrows were launched, some into bodies, while others missed. When the arrows had been used up by the archers, the battle became hand-to-hand, and there was much fighting with spears and clashing of arms and slaughter which the spears in the meantime were bringing about. (7) But when it was no longer possible to use these, they started killing each other with swords. And one man's hand was cut off, while another's eye was knocked out, and one lay struck in the groin, while someone tore open another's stomach. And the good man got the blow in his chest, while you could see the bad one suffering this in his back. Someone having killed this man despoiled him as he lay there, while another seeing him in the process of despoiling struck him and knocked him down over the first man's corpse, and yet another did the same to him. (8) One man died after killing many, another after killing few. One man, having done nothing, lay dead on his shield, while another lay dead on the ground. Many, too, pretending to be dead, were wounding those standing over them from below. (9) A cavalryman killed a hoplite, a hoplite a cavalryman, one hoplite by throwing the soldier off his horse, another by first striking the horse and then being able to kill him. The blood turned the ground red, and stepping on the corpses the living were doing what remained.² And now someone still living, having been taken captive, has mentioned ransom to his captor, but he cared nothing for money but instead satisfied his desire. (10) So, right up until high noon the actions of both sides were noble, but from then on the wrongdoers paid the penalty; for when the cavalry was enclosing them, fearing that they would be surrounded they went off fleeing. But the cavalry pressed on them with a shout, which they let out both rejoicing in the rout and at the same time driving them off panic-stricken. (11) As they pursued them, they engaged in taking them alive rather than slaughtering them, and they took many captives, some wounded, others without wounds. Those who escaped fled for refuge to the city and demanded a truce for taking up the dead. But the other side, leading off their captives and booty, went home singing victory songs. (12) And among the victors there were the celebrations of conquerors—sacrifices, thanksgivings, the crowning of war-heroes—but the defeated were holding the orators to blame, while the orators at the same time were accusing the generals. And things being as they were, some thought they

2. "What remained" (τὰ λοιπά): perhaps meaning all the things that soldiers do in battle in general. Those stepping on the corpses may be doing so intentionally, in order to confirm that they are dead (see section 8) before despoiling them, or unintentionally, because they are in the way.

ἐδόκει τῶν παρόντων τοῖς μὲν χρῆναι καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἔχθραν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ δευτέραν αὐθις συγκροτῆσαι μάχην.

2. γραφῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

(1) Ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ἥ δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη μὲν, καλὴ δὲ στοῶν ἐν μέσῳ τεττάρων, ἃς ἐποιοῦν οἱ κίονες, εἶδον καὶ τοιάνδε γραφήν.

(2) Ἄγρὸς ἦν καὶ οἰκήματα ἀγροίοις πρέποντα, τὰ μὲν μείζω, τὰ δὲ ἐλάττω. πλησίον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀνατρέχουσαι ἑωρῶντο κυπάριττοι. ὅλας μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐκώλυε γὰρ τὰ οἰκήματα, τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων ἐφαίνετο τὸ τέγος ὑπεραίροντα. ταῦτα, ὡς εἰκός, ἀνάπαυλαν παρεῖχε τοῖς ἀγροίοις σκιᾷ τε τῇ ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης καὶ ὀρνίθων φωναῖς, οἱ χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων ἰζάνοντες. (3) ἐκδραμόντες δὲ τινες ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων τέτταρες, ὁ μὲν παρεκελεύετό τι μειρακυλλίῳ πλησίον ἐστῶτι, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμήνυνεν ἡ δεξιὰ, ὡς ἄρα τι ἐπιτάττοι, ὁ δὲ ἐπεστρέφετο πρὸς τούτους οἷα φωνῆς ἀκούων τοῦ ἐπιτάττοντος. (4) ὁ δὲ δὴ τέταρτος ὀλίγον προελθὼν τῶν θυρῶν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐκτετακῶς ῥάβδον τῇ ἐτέρᾳ φέρων ἐφαίνετό τι βοᾶν πρὸς τοὺς πονοῦντας περὶ τὴν ἄμαξαν. ἄρτι γὰρ ἄμαξα φορτίου πλήρης, οὐκ ἔχω δὲ εἰπεῖν εἴτε ἄχυρα ἦν εἴτε ἄλλο τι φορτίον, τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀφείσα μέσην εἶχε τὴν ὁδόν. (5) ἄτε οὖν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς καταδήσαντες τὸ φορτίον, ἀλλὰ ῥαθύμως βοηθεῖν ἐπειρῶντο, ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν, ὁ δὲ ἔνθεν, ὁ μὲν γυμνὸς πλὴν διαζώματος βακτηρίᾳ τὸ φορτίον ἀνέχων, τοῦ δὲ ἐφαίνετο μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ στήθους, ὅσα δὲ εἰκός ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου, ταῖν χεροῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἤμυνε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐκρύπτετο. (6) ἡ δὲ ἄμαξα οὐ τετράκυκλος, ὡς ἔφησεν Ὅμηρος, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν τροχοῖν, ἧ καὶ τὸ φορτίον περιέρρει καὶ ἐδέοντο τῶν ἀμυνόντων οἱ βόες ἄμφω τὸ χρῶμα φοίνικες καὶ εὖ τεθραμμένοι καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας πλατεῖς. (7) τῷ βοηλάτῃ δὲ τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἀνέστελλεν εἰς γόνυ ζωστήρ. τῇ μὲν οὖν δεξιᾷ λαβόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν εἴλκε, ῥάβδον δὲ ἔχων ἐν θατέρᾳ οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐδεῖτο εἰς τὸ προθύμους ποιῆσαι τοὺς βοῦς, ἀλλ' ἤρκεϊτο τῇ φωνῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἡδύ

should break off the enmity, while others thought they should once more organize a second battle.

DESCRIPTION 2: A PAINTING IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBERS³

(1) In the courtyard of the Council Chambers—and it is not large, but it is beautiful with four roofed colonnades in the middle, which the columns created—I also saw a painting of the following sort:

(2) It was the country, and there were houses suitable for rustic folk, some bigger, some smaller. Near the houses, cypresses were seen rising up. It was not possible to see them in whole, for the houses prevented it, but the tops of the trees clearly rose above the rooftops. These, as seems likely, provided rest for the rustics, both by the shade from their leaves and by the songs of the birds, which delight in sitting in trees. (3) Four individuals have just run out of the houses: one was giving an order to a young boy standing nearby; for his right hand made clear that he was giving some command, while another was turning toward them as if listening to the voice of the one giving the orders. (4) The fourth, having stepped out from the doors a little, having stretched out his right hand while carrying a staff in the other, appeared to be shouting something to those who were laboring over the cart; for just now the cart, full of its load—but I cannot say whether it was chaff or some other cargo—having left the fields was occupying the middle of the road. (5) Because, then, they had not tied down the load securely, they were instead lackadaisically trying to help—one on one side, one on the other; one naked except for shorts supporting the load with a staff, while of the other, only his face and a part of his chest were visible; but to judge from his face he, too, was helping with his hands, though the rest was hidden by the cart. (6) The cart was not the four-wheeled kind, as Homer mentioned,⁴ but one of two wheels; the cargo was overflowing it on all sides, and the oxen—both were reddish in color, well-fed, and broad-necked—needed the men who were helping.⁵ (7) A belt girded up the oxherd's little frock to his knees. Having taken their bridles, then, with his right hand, he was pulling them, but although he had a staff in the other, he did not need it to make the oxen eager to move; rather, his voice was sufficient; for indeed, he was saying something sweet to them, as if saying

3. For another painting in this location, see Description 4. Edited with German translation and commentary in Bernhard D. Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken: Archäologischer Kommentar zu den Ekphraseis des Libanios und Nikolaos" (Ph.D. diss., Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1983), 206–28.

4. Homer, *Od.* 9.241–242.

5. I.e., helping to keep the load in place.

τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν οἷα δὴ τι φθεγγόμενος ὦν ἂν ξυνίη βοῦς. ἔτρεφεν ὁ βοηλάτης καὶ κύνα, ὡς ἂν ἔχοι καθεύδειν ἔχων τὸν φύλακα. καὶ παρῆν ὁ κύων τοῖς βουσι παραθέων. (8) χωροῦσα δὲ ἡ ἄμαξα πλησίον ἦν ἱεροῦ. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐσήμαινον οἱ κίονες καὶ τὰ ὑπερκύπτοντα δένδρα. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἐδείκνυνεν ἡ γραφή. ἴσως αὐτὰ τὰ δένδρα θεοὺς ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἐθεράπευον, ἢ τάχα ἦν μὲν ἄγαλμά τι, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δένδρων οὐκ ἐφαίνετο.

3. δρόμου τῶν ἡρώων.

(1) Ἦκουσας μὲν ὅπως ἔδραμον ἥρωες, ἠνίκα Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐτίμα τὸν Πατρόκλου τάφον ἀγωνίσμασι παντοδαποῖς, λάμβανε δὲ καὶ τὴν θεάν τῇ ἀκοῇ. ἀμιλλᾶται γὰρ ἡ γραφή πρὸς τὰ ἔπη.

(2) Οἱ μὲν Ἀτρεΐδαι κάθηνται δηλοῦντες τοῖς σκήπτροις τὴν τύχην καὶ ἔτι τοῖς διαδήμασι, ταυτὶ γάρ, οἶμαι, τὴν βασιλείαν σημαίνει, τείνουσι δὲ πρὸς τὸν δρόμον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ εἰσι τῶν γινομένων, ξανθὸς μὲν ὁ Μενέλαος, μέλας δὲ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων τὴν τρίχα. (3) δορυφόροι δὲ τρεῖς κατόπιν ἐστᾶσι γυμνοὶ μὲν τὰς κεφαλὰς, δόρατα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀσπίδες. ἐφαίνετο δὲ τῷ μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἄχρι τοῦ στέρνου, τοῖς δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χλαμύδες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς μὲν γένειον, τῷ δὲ οὐ. (4) καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ ἐγγέγραπτο μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων καθήμενος οὐ μάλα κομῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Μενελάου ποιῶν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα. λέγειν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδόκει. καὶ τοῦτο ἐμήνυε τῷ σχήματι τῶν δακτύλων. (5) Ἀχιλλεὺς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγγέγραπτο καλὸς μὲν τὴν κόμην, τὸ πρόσωπον δὲ μετεῖχεν ἀθυμίας οἷα δὴ τῶν ἄθλων ἐπὶ νεκρῷ γινομένων. καὶ τοῦτον περὶ πλείστου τῶν Μυρμιδόνων ἐποιεῖτο. χλαμύδα δὲ ἡμφίεστο καὶ γαστέρα καὶ μηρὸν καὶ κνήμην ἐδείκνυε γυμνήν.....

4. ἄλλης γραφῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

(1) Ἐν δὲ ἑτέρᾳ γραφῇ ταῦτα εἶδον· πόλις ἦν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ πεπολισμένη καὶ τοῦτο ἐδήλου τοῖς τείχεσιν. ἐντεῦθεν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἄνδρες ἐξεληλυθότες εἰς ἀγρὸν ἦκον ἀπολαυσόμενοι τῆς ὥρας τῆς ἡρινῆς. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμηνύετο τοῖς στεφάνοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς εἶχον ἐκ ρόδων. (2) οὗτοι δὲ κατέκειντο κατὰ

something that an ox would understand. The oxherd was also raising a dog so that he would be able to sleep, having him as a guard. And the dog was there, running along beside the oxen. (8) The cart was going near a temple; for the columns and the overarching trees indicated this. But the painting did not depict a cult statue. Perhaps they regarded the trees themselves as gods and paid them cult honors, or perhaps there was a statue, but it was not visible under the trees.

DESCRIPTION 3: A RACE OF THE HEROES⁶

(1) You have heard how the heroes ran when Achilles honored the tomb of Patroclus with all kinds of contests, but receive also the sight with the hearing; for this painting contends with the epic.

(2) The Atreidae were sitting, revealing their status with their scepters and moreover their fillets—for this, I think, signifies kingship—and they are stretching their eyes toward the race and are absorbed by the events, Menelaus with blond hair and Agamemnon with black. (3) Three spear-bearers stand behind them with bare heads, but they had spears and shields. The body of one was visible from the top of his head to his chest, but for the other two not at all; but they also had short cloaks, and the latter two had beards, while the first one did not. (4) And Nestor had been painted sitting with the kings, without long hair, putting Agamemnon in between Menelaus and himself. He seemed to be speaking to them. And the painter revealed this by the position of his fingers. (5) Achilles had been painted in addition to these men, with beautiful hair, but his face partook of despair inasmuch as the games were being held for a dead man. And he considered this man the most important of the Myrmidons. He was clothed in a short mantle and was showing his bare belly and leg and knee <...>.⁷

DESCRIPTION 4: ANOTHER PAINTING IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBERS⁸

(1) In another painting I saw the following: A city had been built on high, and the painter made this clear by its walls. From there, it seemed to me, men have left and gone to the country to enjoy the season of spring; for this was revealed by the men's garlands of roses that they had. (2) These men,

6. The theme comes from Homer, *Il.* 23.740–797. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 229–44.

7. An unknown number of lines has been lost here.

8. For another painting in this location, see Description 2. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 206–28.

στρωμάτων ποικίλων τρεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ δυσὶ δένδρεσιν ὑψηλοῖς. ὧν ἐξάψαντες ὕφασμα πυραυγὲς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἔτεινον ἀντ' ὀροφῆς, ὅπως εἴργοιτο ἡ ἀκτὶς μὴ λυπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐστιωμένους. εἰσιτῶντο γὰρ καὶ μοι ἐδόκουν ἐδηδοκότες ἱκανῶς ἐπὶ ποτὸν ἤδη τρέπεσθαι. (3) ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχων μέρος ἄρας χεῖρα δεξιὰν τὸν στέφανον περιήρμωτε τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς τάξεως ἐκβεβηκότα, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ αὐτὸς χειρὶ δεξιᾷ τὸν ἐν μέσῳ δαιτυμόνα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἵλκε λέγειν τι ἴσως ὠρμημένος, ὁ δὲ ἐπεστρέφετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡρέμα, ὡς μὴ δοκοίη τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀτιμάζειν. τὰ πρόσωπα δὲ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου πρὸς τὴν τῶν ῥόδων ἀφῆκτο χροιάν. ἐφοινίσσετο γὰρ ἱκανῶς. οἱ δὲ διακονοῦντες ἐκ τινων προήεσαν οἰκημάτων ἃ πρὸς θατέρῳ τῶν δένδρων ὠκοδόμητο. ἀγρὸς ταῦτα ἦν. (4) τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐχ ὅλα ἦν εὐδῆλα τὰ σώματα, ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος σπουδῇ διαβαίνων ἔκπωμα ὥρεγεν ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ σχήματι τὸ σὺν προθυμίᾳ διακονεῖν. (5) πρὸ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης κύων οὐ μέγας ἐπὶ τοῖν ὀπίσω σκελοῖν ἰζάνων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνέβλεπε τὴν τράπεζαν κεχηνώς, ὅπως εὐτρεπὲς ἔχοι τὸ στόμα πρὸς τὸ ῥιπτούμενον. (6) καὶ ἵππος πλησίον ἐλεύθερος χαλινοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόαν ἐγκεκυφώς ἤσθιε φοῖνιξ τὴν τρίχα. καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ παρείχε τὴν σκιὰν ἢ τοῦ δένδρου κόμη. τοῦ κεκληκότος ἐπὶ τὴν θοῖνην τοῦτον νομιστέον τὸν ἵππον. οἱ δὲ ἄρα ἦσαν πενέστεροι καὶ ἔμελλον ἀναστάντες χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ.

5. καλανδῶν.

(1) Τὰς ἐορτὰς οἱ ἄνθρωποι φιλοῦσιν, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττουσι μὲν πόνων τε καὶ ἰδρώτων, παρέχουσι δὲ παίξιν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι καὶ ὡς ἡδιστα διάγειν. (2) ἐορτὴ δὲ ἢ μὲν τῆς οἰκίας, ἢ δὲ πόλεως, ἢ δὲ ἔθνους. μίαν δὲ οἶδα κοινὴν πάντων ὅποσοι ζῶσιν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. γίγνεται δὲ ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῦ μὲν πεπαυμένου, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχομένου. (3) πρῶτον μὲν οὖν προσιοῦσα ποθεινὸν τι χρήμᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βραδύνειν ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἐπείγονται λαβέσθαι τῆς ἐορτῆς, ὥσπερ τῆς γῆς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν οἱ πλέοντες. ἔπειτα πᾶς ὠρμηταὶ ἀναλίσκειν ἡκούσης, ὅτῳ τε πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ ὅστις φειδόμενος ἀργυρίον τι συνέλεξεν. ἐσθῆτα δὲ ὁ μὲν τις ἔπλυνεν, ὁ δὲ ἐχρήσατο. (4) καὶ οἷς μὲν γεωργία, πάντα ὅσα ἀγρὸς δίδωσι φέρεται τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὀρνίθων μυρία

three of them, were lying down on multicolored blankets under two tall trees. Having suspended a bright-red canopy from them, they have stretched it over themselves in place of a roof, so that the sun's rays might be prevented from bothering them while they feasted; for they were feasting, and it seemed to me that, having had enough to eat, they had now turned to drinking. (3) So the one on the right, having raised his right hand, was fastening on his head a crown that had slipped out of place, while the man on the other side—himself, too, with his right hand—was drawing their guest in the middle toward himself, having felt the urge perhaps to say something; and now the guest was turning toward him slightly, so that he might not seem to be disrespecting his companion. Because of the wine, everyone's faces had reached the color of roses; for they were quite red. The servants were coming out of some houses that had been built on the other side of the trees. This was the country. (4) So, as for the rest, their bodies were not visible in whole, but the wine-steward walking around hurriedly was holding out a cup, showing both by his face and by his gesture that he was eager to serve them. (5) In front of the table, a dog—not a large one—was sitting on its hind legs and looking up at the table itself, agape, so that its mouth might be ready for whatever was thrown to him. (6) And a horse nearly free of its bridle, having stooped toward the grass, was eating, with red hair. And the foliage of the tree provided it with shade. One must believe this to be the horse of the man who had been invited to the dinner. But the others were poorer, and they were going to use their feet, when they rose, to go to town.

DESCRIPTION 5: NEW YEAR⁹

(1) People love festivals, because they release them from their labors and sweat, and offer opportunities to play and feast and live life as pleasantly as possible. (2) There are festivals of the household, of the city, and of the nation. I know of one that is common to all those who live under the Roman empire. It takes place when one year ends and the next is beginning. (3) At first, then, when it is approaching, it is a much desired thing, and time seems to slow down for people, and they are eager to take part in the festival, just as sailors long for land. Then, when it arrives, every man rushes to spend, both the one who has a lot of money and the one who, living frugally, has amassed some silver. One man washes his clothes, while another borrows some. (4) And for those who practice farming, everything that the country produces is brought

9. Cf. Description 29. Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix, calls this a "companion piece" to Libanius, *Or.* 9.

γένη τῶν μὲν τιθασῶν, τῶν δ' ἀγρίων. οἷς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ὁ βίος, τούτοις γε καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν καπηλευόντων ἀρκεῖ. τότε γὰρ μάλιστ' ἂν ἴδοις ἀγορὰν ἀνθοῦσαν. (5) τῇ μὲν οὖν προδρομῷ τῆς ἐορτῆς ἡμέρα δῶρα δι' ἄστεος κομίζεται ὅσα ἂν τράπεζαν ποιῆσαι λαμπράν, τὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀλλήλους τιμώντων, τὰ δὲ τούτοις παρὰ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκείνοις, τῶν μὲν θεραπευόντων τὴν ἐκείνων ἰσχύν, τῶν δὲ τοῖς θεραπεύουσι τῆς ἑαυτῶν μεταδιδόντων τρυφῆς. (6) ἐσπέρας δ' ἡκούσης ὀλίγον μὲν τὸ καθεῦδον, οἱ πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ὥδαϊς τε καὶ πηδήμασι καὶ σκώμμασι, ἃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις ἐμβάλλοντες θυροκοποῦντες κατατωθάζουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐῷσι καθεύδειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγανακτοῦσιν οἷς ἀκούουσι, τοῖς δὲ τοῦτο γέλως, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτω στρυφνὸς ὅστις ἂν παριῶν ἐπιτιμῆσαι τοῖς δρωμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις κρείττων γέλωτος, ἐγέλασεν. (7) ὄρθρου δ' ὑποφαινομένου καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνος ἄδοντος οἱ μὲν κοσμοῦσι δάφνης τε κλάδοις καὶ ἐτέροις εἶδεσι στεφάνων τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι πρόθυρα, οἱ δὲ ἄγουσιν εἰς ἱερὰ σὺν εὐφημίαις ἄνδρα ἵπποτρόφον λάμποντες ἐσθήμασιν ὧν τὸ πλέον πορφύρα. καὶ λαμπάδια πολλὰ παρέχει τὸ φῶς. τῷ δὲ ἔπονται θεράποντες διασπείροντες εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἀργύριον. καὶ τὸ δέξασθαι φερόμενον παρώσαντα τὸν πέλας ἡδιστόν τε καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐνταῦθα καταπατούμενοι. (8) θύσαντες δὲ καὶ νίκην αἰτήσαντες παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οἱ τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀμίλλαις τρέφοντες χωροῦσι παρὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας διδόντες τοῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων ὑπηρέταις χρυσοῦς. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ παροῦσα ταῦτα ὀρᾷ τε καὶ δρᾷ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων χειρῶν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἀφικνεῖται ταῦτα. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τότε τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐφίλησε χρυσὸν τὸν μὲν δούς, τὸν δὲ λαβών. (9) ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις πολὺ πανταχόθεν χρυσίον τῶν μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας μιμουμένων, τῶν δὲ εἰσάπαξ διδόντων, ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ σοφίαν εἰσὶ μακθάνοντες τιθέντες τηνικαῦτα μὲν μισθὸν τόνδε τῆς ἐορτῆς ἔνεκα. ἡμέρας δὲ φανείσης οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πότους, πίνουσι γὰρ δὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ὁπόσοις γε τοῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖ τῆς ἐορτῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὴν οὖν ἐν νυκτὶ πόσιν ἄμετρον δηλοῦσι τῇ μέθῃ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ κεῖσθαι καθεύδοντας, οἱ δ' αὖ δεξιώτεροι ἐν φροντίσιν ἔχουσι τὴν τῶν δώρων πομπήν. (10) καὶ πολλοὶ τούτων διὰ στοῶν τε καὶ στενωπῶν πέμπουσι τὰ δῶρα, ὧν ὁ μὲν τις τὸ πλέον ἀπέπεμψεν, ὁ δὲ οὐδέν. καὶ ὃ γε τὸ πᾶν προέμενος μειζόνως εὖφρανε τὸν δόντα.

(11) Τοιαῦτα μὲν τῆς νομηνίας τὰ ἔργα, δευτέρα δ' ἵσταμένου τὰ μὲν τῶν δώρων οὐ μένει, νόμος δὲ οἶκοι μένειν, καὶ πρὸς κύβοις εἰσὶ δεσπότης τε ἀναμῖξ καὶ οἰκέται. καὶ ῥαθυμῆσαι τότε οἰκέτην οὐδὲν δεινόν. (12) ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθῶν τις αἰτίαν διέφυγε τῆς ἐορτῆς παραιτουμένης, ἐπεὶ καὶ παιδαγωγός

in—among other things, a million types of birds, some domestic, some wild. But for those who make their livelihood with their hands, what comes from the retailers is sufficient; for at that time especially you would see the marketplace flourishing. (5) So, on the day before the festival, gifts are carried through the city, as many as would make a table splendid, some from the powerful honoring each other, others from the lower ranks to them and from them to the lower ranks, the latter attending to the former's power, the former sharing their luxury with their attendants. (6) But when evening comes, a small portion goes to sleep, but the majority are involved in songs and leaping about and jests, which they hurl at those in the shops, and knocking on their doors, they jeer at them and do not let them sleep. And some get angry at what they hear, while for others this is a matter for laughter, and no one is so harsh as to come forward and censure their actions, but also whoever is master of his laughter, laughs. (7) But when daybreak first appears and the rooster is crowing, some individually decorate their own front doors with laurel leaves and other types of garlands, while others, resplendent with clothing that is mostly purple, lead a horse trainer to the temples with songs of praise. And many small torches provide light. Attendants follow him, scattering money into the crowd. And it is most delightful to shove one's neighbor aside and catch the money as it flies through the air, and they rejoice at being trampled there. (8) After sacrificing and asking for victory from the gods, those raising horses for the contests go to the chief magistrates, giving gold to the magistrates' aides. The Council, being present, both sees and does these things; for indeed, these things come to the aides from the councilors' hands, as well. Moreover, magistrate also then kisses magistrate, giving some gold, receiving other gold. (9) Much gold also flows to others from everywhere, with some people imitating the magistrates, others simply giving, of whom there are also some studying philosophy who make this payment at this time on account of the festival. At daybreak, some make clear that their drinks from the night before—for all those who think this is the main point of the festival drink during the night—anyway, they make clear by their drunkenness that their drinking from the night before was immoderate, and they are compelled to lie sleeping, but those, in turn, who are sharper in their wits have the parade of gifts. (10) And many of these send gifts through colonnades and alleyways, of whom one man sends a rather large one, while another sends nothing. And the one who gives it all away more greatly delights the original giver.

(11) Such are the events of the first day of the month, but on the second day of the new month, the giving of gifts does not continue, but it is the custom to stay home, and masters and domestic slaves mingle together and play dice. And it is not terrible at all for a domestic slave to relax at that time. (12) But also someone who is drunk escapes blame, with the festival interced-

τις ἄγριος τότε οὐκ ἄγριος καὶ διδάσκαλος ὅστις χαλεπός, τότε οὐ χαλεπός. ἀλλ' ἰσηγορίαν ὁ καιρὸς ποιεῖ καὶ μάστιγες μὲν ἡρεμοῦσι καὶ πληγαί, γέμει δὲ πάντα εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἡδονῆς. καὶ οὐδείς οὕτω πτωχὸς ὅστις λαμπρᾶς ἐδωδῆς εἰς πλησμονὴν οὐχ ἤκε. βρῦει γὰρ ἅπασι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὁ καιρὸς καὶ πάντων ἐν χερσὶ πάντα καθάπερ τῆς γῆς ἀνιείσης. οὕτω τοι ἥδιστον ὁμοίως καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν.

(13) Τρίτη δ' ἰσταμένου ζεύγνυται μὲν ἄρματα ἀμιλλητήρια, πολλὴ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἔρις, πολὺς δ' ὄμιλος ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ καὶ λουτρὰ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τράπεζαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τραπεζῶν κύβοι καὶ τισιν ἢ περὶ ταῦτα ἔρις προσανάλωσε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν νύκτα καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο πόνος ἢ ἀγρυπνία.

(14) Τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν μὲν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἐορτῆς ἀμβλύνει, τὸ πᾶν δὲ οὐδ' ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην σβέσαι δύναται ἄν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αὔρα τις ἔτι λεπτὴ πνέουσα κατέχει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἀμυδροτέραις εὐφροσύναις ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ μόλις πως καὶ σὺν ὅκνῳ τῶν ἔργων ἄπτονται καθάπερ ἵπποι διὰ χρόνου πάλιν ὑπαγόμενοι ζυγῷ καὶ ὁμοῦ τε πρὸς ἔργον χωροῦσι καὶ εὐχονται τὴν αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐορτὴν ἐπιδεῖν.

6. μέθης.

(1) Τὸν οἶνον ἦν πίνῃ τις μετρίως, τό τε σῶμα ὥνησε τὴν τε ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔβλαπεν· ἦν δ' ἐκφέρηται πρὸς ἀμετρίαν καὶ πίνῃ πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἤδη μεθύσκηται, τοιάδε ἀνάγκη πάσχειν. (2) εἶδον γὰρ δὴ μεθύοντα ἄνθρωπον ἔν τε αὐτῷ τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ οἴκαδε ἰόντι παρηκολούθησα. ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐμπέπληστο, πάνυ σωφρόνως τε διελέγετο καὶ ἦν ἡμερος καὶ εἶπεν ἄν τι οὐκ ἄμουσον καὶ σκῶμμα ἂν ἠνέσχετο· κρατοῦντος δὲ ἤδη τοῦ οἶνου καὶ τυραννοῦντος τό τε σῶμα ἠρυθραίνετο πρόχειρός τε ἦν εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ ὕβριζε μὲν εἰς ἑτέρους, εἰ δὲ τις χαριεντίσαιοτο, ἐδυσχέrait. (3) κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦ οἰνοχόου μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνοντος καὶ ἥ τε κύλιξ ἐξέπιπτε τῆς χειρὸς τό τε βλέμμα παρήγετο ἢ τε γλῶττα τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπεπόνθει. ὥς δὲ ἀνίστασθαι ἔδει, τῶν ὀρθωσόντων ἔδειτο καὶ ἀξόντων. (4) καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦκεν, εἶχετο τοῦ ἀγοντος· ὥς δ' ἐνταῦθ' ἐγεγόνει, τὸν μὲν ἀφῆκεν, ἐπειράτο δ' ἀρκεῖν αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴν ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐώκει τοῖς παραπαίουσι τῇδε κάκεισε

ing on his behalf, since even a cruel pedagogue is at that time not cruel and a teacher who is harsh is at that time not harsh. But the occasion makes for equality, and whips and blows are still, and everything is full of peace and freedom and pleasure. And there is no one so poor who does not come into a surfeit of splendid food; for the occasion abounds with all such things, and everything is in everyone's hands just as the earth produced it. It is thus the most delightful thing to give and receive alike.

(13) On the third day of the new month, racing chariots are hitched up, and there is a great spirit of rivalry over the victory, and a large crowd at the racetrack, and baths for that one, and dinners for these, and dice on the same tables; and for some the rivalry over these things consumes the night along with the day, and sleepless nights do not become a labor.

(14) The fourth day blunts the edge of the festival, but not even the day after that could extinguish it completely; rather, just like a breeze still lightly blowing, the occasion holds people in a rather vague sense of good cheer, and somehow, with difficulty and hesitation, they get back to their work just like horses submitting to the yoke again after an interval of time, and they go to work and at the same time pray to see the same festival again.

DESCRIPTION 6: DRUNKENNESS¹⁰

(1) If someone drinks wine in moderation, he benefits his body and does not harm his soul. But if he gets carried away into immoderation and drinks to excess and has already become drunk, he is compelled to suffer such things as follows. (2) For I both saw a man drunk in the symposium itself and followed him as he was going home. So, as long as he was not filled full, he talked very sensibly, was mild, said nothing rude, and put up with joking; but when the wine was now controlling him and ruling over him like a tyrant, his body became flushed, and he was prone to anger and insulting to others, and if someone made a joke, he became annoyed. (3) He also accused the wine-steward, though he had done nothing wrong, and the cup fell from his hand; and his eyes rolled to the side, and his tongue suffered the same thing. But when he had to stand up, he needed people to set him upright and lead him. (4) And up until he reached the marketplace, he held on to the one leading him, but when he got there, he let him go and tried to be self-sufficient. However, he was not able, but resembled a madman, drifting here and there, always offering the expectation that he was about to fall, and by the same

10. For similar detailed portraits of drunkenness, see Rutilius Lupus 2.7 (*RLM*, 16–17); Basil, *Homil.* 14 (*In ebriosos*; PG 31:444–64).

φερόμενος ἐλπίδα παρέχων αἰεὶ πεσεῖσθαι, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γέλωτα. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅστις ἄνευ τοῦ γελᾶν ἑώρα. τῶν δὲ συνήθων ὅστις προσέλθοι βοηθήσων, οὐτ' ἐγνωρίζετο δυσμενοῦς τ' ἔργον ἐδόκει ποιεῖν. (5) μόλις δ' ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε πολλῶν ἐφεπομένων, ἡδονὴν γὰρ δὴ παρείχεν ἢ τοῦ μεθύοντος συμφορά, τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις ὡς υἱέσι διελέγετο, τοῖς δ' αὖ υἱέσιν ὡς οἰκέταις, ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐτῷ κακῶς ἐδόκει τᾶνδον διωκηκέναι πλημμελοῦσα οὐδέν, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐφείδετο ῥήματος, τρανὲς δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὀλόκληρον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν γράμμα, τοῦ δ' ἀφήρητο συλλαβή, τοῦ δέ τι καὶ πλέον. (6) καθίζων δὲ διεμέμφετο τὴν οἰκίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἐστάναι καὶ ἐβόα πολλά δὴ καὶ συνεχῇ καθάπερ ἀδικοῦμενος. ἔπειτα ἐκταθεὶς ἔκειτο κατειλημμένος ὕπνῳ μάλιστα ἐοικότι θανάτῳ. μακροῦ δὲ τούτου τετυχηκῶς ἡμέρας φανείσης ἀπέλαβε τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὧν ἐπεπόνθει ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης αὐτὸς μὲν εἰδὼς οὐδέν, τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ διδασκάλους ἔχων.

7. ἔαρος συγγραφικῶ χαρακτήρι.

(1) Τὸ δὲ ἔαρ φιλῶ τε πλέον ἢ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας καὶ οἷόν ἐστιν ἐθέλω διηγῆσασθαι. λύει μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμοτηρίου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν πολλῶ δείκνυσι διαφέρουσιν τῆς νυκτός, ἐλευθεροῖ γὰρ τὰς ἀκτῖνας τῶν νεφῶν. (2) καὶ τότε δὴ φαιδρός τε ἥλιος καὶ ἡμερος καὶ τερπνὸς τοῖς σώμασι θερμότερος μὲν ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος προσβάλλων, οὕπῳ δ' εἰς ἀμετρίαν τῆς θερμότητος ἐκβαίνων, ὃ δὴ τοῦ θέρους πέφυκε ποιεῖν, ὥσθ' ἡδέως ἂν τις ὑπ' αὐτῷ μέρος οὐ μικρὸν τῆς ἡμέρας διατρίψει. (3) τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἡῶ ῥοδοδάκτυλον ἔξεστι προσειπεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νύκτα ποιεῖ τερπνὴν τὰ ἄστρα φαινόμενά τε καὶ οὐ κρυπτόμενα. καὶ γίνεται ἀγρυπνοῦντι θέαμα ἡδιστον πεποικιλμένος τοῖς τύποις ὁ οὐρανός. (4) ἡ γῆ δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκφέρει, καὶ χλωρὰ τότε τὰ λῆια γεωργοὺς εὐφραίνοντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ δένδρα τὴν κόμην ἀπολαμβάνει καὶ πάντα ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις καρπῶν. καὶ τις ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βλέπων μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον, βλέπων δ' εἰς τὴν θάλατταν οὐχ ἥττω τὴν εὐφροσύνην ἂν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου καρπώσαιο. (5) ἀνοίγνυνται τότε καὶ ἡ θάλαττα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν. οὐ γὰρ ὑψηλὰ τότε τὰ κύματα οὔτε ὄρεσιν ἐοικότα, ἀλλ' ὕπτια μὲν αὐτῇ τὰ νῶτα, ἐμπόρων δὲ μεστὰ

token also offering laughter; for there was no one who saw it without laughing. Whoever of his friends came forward to help him, went unrecognized and was thought to be acting like an enemy. (5) After barely getting home, with many following him—for the drunk's misfortune provided entertainment—he conversed with his domestic slaves as his sons, and with his sons, in turn, as his domestic slaves; and his wife seemed to him to have badly managed things inside the house, though she had done nothing wrong, and he spared no word against her; and nothing he said was clear or complete, but a letter of one word was left out, and a syllable of another, and something even more from still another. (6) Sitting down, he thoroughly reproached the house for refusing to stand up, and he shouted a lot and continuously as if being wronged. Then, having stretched out, he lay there overcome by a sleep closely resembling death. Having obtained this long sleep, at daybreak he heard accounts of what he had suffered from his drunkenness, knowing nothing himself, but having the rest as his teachers.

DESCRIPTION 7: SPRING,¹¹ IN A LESS FORMAL STYLE¹²

(1) I love spring more than the rest of the seasons, and I wish to describe what it is like. For it releases people from winter as if from prison and reveals a day very different from the night; for it frees the sun's rays from the clouds. (2) And at that time the sun is bright and gentle and delightful to our bodies, striking us more warmly than during the winter, but not yet going beyond due bounds into excess heat, which it naturally does in summer, so that someone might pleasantly spend no small part of the day under it. (3) At that time, too, it is possible to call the dawn "rosy-fingered."¹³ But also the stars appearing and not being hidden make the night delightful. And to one lying awake there comes a spectacle most sweet: the night sky, adorned with various colorful impressions. (4) The earth brings forth what comes from it, and crops at that time are green, delighting farmers with hopes. But also trees recover their foliage, and everything gives promise of fruits. And someone looking from a high place now toward the land, now toward the sea, would reap no less good cheer from the latter than from the land. (5) At that time, too, the sea is open to sailors; for the waves are not high at that time and do not resemble mountains, but the sea's back is smooth, and it is full of merchants crossing over the

11. For the theme, see Theon 118; [Hermogenes] 22; Aphthonius 37; Nicolaus 68.

12. "In a less formal style": the συγγραφικῇ χαρακτήρι mentioned in the title here (and also in Encomium 8) denotes a style opposed to that of orators, one that is relaxed, less formal, and not sustained; see Patillon, *Pseudo-Aelius Aristide*, 2:171 n. 172.

13. Homer, *Il.* 6.175; *Od.* 2.1.

τῶν τε τὰ πελάγη περαιουμένων τῶν τε κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμινύντων. οὐ γὰρ ὁδοὶ τραχεῖαι οὔτε ὄμβροι λυπηροί. (6) ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πορεύεσθαι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἰέναι τῶν κερδῶν οὐ μείον εἰς ἡδονήν. ποταμοὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀέναοι καθαροί, οἱ δὲ χεῖμαρροι σωφρονέστεροι. καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ δὲ πολὺ βελτίους ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος. (7) ἀργεῖν δ' ἐν τούτοις ἐθέλει μὲν οὐδεὶς, πρὸς ἔργον δ' ἐπείγεται καὶ μελέτην ὁ ἵππεύς, ὁ τοξότης, ὁ κυνηγέτης. εἰκόασι δ' ἀναβεβιωκόσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἀγοράζοντες, χωροῦντες δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀγροὺς καὶ τρυφῶντες ἐν ὀρνίθων τε ψδαῖς καὶ ἀνθέων ὁσμαῖς. (8) ἄδει μὲν ἐν ἔαρι χελιδῶν, ἄδει δὲ καὶ ἀηδῶν, αἱ Πανδίονος θυγατέρες αἱ ἡδικημέναι παρὰ τοῦ Θρακός. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ὀρνίθων γένη φαίνεται πανταχοῦ πετόμενα καὶ τοῖς οἰωνισταῖς ὀξείας ποιεῖται τὰς μαντείας. καὶ κινεῖται δὲ πρὸς μίξιν τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα. ἀγροὶ δὲ ἡδιστοὶ φωνῇ τε ἄρνῶν καὶ ὄπερ ἔφην ἡδη, τοῖς ἄνθεσι. τῷ ῥόδῳ, τῷ ἴω, τῷ κρίνῳ, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἃ ἡδὺ μὲν ἰδεῖν, ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ εἰς χεῖρας λαβεῖν. (9) ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὸ ἔαρ ἐξάγει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατακλίνει καὶ εὐωχεῖ τερπομένους μὲν οἴνῳ, τερπομένους δὲ στεφάνοις. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέχονται συμπίνειν ἄνευ ῥόδων, ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα πανταχοῦ πολλὰ, ἐν τραπέζαις, ἐν ἐκπώμασιν, ἐν χερσίν, ἐν κεφαλαῖς, τὰ δὲ καὶ διέρριπται κατὰ γῆς. (10) ταῦτα καὶ τὰς πόλεις φαιδροτέρας ποιεῖ γεωργῶν κομιζόντων τε καὶ ἀποδιδόμενων. μετὰ τούτων καὶ αἱ παρθένοι καθεύδουσι. καὶ ὅποιπερ ἂν ἴδης, ῥόδα ὅψι λάμποντα. τιμᾶται γὰρ τὸ ἄνθος καὶ ἀγαπᾶται μάλιστα τῆς ὥρας τὸ χάριεν δεικνύον. χαίρουσι δ', οἶμαι, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων στεφάνοις ὥσπερ καὶ λιβανωτῷ.

8. λιμένος.

(1) Τῶν δὲ πόλεων αἱ μὲν θαλάσσης ἀποδιέστησαν, αἱ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς κατῳκίσθησαν. εὐδαίμονες δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν πόλεων αἱ προσοικεῖν λαχοῦσαι τὴν θάλασσαν. ἃ τε γὰρ φέρει τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἢ γῆ, διαδέχεται θάλασσα ἃ τε μετὰ ταύτην ἀντεισφέρει τὸ πέλαγος, ἡπειρος δέχεται. (2) καὶ τὴν ἐπιμειξίαν ἀμφοῖν ποιοῦσι λιμένες. τῶν δ' αὖ λιμένων οἱ μὲν τέχνης προέρχονται καὶ χερσὶν ἐσκευάσθησαν, τοὺς δὲ φύσις ἀνῆκε μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο

open seas and mingling on land; for the roads are not rough, nor the storms grievous. (6) But also the very act of traveling and going to see each other is no less conducive to pleasure than are profits. As for rivers, the continuously flowing ones are pure, while the seasonal streams are more self-controlled. And the springs are much better than during the winter. (7) No one wishes to be lazy in these times, but the cavalryman, the archer, and the hunter are eager for action and exercise. People resemble those who have returned to life, spending most of their time in the marketplace, but also going to the country and living luxuriously among the songs of birds and the smells of flowers. (8) The swallow sings in spring, and the nightingale also sings, those daughters of Pandion who were wronged by the Thracian.¹⁴ But also all the other types of birds appear, flying around everywhere, and they make their shrill prophecies for augurs. And the birds and all other creatures are moved to mate. The countryside is most sweet with the sound of lambs and, as I have already said, with flowers: the rose, the violet, the lily, and all the rest that are sweet to see, but sweet also to take into one's hands. (9) Spring leads people out to these and makes them recline and lavishly entertains them, delighting in wine, delighting in garlands; for they refuse to drink together without roses; rather, there are many of these everywhere: on tables, in cups, in their hands, on their heads, and some are even thrown down on the ground. (10) These also make the cities brighter when farmers bring them in and sell them. Girls also sleep with flowers. And wherever you look, you will see roses shining; for this flower is honored and loved as especially exhibiting the beauty of the season. Even the gods, I suppose, rejoice in garlands made of them just as they also do in frankincense.

DESCRIPTION 8: A HARBOR¹⁵

(1) As for cities, some lie at a distance from the sea, while others are built on the very seashores. The more fortunate of the cities are those allotted to live by the sea; for what the land brings to its inhabitants, the sea receives in turn, and what the open sea brings across it, the mainland receives. (2) And harbors make possible the interaction between the two. As for harbors, in turn, some come from craftsmanship and were built by human hands, while others

14. For the myth of Procne, Philomela, and Tereus, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.14.8; Ovid, *Metam.* 6.424–674; Narration 18–19.

15. For the theme, see [Hermogenes] 22; Aphthonius 37; Nicolaus 68. See also [Menander Rhetor] 351,20–352,5 (ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell and Nigel G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1981]) on how to praise a harbor.

δεομένη τῆς τέχνης, ὃν δὲ νῦν εἶδον, εἵργασται μὲν ἢ φύσις, εἰπεῖν δὲ ὡς ἔχει προήρημαι.

(3) Πλευραὶ γῆς ἐξανέχουσαι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ χωροῦσαι τὸ πέλαγος εἰς ἀλλήλας ἐπανακάμπτουσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἰοῦσαι κύκλον τελοῦσι καὶ κύκλον οὐχ ὅλον, ἀλλ' ὅσον στόμα τῷ λιμένι καταλιπεῖν. (4) ἔπειτα νῆες αἱ μὲν ἔνδον εἰσὶν ὀρμιζόμεναι, αἱ δὲ τὸν ὄρμον ἐκλείπουσι. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἄρτι πελάγους καταίρουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ πέλαγος αἴρονται. καὶ πάσας κομίζει οὐ μόνον, οἶμαι, τὸ πνεῦμα προσπίπτον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ χεῖρες ἐρετῶν ἐπεισήνεγκαν. ταῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν κατὰ πρύμναν τὰ πνεύματα, ταῖς δὲ ἐρετῶν ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἀρκοῦσιν αἱ χεῖρες. (5) καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς γῆν ἐκ θαλάττης κομίζουσαι ἐπεξήγαγον, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰ προσήκοντα τίθενται. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑκατέροις γεγονότων ὁ λιμὴν ὑπῆρχεν ἐπίδειξις. (6) στοαὶ δ' ἐφ' ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἀναπαυστήριοι. καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγκατῳκοδόμητο τέμενος, ὃν ἐκάλουν μὲν ἅπαντες, οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἐκάλουν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν σωτηρίαν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον αἰτοῦντες, οἱ δὲ χάριν εἰδότες οἷς διεσώθησαν. (7) εὐχὴ καὶ δέος κατεῖχε τὸν χώρον καὶ ἀγωνία ἡδονῇ συναναμέμικτο. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἄρτι προσιόντας ἡ χάρις τοὺς τε ἐκπλεῖν ἤδη μέλλοντας κατεῖχε τὸ δέος. ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἦν πρὸς ἱκετείαν ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἢ κληθεὶς ἢ καλούμενος.

(8) Τούτων εἰς ἅπαν τὴν ἡδονὴν διελθεῖν ἀπορώτερον, πλὴν εἴ τις αὐτοὺς τοὺς πλέοντας παραστήσαιο μάρτυρας.

9. κήπου.

(1) Εὐδαίμονες δ' ἄρα ἦσαν οἱ Φαίακες, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ θεῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐτίμων πρὸ παντὸς τὰ κηπεύματα. τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐτυχὲς ἐν τοῖς Φαίαξιν ἐκ τῶν κηπευμάτων ἐγνωρίζετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ τεθέαμαι καὶ διεξιέναι βούλομαι.

(2) Χῶρος ἦν καθειμένος ἅπας, ὑπέρρει δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅσα τῶν ὀρῶν συνέπιπτε ρεύματα. αἵμασι δὲ περιεῖχε τὸν χώρον, οὐχ ἥς ἂν τις προσαψάμενος ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ λίθων συγκειμένων λογάδην. (3) ταύτην στοῖχος φυτῶν διεδέχετο, φυτῶν δὲ οὐχ ἅ γεωργῶν οἶδε προέρχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσα φέρειν ἐπίσταται φύσις. πτελέαι γοῦν αἰγείροις συμπεφύκεσαν, ἄμπελοι

nature produced, not requiring craftsmanship for this at all; and nature produced the one that I just saw, and I have chosen to say what it was like.

(3) Sides jutting out from land and going out to the open sea itself bend back toward each other, and in going toward each other complete a circle—not a whole circle, but just enough to leave a mouth for the harbor. (4) Then, as for ships, some are riding at anchor inside, while others are weighing anchor. And some are just now putting into port from the open sea, while others are setting out to the open sea. And not only, I suppose, does the wind striking against them carry them all out to sea, but also the hands of rowers have already contributed; for some ships have the winds at their stern, while for others the hands of rowers suffice in place of wind. (5) And in carrying things from sea to land they made a long line, while in carrying them from land to the ships they put on board what was suitable. And the harbor served as a display of what had been produced in both places. Colonnades on each side were resting places for new arrivals. And a sacred precinct of Poseidon had been built there, whom everyone was invoking—they were not, however, invoking him for the same reasons, but some were asking for safety for the future, while others were giving thanks for the fact that they had been preserved. (7) Prayer and fear occupied the place, and anxiety was combined with pleasure. Gratitude occupied those just now arriving, and fear those now about to set sail. For both groups, Poseidon either had been invoked or was being invoked in supplication.

(8) It is rather difficult to describe in full the pleasure in these things, unless one were to bring forward the sailors themselves as witnesses.

DESCRIPTION 9: A GARDEN

(1) Blessed, then, were the Phaeacians, not because they were born from the gods,¹⁶ but because they honored gardens above all else.¹⁷ So, the good fortune among the Phaeacians was well known from their gardens, but I also want to describe in full one that I have seen.

(2) The whole place was low-lying, and there flowed into it all the streams that ran together from the mountains. A stone wall surrounded the place, not one that someone would have suffered from meddling with, but one made of unhewn stones put together. (3) After this came a line of trees, but not trees that know how to come from farmers, but rather all those that nature understands how to produce. Elms, at any rate, grew alongside poplars,

16. Specifically, Poseidon: Homer, *Od.* 7.53–68.

17. Homer, *Od.* 7.112–132.

δ' ἐπανεῖχον αὐταῖς τὸν οἰκεῖον καρπὸν ἐκείνων εἶναι δοκεῖν παρεχόμεναι. (4) διεδέχοντο δὲ τὰς ἀμπέλους συκέαι, ἃς γλυκερὰς ἄν τις ποιητὴς παρωνόμασε. μηλέαι δὲ μετὰ τὰς συκάς ἐπεφύκεσαν βεβαιοῦσαι τὸν μῦθον τῷ χρώματι, χρυσὸς γὰρ ἐδόκει τοῦ καρποῦ καταφαίνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἅπαν διήρητο πρὸς πρασιάς. (5) καὶ πηγὴ κατὰ μέσον ἀνέβλυζε ῥεῦμα φέρουσα τοῦ κύματος ὁξύτερον. ὄρνιθες δὲ ἐφείντο παντοδαποὶ κατακηλοῦντες μὲν ταῖς ὥδαῖς τοὺς ἀκούοντας, εὐωχοῦντες δὲ τοὺς θηρῶντας ταῖς ἄγραις.

(6) Ταῦτα ἰδεῖν ὑπῆρχεν ἐν ἡδονῇ, διεξελθεῖν δὲ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἥδιον.

10. θήρας.

(1) Θήρας δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔσχεν ἀήρ, τὸ δὲ ἔλαχε θάλασσα καὶ μετ' ἀμφοτέρα τελευτᾶν ἔγνωκεν ἡπειρος. ἡ κρεῖττον ἀμφοῖν προήλθε καθάπαξ. ἀέριος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὄση πρὸς θάλατταν τέχνης μᾶλλον ἢ ῥώμης προσδεῖται, θήρα δὲ ἡ πρὸς ἡπειρον τέχνης μὲν οὐχ ἦττον, ὅτι μὴ μᾶλλον, ῥώμης δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ τέχνης δεῖται. διὸ θαυμάσας ἦν ἐργάζεται γῆ, ταύτην κατιδὼν ἀφηγήσομαι.

(2) Ἐσπέρα μὲν ἦν καὶ φῶς σελήνης οἶον μήτε ἅπαν ἰδεῖν μήτε λαθεῖν παντελῶς ἔων τὸ φαινόμενον, ἄνδρες δὲ ἄρτι πόλεως ἦσαν οἷς ὁ βίος πρὸς θήραν, ἐπαγόμενοι θήρατρα καὶ στάλικας, οἷς ἔστι θηρᾶν καὶ διώκειν μὲν ἵππους, ἰχνεύειν δὲ κύνας καὶ κατέχειν πρὸς τούτοις τὰ φεύγοντα. (3) ὥς δὲ ἐς ὄρος προσήεσαν, θηρᾶν ἐπετήδευον ἃ θηρᾶν ἐβεβούλευντο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν κύνας εἰς τὴν θήραν ἀνῆκαν εὐρίνω βάσει τὸ λανθάνον ἰχνεύοντας ποιητὴς <ἄν> ἔφη τις. καὶ σιγῇ μὲν θηρᾶν ἐπετήδευον, τὸ δὲ θήραμα πρὸς ὕπνον τραπὲν ἐπετήδευον, ὥς δὲ ἠπόρουν σιωπῇ κατασχεῖν, βοῇ συμμιγῆς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐφέρετο, ὕλακὴ μὲν κυνῶν, βοῇ δὲ ἀνδρῶν, τῶν δὲ ἵππων χρεμετισμός, καὶ τῆς εὐνῆς τὸ θηρίον ἐξαναστὰν πρὸς τὴν ἔκπληξιν ὁμόσε τοῖς θηρῶσιν ἐφέρετο καὶ καταστὰν εἰς ἀλκὴν φόβον προῖδον ἢ πόθον τῆς τέχνης παρείχετο. (4) συστραφέντες δὲ ὅμως παρ' αὐτὰς ἔνδον εἰσώθουν

while grapevines supported their fruit on them, making it seem to belong to the trees. (4) After the vines came fig trees, to which some poet might have added the epithet “sweet.”¹⁸ Behind the figs grew apple trees, confirming the myth by their color; for the gold of the fruit seemed to be plainly visible.¹⁹ All the rest was divided into garden plots. (5) And a spring gushed up in the middle, bearing a stream swifter than a wave. All kinds of birds were given the freedom of the place, charming listeners with their songs, while lavishly entertaining hunters with the pursuit.

(6) It was possible to see these things with pleasure, but more pleasurable to describe them to listeners.

DESCRIPTION 10: A HUNT

(1) The air received hunts, and the sea was allotted them, and after both of these the land learned how to accomplish them.²⁰ And the land simply progressed further than both of these; for while the aerial hunt and whatever sort there is by sea need skill more than strength, the hunt on land needs skill no less, but actually more; and it needs strength more than skill. Wherefore, out of admiration for the kind of hunt that the earth brings about, having observed one I will describe it in detail.

(2) It was evening, and the light of the moon was such that it allowed one neither to see everything that appeared nor to miss it completely; and men whose livelihood is in hunting have just now left the city, bringing with them nets and net-stakes, with which it is possible to hunt and for horses to chase, and for dogs to track and catch things fleeing before the horses. (3) And when they reached the mountain, they deliberately set about hunting what they had resolved to hunt. And first they released the dogs for the hunt, tracking something unknown “with keen-scented stepping,” as some poet <might have> said.²¹ And they set about hunting in silence, but they were pursuing a quarry that had turned in for sleep; and as they had no way to catch it in silence, a combined shout from everyone was carried about—the barking of dogs, the shouting of men, the whinnying of horses—and their quarry, having arisen from bed, was swept along in terror to the same place as the hunters; and when it turned to defend itself, as it advanced it offered them fear of their craft rather than a desire for it. (4) But nevertheless, they gathered themselves

18. Homer, *Od.* 7.116.

19. For the golden apples of the Hesperides, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 215–216; Euripides, *Herc. fur.* 394–402; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.11.

20. For the thought, cf. *Anth. pal.* 6.11–16, 179–187.

21. Sophocles, *Aj.* 8.

τὰς στάλικας, ἤδη δὲ ἔνδον ἦν καὶ μικροῦ μὲν ἐαλώκει, προσπεσόντες δὲ ἐξ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀτακτότερον ἀνεσόβουν τὴν θήραν. (5) ἤδη δὲ δόρατος ἔργον ἦν καὶ ἐπέδει τοῦ βάλλοντος, καὶ τῶν μὲν κυνῶν ὑστερούντων εἰς δίωξιν, τῶν δ' αὖ ἵππων οὐκ ἐφικνουμένων εἰς αἵρεσιν ἔργον ἢ θήρα κατέστη τῶν τόξων, καὶ πεσὼν οἷς ἐβάλλετο κτείνουσι μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἀτίμους τοὺς θεοὺς κατελίμπανον, ἀλλ' ἀπάρχονται μὲν τῆς θήρας θεοῖς οἱ θήραν ἀνθρώποις ἐξεῦρον, κατευωχοῦνται δὲ πρὸς τὴν νίκην αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θηράματος ὑπόμνημα νίκης ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐκόμισαν.

(6) Ταῦτα τοῖς θηρώσιν ἡδονὴ μὲν ἐς κίνδυνον, ἀδίκημα δὲ τοῖς ὁρώσι σιγώμενον.

11. ναυμαχίας.

(1) Τύχη δὲ ἄρα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων κατάρχουσα πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου τῶν πολέμων ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ φέρει τὴν τῶν πραττομένων ῥοπὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα. γῆ γὰρ καὶ θάλαττα διαιροῦνται τὰς μάχας. καὶ πόλεμος μὲν ἡπειρωτικός εἰς ἀλκὴν μάλιστα πράττεται, ναυτικός δὲ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἅμα καὶ τέχνην.

(2) Δύο τοῖνυν πόλεε νησιώτιδε πρὸς ἕριν ἀλλήλαις ἐλθοῦσαι πρὸς ἀγῶνα παρεσκευάζοντο ἐγκλήματα μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλας πραττόμεναι, τύχην δὲ φέρουσαι τοῦ κινδύνου τὴν πρόφασιν. ὥς δὲ ὁ κήρυξ οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον ἀπήγγειλε, παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἑκάτεροι, δεξιὸν μὲν κέρας οἱ ἄριστα πλέοντες ἔχοντες, εὐώνυμον δὲ οἱ κρατεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. (3) καὶ προσβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις διέκπλοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναστροφαῖς κυκλωσάμενοι ἄτεροι τῷ δεξιῷ κατὰ μέσον τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπελάμβανον. καὶ ναῦς μὲν ἐμβαλούσης νεῶς διεφθείρετο, ἄνδρες δὲ ζωγρηθέντες ἀπήγοντο. (4) καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ παθήματι, ἑκάτεροι δὲ ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον, οἱ μὲν νικηθέντες ἀγαπῶντες εἰ σώζοιντο, οἱ δ' αὖ νενικηκότες τὰς μὲν τῶν νεῶν κενὰς ἀναδούμενοι, τὰς δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καθέλκοντες, καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι μίαν ὥν εἶλον νεῶν ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι πρεσβεύοντες.

(5) Ταῦτα τόλμης μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἰδεῖν, ἀδίκημα δὲ μὴ διελεθεῖν οἷα γεγένηται.

together and forced it inside up to the very net-stakes; and now it was inside and was almost caught, and attacking it as they pleased and in a rather disorderly fashion they roused their prey. (5) And now it was a job for the spear, and there was need of a thrower; and as the dogs were lagging behind in the pursuit, and the horses, in turn, were unsuccessful at catching it, the hunt became a job for arrows; and when the animal fell to those by which it was struck, they kill it. They did not, however, leave the gods dishonored; rather, they offer the first-fruits of the hunt to the gods who invented hunting for mankind, and they themselves feast and make merry over the victory, and they brought the remains of the quarry back to the city in commemoration of their victory.

(6) These things are a delight to hunters in view of the danger, but a crime on the part of those watching if kept silent.

DESCRIPTION 11: A NAVAL BATTLE²²

(1) Fortune, then, in ruling over human affairs, oversees wars above all else and brings its influence over what is done to each of two areas; for land and sea divide up battles between them. And a land war is conducted especially in respect to strength, but a war at sea in respect to strength and skill at the same time.

(2) Well now, two island cities, having come into conflict with each other, were preparing themselves for a contest, making accusations against each other, but taking the pretext for the dangers as fate. But when the herald reported back nothing peaceful, each side began preparing itself for what was to come, the best sailors holding the right wing, those unable to master it holding the left. (3) And having attacked each other by breaking through the lines, and having circled round on them by whirling around to ram them, the one side intercepted the other at the middle with their right wing. And one ship was destroyed when another ship attacked, and its men were taken captive and led away. (4) And night fell on their suffering, but each side retired to its own camp, the losers being content if they were safe, while the winners, in turn, were tying up the ships that were empty, but towing the others with the men themselves still on them, and having erected as a battle trophy one of the ships that they captured, elders dedicated it to Poseidon.

(5) It was possible to see these acts of daring, but a crime not to describe what had happened.

22. For the theme, see [Hermogenes] 22; Aphthonius 37. For the theme of war in general, see Theon 118; Nicolaus 68–69; with partial elaboration, Theon 119; [Hermogenes] 23. Cf. also Description 1 (infantry battle).

12. λέοντος κατέχοντος ἔλαφον.

(1) Ἀλκαὶ δὲ ἄρα σωμάτων ἐπαινοῦνται μὲν ἐν παντί, μάλιστα δὲ οἷς ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἔνεστιν. ὅθεν τὰ λέοντος ἐρρωμένα παρέσχεν ἡ φύσις, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ τέχνη πειρᾶται καὶ διεξελθεῖν πεπλασμένα ὁ λόγος.

(2) Ἐν περιφανεῖ τοίνυν χώρῳ τοῦ ἄστεος λέων ἐξείκασται συμπεπλεγμένος ὥσπερ ἐν ὄρει πρὸς ἔλαφον. ἅπας τε γὰρ ἔχεται πάσης καὶ κατὰ μέρος διείληφεν, ὥς ἐλεῖν περιῆν. οἳ τε <γὰρ> ὀδόντες τῇ δειρῇ περιπεύρονται καὶ κόμη τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπανίσταται καὶ συλλαβόντες ὄνυχες ἔχουσι. καὶ πρὸς ὅλην ἀλοῦσαν διαιρεῖται τὴν ἔλαφον στόματι δαπανῶν καὶ συνέχων τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ πιέζων τῷ λοιπῷ σώματι, οὐρὰν δὲ συμπεριείλικται τῆς μὲν παρ' αὐτῆς πληγῆς οὐκέτι δεόμενος, ἀντ' ἄλλου δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιφέρων δεσμοῦ. (3) ἢ δ' αὖ ἔλαφος τὸ μὲν κέρας ἀνῆκεν ὥσπερ αἰτιωμένη τὴν φύσιν εἰ μὴδὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς μάχην ἐξήρκεσε, τὸ δὲ οἱ πρόσωπον ἐγκάρσιόν τέ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θάτερον νένευκε καὶ τὸ στόμα ὑπανάεωγεν, ὀδόντας μὲν ὑποφαίνουσα, περιαλοῦσα δὲ τῷ παθήματι. οἱ δὲ δὴ πόδες ἐστᾶσι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ βάθρον ἐρείδουσιν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πρὸς γόνυ συγκάμπτονται καὶ κατὰ γῆς συνεάγησαν. (4) καὶ σχηματίζεται μὲν πρὸς ἅπαν τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ λέων ἐμπεσὼν ἐβιάσατο. εὖ δέ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐλάφου θήραν ὑπὸ πάντων στήσαι τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὥσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς προαιρούμενος ὥς προελθοῦσι θηρᾶν εἰσὶν ἔλαφοι πρόχειροι. (5) λέγειν οὖν ἀφήκεν ὁ λόγος ἃ μὴδὲ λέγειν οἴκοθεν δύναται.

13. Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀνταίου.

(1) Οὐρανὸν τε καὶ γῆν διείλοντο μὲν οἱ θεῶν κράτιστοι καὶ τὸ μέσον ἀμφοῖν ὁ χώρος σημαίνει, δηλοῦσι δὲ πλεον παῖδες θεῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζόμενοι. προελθὼν γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Διὸς πρὸς Ἀνταῖον ἀνταγωνίζεται

DESCRIPTION 12: A LION SUBDUING A DEER²³

(1) The prowess, then, of bodies is praised in every case, but especially in those for which speech is not possible. Wherefore nature produced the mighty strength of the lion, but art tries to imitate it, and speech tries to describe it as a sculpture.

(2) Well now, in a conspicuous location in the city, a lion is represented entangled with a deer just as on a mountain; for the whole lion both clings to the whole deer and has grabbed each part separately, as he was in a position to grab it; <for> his teeth are piercing its neck, and the hair is standing up on his head, and his claws, having seized it, are holding it. And he is dividing up the whole deer, now caught, consuming it with his mouth, holding it still with his claws, and pressing down on it with the rest of his body; but he has wrapped his tail around it, no longer needing to inflict blows with it, but applying it in place of another fetter. (3) The deer, in turn, has lowered its horn, as if blaming nature if the horn did not suffice for it in battle at all, but its face is at an angle, and it has inclined in the opposite direction and opened its mouth slightly, showing its teeth a little and experiencing great pain at the suffering. As for its legs, the front ones are standing on the ground and are fixed to the base, while the back ones are bent at the knee and crumpled down onto the ground. (4) And it is posed in every way at the exact moment when the lion has attacked and violently subdued it. The craftsman seems to me to have done a fine job of placing before everyone's eyes the hunting of a deer, as if deliberately choosing to show the masses how readily available deer are for those who go out to hunt them. (5) So, speech has allowed me to say what is impossible to say from my own resources.

DESCRIPTION 13: HERACLES AND ANTAEUS²⁴

(1) The mightiest of the gods divided up heaven and earth among them, and the place signifies the middle of both,²⁵ but the children of the gods make this more clear in their struggles against each other; for Heracles, born of Zeus,

23. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 198–205.

24. Cf. Description 14. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.11; for its representation in art, see Ricardo Olmos and Luis J. Balmaseda, *LIMC* 1.1:808, and John Boardman, *LIMC* 5.1:114. For an ekphrasis of a painting on this theme, see Philostratus, *Imag.* 2.21. For other statues of Heracles in this collection, see Description 15, 26. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 63–76.

25. I.e., this is the place where heaven (Heracles) and earth (Antaeus) collide.

τὸν Γῆς προελθόντα πρότερον. (2) καὶ συμπλεκομένους εἶδεν ὁ πρότερος χρόνος οὓς ἀγωνιζομένους κατέσχευεν ἡ τέχνη. χώρος γὰρ τις περιφαινόμενος ἄστεος ἀνεστηκότας ἀμφοτέρους παρέχεται. καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα λήγοντα μᾶλλον ἢ καταρχόμενον οἱ πλάσαντες ἀνέφηναν. ὥς γὰρ ἀγωνισμάτων πλείστων προγεγονότων ἀμφοῖν Ἡρακλῆς Ἀνταῖον αἶρει μετέωρον, αἶρει δὲ κατὰ κεφαλῆς ὠθῶν ἐπὶ γῆν. (3) καὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον πνέον ἔτι σώζει τοὺς πόνους. κεφαλὴ γὰρ πόνους ὑπερορᾷ καὶ μικροῦ τοῖς Ἀνταίου ποσὶν ἀποκρύπτεται. ἔπειτα δειρὴ πρὸς τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀνέστηκε. (4) τῷ δὲ δὴ χεῖρε πρὸς τὸν Ἀνταῖον ἔχει συμπλέξας καὶ πιέζει λαβῶν καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἀπειλεῖ πρὸς τὴν φύσασαν ὥσπερ Ἀνταίῳ δεικνὺς ὥς οὐδὲν ὀνήσει τοῦτον ἢ γῆ παράγουσα μὲν ὥς ἀμῦναι προσήκουσα, ἀπορούσα δὲ σώζειν ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ πίπτοντος ἐν τῷ βάλλεσθαι. τὸ δὲ δὴ στέρνον Ἀνταίῳ συναποκρύπτεται. (5) τῷ δὲ δὴ μῆρῳ ἄμφω μὲν διεστήκασιν, ἀνέχει δὲ πρὸς Ἀνταῖον ὁ δεξιὸς ὥσπερ Ἡρακλέους ἀνιάσαι σπουδάζοντος οἷς καταβαλεῖν μὲν ἀπειλεῖ, πεσεῖν δὲ πρὸς γῆν οὐ κατέλιπε. τοῖν δὲ δὴ ποδοῖν πρὸς τὸ βάθρον ἐκάτερος ἔστηκεν. (6) ὁ δὲ δὴ λοιπὸς αἶρεται μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ δεῖσθαι τῆς τεκούσης οὐ συγκεχώρηται, φέρεται δὲ πρὸς ἀέρα μετέωρος τῆς μὲν συμμαχούσης ἀλλοτριούμενος, αἰρόμενος δὲ οἷς πεσεῖσθαι καταναγκάζεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κάτω φέρεται βλέπουσαν, πεσεῖν δὲ θάττον οὐ συγκεχώρηται ἀνιαιοτέραν ἄγων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μέλλοντος, καὶ προσάπαξ πεσεῖν οὐκ ἐώμενος αἰεὶ πεσεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐλπίσι δοκεῖ. (7) ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν ἢ μὲν δεξιὰ λύειν πειρᾶται τῶν Ἡρακλέους δεσμῶν τὴν πάγην, ἢ δ' εὐώνυμος πρὸς γῆν τέταται δεομένη τε ὁμοῦ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ προσερεῖσαι βουλομένη τῇ γῇ βαλλομένου τοῦ σώματος. (8) τὸ δὲ δὴ στέρνον ταῖς Ἡρακλέους χερσὶ πιεζόμενον ἔχεται, πρὸς δὲ τὴν βίαν ἢ γαστῆρ ὑποδίδωσι. τοῖν δὲ δὴ μηροῖν ἐκάτερος ἄνω μετέωρος φέρεται. καὶ τῷ πόδε φέρει πρὸς ἀέρα μέσον ἀνέχοντας ἐναλλάξ τὴν θέσιν τοῖς ἀγῶσι φερόμενος· οὗ γὰρ ἔδει κεῖσθαι τοὺς πόδας, ἢ κεφαλὴ μετατέθειται, πρὸς ἃ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστάναι προσήκεν, οἱ πόδες ἀνέχουσιν οὕτως Ἡρακλέους μεταβαλόντος τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σώματος ὥς ἡ Τύχη τὴν μάχην.

struggles against Antaeus, born previously from Earth. (2) And a former age saw entangled those whom art has stopped fast in their struggle; for a prominent location in the city exhibits both of them standing as statues. And the sculptors showed the contest ending rather than just beginning; for when very many feats had already occurred for both, Heracles raises Antaeus up into the air, but holds him up with his head down, pushing him toward earth. (3) And his face in breathing still preserves the labors; for²⁶ his head looks out above the labors and is almost hidden by Antaeus's feet. Next, his neck is held erect with the effort of the feats. (4) He holds his hands out toward Antaeus, gripping him, and having grabbed him he squeezes, and he threatens to throw him down to the mother who gave him birth, as if showing Antaeus that the earth will not help him at all, deceiving him as if being fit to defend him but in fact having no means of saving him, just as if he were falling by being struck.²⁷ His chest is hidden by Antaeus. (5) His legs both stand apart, and the right one rises up to meet Antaeus, as if Heracles is eager to cause him grief by the fact that he threatens to throw him down but has not let him fall to earth. Each of his feet stands on the base. (6) The other man is raised off the ground and has not been allowed to beg the help of the one who gave birth to him, but he is lifted up high in the air, alienated from his ally but uplifted by the fact that he is being forced to fall sooner or later;²⁸ and he holds his head looking down, and he has not been allowed to fall more quickly, making his expectations for the future more grievous, and while not being allowed simply to fall, he seems always about to fall in his expectations. (7) As for his hands, the right one is trying to break loose from the snare of Heracles' fetters,²⁹ while his left hand is extended toward earth, simultaneously begging for his mother's help and wishing to press against the earth as his body is being thrown. (8) His chest is being held squeezed by Heracles' hands, and his abdomen is giving way to the force. Each of his legs is being lifted up in the air. And he lifts his feet to the middle of the air, and they support an upside-down position for the contests as he is lifted; for his head is transposed to where his feet should be lying, while his feet rise up to where it was fitting for his head to stand, with Heracles changing the configuration of his body just as Fortune did the battle.

26. The logical connection is unclear.

27. I.e., struck by a weapon.

28. In some versions of the myth, Antaeus was said to become stronger when he touched his mother Earth. The statue group in Description 14 does not follow these versions.

29. I.e., his hands.

(9) Ταῦτα καὶ θεωρεῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν ἡδονῇ καὶ τοῖς πλάσμασιν ἔστηκε βέβαια.

14. ἑτέρα τῶν αὐτῶν.

(1) Ἐξέλιπε μὲν μετὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τὴν γῆν Ἡρακλῆς, μένει δὲ ὅμως ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἐν γῇ καὶ θεοῖς συνδιαιτώμενος. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἀνεχομένης τῆς Τύχης οὐδὲν ἔἶσαι λαθεῖν ὦν Ἡρακλῆς ἡγωνίσαστο τὴν τῶν πλασάντων ἐπεδείξατο τέχνην. ἡ δὲ πολλαχῇ μὲν ἀγωνιζόμενον ἔδειξε, μάλιστα δὲ οἷς πρὸς παῖδα τῆς Γῆς ἀγωνίζεται.

(2) Ἐν περιφανεί γὰρ χώρῳ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀνέστηκεν Ἡρακλῆς ἐν χαλκῷ πρὸς παῖδα τῆς Γῆς συμπλεκόμενος σκευὴν καθάπαξ οὐ περικείμενος. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν δημιουργὸν τοιοῦτον σχῆμα περιθεῖναι τῆς πάλης ὡς καθάπαξ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοιοῦτον εἶναι συμπλάττοντος καὶ ὡς οὐκ ὄν Ἡρακλεῖ προκαλύπτεσθαι πρὸς ἀγῶνα κινουμένῳ τοιόνδε. (3) περικείται δὲ τὴν κόμην στέφανος ἔτι μὲν αὐτῷ συνεστῶτων τῶν πόνων, ὥσπερ δὲ οὐκ ἀναμένων τὸ πέρας εἰς κρίσιν, πρεσβύτερον δὲ τῆς νίκης τὸ τῆς μάχης ἔχων ὑπόμνημα. (4) εἶτα τὸ πρόσωπον ἐγκάρσιόν τε ἅπαν ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βλέπει τὸν συμπλεκόμενον ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ πρόσχημα φόβου χωρὶς καταλείποντος. (5) συνάγει δὲ τὰς ὀφρὺς ὁ θυμὸς καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐκ ἀφῆκε λαθεῖν. ἔπειτα συγκλείσας ἔχει τὸ στόμα τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ψυχαγωγίας οὐ προσδεόμενος. ἐγκάρσιος δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ δειρὴ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀπένευσε τοσοῦτον τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον ἀπολείπουσα ὅσον τῷ λαιῷ πιέζων ἐβάρυνε. (6) ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν τῆς ἐκείνου δεξιᾶς εἴληπται, χερσὶ δ' ἴσας οὐχ ὁμοίαν ἀγῶνος ἔδειξε τύχην. ἡ μὲν γὰρ προὔχει καὶ τύχη καὶ σχήματι, τῇ δ' εὐωνύμῳ τὸ πᾶν

(9) It was possible also to see these things with pleasure, and they are fixed in the sculptures.

DESCRIPTION 14: ANOTHER OF THE SAME³⁰

(1) Heracles left the earth behind after his contests, but he nevertheless remains in his feats on earth, even as he lives his life among the gods; for as if Fortune refused to allow any of the contests in which Heracles contended to go unnoticed, she has put the artistic ability of sculptors on display. Art has often shown him competing, but above all when he competes against the son of Earth.

(2) For in a conspicuous location in the city, a statue of Heracles stands in bronze, entangled with the son of Earth and wearing absolutely no gear. And it seems to me that the craftsman conferred such a form on him for the wrestling match, as if the craftsman were fashioning Heracles to be simply like this, and as if it were not possible for Heracles, when roused to this sort of contest, to be covered up. (3) A crown surrounds his hair, though his labors are still in progress, as if he cannot wait until the end for judgment, but has a commemoration of the battle older than the victory.³¹ (4) Next, his whole face is at an angle, and it looks at the man with whom he is entangled, as if not even his face could independently leave one with the impression of fear. (5) Anger draws his eyebrows together, and the craftsman has not allowed his wrath to go unnoticed. Next, he keeps his mouth closed, needing no additional cooling³² from his breath. His neck is at an angle and leans with the effort of the feats, leaving the right shoulder as far behind as he could press his neck down on his left one, squeezing. (6) As for his hands, the right one has grabbed the other's right one, but he has shown that the fortune of a contest is not the same for equal hands; for though his right hand is superior in both fortune and form, he entrusts the whole of the victory to the left one,

30. Cf. Description 13. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.11; for its representation in art, see Olmos and Balmaseda, *LIMC* 1.1:804–8. Unlike the statue group of Description 13, this one does not rely on versions of the myth in which Antaeus gains strength by contact with the earth; cf. sections 8 and 13. For an ekphrasis of a painting on this theme, see Philostratus, *Imag.* 2.21. For other statues of Heracles in this collection, see Description 15, 26. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 77–94.

31. Rejecting Foerster's supplement <ῆ> after *νίκης* in 456,15 (496,10 Foerster).

32. “Cooling” (ψυχάγωγία, LSJ III). More generally, the word can mean “relief” or “refreshment”: see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), s.v.

πιστεύει τῆς νίκης ὥσπερ ἀγανακτῶν εἰ Διὸς γεννηθεὶς δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τὸν παῖδα τῆς Γῆς παραστήσαιο. πιέζει δὲ τὴν δειρὴν τῇ λαιᾷ καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ πελάσαι βιάζεται. (7) τὸ δὲ οἱ στέρνον ἐξώγκωται τε καὶ ἐξοιδεῖ καὶ τὴν ἔνδον ὀρμὴν ὑποσημαίνει τῷ σχήματι. παρατέταται δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ στέρνῳ γαστήρ ὥσπερ ἄνω παρὰ τὸ στέρνον ὠθοῦσα τὸ πνεῦμα. (8) τοῖν δὲ δὴ μηροῖν ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ποδὶ τέταται καὶ προσερείδει τῷ βάθρῳ καὶ προδηλοῖ τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ πιέζοντος, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαιὸς ὑποβέβληται μὲν τοῖς Ἀνταίου μηροῖς, καὶ δεξιῷ λαιὸς οὐ προσφέρεται, ὠθεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄνω πειρώμενος ὅλον Ἀνταῖον ἐξωθεῖ τοῖς μηροῖς καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἀπειλεῖ πρὸς τὴν γῆν. (9) ὁ δὲ Ἀνταῖος περικείται μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀρκέσειν δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἡγείται τὴν κόμην ἐπὶ μέγα προήκουσαν. καὶ μοι τὸν Ἀνταῖον κομᾶν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὑποπλάσαι δοκεῖ καὶ τῆς τεκούσης σημαίνων τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν αἰνιττόμενος ἦτταν. (10) τὸ δὲ οἱ πρόσωπον οὐδὲ ὅλον ἔχει καταμαθεῖν τὴν μητέρα, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀφῆκεν εἰς γῆν ἀφορᾶν, ὡς ἂν νικηθεὶς τὴν μητέρα ἐπιμαρτύραιτο καὶ κόμπον ἄλλως ἐξελέγξει τὸ γένος, τὸ δ' αὖ ἐτέρωσε νένευκεν οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν νενικηκότα συγχωρηθέν. τὸ δὲ οἱ στόμα διῆρται μὲν ὡς εἰς πάροδον βιαζομένου τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ στένειν παρέχει τὴν ἦτταν καὶ μόνον θρήνων ὁ δημιουργὸς ἀφῆκεν ἐλεύθερον. (11) πιεζομένη δὲ πρὸς τῆς βίας ἡ κεφαλὴ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν ἀπέκρυψε καὶ λαιὸς αὐτὴν πιεζομένην ὤμος ἀνέχει. (12) τῶν δ' αὖ χειρῶν ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ προκατείληπται καὶ καθίσταται πρὸς τὴν μάχην τοσοῦτον ἀποδέουσα τοῦ συμμαχεῖν ὡς ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἔλκεσθαι. τῇ λοιπῇ δὲ χειρὶ τὸν μὲν Ἡρακλέους βραχίονα παρέρχεται καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν εὐώνυμον μασχάλην τέταται πάντῃ, πειρωμένη δὲ προσπαῦσαι τῆς πλευρᾶς ἀμαρτάνει τῆς νίκης. (13) τὸ δὲ οἱ στέρνον διέσχεν, οὐ μὴν ἐκ θυμοῦ, τῆς δ' Ἡρακλέους δυνάμεως τοσοῦτον πιεζούσης τὸ στήθος ὅσον ὑποδῦναι τὴν γαστέρα ποιῆσαι. τοῖν δὲ δὴ μηροῖν ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς συμπλέκεται καὶ μετέωρος ἐκ τῆς Ἡρακλέους συμπλοκῆς αἴρεται, ὁ εὐώνυμος δὲ βραχὺ μὲν τι πρὸς γόνυ κέκαμπται καὶ παντὶ ποδὶ ψαύει τῆς γῆς ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐώσης τῆς τεκούσης αὐτὸν καθάπαξ ἀλῶναι νικώμενον, ἀλλ' ὅσον Ἡρακλῆς πειρᾶται καταβαλεῖν,

as if angry if, though born of Zeus, he should have to bring the son of Earth to terms with his right hand. He is squeezing his neck with his left hand and forcing it to approach the one who gave birth to him. (7) His chest is puffed out and swollen, and it suggests by its form the impulse inside. His abdomen is stretched out at length beneath his chest, as if pushing the breath up to his chest. (8) As for his legs, the right one is extended right over his foot and is firmly planted on the base, and it makes clear the effort of the one squeezing, while his left leg is cast under Antaeus's legs; and his left leg does not meet his right one, but in trying to thrust the whole of Antaeus upwards he thrusts out with his legs and threatens to throw him down to the ground. (9) Antaeus wears nothing on his head, but believes that his hair, grown out long, will be sufficient for him in battle. And the craftsman seems to me to have portrayed Antaeus with long hair, both signifying the nature of the one who gave him birth and alluding to the defeat to come.³³ (10) His face is able to perceive his mother, but not entirely; rather, he has let it look down toward earth, so that, if defeated, he might call his mother to witness and otherwise convict his family of boasting; it leans, however, in the opposite direction, it being granted to him not even to see the man who has defeated him. His mouth is open, because, as his breath forces its way to the entrance, the craftsman both allows it to groan at the defeat and has left it alone free from laments.³⁴ (11) Being squeezed by force, his head conceals his whole neck, and his left shoulder supports it as it is squeezed. (12) As for his hands, in turn, the right one has been firmly secured and is standing still, falling so short of being an ally in the battle as to be pulled from the opposite side. With his left hand he eludes Heracles' arm, and the hand is completely extended to Heracles' left armpit itself, but in trying to touch his side it misses the victory. (13) His chest was expansive—not, however, from anger, but from the power of Heracles squeezing his chest so hard as to make his abdomen sink in. As for his legs, the right one is entangled and is raised up high by its entanglement with Heracles, while his left leg is bent a little at the knee and touches the earth with the whole foot, as if the one who gave him birth would not allow him, as he is being defeated, to be beaten once and for all; rather, as much as Heracles tries to throw him down, so much does the earth not allow him to fall. And a

33. "With long hair" (κομᾶν). The author may be pointing out two implications of the verb κομᾶν rather than of Antaeus's long hair per se. Long hair signifies the nature of his mother Earth in that she is the producer of foliage on plants and trees (see κομάω, LSJ IV, and κόμη, LSJ II), and it signifies his pending defeat through connotations of arrogance and moral laxity (see κομάω, LSJ I 2, and κομήτης, LSJ I).

34. I.e., the noise his breath makes as it is forced out is a shameful groan (στένειν), but at least it has been spared the total indignity of lamentation (θρήνων).

τοσοῦτον ἡ γῆ πεσεῖν οὐκ ἔα. καὶ ἀγὼν Ἡρακλεῖ <διπλοῦς> καταλείπεται, πρὸς Ἀνταῖον ὁ μὲν ἤδη συμπλεκόμενον, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μητέρα ὁ ἕτερος πεσεῖν οὐκ ἔωσαν. ἐν δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι βάθρον ἔχει καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐξαΐρον καὶ γῆς αὐτὸ μηδὲν ἐφαπτόμενον.

(14) Πόνους δὲ ἄρα τοὺς Ἡρακλέους οὐκ ἦν ἔξω πόνων διεξελθεῖν.

15. Ἡρακλέους ἐστῶτος ἐν τῇ λεοντῇ.

(1) Οὐκ ἦν ἄρα τὸν Ἡρακλέα πεπαυμένον τῶν ἔργων ἐπαίνου καταστήναι χωρὶς οὐδὲ λῆξαι τοῦ θαύματος, ὡς τῶν ἄθλων ἐπαύσατο, μένειν δὲ τοῖς ὀρώσι [καὶ] πονοῦντα καὶ μετὰ πόνον πλαττόμενον. (2) οἷον γοῦν ὁ δημιουργὸς εἰς περιφανῆ χώρον ἀνέστησεν. ἀνάκειται γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς οὐχ οἷον εἶδεν ἡ Νεμέα προκινδυνεύοντα, ἀλλ' οἷον Ἄργος ἀπέλαβεν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοῦ λέοντος. (3) ἀνέστηκε γοῦν φέρων μὲν τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων γνωρίσματα, λήξας δὲ ὁμῶς τῆς ἀγώνων ἀκμῆς. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ κεφαλὴ νεύει πρὸς γῆν καὶ δοκεῖ μοι σκοπεῖν εἴ τι κτείνειεν ἕτερον. ἔπειτα δειρὴ συναπονεύει τῇ κεφαλῇ. (4) καὶ ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα γυμνὸν προκαλύμματος, οὐ γὰρ ἦν Ἡρακλεῖ μέλειν αἰδοῦς σκοπομένῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν. τῶν δὲ δὴ χειρῶν ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ τέταται καὶ συγκέκαμπται κατόπιν εἰς νῶτον, παρεῖται δὲ ἡ λαία καὶ τείνει πρὸς γῆν. (5) ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ μάλης τὸ ρόπαλον ἐνιδρυμένον εἰς γῆν καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ῥαστώνῃ χρησάμενον. καὶ τὸ ρόπαλον ἀνέχει παυόμενον πάλιν, ὡς μαχόμενον ἔσωζεν. εὖ δέ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ δημιουργὸς διηρηκέναι τοῦ ροπάλου τὴν τάξιν. δεξιῷ μὲν γὰρ χρῆται πονῶν, λαίῳ δὲ παυόμενος ἐν ἡσυχίας καιρῷ. καὶ χεῖρα δέδωκεν ἄπρακτον. ἡ δὲ δὴ λεοντῇ τῷ ροπάλῳ προσίδρυται καὶ καλύπτει τὸν τε λέοντα καὶ δι' οὗ διέφθαρται. (6) τοῖν δὲ δὴ ποδοῖν ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς ὀρμᾷ πρὸς ὀρμὴν, ὁ δὲ λαίος ὑποβέβηκε καὶ τῷ βάθρῳ προσήρεται καὶ παρέχει τοῖς ὀρώσι μαθεῖν οἷος Ἡρακλῆς καὶ πόνων παυόμενος.

<twofold>³⁵ contest remains for Heracles, one against Antaeus with whom he is already entangled, but the other against his mother not allowing him to fall. One base holds both of them, both lifting them off the ground and not touching the ground at all itself.³⁶

(14) It was not possible, then, to describe the labors of Heracles without labors.

DESCRIPTION 15: HERACLES STANDING IN THE LION'S SKIN (*sic*)³⁷

(1) It was not possible, then, for Heracles when he had ceased from his tasks to remain without praise, or to cease from admiration when he finished his contests, but he had to remain depicted for his viewers as laboring even after his labor. (2) This, at any rate, is how the craftsman set him up in a conspicuous location; for a statue of Heracles is set up, not as Nemea saw him braving his first danger, but as Argos received him after the destruction of the lion. (3) At any rate, he stands bearing tokens of his feats, but nevertheless having ceased from the high point of the contests. For, first, his head inclines toward earth, and he seems to me to be considering whether he should kill something else. Next, his neck bends down with his head. (4) And his whole body is bare of covering; for it was not possible for Heracles to be concerned with modesty when he was looking toward virtue. As for his hands, the right one is extended and is bent back toward his back, while his left hand is relaxed and extends toward the ground. (5) The club supports him under his armpit, set into the ground and employing the same relaxation. And the club supports him when he stops again, just as it saved him in battle. The craftsman seems to me to have done a fine job of distinguishing the position of the club; for Heracles uses it on the right when he labors, but on the left when he stops in a moment of rest. And the craftsman has given him an inactive hand. The lion skin is draped over the club, and it conceals both the lion and the thing by which the lion was destroyed. (6) As for his feet, the right one is taking a step forward, while his left foot stands back, is firmly fixed to the base, and allows the viewers to learn what sort of man Heracles was even when ceasing from labors.

35. Adopting a supplement <διπλοῦς> in 460,1 (499,13 Foerster); cf. διπλῶς in ms Par.

36. The base rests on columns; cf. Description 20.7; 27.13; 28.4.

37. The title is not apt: Heracles is naked, and the lion skin is draped over his club. For the myth, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 326–332; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.1; for representations in art of Heracles standing with the club and sometimes the lion skin, see Olga Palagia, *LIMC* 4.1:744–62; for Heracles leaning on the club under his armpit, 762–65. For other statues of Heracles in this collection, see Description 13–14, 26. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 52–62.

16. Ἦρας.

(1) Γάμων δὲ ἄρα τὸν μὲν οἶδεν ὁ νόμος, ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν προῆλθεν εἰς βίον. καὶ τῶν γάμων οὗς ἡδονὴ μὲν ἐπίσταται παρὰ τὴν Ἦραν ἑτέρα θεὸς ἐπεστάτησεν, ἡδονὴν δὲ ἦν οἶδεν ὁ νόμος Ἦρα παρήγαγεν. ὅθεν καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπῆλθε τοὺς πλάσαντας οἱ τιμᾶν τὴν Ἦραν ἐθέλοντες οὐκ ἔξω γάμων τῶν κατὰ νόμον ἐπλάσαντο. καὶ τὸ σχῆμα σημαίνει τὴν χάριν. (2) ἐλθόντι γοῦν κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ ἄστεος Ἦρα κατὰ μέσσην ἀγορὰν συνανέστηκεν, οὐχ οἶαν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκάλει πρὸς μίξιν οὐδ' οἶαν Ἡρακλῆς ἐκίνει πλανώμενος, ἀλλ' οἶαν καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀφροδίτῃ τετίμηκε πρὸς τὸν Ἡφαίστου βαδίζουσα γάμον. (3) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν κεφαλὴν ἔσκεπε τὸ προκάλυμμα, τὸ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ λοιποῦ διῆκον σώματος. τῷ τε γὰρ ὤμῳ μετὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ στέρνον μετὰ τοὺς ὤμους συμπεριβέβληται. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ παστάδος εἶναι τὸ πρόσχημα καὶ συζυγίαν ὁ πλάσας δηλοῦν τὴν θεόν, ὡς αἱ ἐξευγμέναι τοιάδε συγκρύπτονται. (4) οὐ μὴν ὅτι τὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῇ προκεκάλυπται, τὸν κόσμον ἀπέκρυπεν, ἀλλ' ἔνδον μὲν ὁ κόσμος τοῦ προκαλύμματος σημαίνει τὸ κάλλος, ἐπίκειται δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τὸ προκάλυμμα καὶ ὅλον σημαίνει τὸν κόσμον οἷς προκεκάλυπται. (5) καὶ κρωβύλον ὥσπερ τινὰ κατὰ μέσσην ἀνέχει τὴν κεφαλὴν. εἴτα πλόκαμος μέχρι τῶν ὤμων καθεῖται καὶ παρηώρηται πρὸς τὸ στέρνον. τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον εἰς χάριν ἀνεῖται. ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ πῶς ἐρωτικῶς ἀποβλέπουσιν, αἱ δ' αὖ παρειαὶ σμικρὸν ὑπολάμπουσι. στόμα δὲ οἱ συγκέκλεισται καὶ τὴν ἐξ αἰδοῦς ὑποφαίνει σιγὴν. (6) ἡ δ' αὖ δειρὴ κατ' εὐθὺ νεύειν οὐκ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ βραχὺ τι πρὸς ἐγκάρσιον κέκλιται ὥσπερ ἐξ αἰδοῦς ἐπὶ θάτερα νεύσασα. τὸ δὲ οἱ στέρνον δι' ἀμφοῖν κέκρυπται· προκαλύπτει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον χιτῶν, εἴτα ἐπανεῖχει θοιμάτιον. οὐ μὴν ὡς ἔχει τὸ στέρνον συνέκρυπεν. ὅ τε γὰρ ζωστήρ ἔνδον ὑποσφίγγει τὸ στέρνον οἷ τ' αὖ μαζοὶ βραχὺ τι τοῦ προκαλύμματος φαίνουσιν. (7) εἶχον δ' ἂν διελθεῖν καὶ ὅπως εἶχε γαστήρ καὶ ὅπως ταύτην σωφροσύνη διαδέχεται σώματος, εἰ μὴ σωφροσύνης

DESCRIPTION 16: HERA³⁸

(1) As for marriages, then, the law knows one kind, but another kind also came into our lives for pleasure. And as for the marriages that pleasure understands, another goddess established them contrary to Hera, but Hera introduced the pleasure that the law knows. Wherefore it has also occurred to me to admire those sculptors who, in wishing to honor Hera, have not depicted her outside of lawful marriages. And her form indicates her grace. (2) At any rate, as one goes down to the middle of the city, a statue of Hera stands in the middle of the marketplace, not as Zeus summoned her for intercourse,³⁹ and not as Heracles disturbed her in his wanderings,⁴⁰ but as even Aphrodite herself has honored in entering upon marriage to Hephaestus. (3) And first, a covering protected her head, but it extended to the rest of her body; for her shoulders are completely covered after her head, and her chest after her shoulders. And this piece of clothing seems to me to belong to the bridal chamber, and the sculptor to be showing the goddess as conjugal, because women who have been joined in marriage are completely covered up in this manner. (4) However, the fact that her head is covered up does not conceal her loveliness; rather, the loveliness of the covering signifies the beauty inside, and the covering both rests upon her loveliness and signifies her overall loveliness by the fact that she is covered up. (5) And she has a sort of knot on top of her head in the middle. Next, a braid flows down to her shoulders and hangs to the side of her chest. Her face is left bare with a view to its grace; for her eyes gaze somewhat amorously, while her cheeks, in turn, have a slight, subtle shine. Her mouth is closed and suggests the silence that comes from modesty. (6) Her neck, in turn, does not know how to bow straight, but leans at a bit of an angle, as if leaning in the opposite direction out of modesty. But her chest is hidden by two things; for, first, a tunic covers it, and then a mantle supports it. This did not, however, conceal what her chest is like; for a girdle inside binds her beneath the chest, and her breasts, in turn, show a little bit from their covering. (7) I would also have been able to describe both what her abdomen is like and how self-control of the body comes after that,⁴¹ if describing what lies beneath a woman's chest

38. For representations in art, see Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann, *LIMC* 4.1:670–76. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 26–36.

39. Homer, *Il.* 14.312–328.

40. According to Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 31 with n. 69, this is an allusion to Heracles' wounding of Hera with an arrow (Homer, *Il.* 5.392–394).

41. “And how self-control of the body comes after that”: After the author's mention of her abdomen, one expects “and how the pelvic area (vel sim.) comes after that.” The “self-control of the body” (σωφροσύνη ... σώματος) in 462,27 (504,2–3 Foerster) could perhaps

ἀλλότριον <ῆν> τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον διελθεῖν γυναικός. (8) ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν ἢ δεξιὰ μὲν εἰς ἅπαν ἐκτέταται, ἢ δὲ δὴ λαιὰ συγκέκαμπται παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ τῆς ἰξύος ἐφάπτεται. (9) τοῖν δὲ δὴ ποδοῖν προέχει μὲν ὁ δεξιὸς τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ τῇ ἀρβύλῃ συγκέκρυπται, τὸν δὲ δὴ λοιπὸν διήκων μέχρι τῆς γῆς ὁ χιτῶν συνεκρύψατο ὥσπερ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ μεμαθηκότος <ἐκ> τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως ὡς ἔλκεσίπεπλον τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπάρχει τὸ πρόσχημα.

17. Τρωάδος ἀπεστραμμένης.

(1) Παθήματα Τροίας εἶδε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀντιπέραν ἡπείρου πεπραγμένα πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὁ χρόνος, ἐμιμήσατο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα σκηνή, καὶ τρίτον ὁ χαλκὸς ἀπεικάζει τὴν τύχην. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ προέρχεται λόγος καὶ γενόμενον ἐν Τροίᾳ σημαίνων τὸ πάθος καὶ παρὰ τῆς σκηνῆς τραγωδούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος τυπούμενον. ὡς δ' ἔχει τὸ πάθος, ἐν ὑμῖν διηγῆσομαι.

(2) Ἐν περιφανεῖ χώρῳ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀνάκειται τις γυνὴ Τρωικὴ πάσας ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς τῆς Τροίας σημαίνουσα τύχας, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ φράσας Ὅμηρος ἔτυχεν, ὁ χαλκὸς κατεμήνυνεν ἄν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας κάθεται γυνὴ κειμένην σημαίνουσα πόλιν οἷς ἐστάναι μὴ βούλεται. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐστάναι τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐν κειμένῃ τῇ γῇ. (3) τῆς δὲ αὖ γυναικὸς γυμνὴ μὲν ἢ κεφαλὴ τοῦ προκαλύμματος, ἀναιρεῖ γὰρ αἰδῶ κειμένη πατρίς, ἔπειτα μήτρα συνέχει τὴν κόμην ὥσπερ ὑπερυθρίωσης τῆς γυναικός, εἰ καθάπαξ τῆς αἰδοῦς ἀμελήσειεν. ἔπειτα δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐγκάρσιόν τέ ἐστι καὶ εἰς ἕτερα νένευκεν ὥσπερ κειμένην τὴν πατρίδα μαθεῖν μὴ ἀνεχόμενον. ὦν γὰρ ὑπέστη τὴν τύχην, οὐ φέρει τὴν θέαν. ἢ δ' αὖ δειρὴ τῷ προσώπῳ συναπονέενυκε. (4) ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν ἢ δεξιὰ μὲν ἐς ὀρθοὺς δακτύλους συγκέκαμπται καὶ ἀνέχει τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ δὲ δὴ στέρνον οὔτε ἅπαν ἐσθῆτι συγκέκρυπται οὔτε εἰς ἅπαν γυμνοῦται τοῦ προκαλύμματος, ἀλλ' ἡμιρραγῆς μὲν προῆλθε χιτῶν, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα δὲ σημαίνει τὸ πέρας. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἔρρηκται σημαίνει τὴν τύχην, οἷς δ' οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν διέρρηκται τὴν αἰδῶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου συνέκρυψε. (5) τοῖν

<were> not alien to self-control. (8) As for her hands, the right one is completely extended, while her left hand is bent by her very side and is fastened to her waist. (9) As for her feet, the right one sticks out in front of the left and is concealed by a half-boot, while the tunic, extending down to the ground, conceals her left one, as if the craftsman had learned <from> Homer's poetry that "long-flowing"⁴² clothing belongs to married women.

DESCRIPTION 17: A TROJAN WOMAN TURNED ASIDE⁴³

(1) Time saw the sufferings of Troy accomplished in battle on the opposite mainland, but afterwards the stage imitated them, and third, bronze represents their fortune. And after bronze, speech goes forth, signifying the suffering which happened in Troy, which forms the subject of tragedies on stage, and which is molded in statuary. What the suffering was like, I will describe for you.

(2) In a conspicuous location in the city a statue of a Trojan woman is set up, signifying all the fortunes of Troy in herself, so that, if Homer had not actually declared it, bronze would have made it known. For, first, a woman sits on a seat, signifying that the city lies in ruins by the fact that she refuses to stand; for it was not possible for the woman to stand in a land lying in ruins. (3) The woman's head, in turn, is bare of covering; for her native city lying in ruins removes her modesty. Next, a headband holds her hair together, as if the woman would blush a little, if she gave absolutely no thought for modesty. Next, her face is at an angle and leans in the opposite direction, as if refusing to learn that her native city lay in ruins; for she cannot bear the sight of the things whose occurrence she endured. Her neck, in turn, bends with her face. (4) As for her hands, the right one is bent with straight fingers and supports her face, <while her left hand...>.⁴⁴ Her chest is neither completely concealed by clothing, nor is it completely bare of covering; rather, a tunic comes out, half-torn, and it signifies the end in two ways; for it signifies her fortune by the fact that it is broken, but it conceals the woman's shame by the fact that it is not torn apart completely. (5) As for her breasts, the right one is left bare,

be a euphemism (i.e., "I would describe her self-control area if self-control did not prevent it"), but I have found no parallel for this. The word σωφροσύνη in 462,27 (504,2 Foerster) is more likely, then, a mistake in anticipation of σωφροσύνης (504,3 Foerster).

42. Homer, *Il.* 6.442; 7.297; 22.105.

43. For myths of the fates of Trojan women, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.22–23. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 126–37.

44. There is apparently a gap in the text at this point (464,24 [506,10 Foerster]).

δὲ δὴ μαζοῖν ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς ἀνεῖται γυμνὸς οὐκ ἐώσης τῆς τύχης εἰς ἅπαν τὴν αἰδῶ διασώσασθαι. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ μὴδὲ αἰσθάνεσθαι διὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἢ γυνὴ γυμνουμένου τοῦ μαζοῦ. τὸν δ' αὖ λοιπὸν ὁ δημιουργὸς συνεκρύψατο, συγκρύψας δὲ καὶ καλυψάμενος ὥς μὴ φαίνεσθαι κατέλιπε φαίνεσθαι καὶ παρέχεσθαι ἐξ ὄγκου μαθεῖν ὅπως ἢ γυνὴ περὶ ταῦτα διάκειται. ζωστήρ δὲ τοὺς μαζοὺς διαδέχεται καὶ ῥαγεῖσαν ἐσθῆτα πέρα προελθεῖν οὐκ ἐᾷ. (6) γαστήρ δ' αὖ ὑπάρχει τῆς γυναικὸς βραχὺ τι προϊούσα πρὸς ὄγκον ὅσον ἢ πλοκὴ τῶν μηρῶν ἐβιάσατο. τῶν δ' αὖ μηρῶν ὁ μὲν εὐώνυμος ὑποβέβηκε καὶ ἦν εἴληφε τάξιν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ πλαττόμενος ἔσωσεν. ὑποβαίνει γοῦν κὰν τούτῳ καὶ ἀνέχει τὸν δεξιόν. ὁ δ' αὖ δεξιὸς τῷ λαιῷ περιτίθεται, ἔξω δὲ ἐξανάγει τοῦ βάθρου μετεωρισάσης τὸν πόδα τῆς συμφορᾶς. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἐπιβαίνειν ποδοῖν τὴν ἐπιβῆναι πατρίδος οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ὁ δ' αὖ λαιὸς ἅπας συγκεκάλυπται καὶ δακτύλοις ἄκροις ὑπερείδει τὸ βάθρον.

(7) Ταῦτα τοὺς θεωμένους οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῖ τῆς συμφορᾶς. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀδακρυτὶ θεωρῆσαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

18. Πολυξένης σφαττομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου.

(1) Τὸ δὲ Πολυξένης πάθος τεθέαται μὲν γεγεννημένον ἢ Τροία, παρέσχε δὲ ἢ σκηνὴ μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἰδεῖν, καὶ λαθεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐώσιν οἱ πλάττοντες χαλκῷ τὸ πραχθὲν ἀπεικάζοντες.

(2) Ἐν περιφανεί τοίνυν χώρῳ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀνάκειται τις Πολυξένης εἰκὼν παρ' αὐτὸν οὔσα τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔστηκε παρὰ ταύτην γυμνὸς κράνος μόνον λαβὼν περικείμενον καὶ κράνος οὐχ ὅλον, ἀλλ' οἷον ἄκραις ἐπιψαῦσαι ταῖς κόμαις ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ ταῦτα δημιουργήσαντος Νεοπτολέμῳ περιθεῖναι σκευὴν ἐπειγομένῳ πρὸς γυναῖου σφαγὴν. (3) εἶτα τὸ πρόσωπον ἐγκάρσιόν τε ἅπαν ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπονένευκε θυμοῦ μετέχον, ὥς διαχρώμενος ἔτυχεν. ἢ δὲ οἱ δειρὴ τῷ παντὶ συναποκλίνει προσώπῳ. ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν ἢ μὲν δεξιὰ τῆς κόρης ἐπέιληπται καὶ κόμης τὴν ἄκραν ἄνω που πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνατείνουσα, ἢ δὲ δὴ λαιὰ πρὸς ξίφος ὥπλισται

with her fortune not allowing her to preserve her modesty completely. And the woman seems to me to be unaware that her breast is exposed, because of her misfortune. The craftsman has, however, concealed her left one, and though he concealed and hid it so as not to appear, he left it to appear and to allow one to learn from the bulge how the woman was disposed in that area. After her breasts comes a girdle, and it does not allow the torn clothing to come out too far. (6) The woman's abdomen, in turn, begins to come out a little bit in a bulge as large as the intertwining of her legs forced it to. As for her legs, in turn, the left one is underneath her, and it preserves the position that it received from nature, even in sculpture. At any rate, it is underneath her and by this fact also supports the right one. Her right leg, in turn, is placed upon her left one, and it sticks out from the base, with the misfortune having raised the foot up in the air; for it was not possible for one unable to walk in her native city to walk on both feet. Her left leg, in turn, is completely concealed and is fixed firmly to the base with the tips of the toes.

(7) These things do not alienate viewers from the misfortune; for it is not possible to see the woman without shedding tears.

DESCRIPTION 18: POLYXENA BEING SLAUGHTERED BY NEOPTOLEMUS⁴⁵

(1) Troy saw the suffering of Polyxena when it happened, while the stage allowed people to see it after Troy, and after these the sculptors do not allow it to be forgotten, representing what was done in bronze.

(2) Well now, in a conspicuous location in the city, a statue of Polyxena is set up alongside Neoptolemus himself. For he stands beside her naked, having received only a helmet to wear—and not a whole helmet, but only such a one as to touch lightly upon the ends of his hair, as if the one who sculpted this refused to put gear on Neoptolemus as he hurries to slaughter the woman. (3) Next, his whole face is at an angle and inclines toward her, partaking of anger, because he often actually experienced it. His neck bends with his whole face. As for his hands, the right one has laid hold of the girl, also stretching the end of her hair up somewhere toward it,⁴⁶ while his left hand is armed with a

45. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 1 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:394,19–95,16). For the myth, see Euripides, *Hec.* 518–582; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.23; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.439–480; for its representation in art, see Odette Touchefeu-Meynier, *LIMC* 7.1:433–34; cf. Speech in Character 16. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 116–25.

46. “It” (or “her”): Reading αὐτῇν in 466,28 (509,1 Foerster) with mss and editions before Foerster, in preference to Foerster’s reflexive αὐτῇν. The feminine singular noun to which it refers is unclear; possibilities include his right hand, the girl, the end of her hair, and her hair.

καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπισχνεῖται ποιήσιν ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντος τάνδρὸς εἰ πρὸς γυναῖκα δεήσει τῆς δεξιᾶς καὶ κόρην χειρὶ διαφθερεῖ ἐν ἧ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἠρίστευσεν. (4) εἴτα τὸ στέρνον ἅπαν ἐξώγκωται καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔνδον θυμὸν ἐξοιδεῖ. τοῖν δὲ δὴ μηροῖν ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς προσερείδει τῇ κόρῃ καὶ δοκεῖ πιέζειν, ὡς μὴ καθάπαξ κινοῖτο, ὁ δ' αὖ λαιὸς ὑποτέταται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ βάθρον ἐξ ἄκρας ἀνέστηκε τοσοῦτον ἀνέχων ὅσον ἡ χρεια τῆς σφαγῆς ἐβιάζετο.

(5) Παρ' αὐτὸν δὲ ἡ παῖς οὔτε πρὸς ἅπαν ἀνέστηκεν οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου πᾶσα κάθηται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θανάτου συνεσχημάτισται χρεῖαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρόσωπον ἅπαν συντέτῃται καὶ δειρὴν ἀνέχει πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ἔτοιμον. ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν τῇ δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐπιψαύει τοῦ βάθρου, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πέπλου συνέστειλε χρεῖαν. (6) τοῦ δ' αὖ στέρνου προανέχει μὲν ὁ δεξιὸς τῶν μαζῶν καὶ γυμνὸς ἀνεῖται τοῖς βουλομένοις ἰδεῖν ὥσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι προηρημένου τοῦ πλάσαντος ὧν ἄλοὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς διαφθείρεται, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαιὸς τῶν μαζῶν ὑπὸ πέπλῳ συγκέκρυπται. (7) εὖ δέ μοι καὶ τότε τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἔδοξεν, αἰδοῖ καὶ πόθῳ τοὺς μαζοὺς διελεῖν καὶ τὸν μὲν συγκρύνει τῇ κόρῃ πρὸς τὴν αἰδῶ, τὸν δὲ καταλιπεῖν πρὸς ἔλεγχον ἔρωτος καὶ μήτε τὸν χιτῶνα διαρρήξαι πρὸς ἅπαν μήτε τοῦ χιτῶνος χωρὶς καταλεῖψαι τὴν κόρην. τὸ μὲν γὰρ στέρνον ὁ χιτῶν περιρρεῖ καὶ διαχεῖται πρὸς τὸ μέσον ἡμιρραγῆς, τὰ δὲ μετὰ μαζοὺς συνέχει ζωστήρ οὐκ ἔων τὸν πέπλον ὑπορρεῦσαι παντάπασι καὶ παρασχεῖν ἀνδρῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἃ μηδὲ γυναικῶν θέμις ἰδεῖν. (8) τοὺς δὲ δὴ μηροὺς συλλαβοῦσα μὲν ἐκατέρους ἔχει καὶ συμπλέκει τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ βία τοῦ πιέζοντος εἴασε. τοῖν δὲ δὴ ποδοῖν ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς ἅπας συγκέκρυπται, ὁ δὲ λαιὸς βραχὺ τι τοῦ πέπλου προφαίνεται. βάθρον δὲ ἄμφω ἀνακειμένους ἔχει περιφανὲς πάθημα δεινὸν λαθεῖν καθάπαξ οὐκ ἐώσης τῆς τέχνης.

19. Προμηθέως.

(1) Οὐκ ἦν ἄρα τὸν φθόνον οὐδὲ τῆς θεῶν ἔξω καθίστασθαι φύσεως οὐδὲ τὰς χάριτας θεῶν γε χωρὶς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐλθεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τις δημιουργὸς

sword and promises that it will do the whole deed, as if the man were angry if he would need his right hand against a woman and if he would destroy a girl with the hand with which he showed valor against men. (4) Next, his whole chest is puffed out and swollen with the anger inside. As for his legs, the right one is firmly fixed on the girl and seems to be pressing hard on her, so that she cannot move at all, while his left leg, in turn, is extended under him and stands on the base itself on tiptoes, supporting him only so much as the needs of the slaughter forced it to.

(5) Beside him, the girl is neither completely standing nor completely sitting on the base, but she has configured herself to the needs of death; for her whole face is strained, and she is holding her neck up, ready for destruction. As for her hands, she is touching the base with the right one, while she has drawn in her left hand to meet the needs of her gown. (6) As for her chest, in turn, the right breast sticks out and is left bare for anyone who wishes to see, as if the sculptor had deliberately chosen to show for what Achilles was captured and destroyed,⁴⁷ while her left breast is concealed by the gown. (7) This plan of the craftsman also seemed good to me, to divide the breasts between modesty and desire, and to conceal one for the girl out of modesty, but to leave the other to put lust to the test, and also neither to tear her tunic completely apart nor to leave the girl without a tunic; for the tunic flows around her chest and spreads apart in the middle half-torn, while a girdle holds together what lies beneath the breasts, not allowing the gown to fall off altogether and to offer the eyes of men what is right not even for women to see. (8) Having put her legs together, she holds them both and intertwines them as much as the force of him pressing on her allowed. As for her feet, the right one is completely concealed, while her left foot protrudes a little in front of the gown. A conspicuous base holds both statues as they stand, with art not allowing terrible suffering to be forgotten once and for all.

DESCRIPTION 19: PROMETHEUS⁴⁸

(1) It was not possible, then, for jealousy to exist separately even from the nature of the gods or for favors to come to men apart from the gods. And a

47. For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.3 with Frazer, *The Library by Apollodorus*, 2:215 n. 1.

48. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 2 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:396,17–99,26). For the myth, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 521–569, 613–616; *Op.* 47–59; Aeschylus, *Prometheus vincitus*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.7.1; for its representation in art, see Jean-Robert Gisler, *LIMC* 7.1:536–39. For an epiphany of a painting on this theme, see Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 3.8. Edited with German

εἰς εὐσέβειαν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παιδοτριβῶν Προμηθεά πλάσαι τῷ χαλκῷ κολαζόμενον.

(2) Ἀνάκειται γοῦν τις εἰκασθεὶς Προμηθεύς, οὐχ οἶον ἄνθρωποι κολαζόμενον ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' οἶον θεοὶ κεκλοφύτα κολάζουσι. πῦρ γοῦν οὐ παράκειται Προμηθεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν ἢ τέχνη συνέκρυσεν. (3) ἀετὸς δὲ Προμηθεῖ συνέστηκεν οὐδὲ πεπλασμένον ἔξω τιμωρίας ἔων. ὥς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἐπιστρέφω εἰς τιμὴν τῶν θεῶν οὕτω τὴν δίκην σαφεστέραν ἀνέπλασε. καὶ μοι καιρὸς διελθεῖν ἅ καθ' ἕκαστον ὁ πλάσας συνέθηκε.

(4) Κολάζεται γοῦν Προμηθεύς. καὶ τὴν κόμην ὁ πλάσας οὐκ εἰς κάλλος συνέθηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπίδειξιν κολάσεως μείζονος. οὐ γὰρ ἀνεῖται πρὸς κόσμον ἢ κόμη οὐδὲ σύγκειται τοῖς θεωμένοις εἰς ὥραν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς συνέστηκε, τὸ δὲ ἐγκάρσιον φέρεται. καὶ μοι τῶν κολαζομένων ὑποσημαίνει τὸν τρόπον, ὥς αὐχμῶσί τε καὶ κεκονιμένοι πεφύκασιν καὶ κόσμου τινὸς ἢ κόμης οὐκ ἐπιμέλονται, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν φύσιν τὴν κόμην, τὴν δὲ ἀκοσμίαν ἢ τιμωρία πεποίηκεν. (5) ἔπειτα τὴν κόμην διαδέχεται πρόσωπον ὀδυνώμενον τε παντάπασιν καὶ τῆς ἀνίας οὐ καθάπαξ ἀλλότριον. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν μετὰ κόμην τὸ μέτωπον καὶ ἀνιωμένῳ προσέοικεν. ἔπειτα τὰς ὀφρῦς προσδιέστειλε καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκάτερον μύσας συνέκλεισε. (6) καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην ἐν μέρει τὸ πρόσωπον ἐδήλωσεν. ἔπειτα ὀφρῦς στόμα καὶ παρειαὶ διαδέχονται, τὸ μὲν μεμνκὸς καὶ πρὸς τῆς ἀνίας αὐτῆς πιεζόμενον, αἱ δὲ συστελλόμεναι καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν αἰτοῦσαι μετριωτέραν καθίστασθαι. (7) τὸ δὲ τοῦ προσώπου πρόσχημα ἅπαν ἐγκάρσιον κατ' εὐθὺ μὲν βλέπειν οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχομένης τῆς δίκης ἐν κέρδει <εἶναι τὸ> λιπεῖν τῆς ἀνίας τὴν θέαν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἅμφω κολάζεται, ὁρῶν ἅμα καὶ τιμωρούμενος. (8) γένειον δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἡμελημένον καθεῖται καὶ τὴν κόμην ἐζήλωσε. συναυχμεῖ γοῦν αὕτη καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου κομᾶ. δειρὴ δὲ καὶ στέρνον ἅπαν πρὸς μίαν ἀποβλέπει τὴν δίκην. ἢ μὲν γὰρ τῷ προσώπῳ συννέενυκε καὶ κάτω συγκέκλιται βλέποντι, τὸ δὲ ἐξώγκωται τε καὶ τὸ δαπανώμενον ἀνθέλκειν δοκεῖ καὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔξ τὸ λοιπὸν ὃ προσπεσὼν ἔλκει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀετός. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον ἅπαν συνήγαγεν ὥσπερ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ πᾶσι σημαίνοντος ὥς

certain craftsman seems to me to have sculpted Prometheus being punished in bronze, educating men toward piety.

(2) At any rate, a likeness of Prometheus is set up, not as men know a person being punished, but as the gods punish a thief. Fire, at any rate, does not lie beside Prometheus; rather, art has hidden the favor. (3) An eagle stands with Prometheus, not allowing him even in sculpture to be outside of punishment; for because he is turning men toward honor of the gods, the sculptor has thus made his penalty very clear. And it is time for me to describe the individual features of what the sculptor composed.

(4) Prometheus, at any rate, is being punished. And the sculptor did not compose his hair for beauty, but for a demonstration of greater punishment; for the hair is not hanging down loose in a decorative way, nor is it carefully arranged to look beautiful to viewers; rather, some of it is matted together, while other parts stick out at an angle. And to me this suggests the manner of those being punished, that they are unwashed and naturally covered with dust and unconcerned with any arrangement or hair; but nature has made the hair, while the punishment has made the lack of arrangement. (5) Next, after the hair comes the face, feeling pain in every way and not at all alien to grief. Rather, after the hair his brows were drawn up, and they suited him in his grief. Next, he drew his eyebrows further apart and kept both of his eyes closed. (6) And his face made the pain clear in a single part. Next come the eyebrows, mouth, and cheeks, the mouth closed and pressed tight by the grief itself, while the cheeks are drawn and are begging the punishment to become more moderate. (7) The whole bearing of his face is at an angle, refusing to look straight ahead, as if justice did not allow <the> absence of the sight of his pain <to be> to his advantage;⁴⁹ instead, he is being punished in both ways: by seeing and being punished at the same time. (8) The beard, in addition to these things, sits neglected and emulated the hair. This, at any rate, is unwashed and grows beyond moderation. His neck and chest look toward one punishment; for the former bends with the face and leans with it as he looks down, while his chest is puffed out, seems to be pulling against the part being consumed,⁵⁰ and does not allow the eagle to take the rest, which it has attacked and is pulling towards itself. But he was drawing in everything beneath the chest, as if the craftsman were showing everyone that everything

translation and commentary in Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 161–77.

49. The sense is difficult, and the text perhaps corrupt. I have translated a conjectural ἐν κέρδει <εἶναι τὸ> λιπεῖν in preference to Foerster's ἐν κέρδει λιπεῖν (470,23 [513,2 Foerster]), following a suggestion of Malcolm Heath.

50. I.e., his liver.

ἅπαν ὃ μετ' ἐκεῖνο δοκεῖ τῷ ἀετῷ προσανάλωται. (9) καὶ μοι θαυμάσαι τούς τε ποιητὰς ὧν βουλευόνται καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ἐπῆλθε τῆς τέχνης, τοὺς μὲν, ὅτι Προμηθεὶα κολαζόμενον λέγουσι θεοὺς λυπεῖν βουλευσάμενον. καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς χάριτος ἐξ ἧς ἀνθρώπους εὖ ποιεῖν ἐβουλευέτο Προμηθεύς, ταύτην οἱ μὲν κρείττους κολάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ φράσαι προήρηνται, λαθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ δημιουργήσας οὐκ ἔλιπε. (10) τοῖν δὲ δὴ ποδοῖν ὁ μὲν εἰς γόνυ κέκαμπται καὶ ἐξανέχει τὸν ἀετὸν βάθρον καθιστάμενος ὄρνιθι καὶ τῷ τρέφοντι προσηγάγετο σώματι ὥσπερ τὸν αὐτὸν δεικνὺς κολαζόμενον καὶ τῷ κολάζοντι παρέχοντα βάσιν. τοῦ γὰρ ὄρνιθος οὐκ ἔχοντος ὅπῃ στήσεται ἀνέχει τὸν πόδα καὶ συμμαχεῖ τῷ κολάζοντι. ὁ δὲ δὴ λοιπὸς ἔστηκε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστάναι παρασκευάζει τοῦ σώματος καὶ γίνεται βάθρον τῷ σώματι. (11) ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀγκῶνα κέκαμπται καὶ κατόπιν ἀνέχει τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐναλλάξ <ἔχει> συστείλασα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν καμπύλος, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἕκαστος ἐν παντὶ συγκείμενος ἔσταλται. καὶ πρόσχημα μὲν ἕκαστος ἄλλο τι ἐπέδειξε, μίαν δὲ πάντες ὁδύνην ἐμφαίνουσι. καὶ ὁδύνης ὑπόμνημα καθίσταται χεὶρ ἅτε οὔτε ἀμύνειν ἐξαρκούσα τῷ Προμηθεῖ οὔτε τὴν ὁδύνην ἐῷσα λαθεῖν. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνία δηλοῦται τῇ δεξιᾷ, ἐπικουρεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τῷ πάσχοντι ὥσπερ τῆς φύσεως εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ δυστυχήματος ἀνείσης τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς συμμαχίαν τῷ δυστυχήσαντι. ἀποσείσασθαι γὰρ τὸν ὄρνιν οὐ δύναται, σημαίνει δὲ μόνον ὡς παρῶν ἀνιᾷ. (12) ἡ δὲ δὴ λαιὰ παραπλησίως μὲν ἐκείνη συνέσταλται τὸν μὲν τῶν δακτύλων συγκάμπτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰσάπαν συνέλκουσα. (13) καὶ τῶν μὲν ποδῶν ὁ λαιὸς τῷ παντὶ σώματι γίνεται βάθρον, τοῦ δὲ παντὸς πέτρος τις ἀντέχων ὑπέχει ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ ταῦτα δημιουργήσαντος Προμηθεὶα λυπεῖν ἐπὶ γῆς, ἣν διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς εὖ πεποίηκεν.

(14) Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀετὸς ἀνέχεται μὲν πρὸς τοῦ γόνατος, ἐς αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἥπαρ χωρεῖ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τετάσθαι δοκεῖ τὴν τομὴν ἣν ἐξειργάσατο. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόδας ἄμφω μερίσας ἀνέχων συνέχει, ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῖν πτεροῖν οὔτε καθάπαξ συνέσταλται οὔτε παντάπασιν ἀποτέταται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔτοιμος ὢν ἐς ὁρμὴν βραχὺ μὲν τι τῶν πτερῶν προσανέτεινεν, ἔν δὲ τοῦτο παραδηλοῖ ὡς, ἣν ἀποκάμῃ φέρον τὸ γόνυ, πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἀρκέσουσι πτέρυγες.

that seems to lie beneath it is also being consumed by the eagle. (9) And it has occurred to me to admire both the poets for what they counsel and the craftsman for his art: the former, because they say that Prometheus, while being punished, planned to hurt the gods. And as for Prometheus's zeal for the favor with which he planned to benefit men, this the gods punish, while the poets have deliberately chosen to declare it,⁵¹ and the craftsman did not let these things be forgotten. (10) As for his legs, one is bent at the knee and is supporting the eagle, establishing a base for the bird, and it was attached to the body that was feeding it, as if showing the same man being punished and providing a foundation for the one punishing him; for as the bird had no place where it could stand, he holds up his leg and assists the one punishing him. But his left leg is standing and makes the rest of his body stand, and it becomes a base for his body. (11) As for his arms, the right one is bent at the elbow and holds his head up from behind and, having drawn the fingers in, <is holding them> crosswise; for one of them is bent, while each of the rest is arranged lying perfectly side by side. And each exhibited a different outward appearance, but all display a single pain. And the hand serves as a reminder of the pain, inasmuch as it is neither sufficient to defend Prometheus, nor does it allow the pain to be forgotten. And his grief is made clear by his right hand, but it is unable to help the sufferer, as if nature had left him his hands as proof of his misfortune, but not for assistance to him as he experienced the misfortune; for it is unable to shake off the bird, but only indicates that the bird's presence hurts him. (12) His left hand is drawn in like the right one, bending one of the fingers but drawing the rest all together. (13) And as for his feet, the left one becomes a base for his whole body, while a rock supporting the whole body holds it up, as if the one who sculpted this refused to let Prometheus feel pain on the earth, which he has benefited through fire.

(14) The eagle supports itself at his knee, and it goes to his very liver and seems to have stretched itself up to the very gash that it created. And having divided both of its feet,⁵² it holds on and holds him fast, but each of its wings is neither absolutely drawn in nor altogether extended; rather, as if being ready for rapid movement, it has extended one of its wings a little bit, but this one thing suggests that if the knee grows weary from holding it, its wings will be sufficient for punishment.

51. Aeschylus, *Prom.* 236–243, 445–506.

52. I.e., placing them on either side of Prometheus's knee.

20. Μηδείας.

(1) Τὰ δὲ Μηδείας δεινὰ τεθέαται μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ Κόρινθος, ἅπαντα δὲ δι' ἀγαλμάτων ἔγνωκε γῇ καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐν ἐνὶ τεθέανται πάντες πάντας εἰς ὅσιν παραγούσης τῆς τέχνης.

(2) Ἐν περιφανεῖ τοίνυν χώρῳ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀνάκειται Μήδεια, οὐχ οἷαν ἐν Κόλχοις ἀνιερωμένην ἔλαχεν Ἄρτεμις οὐδὲ οἷαν Ἰάσων συναγωνιζομένην ἔσχεν ἐν ἄθλοις, ἀλλ' οἷαν ἢ Κόρινθος ἀδικουμένην εἶδε καὶ κτείνουσιν. καὶ παρελθοῦσαν τὸν πόθον ἢ τέχνη πλάττει πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀτενίζουσιν.

(3) ἔστηκε τοίνυν οἷαν ἢ λίθος ἀναστῆναι ποιεῖ, πρόσωπον μὲν οὐκ ἔξω φέρουσα λύσσης, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάθος. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἅπαν ἀπέστραπται πρὸς τὸ λαιόν, καὶ ἀπονέυει πρὸς γῆν ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχομένη κειμένους ἰδεῖν οὐς μανεῖσα διέφθειρε, καὶ τιμᾷ τὴν φύσιν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἦν τῷ θράσει λελύπηκεν. (4) ἔπειτα φάρος περιβάλλει τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ καθεῖται πρὸς ὤμους κακὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαιὸν ἀναβέβληται τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γυναῖκα δεῖξαι σπουδάζοντος ἦν γυναῖκα δοκεῖν οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ἢ τόλμα. (5) ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν ἢ δεξιὰ μὲν ξίφει καθώπλισται καὶ δοκεῖ τὸν φόνον εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπανατείνασθαι καὶ ποιεῖν αἰεὶ δοκεῖ τὸ προσάπαξ γενόμενον, ἢ δὲ δὴ λαιὰ εἰς ἀγκῶνα συγκέκαμπται καὶ ἐπανεῖχει τὸ φάρος. (6) περιτέταται δὲ τὸ στέρνον ζωστήρ χιτῶνα συνέχων διπλοῦν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν κρύψας ἃ μὴ θέμις ἰδεῖν αἰωρούμενος ἔληξεν, ὁ δὲ καθήκει μέχρι ποδῶν ὅσον θεάσασθαι καταλείψας τοὺς πόδας. (7) τοῖν δὲ δὴ ποδοῖν ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς εἰς γόνυ κέκαμπται καὶ δοκεῖ πιέζειν ἀναιρουμένους τοὺς παῖδας ὥσπερ ὅτε ἔτυχε σφάττουσα καὶ χειρὸς ὡσαύτως καὶ γόνατος ἔχουσα, ὁ δὲ δὴ λοιπὸς τῷ βάρθρῳ προσήρεται. καὶ

DESCRIPTION 20: MEDEA⁵³

(1) Corinth of Greece has seen the terrible deeds of Medea, but the whole world knows her through statues, and everyone has seen what was done in one place, with art introducing everyone to the sight.

(2) Well now, in a conspicuous location in the city, a statue of Medea is set up, not as Artemis protected her as a devotee among the Colchians,⁵⁴ and not as Jason had her struggling alongside him in contests,⁵⁵ but as Corinth saw her being wronged and killing.⁵⁶ And art represents her as having gone beyond desire, gazing intently toward disaster. (3) Well then, she stands as the stone makes her stand, bearing her face not without rage, but <subtly showing> her emotion. For which reason, too, her whole body is turned to the left, and she bends her head toward the ground, as if refusing to see those lying dead whom she destroyed in her madness, and she honors with her eyes the nature which she hurt by her bold act. (4) Next, a mantle covers her head and rests on her shoulders, and it is thrown back over her shoulders from right to left, with the craftsman eager to exhibit a woman whose daring did not allow her to seem a woman. (5) As for her arms, the right one is fully armed with a sword and seems to be threatening murder against the children, and it seems to be doing forever what happened only once, while her left arm is bent at the elbow and holds up the mantle. (6) A girdle is stretched tight around her chest, holding together a double tunic; for one of them ends, suspended in midair, having hidden what it is not right to see, while the other extends right down to her feet, leaving only enough for one to see the feet. (7) As for her legs, the right one is bent at the knee and seems to be pressing hard on the children as they are being destroyed, as if she just then happened to be slaughtering them and holding them fast by the hand and knee alike,⁵⁷ while her left leg is firmly fixed

53. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 3 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:400,1–401,8). For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28; for its representation in art, see Margot Schmidt, *LIMC* 6.1:388–93. For another example of the theme, see Callistratus, *Stat.* 13. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 147–60.

54. For Medea’s devotion to Artemis, see Valerius Flaccus 5.238–239; 7.179–181; for her devotion to Hecate, see Euripides, *Med.* 395–398; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 3.528–533. For an ekphrasis of a painting of Medea among the Colchians, see Philostratus the Younger, *Imag.* 7.

55. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.23.

56. For the myth, see Euripides, *Medea*; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.28; cf. Speech in Character 1, 17.

57. The grammar suggests that these are the children’s hands and knees rather than Medea’s, even though the latter might make better sense in the context.

μετέωρος ἦρται τῆς γῆς ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχομένης τῆς τέχνης τὸ ἄγαν περιφανὲς ἐν ἀφανεῖ μέρει κατακρύψαι τῆς γῆς.

21. Χιμαίρας.

(1) Φύσεις δὲ ἄρα παράλογοι προῆλθον μὲν ἐκ τύχης τὸ πρῶτον, γενόμεναι δὲ μένειν οὐκ ἔλαχον, ὁ λόγος δὲ ὅμως ἐτήρησεν ἅς ὁ χρόνος συνέκρυσσε. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν παράλογοι γεγόνασιν φύσεις, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ Χίμαιρα, περὶ ἧς ἤδη μὲν διεξήλθεν ὡς ἔχει τὸ μέτρον, ζηλώσει δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὸ μέτρον ὁ λόγος.

(2) Συνθήκη τριπλῇ γέγονε φύσεων ἐφ' ἑνὸς πάντα πλάττουσα σώματος. κατήρχετο μὲν γὰρ ὅθεν οὐκ ἔληγε, ἐτελεύτα δὲ ὅθεν οὐκ ἦρχετο, καὶ τὸ μέσον αὐτῆς τῶν ἄκρων ἀπήλλακτο. καὶ συνθεῖσα τὰς φύσεις ἡ τέχνη συνθεῖναι τὰς κλήσεις οὐκ ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνὸς προσηγόρευσε τὰ πολλῶν ἀποφήνασα καὶ τοῦνομα προῆλθε τῆς γονῆς ἐνδεέστερον. (3) λέων τις ἦν ὅσον πρῶτον ἰδεῖν, καὶ δράκων τοῦ παντὸς ἔληγε σώματος μεσοῦσης αἰγός. καὶ πῦρ ἐποίει τὸ φανὲν φοβερώτερον ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρκοῦντος φοβῆσαι τοῦ πλάσματος. (4) καὶ θέαμα μὲν ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο προήρχετο, μία δὲ πάντων ἐτύγχανε γένεσις. ὠρμάτο μὲν γὰρ οἷα λέων φοβῶν, κατέπληττε δὲ οἷα δράκων ἐξελιττόμενος, καὶ φοβεῖν ἢ αἰῖξ ἀποροῦσα τῇ φύσει προσθήκη πυρὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἦν φοβερώτερον. (5) οὐκ ἦν ὃ τι ἂν τις μᾶλλον καταδείξειεν ἀποβλέπων εἰς ἕκαστον. τὸ <δὲ> μήπω φανὲν τοῦ φοβοῦντος ἤδη δεινότερον. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἔφλεγεν, ὁ δὲ ὑπεσύριττεν, ὁ δὲ χαλεπώτερος ἦν ὠρυόμενος.

to the base. And she was raised off the ground,⁵⁸ as if art refused to conceal the very conspicuous in an inconspicuous part of the earth.

DESCRIPTION 21: THE CHIMAERA⁵⁹

(1) Unexpected natures, then, at first came forth by chance, but once born were not allotted to remain; but speech has nevertheless protected those which time has concealed. And many unexpected natures have been born, but above all the Chimaera, about which poetry has already described what it was like,⁶⁰ but nevertheless prose will also emulate poetry.

(2) A three-fold composite of natures⁶¹ was born, forming everything in a single body; for it started from where it did not stop, and it ended from where it did not begin, and its middle is removed from the ends. And art,⁶² though it combined the natures, was unable to combine the names; instead, though it portrayed the characteristics of many, it named the creature after one,⁶³ and its name came forth rather inferior to its generation. (3) A lion was all that one could see at first, and a serpent ended the whole body, with a she-goat in the middle. And fire made its appearance more dreadful, as if the fiction alone were not sufficient to cause fear. (4) And one marvel after another came forth, but one origin possessed all of them; for it rushed forth like a lion, causing fear, while it terrified like a serpent, uncoiling itself, and the she-goat, having no means of causing fear, was more dreadful than the rest by the addition of fire to its nature. (5) There was nothing that anyone would fear more while looking at each individual part, <but>⁶⁴ the part not yet apparent was already more dreadful than the one causing fear; for one blazed, another hissed, and another was harder to bear in its howling.

58. I.e., by columns; cf. Description 14.13, 27.13, 28.4.

59. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 4 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:401,9–2,19). For the myth, see Homer, *Il.* 6.152–183; Hesiod, *Theog.* 319–325; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.3.1–2; for its representation in art, see Catherine Lochin, *LIMC* 7.1:224–28; cf. Anne Jacquemin, *LIMC* 3.1:249–59; cf. Speech in Character 10.

60. Homer, *Il.* 6.178–182; Hesiod, *Theog.* 319–325.

61. “Natures”: Emending singular φύσεως in 476,9 (518,13 Foerster) to plural φύσεων, following a suggestion of Malcolm Heath.

62. In this case, the art of poetry. Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:129 suggests that this exercise is based on a painting, but painting did not “name” (προσηγόρευσε, 476,12 [519,2 Foerster]) the creature.

63. I.e., the whole chimaera is named after the “she-goat” (χίμαιρα) component.

64. I have added the word “but” in 476,20 (519,12 Foerster) (τὸ <δὲ> μήπω), since the second statement seems to correct the first.

(6) Ἦγωνίζετο δὲ πρὸς ταύτην ἀνὴρ παραλογώτερον. ἐποχούμενος ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰ ἀπὸ γῆς ἐξ ἀέρος ἐμάχετο. καὶ πτερὰ φυγὴν τῶν κινδύνων εἰργάζετο, καὶ προῆει μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὡς μαχόμενον, ἤρετο δὲ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης μετέωρος ἀμφοτέρω ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὁρμῆς ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ κτείνων τὴν Χίμαιραν καὶ παθεῖν αὐτὸς ἐξαρνούμενος. καὶ γεγενῆσθαι δοκοῦσα θεὸς τῷ συμμαχομένῳ παρὰ θεῶν ἀνηλίσκετο. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐδήλου Βελλεροφόντης κτείνων τὴν Χίμαιραν, ὡς θεοὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰσι καθικνούμενοι.

(7) Ταῦτα θεάσασθαι μὲν δέους ὑπῆρχε, διεξελθεῖν δὲ ἡδονὴ μᾶλλον ἢ δέος.

22. Παλλάδος.

(1) Θεοὶ δὲ ἄρα γεγονότες δημιουργοὶ δημιουργεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς πλαττούσης ἐπίστανται τέχνης καὶ συγχωροῦσι γενέσθαι τῇ τέχνῃ ὅπερ φύσει γεγόνασιν. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν θεοὶ κατ' ἀγορὰν ἀνεστήκασιν, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸ παντὸς ἔστηκε θαύματος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ τεθέαμαι καὶ διηγῆσομαι.

(2) Μουσῶν τέμενος ἦν καὶ πρὸς λόγους ὁ χώρος ἀνεῖσθαι βουλόμενος, καὶ δύο ταῦτα ὁ δημιουργὸς σύμβολα τῆς οὔσης ἐπιδείξασθαι τέχνης <βουλόμενος> Ἀθηνᾶν προανέστησε καὶ πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Μουσῶν τέμενος, ἢ θεὸς καταφαίνεται τὴν ἔνδον οὔσαν σημαίνουσα τέχνην. (3) καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖν καιροῖν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀναστήσασθαι. δι' ὧν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν Μουσῶν τέμένει καθίδρυσεν εἰρήνης ἔδειξε πρύτανιν, οἷς δὲ ἅπασαν ὥπλισε καὶ πολέμου κυρίαν καταλείπειν δοκεῖ. (4) κράνος τοίνυν αὐτῆς περιβάλλει τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ προανέχει μὲν λόφος τοῦ κράνους, κορυφῆς δὲ τὸ κράνος, καὶ περιβαλὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ κυνῇ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἔκρυπεν, ἀλλ' αὐτόνομον ἀφῆκε τὸ πρόσωπον ὥσπερ ἀδικεῖν τὸν τεχνίτην δοκοῦν, εἰ δι' οὗ λόγοι προέρχονται, τοῦτο συγκρύψει τοῦ πολέμου τὸ γνῶρισμα. καὶ ἅμα μοι δοκεῖ ὑποφῆναι ζητεῖν ὡς οὐδὲν λόγων γίνεται κώλυμα. (5) τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον γυμνὸν γεγονὸς ἐγκάρσιόν τέ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα νένευκε. καὶ

(6) A man was struggling against this creature in a rather unexpected fashion. Riding upon a horse,⁶⁵ he was battling from the air against things from the earth. And wings achieved an escape from the dangers, and while fire issued forth as if making battle, Bellerophon was raised up in the air, achieving both things in one rapid movement: killing the Chimaera and preventing himself from suffering. And though it was thought to have been born divine, it was destroyed by an ally sent from the gods. And Bellerophon made this clear in killing the Chimaera: that only gods can affect the gods.

(7) To see these things was the beginning of fear, but to describe them is pleasure rather than fear.

DESCRIPTION 22: PALLAS (ATHENA)⁶⁶

(1) Gods, then, having been born as craftsmen, know how to be crafted by the sculptor's art and agree to be generated by art just as they have been generated by nature. And statues of many gods stand in the marketplace, but Athena stands far above every wonder. I will also describe what I have seen.

(2) There was a sacred precinct of the Muses and the area wishing to be dedicated to words. And the craftsman, <wishing> to exhibit these two tokens of the existing art, set up a statue of Athena out front, and before one enters the sacred precinct of the Muses, the goddess is clearly visible, indicating the art existing inside. (3) And the craftsman seems to me to have erected an Athena for the two critical states;⁶⁷ for through the fact that he set her up in the sacred precinct of the Muses, he showed that she is the president of peace, but by the fact that he armed her completely, he also seems to be leaving her as the mistress of war. (4) Well now, a helmet covers her head, and a crest sticks out from the helmet, and the helmet from the top of her head; and though the artist covered⁶⁸ her head with a cap, he did not hide her countenance, but left her face free, as if it seemed that the artist would be doing wrong, if an emblem of war were to conceal the thing through which words come forth. And at the same time he seems to me to seek to suggest that nothing is a hindrance to words. (5) Her face, being bare, is at an angle and

65. Pegasus: Hesiod, *Theog.* 325.

66. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 5 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:402,20–5,4). For similar representations in art, see Pierre Demargne, *LIMC* 2.1:959–82. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 37–51.

67. I.e., the states of peace and war.

68. "Covered": Reading περιβαλὼν (masculine, modifying an understood "the artist") in 478,23 (521,11 Foerster) with mss BaPa and editors before Foerster, in preference to Foerster's conjecture of περιβαλὼν (neuter, modifying the helmet).

φοβεῖ τῶν ὁμμάτων ἐκάτερον ὥσπερ ἄρκοῦν μόνον ἰδεῖν καὶ φοβῆσαι τὸν ἀνθιστάμενον. τὸ δὲ στόμα διηρμένον εἰς λόγους ἀνεῖται. καὶ ἡ δειρὴ τῷ προσώπῳ συναποκέκλιται. τὸ δὲ δὴ στέρνον θώραξ τε περιβάλλει ποικίλος καὶ κατὰ μέσον ἀνέχει πάντα τῆς θεοῦ συγκειμένης εἰς ἔκπληξιν. (6) ταῖν δὲ χεροῖν ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν ἀνεῖται γυμνὴ καὶ τὸ συνέχον οὐδέν ἐστι τῆς πράξεως τὸ ἔτοιμον, ψέλιον δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἄκρας περιβάλλει χειρὸς βραχὺ τῇ θεῷ τῆς γυναικείας περιθέμενος φύσεως. ἡ δὲ λαιὰ πᾶσα μὲν τέταται καὶ πρὸς θέναρ συγκέκαμπται καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἄκρας ἐπιλαμβάνεται καὶ πᾶσαν προσερείδει τῇ γῇ τοῦναντίον τοῖς ὀπίταις ποιήσασα. (7) τῶν μὲν γὰρ αἱ χεῖρες τῶν ὀχάνων ἀντιλαμβάνονται καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀνέχουσιν ὀμφαλοῦ τὸ κατέχον συγκρύπτοντος, ἡ δὲ τὴν ἵτυν τῶν ὀργάνων μεταχειρίζεται καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀσπίδος κατείληφεν ἄκραν ὥσπερ ἐξαρκοῦν τῆς ἄκρας ἐφάψασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν μεταχειρίζεσθαι. (8) τὴν δὲ λαιὰν ὁ μετὰ τὸ θέναρ προσέρχεται ἐπελιττόμενος ὄφιν. ταῦτα τῆς θεοῦ περικειμένης εἰς κόσμον ἃ φοβεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπίσταται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς θεοῦ πέπλος περιβάλλει ποδῆρης καὶ κατὰ μέσον συνέχει ζωστήρ τὸν περικείμενον περιστέλλων χιτῶνα. καὶ μοι ἡ τέχνη δοκεῖ διπλοῦν τῇ θεῷ καταστήσασθαι πέπλον ὥσπερ τοὺς θεατὰς εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἄγουσα τῶν ἐπῶν ἐν οἷς Ἀθηνᾶ περιβάλλεται. (9) βραχὺ δὲ οἱ πόδες τοῦ χιτῶνος ἐξέχουσιν ἅμα μὲν δεικνύντες ἐφ' ὧν ἀνεστήκασιν, ἅμα δὲ αἰδῶ γυναικείαν ἐμφαίνοντες οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν ἐθέλουσι φαίνεσθαι. βραχὺ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν ὁ λαιὸς εἰς γόνυ συγκέκαμπται καθάπαξ ἄπρακτον οὐκ ἀνεχομένης τῆς τέχνης τὴν θεὸν καταστήσασθαι. καὶ γοῦν τὸ γόνυ δοκεῖ [καὶ] χωρεῖν ἐπὶ βάδισμα. (10) ἡ δ' ἀσπίς ἐκ τῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἀνέστηκε χειρὸς καταθείσης μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὴν σκευὴν, παρεχούσης δὲ τοῖς θεωμένοις ὁρᾶν ὡς παρασκευῆς μὲν δέοι πρὸς πόλεμον, μὴ εἶναι δὲ πρὸς παράταξιν πρόχειρον. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῇ κατέχει τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ πολέμου, δι' ὧν δὲ ἡ χεὶρ ἄκρα προσέψαυσε τὴν παρασκευὴν σημαίνει τῆς μάχης. (11) ἡ δ' ἀσπίς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦ Διός, ἐν ᾗ θύσανοι ῥώρηγται, καὶ κατὰ μέσον ἐκπλήττει Γοργῶν πάντα τὸν φόβον

leans in the opposite direction. And each of her eyes causes fear, as if it alone were sufficient to see and to make someone facing it afraid. Her mouth is left parted for speech. And her neck bends with her face. A cleverly wrought breastplate covers her chest and supports everything in the middle, with the goddess being composed to cause terror. (6) As for her hands, the right one is left bare—and a thing that holds nothing is one ready for action—but he put an armband on the end of her arm, thus putting a little bit of feminine nature on the goddess. But her left hand is completely extended and bent at the palm, and it lays hold of the top of the shield and fixes the whole thing firmly in the ground, doing the opposite of hoplites. (7) For their hands take hold of the arm bars and hold shields up in the middle, with the knob concealing what is holding it fast, but she handles the outer edge of the device⁶⁹ and has grabbed the rim of the shield, as if it were sufficient to latch on to the rim and handle the whole thing. (8) The snake coiled up below her palm approaches her left hand. These are the trappings of a goddess wearing for decoration what she knows will make everyone else afraid, but a gown extending to her feet covers the rest of the goddess, and in the middle a girdle wrapping around the tunic in which she is clothed holds it together. And art seems to me to have made a double gown for the goddess, as if leading viewers to recall the epic verses in which Athena gets dressed.⁷⁰ (9) Her feet stick out a little bit from the tunic, simultaneously revealing on what they are standing and indicating that womanly modesty is not disclosed completely to those who would like it to be. Her left leg is bent a little bit at the knee, with art refusing to establish the goddess as absolutely inactive. And her knee, at any rate, seems to be going for a walk. (10) The shield is stood up by her hand on the top, since the goddess has put her gear down but is allowing viewers to see that, while there is need of preparation for war, she is not ready to line up for battle; for by the fact that the earth holds it fast, it signifies the end of war, but through the fact that her hand touches the rim, it signifies her preparation for battle. (11) The shield seems to be that of Zeus, on which tassels are suspended, and in the middle a Gorgon strikes everything with fear, indicating the terror of

69. "Of the device": Reading either ὀργάνων in 480,11 (522,11 Foerster) (with mss BaPa and editors before Foerster; cf. Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 43 who says that this reading is preferable given the context but does not print it) or Schneider's emendation ὀργάνου (see Werner J. Schneider, "Nikolaos und der Schild der Pallas: [Liban.] Progymn. 12,22," *RhM* 141 [1998]: 412–16), in preference to Foerster's conjecture of ὀχάνων ("arm-bars"), which directly contradicts the author's stated contrast between Athena's practice and that of hoplites.

70. Homer, *Il.* 5.733–744; 8.384–388.

δηλοῦσα τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δία βεβαιοῦσα συγγένειαν. Νίκαι δὲ διπλαῖ πρὸς ἑκατέραν ἄκραν τῆς ἀσπίδος εἰσίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ διπλῇ κρατεῖν Ἀθηνᾶ πέφυκε, πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ λόγους. (12) καὶ οὔτε ἡ θέα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἡλλοτριώται οὔτε τὴν ἡδονὴν λαθεῖν ἀφῆκεν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔστι ραστώνη κοινὴ θεωμένοις καὶ λέγουσιν.

23. Αἶαντος.

(1) Παθήματα μὲν παρὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἥρωσι πολλὰ μὲν ὁ Τρώων εἰργάσατο πόλεμος, Αἴας δὲ πάντα μανεῖς ἀπεκρύψατο. Αἶαντα τοίνυν οὐ σωφρονήσαντα εἶδε μὲν πρῶτον ἡ Τροία, ἀπείληφε δὲ μετὰ Τροίαν σκηνή, καὶ μετὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ὁ χαλκὸς ὑποκρίνεται.

(2) Ἐν περιφανεί τοίνυν χώρῳ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐν χαλκῷ τις Αἴας ἀνέστηκε μὴδ' ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ σωφρονεῖν ἐπιστάμενος. ἀνάκειται τοίνυν οὐχ οἶον Ἐκτωρ εἶδε μαχόμενον, ἀλλ' οἶον εὔρε μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ σκηνή. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἅπας γυμνὸς προκαλύμματος ἔστηκε καὶ τὴν μανίαν δηλοῖ τῷ μὴ δεῖσθαι τοῦ κρύπτοντος. ἔστηκε γὰρ αἰδοῦς ἀμελῶν οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅπως ἔστηκε σχήματος. (3) καὶ γυμνὸς ἐσθῆτος ἅπας ἀνεστηκὼς καὶ τὴν μανίαν ταύτην προδηλῶν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μέρος οὐχ ἦττον ὑποσημαίνει τὸ πάθος. οὔτε γὰρ ἔστι μανίας ὅλος ἐλεύθερος οὔτε κατὰ μέρος ἐστὶ τοῦ πάθους ἀλλότριος. (4) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν <οὐ> κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ περιβέβληται ὥσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι τοῦ δημιουργοῦ βουλευομένου τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῦτο τῆς μανίας ποιουμένου τεκμήριον τοῖς ὅσοι θεαταὶ αἰροῦνται εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, <ὥς> ἀφέστηκεν Αἶαντος κράνος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὅτι μὴδὲ τοῦτο παρῆν κατιδεῖν. (5) εἶτα τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ φανερόν ἐμπεποιήται δείγμα ἥς κατὰ γνώμην νοσοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι λύσεως, ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ μὴ φρονεῖν καθεστήκασιν ἔλεγχος. πῦρ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑποφαίνει καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον τρέπονται χώρον. καὶ οὕτως ἡ τοῦ πάθους εἰκὼν καταφαίνεται. (6) παρειαὶ δὲ οἰδοῦσι τῷ κάτωθεν πνεύματι. τὸ δὲ οἱ στόμα διῆρται εἰς ἄνοδον πνεύματος καὶ τὴν κάτωθεν ὁρμὴν ὑποσημαίνει τῷ σχήματι. καὶ δειρὴ συμεταβάλλεται τῷ προσώπῳ συχνῶς. (7) τὴν δὲ λύσσαν δηλοῖ <καὶ> ἡ πλοκὴ τῶν χειρῶν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δεξιὰ καθεῖται κατὰ μηροῦ, ἡ δὲ λαὶα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανάκειται, καὶ

battle and confirming her kinship with Zeus.⁷¹ Double Victories are on each upper edge of the shield, since Athena also naturally rules in two ways: in arms and in words. (12) And neither is the goddess removed from pleasure, nor did speech let pleasure be forgotten; rather, there is a time to relax that is common to viewers and speakers.

DESCRIPTION 23: AJAX⁷²

(1) The Trojan War wrought many sufferings for the heroes at Troy, but Ajax, by going insane, obscured them all. Well then, Troy first saw Ajax not exercising self-control, and after Troy the stage took up the story, and after the stage, bronze acts the part.

(2) Well now, in a conspicuous location in the city, a statue of Ajax is set up in bronze, not knowing how to show self-control even in bronze. Well then, he stands not as Hector saw him in battle,⁷³ but as the stage found him after Hector.⁷⁴ For, first, he stands completely bare of covering, and he makes his insanity clear by not needing anything to hide him; for he stands unconcerned with shame, not knowing how he stands in terms of his form. (3) And though he stands totally bare of clothing and makes this insanity very clear, he nonetheless hints at his suffering from individual details; for he is neither free of insanity as a whole, nor is he alien to suffering in individual parts. (4) And first, a helmet has <not> been put on his head, as if the craftsman planned to display his suffering and considered this a sign of his insanity for all those who choose to be viewers of the body, <that> a helmet was separate from the head of Ajax, because it was not possible to see even this. (5) Next, his face has been made a clear proof of the rage from which people suffer in their minds, but his eyes are better proof of the fact that he was not of sound mind; for fire subtly shines in them, and they turn this way and that. And in this way the image of suffering clearly appears. (6) His cheeks swell with the breath from below. His mouth is parted for his breath to come out, and it suggests by its form the impulse from below. And his neck is greatly transformed along with his face. (7) The intertwining of his hands <also> makes clear his rage; for the right one rests on his thigh, while his left hand is placed over it,

71. Homer, *Il.* 5.738–742; 15.229–230.

72. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 6 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:405,5–6:24). For the myth, see Sophocles, *Ajax*; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5.6; for its representation in art, see Odette Touchefeu, *LIMC* 1.1:327; cf. Speech in Character 5–7. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 103–15.

73. Homer, *Il.* 7.206–312.

74. Sophocles, *Ajax*.

μικροῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλας συμπλέκονται ὥσπερ τοῦ πάθους οὐδὲν αὐτόνομον ἔχοντος. (8) τὸ δὲ προκάλυμμα ἅπαν τῷ λαιῷ τῶν βραχιόνων συνέσταλται ὥσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι τὸ μὴ καθεστηκὸς τῶν φρενῶν προηρημένης τῆς τέχνης. καὶ οὔτε τοῦτον ἐσθῆτος ἀφῆκε χωρὶς οὔτε ταύτην περικειμένην ἔδειξε. (9) τὸ δὲ οἱ στέρνον ἅπαν ἐξώγκωται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔνδον λύσσαν ἐπαίρεται. καὶ ὅση μανία περιέχεται ἡ γνώμη τοῦ πάθους, ἔστι κατιδεῖν ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος. γαστήρ δὲ ὑπεδίδου καὶ συνεστέλλετο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀφηρείτο τοῦ μέτρου ὅσον τὸ στέρνον ἐξώγκωτο. (10) τοῖν δὲ δὴ ποδοῖν ὁ μὲν εὐώνυμος ἔστηκεν ἅπας καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸ πᾶν ἐρείδει τοῦ σώματος, ὁ δὲ δὴ δεξιὸς εἰς γόνυ κέκαμπται καὶ προανέχει τοῦ λίθου καὶ μικροῦ πρὸς ὁδὸν ἐξορμᾷ καὶ δηλοῖ τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ μένον ἐπὶ τοῦ σχήματος.

(11) Οὕτως ὅλον τε αὐτὸν ἡ λύσσα δηλοῖ καὶ κατὰ μέρος ὑποφαίνει τὸ πάθος. ταῦτα θαῦμα μὲν κατιδεῖν, ἀδίκημα δὲ σιωπῇ παρελθεῖν.

24. Ταῶνος.

(1) Μιμεῖται τὰς τέχνας ἢ φύσεις καὶ ζωγράφων ἐργασίαν μετασκευάζει τοῖς χρώμασιν ἀδίδακτον ποικιλίαν ὥσπερ δεικνύειν ἐθέλουσα.

(2) Ἦν τι τέμενος ἱερὸν κατεστεμμένον τοῖς ἄνθεσιν. ἐδόκει γάρ πως ὁ δημὸς ἐπείγεσθαι πρὸς πανήγυριν. ἄρτι δὲ τὰ προπύλαια τοῦ τεμένους ἑωρακῶς κατεῖδόν τι τοιοῦτον. (3) ὄρνις ἦν ἔνδον Περσικός, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν καλούντων τῶν ἱερέων ἀκήκοα, μεγέθει μὲν που κύκνων οὐ λίαν ἀπολειπόμενος, χερσὶ δὲ ζωγράφων τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ μυρίοις κατακοσμούμενος χρώμασιν. (4) Ὅμηρος μὲν γάρ που κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν πολλάκις τὴν μὲν βασιλίδα τῶν θεῶν βοῶπιν προσονομάζει ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ κάλλος οὕτω τιμᾶν βουλευσάμενος, καὶ γλαυκώπιδα κούρην ἀνακηρύττει τοῖς ἔπεσιν. (5) ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν μέρος τοῦ σώματος εἰς εὐμορφίαν χαρίζεται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὁ δ' ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι καὶ πτέρυγας φορῶν ἑωρᾶτο τῶν ὀρνίθων τὰς κρείττονας. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ κεφαλῆς καὶ βασιλείας εἶχε γνωρίσματα ἐπὶ

and they are almost intertwined with each other, as if the suffering left nothing unaffected. (8) His whole covering is drawn in by his left arm, as if art had deliberately chosen to show the instability of his mind. And it neither left him without clothing nor showed it being worn. (9) His whole chest is puffed out and raised up with the rage inside. And it is possible to perceive from his form with how much insanity the mind clings to suffering. His abdomen was giving way and was drawn in and reduced in size by as much as the chest was puffed out. (10) As for his legs, the left one stands completely and supports the whole of his body on itself, while his right leg is bent at the knee and sticks out beyond the rock and is almost setting out on a journey, and it makes clear the mind's not staying steady in its form.

(11) Thus his rage reveals him as a whole and subtly indicates his suffering in the particulars. These things were a wonder to perceive, but a crime to pass over in silence.

DESCRIPTION 24: A PEACOCK⁷⁵

(1) Nature imitates the arts and transforms the work of painters by means of colors, as if wishing to show that colorful variety is untaught.

(2) There was a sacred precinct wreathed with flowers; for the People seemed somehow to be eager for a festal assembly. Having just now seen the gateway to the sacred precinct, I observed some such thing as follows. (3) There was a bird inside, a Persian one—for I heard the priests calling it this—not much smaller in size than perhaps a swan, its body adorned with millions of colors, just as if by the hands of painters. (4) For Homer somewhere in his poetry often gave the queen of the gods the epithet “ox-eyed,”⁷⁶ planning thus to honor the beauty of her eyes, and in his epic verses he heralds the “gray-eyed maiden.”⁷⁷ (5) But while he endows the goddesses with a single part of the body for their beauty, the bird <displays its beauty>⁷⁸ in its whole body, and it was seen bearing plumage <that surpasses>⁷⁹ the better kinds of birds; for it even had tokens of kingship on its head, on the feathers standing

75. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 7 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:406,25–8,10). Cf. the description in Aelian, *Nat. an.* 5.21.

76. Homer, *Il.* 1.551, 568; 4.50; 8.471; 14.159, 222, 263; 15.34, 49; 16.439; 18.239, 357, 360; 20.309.

77. Homer, *Il.* 24.26; *Od.* 2.433.

78. Some such suppletion is needed to fill the lacuna that Foerster rightly suspected in 484,26 (528,4 Foerster).

79. The text seems to be corrupt here. I have adopted this supplement, following a suggestion of Malcolm Heath.

τοῖς ἀνεστηκόσι πτεροῖς καὶ πόρρωθεν καταλάμπουσι. (6) τὸ δὲ τῆς δειρῆς χρυσαυγὲς κυανέῳ συμμίσγει, καὶ θείας <ὄν> ὄντως χάριτος ζωγράφοις γράψαι καὶ τυπῶσαι συγχωρήσομεν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν πτερύγων εἰς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ἀστράπτοντα τοῦ Παιανιέως ἐπιζητεῖ τὴν δεινότητα. (7) ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος ἐθεασάμην καὶ κίνησιν, ἐπείγει με λόγος ἐξειπεῖν καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀρμῆς παράδοξα θαύματα. ἄρτι γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν τὰς πτέρυγας ὥσπερ εἰς πτῆσιν δονήσας καὶ κυρτῶσαί πως ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς βιασάμενος ἀγάλματος μὲν κάλλιστον ἐπεδείκνυτο τύπον ναοῦ τε λαμπροῦ καὶ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεατὴν προτρεπόμενος ὡς ἀγάλματος λαμπροῦ δεδουλωμένον τῷ θαύματι. (8) Ἀπελλῆ, ζωγράφων κάλλιστε, τότε σου τῆς τέχνης ἐγὼ κατεφρόνησα ἐπ' Ἀττικῇ τέχνῃ τιμωμένου, Παρρασίου δὲ γραφᾶς παρ' οὐδὲν ἐποίησάμην ὄρνιθος Περσικοῦ νενικημένας τοῖς χρώμασιν.

(9) Ἄλλ' ἰδοῦ, ζωγράφων ἐλέγξας τὴν τέχνην ὄρνις Ἀττικὸς ἀμείνων ταύτης δεδήλωται, ὥς καὶ τῷ ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλοντι τὸ τῆς θεᾶς ἔχειν <ῆ> τῆς ἀκροάσεως βέλτιον.

25. Τοῦ Τυχαίου.

(1) Τύχαι δὲ ἄρα πάντα μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὅπη βούλονται φέρουσιν, ἐγκαθίδρυνται δὲ δικαίως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντα δικαίως κατορθοῦσι τιμώμεναι. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων ἰδρυμένας οἱ παρ' ἐκάστην θεώμενοι φράζουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἦν τεθέαμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι.

(2) Τέμενος ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως ἵδρυται συγκείμενον μὲν ἐκ πλειόνων θεῶν, Τύχης δὲ ἅπαν ὠνόμασται. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὴν κλῆσιν τῷ χώρῳ

up and shining from afar. (6) But the gleaming gold color of its neck is combined with a glossy blue-black, and we will agree that <it is> actually a mark of divine favor for painters to be able to paint and sketch it. The rest of the plumage is adorned at the ends with eyes, and in their flashing they require the forcefulness of the Paeanian.⁸⁰ (7) But since I also saw the movement of the bird, speech impels me to declare the paradoxical wonders of its rapid movement, as well; for having just now beaten its wings on both sides as if for flight, and having somehow forced them to form an arch over its head, it revealed itself as a most beautiful form of a statue and a shining temple, encouraging the viewer also to fall down and worship it, as one enslaved by the wonder of a shining statue. (8) O Apelles, finest of painters,⁸¹ it was at that time that I disdained your skill, you who are honored for your Attic art, and I counted the paintings of Parrhasius⁸² as next to nothing, defeated by the colors of a Persian bird.

(9) But look, having refuted the skill of painters, an Attic bird has been clearly shown to be better than this,⁸³ just as the possession of sight is also better <than> the possession of hearing for one who wishes to praise.

DESCRIPTION 25: THE TYCHAION⁸⁴

(1) Fortunes, then, carry all human affairs wherever they wish, but statues of them are justly erected in the cities, from which, when honored, they justly make everything prosper. And those who see statues of Fortune erected in each of the cities declare it in each case, but I will also describe one that I have seen.

(2) A sacred precinct is set up in the middle of the city, composed of very many gods, but the whole precinct is named after Fortune. And those

80. I.e., peacocks need someone as eloquent as the orator Demosthenes, from the Attic deme Paeania, to describe them. His rhetorical "forcefulness" (*deinotês*) was much celebrated.

81. A famous painter of the fourth century B.C.E.

82. Another famous painter of the fourth century B.C.E.

83. I.e., this skill. The author reveals that he saw this Persian bird at Athens, which also makes it an "Attic" bird. For the exhibition of peacocks at Athens, see Aelian, *Nat. an.* 5.21.

84. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 8 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:408,11–9,29). On this ekphrasis, see especially Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 10–25; Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 40, 243–46; Craig A. Gibson, "Alexander in the Tychaion: Ps.-Libanius on the Statues," *GRBS* 47 (2007): 431–54, with further bibliography. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 10–25, with English translation in Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 383–84, and with French translation in Callu, "Julius Valère," 272–73.

προσθέντες εἰς τὸ δέον ποιεῖν. οἷς γὰρ ἅπαντα Τύχη συγκρύπτεται, τούτοις ἢ θεῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Τύχης συνεκέκρυπτο κλήσις. (3) κατεσκευάσται δὲ ὁ χώρος ὧδέ πως. ἤσκηται μὲν ἅπας ἐξ ἐδάφους εἰς ὀροφὴν, διήρηται δὲ ἡ κατασκευὴ κατὰ κύκλους ἡμίσεας, ἐφ' ἐκάστω δὲ παντοδαπαὶ προβέβληνται κίονες. (4) οἱ δ' αὖ κύκλοι εἰσὶ πρὸς ἀγαλμάτων ὑποδοχὰς ἀνιστάμενοι καὶ μετρεῖν ἔξεστι τοὺς κύκλους μὲν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων παρεστήκασιν κίονες. (5) θεοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἀνεστηκότες οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι δύο καὶ δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν. καὶ κορυφὴ μὲν ἔχει τὸν οἰκιστὴν ἐξ ἐτέρων ἄκρων καὶ μέσων, ἀνέστηκε δὲ φέρων μὲν αὐτὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὑπόμνημα, φερόμενος δὲ δι' ὧν ἡ πόλις εἴωθε τρέφεσθαι. καὶ σημαίνει τῆς γῆς τὴν φύσιν ἢ Χάρις, κυκλοῖ δὲ κατὰ μέσον ἡμισυ ὅσον ἀριθμὸς θεῶν ὀνομάζεται. (6) καὶ μέσον ἐκ μέσου

who gave the area its name seem to me to be doing it out of necessity; for as to those from whom everything is hidden by Fortune, for them the name of the gods⁸⁵ had been hidden because of Fortune. (3) The area is arranged somewhat as follows. It is completely decorated from floor to ceiling, but the arrangement is divided into semicircles, and various columns have been put up in front of each. (4) The circles, in turn, are standing as receptacles for statues, and it is possible to count the circles by the statues, while the columns stand to the side, out from the statues. (5) Gods are standing as statues—not all, but only twelve in number.⁸⁶ And a column capital holds the Founder⁸⁷ out from the other end ones and middle ones,⁸⁸ and he stands there, himself bearing a token of the Soter,⁸⁹ but being borne up by the things by which the city is customarily nourished.⁹⁰ And Charis signifies the nature of the earth, but half the named number of gods encircles her in the middle.⁹¹ (6) And

85. “Name (κλήσις) of the gods”: i.e., the power to call upon the gods for aid; those whom Fortune opposes cannot hope to obtain help from any other deity. The same word is used in a different sense in the previous sentence.

86. Presumably the twelve Olympian gods are meant.

87. Alexander the Great. This statue is distinct from the one in the central sculpture group (see section 6) and from the equestrian statue in Description 27, which is said to be located right by the sea (Description 27.1). The statue has more frequently been identified as Ptolemy I Soter.

88. I.e., at the focus of the semicircle. The statues of the six gods standing in their individual niches together form a semicircle around the statue of the Founder at its focus, held out from the statues on the ends and in the middle of the semicircle. See below.

89. Usually understood as referring to Ptolemy I Soter. However, I have argued that this “token” may be the thunderbolt of Zeus Soter (“Savior”); see Gibson, “Alexander in the Tychaion.”

90. “By the things by which the city is accustomed to be nourished”: most previous studies have interpreted this as a cornucopia but have incorrectly envisioned the statue as holding it, interpreting *φερόμενος* in 488,9 (530,16 Foerster) as middle rather than passive voice. In “Alexander in the Tychaion,” I argue that the statue of Alexander is standing upon a column capital decorated with unspecified images of the earth’s bounty. Hebert (“Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 13) translates this sentence as follows: “Und eine Spitze hält den Gründer aus anderen Spitzen und mittleren Höhen heraus; die Statue hat das Aussehen des Soter und trägt das bei sich, wodurch die Stadt gewöhnlich ernährt wird.” Stewart (*Faces of Power*, 384) translates: “And one pedestal sustains the Colonizer above the others, which are of medium height; he stands high, and bears the tokens of a savior, carrying the means by which the city is nurtured.” Callu (“Julius Valère,” 273) translates: “Le pinacle jaillissant d’entre les acrotères et leurs entre-deux soutient le Fondateur; celui-ci se dresse porteur du Mémorial de Sôter et est porté par ceux qui de tradition nourrissent la ville.”

91. “Encircles her in the middle” (κυκλοῖ δὲ κατὰ μέσον); i.e., six gods in their individual niches together form a semicircle around the statue of Charis at its focus (with Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 20).

Τύχης ἔστηκεν ἄγαλμα στεφάνῳ δηλοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς νίκας. καὶ στέφεται μὲν ὑπὸ Τύχης ἢ Γῆς, στέφει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸν νικῆσαντα. Νίκαι δὲ τῆς Τύχης ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνεστήκασιν καλῶς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῆς Τύχης δηλοῦντος τὴν δύναμιν, ὥς πάντα νικᾶν οἶδεν ἡ Τύχη. (7) τελευτᾷ δὲ ἡ τοῦ χώρου κατασκευὴ πρὸς ἡτοιμασμένον ἐξ ἀγάλματος δάφνινον στέφανον. καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ εἷς ἐπὶ καθέδρας ἄκρου, γυμνὸς δὲ ἕτερος πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἄκρον ἀνέστηκεν οὐρανοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς λαιᾶς φερόμενος πρόσχημα, τὴν δ' αὖ δεξιὰν εἰς ἅπαντα πρόχειρον, γυμνὸς δὲ προκαλύμματος ἵσταται. (8) καὶ στήλαι χαλκαῖ κατὰ μέσον ἐστήκασιν ἔδαφος ἐγκεκολαμμέναι τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα. καὶ κατὰ μέσον αἱ πύλαι παρὰ τὸ Μουσῶν ἄγουσαι τέμενος. χαλκοὶ δὲ βασιλεῖς κατὰ μέσον ἐστήκασιν οὐχ ὅσους ἐκόμισε χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν κομισθέντων ἦσαν σεμνότατοι.

(9) Ταῦτα θαῦμα μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἰδεῖν, κέρδος δὲ μαθεῖν, ἀδίκημα δὲ σιωπῇ κατακρύπτεσθαι.

26. Ἡρακλέους βαστάζοντος τὸν Ἑρμάνθιον κάπρον.

(1) Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ ἄρα γενομένῳ Διὸς οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐμαρτύρει τὴν γένεσιν, ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γῆ καθαιρομένη τοῖς ἄθλοις. Νεμέα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγώνων ἀρχὴ καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Ἑρμάνθος κάπρον ἤνεγκεν ἀγώνισμα δεύτερον. καὶ

in the very middle stands a statue of Fortune, making clear the victories of Alexander by a crown. And Earth is being crowned by Fortune, and Earth herself is crowning the victor. Statues of Victory stand on either side of Fortune, with the craftsman doing a fine job of showing the power of Fortune, that Fortune knows how to be victorious over all. (7) The arrangement of the area ends with a crown of laurel made from a statue.⁹² And one man philosophizes on a chair at one end,⁹³ while another stands naked at the other end, holding an image of heaven⁹⁴ in his left hand, but <holding> his right hand, in turn, ready for everything, and he stands bare of covering. (8) And bronze pillars stand in the middle of the floor, engraved with the laws of the city. And in the middle are the doors leading out to the sacred precinct of the Muses. Bronze kings stand in the middle,⁹⁵ not as many as time has passed down, but all those who were most revered of those who have been passed down.

(9) These things were a wonder to see, a benefit to learn of, and a crime to hide away in silence.

DESCRIPTION 26: HERACLES LIFTING UP THE ERYMANTHIAN BOAR⁹⁶

(1) For Heracles, then, having been born of Zeus, heaven bore witness to his birth, but the earth cleansed by his struggles made it clear. For Nemea was the beginning of his contests,⁹⁷ and after this Erymanthus brought him the boar

92. The precise meaning of “a crown of laurel made from a statue” (ἡτοιμασμένον ἐξ ἀγάλματος δάφνινον στέφανον) is uncertain. “Laurel” (δάφνινον) is Foerster’s conjecture for the ἐλάφειον (“of a deer”) of the manuscripts and previous editions; cf. perhaps Pausanias, *Descr.* 1.33.3 for a “crown with deer on it” (στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων). Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 384, translates “a laurel crown created in sculptural form.” In his discussion of the ecphrasis, however, Stewart describes it as “a huge laurel crown held aloft by another statue” (244); similarly, Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 14, says “einem Lorbeerkrantz, der vom Standbild bereitgehalten wird.” Callu, “Julius Valère,” 273 n. 26, tentatively places a sculptured wreath around the upper circumference of the room; he goes on to offer two further conjectures involving live laurel trees.

93. I.e., at one end of the crown of laurel.

94. I.e., a celestial sphere.

95. It is unclear whether this means bronze statues standing between the two doors or bronze relief decorations on the doors themselves (with Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 20; Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 244).

96. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 9 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:410,1–11,5). For the myth, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.4; for representations in art, see Wassiliki Felten, *LIMC* 5.1:43–48. For other statues of Heracles, see Description 13, 14, 15. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 95–102.

97. For the story of Heracles and the Nemean lion, see Apollodorus *Bibl.* 2.5.1; cf. Description 15.

κρατούμενον μὲν εἶδε τὸν κάπρον Ἑρύμανθος, ἐγὼ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χαλκῆς εἰκόνοσ φερόμενον καὶ ὅπως εἶχε κατιδὼν διηγῆσομαι.

(2) Χῶρος ἦν ἐν ἄστει περιφανής, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἡρακλῆς ἐν παντοδαποῖς ἀνεστηκὼς ἀγωνίσμασι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔτι πονῶν ἐξεικάζεται, τὸν δὲ δὴ κάπρον ἥδη λαβὼν ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦσης τῆς τέχνης εἰ πόνων Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ κάπρῳ δεήσεται. (3) γυμνὸς οὖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἴσταται. τὸ δὲ οἱ πρόσωπον ἅπαν βλέπει εἰς γῆν. ὦμους δὲ ἀμπέχει ἡ λεοντῇ καὶ βάθρον ἐστὶν ἀγωνίσματος αὐτῇ φανείσα πρωτεῖον ἀγώνων. (4) ταῖν δὲ δὴ χεροῖν ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν ἀνηρημένον ἔχει τὸν κάπρον, ἡ δ' αὖ λαιὰ ὡς πρὸς ἄθλον ἡτοίμασται. τὸ δὲ δὴ στέρνον ἀνέστηκεν ἅπαν ὥσπερ τῶν προσόντων οὐδὲν αἰσθανόμενον. (5) τῶν δὲ ποδῶν ὁ δεξιὸς εἰς γόνυ κέκαμπται, ὁ δ' αὖ λαιὸς ὀρθὸς ἔστηκε καὶ προσερείδει τὸ βάθρον δηλῶν ἐξ ἐπιγραμμάτων τὸν τεχνησάμενον. (6) ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὤμων ὁ κάπρος ἀνηρημένος μὲν τέταται, διήρται δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἔπεσεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δεσμοῖς ταῖς Ἡρακλέους χερσὶ προκατείληπται. καὶ φέρουσι κείμενον αἱ μαχόμενον ἔκτειναν.

(7) Ταῦτα εἰ μὴ θεώμενος ἔφραζον, ἡδίκουν <ἄν> τὸ κατασκευάσμα.

27. Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ κτίστου.

(1) Κτίσται δὲ ἄρα περιφανεῖς πλεῖστοι μὲν καθεστᾶσι τῶν πόλεων, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃς πόλιν ἀνέστησεν οἷαν οὐχ ἕτερος. δηλοῖ δὲ αὐτὸς παρὰ ταύτην ἀνεστηκὼς ὡς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐμφανοῦς οἰκιστῆς ἐμφανέστατος. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν θαλάσση πρόσοικον ἤγειρεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν ἀνέστηκε θάλατταν. (2) καὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνοσ δείκνυσι στάσις. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐποχούμενον ἵππος ἀνέσχεν, ἵππος δὲ οὐχ οἶον ἄν τις ῥαδίως

as a second feat. And Erymanthus saw the boar being defeated, but after this I saw it raised up in a bronze statue, and having observed it, I will describe what it was like.

(2) There was a conspicuous location in the city, and in it stand statues of Heracles in all sorts of feats. And in the rest he was represented as still laboring, but in the case of the boar, as already having taken it, as if art were indignant if Heracles would need labors for a boar. (3) And so he stands naked, as he was accustomed. His whole face looks toward the ground. The lion skin is around his shoulders and, since it appeared as his first prize from his contests, it itself is the base for this feat.⁹⁸ (4) As for his hands, the right one holds the slain boar, while his left hand, in turn, is prepared as for a contest. His whole chest stands upright, as if not perceiving the present situation at all. (5) As for his legs, the right one is bent at the knee, while his left leg, in turn, stands straight and is firmly fixed to the base, making clear who the artist was from an inscription. (6) The slain boar is stretched over his shoulders, and it has been raised up not just as it fell; rather, it has been firmly secured by the hands of Heracles just as if by fetters. And the hands that killed him in battle are carrying him as he lies dead.

(7) If I had seen these things and not declared them, I <would have> wronged this work of art.

DESCRIPTION 27: ALEXANDER THE FOUNDER⁹⁹

(1) There have existed, then, very many notable founders of cities, but above all Alexander, who set up a city like no other man. By standing as a statue in this city himself, he makes it clear that in an illustrious land a founder is most illustrious; for he raised up this city dwelling by the sea, and he stands as a statue himself by the very sea. (2) And his stance in the statue reveals his nature. For, first, a horse supported him as he rode, not a horse capable

98. I.e. the boar rests on the Nemean lion's skin just as a statue rests on a "base" (βάθρον).

99. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 10 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:411,6–13,25). For discussion of this statue at Alexandria in Egypt, see Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 40, 172–73 with fig. 52; Paolo Moreno, *Vita e arte di Lisippo* (Milan: Saggiatore, 1987), 111–14; Paul Goukowsky, *Les origines politiques* (vol. 1 of *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre*; Mémoire-Annales de l'Est 60; Nancy: Université de Nancy II, 1978), 213–14; Erkinger Schwarzenberg, "The Portraiture of Alexander," in *Alexandre le Grand: image et réalité* (ed. Albert B. Bosworth et al.; Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 22; Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1976), 233 n. 5; Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1:212. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, "Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken," 178–97, and with English translation in Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 397–400.

μεταχειρίσειεν, ἀλλ' οἷος πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου κινδύνους ἀρκέσει. καὶ τὸ τάχος τῶν ἔργων ἢ τοῦ φέροντος ἐπιδείκνυται ῥύμη. (3) ἔπειτα αὐτὸς κρᾶνος μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ προκαλύμματος ὃ γῆν ἅπασαν ἐννοῶν παραστήσασθαι καὶ περισκοπεῖν. δοκεῖ δέ μοι πάντα τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐνεῖναι, ἃ προῖων κατεστρέψατο. σχῆμα πρὸς ὅλην ἀποβλέπει τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὡς εἰπεῖν συλλήβδην φαίνει τὸ πρόσωπον. (4) κόμη δὲ ἀνειμένη πρὸς αὔρας καὶ πρὸς ὀρμὴν τοῦ φέροντος κλίνουσα. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἶον ἀκτίνες εἶναι πρὸς ἥλιον αἱ τρίχες αὐτῆς. (5) ἔπειτα δειρὴ τῷ προσώπῳ συναπονέενυκε. καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ χεὶρ μετέωρος αἴρεται καὶ λαβεῖν ἀεὶ τι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ πρόσω ζητεῖν τὸ παρὸν καταστρέψασα. ἡ δὲ λαιὰ συνεσταλμένην ἔχει χλαμύδα καὶ ταῖς αὔραις αὐτὴν οὐ κατέλιπε φέρεσθαι καὶ δεσμός κατέστη τοῖς πνεύμασι. (6) στέρνον δὲ ἅπαν ἐξωδημένον φαίνεται, θώρακι <δὲ> καὶ χλαμύδι συγκέκρυπται, καὶ διπλᾶ φέρει τῶν καιρῶν ὑπομνήματα, θώρακα μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τὸ σύμβολον, χλαμύδα δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης τὸ γνῶρισμα. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν ὃ δημιουργὸς παραστήσασθαι τὴν χλαμύδα προσθεὶς ἐπάνω τοῦ θώρακος. οἷς γὰρ εἰρήνης πόλεμον ἐτίθετο δεύτερον, τούτοις ὃ θώραξ τῇ χλαμύδι συγκέκρυπται, καὶ τὸ λανθάνον παρέσχε δοκεῖν ἀτιμότερον. (7) ἔπειτα μὲν διηρημένῳ πρὸς ἵππον καὶ πόδες ἄμφω μετέωροι. καὶ <ὃ> δεξιὸς μὲν ἀντὶ κέντρου προσάπτεται, ὃ λοιπὸς δὲ αὐτόνομος φέρεται. Μακεδονικὰ δὲ φέρεται πέδιλα, ἃ καὶ κνήμην περιστέλλει οὐχ ὅλην, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῆς κνήμης ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μάχην ὀπλίζεται. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω πρὸς εἰρήνην διαιρεῖται καὶ πόλεμον, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα βλέπει πρὸς πόλεμον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πρὸς σπονδὰς ἀπονέενυκε. κινδύνους γὰρ σπονδαὶ διαδέχονται. (8) καὶ ὥδε μὲν ἔσχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐποχεῖται δὲ καὶ μάλα ῥαδίως ἐφ' ἵππου καὶ τὸν ἔποχον ὃ κομίζων ἐνδείκνυται, μᾶλλον δὲ δι' ἐκατέρου κατιδεῖν ἐκότερον πάρεστιν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν τὸν ἵππον οἶον δεικνύντος, τοῦ δ' ἵππου δηλοῦντος τὸν ἐποχούμενον. (9) κεφαλὴ μὲν γὰρ ὡς οἷα νομισθῆναι βοὸς καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἴληφεν ἐξ ὧν ἐνομίζετο, φύσιν <δὲ> ἐτέραν τὰ πρῶτα παρεδήλου τοῦ σώματος. μόνον οὐ κέρας ἀνεῖχε τὸ πρόσωπον. χαλινὰ κατέχειν οὐκ εἶα. οὐ γὰρ οἷος εὐθύνεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ χαλινουῖ τέχνην ἐδειξεν ἄπρακτον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἷος μὴ κατεσχῆσθαι, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ

of being easily handled, but one such as would be sufficient for that man's dangers. And the rush of the one bearing him shows the speed of his actions. (3) Next, he himself had no helmet on his head; for the man who intended to survey the whole world and bring it to terms had no need of covering. To me, everything that he subdued as he advanced seems to be in his eyes. His posture looks toward the whole earth, and his face displays, so to speak, the whole world at once. (4) His hair is loose, and it leans in the breeze and with the rapid movement of the one carrying him. And to me, the hairs of his head seem to be like rays of sunlight. (5) Next, his neck bends with his face. And his right hand is raised up in the air and seems always to grab at something and to be seeking what is far away, having subdued what is close by.¹⁰⁰ His left arm holds a short cloak rolled up and did not leave it to be carried by the breezes, and it became a fetter to the winds. (6) His whole chest seems puffed out, <but> it is concealed by a breastplate and a short cloak, and it bears double reminders of the two critical states:¹⁰¹ the breastplate as the token of war, and the short cloak as the mark of peace. And to me, the craftsman seems to have shown his intention by putting the cloak on over the breastplate; for insofar as he put war second to peace, the breastplate is concealed by the short cloak, and he made the unseen thing seem less important. (7) Next, his legs are divided¹⁰² by the horse, and both feet are in the air. And <the> right foot is being applied in place of a goad, while his left one is carried freely. He wears Macedonian boots that cover even the shin, but not the whole shin; rather, one can see part of the shin, while the other part is armed for battle. And both legs are divided into peace and war, and while the front parts look toward war, the rest incline toward truces; for truces follow dangers. (8) And this is what the Alexander was like, but he is also very easily riding on his horse, and the one carrying him reveals his rider; or rather, it is possible to perceive each through the other, with Alexander showing what the horse was like, and the horse making clear his rider. (9) For the horse's head, since it was such as to be believed to be that of an ox, has actually gotten its name from what was believed, <but> the front part of his body intimated a different nature. His face all but held up a horn. He did not allow anyone to use the bridle; for he was not capable of being managed; or rather, he proved the art of the bridle impracticable, and while for everyone else he was incapable of being bridled, for Alexander he was more obedient than bridles.¹⁰³

100. On this gesture, see Stewart, *Faces of Power*, 172–73.

101. I.e., the states of peace and war.

102. “Divided”: Reading διηρημένω in 494,18 (535,3 Foerster) with mss BaPa and editors before Foerster, in preference to Foerster's conjecture διηρημένω (“raised up”).

103. For Alexander's taming of Bucephalus (“ox-head”), see Plutarch, *Alex.* 6.

χαλινῶν εὐπειθέστερος. (10) ὄμμα δὲ φοβερὸν καὶ μόνον οὐ φοβοῦν πρὸ τοῦ βάλλοντος. ῥῖνες δὲ οἱ διεγείρονται πνεύμασι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ὁ θυμὸς κατεμήνυνεν, ἐδήλου δὲ τὸν θυμὸν τὸ προκάλυμμα. δειρὴ δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον οὐχ ἤκουσα, συνέστελλε γὰρ ἡ φύσις πρὸς τὴν ὀρμὴν. (11) καὶ οἱ πόδες οἱ πρόσθεν ἡρμένοι καὶ πρὸς ἀέρα μετέωροι καὶ χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐπείγονται καὶ γῆς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καλῶς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀπαρτήσαντος. πεφύκασι γὰρ ἰθὺεῖν ἐτοιμότατοι καὶ γῆς ἐπιβαίνειν καὶ δοκεῖν τῆς γῆς μὴ προσάπτεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι πρὸς τὸ βάθρον ἐρείδονται καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἰσχὺν διδόναι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὁ πρὸς γῆν ὑπομένουσι παθεῖν τοὺς λοιποὺς οὐ παρέχουσιν. (12) οὐρὰ δὲ οὔτε ὅλη καθεῖται οὔτε ἀφηρέθη τοῦ μέτρου, ἀλλ' ἔσχε μὲν ὅσον κοσμηθῆναι τὴν φύσιν, παρείλατο δὲ ὅσον ἐμποδῶν μὴ γενέσθαι ταῖς μάχαις.

(13) Ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς βάθρον τέτρασιν ἐπικείμενον κίοσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν βάθρον ἐπικείμενον σημαίνει τὴν γῆν, αἱ δὲ κίονες τῶν τμημάτων ἕκαστον φέρουσιν ἐφ' ὅσα προῆλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. πρὸς γὰρ † ἀνίσχοντα φέρουσιν ἥλιον καὶ ἐν ἄρκτῳ δηλοῦται τεταμένη πρὸς νότον ὀπόσα τῆς γῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχει.

(14) Καὶ λῆξαι τοῦ λέγειν περίεστιν, εἰ μὴ τις καὶ πλέον θαυμάσειεν.

28. Ἐτεοκλέους καὶ Πολυνείκους.

(1) Τὰ δὲ Θηβῶν ἀτυχήματα τεθέαται μὲν κατὰ μέσον Ἑλλάς, ὅλη δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐθεάσατο γῆ. καὶ κατὰ μέρος αἱ πόλεις εἰλήφασιν

(10) His eye was dreadful and all but causing a rout before the thrower.¹⁰⁴ His nostrils are aroused by his breathing, and while his spirit indicated his anger, his covering¹⁰⁵ made his spirit clear. His neck does not come out to the greatest extent; for nature contracted it for rapid movement. (11) And his front feet, raised up and aloft in the air, both hurry to go forward and refuse to touch the earth, as the craftsman had done a fine job of detaching them from the earth; for they are naturally most ready to press right on and to step on the earth and to seem not to be attached to the earth. But his hind feet are fixed to the base and seem to give strength to the front ones and do not allow the rest to suffer what they endure on earth. (12) His tail neither hangs completely loose, nor was it robbed of its length; rather, it had enough length for its nature to be adorned, but it wound itself up enough so as not to get in the way of battles.

(13) The base, resting on four columns, holds him up above the ground. And the base resting on them signifies the earth, while the columns bear each of the quarters¹⁰⁶ to which Alexander advanced; for they bear him toward the rising sun, and in the north <something (?)> is clearly shown extending to the south how much of the earth Alexander holds.¹⁰⁷

(14) And it remains only to cease from talking, unless someone would admire it even more.

DESCRIPTION 28: ETEOCLES AND POLYNICES¹⁰⁸

(1) Greece has seen the misfortunes of Thebes in its midst, but the whole world saw them on the stage at Athens. And the cities received them individu-

104. Despite the interpretation that he gives above in section 5, Pseudo-Nicolaus here imagines Alexander with a weapon in his hand. For the expression “the thrower,” see Description 10.5.

105. “Covering” (προκάλυμμα): this word is frequently used by Pseudo-Nicolaus to refer to the hide of an animal (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:266,16, 309,15–16, 333,23–24, 347,1, 391,12) and to human clothing (Walz, *Rh. Gr.*, 1:288,17–18, 377,20; Description 15.4, 16.3, 16.4, 16.6, 17.3, 17.4, 23.2, 23.8, 25.7, 27.3).

106. I.e., the four quarters of the world. A circular base seems to be implied.

107. The text of 496,15–17 (536,20–22 Foerster) is corrupt. A noun agreeing with the participle τεταμένη in 496,16 (536,21–22 Foerster) is apparently lacking; it is unclear whether this participle is middle (meaning “extending,” in which case it could take “how much of the earth Alexander holds” as its object) or passive (“extended”). In addition, while the east, north, and south are mentioned, the west is not. Note also that in mss BaPa and editions before Foerster, the final words read “how much of the earth holds Alexander.”

108. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 11 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:413,26–14,26). For the myth, see Aeschy-

χαλκῷ τὸ πάθος μιμούμεναι. ἐγὼ δὲ τεθέαμαι, ὡς ἐν περιφανεῖ χώρῳ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀνέστηκε μετὰ Πολυνείκους Ἑτεοκλῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς Θήβαις τοιοῦτον πρὸς ἀγῶνα ἡτοιμασμένος, ὃν ἔξω Θηβῶν ἀγωνίζεται. (2) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκατέρων αἱ κεφαλαὶ περιβέβληνται κράνεσιν. εἶτα ἀλλήλοις πολεμοῦντες ἐκτρέπονται καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα <καὶ> βλέπειν ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δηλοῦσι τὴν φύσιν ἀδικουμένην παραλόγῳ τολμήματι. δειραὶ δὲ τοῖς προσώποις συναπονέουσι. (3) καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὁ μὲν ἐπανεχέει τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ δηλοῖ τῇ πληγῇ ὅτι πάθος ἀλλότριον τῇ φύσει συνάπτεται, ὁ δὲ μαιφονῶν καὶ βραδύτερος ἐστικῶς καθέλκει τὸ ξίφος ὥσπερ ἔτι σκοπῶν εἰ νόμος ταῦτα παθεῖν τὴν συγγένειαν. καθεῖνται δὲ ἀμφοτέρων εὐώνυμοι. ἐξήρηται δὲ καὶ θατέρου τὸ ξίφος ἔτι μένον παρὰ τὸν κουλεὸν ἐξηρημένου τελαμῶνος ἐξ ὤμου. (4) τὰ δὲ στέρνα πρὸς ὄγκον ἔσχεν ἑκάτερος, ἐξοιδεῖται γὰρ καὶ ἀναπνεῖ πρὸς θυμόν. τῶν δὲ μηρῶν ὁ μὲν ἔχει τὸν δεξιὸν εἰς γόνυ καμπτόμενον καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἐπικλίνοντα, ὁ δὲ τὸν λαιὸν ὁμοίως ἔκαμψεν ἐφ' ὁμοίου τοῦ σχήματος. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ποδῶν τὸ βάθρον ἐρείδουσι, καὶ συνάπτει τὸ βάθρον οὐς πρὸς ἀγῶνα καθεῖλκε δυσμένεια. διττοὶ δὲ τὸ βάθρον ἀνέχουσι κίονες ἑκάτεροι δηλοῦντες τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τὸ μέτρον.

(5) Ταῦτα θαῦμα μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἰδεῖν, ἀδίκημα δὲ σιωπῇ κατακρύπτεσθαι.

29. πανηγύρεως.

(1) Πανηγύρεων δὲ μελλουσῶν μὲν πόθος ἀνθρώποις, παρουσῶν δὲ ἡδονή, πεπαυμένων δὲ μνήμη. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ μεμνησθαι καθίστησι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν. ἔχει δὲ τινα καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἡ μνήμη. περὶ γὰρ πανηγύρεων λέγοντα καὶ περὶ θεῶν ἀνάγκη λέγειν, οἷς αὐταὶ ποιεῖσθαι κατεδείχθησαν. (2) ὧν προσιουσῶν παρασκευάζονται μὲν μετ' εὐθυμίας

ally, imitating their suffering in bronze. But I have seen how, in a conspicuous location in the city, a statue of Polynices stands with one of Eteocles, prepared for the sort of struggle at Thebes that he now competes in outside of Thebes. (2) And first, the heads of each are covered by helmets. Next, as they make war on each other they also turn aside their faces, <and> in refusing to look at each other, they make clear that nature is being wronged by this unexpected act of boldness. Their necks bend with their faces. (3) And one holds up a sword in his right hand and makes clear with the blow that an abnormal passion is being joined to nature, while the other, intent on committing murder¹⁰⁹ and having stood up rather slowly,¹¹⁰ is pulling down on the sword¹¹¹ as if still considering whether it is lawful for kinship to suffer this. The left hands of both hang loose. There also hangs from the second man the sword still remaining in the sheath, with the strap hanging from his shoulder. (4) Each had his chest swollen out; for it is puffed up and breathing out in anger. As for their legs, one has his right leg bent at the knee and leaning toward his competitor, while the other has likewise bent his left leg in the same configuration. Their other legs are fixed to the base, and the base unites those whom enmity has drawn into struggle. Double columns support the base, each making clear the size of the competitors.

(5) These things were a wonder to see, but a crime to hide away in silence.

DESCRIPTION 29: A FESTAL ASSEMBLY¹¹²

(1) People have a yearning when festal assemblies are about to occur, pleasure when they are present, and memory when they have ended; for indeed, remembering, in turn, brings people close to the events themselves. But memory also has a certain usefulness; for one speaking about festal assemblies is also compelled to speak about gods, by whom these assemblies were invented and taught to be done. (2) When festivals are approaching, people

lus, *Sept.* 804–821; Euripides, *Phoen.* 1356–1479; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.6.1; 3.6.8; for its representation in art, see Ingrid Krauskopf, *LIMC* 4.1:26–37. Edited with German translation and commentary in Hebert, “Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken,” 138–46.

109. “Intent on committing murder”: literally, “murdering” (μυαιφονῶν).

110. I.e., after being struck by the first brother.

111. This is the first brother’s sword, whose blow knocked down the second brother. The second brother’s own sword is still in its sheath (see below).

112. For the theme, see Theon 118; Nicolaus 68. Cf. Description 5. This exercise shows knowledge of two encomia by the sixth-century C.E. orator Choricus, as pointed out by Foerster; see Choricus, *Or.* 1.10–14, 87, 93 and 2.69.

ἄνθρωποι, παρασκευάζονται δὲ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ταῦτα ἀφ' ὧν ἐστιάζονται λαμπρῶς, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀξιώτεροι ταῦτά τε καὶ οἷς θεραπεύσουσι τοὺς θεοὺς. (3) καὶ ἀγρόθεν ἄγεται βοσκήματα καὶ οἶνος καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἂν ἐξ ἀγροῦ γένοιτο, ἐσθῆτάς τε ἐκκαθαίρουσι καὶ σπεύδει ἕκαστος ὅπως ἂν διὰ πάντων ἐορτάσῃ. τοῖς δὲ ἐνδεεστέροις παρὰ τῶν εὐπόρων ἔστιν ἱμάτια χρησαμένοις κοσμεῖσθαι. (4) ἐπιστάσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἱερεῖς μὲν ἀνοίγουσι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς κοινὸν φερόντων ῥαθυμεῖται. μεσταὶ δὲ αἱ πόλεις ὄχλου τῶν ὁμόρων συρρεόντων ἐπὶ τὰ δρώμενα, τῶν μὲν πεζῇ, τῶν δὲ ναυσίν. (5) ἡλίου δὲ ἀνίσχοντος ἐν ἐσθήμασι λαμπροῖς ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶν φοιτῶσι θεραπεύσοντες θεὸν τοῦτον ᾧ τελεῖται ἡ πανηγυρίς. ἡγεῖται μὲν οὖν ὁ δεσπότης φέρων λιβανωτόν, ἔπεται δὲ ὁ οἰκέτης ἱερεῖον κομίζων. καὶ πατράσι συνομαρτοῦσιν υἱεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἤδη αἰσθανόμενοι θεῶν ἰσχύος, οἱ δὲ κομιδῇ νέοι. (6) ὁ μὲν τις ἅπεισι τεθυκώς, ὁ δὲ ἔρχεται τοῦτο δράσων. εὐχαὶ δὲ πολλαὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ῥήματα εὐφημα. <τῶν δὲ> γυναικῶν ἰέρεια μὲν ἐν ἱεροῖς, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἀρκεῖ θεάσασθαι τὸν ὄμιλον τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων. (7) ἐπειδὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς εὖ ἔχη τὰ πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας, διαδέχονται τράπεζαι, ἐν αἷς ὕμνοι μὲν αὐτοῦ τοῦ τιμωμένου τῇ πανηγύρει θεοῦ, φιλοτησίαι δὲ καὶ ᾄσματα, σπουδαῖα μὲν τὰ τῶν σπουδαίων, εἰς δὲ γέλωτα πεποιημένα τὰ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων. (8) ἐστιῶνται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, οἱ δὲ οἴκοι. καὶ δέονται πολῖται ξένων παρὰ σφίσιν εὐωχεῖσθαι. καὶ ἐν τῷ πότῳ φιλίαι μὲν ἀρχαῖαι βεβαιοῦνται μειζόνως, αἱ δὲ ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν. ἐξανιστάμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ξένους παραλαμβάνοντες δεικνύουσιν ὅ τι ἐν τῇ πόλει θέας ἄξιον, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ συγκαθήμενοι διαλέγονται σὺν φαιδρότητι, κατηφῆς δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ ἀνεῖται πρὸς εὐφροσύνην τὰ πρόσωπα. (9) χρεῶν εἰσπράξεις ἡρεμοῦσι καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι λυπηρὸν ἐν δευτέρῳ γίνεται. γραφαὶ δὲ ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ δικαστῆς οὐ ψηφίζεται. τὰ δὲ ἡδονὴν ἔχοντα μόνον ἀνθεῖ καὶ οὐδὲ οἰκέταις πληγῶν φόβος, παιδαγωγοὶ δὲ τοῖς νέοις ἡμεροὶ. δειπνεῖν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρας λαμπρῶς. (10) ἔνθα δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν λαμπτήρες ὥς ἐμπεπλησθαι φωτὸς τὸ ἄστυ, πολλοὶ δὲ κωμασταὶ καὶ αὐλῶν εἶδη καὶ συρίγγων <καὶ> ἐν στενωποῖς ὦδαι τῶν μὲν τὰ αὐτὰ ἀδόντων, τῶν δὲ οὐ τὰ αὐτά. τότε καὶ εἰς μέθην πιεῖν οὐ πᾶν ὄνειδος. δοκεῖ γάρ πως καὶ τούτου τὴν αἰσχύνην ὁ καιρὸς ἀφαιρεῖν.

prepare themselves with cheerfulness, but while the masses prepare those things by which they will feast splendidly, the more worthy prepare both those things and the things by which they will pay honor to the gods. (3) And from the country are led cattle and wine and everything else that would come from the country, and they clean their clothes, and each one hurries so that he might celebrate the festival completely. There are cloaks from the wealthy for the more needy, who have asked to be adorned. (4) When the appointed day is at hand, priests open the temples and take care of the statues, and nothing that contributes to the commonwealth is neglected. The cities are full of a mass of nearby peoples flowing together to the things being done, some on foot, others on ships. (5) When the sun is rising, they go in bright clothing to the temple to pay honor to this god for whom the festal assembly is accomplished. So, the master leads bearing frankincense, and his domestic slave follows carrying the sacrificial victim. And sons accompany their fathers, some already perceiving the strength of the gods, others just youths. (6) One man goes away having sacrificed, while another comes to do this. There are many prayers everywhere and propitious words to each other. <But as> for the women, a priestess¹¹³ is in the temples, but for the rest of the women it is sufficient to watch the crowd of those doing these things. (7) When everything regarding the divinities is in good order for them, there follow tables, at which there are hymns of the very god being honored by the festal assembly, and loving cups and songs, the songs of the serious being serious, but the ones of those not being so having been composed for laughter. (8) Some feast in the temples, others at home. And citizens ask foreigners to dine at their houses. And in drinking, old friendships are made stronger, while others get their start. Rising from their seats, some take the foreigners and show them whatever is worth seeing in the city, while others sitting with them in the marketplace have discussions with joyfulness, and no one is downcast; rather, their faces are relaxed in good cheer. (9) Collections of debts are still, and whatever is painful is put off until later. Indictments are quiet, and the juryman does not cast votes. Only the things that have pleasure flourish, and there is not even a fear of beatings for domestic slaves, and pedagogues are gentle to the youths. It is possible to dine splendidly in the evening. (10) Then there are many lamps so as for the city to be filled with light, and many revelers and types of flutes and pipes <and> songs in the alleyways, with some singing the same songs, others not the same. At that time also there is no shame at all in drinking to the point of

113. Emending Foerster's γυναικῶν ἱερεῖα ("women's sacrifices") in 500,14 (539,17 Foerster) to <τῶν δὲ> γυναικῶν ἱερεῖα ("<but as> for the women, a priestess...") or ἱερεῖαι ("priestesses"). For further discussion, see Craig A. Gibson, "'Women's Sacrifices' in [Libanius] *Progymnasmata* 12,29,6," *Philologus* 152.2 (2008): 343–45.

(11) τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τὸ μὲν θεῖον οὐκ ἀμελεῖται, βραχύτεροι δὲ οἱ τῇ προτεραίᾳ θεραπεύσαντες στείχουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ θεάματα, οἷς μὲν εἰσι στίχων ἄμιλλαι, ἐπὶ ταῦτα, οἷς δὲ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα. (12) καὶ ἡ τρίτη δὲ οὐ πολὺ τούτων λείπεται, καὶ συνεκτείνονται τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν ἐορτῶν αἱ τε θυμηδαίαι καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης φαιδρόν. ληγούσης δὲ πανηγύρεως εὐχὴ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἰδεῖν αὐθις τὴν πανηγυριν αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖους. καὶ ἀπίαςιν οἱ ξένοι καὶ πολῖται παραπέμπουσιν.

30. Κάλλους.

(1) Τήμερον εἶδον κόρην ἐκ θυρίδος προκύπτουσαν καὶ ἰδὼν ἐαλώκειν εὐθύς. ἔμπνουν γὰρ ἐδόκουν τὴν Σελήνην ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἢ μεταπεπλάσθαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εἰς ἄνθρωπον καὶ πείθειν εἶχον ἑμαυτὸν ὥς αὐτῷ κάλλει τὸ πρόσωπον ἰνδαλμάτισται. (2) Ἔρω γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης ὀμμάτων ἐτόξευε. καὶ προκατελάμβανε τὴν θεάν ἢ τόξευσις. καὶ πως ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν τὸ κάλλος ἐθαύμαζον, ψυχὴ δὲ τῆς ὀδύνης ἡσθάνετο καὶ βλέπειν ἐθέλων ἀπέθανον. καὶ τὸ μὲν κάλλος γλυκύ, ἡ δὲ τρώσις πικρά. (3) καὶ πως γλυκύτερον ἦν τὸ λυπεῖν. τῶν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν λιχνευομένων εἰς ὄρασιν τὸ κάλλος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν διωλίσθαι καὶ πῦρ ἐρωτικὸν τὸ πᾶν ἐλυμαίνετο. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνης τὸ κάλλος ὑπογράψαιτο; τίς παραδοίῃ γραφῇ; τίς διαμορφώσκει τοῖς χρώμασι; (4) καλὸς Ἀπελλῆς καὶ λόγος τούτου πολὺς, ἀλλὰ μέχρι ταύτης καλός. καὶ πως ἐπιγραφέτω τῇ Τύχῃ καὶ χάριτας, ὅτι πρὸ ταύτης ἡρίστευσε καὶ τῆς ζωγραφικῆς ἐδείκνυ τὸ ἔντεχνον καὶ κάλλος οὐκ εἶχεν ὁρᾶν ὑπερνικῶν χειρὸς ἔντεχνον μίμημα. ἀλλ' ἔσχεν ἂν κακεῖνος τῆς συμφορᾶς παρηγόρημα τὸ κάλλος ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ γῆς εὐτονοῦν καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ταῦτ' ὑπομένειν τοῖς πειρωμένοις κάλλος ἡλίου παραδοῦναι τοῖς χρώμασι. (5) κάλλιστος οὖν ζωγράφος καλλίστης κόρης ἢ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ. ἀχρωματίστως γὰρ τὸ κάλλος ὁρᾶ παρ' ἑαυτῇ <καὶ> συμμεμόρφωται. καὶ νῦν ὁρᾶν τὴν εἰκόνα πεφάντασται. καὶ πολέμιον ὁ τεχνίτης ἔχει τὸ τέχνασμα. μεμψαίμην <ἂν> τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀμόρφου κόρης ἡράσθησαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ, ὅτι πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἡδὺ τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῦ πάθους μᾶλλον ὁ θάνατος, ἢ ἔχη στεφανηφορεῖσθαι τῷ

drunkenness; for somehow the occasion seems to remove the disgrace even of this. (11) On the next day the divinity is not neglected, but those who paid honors to it on the day before go in smaller numbers to the sights, those who have poetry contests going to these sights, while those who have activities in the theatre go to those. (12) And the third day does not fall very short of these, and both gladness of heart and joyfulness of mind extend through the time of the festival. But when the festal assembly ends, there is prayer for the future, that they themselves and their children and their friends may see the festal assembly again. And the foreigners leave, and the citizens escort them.

DESCRIPTION 30: BEAUTY¹¹⁴

(1) Yesterday I saw a girl peeping out of a window, and upon seeing her I was immediately captivated; for I seemed to be seeing the moon alive and breathing on earth, or Aphrodite changed into human form, and I was able to convince myself that her face appeared like immaterial beauty. (2) For Love shot his arrows at me from her eyes. And his shooting preoccupied my sight. And somehow my eyes marveled at her beauty, but my soul felt grief, and I died, wishing to look at it. And her beauty was sweet, but the wounding bitter. (3) And the pain was somehow sweeter; for as my eyes greedily desired to see, her beauty slipped into my soul, and the fire of love began to cause my complete ruin. For who could sketch out her beauty? Who could commit her to painting? Who could give her form with paint? (4) Apelles was a fine painter,¹¹⁵ and there is much discussion of him, but he was fine only up until her. And let him somehow also inscribe his thanks to Fortune, that he had his heyday before her and revealed the artistry of painting before her, and that he did not have to see beauty triumphing over an artistic imitation made by his hand. But even that man, as a consolation for his misfortune, would have had to see beauty being vigorous on earth and the power of her eyes, and to endure the same thing as those who try to commit the beauty of the sun to paint. (5) So, my soul is a most beautiful painter of a most beautiful girl; for it sees beauty by itself without color <and> has conformed to it. And now it has imagined that it sees an image. And the artist has his artwork as an enemy. I <would> blame my eyes, but they fell in love with a not unlovely girl; rather, I would blame my soul, because it suffered, but the suffering was sweet, and death more so than the suffering, so that it¹¹⁶ might be able to be worn as a

114. Cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 1.4.

115. A famous painter of the fourth century B.C.E.

116. I.e., my death.

Ἐρωτι τοιοῦτου γενόμενος κάλλους ἀγώνισμα. (6) ἔγωγε οὖν ἐξ εὐπορίας ἠπόρημαι καὶ λέγειν ἔχων πολλὰ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀνακρούομαι καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ λόγου ἀπορία σιγῆς διαδέχεται. οἶδε τὸ πάθος ψυχὴ κάκεινη σοφιστεύει τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ δι' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει δείξει τοῦ κάλλους τὴν δύναμιν. (7) δοκῶ τὴν κόρην τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κεστὸν διαζώννυσθαι καὶ διὰ ταύτης τοὺς νέους θηρᾶν ἢ μεταπλασθῆναι τὴν αὔλον πρὸς παχύτητα σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν τὸ κάλλος ἐκεῖνο θεᾶς, κόρης ἦν καὶ καλῆς. (8) ἐκεῖνό τις ἰδὼν ἐπεύξαιτο ἂν θανεῖν, εἰ προσψαύοιτο. ἐπηυξάμην τοῦτο ἀγῶ, ἀλλ' ἀτέλεστος ἦν ἡ εὐχή. περὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ πρόσωπον περιεχόρευον Χάριτες καὶ μεταρσίους τοὺς πόδας ἐκούφιζον, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ κάλλους προσψαύοιντο, καὶ πλέον αἱ παρειαὶ τοῦ συνήθους ἐφοινίσσοντο. αἱ Μοῦσαι περὶ τὴν κόρην ὠμάρτουν καὶ τι λέγειν τοῦ Κάλλους οὐκ εἶχον ἐπάξιον. Ἐρως εὐτύχει παρ' αὐτῇ τὰ τόξα τείνων καὶ πικρὸν ἐπαλείφων τοῖς βέλεσι φάρμακον καὶ ταῖς βολαῖς τῶν ἐκείνης ὀμμάτων ἐμπιστεύων τὴν τόξευσιν. (9) ἴστατο γοῦν ἡ κόρη μέσον Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Ἐρωτος ταῖς μὲν παγκάλως συμπαίζουσα, τοῦ δὲ τὴν βελοθήκην κενοῦσα ταῖς τῶν ὀμμάτων τοξεύσεσιν. ἔνθα γὰρ εἶδεν, ἐκεῖ τὸ βέλος πικρὸν προσεπήγνυτο, καὶ μάτην ἐδείκνυτο Πάνδαρος φιλοτίμῳ λόγῳ ἐπικεκλημένος ἀντίθεος. ἐκείνη γὰρ ὑπερενίκα τὰς Χάριτας καὶ Μοῦσα μᾶλλον ἦν τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ δέσμιον εἶχε τὸν Ἐρωτα. (10) δοκῶ πως κάκεινον τὰς τοῦ Κάλλους μαρμαρυγὰς ἐκπληττόμενον. εἰ γὰρ οὕτωσιν τὴν φύσιν οὐσίωτο ὥστε διολισθαίνειν μικρὸν πρὸς ἐμπάθειαν, ὅλος ἂν ἐκεῖνος τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ ἔρως ἂν ἕτερος ἐγεγόνει τῷ Ἐρωτι.

(11) Ἐγὼ γ' οὖν τὰς πλατείας διερχόμενος ἔφιππος μέχρις ἐκείνης εἶχον τὸ εὐτονον, τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε νενάρκωτο, καὶ τῆς ἡμιόνου τὸ ἄτακτον χεῖρ ἐπαφῶσα βιαίως ἐκόλαζε. κάκεινη τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακοῦσα πρὸς ὕψος ἐκύρτου τὸν τράχηλον καὶ πως ἀτακτεῖν περὶ τὴν ἀροδοὺν ᾗθελεν. (12) εἶδον γὰρ Κάλλους καλὸν ὄμμα προσμειδιῶν καὶ ταῖς διαλόξοις στροφαῖς χαριτούμενον, ὄφρ' ἔλικοειδῇ τὴν ἀψίδα περιτορνεύουσαν, παρειὰς τῷ συμμέτρῳ τῆς χροιάς καὶ μηλέας ὑπεραυγαζούσας τὸ φοίνισμα, βόστρυχον

victory wreath by Love, having become the feat of such beauty. (6) So, from my former abundance, I have been left lacking, and though I can say many things, I stop short of the exaggerations of the masses, and a silence brought on by lack takes over from my former abundance of speech. My soul knows suffering, and it gives expert performances on love,¹¹⁷ and it will reveal the power of beauty through what it has suffered. (7) I think that the girl puts on Aphrodite's girdle¹¹⁸ and through it hunts young men or transforms the immaterial into corporeality;¹¹⁹ but that was not the beauty of the sight—it was of a girl also beautiful. (8) Someone upon seeing that would pray to die, if only he could touch it. I, too, prayed this, but my prayer was unfulfilled. Around that face the Graces danced and raised their feet up in the air, so that they might not touch her beauty, and her cheeks were redder than the usual. The Muses walked around the girl and were unable to say anything worthy of her beauty. Love is successful in bending his bow beside her and smearing the bitter poison on his arrows and entrusting his shooting to the bolts from her eyes. (9) The girl, at any rate, stands in the middle of the Muses and Graces and Love, joking around very beautifully with the first two, but emptying the third's quiver by the shootings of her eyes; for wherever she looked, there the bitter arrow stuck, and Pandarus was shown to have been nicknamed in vain with the ambitious epithet “equal to the gods.”¹²⁰ For she triumphed over the Graces and was more of a Muse than the Muses, and she held Love in bondage. (10) I think that even he was somehow astounded by the sparklings of her beauty; for if he could give nature substance in this way, so that he could slip a little toward physical affection, he would be entirely intent on love, and “love” would have become something distinct from “Love.”

(11) So, passing through the streets on horseback, I had vigor up until her; for my whole body has grown numb there. And my hand, touching the she-mule lightly, began forcefully reproving her misbehavior. And she, biting into the bit, bent her neck upwards and wanted somehow to misbehave as we passed by. (12) For, as I smiled at the girl, I saw the eye of beauty, beautiful and with grace shown to it by its sidelong turns; a winding eyebrow, fashioning a circle as it turned; cheeks in right measure with her complexion, and outshining the redness of an apple tree; a lock of hair curling around at her

117. “It gives expert performances on love”: Greek σοφιστεύει τὸν ἔρωτα; cf. σοφιστεύω, LSJ I.2. In Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.10 (cited by Foerster) the phrase means to disguise one's love (LSJ II).

118. Described in Homer, *Il.* 14.214–221, where Hera plans to use it to seduce Zeus.

119. “Corporeality”: literally, “thickness of body” (παχύτητα σώματος).

120. Pandarus was famous for his archery: Homer, *Il.* 5.171–173. For the epithet “equal to the gods,” see *Il.* 5.168.

πρὸς τῷ ὥτε περικλόμενον παρασύροντα τοὺς ἀνθέρικας κάκεινους οὐλοὺς καὶ χρυσοειδὲς ἐπαυγάζοντας. (13) τὸ δὲ τῆς κόμης ξάνθουλον <έν> ταῖς παρειαῖς εὐναζόμενον πρὸς μὲν τὸ συγγενὲς τοῦ φοινίγματος καὶ τι χρυσαυγίζον ἐμίγνυε, πρὸς δέ γε τὸ λευκόχρουν χρυσοειδῆ τὰ πάντα παρέτεινεν, ἐδέχετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐκεῖθεν χρωμάτων αὐγῆς καὶ πως ἀντέχρωζεν ἡδέως πρὸς ἕκαστα. (14) καὶ παράδεισος ἀνθέων ἐδόκει τὸ πρόσωπον. εἶδον καὶ χεῖλη καὶ νῦν λειποθυμῶ πρὸς τὴν ἔκφρασιν. γυρόθεν γὰρ ἡ λευκότης θαυμασίως πρὸς τὸ φοινίγμα διετόρνευσε, μέσον δ' ἐκεῖνο καθαρῶς ἐφοινίττετο. καὶ ῥόδον εἶχον ὁρᾶν περιτετειχισμένον ταῖς κάλυξι μόνον μὴ φέρον τὴν ἄκανθαν. ἱκανὸν γὰρ ἡ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ προανήρπασε καὶ ἡ γνῶσις ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσεπέπηκτο. (15) ὅσον δὲ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐκ τῶν χειλῶν τεκμαίρεσθαι, μαλθακὸν ἂν εἶχον ἴσως τὸ φίλημα, σίμβλον γὰρ ἦν μελίσσων. καὶ πως εἰ ἔφθη μικρὸν ὑποφθέγξασθαι, εἶδον ἂν τάχει καὶ μέλι καταρρέον ἐκ στόματος καὶ γλῶσσαν περιλιχμαζομένην τὸ γλύκυσμα καὶ τὸ φοινίγμα καθυγραίνουσιν.

(16) Κάλλος οὖν τοιοῦτον ἰδὼν πόθου παντὸς διεστάλαξα δάκρυον, ᾧ κτερον γάρ μου τὸ πάθος καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶδεν ἡ κόρη τὰ δάκρυα. εἰ γὰρ εἶδεν, ἠλέησεν ἂν τὸν διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐκείνης δακρύσαντα. σοβαρὸν γὰρ οἶον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνητένιζε. καὶ τὸ βλέμμα θάνατος ἦν. τὸ γὰρ ὄμμα πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἡμιόνου διαλοξεύσασα πάταγον ἕτερον εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐπέτεκε πάταγον. (17) ἤθελον οὖν ὁρᾶν τολμηρῶς καὶ ζόφος εἶχε τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, καὶ θέλων βλέπειν οὐκ ἔβλεπον. ἀντωθούμην γὰρ πρὸς ἔλεον, ἐβουλόμην ἀφιέναι φωνήν, ἀλλ' ἐπέιχε ταύτην αἰδώς. καὶ ποτε τὸ πάθος ἐνίκησε καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ τόλμαν ἐνέθηκε. καὶ τι λιγυρὸν ἡβουλήθην προσφθέγξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἡ κόρη πρὸ τῆς φωνῆς, ὡς ὄρθιος <φιλεῖ> περικλασθῆναι κυπάριττος, λειποψυχεῖν με τὸν τολμηρὸν παρεσκεύασεν. (18) ᾧ κτείρησεν Ἔρω τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ παρὰ τῇ κόρῃ τὸ πτερὸν ἡδίστως ὑπέσεισε καὶ πως ἔρωτι τὰς παρειὰς ὑπηνέμωσε. τῆς δὲ σπασάσης καὶ λοξευσάσης τὸν ὀφθαλμόν πρὸς τὸν Ἔρωτα τὸ πτερὸν διερρῦη καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ τόξον ἐκπεπτῶκει καὶ δοῦλος κόρης καλῆς ὁ πολλῶν δεσπότης ἐδείκνυτο. (19) ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαῦτα κατιδὼν πεπονθότα τὸν Ἔρωτα δειλὸς ἀριστεὺς ἐγεγόνειν εὐθὺς καὶ καθορῶν τὸν δεσπότην δουλούμενον δρασμὸν αὐτὸς ἐβουλευόμην ὑπότρομος. μόλις οὖν ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν τὴν ψυχὴν οἶκαδε τὸ σῶμα νεκρὸν ἀπεκόμισα.

ears, sweeping away the beards on ears of grain; and those tight curls, shining even like gold. (13) The golden curls of hair sleeping <on> her cheeks also combined something gleaming like gold with the natural character of redness, and extended everything golden over her white complexion, and also received it¹²¹ from the gleaming of the colors from there and somehow sweetly tinged it with each color in turn. (14) And her face seemed like a park filled with flowers. I also saw her lips, and now I despair of the description; for the whiteness marvelously rounded off to redness, but that middle part was pure red. And I was able to see a rose surrounded by buds, only not bearing a thorn; for my soul had fully plucked it already,¹²² and knowledge of it had been stuck in me from the beginning. (15) But so far as it was reasonable to judge from her lips, I would perhaps have gotten a soft kiss; for they were a hive of bees. And if they had somehow first made a faint, small sound, I would quickly have seen both honey flowing from her mouth and her tongue licking the sweet stuff all around and moistening down their redness.

(16) So, when I saw such a beauty of every desire I shed a tear; for even my eyes lamented my suffering. But the girl did not see my tears; for if she had seen them, she would have pitied the one shedding them on account of her beauty; for she directed a rather haughty gaze at us. And her look was death; for having turned aside her eye toward the clattering of the mule, she engendered a different sort of clattering in my soul. (17) So, I wanted to look at her boldly, and gloom held my eye, and though I wanted to look, I did not look; for I was pushed instead toward pity; I wanted to let loose my voice, but shame kept preventing it. And at some point my suffering won out and inspired my tongue to be bold. And I wanted to utter something melodious, but the girl made me, the bold one, lose heart before my voice, just as a straight cypress <is wont> to be bent and broken. (18) Love felt pity for my misfortune and very sweetly shook his wing beside the girl and somehow breathed gently over her cheeks with love. But when she drew her eye¹²³ and cast it sideways at Love, his wing fell away and the bow fell out of his hand, and the master of many things was shown to be a slave of a beautiful girl. (19) But having seen that Love had suffered so badly, I immediately became a cowardly hero, and as I watched the master being enslaved, I became somewhat afraid and wanted to run away myself. And so, with difficulty, leaving my soul behind there, I carried my dead body home.

121. I.e., the white complexion.

122. For the image of the plucked rose, cf. Speech in Character 18.2.

123. I.e., she drew it like a sword.

THE EXERCISE IN THESIS

The exercise in thesis, as it was practiced in the rhetorical schools, is an inquiry into a general proposition applicable to human beings as a whole, such as “whether one should marry.” Thesis thus differs from *hypothesis*, in which the inquiry concerns a specific person or circumstances ([Hermogenes] 24–25; Aphthonius 41–42; Nicolaus 71–72). It also differs from the exercise in common topics, in that common topics exercises deal with acknowledged goods or evils, while thesis is an inquiry into a subject that is in doubt (Theon 120; [Hermogenes] 25; Nicolaus 75–76). Theses could also be classified into two broad groups. Political or practical theses, such as “whether one should marry,” which have to do with human life in society, were the sort mainly practiced in rhetorical schools. Theoretical theses, on the other hand, which have to do with the natural world or the gods (Theon 121; [Hermogenes] 25; Aphthonius 41; Nicolaus 76), were more common in philosophical instruction (Theon 121; [Hermogenes] 25; Nicolaus 76). Political theses may further be classified into simple theses, such as “whether one should marry”; relative or compound theses, such as “whether a king should marry” (Theon 128; [Hermogenes] 25); and double theses, such as “whether one should engage in athletics rather than farm the land” ([Hermogenes] 25). The examples in Libanius’s collection are all simple, political, practical theses.

After a brief introduction, the exercise in thesis is elaborated according to the so-called “final headings”: just, advantageous, possible ([Hermogenes] 25–26; Aphthonius 42), legal (Aphthonius 42), and appropriate ([Hermogenes] 26). (A more extensive method of elaboration is found in Theon 121–122.) Nicolaus, on the other hand, recommends using the same headings as for encomium (72–74). A thesis should also include rebuttals of hypothetical objections (Aphthonius 42; Nicolaus 74–75), as the examples in this collection do (see Thesis 1.26, 2.6, 2.9, 3.5, 3.7).

The themes elaborated in Libanius’s collection correspond to the three mentioned by Aphthonius as examples of political theses (41). However, the second and third examples are spurious, according to Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix, and were composed by Pseudo-Nicolaus, according to Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2522.

1. Εἰ γαμητέον.

(1) Ἐπὶ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων δοκοῦσί μοι τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτάνειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν οἱ τὸ γαμεῖν ὡς ἓν τῶν δεινοτάτων φεύγοντες. εἴτα μέγα φρονοῦσιν ὡς εὖ βεβουλευμένοι τὰ πάντων ἀσυμφορώτατα ἡρημένοι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καθιστᾷσι μιμητὰς διχῇ βλάπτοντες τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον οἷς τε αὐτοὶ πράττουσι καὶ οἷς τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλοῦσι. (2) παραδῶμεν δέ, εἰ δοκεῖ, τὸ πρᾶγμα λογισμοῖς καὶ τοὺς μὲν, εἰ οἷόν τε, μεταστήσωμεν, τοὺς δὲ ποιεῖν ἃ ἀνδρός ἐστὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀναγκάσωμεν.

(3) Δίκαιον δὲ θεοῖς ὁμογνώμονας εἶναι καὶ μὴ διεστάναι κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν μηδὲ στασιάζοντας φαίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ὅλων κυρίους. πῶς οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς περὶ γάμου βεβούλευται καὶ πάντες οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχοντες; οὐ τὴν μὲν Ἥραν αὐτὸς ἔγημε, τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην Ἥφαιστος καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλην καὶ πάντες πατέρες ἐκλήθησαν καὶ ἀδελφοί; (4) τί δέ; οὐ σεμνύνονται ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος κλήσεσιν; οὐ γαμήλιος μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἡ δὲ Ἥρα συζυγία; ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη πάντα ἀφεῖσα τὰ ἄλλα περὶ τοῦτο διατρίβει. γάμος ἔδειξεν Ἀπόλλω καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, γάμος τὸν Ἄρην, γάμος τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὴν Ἑλένην, τοὺς Διοσκόρους. οὐ γὰρ μόνον θεοὶ θεαῖς ἠξίωσαν μίγνυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ

On the exercise in thesis, see Theon 120–128; [Hermogenes] 24–26; Aphthonius 41–46; and Nicolaus 71–76. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:132–36.

THESIS 1: WHETHER ONE SHOULD MARRY¹

(1) In many other areas, the majority of people seem to me to fail to have the right opinion, but those who shun marriage as being one of the most terrible things have especially suffered this. Then they pride themselves on having deliberated over it well, although they have chosen the most disastrous course of all. And because of this they make many people imitate them, injuring human life in two ways: by what they do themselves, and by what they induce the rest to do. (2) Let us hand the matter over, if it seems best, to reasoning, and let us change some men's minds, if possible, but let us compel others to do what belongs to a man with good sense.

(3) It is just to be of one mind with the gods, not to differ from them in judgment, and not to be shown revolting against the lords of the whole universe. How, then, have Zeus and all those who hold the heavens counseled with regard to marriage? Did he himself not marry Hera, and Hephaestus marry Aphrodite, and another marry another? And were they all not called fathers and brothers? (4) What? Are they not worshipped by epithets based on the act? Is Zeus not “bridal”? And is Hera not “conjugal”?² And Aphrodite, having relinquished everything else, spends her time on this. Marriage brought forth Apollo and Artemis;³ marriage brought forth Ares;⁴ marriage brought forth Heracles, Helen, and the Dioscuri;⁵ for gods not only thought

1. For the theme, see Theon 120, 121; [Hermogenes] 24, 25; Aphthonius 41; Nicolaus 71–72; with partial elaboration, Theon 128; [Hermogenes] 26; Nicolaus 72–73, 74–75; John of Sardis's commentary on Aphthonius (Rabe, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium*, 241,23–242,2); with full elaboration, Aphthonius 42–46. Hunger (*Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1:118) characterizes the theme as “a theme of popular philosophy, ridden to death by rhetoricians” (my translation).

2. “Bridal” (γαμήλιος) and “conjugal” (συζυγία) were cult titles of these gods.

3. The offspring of Zeus and Leto: *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 14–18, 25–123; Hesiod, *Theog.* 918–920; Callimachus, *Hymn. Del.* 55–276; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.4.1; Narration 25.

4. The son of Zeus and Hera: Homer, *Il.* 5.888–898; Hesiod, *Theog.* 921–923; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.3.1.

5. Heracles is the son of Zeus and Alcmene: Homer, *Od.* 11.266–268; [Hesiod], *Scut.* 27–56; Plautus, *Amph.* 97–115; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.4.8. Helen is the daughter of Zeus and Leda: Euripides, *Hel.* 16–22; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.7. Of the Dioscuri, Castor was the son of Tyndareus and Leda, while Pollux (Polydeuces) was the son of Zeus and Leda: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.7.

μέχρι γῆς ἤλθον τοὺς ἡμίθεους σπείροντες. (5) οἱ δὲ ἡμίθεοι ζηλωταὶ τῶν πατέρων καταστάντες ἐγένοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ πατέρες, οἱ μὲν καθ' ἡσυχίαν γαμοῦντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀράμενοι. ἀκούομεν δὲ τοῦ Μίνω παῖδας καὶ Δαρδάνου καὶ Ταντάλου. (6) εἰ δὲ τὸ γαμεῖν οὐ καλὸν ἦν, οὐτ' ἂν οἱ θεοὶ ποτε τοῦτο μετήλθον τοὺς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγονότας πάντως ἂν ἀπέτρεπον. νῦν δὲ ἔργῳ μεμαρτυρήκασιν θείαν εἶναι τὴν ὑπὲρ παίδων μίξιν. οὐτε γὰρ μὴ τὸ βέλτιστον ἰδεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν οὐτ' εὖ εἰδότας ἐξεπίτηδες πρὸ τῶν ἀμεινόνων αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ χεῖρω. (7) ὅστις οὖν ταῦτα πεπεισμένος παρὰ τῶν θεῶν φεύγει τὸν γάμον, κατηγορεῖ τῶν θεῶν ὡς τὰ φαῦλα τετιμηκότων καὶ βούλεται δοκεῖν ἐκείνων εἶναι φρονιμώτερος ὡς τῶν μὲν τοῦ δέοντος ἐκπεπτωκότων, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον εὐρών. (8) ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο ποιῇ, περιφανῶς ἀσεβεῖ καὶ γίνεται τῶν τοὺς βωμοὺς ἀνασπώντων μιαιώτερος οὐ τιμῆς τινος ἀποστερῶν τοὺς κρείττονας, ἀλλὰ πονηροὺς οἷς ποιοῦσιν ἀποφαίνων τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους.

(9) Ἄλλ' ἐῷ ταῦτα. τῇ φύσει δὲ ὅστις μάχεται, πῶς ἂν σωφρονεῖν δοκοίη; τί οὖν τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως εἶναι νομίζεις ἢ μίξεις καὶ γονὰς καὶ τόκους; τεκμήριον δέ, τὰ γὰρ μὴ μετέχοντα λογισμοῦ τῶν ζώων ταῖς ἐκείνης ἀνάγκαις ἔλκεται καὶ δείκνυσιν ἔγγονα. (10) καλῶς ἄρα παρὰ ταῖς ἀρίσταις τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἐν ἐγκλήματι τὸ μὴ γαμεῖν ἔκειτο. θαυμάζω δὲ εἰ τοῖς μὲν πατράσι χάριν εἰσόμεθα τοῦ γενέσθαι, μὴ νομιοῦμεν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ὀφείλιν τοὺς ἀνθ' ἡμῶν ἐκείνας διαδεξομένους. ἢ χρήματα μὲν ὀφείλοντας μὴ θεῖναι δεινόν, σώματα δὲ ὀφείλοντας μὴ βουληθῆναι φυτεῦσαι μέτριον; (11) οὕτω τοίνυν ἀδικοῦσι περιφανῶς οἱ τὸν γάμον φεύγοντες καὶ τὰ μέγιστα καταβλάπτουσιν αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ συνταράττουσιν ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καλά. ποῖαι μὲν γὰρ θυσίαι θεοῖς ἔτι; ποῖα δὲ βουλευτήρια; ποῖαι δὲ ἐκκλησίαι; ποῖαι δὲ στρατεῖαι κατὰ γῆν; τίνες ἀπόστολοι; (12) τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτὰς ὅλως πῶς οἷόν τε μένειν, ἂν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξέλη τις; ἐρημωθεῖεν ἂν αἱ πόλεις, εἰ σταίη τὰ τῶν γάμων καὶ μὴ προβαίνοι. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὄντες

it worthy to lie with goddesses, but they also came right down to earth to sow the demigods. (5) And the demigods, in imitation of their fathers, also became fathers themselves, some marrying peacefully, others even stirring up wars over wives. And we hear of children of Minos and Dardanus and Tantalus.⁶ (6) But if marriage were not noble, the gods would never have participated in it, and they would have advised their own children completely against it. But now they have testified by their actions that intercourse for the sake of children is divine; for one cannot say that the gods do not see what is best, nor that they knowingly and purposefully choose the worse course over the better. (7) Whoever, then, gives credence to these things on the part of the gods, but still flees marriage, is accusing the gods of honoring ignoble things and is wishing to seem to be wiser than they are, as if they have failed in what is necessary, while he himself has found what is most noble. (8) And whenever he does this, he blatantly commits an impiety and becomes more polluted than those who tear down altars, not by depriving the gods of any honor, but by declaring that the Olympians are wicked in what they do.

(9) But I will grant these points. But how could anyone who battles with nature be thought to be showing self-control? What, then, do you consider to be the plan of nature other than intercourse, childbirth, and children? And there is proof of this: for those animals that do not partake of reason are dragged about by the compulsions of nature and bring forth offspring. (10) It was a fine thing, then, that among the best of the Greek cities, failure to marry was laid down as grounds for accusation.⁷ I am surprised that we will give thanks to our fathers for being born, but will not consider that we ourselves also owe the cities people who will inherit them from us. Or is it terrible for those who owe money not to pay it, but reasonable for those who owe bodies to be unwilling to beget them? (11) Well then, in this way those who shun marriage blatantly do wrong, and do very great harm both to themselves and to their cities, and throw into confusion all the fine things in the world. For what sort of sacrifices to the gods could there be in the future? What sort of councils? What sort of assemblies? What sort of military expeditions by land? What naval expeditions? (12) How, in short, could the very cities remain, if one were to take away their inhabitants? The cities would be deserted, if the institution of marriage were to stop and not continue; for whenever those

6. For the children of Minos, see Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.1.2. Dardanus was an ancestor of the Trojan royal line (Homer, *Il.* 20.215–218 and following). Tantalus was the father of Niobe (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.5.6), Broteas, and Pelops (Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.24.1–3, with Frazer, *The Library by Apollodorus*, 2:156–57 nn. 1–2).

7. This was true of Sparta: Plutarch, *Lys.* 30.5.

ἀπίωσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀντ' ἐκείνων μὴ φαίνονται, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῦτο ὅπερ ἔφην συμβαίνειν;

(13) Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὥς κοινῇ μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι λυσιτελεῖ, τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοις πολλὰ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος γένοιτο τὰ συμφέροντα. τῷ πλουσίῳ μὲν γὰρ ἡ περιουσία διπλασία καθίσταται, τῷ πένητι δὲ πολλάκις μὲν χρήματα προσεγένετο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀντ' ἐκείνων τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ τρόπος χρηστῆς τε οὔσης καὶ σώφρονος καὶ φιλεργοῦ. (14) ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁ γεγαμηκῶς ἔξει τὴν συνησθησομένην, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐτέροις τὴν συναχθεσθησομένην. ὁ μὲν εἰργάσατο χρήματα διατρίβων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἡ δὲ ἔνδον οὔσα λαβοῦσα ἐφύλαξεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκέται, διαφθείρουσι γὰρ μάταιον ποιοῦντες τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸν πόνον. ἔτι τοῖνυν τράπεζαι τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν ἡδίους, ὅταν ἐπανίων ἀπαγγέλλῃ πρὸς τὸ γύναιον τὴν ἔξω λαμπρότητα. (15) καὶ μὴν ὅστις ἐπιθυμεῖ γῆν πολλὴν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ πόλεις γνῶναι καὶ τρόπους ἀνθρώπων ἐκμαθεῖν, οὗτος ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίας τεθαρρηκῶς καὶ πλεῖ καὶ βαδίζει. εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀναγκάζεται, καὶ τᾶνδον διοικεῖν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, κακὸς ἂν εἴῃ καὶ πολιτευόμενος καὶ τῆς οἰκίας φύλαξ μεριζομένης αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης εἰς ἑκατέραν φροντίδα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδέτερον ἱκανῶς ἐπιτελούσης. (16) τὸ δὲ πάντων βαρύτερον ἀνθρώποις, ἀρρωστία καὶ νόσος, μίαν ἔχει μεγίστην παραμυθίαν γυναῖκα παρακαθημένην. κἂν πάντες κάμνωσι θεραπεύοντες, ἀδελφός, θεῖος, ἀνεψιός, οἱ λοιποὶ συγγενεῖς, ἐπιτήδαιοι, φυλέται, μόνη καθάπερ ἀδαμαντίνη πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἀρκεῖ δακρύουσα, τρέμουσα, περιτρέχουσα, τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἰκετεύουσα, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομένη τὸ κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικοῦντος ἐφ' αὐτὴν μεταστήσαι. (17) τῶν γεγαμηκῶτων ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας εἶναι κοσμιωτέρους. ἡ γὰρ πονεῖν ἀναγκάζουσα καὶ τρυφᾶν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσα καὶ τῶν δρωμένων ἕκαστον σκεπτομένη καὶ πανταχοῦ περιάγουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔνδον κάθηται. (18) εἰ δὲ τὸ φίλων πολλῶν εὐπορεῖν μέγα, τὸ γένει προσθεῖναι γένος πῶς οὐ χρησιμώτερον; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ τεῖχος τῶν γεγαμηκῶτων γίνεται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκείων, οἳ κατηγοροῦντι μὲν συγκατηγοροῦσι, κρινομένῳ δὲ συναπολογοῦνται, ἀδικουμένῳ δὲ βοηθοῦσι, βουλευομένῳ δὲ συμπαραينوῦσι. διὰ τούτους πολλὰ μὲν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀκοῦσαι, πολλὰ δὲ προγνῶναι, πολλὰ δὲ μὴ παθεῖν.

who exist go away, but no one appears to replace them, how is it not necessarily the case that what I have said will happen?

(13) Nor, moreover, can one say that, while it profits the cities publicly, it does not help individuals at all; for indeed, many benefits would come to them from the act. For the rich man's wealth is doubled, and money often comes to the poor man in addition,⁸ but often instead of that he obtains the character of a woman who is good, sensible, and hard-working. (14) In good times, the married man will have someone to share his pleasure, but in bad times, someone to share his pain. He makes money by spending time in the marketplace, while she, staying inside, takes it and guards it, but domestic slaves do not; for they destroy the master's work and make it all in vain. Furthermore, dinners for the married man are more pleasant, whenever he returns home and tells his wife of the splendor outside. (15) Moreover, whoever desires to traverse a lot of land and sea, to get to know cities, and to learn about the customs of other people, this man, feeling confident about his household, both sails and travels on foot.⁹ But if he himself should be forced both to manage the things inside and oversee public affairs, he would be bad both as a politician and as a guardian of his house, because his mind is divided into two different concerns and therefore fulfills neither of them adequately. (16) The most grievous of all things for men, sickness and disease, has one very great consolation: a wife to sit beside her husband. Even if everyone gets tired of tending to the sick man—his brother, his uncle, his first cousin, the rest of his relatives, his friends, his fellow tribesmen—as hard as adamant, she is strong enough to face the labors alone, crying, trembling with fear, running around, beseeching the doctors, and praying to the gods to transfer the evil from her husband to herself. (17) It is necessarily the case that even the domestic slaves of married men are better behaved; for she sits inside compelling them to work hard, not allowing them to sit around idly, inspecting everything they do, and casting her eyes around everywhere. (18) But if being well supplied with many loved ones is important, how is it not more advantageous to add family to family? For the mass of relatives is nothing other than a wall for the married man, as they join him in prosecuting when he is prosecuting, join him in defending when he is on trial, help him when he is being wronged, and support his recommendation when he is offering advice. Through these people one can see a lot, hear a lot, have advance knowledge of a lot, and not suffer a lot.

8. I.e., in addition to a wife. The money here refers to the dowry given by the wife's family to the husband.

9. This sentence is an allusion to the wanderings of Odysseus and thus his marriage to Penelope; cf. Homer, *Od.* 1.1–5.

(19) Ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος καὶ χρησιμώτατος τοῦ γάμου καρπὸς οἱ παῖδες νῦν μὲν ὄντες ἔργων συλλήπτορες, νῦν δὲ γηροτρόφοι, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ θάπτοντες, ἔπειτα κοσμοῦντες τοὺς τάφους ἐνιαυτῶν πληρουμένων. (20) εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἀγαθοὶ γένοιντο καὶ τινος ἀρετῆς μετεληφότες, πηλίκον ἂν εἴη τῷ πατρί; καὶ γὰρ ἂν μὴ τῶν λαμπρῶν ἐκεῖνος ἦ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς τινος γνωριζομένων, τῆς ὧν ἐγέννησεν εὐκλείας κοινωνήσας ὀνομαστὸς κατέστη. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ τοῦ πρώτου λειπόμενον τοιοῦτους υἱεῖς παρέχεσθαι. (21) τί οὖν τῶν ποιοῦντων εὐδαιμονίαν παραβάλοι τις ἄν; ἢ ῥητορικὴν ἢ φιλοσοφίαν ἢ πρεσβείαν ἢ στρατείαν; ἀρκεῖ γὰρ εἰς ἅπασαν εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων τῷ γεγεννηκότι παρὰ πάντων ἔργα θαυμαζόμενα. (22) τὰ μὲν τοίνυν καλὰ λόγος εἶναι χαλεπά, τοῦτο δὲ ὃν ἡλικὸν ἐδείξαμεν καὶ τῶν ῥαδίως ἐστὶ πραττομένων. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τις ὀρμήσῃ γαμεῖν, προσῆλθε τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττουσιν. εἶπεν ὅτου δέεται, προσέπεμψε τῷ τρέφοντι παρθένον. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν ἐπήνεσε τὸν νεανίσκον, τὸ γένος, τὴν φύσιν, τὴν σωφροσύνην, ἐμνήσθη που τοῦ τῆς οὐσίας μέτρου καὶ ἡ πείσας εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη πρόσδοδος τὴν σπουδὴν ἐπλήρωσεν, ἄλλως θ' ὅταν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην ἕκαστος μετῇ τὴν κόρην, ὁ εὐπορος τὴν πολλὰ κεκτημένην, ὁ χρημάτων ἐνδεὴς τὴν οὐχ ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῷ κλήρῳ. καίτοι πένητας ἴσμεν ἀξιοθέντας γυναικὸς πλούτῳ νικώσης. (23) ἅμα δὲ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ δόξα βελτίων συνεισέρχεται. ὁ τε γὰρ πρότερον ἐπαινούμενος θαυμαστότερος γίνεται μᾶλλον δοκῶν σωφρονεῖν οἷς τέ τινες ἦσαν πρὸ τῶν γάμων αἰτίαι λύονται. καὶ ὅλως ἐλευθέρου σχήματος ἀντιποιουμένῳ πρέπον παρὰ μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ προῖέναι, παρὰ δὲ γυναιῖκα πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἀναστρέφειν. (24) τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ συμβουλευόντι προσέχουσι καὶ πρεσβείαν ἐγχειρίζουσι καὶ δίαίταν ἐπιτρέπουσι. δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ παῖδας τρέφων καὶ θεοὺς φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τιμᾶν. δόξα δὲ τῷ μὲν οὐ βουληθέντι γαμεῖν ἢ χείρων, τῷ δὲ ἐλομένῳ γυναικὶ συνοικεῖν ἢ βελτίων ἀναγκαίως ἔπεται. (25) καὶ τοσοῦτον ἰσχύει τούτων ἐκάτερον ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν ἄγαμος, κἂν σωφρονῇ, τὴν ἐναντίαν φήμην

(19) The greatest, most beautiful, and most useful fruit of marriage is the children—now being partners in our work, now tending to us in old age, later burying us, and then decorating our graves as the years go by. (20) But if the children should also become good, having also partaken of some virtue, how great this would be for the father! For indeed, if he is not one of the well-known people or one of the distinguished members of some major family, he becomes notable by sharing in the fame of those he fathered. It is the first and greatest thing for him to be good, but the second, and not much less important than the first, is to produce such sons himself. (21) Which, then, of the things that bring happiness could anyone compare with this? Rhetoric or philosophy, or an embassy or expedition? For it is sufficient for complete happiness when the deeds of a father's children are admired by all. (22) Well then, there is a saying that fine things are difficult,¹⁰ but we have shown just how fine this one is, and it is one of the things easily done. For whenever someone sets out to get married, he approaches those who handle such things.¹¹ He says what he needs and sends someone to the man raising the girl. And the matchmaker comes and praises the young man, his family, his physique, his self-control; he mentions at some point the size of his estate, and he either goes away having immediately convinced the man, or if not, a second or third visit repays his zealous efforts, especially whenever each pursues a girl corresponding to his status, the rich man pursuing one who possesses a lot, the man who lacks money pursuing one who is not overabundant in her estate.¹² And yet we know that poor men have been deemed worthy of a wife who outdoes her husband in wealth. (23) At the same time along with marriage also comes a better reputation. For the man who was praised before becomes more greatly admired, as he is thought to have more self-control, and those who had any faults before marriage are absolved of them. And in general, it befits one laying claim to the demeanor of a free man to go from his wife to public affairs, and to return again from public affairs to his wife. (24) They also pay attention to such a man when he offers advice, and they hand over embassies and entrust arbitration to him. For the man who is raising children is thought to fear the gods, respect men, desire glory, and honor justice. The gossip that follows the man who is unwilling to marry is worse, while that which follows the man who chooses to cohabit with a wife is necessarily better. And each of these is so strong that the unmarried man, even if he has self-control, attracts rumors of the reverse, while the married man, on the other hand, even if he

10. E.g., Plato, *Resp.* 435C.

11. I.e., matchmakers, to act as intermediaries between prospective husbands and the fathers of unmarried girls.

12. For the thought, see *Anth. pal.* 7.89.

ἐφέλκεται, ὁ δ' αὖ γεγαμηκώς, κἂν εἰς ἡδονὰς ἐκφέρηται, συκοφαντεῖσθαι δοκεῖ· πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχει ἀνάγκην εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν τὸ γύναιον.

(26) Ἐξελεγχόμενοι τοίνυν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων ὅτι τῶν καλλίστων αὐτοὺς ἀποστεροῦσιν οἱ φεύγοντες τὸν γάμον τὰς μοιχείας φασὶ δεδοίκαμεν καὶ βαρὺ τὰς τῶν παίδων ἀποβολὰς ἡγούμεθα, ὥσπερ ταῦτα πάντως ἀκολουθοῦντα τῷ γάμῳ. καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὥς αἱ μοιχεῖαι μὲν ὀλίγαι, τὸ δὲ σωφρονεῖν ἐν τοῖς πλείοσι; καὶ περὶ τῶν παίδων ἴσον λέγω· πλείους ἴσμεν σωθέντας ἢ τεθνεώτας.

(27) Πάντων οὖν ἀτοπώτατον, εἰ τῶν παραδειγμάτων πειθόντων ὅτι μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν χρηστῶν ἢ περιπεσεῖν ταῖς συμφοραῖς δεῖσομεν τὸ πρᾶγμα μᾶλλον ἢ ζητήσομεν, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῆς βοηθείας εἰς ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα προφαινομένης. οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγον εἰς σωφροσύνην γυναικῶν αἱ συμβουλίαι δύνανται καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν οὐδέ γε εἰς σωτηρίαν παίδων θυσίαι καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα. (28) ὅλως δὲ εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος ὧν ζητεῖ τινα πρᾶξιν καθαρὰν δυσκόλων, οὐκ οἶδε ζητῶν ἅ θεῶν ἐστὶ μόνων. ἐπεὶ τίτι τῶν πάντων οὐ συνέξενκται λυπηρά; οὐκ ἀκούεις τῶν γεωργῶν αἰτιωμένων νῦν μὲν αὐχμούς, νῦν δ' ὄμβρων ὑπερβολάς; οὐ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐμπόρων τὰ τῆς θαλάττης κακά, τοὺς σκηπτούς, τὰ κύματα, τοὺς ληστάς, ἕτερα μυρία; (29) οὐ σήμερον μὲν ὁ ῥήτωρ θαυμάζεται, τῆς δ' ὑστεραίας ἐν γραφαῖς ἐστὶ καὶ κινδύνοις; ἀθλητῆς δὲ παγκρατιάζων ἥδη πού τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξεκόπη. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀφίστησιν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἔργων ὁ φόβος. (30) εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς οὐ γαμείτε διὰ τὰς μοιχείας, οὕτως ἐκείνων οἱ μὲν τὸ γεωργεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὸ πλεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἔφευγον, κατελέλυτο ἂν πάντα τὰ κοσμοῦντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν βίον.

(31) Τί οὖν ἐγὼ φημι; δεῖν ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἐννοεῖν, ὑμέναιον, κρότον, τοὺς παραπέμποντας, τοὺς δαιτυμόνας, δᾶδας, εὐωχίας, παίδων ἐλπίδας, αὐτοὺς τοὺς παῖδας, ὧν οὐδὲν ἥδιον τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

gets carried away with his pleasures, is thought to be the victim of false accusations; for a wife provides a great obligation to show self-control.

(26) Well then, when they are refuted by the aforementioned points and are shown that they are depriving themselves of the finest things, those who shun marriage say that “we are afraid of adultery and we regard the loss of children as grievous,” as if these things always necessarily follow marriage. And yet who does not know that instances of adultery are few, but that self-control is found in most people? And with regard to children I say the same: we know that more have survived than have died.

(27) And so, it would be the strangest thing of all, if, although the examples are trying to persuade us that we are more likely to enjoy the benefits than to fall foul of the disasters, we will fear the practice rather than seek it out. And these thoughts will be of great help in shedding light on both of these concerns: for advice has no small influence over the self-control of wives, and sacrifices and dedications over the protection and safety of children.¹³ (28) But in general, if someone being human seeks a practice that is free from trouble, he does not know that he is seeking what belongs to the gods alone. Since, is there anything in the world to which painful things have not been wedded? Do you not hear of farmers blaming now droughts, now excessive rain? Or of sea merchants blaming the evils of the sea—lightning, waves, pirates, and a million others? (29) Is the orator not admired today, but on the next day subjected to indictments and dangers? And an athlete in the *pancratation*¹⁴ has at some time in the past had his eye knocked out. But fear does not keep them away from their work. (30) But if, just as you do not marry because of adultery, so also some of them were to flee from farming, others from sailing, and still others from serving as politicians and managing the government, everything that brings order to human life would be utterly destroyed.

(31) What, then, am I saying? That one must reflect more on those things—the wedding song, the applause, the attendants, the guests, the torches, the feasting, one’s hopes for children, and the children themselves, than which nothing is sweeter to those people who have good sense.

13. I.e., a husband’s advice can prevent adultery, and the gods can prevent the deaths of children.

14. The *pancratation* was a particularly violent sporting event in which “boxing and wrestling were combined with kicking, strangling, and twisting” (Frederick A. Wright and Stephen J. Instone, “*Pankration*,” *OCD*, 1106).

2. Εἰ τειχιστέον.

(1) Ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ βίου ζητῶν αἰρείσθω τὰ τεῖχη. πᾶν γὰρ ὁ ταῖς πόλεσι σώζεται, φρουρεῖται τοῖς τείχεσι. τειχίζει μὲν γὰρ οὐρανὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, τὰ δὲ θνητῶν διατηροῦσι περίβολοι, καὶ ὁ τοῖς θεοῖς οὐρανός, τὰ τεῖχη θνητοῖς. (2) καὶ ἔγωγε τοὺς ποιητὰς ἄγαμαι τειχιστὰς τοὺς θεοὺς πεπονηκότας τῆς Τροίας. οὕτως καὶ ὅσοι τειχῶν οὐ δεδένονται, τεῖχος κατεσκευάσαντο καὶ τιμᾶται καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐν χρεῖα καθεστηκόσιν ἡ τέχνη. (3) σοφώτεροι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τειχῶν ἄνθρωποι γίνονται, καὶ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐκκλησιάζειν τεῖχη δεδώκασιν. ἔπειτα πρὸς μάχης ἐπαίρει παρασκευὴν, καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν ὅπλων ἐστηκότες περίβολοι νέμονται. (4) καὶ μὴν τὰ τεῖχη σωφροσύνην διατηρεῖ· παθεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐῷσι γυναικας ὅσα γυναιξιν οἱ πόλεμοι φέρουσι. καὶ δικαστηρίων σωζομένων ἐκ τείχους ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι καθεστήκασιν δίκαιοι. (5) εἰ δὲ διὰ τείχους ἐρρωμένοι γεγόναμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν δεόντων βουλευόμεθα καὶ τὰ δίκαια σώζεται τεῖχεσι καὶ μετὰ τούτων τὸ σωφρονεῖν, πῶς οὐκ εἰς ὅσον οἶόν τε τιμητέον τὰ τεῖχη;

(6) Ναί, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ δειλίας τὰ τεῖχη γίνεται πρόφασις. δειλίαν ὀνομάζεις τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων αἰσχίστοις περιβάλλεις ὀνόμασι. καὶ δι' ὧν ἐρεῖς οὐκ ἔῃς περιβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καθίστασαι τῆς ἀσφαλείας κατηγορος ὅκνον ὀνομάζων τὴν φυλακὴν. (7) τοῦναντίον, ἄνθρωπε, θαρρεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ δεδιέναι παρέχεται. καὶ γὰρ ὅπλων ἀποσοβῆσαι παρασκευὴν καὶ ξίφος ἀπαμύναι ἐχθρῶν καὶ κατ' ἐξουσίαν πορίσασθαι νίκην τοῖς μαχομένοις μόνη τῶν τειχῶν παρέσχεν ἡ τέχνη. (8) πῶς οὖν ἔτι δειλίαν ἐρεῖς τὰ μόνα δειλίαν ἀνηρηκότα καθάπαξ; τοῦναντίον γὰρ ἔγωγε ἔγνωκα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ τῶν περιβόλων ἐγγίνεσθαι τὸ δέος. καὶ γὰρ τί πάθωσιν οἱ ἄνωθεν πολεμοῦντες; μὴ δεδοίκασιν; ὥστε εἰ μὲν τὸ δέος τῶν πολεμίων ἐρεῖς, ὁμολογεῖς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος· εἰ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων θήσω τὴν τόλμαν. ἄφες οὖν ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας τὸ τεῖχος.

(9) Ναί, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ δαπανηρὰ τοῖς κτωμένοις τὰ τεῖχη. τεῖχη τὸν ὄντα πόρον ἀνάλωσε. καὶ πόθεν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τετήρηται πλοῦτος; τὴν περιουσίαν φρουροῦσι περίβολοι καὶ μετὰ τῶν χρωμένων τηροῦσι τὰ χρήματα καὶ κοινὴ φυλακὴ περιουσίας εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥστε τὰ τεῖχη τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν οὐ δαπάνην ἐπήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὄντα τετήρηκε πλοῦτον.

THESIS 2: WHETHER ONE SHOULD BUILD A WALL¹⁵

(1) Let him who seeks to protect life choose walls; for everything that is kept safe for cities is guarded by walls; for while heaven serves as a wall for the gods, perimeter walls watch over the affairs of mortals, and what heaven is to the gods, walls are to mortals. (2) And I admire the poets for having depicted the gods as the wall-builders of Troy.¹⁶ Thus even those who have not needed walls have built a wall for themselves, and this art is honored even among them, although they have never been in need. (3) For men become wiser from walls, and walls have granted them the freedom to hold assemblies. Next, they elevate one's armament in the face of battle, and perimeter walls as they stand support fixtures of weapons. (4) Moreover, walls watch over chastity; for they do not allow women to suffer all that wars bring to women. And because the courts are kept safe by a wall, people have therefore become just. (5) But if it is through a wall that we have become strengthened and can deliberate over what is necessary, and if justice is kept safe by walls, and self-control along with it, how must one not honor walls as much as possible?

(6) "Yes," one might say, "but walls become an excuse for cowardice." You are calling forethought "cowardice" and surrounding the finest of works with the most shameful names. And you disallow being defended by a perimeter wall by what you are going to say; instead, you stand as an accuser of security, calling protection "cowering." (7) To the contrary, sir, a wall allows us to take courage, not to be afraid; for indeed, only the art of wall-building allows fighters to frighten away the armament of weapons and ward off the enemy's sword, and only it gives them the freedom to bring about victory. (8) And so, how will you still call "cowardice" the only things that have absolutely destroyed cowardice? For, to the contrary, I know that perimeter walls engender fear in the enemy. For indeed, what are those fighting from above to suffer? They are not afraid, are they? Consequently, if you speak of the enemy's fear, you are acknowledging the wall, as well; but if you speak of the citizens' fear, I will counter with the daring shown by their deeds. And so, release the wall from this charge.

(9) "Yes," one might say, "but walls are expensive for those who own them. Walls use up the existing revenue." And what has watched over people's riches? Perimeter walls guard the wealth, watch over the money along with those who use it, and serve as protection for wealth and citizenry alike, so that walls do not add an expense for the inhabitants but watch over the existing riches.

15. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 1 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:415,1–17,9). For the theme, see Aphthonius 41, 41–42.

16. Poseidon and Apollo: Homer, *Il.* 7.452–453; 21.446–447.

(10) καὶ διχόθεν εἰσὶν αἱ περιουσίαι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν τειχῶν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα πλοῦτον συλλέγειν ἐστηκότες περίβολοι νέμουνσι, τὸν δὲ γεγενημένον ἐκ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν φυλακῆς ὑπάρχει διατηρεῖν. ὥστε οὐ τὸ τεῖχος δαπανηρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐπέσχε δαπάνην. (11) φέρε γάρ, πρὸς θεῶν, εἰ πολέμιοι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι προσβάλοιεν, καὶ πάντα φιλεῖ κατεργάσασθαι πόλεμος, τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως περιουσίαν ὑφαρπάσαι πειρώμενοι καὶ μηδένα λοιπὸν τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πόρον καταλιπεῖν, εἰ ταῦτα πράττειν οἱ πολέμιοι σπεύδοιεν, τί τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν καταστήσεται κώλυμα; ἢ δηλονότι τὸ μὴ παραιρεῖσθαι τὸν ἔνδοθεν πλοῦτον φιλοτιμεῖται τῶν περιβόλων ἢ τέχνη; πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄλογον πολέμιους μὲν πάντα καταλαβεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν περιβόλων κωλύεσθαι, κατηγορεῖν δὲ τειχῶν ὡς δαπάνης αἰτίων; (12) μέγα τὰ τεῖχη καὶ περίβολοι τοῖς χρωμένοις σωτήριον. καὶ ἡ τύχη τοῖς κτωμένοις ἀσφάλειαν τὴν περὶ τὰ τεῖχη πεποιῆται τέχνην, ὅτι περ οὐκ ἔστιν εἶναι τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας τειχίζεσθαι. (13) καὶ τοίνυν, εἰ νόμοι μὲν κρατοῦσιν ὑπὸ τειχῶν, διὰ δὲ περιβόλων πολιτεύεται δίκαια καὶ συνοίσουσιν οἷς ἂν εἶεν ταῦτα γινόμενα, καὶ τειχίσαι πᾶσι τιμητέον τὰ τεῖχη τιμᾶν εἰδότα καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ βίον.

3. Εἰ πλευστέον.

(1) Οὐκ οἶδα εἰ τὴν ἐμπορίαν <ἂν> ἡτίμασεν ὁ θεῶν εἰδὼς γεγονότα τὸν πλοῦν. προήλθε μὲν γὰρ τὸ χρῆμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ σοφῆς θεοῦ γεγονὸς πάντως που τῷ βίῳ καταφανὲς πρὸς ὄνησιν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ταῦτα θεῶν τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ὠφέλιμον. (2) ὁρῶσα γὰρ ἡ θεὸς ἀνόνητα τὰ τῆς γῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τυγχάνοντα μὴ προσόντος τοῦ πλεῖν οὕτως ἐργάζεσθαι δέδωκε θάλατταν ὡς παρέσχε πονεῖν ἢ φύσις τὴν ἡπειρον, καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥάδιον ὅπως οὖν διελθεῖν ἐτοιμότερον παρέσχε πορίζεσθαι. (3) καὶ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπους σοφωτέρους εἶναι παρέσχεν ὁ πλοῦς, οἷς ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης καταλαμβάνουσι γῆν, εἴτα ἀνδρείους ἀποτελεῖ τολμῶντας ὁρᾶν τὰ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασιν ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι σπεύδοντας, εἴτα δικαίους ἐπιβάντας νεώς. οἷς γὰρ δέονται πρὸς τὸ μὴ τι παθεῖν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ παντός εἰσι δικαιοτέροι. καὶ

(10) And wealth comes from the walls themselves in two ways; for perimeter walls as they stand support the collection of riches not yet existing, and it is possible to watch over riches already acquired through the protection of walls. Consequently, the wall is not expensive, but instead keeps existing expenses in check. (11) For come on, by the gods: if an enemy should attack the inhabitants—and war usually destroys everything, as the enemy tries to plunder the city's wealth and leave no resources behind for the inhabitants—if the enemy should be eager to do this, what will stand as a hindrance to the suffering? Surely it is clear that the art of building perimeter walls earnestly endeavors to prevent the wealth inside from being taken away? So then, how is it not illogical to use perimeter walls to prevent the enemy from overtaking everything, but to accuse the walls of being responsible for expense? (12) Walls and perimeter walls are a great means of safety for those who use them. And Fortune has made the art of wall-building a means of security for those who acquire it, because it is impossible for those who do not know how to build walls to exist. (13) Well then, if the laws have power because of walls, and if it is through perimeter walls that the government is conducted justly, then their construction will benefit whoever has them, and everyone must honor the building of walls, as they¹⁷ know how to honor both government and life.

THESIS 3: WHETHER ONE SHOULD SAIL¹⁸

(1) I do not know if the man who knows that sailing arose from the gods <would have> dishonored commerce; for the thing originated with Athena, and as it was born of a wise goddess, it has shown itself altogether beneficial to life; for what comes from the good, and from the gods, at that, is useful to those who receive it. (2) For when the goddess saw the produce of the earth coming to men without profit, as sailing did not yet exist, she granted them to work the sea, just as nature allowed them to labor on the mainland, and she made the crossing of the sea, not easy under any circumstances, be provided for them more readily.¹⁹ (3) And first, sailing allows men to be wiser inasmuch as they go from one land to another, and then it makes them courageous as they dare to see things at sea and hurry to compete against the winds, and then it makes them just as they board the ship; for inasmuch as they need the gods so as not to suffer anything, they are also more just than

17. I.e., walls.

18. = Pseudo-Nicolaus 2 (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:417,10–18,31). For the theme, see Aphthonius 41; with full elaboration, George Pachymeres (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1:583,3–86,11). See also Encomium 7.15; Comparison 4.

19. Athena helped Danaus build the first ship: Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.1.4.

μὴν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἢ τῆς γῆς ἀλλοτριώσις δίδωσιν. οἷς γὰρ οὐχ ὀρώσιν <αῖς> πλησιάζωσι, καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐπιτηδεύουσιν. (4) εἰ δὴ οὖν προῆλθε θεῶν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν παρέσχεν ἀσκεῖν, εἰς ὅσον οἶόν τε τιμητέον τὸν πλοῦν.

(5) Ναί, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κακίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρεσκεύασται πλοῦς, καὶ τί ἂν ἕτερον φυλάξαι τὸ δίκαιον, εἰ τὸν πλοῦν <τις> ἀφαιρήσεται; ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης καταλαμβάνουσι γῆν καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐκμανθάνοντες νόμιμα τηροῦσι τὰ δίκαια. καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου περίεστιν ὥστε παρενθήκην αὐτοῦ εὐρεῖν τοῖς ὅθεν ἀπαίρουσιν. ἃ γὰρ ἐτέρωθεν ἔμαθον, τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰσήγαγον, καὶ γίνεται νομοθέτης δικαίων ἐξ ἐτέρων νομοθετούμενος. (6) καὶ μὴν δεδοικότες μὴ τι πάθωσι πλείοντες δικαιοτέροι γίνονται καὶ καθίσταται τῶν δικαίων φύλαξ ὁ φόβος. εἰ <δὲ> δεδοικότες μένουσι δίκαιοι καὶ καλοῦντες θεοὺς εἰσιν ὀσιώτεροι καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐκμανθάνοντες δίκαια δικαιοσύνην ἐπιτηδεύουσι, πῶς ἂν τις αἰτιῶτο τὸν πλοῦν ἐπεισφέροντα τοῖς πλέουσιν ἄδικα;

(7) Ναί, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖν ἐστι σφαλερώτατον. οὐκοῦν μέγιστον, εἰ παρ' αὐτὸ κινδυνεύουσιν ἄνθρωποι; μεγάλα δὲ μεγάλοις κατορθοῦνται τοῖς πόνοις. ἃ δὲ πονεῖν οὐκ ἔα τοὺς χρωμένους, οὐκ ὤνησεν. (8) ὁρᾷς τὰς μάχας εἰς οἷον πόνον τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐκβαίνουσιν. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, τὸ κατορθοῦν ἐνδοξότερον, καὶ οὐ τὰς μάχας ἀποδιδράσκουσιν ἄνθρωποι τοὺς κινδύνους σκοποῦντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐκουσίως ὑφίστανται τὸ νικᾶν λογιζόμενοι. καὶ ἀφαιροῦνται τῶν κινδύνων τὴν αἴσθησιν αἱ τῆς νίκης λαμπρότητες.

(9) Ὅθεν μετὰ τοῦ πλεῖν καὶ τὸ κτῆμα θεῶν πορισθὲν ὅλοις ὄνησις γεγένηται πλείστη. τετίμηνται μὲν γὰρ οἱ πορίσαντες, ἡσπάσαντο δὲ οἱ καθάπαξ ἀσκήσαντες, καὶ τὴν ἴσιν ὁ πλοῦς κομιεῖ πᾶσιν ὄνησιν, θεοῖς μὲν τὴν τιμὴν, ἀνθρώποις δὲ πόρον οὐ μέτριον.

everyone. Moreover, their alienation from the land gives them self-control; for inasmuch as they do not see <women with whom> to have intercourse, they also practice chastity. (4) And so, if it originated from the gods and allows us to practice every virtue, one must honor sailing as much as possible.

(5) “Yes,” one might say, “but sailing has been provided to the detriment of humanity.” And what else would protect justice, if <one> takes away sailing? They go from one land to another, and closely examining customs everywhere they observe the just ones. And they have such a great surplus of justice that they can find a supplement of it for those from whom they sail;²⁰ for what they learn from others, they introduce to their countrymen, and one becomes a framer of just laws by modeling one’s own laws on those of others. (6) Moreover, they become more just out of fear that they might suffer something while sailing, and fear stands as a guard over justice. <But> if they remain just out of fear, and are more pious from calling on the gods, and practice justice by closely examining just practices everywhere else, how could anyone accuse sailing of introducing injustice to sailors?

(7) “Yes,” one might say, “but sailing is very hazardous.” Is it not therefore very important, if men risk danger because of it? But great things are successfully accomplished by great labors. And things that discourage their practitioners from exerting themselves are not beneficial. (8) You have seen how much work battles turn out to be for their practitioners. But if fighting wars is also dangerous, concluding them successfully is more glorious; and men do not run away from battles, considering the dangers, but willingly submit to them, counting on victory. And the splendors of victory take away the perception of dangers.

(9) Wherefore, along with sailing, the possession provided by the gods²¹ has also become a very great benefit to everyone; for those who provided it have been honored,²² while those who once practiced it have been saluted.²³ And sailing will bring equal benefit to them all—honor to the gods, and no average revenue to men.

20. I.e., for the people back at home.

21. “The possession provided by the gods” may mean the financial gains from sailing. In any case it is something distinct from sailing itself.

22. I.e., the gods who provided the financial gains from sailing.

23. I.e., men who have practiced sailing.

THE EXERCISE IN INTRODUCTION OF A LAW

The exercise in introduction of a law is a speech supporting or attacking a proposed law (Theon 128–129; [Hermogenes] 27; Aphthonius 47; Nicolaus 78) or an already existing law (Theon 128–129; Nicolaus 78). Its inclusion among the *progymnasmata* was apparently controversial ([Hermogenes] 26; Aphthonius 46). This exercise differs from the earlier one in common topics, in that common topics exercises deal with acknowledged goods or evils, while the subject of this exercise is still in doubt (Nicolaus 77; cf. my introductory remarks to the exercise in thesis). In addition, it is more complex than a thesis in that a speaker is introduced (Aphthonius 47), but less complex than a hypothesis in that it lacks a specific context for the discussion ([Hermogenes] 26; Aphthonius 47; cf. Nicolaus 79).

The exercise in introduction of a law begins with prooemia (Theon 129; Aphthonius 47; Nicolaus 79) and argument from the contrary (Aphthonius 47), and then is elaborated according to the final headings, which Nicolaus divides into those based on written laws and those based on unwritten customs (77–78). Other theorists, omitting the written/unwritten distinction, recommend elaborating according to the heads of the legal ([Hermogenes] 27; Aphthonius 47), just, advantageous, possible (Theon 129; [Hermogenes] 27; Aphthonius 47), appropriate ([Hermogenes] 27), and clear (Theon 129; [Hermogenes] 27). Theon discusses many ways in which a law can be attacked on the basis of its lack of clarity (129–130, with Patillon and Bolognesi, 99). In addition to these headings, if a speaker is arguing against a law, he can also use the headings of the unnecessary, contradictory, unworthy, and shameful (Theon 129). Nicolaus believes that theorists such as these were confusing enthymemes with true headings (77–78).

The single example of this exercise in the collection is spurious, according to Norman, *The Julianic Orations*, xlix, and is attributed to Pseudo-Nicolaus by Foerster and Münscher, “Libanios,” 2522. On the exercise in law, see Theon 128–130 (with the supplementary Armenian text of Patillon and Bolognesi, 99–102); [Hermogenes] 26–27; Aphthonius 46–51; and Nicolaus 77–79. On this set of exercises, see Schouler, *La tradition hellénique*, 1:136–38.

1. Συνηγορία νόμου τοῦ κελεύοντος τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν γαμετὰς μὴ γαμεῖν.

(1) Ἐφθασε μὲν ἡ φύσις τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς ἅμα γεγονότας εἰς ὑμέναιον οὐκ ἔᾶ συνελθεῖν, βεβαιοῖ δὲ ὅμως τὴν φύσιν ὁ νόμος καὶ δι' ἑκατέρων ἄμφω προῆλθε, φύσις μὲν νόμῳ καταβάλλουσα γένεσιν, νόμος δὲ βεβαιῶν ἃ τῇ φύσει δοκεῖ. δεῖ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ βραχέα φιλοσοφῆσαι.

(2) Τῶν ὄντων ὄντως ἅπαντα γένη φύσει μὲν ὁμοίως ἀπὸ γάμου προῆλθε, γάμῳ δὲ ὅμως οὐχ ὁμοίῳ συνάπτεται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θηριώδης καὶ ἀλόγιστος βίος ἀφηρημένος φύσει τὸ κρίνειν πάντα μὲν γάμοις συγχέει, πάντα δὲ ἀλλήλοις πλησιάζειν ἔᾶ. οἷς καὶ συνάπτεται μὲν παῖς ἥς προελήλυθε, γίνεται δὲ πατὴρ ἢ συνῆλθε μὴ γινόμενος, καὶ μαθεῖν οὐκ ἔᾶ παρὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας ὃ γέγονεν ἕκαστον. ἄδηλον δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παῖς καὶ πατὴρ ὅσοις γάμος δοκεῖ. (3) οὐ μὴν τοῦ λόγου μετεληφότες τοιοῖσδε γάμοις παραπλήσιοι, ἀλλ' ὥρισται παῖς καὶ διέστη πατὴρ καὶ διακέκριται μήτηρ καὶ τὸ προαχθὲν οὐκ οἶδε τῷ κεκομικότει συνάπτεσθαι καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν οἷς διέστη τετίμηκε. (4) καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συγγένειαν ποιεῖ συναπτόμενα, τὰ δὲ συγγενῇ συγγένειαν βεβαιοῖ διιστάμενα. ἃ καλῶς εἰδὼς ὁ τὸν παρόντα νόμον εἰσενεγκὼν ἀδελφοὺς οὐκ ἔᾶ ταῖς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συναφθῆναι συνοίκοις.

(5) Ναί, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐπικουρίας δεῖ χρηρευούσαις ταῖς γυναῖξιν. ἀδικοῖς, ἄνθρωπε, τὴν συμμαχίαν ἡδοναῖς ὀρίζομενος, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνὸν συμμαχεῖν, εἰ μὴ γάμος παρῇν. ἔξω ὑμεναίων ἐπιφέρεις τὴν χάριν ἀμείνω. ἔσο τὴν συγγένειαν εὐνοία μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ γάμῳ τιμῶν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖνουν πρὸς χάριν δοκεῖς πεπραχέναι τοῦ γένους, τὸ δὲ γάμῳ συμμαχεῖν συναπτόμενος αὐτῆς εἶναι παρασκευάζεις τῆς ἡδονῆς. (6) τί δὲ χρεῖαν ἐρεῖς γυναικός, ἔνθα τοῦ συνόντος ἀδελφὸς καταλείπεται; μενέτω πατὴρ τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου γεγονόσι παισὶ καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖτω τῆς χηρείας αἰσθάνεσθαι <ταύτην ἐκ> τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ συμμαχῶν. ἄδηλον ποιεῖτω τὴν τύχην ἢ χάρις. καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν

INTRODUCTION OF A LAW 1: IN SUPPORT OF A LAW BIDDING MEN
NOT TO MARRY THEIR DECEASED BROTHERS' WIVES.²⁴

(1) Nature has anticipated law and does not allow those born together to join in marriage, but law nevertheless reinforces nature, and both advance through each other, nature establishing an origin for law, but law reinforcing what seems best to nature. And it is necessary to philosophize briefly upon the law.

(2) All races of creatures that actually exist naturally originate in marriage alike, but nevertheless are joined by marriages not alike; for the unreasoning animal's way of life, naturally robbed of the power of discretion, mixes everyone together in marriages, and allows everyone to mate with one another. By this, a male child is also joined with the female from whom he came, and he becomes a father by intercourse with her with whom he has mated, and this prevents each from learning what is born as a result of his intercourse. And the idea of "child" and "father" is unclear among them, all those who decide to join in marriage. (3) However, if they partake of reason they do not have marriages that resemble these;²⁵ instead, "child" is definite, "father" is distinct, and "mother" is discrete, and an offspring does not know how to join with the one that raised it, and it honors the family relationship inasmuch as it remains distinct. (4) And the rest create a family relationship by joining together, but families reinforce the family relationship by staying apart. Knowing this well, the one who introduced the present law is preventing men from being joined with their brothers' wives.

(5) "Yes," one might say, "but wives need help if they become widows." You, sir, are wrong to define assistance in terms of pleasure, as if it were impossible to lend assistance unless there is a marriage. You can better offer charity outside the context of marriage. Be someone who honors the family relationship with goodwill rather than with marriage; for you seem to have performed an act of goodwill as a favor to the extended family, but by joining with her, you are making this assistance through marriage to be a thing of pleasure. (6) Why are you going to mention the wife's widowhood, when the husband's brother is left behind? Let him remain a father to the children born of that man, and by assisting <with> his own resources, let him not allow <her> to perceive her widowhood. Let charity make her fortune inconspicuous. And let him alleviate her misfortune by helping her widowhood, and

24. = Pseudo-Nicolaus (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* 1.419,1–420,32). There is no ancient Greek law forbidding such unions.

25. The translation here supplies what is demanded by the context. The text literally reads, "... they do not resemble such marriages as these."

ἐπικουφιζέτω τῇ χηρείᾳ ἐπικουρῶν καὶ μὴ ποιείτω γυναῖκα μὲν δοκεῖν ἀποβλέπειν εἰς ἡδονάς, αὐτὸν δὲ γάμῳ συγγενείας ἀλλότριον. οἷς γὰρ συνάπτεται, διείλε τὸ γένος.

(7) Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ γυναιξὶν ἡδοναὶ πρόχειροι. κρείττους δὲ τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων οἱ συγγενεῖς. ἀμείνους εἰς παράπαν οἱ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν κομιζόμενον ἐκ τοῦ προσήκοντος γίνεται δίκαιον. (8) οὕτω τεθέαμαι μᾶλλον τὸ παρανομεῖν ἐπαινούμενον. τί δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν κατηγορεῖς ἡδονάς καὶ ταύτας βεβαιοῖς συναπτόμενος; εἰ γυναῖκες νοσήσασαι πάσχουσιν, οἱ προσήκοντες εἴργουσι καὶ κωλυταὶ γίνονται τῆς ἐκείνων ἀκραςίας, οὐ σύμμαχοι. (9) καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεσθαι τῶν ἐν γάμῳ δεινῶν. τί γὰρ δεῖ τούτων χηρείαν μὲν ἐλεεῖν προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ παίδων ὀρφανίαν οἰκτεῖρειν, εἴτα τὰς συμφορὰς ἐπιδιπλασιάζειν αὐταῖς συναπτόμενον; ὁ χηρείαν εἰσάπαξ μὴ συγχωρῶν δευτέραν ἐργάζεται καὶ παῖδας ὀρφανούς ὁδυρόμενος ἐτέρους ὀρφανούς πραγματεύεται. οἷς γὰρ γάμον ἐργάζεται δεύτερον, δευτέρας συμφορὰς ἀπεργάζεται καὶ ποιεῖ γάμον οὐ δυστυχήματος κώλυμα, τῶν ὄντων δὲ δυστυχημάτων μᾶλλον ἐπίδοσιν. (10) μέγα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ γένος καὶ συγγένεια συνάπτειν οἶδε τὰ διυστάμενα. πατέρες μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ γάμου καθίστανται, προέρχονται δὲ δι' ὑμεναίων ἀδελφοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους προσήκοντες καὶ συζυγία μιᾷ πολὺς προέρχεται τῶν σωμάτων κατάλογος. (11) καὶ συμμαχεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλοις, ἣν πού δέη, προήρηνται, προανακόπτουσι δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐπιόντων ἐπιβουλάς, καὶ συγγένεια γίνεται ἡ πλείστη τῆς ἐπικουρίας συντέλεια καλῶς ὀριζομένοις <καὶ> βεβαίως τὰ νόμον τῆς φύσεως οὐ παραβαίνοντα νόμιμα.

let him not make the woman seem to be looking toward pleasure, and let him not alienate himself from the family by marrying her; for inasmuch as he joins with her, he destroys the extended family.

(7) "Yes," one might say, "but pleasures are readily available to women. And family members are better than those who are not related. Family members are altogether better, and a child raised by them becomes just from their being related." (8) I have never seen acting illegally being praised more. Why do you condemn the pleasures of women and reinforce them by joining with one? If women suffer from this disease, their relatives shut them in and become preventers of their lack of self-control, not assistants. (9) And to me, at least, you seem to be aware of none of the terrible things in marriage. For why must one pretend to pity the widowhood of these women and lament the orphanhood of their children, but then double their misfortunes by joining with them? The man who does not absolutely concede this point brings about a second widowhood and, by bewailing the orphaned children, produces another group of orphans;²⁶ for inasmuch as he brings about a second marriage, he completes a second group of disasters, and he makes marriage not a hindrance to misfortune, but an increase of existing misfortunes. (10) The extended family is important to people, and the family relationship knows how to join together the disparate elements; for fathers are established by marriage, and brothers related to one another come forth through weddings, and through a single conjugal union comes forth a great roster of bodies. (11) And they choose to assist one another, if ever it is needed, and they beat back the plots of attackers, and the family relationship becomes the greatest joint contributor of help for those who nobly <and> firmly define customs for themselves that do not violate the law of nature.

26. I.e., in that he will eventually die himself.

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