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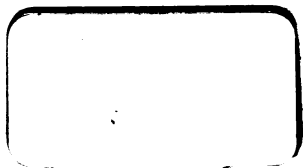
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SOCRATIS

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PLATONIS APOLOGIA SOCRATIS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY

J. ADAM, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.

STEREOTYPED EDITION.

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Πολλά μὲν οὖν ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλα ἔχει Σωκράτη ἐπαινέσαι καὶ θαυμάσια. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων τάχ' ἂν τις καὶ περὶ ἄλλου τοιαῦτα εἴποι, τὸ δὲ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁμοιον εἶναι, μήτε τῶν παλαιῶν, μήτε τῶν νῦν ὄντων, τοῦτο ἄξιον παντὸς θαύματος.

Plato, Symp. 221 C.

Ὁμολογεῖται γὰρ οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν μνημονευομένων ἀνθρώπων κάλλιον θάνατον ἐνεγκεῖν.

Xenophon, Mem. IV. 8. 2.

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PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

EMMANUEL COLLEGE,

CAMBRIDGE,

October 23, 1897.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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

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

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

EMMANUEL COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE,
Nov. 22, 1886.

INTRODUCTION.

SOCRATES, son of Sophroniscus, an Athenian sculptor, and Phaenarete, a midwife, was born in 469 B.C.¹ Of his childhood and youth hardly anything is known. We cannot doubt that he received the usual training in music and gymnastics², although none of the stories connecting him with certain definite teachers is at all trustworthy³. In later life at least he knew something of mathematics, astronomy and physics in the Greek sense of the word⁴; but he never studied any of these subjects in a scientific spirit, and it is improbable that he had lessons in them during his early years⁵.

Though destined to inaugurate a new era in philosophy, he appears to have had no strictly philosophical instruction. Plato indeed tells us, in three different places⁶, how vivid an impression the pro-

¹ Apol. 17 D, Crit. 52 E: compare Apollodorus ap. Diog. Laert. II. 44.

² Crit. 50 D.

³ Zeller Philos. der Gr. II. 1. 45.

⁴ Mem. IV. 7. 3, 5; I. 1. 14.

⁵ Phaedo 96 A and Archer-Hind's note.

⁶ Theaet. 183 E, Soph. 217 C, Parm. 127 B ff. Zeller and Dr Jackson (Art. *Parmenides* in Encyclopaedia Britannica) believe that this interview is one of Plato's dramatic fictions.

found personality of Parmenides made upon the youthful Socrates, who is said to have met the Eleatic philosopher at Athens: but whether the interview is to be regarded as historical or not, the incident can hardly have been of much importance, and we can well imagine that the free civic and social life of Athens must itself have been a better teacher to Socrates than any quantity of Eleatic or Ionian physics.

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

*Commence-
ment of his
mission.*

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

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

¹ Socrates may be meant in Rep. VI. 496 B, where Plato, enumerating different classes of men who have been true to their vocation as philosophers, says *βραχὺ δὲ πού τι καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης τέχνης δικαίως ἀτιμάσαν εὐφυνὲς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἂν ἔλθοι*. Timon (circ. 270 B.C.) alludes to Socrates as *λιθοξόος* (ap. Diog. Laert. II. 19).

² Sokrates p. 72.

first became conscious of his mission about 440 B.C. Even before this time, he must have been thoroughly familiar with the many-sided life of Athens. Plato tells us¹ that he never left Athens except to serve in a campaign: nor is it difficult to understand how even the restlessness and vigour of a Socrates should have found plenty of occupation in the society of the market-place and the palaestra.

The particular direction that the reforming energy of Socrates was to take seems to have been determined by the answer of the Delphic oracle to the inquiry of his friend Chaerephon². Socrates must already have been a well-known figure, at least in certain circles of Athenian society, when the impulsive Chaerephon inquired of the oracle whether there was any one wiser than he. The answer was that no one was wiser. Whereupon Socrates, according to the narrative in the *Apology*, being conscious of his own ignorance, proceeded to cross-examine individuals in every rank of society, exposing their ignorance and demonstrating the truth of the oracle by discovering that while others were ignorant without knowing it,

The Delphic oracle pronounces him the wisest of men.

¹ *Crito* 52 B. The words *ὅτι μὴ ἀπαξ εἰς Ἴσθμόν* are not found in the text of the best MSS. Cf. also *Phaedr.* 230 C foll. *οὐ δέ γε, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ἀποπώτατός τις φαίνεται ἀτεχνῶς γάρ, ὃ λέγεις, ξεναγούμενῳ τινὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιχωρίῳ ξοικας· οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος οὐτ' εἰς τὴν ὑπερορῶσαν ἀποδημεῖς, οὐτ' ἔξω τείχους ἐμοίγε δοκεῖς τὸ παράπαν ἐξίεναι.* The story of Ion (ap. *Diog. Laert.* II. 23) about an early voyage of Socrates and Archelaus to Samos may or may not be true. Zeller inclines to disbelieve it (*Phil. der Gr.* II. 1. p. 47 note 2); Alberti on the other hand, relying on the generally trustworthy testimony of Ion, accepts it as true. For the campaigns in which Socrates served see on 28 E.

² *Apol.* 20 E foll. Nothing is known as to the date of this incident.

he was at least thus much wiser, that he was conscious of his own ignorance. How fertile in the history of philosophy was the dialectical method which Socrates developed in the course of his continual conversations, the works of Plato and Aristotle remain to shew.

*Socrates
attacked by
the come-
dians:*

Eupolis,

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

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

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

Μισῶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη, τὸν πτωχὸν ἀδολεσχὴν,
ὃς τὰλλα μὲν πεφρόντικεν,
ὁπόθεν δὲ καταφαγεῖν ἔχοι, τούτου κατημέληκεν⁴.

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

...ἀδολεσχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκδίδαξον, ὦ σοφιστά⁵.

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

¹ Meineke supplies *ῥῆδων*: Fritzsche (with the approval of Kock *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* I. p. 355) reads *τὴν ἐπιδέξι* [*ἐκπιών*]. The date of the fragment is uncertain.

² Nub. 175 foll.

³ Cf. Apol. 23 c and note.

⁴ Kock l. c. I. p. 351.

⁵ Kock l. p. 352.

Connus¹ of Amipsias, indeed, which gained the second *Amipsias*, prize in that year, seems to have treated Socrates with toleration as the least bad of the clique of *φροντισται*²: but in the Clouds of Aristophanes, which *and Aristophanes*, was awarded the third prize on the same occasion, Socrates is mercilessly ridiculed as a frivolous speculator in natural science, a heretic or even an atheist in religion, and a dangerous and sophistical rhetorician, who made the worse appear the better cause. In order to estimate the truth of the charges brought forward in the Clouds (the play selected by Socrates as embodying the views of his early detractors)³, it *Were Aristophanes' charges true?* will be necessary to examine at some length the method and doctrine of Socrates.

Although Socrates may well be called the Father *Socrates* of Philosophy, he was not himself a philosopher, *was a reformer* but a moral reformer. He was firmly convinced that *rather* he had a divine mission to redeem the Athenian *than a philosopher:* people. "Now therefore, men of Athens," he says *he believed* in the Apology⁴, "so far from pleading my own *that he had* cause, I am pleading yours, lest by condemning me *a divine mission to* ye should sin in the matter of God's gift to you... *Athens.* But perhaps ye will obey Anytus, and lightly put me to death, and then sleep away the rest of your

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

Σώκρατες ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστ' ὀλίγων, πολλῶν δὲ ματαιόταθ', ἥκεις
καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καρτερικός γ' εἶ; πόθεν ἂν σοι χλαῖνα γένοιτο;
τοῦτ' ἂν τὸ κακὸν τῶν σκυτοτόμων κατ' ἐπήρειαν γεγένηται.
οὗτος μέντοι πεινῶν οὕτως οὐώποτ' ἐτλη κολακεῦσαι.

² Cf. note on Apol. 18 B.

³ 19 C.

⁴ Ch. XVIII. 30 D foll. Cf. Gorg. 521 D foll.

lives, unless God in his love for you sends you some other missionary." Socrates believed that there was something very far wrong in Athenian politics and Athenian life: to set this right, by teaching men how they ought to live (πῶς βιωτέον), was the duty impressed on him repeatedly "by means of oracles and dreams" and every other expression of the divine will¹.

*He traced
the evils in
Athenian
politics and
life to
ignorance.*

Like a good physician, he first set to work to discover the cause of the disease. He had not far to seek. In the course of the systematic interviewing to which God had called him through his oracle², he had discovered that the Athenians were one and all destitute of knowledge. Their opinions, like all opinions that rest on mere authority or convention, lacked lucidity; they were neither clearly conceived nor intelligibly expressed: and to Socrates the very idea of knowledge implied clear thinking and the power of lucid exposition³. In this way Socrates came to attribute all that was evil in Athenian life to the deep-seated ignorance of his countrymen. Other indications pointed in the same direction. In the whole sphere of the arts, knowledge, the direct antithesis of ignorance, appeared to lead to right action. The man who knows carpentry, for example, is a good carpenter; a knowledge of music makes one a musician; the doctor is a man who is acquainted with

¹ Apol. 33 c.

² Apol. vi. foll.

³ Mem. iv. 6. 1: Σωκράτης γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας, τί ἕκαστον εἴη τῶν ὄντων, ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν ἐξηγεῖσθαι δύνασθαι· τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰδότας οὐδὲν ἔφη θαυμαστὸν εἶναι αὐτοὺς τε σφάλλεσθαι καὶ ἄλλους σφάλλειν.

medicine¹, and so on. Moreover, Socrates may have been influenced by the fact that the close connection between virtue and knowledge was already presupposed by some of the most eminent of the contemporary sophists; Gorgias and Protagoras could never have professed to teach virtue at so much per lesson, without holding that virtue even if not synonymous with knowledge is at least near akin to it. But perhaps the strongest confirmation of Socrates' view was afforded by the facts of his own experience. With him knowledge was immediately translated into action: it was less a matter of the intellect than of the whole man. So completely unconscious was he of any internal struggle between his own judgment and his will—between the opposing motive-forces of duty and pleasure—that it was to him simply inconceivable that any other man, knowing and approving the good, should consciously follow after the worse.

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

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

¹ Gorg. 460 A foll., where the argument is clearly Socratic. Cf. Mem. IV. 2. 19 foll. III. 9. 2 foll. Grote vol. VIII. p. 239 foll. has some good remarks on Socrates' habitual comparisons between the art of human conduct and the special professions.

² See p. xviii.

*not of
Nature,
which is
impossible,*

*but of the
art of life.*

*To attain
this, the
first thing
necessary is
to remove
the false
persuasion
of know-
ledge,
by the
unsparring
application
of the
dianchus.*

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

¹ Mem. I. I. 11 foll.

² Mem. IV. 7. 6 foll.

³ Rep. VI. 501 A.

⁴ Apol. 33 C *ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἀηδὲς*.

ethics, and having elicited one, often not without some difficulty, for it was still only the infancy of logic, he cites cases in which this definition is clearly at fault, and ends by making his victim contradict himself out of his own mouth. One feature in the Socratic elenchus was peculiarly exasperating. Throughout the whole inquiry he posed as the ignorant man anxious to receive instruction, while he contrived at the same time to make his victims feel that in spite of disclaimers he really knew all about it. How far Socrates was sincere in his protestations of ignorance it is hard to say: certainly in conversations with many of the Sophists he was not, although in talking with his friends he no less certainly was: few men, if we may trust Plato, felt more keenly than Socrates how little man could know, and how hard it is to know even that little¹. But however this may be, it is certain that Socrates' *εἰρωνεία*² made him not a few enemies: for dissemble it as he might, the very skill with which he reduced his adversary *ad absurdum* itself attested his superior knowledge.

*The
εἰρωνεία of
Socrates.*

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

*His con-
versation
with Eu-
thydemus.*

¹ See Phaedo 114 D and Rep. VI. 506 E.

² See note on Apol. 37 E.

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

*Many who
talked with
Socrates
left him in
anger:*

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

dialectic¹, nor was it perhaps good for them to leave the shifting sands of true opinion unless they had patience and opportunity to build on the sure rock of knowledge. Socrates let them go, thinking them "a trifle stupid²," and troubled no more about them. But when his victim felt no spite but only profound humiliation, accompanied by an earnest desire for a better and nobler life, when he felt what Alcibiades felt³, but felt in vain, on hearing some of Socrates' discourses, that he could not go on living as he then was, Socrates at once began to direct his friend where knowledge was to be found. This brings us to the second or positive aspect of the Socratic method.

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

others were made conscious of their ignorance and desired to learn.

Socrates considered himself not a teacher, but a fellow-inquirer.

The Socratic Eros.

¹ Meno 80 A foll.

² Mem. IV. 2. 40 πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν οὕτω διατεθέντων ὑπὸ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἔτι αὐτῷ προσήεσαν, οὓς καὶ βλακοτέρους ἐνόμιζεν.

³ Pl. Symp. 216 A.

⁴ Apol. 33 A.

⁵ Zeller II. 1, p. 104 note.

Plato this view is widened into the larger conception of a union between two souls for the begetting of pure and lofty thoughts¹. One other aspect in which this relation is presented requires to be noticed. As Socrates generally conveyed information by judicious questions rather than by continuous exposition he seemed to be merely eliciting the knowledge that lay hidden in the mind of his friend : and so in Plato he calls himself a midwife, and his art midwifery². The whole value of education seemed both to him and Plato to consist in bringing to birth those noble thoughts and aspirations which lie latent in every mind.

*Socrates
as the
intellectual
midwife.*

*To know a
thing is to
know its
λόγος by
the method
of induction.*

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

¹ Symp. 210.

² Theaet. 149 foll.

than to walk in it oneself: and Aristotle is right in regarding it as the peculiar philosophical merit of Socrates that he introduced 'inductive reasoning and general definitions' (τούς τ' ἐπακτικούς λόγους καὶ τὸ ὀρίζεσθαι καθόλου)¹. *Socrates was the first champion of Induction.*

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

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

First, then, as to man in his individual aspect. No point was more insisted on by Socrates than the high and noble calling of the human soul. "The soul of man," he says, "if anything connected with man does so, partakes in the divine²." The first duty of every man is to his own soul: he is bound above all to abstain from wrong-doing himself, on account of the diseases which it engenders in this soul of his: only then has he a right to encourage and exhort others to righteousness. Whether or not wrong-doing in this life has any influence upon our destiny hereafter Socrates does not say: the immortality of the human soul was one of those questions which seemed to him insoluble³. But if we are to live aright even here, it is above all things necessary that we should have self-knowledge, that is to say, a clear *i. The individual. The soul. Immortality. Self-knowledge.*

¹ Met. M. 4. 1078 b 28.

² Mem. IV. 3. 14.

³ Apol. 40 C and notes.

conception of our own proclivities and powers. Socrates never wearies of repeating the words of the inscription on the temple at Delphi, γνῶθι σεαυτόν.

*Virtue
identified
with
knowledge.*

No less necessary is it to understand what virtue in the abstract is, and what the single virtues are. Taken as a whole, virtue is by Socrates identified with knowledge: the single virtues he regards as varieties of knowledge. Piety, for example, is the knowledge of what is right towards the gods, and justice the knowledge of what is right towards man: the brave man is one who knows what is and what is not terrible, and so on¹. From the doctrine that virtue is

*Deductions
from this
view.*

knowledge Socrates drew four conclusions. The first is the unity of all virtue: the second its capability of being imparted by teaching: in the other two, which must be supposed to have a logical rather than a real value, Socrates maintains the well-known paradox that no one sins willingly (οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν ἀμαρτάνει), and that, even if one does, the guilt is less than when one sins involuntarily (ὁ ἐκὼν ἀμαρτάνων ἀμείνων). When it was necessary to determine still more closely the precise

*Knowledge
of the good.*

signification of virtue, Socrates would frequently explain it as the knowledge of the good, and by further defining good sometimes as that which is useful, sometimes again as the lawful, he contrives to give to his teaching either a utilitarian or a merely conventional aspect. On the whole Socrates seems to have rarely exhorted men to follow virtue for its own sake: to him virtue seemed desirable because it is the best policy: only we must bear in mind that it is the best policy, less on account of its extraneous advantages than because of its effect upon the individual soul.

*Was
Socrates
a utilita-
rian?*

¹ Mem. iv. 6. 2 foll. Cf. Zeller II. 1, p. 120.

Among the other points of the Socratic teaching, in so far as it related to man as a social individual, one of the most striking is the high value which he set upon Friendship. The Greek conception of Friendship was *Friendship* by him purified and sublimated into the idea of a spiritual union for the promotion of clearer thinking and better living. In another point he seems (if we may trust Plato¹) to have risen above the usual Greek standard of morality, when he maintained that under no circumstances is it right to do injury to another. *Doing injury to others.* If on the other hand his conception of marriage was *Marriage.* hardly higher than that of most of his countrymen, we must remember that his own domestic relations were singularly unfortunate: and it is at least certain that he rated the capabilities of women considerably higher than his contemporaries.

Let us now consider Socrates' teaching in relation *ii. The State.* to the State. There is no doubt whatever that Socrates disapproved of democracy. It seemed to him preposterous that ignorance should be allowed to hold sway in politics when it would be scouted in the arts. *Socrates disapproves of democracy,* What Socrates desiderates is an aristocracy of intellect. *and demands an aristocracy of intellect.* Accordingly he advises intending politicians to study the art of politics, since he alone is the true politician who knows how to rule². But Socrates did not carry his dissent so far as to disobey what in his inmost soul he knew to be unjust decrees. As has been already remarked, he sometimes identifies what is good or just with what is lawful³: and he willingly

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

² Mem. III. Chapters 6 and 7.

³ See on Ch. XXIV. 35 B.

died to obey the constitution which on more than one occasion he had exposed his life to defend.

iii. *Religion.*

The Divine Being.

Oracles and Divination.

Prayer.

We come now to Socrates' religious teaching. Here the first thing to note is that there is no foundation for the charge of atheism brought against him by Aristophanes: still less did he teach his followers to worship Δίος or any other idol of the physicists. On the whole, his teaching was moderately orthodox. It is true that he teaches the Unity of God, and speaks of the Divine Being as the reason immanent in the Universe¹, omnipresent, omniscient, and invisible, planning everything for the good of man: but to the Athenians these views were no longer unfamiliar, and even to the pious Xenophon they appear quite orthodox. As a rule Socrates talks in the usual way of 'the gods' rather than of one Divine Being; he also insists on the value of oracles and of divination, and recommends generally that the gods should be worshipped according to the usage of one's country. In practice Socrates himself observed this rule: but how far he rose above the majority of mankind in religious feeling may be seen from what Xenophon² tells us about his manner of praying: "he used to pray to the gods to give him simply what was good, thinking that the gods best knew what kind of things were good." The prayer with which the Phaedrus concludes may be taken as an example: "Beloved Pan, and other Gods present in this place, grant me to become fair within: and may my outward circumstances be favourable to what is within. May I think the wise man rich. May I have as much gold as only the temperate man can carry and bear."

¹ Mem. I. 4. 8 foll.

² Mem. I. 3. 2.

Such, briefly stated, was the substance of Socrates' teaching. We may now inquire how far the Socrates of Aristophanes is true to nature. Two of the three main features¹ in Aristophanes' picture are lacking in the real Socrates: for, as we have seen, he was not a heretic or atheist, nor a speculator in natural science. In support of the third charge, that of making the worse appear the better cause, more might possibly be said, at least from the point of view of Aristophanes. The discourses of Socrates had undoubtedly an 'unsettling tendency,' and many of his dogmas must have appeared paradoxical to Athenians of the old school. But Aristophanes would never have attacked Socrates on this ground alone. The Aristophanic Socrates is intended as a caricature, not of an individual, but of a principle—the principle of rationalistic inquiry and systematic ethical instruction introduced and propagated at Athens by the Sophists. Aristophanes ignored the essential formal distinction between the Sophists and Socrates, viz. that the former taught for pay, while Socrates did not, and, what is still more important, he either failed to see or did not choose to shew that whereas those Sophists who professed to teach virtue frequently undermined existing views without replacing them by others more surely founded, Socrates on the other hand only pulled down in order that he might rebuild. It remains to ask, What were the motives which induced Aristophanes to make Socrates his butt, and not, let us say, Gorgias or Protagoras? Socrates was doubtless far better known to the Athenian public than either of those men. Among the

The Clouds of Aristophanes was directed not so much against Socrates, as against the new learning generally. Socrates, in spite of his fundamental unlikeness to the Sophists, was chosen for caricature because of his personal eccentricities.

¹ See p. ix.

audience who listened to the Clouds, there could have been few men of mark who had not suffered from his cross-examination, and to the rest he must have been thoroughly familiar from his constant visits to the palaestra and the market-place. Socrates once seen could never have been forgotten. He was absolutely unique among Athenians, whether we consider his personal appearance or his way of life¹. "Short of stature, thick-necked, and somewhat corpulent, with prominent eyes, with nose upturned and nostrils outspread, with large mouth and coarse lips, he seemed the embodiment of sensuality and even stupidity²." Careless of fashion to a remarkable degree both in dress³ and in manners, he would walk scowling through the streets, shoeless and with nose upturned, seeking victims for his dialectic⁴. At least on one occasion, he carried his defiance of fashion so far as to execute a dance by himself before a party at the house of Callias, defending his conduct by the plea that dancing was a healthy exercise likely to reduce his corpulence⁵. In the most artistic age the world has ever seen, he shewed himself strikingly insensible to beauty both in nature and in art: he defined beauty as utility, and proved himself in this way a very Adonis as compared with the beautiful

¹ Symp. 221 C foll.

² Art. *Socrates* in Encycl. Brit. by Dr Jackson.

³ His usual dress was the *tribōn*, Prot. 335 D. Cf. Mem. I. 6. 2, from which it appears that he wore the same dress both in summer and winter.

⁴ Nub. 362: *βρενθύει τ' ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς καὶ τῷ φθαλμῷ παραβάλλεις, κἀνυπόδητος κακὰ πόλλ' ἀνέχει κἀφ' ἡμῶν σεμνοπροσωπεῖς*. Phaed. 117 B *ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας*.

⁵ Xen. Symp. II. 17 foll.

Critobulus¹. From time to time he was subject to extraordinary fits of abstraction, during which he would remain rooted to the spot for hours together, heedless alike of bodily wants and external surroundings. On one occasion he is said to have wrestled with some problem for twenty-four hours without once leaving the spot where he stood². That a man who to all these personal eccentricities added a continual flow of conversation about 'asses and smiths and shoemakers and tanners'³ should have seemed a fit subject for caricature on the Athenian comic stage need hardly excite our wonder : and Socrates' well-known leanings to aristocracy and Sparta may have made the Athenians all the more ready to indulge in laughter at his expense. Such were in my opinion the motives that induced Aristophanes to take Socrates as the type of the new learning. As a comedian, he could not afford to pass over so striking a figure. But, whether he was or was not conscious of the infinite difference between Socrates and the Sophists, the attack could not have been inspired by any malicious desire to prejudice Socrates in the eyes of the Athenian public, otherwise Plato would hardly have made both Socrates and his caricaturist figure together in the Symposium. *The attack was not due to any malicious motive,*

Neither (I think) were the Athenians much affected by the play. In general, they liked a man none the less for having laughed at him upon the stage : and on this occasion the Clouds was only awarded the third prize. *and probably had little effect on the Athenian mind.*

¹ Xen. Symp. ch. v.

² Pl. Symp. 220 B.

³ Symp. 221 E *δρους γὰρ κανθηλίου λέγει καὶ χαλκίας τινὰς καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ βυρσοδέψας*. Cf. Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 37 where Critias commands Socrates to let alone the shoemakers and carpenters and smiths, otherwise it will be the worse for him.

*Marriage
of Socrates.*

*His ap-
pearances
in public
life.*

*Causes
of the
prejudice
gaining
ground
against
him.*

Between 423 and 399 there is little to record in the life of Socrates: we know that he still pursued his vocation, making some warm friends, and many bitter enemies. Soon after 423 he married, for we may fairly infer from the silence of Aristophanes about Xanthippe that as yet she was not his wife, and in 399 his oldest boy was still a lad (Apol. 34 D). After all that has been written "zur Ehrenrettung der Xanthippe," she still remains a warning to philosophers: but we must allow that Socrates did not give her a fair chance. Who does not wish with Landor that "he could have kept a little more at home and have thought it as well worth while to converse with his own children as with others"? In this period occurred the only important appearance of Socrates in public life. As President of the Πρυτάνεις in 406 he defied the clamours of the excited assembly and protested against the illegal condemnation of the generals¹. In this public opinion afterwards acknowledged that he was right. On two other occasions, when he resisted the commands of the Thirty, Socrates must have had all right-thinking men upon his side—once when he exposed the shallowness and folly of the decree against 'teaching the art of words', and once when he refused to conduct Leon from Salamis to meet an undeserved fate at Athens².

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

¹ See note on Apol. 32 B.

² Mem. I. 2. 31 foll.

³ Apol. 32 C.

animosity had a deeper ground. If Socrates had merely abstained from political life, the Athenians might have pardoned him, though even this may have seemed obnoxious in a state where such abstention was formerly punished by the deprivation of civil rights: but his open attacks upon the supremacy of ignorance must have stung all the more keenly because they were felt to be only too just. And among those who had been intimate with Socrates were some whom Athens had reason to remember with hatred. The splendid powers of Alcibiades had been employed to humiliate his country and exalt himself: Critias had deluged Athens with blood. Few if any of Socrates' friends were adherents of the democratical party¹: the very phrase *καλὸς καὶγαθός*, so often in Socrates' mouth², savoured of oligarchy. Socrates himself was a 'philosophical radical'³, a mal-content who disapproved of letting all and sundry have a voice in the management of the state: but like many philosophical radicals, he advocated theories of a distinctly oligarchical nature. Now in 399 it was but four years since the democracy had been triumphantly restored at Athens by Thrasybulus. And just as when Alexander died, some eighty years later, the long suppressed resentment of the Athenians found vent in an accusation against Aristotle, the former teacher of Alexander, so now the newly restored democracy demanded a victim, and who seemed more appropriate than Socrates, the teacher as it was believed of Critias and Alcibiades, himself too an outspoken enemy of democratic government? In

His abstention from politics:

his connection with Alcibiades and Critias:

his leanings to oligarchy.

¹ See on Apol. 21 A.

² Apol. 21 D and note.

³ Dr Jackson in Encycl. Brit.

both cases the charge preferred was one of impiety—a charge at all times difficult to refute, especially for a man of thought before men of action, to whom piety and orthodoxy are synonymous terms¹.

*He is put
on trial
for his life.*

Thus it happened, that in 399, suddenly, and as it would seem without any previous warning, Socrates was put on trial for his life. His accuser was Meletus, probably a son of the poet ridiculed by Aristophanes in the Frogs², an insignificant young man, who seems to have been incensed against Socrates by his attacks upon the poets³. With him were associated as *συνήγοροι* Anytus and Lycon. Of the last we know nothing except that he was the mouthpiece of the professional rhetoricians. Anytus on the other hand was one of the most powerful and popular Athenians of the day. By profession a tanner, he was a strong supporter of the Athenian democracy: no one had cooperated with Thrasybulus more eagerly than he to overthrow the Thirty and re-establish the rule of the people. Though nominally only *συνήγορος*, he was in reality the most dangerous of Socrates' accusers: it was mainly due to his influence and exertions that Socrates was condemned.

*The
accusers.*

*The
indictment
charged
him
(a) with
corrupting
the youth:*

We have two versions of the indictment, one preserved by Diogenes Laertius (II. 40), the other that in the Apology. The first, which rests on the authority of Favorinus, is as follows: *τάδε ἐγράψατο καὶ ἀντωμόσατο Μέλητος Μελήτου Πιπθεὺς Σωκράτει Σωφρονίσκου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν· ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ δαίμόνια καὶ αἰσηγούμενος· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.*

¹ Euthyphro 3 B εὐδιάβολα τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς.

² v. 1302.

³ ὑπὲρ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀχθόμενος, Apol. 23 E.

τίμημα θάνατος. The second is different only in the (b) *with* order of the various counts: Σωκράτη φησὶν ἀδικεῖν *impiety* τοὺς τε νέους διαφθείροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὓς ἡ πόλις *and reli-* νομίζει οὐ νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινά (Apol. *gious inno-* 24 B). *vations.*

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

¹ Journal of Philology v. p. 232 foll.

frequently calls the sign a voice : but as it is not so described by Xenophon, and as the cases are somewhat rare in which sense-hallucinations do not in the end lead to insanity, the expression may be purely metaphorical : "auch wir," says Ribbing, "nennen das Gewissen die Stimme Gottes, und sehen doch darin nichts Wunderbares¹." But although it is clear that the divine sign was not understood by Socrates as a god, it was at least a religious novelty, and as such it might afford a decent pretext to those judges who may have in reality wished to punish Socrates for those pretensions to superior virtue which seemed to be involved in such a claim. Nor would the Athenians be more inclined to tolerate the *δαίμόνιον* when Socrates made it responsible for his abstention from political life². After all, however, the really telling accusation was that of corrupting the youth³. The crimes of Alcibiades and Critias, as well as the indiscretions of his ardent young followers, were laid at the door of the master. Some too among Socrates' judges there may have been, men of true patriotism and narrow views, who felt that the logical issue of the Socratic method amounted to nothing less than an entire revolution of the old Athenian life, nay, who saw with pain young men, full of the exultant dialectic pride but not the earnestness of Socrates, tear and rend "like young dogs⁴" the old ideas and beliefs on which the men of Marathon had been reared. If they could not distinguish the false prophet from the true, nor

*The charge
of corrupt-
ing the
youth.*

¹ Socratiche Studien II. 38. A full discussion of the 'divine sign' will be found *ibid.* p. 1 foll., and in Riddell's *Apology* Appendix A, pp. 109—117.

² *Apol.* 41 D.

³ In *Euthyphro* 2 C this charge is put in the first place.

⁴ *Rep.* VII. 539 B : compare *Apol.* ch. x.

see that the only hope for Athens lay in shifting the basis of conduct from convention to knowledge, they were in this only the slaves of circumstance and their age.

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

¹ Mem. I. 2. 12 foll.

their fathers and seduced men from their friends, by insisting upon utility as the only sure basis of friendship and esteem¹. This, as Xenophon shews, was a misrepresentation: Socrates really meant to prove that folly even when it is displayed by a father or a friend is in every case unworthy of honour. The last charge mentioned by Xenophon was still more flagrantly unjust. By citing with approval pernicious sentiments from celebrated poets, Socrates, it was contended, taught his followers to become unjust and tyrannical. The line of Hesiod²,

Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργεῖη δέ τ' ὄνειδος,

which Socrates had quoted in commendation of honest labour, was asserted by the prosecution to have been twisted by Socrates into an approval of any kind of work, however unjust or immoral. Socrates had also enforced his demand for the supremacy of knowledge in a state by citing from Homer those verses in which Odysseus chides and beats the unruly rank and file of the Greek army before Troy: and this was construed as a proof of anti-democratical sentiments in a man whose entire life was spent in giving gratuitous moral instruction to all and sundry³.

Socrates' defence.

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

¹ Mem. I. 2. 51 foll.

² Works and Days 311.

³ Mem. I.c. 56 foll. The lines of Homer are from Iliad II. 188 foll.

that demanded by the accuser. Between these two propositions it was the duty of the judges to choose. If we may trust the Platonic Apology, Socrates delivered a third speech, after the sentence of death had been passed, reviewing the course of the trial and expressing his hopefulness in the face of death.

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

The result of the trial was such as might have been anticipated. Socrates was found guilty by a majority of sixty-one: the majority for the death-penalty was even greater. If Socrates had adopted a submissive attitude, and appealed to the feelings of his judges, he would have been acquitted¹: but he knew that death was but a small price to pay for the glory of such a defence.

¹ Xen. Mem. IV. 4. 4.

Conclusion.

The tone of the Apology is that of a lofty and fearless exhortation from the lips of a prophet about to seal his testimony with his blood. For him death, swift and painless, had no terrors : neither in life nor in death could aught of evil befall the just man. As the trial took place about the period of the annual embassy to Delos, during whose absence no condemned person was put to death at Athens, thirty days elapsed between the sentence and its execution. In the interval Socrates received his friends in prison and conversed with them as before on virtue and the virtuous life¹. One more proof he gave of his integrity and justice, by refusing to avail himself of the chance of escape provided by the affectionate love of Crito. He died as he had lived, without ostentation, piously, and fearlessly. Neither have we any cause to regret so glorious an end. Perhaps it was inevitable², as Plato thought it was, that one who laboured to set men free from the fetters of convention and authority and lead them out of the cave into the clear light of day should perish at the hands of those whom he came to save : but who shall quarrel with a destiny that gave Socrates so peaceful and sublime a death, and us the Apology and the Phædo?

¹ Mem. iv. 8. 2.

² Rep. vii. 517 B καὶ τὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα λύειν τε καὶ ἀνάγειν, εἴ πως ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ δύναιντο λαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτινύναι αὖ; σφόδρα γ', εἶφη.

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ.

PART I. BEFORE THE VERDICT.

(*First Speech.*)

CHAPTERS I—XXIV.

INTRODUCTION: I—II.

St. I.

- 17 I. "Ὁ τι μὲν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πεπόν-
 θατε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγορῶν, οὐκ οἶδα· Men of Athens,
 do not expect
 from me the
 flowers of rhetor-
 ic: consider only
 if my pleas are
 just. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀλίγου
 ἐμαντοῦ ἐπελαθόμεν· οὕτω πιθανῶς ἔλε-
 γον. καί τοι ἀληθές γε, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, 5
 οὐδὲν εἰρήκασιν. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἐθαύμασα
 τῶν πολλῶν ὧν ἐψεύσαντο, τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ ἔλεγον ὡς
 χρὴ ὑμᾶς εὐλαβεῖσθαι, μὴ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξαπατηθῆτε,
 B ὡς δεινοῦ ὄντος λέγειν. τὸ γὰρ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι, ὅτι
 ἀντίκα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεγχθήσονται ἔργῳ, ἐπειδὴν μὴδ' 10
 ὁπωστιοῦν φαίνωμαι δεινὸς λέγειν, τοῦτό μοι ἔδοξεν
 αὐτῶν ἀναισχυντότατον εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα δεινὸν
 καλοῦσιν οὗτοι λέγειν τὸν τᾶλθηθῇ λέγοντα· εἰ μὲν
 γὰρ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὁμολογοίην ἂν ἔγωγε οὐ κατὰ
 τούτους εἶναι ῥήτωρ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ 15
 λέγω, ἢ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν· ὑμεῖς δέ μου

ἀκούσεσθε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία,
 ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιεπημένους γε λόγους,
 ὥσπερ οἱ τούτων, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲ
 10 κεκοσμημένους, ἀλλ' ἀκούσεσθε εἰκῇ λεγόμενα τοῖς C
 ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὀνόμασιν· πιστεύω γὰρ δίκαια εἶναι ἃ
 λέγω, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν προσδοκησάτω ἄλλως· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἂν δήπου πρέποι, ὃ ἄνδρες, τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
 ὥσπερ μειρακίῳ πλάττοντι λόγους εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι.
 15 καὶ μέντοι καὶ πάννυ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο ὑμῶν
 δέομαι καὶ παρίεμαι· ἐὰν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων
 ἀκούητέ μου ἀπολογουμένου, δι' ὧν περ εἴωθα λέγειν
 καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν, ἵνα ὑμῶν πολλοὶ
 ἀκκηκόασι, καὶ ἄλλοθι, μήτε θαυμάζειν μήτε θορυβεῖν D
 30 τούτου ἔνεκα. ἔχει γὰρ οὕτωςί. νῦν ἐγὼ πρῶτον
 ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα, ἔτη γεγονὼς ἐβδομή-
 κοντα· ἀτεχνῶς οὖν ξένως ἔχω τῆς ἐνθάδε λέξεως.
 ὥσπερ οὖν ἂν, εἰ τῷ ὄντι ξένος ἐτύγχανον ὢν,
 ξυνεγινγνώσκετε δήπου ἂν μοι, εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ
 35 τε καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ἔλεγον, ἐν | οἷσπερ ἐτεθράμμην, καὶ 18
 δὴ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο ὑμῶν δέομαι δίκαιον, ὥς γέ μοι
 δοκῶ, τὸν μὲν τρόπον τῆς λέξεως ἑᾶν· ἴσως μὲν γὰρ
 χείρων, ἴσως δὲ βελτίων ἂν εἴη· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο
 σκοπεῖν καὶ τούτῳ τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν, εἰ δίκαια
 40 λέγω ἢ μή· δικαστοῦ μὲν γὰρ αὕτη ἀρετή, ῥήτορος
 δὲ τάληθῇ λέγειν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δίκαιός εἰμι ἀπολογήσασθαι,

My accusers are
 of two kinds—old
 and new. I will
 first refute the
 old.

ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τὰ πρῶτά μου
 ψεύδη κατηγορημένα καὶ τοὺς πρώτους
 κατηγορούς, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὕστερα
 5 καὶ τοὺς ὑστέρους. ἐμοῦ γὰρ πολλοὶ κατήγοροι B
 γεγύνασιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πάλαι, πολλὰ ἤδη ἔτη καὶ

οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντες, οὓς ἐγὼ μᾶλλον φοβοῦμαι ἢ
 τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἄνυτον, καί περ ὄντας καὶ τούτους δει-
 νούς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι δεινότεροι, ὧς ἄνδρες, οἱ ὑμῶν τοὺς
 πολλοὺς ἐκ παίδων παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπειθόν τε καὶ 10
 κατηγοροῦν ἐμοῦ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀληθές, ὥς ἔστιν τις
 Σωκράτης, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, τὰ τε μετέωρα φροντιστὴς
 καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς ἅπαντα ἀνεζητηκῶς καὶ τὸν ἥττω
 λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν. οὗτοι, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ
 C ταύτην τὴν φήμην κατασκεδάσαντες, οἱ δεινοὶ εἰσὶν 15
 μου κατήγοροι· οἱ γὰρ ἀκούοντες ἡγοῦνται τοὺς
 ταῦτα ζητοῦντας οὐδὲ θεοὺς νομίζειν. ἔπειτά εἰσιν
 οὗτοι οἱ κατήγοροι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἤδη
 κατηγορηκότες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ λέ-
 γοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ᾗ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε, 20
 παῖδες ὄντες, ἔνιοι δ' ὑμῶν καὶ μειράκια, ἀτεχνῶς
 ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦντες ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός. ὁ δὲ
 πάντων ἀλογώτατον, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα οἶόν τε
 D αὐτῶν εἰδέναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, πλὴν εἴ τις κωμωδοποιὸς
 τυγχάνει ὦν· ὅσοι δὲ φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ χρώμενοι 25
 ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους
 πείθοντες, οὗτοι πάντες ἀπορώτατοί εἰσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ
 ἀναβιβάσασθαι οἶόν τ' ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἐνταυθοῖ οὐδ'
 ἐλέγξαι οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ σκια-
 μαχεῖν ἀπολογούμενόν τε καὶ ἐλέγχειν μηδενὸς ἀπο- 30
 κρινόμενον. ἀξιώσατε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ
 λέγω, διττοὺς μου τοὺς κατηγόρους γεγονέναι, ἐτέ-
 ρους μὲν τοὺς ἄρτι κατηγορήσαντας, ἐτέρους δὲ τοὺς
 E πάλαι, οὓς ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ οἰήθητε δεῖν πρὸς ἐκείνους
 πρῶτόν με ἀπολογήσασθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων 35
 πρότερον ἡκούσατε κατηγορούντων, καὶ πολλὸν μᾶλλον
 ἢ τῶνδε τῶν ὕστερον. εἰεν· ἀπολογητέον δὴ, ὧ

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπιχειρητέον | ὑμῶν ἐξελέσθαι 19
 τὴν διαβολήν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἔσχετε,
 40 ταύτην ἐν οὕτως ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. βουλοίμην μὲν οὖν
 ἂν τοῦτο οὕτως γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἄμεινον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ
 ἐμοί, καὶ πλεον τί με ποιῆσαι ἀπολογούμενον· οἶμαι
 δὲ αὐτὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πᾶν με λανθάνει οἶόν
 ἐστίν. ὅμως τοῦτο μὲν ἵτω ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, τῷ δὲ
 45 νόμῳ πειστέον καὶ ἀπολογητέον.

Socrates defends himself against the πρῶτοι κατήγοροι :

III—X.

III. Ἀναλάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τίς ἡ κατηγο-
 ρία ἐστίν, ἐξ ἧς ἡ ἐμὴ διαβολὴ γέγονεν,
 ἥ δὴ καὶ πιστεύων Μέλητος με ἐγρά- B
 ψατο τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην. εἰεν· τί δὴ
 5 λέγοντες διέβαλλον οἱ διαβάλλοντες;
 ὥσπερ οὖν κατηγόρων τὴν ἀντωμοσίαν
 δεῖ ἀναγνῶναι αὐτῶν· Σωκράτης ἀδικεῖ καὶ πε-
 ριεργάζεται ζητῶν τὰ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ οὐράνια
 καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν καὶ ἄλλους
 10 τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα διδάσκων. τοιαύτη τίς ἐστίν· C
 ταῦτα γὰρ ἑωρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους
 κωμῳδίᾳ, Σωκράτη τινὰ ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, φά-
 σκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην πολλὴν φλυαρίαν
 φλυαροῦντα, ὧν ἐγὼ οὐδὲν οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν
 15 πέρι ἐπαίω. καὶ οὐχ ὥς ἀτιμάζων λέγω τὴν τοιαύ-
 την ἐπιστήμην, εἴ τις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σοφός
 ἐστίν· μή πως ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Μελήτου τοσαύτας δίκας
 φύγοιμι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 οὐδὲν μέτεστιν· μάρτυρας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑμῶν τοὺς πολ- D
 20 λούς παρέχομαι, καὶ ἄξιῳ ὑμᾶς ἀλλήλους διδάσκειν

τε καὶ φράζειν, ὅσοι ἐμοῦ πώποτε ἀκηκόατε διαλεγόμενον· πολλοὶ δὲ ὑμῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· φράζετε οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ πώποτε ἡ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα ἤκουσέ τις ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαλεγόμενον· καὶ ἐκ τούτων γνῶσεσθε ὅτι τοιαῦτ' ἐστὶν καὶ τᾶλλα 25 περὶ ἐμοῦ ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν.

IV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε τούτων οὐδέν ἐστιν, οὐδέ γ' εἴ τινας ἀκηκόατε ὥς ἐγὼ παιδεύειν nor do I teach social and civil virtue for a fee, like Gorgias and others: I should be proud to be so clever. ἐπιχειρῶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρήματα πράτ- 5
 E τομαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτό γέ μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι, εἴ τις οἷός τ' εἴη παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους ὥσπερ Γοργίας τε ὁ Λεοντίνος καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Ἰππίας ὁ Ἡλείος. τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστος, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἷός τ' ἐστὶν ἰὼν εἰς ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων τοὺς νέους, οἷς ἔξεστι τῶν ἑαυτῶν πολιτῶν προῖκα ξυνεῖναι φ' ἂν 10
 βούλωνται,—τούτους πείθουσι τὰς ἐκείνων ξυνουσίας
 20 | ἀπολιπόντας σφίσιν ξυνεῖναι χρήματα διδόντας καὶ χάριν προσειδέναι. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἐστι Πάριος ἐνθάδε σοφός, ὃν ἐγὼ ἡσθόμην ἐπιδημοῦντα· ἔτυχον γὰρ προσελθὼν ἀνδρὶ ὃς τετέλεκε χρήματα 15
 σοφισταῖς πλείω ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι, Καλλία τῷ Ἰπποῦλκον· τοῦτον οὖν ἀνηρόμην—ἐστὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο υἱέε—ὦ Καλλία, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, εἰ μὲν σου τῷ υἱέε πῶλῳ ἢ μόσχῳ ἐγενέσθην, εἴχομεν ἂν αὐτοῖν ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν καὶ μισθώσασθαι, ὃς ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ 20
 B καλῶ τε ἀγαθῶ ποιήσειν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀρετὴν· ἦν δ' ἂν οὗτος ἢ τῶν ἵππικῶν τις ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν· νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστὸν, τίνα αὐτοῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχεις ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν; τίς τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων ἐστίν; 25

οἶμαι γάρ σε ἐσκέφθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν υἱέων κτῆσιν.
 ἔστιν τις, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἢ οὐ; Πάνυ γε, ἢ δ' ὅς. Τίς, ἦν
 δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ποδαπός, καὶ πόσου διδάσκει; Εὐηνος,
 ἔφην, ὦ Σώκρατες, Πάριος, πέντε μυνῶν καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν
 30 Εὐηνον ἐμακάρισα, εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχοι ταύτην τὴν
 τέχνην καὶ οὕτως ἐμμελῶς διδάσκει. ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ C
 αὐτὸς ἐκαλλυνόμην τε καὶ ἡβρυνόμην ἄν, εἰ ἠπιστά-
 μην ταῦτα· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι.

V. Ὑπολάβοι ἂν οὖν τις ὑμῶν ἴσως· ἀλλ', ὦ
 Σώκρατες, τὸ σὸν τί ἐστι πρῶγμα;
 πόθεν αἱ διαβολαί σοι αὐται γεγόνασιν;
 οὐ γὰρ δήπου σοῦ γε οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων
 5 the wisest of men. περιττότερον πραγματευομένου ἔπειτα
 τοσαύτη φήμη τε καὶ λόγος γέγονεν, εἰ μὴ τι ἔπρατ-
 τες ἀλλοῖον ἢ οἱ πολλοί· λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν, τί ἐστιν,
 ἵνα μὴ ἡμεῖς περὶ σοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάζωμεν. ταυτί μοι D
 δοκεῖ δίκαια λέγειν ὁ λέγων, καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν πειράσομαι
 10 ἀποδείξαι, τί ποτ' ἔστιν τοῦτο ὃ ἐμοὶ πεποίηκε τό τε
 ὄνομα καὶ τὴν διαβολήν. ἀκούετε δῆ. καὶ ἴσως
 μὲν δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν παίζειν, εὖ μέντοι ἴστε, πᾶσαν
 ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐρῶ. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, δι' οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ σοφίαν τινὰ τοῦτο τὸ
 15 ὄνομα ἔσχηκα. ποίαν δὲ σοφίαν ταύτην; ἥπερ
 ἐστὶν ἴσως ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία. τῷ ὄντι γὰρ κινδυν-
 νεύω ταύτην εἶναι σοφός· οὗτοι δὲ τάχ' ἂν, οὓς ἄρτι
 ἔλεγον, μείζω τινὰ ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπον σοφίαν σοφοὶ E
 εἶεν, ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε αὐτὴν
 20 ἐπίσταμαι, ἀλλ' ὅστις φησὶ ψεύδεται τε καὶ ἐπὶ δια-
 βολῇ τῇ ἐμῇ λέγει. καί μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ
 θορυβήσητε, μηδὲ ἂν δόξω τι ὑμῖν μέγα λέγειν· οὐ

γὰρ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀξιώ-
 χρεων ὑμῖν τὸν λέγοντα ἀνοίσω. τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς, εἰ
 δὴ τίς ἐστι σοφία καὶ οἶα, μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παρέξομαι 25
 τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς. Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε
 21 πού. οὗτος | ἐμός τε ἐταῖρος ἦν ἐκ νέου, καὶ ὑμῶν
 τῷ πλήθει ἐταῖρός τε καὶ ξυνέφυγε τὴν φυγὴν ταύ-
 την καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν κατήλθε. καὶ ἴστε δὴ οἶος ἦν
 Χαιρεφῶν, ὡς σφοδρὸς ἐφ' ὃ τι ὁρμήσειεν. καὶ δὴ 30
 ποτε καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθὼν ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο μαντεύ-
 σασθαι· καί, ὅπερ λέγω, μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες·
 ἤρετο γὰρ δὴ, εἴ τις ἐμοῦ εἴη σοφώτερος. ἀνείλεν
 οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι. καὶ τούτων
 πέρι ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ οὗτοσὶ μαρτυρήσει, ἐπει- 35
 δὴ ἐκεῖνος τετελεύτηκεν.

B VI. Σκέψασθε δὲ ὧν ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγω· μέλλω
 γὰρ ὑμᾶς διδάξειν, ὅθεν μοι ἡ διαβολὴ
 γέγονε. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας ἐνεθυ-
 μούμην οὕτως· τί ποτε λέγει ὁ θεός,
 καὶ τί ποτε αἰνίττεται; ἐγὼ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε
 μέγα οὔτε σμικρὸν ξύννοιδα ἐμαυτῷ σο-
 φὸς ὢν· τί οὖν ποτε λέγει φάσκων ἐμὲ
 σοφώτατον εἶναι; οὐ γὰρ δήπου ψεύδεται γε· οὐ
 γὰρ θέμις αὐτῷ. καὶ πολλὸν μὲν χρόνον ἠπόρουν, τί
 ποτε λέγει, ἔπειτα μόγις πάννυ ἐπὶ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ 10
 τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐτραπόμην. ἦλθον ἐπὶ τίνα τῶν
 C δοκούντων σοφῶν εἶναι, ὡς ἐνταῦθα, εἴ πέρ πού,
 ἐλέγξων τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ἀποφανῶν τῷ χρησμῷ ὅτι
 οὗτοσὶ ἐμοῦ σοφώτερός ἐστι, σὺ δ' ἐμὲ ἔφησθα. δια-
 σκοπῶν οὖν τοῦτον—ὀνόματι γὰρ οὐδὲν δέομαι λέ- 15
 γειν, ἦν δέ τις τῶν πολιτικῶν πρὸς ὃν ἐγὼ σκοπῶν
 τοιοῦτόν τι ἔπαθον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι—καὶ δια-

In order to test the oracle, I began to cross-examine statesmen. They, though equally ignorant, fancied they were wise: I knew my ignorance, and so was wiser.

λεγόμενος αὐτῷ, ἔδοξε μοι οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ δοκεῖν μὲν
 εἶναι σοφὸς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μά-
 20 λιστα ἑαυτῷ, εἶναι δ' οὐ· κᾶπειτα ἐπειρώμην αὐτῷ
 δεικνύναι, ὅτι οἶοιτο μὲν εἶναι σοφός, εἴη δ' οὐ.
 ἐντεῦθεν οὖν τούτῳ τε ἀπηχθόμην καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν D
 παρόντων, πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν δ' οὖν ἀπιὼν ἐλογιζόμην
 ὅτι τούτου μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγὼ σοφώτερός εἰμι·
 25 κινδυνεύει μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος οὐδὲν καλὸν
 κἀγαθὸν εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οἶεται τι εἰδέναι οὐκ
 εἰδώς, ἐγὼ δέ, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ οἶομαι· ἔοικα
 γοῦν τούτου γε σμικρῷ τινι αὐτῷ τούτῳ σοφώτερος
 εἶναι, ὅτι ἂ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶομαι εἰδέναι. ἐντεῦθεν
 30 ἐπ' ἄλλον ἦα τῶν ἐκείνου δοκούντων σοφωτέρων
 εἶναι, καὶ μοι ταῦτ' αὐτὰ ἔδοξε· καὶ ἐνταῦθα κἀ- E
 κείνῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀπηχθόμην.

VII. Μετὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ἤδη ἐφεξῆς ἦα, αἰσθανό-

I continued my
 cross-examina-
 tions, and found
 poets,

5 μενος μὲν καὶ λυπούμενος καὶ δεδιώς ὅτι
 ἀπηχθανόμην, ὅμως δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει
 εἶναι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ πλείστου ποι-
 5 εῖσθαι· ἰτέον οὖν σκοποῦντι τὸν χρῆσμόν, τί λέγει,
 ἐπὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς τι δοκοῦντας εἰδέναι. καὶ νῆ τὸν
 κύνα, ὦ ἄνδρες | Ἀθηναῖοι· δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τ' ἀληθῆ 22
 λέγειν· ἢ μὴν ἐγὼ ἔπαθόν τι τοιοῦτον· οἱ μὲν μά-
 λιστα εὐδοκιμοῦντες ἔδοξάν μοι ὀλίγου δεῖν τοῦ
 10 πλείστου ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι ζητοῦντι κατὰ τὸν θεόν, ἄλλοι
 δὲ δοκοῦντες φαυλότεροι ἐπιεικέστεροι εἶναι ἄνδρες
 πρὸς τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν. δεῖ δὴ ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν
 πλάνην ἐπιδειῖξαι ὥσπερ πόνους τινὰς πονοῦντος,
 ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος ἡ μαντεία γένοιτο. μετὰ γὰρ
 15 τοὺς πολιτικούς ἦα ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς τοὺς τε τῶν
 τραγῳδιῶν καὶ τοὺς τῶν διθυράμβων καὶ τοὺς

Β ἄλλους, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ καταληφόμενος
 ἐμαυτὸν ἀμαθέστερον ἐκείνων ὄντα. ἀναλαμβάνων
 οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ ποιήματα, ἃ μοι ἐδόκει μάλιστα
 πεπραγματεῦσθαι αὐτοῖς, διηρώτων ἂν αὐτοὺς τί 20
 λέγοιεν, ἵν' ἅμα τι καὶ μανθάνοιμι παρ' αὐτῶν.
 αἰσχύνομαι οὖν ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τᾷληθῇ, ὅμως
 δὲ ῥητέον. ὡς ἔπος γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὀλίγου αὐτῶν ἅπαν- 7
 τες οἱ παρόντες ἂν βέλτιον ἔλεγον περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ
 ἐπεποιήκεσαν. ἔγνω οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν 25
 C ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφία ποιοῖεν, ἃ ποιοῖεν,
 ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ θεο-
 μάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμοδοί· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι
 μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι.
 τοιοῦτόν τί μοι ἐφάνησαν πάθος καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ 30
 πεπονθότες· καὶ ἅμα ἡσθόμην αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ποι-
 ησιν οἰομένων καὶ τᾷλλα σοφωτάτων εἶναι ἀνθρώ-
 πων ἃ οὐκ ἦσαν. ἀπῆα οὖν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τῷ αὐτῷ
 οἰόμενος περιγεγονέναι, ᾧπερ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν.

VIII. Τελευτῶν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς χειροτέχνας ἦα·
 ἐμαυτῷ γὰρ ξυνῆδη οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ, <sup>and craftsmen,
wise only in their
own esteem.</sup>
 D ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τοὺτους δὲ γ' ἤδη ὅτι
 εὐρήσοιμι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐπισταμένους. καὶ τού- 7
 του μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθην, ἀλλ' ἠπίσταντο ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ 5
 ἠπιστάμην καὶ μου ταύτῃ σοφώτεροι ἦσαν. ἀλλ',
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταυτόν μοι ἔδοξαν ἔχειν ἀμάρ-
 τημα, ὅπερ καὶ οἱ ποιηταί, καὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δημιουργοί·
 διὰ τὸ τὴν τέχνην καλῶς ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἕκαστος
 ἡξίου καὶ τᾷλλα τὰ μέγιστα σοφώτατος εἶναι, καὶ 10
 αὐτῶν αὕτη ἡ πλημμέλεια ἐκείνην τὴν σοφίαν ἀπέ-
 E κρυπτεν· ὥστε με ἐμαυτὸν ἀνερωτᾶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρη-
 σμοῦ, πότερα δεξαίμην ἂν οὕτως ὥσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν,

μήτε τι σοφὸς ὢν τὴν ἐκείνων σοφίαν, μήτε ἀμαθὴς
 15 τὴν ἀμαθίαν, ἣ ἀμφότερα ἂ ἐκεῖνοι ἔχουσιν ἔχειν.
 ἀπεκρινάμην οὖν ἐμαντῷ καὶ τῷ χρησμῷ, ὅτι μοι
 λυσιτελεῖ ὥσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν.

IX. Ἐκ ταυτησὶ δὴ τῆς ἐξετάσεως, ὦ ἄνδρες

I became the
 object of hatred
 and calumny. I
 was ignorant, but
 men called me
 'wise'. I had no
 5 time for politics or
 money-making.

Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ μὲν ἀπέχθεται μοι γε-
 γόνασι | καὶ οἶαι χαλεπώταται καὶ βαρύ- 23
 τатаι, ὥστε πολλὰς διαβολὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 γεγονέναι, ὄνομα δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, σο-
 φὸς εἶναι. οἴονται γάρ με ἐκάστωτε οἱ
 παρόντες ταῦτα αὐτὸν εἶναι σοφόν, ἂ ἂν ἄλλον ἐξε-
 λέγξω· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς
 σοφὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τούτῳ τοῦτο λέγειν,
 10 ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὀλίγου τινὸς ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ
 οὐδενός. καὶ φαίνεται τοῦτ' οὐ λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτη,
 προσκεχρῆσθαι δὲ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι, ἐμὲ παράδειγμα
 ποιούμενος, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι ὅτι οὗτος ὑμῶν, ὦ B
 ἄνθρωποι, σοφώτατός ἐστιν, ὅστις ὥσπερ Σωκράτης
 15 ἔγνωκεν ὅτι οὐδενός ἀξιός ἐστι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς
 σοφίαν. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν περιιὼν
 ζητῶ καὶ ἐρευνῶ κατὰ τὸν θεόν, καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ
 ξένων ἂν τινα οἶωμαι σοφὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἐπειδάν μοι
 μὴ δοκῇ, τῷ θεῷ βοηθῶν ἐνδείκνυμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι
 20 σοφός. καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀσχολίας οὔτε τι τῶν
 τῆς πόλεως πρᾶξαι μοι σχολή γέγονεν ἀξιον λόγου
 οὔτε τῶν οἰκείων, ἀλλ' ἐν πενίᾳ μυρία εἰμι διὰ τὴν C
 τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν.

X. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ νέοι μοι ἐπακολουθοῦντες

A band of rich
 young men began
 to follow and imi-
 tate me. The vic-
 tims of their dia-

οἷς μάλιστα σχολή ἐστιν, οἱ τῶν πλου-
 σιωτάτων, αὐτόματοι, χαίρουσιν ἀκού-
 οντες ἐξεταζομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ

αὐτοὶ πολλάκις ἐμὲ μιμοῦνται, εἴτα ἐπι- lectic now accuse
me of corrupting
the youth.
χειροῦσιν ἄλλους ἐξετάζειν· κᾶπειτα,

οἶμαι, εὐρίσκουσι πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν οἰομένων μὲν
εἰδέναι τι ἀνθρώπων, εἰδότων δὲ ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδέν. ἐν-
τεῦθεν οὖν οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεταζόμενοι ἐμοὶ ὀργίζονται,

D ἄλλ' οὐχ αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς Σωκράτης τίς ἐστι 10
μιαρώτατος καὶ διαφθείρει τοὺς νέους· καὶ ἐπειδὴν
τις αὐτοὺς ἐρωτᾷ, ὅ τι ποιῶν καὶ ὅ τι διδάσκων,
ἔχουσι μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοοῦσιν, ἵνα δὲ μὴ
δοκῶσιν ἀπορεῖν, τὰ κατὰ πάντων τῶν φιλοσοφούν-
των πρόχειρα ταῦτα λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὰ μετέωρα καὶ 15
τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς, καὶ θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν, καὶ τὸν ἥττω
λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν. τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ, οἶομαι, οὐκ ἂν
ἐθέλοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι κατὰδηλοὶ γίγνονται προσποιού-
μενοι μὲν εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν. ἅτε οὖν, οἶμαι,

E φιλότιμοι ὄντες καὶ σφοδροὶ καὶ πολλοί, καὶ ξυν- 20
τεταγμένως καὶ πιθανῶς λέγοντες περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐμπε-
πλήκασιν ὑμῶν τὰ ὦτα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν σφοδρῶς
διαβάλλοντες. ἐκ τούτων καὶ Μέλητος μοι ἐπέθετο
καὶ Ἄνυτος καὶ Λύκων, Μέλητος μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν
24 ποιητῶν ἀχθόμενος, Ἄνυτος δὲ | ὑπὲρ τῶν δημιουργ- 25
γῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, Λύκων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥητό-
ρων ὥστε, ὅπερ ἀρχόμενος ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν
εἰ οἷός τ' εἶην ἐγὼ ὑμῶν ταύτην τὴν διαβολὴν
ἐξελέσθαι ἐν οὕτως ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ οὕτω πολλὴν γε-
γονυῖαν. ταύτ' ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 30
τὰληθῆ, καὶ ὑμᾶς οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν ἀποκρυ-
ψάμενος ἐγὼ λέγω οὐδ' ὑποστειλάμενος· καὶ τοι
οἶδα σχεδὸν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνομαι· ὁ καὶ
τεκμήριον ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω καὶ ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ
διαβολὴ ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ τὰ αἰτία ταῦτά ἐστιν. καὶ ἐάν 35

τε νῦν ἴάν τε αὖθις ζητήσητε ταῦτα, οὕτως εὐρή- B
σετε.

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

XI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἱ πρῶτοί μου κατήγοροι
Meletus says
that I corrupt the
youth. κατηγόρουν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἱκανὴ ἀπολογία
πρὸς ὑμᾶς· πρὸς δὲ Μέλητον τὸν ἀγαθὸν
τε καὶ φιλόπολιν, ὥς φησι, καὶ τοὺς ὑστέρους μετὰ
5 ταῦτα πειράσομαι ἀπολογεῖσθαι. αὖθις γὰρ δὴ,
ὥσπερ ἐτέρων τούτων ὄντων κατηγόνων, λάβωμεν
αὐτὴν τὴν τούτων ἀντωμοσίαν. ἔχει δὲ πῶς ᾤδε·
Σωκράτη φησὶν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς τε νέους διαφθεί-
ροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ νομί-
10 ζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινὰ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔγ- C
κλημα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος
ἐν ἕκαστον ἐξετάσωμεν. φησὶ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς νέους
ἀδικεῖν με διαφθείροντα. ἐγὼ δὲ γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, ἀδικεῖν φημι Μέλητον, ὅτι σπουδῇ χαριεντί-
15 ζεται, ῥαδίως εἰς ἀγῶνας καθιστὰς ἀνθρώπους, περὶ
πραγμάτων προσποιούμενος σπουδάζειν καὶ κή-
δεσθαι, ὧν οὐδὲν τούτῳ πώποτε ἐμέλησεν. ὥς δὲ
τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, πειράσομαι καὶ ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι.

XII. Καὶ μοι δεῦρο, ὦ Μέλητε, εἰπέ· ἄλλο τι
It is clear, Me
letus, that you
have never stu-
died how and by
whom young men
are corrupted and
improved. ἢ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖ, ὅπως ὥς βέλτιστοι
οἱ νεώτεροι ἔσονται; Ἐγωγε. Ἴθι δὴ D
νῦν εἰπὲ τούτοις, τίς αὐτοὺς βελτίους
5 ποιεῖ; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι οἶσθα, μέλον γέ
σοι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διαφθείροντα ἐξευρών ὥς φῆς
ἐμὲ εἰσάγεις τουτοισὶ καὶ κατηγορεῖς· τὸν δὲ δὴ
βελτίους ποιοῦντα ἴθι εἰπὲ καὶ μήνυσον αὐτοῖς, τίς

ἐστιν. ὁρᾷς, ὦ Μέλητε, ὅτι σιγᾷς καὶ οὐκ ἔχεις
 εἰπεῖν; καὶ τοι οὐκ αἰσχρόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ 10
 ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι σοὶ οὐδὲν
 μεμέληκεν; ἀλλ' εἰπέ, ὦγαθέ, τίς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους
 E ποιεῖ; Οἱ νόμοι. Ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦτο ἐρωτῶ, ὦ βέλ-
 τιστε, ἀλλὰ τίς ἄνθρωπος, ὅστις πρῶτον καὶ αὐτὸ
 τοῦτο οἶδε, τοὺς νόμους. Οὗτοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἱ 15
 δικασταί. Πῶς λέγεις, ὦ Μέλητε; οἶδε τοὺς νέους
 παιδεύειν οἱοί τέ εἰσι καὶ βελτίους ποιοῦσιν; Μά-
 λιστα. Πότερον ἅπαντες, ἢ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, οἱ δ' οὐ; 7
 Ὅτι ἅπαντες. Εὖ γε νῆ τὴν Ἥραν λέγεις, καὶ πολλήν
 ἀφθονίαν τῶν ὠφελούντων. τί δὲ δῆ; οἶδε οἱ ἀκ- 20
 25 ροαταὶ βελτίους ποιοῦσιν, ἢ οὐ; Καὶ οὗτοι. Τί δὲ
 οἱ βουλευταί; Καὶ οἱ βουλευταί. Ἄλλ' ἄρα, ὦ
 Μέλητε, μὴ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἐκκλησιασταί,
 διαφθείρουσι τοὺς νεωτέρους; ἢ κακείνοι βελτίους
 ποιοῦσιν ἅπαντες; Κακείνοι. Πάντες ἄρα, ὡς 25
 ἔοικεν, Ἀθηναῖοι καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ποιοῦσι πλὴν
 ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος διαφθείρω. οὕτω λέγεις; Πάννυ
 σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω. Πολλήν γέ μου κατέγνωκας
 δυστυχίαν. καὶ μοι ἀποκρίναι ἢ καὶ περὶ ἵππους
 B οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν· οἱ μὲν βελτίους ποιοῦντες 30
 αὐτοὺς πάντες ἄνθρωποι εἶναι, εἰς δὲ τις ὁ διαφθεί-
 ρων; ἢ, τὸνναντίον τούτου πᾶν, εἰς μὲν τις ὁ βελ-
 τίους οἶός τ' ὦν ποιεῖν ἢ πάννυ ὀλίγοι, οἱ ἵππικοί,
 οἱ δὲ πολλοί, ἐάνπερ ξυνῶσι καὶ χρῶνται ἵπποις,
 διαφθείρουσιν; οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Μέλητε, καὶ περὶ 35
 ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ζώων; πάντως
 δήπου, ἐάν τε σὺ καὶ Ἄνυτος οὐ φῆτε ἐάν τε φῆτε·
 πολλή γὰρ ἂν τις εὐδαιμονία εἴη περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ
 εἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτοὺς διαφθείρει, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὠφελού-

40 σιν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ Μέλητε, ἱκανῶς ἐπιδείκνυσαι ὅτι C
οὐδεπώποτε ἐφρόντισας τῶν νέων, καὶ σαφῶς ἀπο-
φαίνεις τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν, ὅτι οὐδέν σοι μεμέλη-
κεν περὶ ὧν ἐμέ εισάγεις.

XIII. Ἔτι δὲ ἡμῖν εἰπέ, ὦ πρὸς Διὸς Μέλητε,

If I corrupt young men, I do so against my will: therefore you should not prosecute me
5 here. πότερον ἔστιν οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον ἐν πολίταις
χρηστοῖς ἢ πονηροῖς; ὦ τάν, ἀπόκριναι·
οὐδὲν γάρ τοι χαλεπὸν ἐρωτῶ. οὐχ οἱ
μὲν πονηροὶ κακὸν τι ἐργάζονται τοὺς
ἀεὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ ἑαυτῶν ὄντας, οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθόν τι;
Πάνυ γε. Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις βούλεται ὑπὸ τῶν
ξυνόντων βλάπτεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελεῖσθαι; ἀπο- D
κρίνου, ὦ ἀγαθέ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος κελεύει ἀποκρί-
10 νεσθαι. ἔσθ' ὅστις βούλεται βλάπτεσθαι; Οὐ δῆτα.
Φέρε δὴ, πότερον ἐμέ εισάγεις δεῦρο ὥς διαφθεί-
ροντα τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ πονηροτέρους ποιοῦντα
ἐκόντα ἢ ἄκοντα; Ἐκόντα ἔγωγε. Τί δῆτα, ὦ Μέ-
λητε; τοσοῦτον σὺ ἐμοῦ σοφώτερος εἰ τηλικούτου
15 ὄντος τηλικόσδε ὢν, ὥστε σὺ μὲν ἔγνωκας ὅτι οἱ
μὲν κακοὶ κακὸν τι ἐργάζονται ἀεὶ τοὺς μάλιστα
πλησίον ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθόν, ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ E
εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀμαθίας ἤκω, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτ' ἀγνοῶ,
ὅτι, ἐάν τινα μοχθηρὸν ποιήσω τῶν ξυνόντων, κινδυ-
20 νεύσω κακὸν τι λαβεῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε τοῦτο τὸ
τοσοῦτον κακὸν ἐκὼν ποιῶ, ὥς φῆς σύ; ταῦτα ἐγὼ
σοι οὐ πείθομαι, ὦ Μέλητε, οἶμαι δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλον
ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα· ἀλλ' ἢ οὐ διαφθείρω, ἢ εἰ δια-
φθείρω, | ἄκων, ὥστε σύ γε κατ' ἀμφότερα ψεύδει. 26
15 εἰ δὲ ἄκων διαφθείρω, τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀκουσίων
ἀμαρτημάτων οὐ δεῦρο νόμος εισάγειν ἐστίν, ἀλλ'
ιδίᾳ λαβόντα διδάσκειν καὶ νοουθετεῖν· δῆλον γὰρ

ὅτι, ἐὰν μάθω, παύσομαι ὃ γε ἄκων ποιῶ. σὺ δὲ
 ξυγγενέσθαι μὲν μοι καὶ διδάξαι ἔφυγες καὶ οὐκ
 ἠθέλησας, δεῦρο δὲ εἰσάγεις, οἱ νόμος ἐστὶν εἰσάγειν 30
 τοὺς κολάσεως δεομένους, ἀλλ' οὐ μαθήσεως.

XIV. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο μὲν
 δῆλον ἤδη ἐστίν, ὃ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, ὅτι Με- Again, Meletus
says I do not be-
lieve in the gods.
In this he is in-
consistent.
 B λήτῳ τούτων οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν
 πώποτε ἐμέλησεν· ὅμως δὲ δὴ λέγε ἡμῖν,
 πῶς με φῆς διαφθείρειν, ὦ Μέλητε, τοὺς νεωτέρους; 5
 ἡ δῆλον δὴ ὅτι, κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἣν ἐγράψω, θεοὺς
 διδάσκοντα μὴ νομίζειν οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει, ἕτερα
 δὲ δαιμόνια καινά; οὐ ταῦτα λέγεις ὅτι διδάσκων
 διαφθείρω; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω.
 Πρὸς αὐτῶν τοίνυν, ὦ Μέλητε, τούτων τῶν θεῶν, 10
 ὧν νῦν ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, εἰπὲ ἔτι σαφέστερον καὶ ἐμοὶ
 C καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τούτοις. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι
 μαθεῖν, πότερον λέγεις διδάσκειν με νομίζειν εἶναι
 τινὰς θεοὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρα νομίζω εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ
 οὐκ εἰμὶ τὸ παράπαν ἄθεος οὐδὲ ταύτῃ ἀδικῶ, οὐ 15
 μέντοι οὔσπερ γε ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ ἐτέρους, καὶ τοῦτ'
 ἐστὶν ὃ μοι ἐγκαλεῖς, ὅτι ἐτέρους· ἡ παντάπασί με
 φῆς οὔτε αὐτὸν νομίζειν θεοὺς τοὺς τε ἄλλους ταῦτα
 διδάσκειν. Ταῦτα λέγω, ὥς τὸ παράπαν οὐ νομί-
 ζεις θεοὺς. ὦ θαυμάσιε Μέλητε, ἵνα τί ταῦτα 20
 D λέγεις; οὐδὲ ἥλιον οὐδὲ σελήνην ἄρα νομίζω θεοὺς
 εἶναι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι; Μὰ Δί', ὦ ἄνδρες
 δικασταί, ἐπεὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον λίθον φησὶν εἶναι, τὴν
 δὲ σελήνην γῆν. Ἀναξαγόρου οἷε κατηγορεῖν, ὦ
 φίλε Μέλητε, καὶ οὕτω καταφρονεῖς τῶνδε καὶ οἷε 25
 αὐτοὺς ἀπείρους γραμμάτων εἶναι, ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναι
 ὅτι τὰ Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία τοῦ Κλαζομενίου γέμει

τούτων τῶν λόγων; καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνουσιν, ἃ ἔξεστιν ἐνίστε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, 30 δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριαμένους Σωκράτους Ε καταγελᾶν, ἐὰν προσποιῇται ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτως ἄτοπα ὄντα. ἀλλ' ὦ πρὸς Διός, οὕτωςί σοι δοκῶ; οὐδένα νομίζω θεὸν εἶναι; Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν. Ἄπιστός γ' εἰ, ὦ Μέλητε, καὶ 35 ταῦτα μέντοι, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς, στυγῶ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάνυ εἶναι ὕβρι- στῆς καὶ ἀκόλαστος, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ὕβρει τινὶ καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ καὶ νεότητι γρά- ψασθαι. ἔοικεν γὰρ ὥσπερ | αἰνιγμα ξυντιθέντι δια- 27 40 πειρωμένῳ, 'ἄρα γινώσκεται Σωκράτης ὁ σοφὸς δὴ ἐμοῦ χαριεντιζομένου καὶ ἐναντὶ ἐμαυτῷ λέγοντος, ἢ ἐξαπατήσω αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀκούον- τας;' οὗτος γὰρ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι· ἀδικοῖ 45 Σωκράτης θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς νομίζων. καὶ τοι τοῦτό ἐστι παίζοντος.

XV. Ξυνεπισκέψασθε δὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἥ μοι φαί- νεται ταῦτα λέγειν· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ἀπό-

In allowing that I believe in daemons he allows that I believe in gods.

κρίναι, ὦ Μέλητε· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὕπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑμᾶς παρητησάμην, μέμνησθέ μοι Β 5 μὴ θορυβεῖν, ἐὰν ἐν τῷ εἰωθότῳ τρόπῳ τοὺς λόγους ποιῶμαι. ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων, ὦ Μέλητε, ἀνθρώπεια μὲν νομίζει πράγματ' εἶναι, ἀνθρώπους δὲ οὐ νομίζει; ἀποκρινέσθω, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ μὴ ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα θορυβεῖτω· ἔσθ' ὅστις ἵππους μὲν οὐ 10 νομίζει, ἵππικὰ δὲ πράγματα; ἢ αὐλητὰς μὲν οὐ νομίζει εἶναι, αὐλητικὰ δὲ πράγματα; οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν· εἰ μὴ σὺ βούλει ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ

σοι λέγω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τουτοισί. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ
 C τούτῳ γε ἀπόκριναι· ἔσθ' ὅστις δαιμόνια μὲν νομίζει
 πράγματ' εἶναι, δαίμονας δὲ οὐ νομίζει; Οὐκ ἔστιν. 15
 Ὡς ὤνησας, ὅτι μόγις ἀπεκρίνω ὑπὸ τουτωνὶ ἀναγ-
 καζόμενος. οὐκοῦν δαιμόνια μὲν φῆς με καὶ νομί-
 ζειν καὶ διδάσκειν; εἴτ' οὖν καινὰ εἴτε παλαιά, ἀλλ'
 οὖν δαιμόνιά γε νομίζω κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον, καὶ
 ταῦτα καὶ διωμόσω ἐν τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ. εἰ δὲ δαι- 20
 μόνια νομίζω, καὶ δαίμονας δήπου πολλὴ ἀνάγκη
 νομίζειν μέ ἔστιν· οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει; ἔχει δὴ τίθημι
 γάρ σε ὁμολογοῦντα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀποκρίνει. τοὺς
 D δὲ δαίμονας οὐχὶ ἦτοι θεοὺς γε ἡγοῦμεθα ἢ θεῶν
 παῖδας; φῆς ἢ οὐ; Πάνυ γε. Οὐκοῦν εἴπερ δαι- 25
 μονας ἡγοῦμαι, ὥς σὺ φῆς, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ
 δαίμονες, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη ὃ ἐγὼ φημί σε αἰνίττεσθαι
 καὶ χαριεντίζεσθαι, θεοὺς οὐχ ἡγούμενον φάναι ἐμέ
 θεοὺς αὖ ἡγεῖσθαι πάλιν, ἐπειδήπερ γε δαίμονας
 ἡγοῦμαι· εἰ δ' αὖ οἱ δαίμονες θεῶν παῖδές εἰσι νόθοι 30
 τινὲς ἢ ἐκ νυμφῶν ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἄλλων, ὧν δὴ καὶ
 λέγονται, τίς ἂν ἀνθρώπων θεῶν μὲν παῖδας ἡγοῖτο
 εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ μή; ὁμοίως γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπον εἴη,
 E ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἵππων μὲν παῖδας ἡγοῖτο ἢ καὶ
 ὄνων [τοὺς ἡμίονους,] ἵππους δὲ καὶ ὄνους μὴ ἡγοῖτο 35
 εἶναι. ἀλλ', ὦ Μέλητε, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως σὺ ταῦτα
 οὐχὶ ἀποπειρώμενος ἡμῶν ἐγράψω τὴν γραφὴν ταύ-
 την, ἢ ἀπορῶν ὃ τι ἐγκαλοῖς ἐμοὶ ἀληθὲς ἀδίκημα·
 ὅπως δὲ σύ τινα πείθοις ἂν καὶ σμικρὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα
 ἀνθρώπων, ὥς οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔστιν καὶ δαιμόνια καὶ 40
 θεῖα <καὶ δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς> ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ αὖ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ <μήτε δαιμόνια μήτε θεῖα> μήτε δαίμονας
 28 μήτε θεοὺς [μήτε | ἥρωας,] οὐδεμία μηχανή ἐστιν.

Socrates defends his vocation against popular reproaches:

XVI—XXII.

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

XVI. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς μὲν
 I knew how
 dangerous my vo-
 cation was; but
 dangers should ne-
 ver deter a man
 from duty.
 5 ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄδικῶ κατὰ τὴν Μελήτου γρα-
 φήν, οὐ πολλῆς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀπολο-
 γίας, ἀλλὰ ἱκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ καὶ
 ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἔλεγον, ὅτι πολλή μοι
 ἀπέχθεια γέγονεν καὶ πρὸς πολλούς, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι
 ἀληθές ἐστιν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστιν ὃ ἐμὲ αἰρήσει, εἴνπερ
 αἰρή, οὐ Μέλητος οὐδὲ Ἄνυτος, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν πολλῶν
 10 διαβολή τε καὶ φθόνος. ἂ δὴ πολλούς καὶ ἄλλους
 καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἤρηκεν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ αἰρήσειν·
 οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ στῇ. ἴσως δ' ἂν οὖν B
 εἴποι τις· εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνει, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτον
 ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύσας, ἐξ οὗ κινδυνεύεις νυνὶ ἀπο-
 θανεῖν; ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ ἂν δίκαιον λόγον ἀντίποιμι,
 15 ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, εἰ οἶει δεῖν κίνδυ-
 νον ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι ἀνδρα ὅτου
 τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνο μόνον
 σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττη, πότερον δίκαια ἢ ἄδικα
 πράττει, καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἢ κακοῦ. φαῦλοι
 20 γὰρ ἂν τῷ γε σῶ λόγῳ εἰεν τῶν ἡμιθέων ὅσοι ἐν C
 Τροίᾳ τετελευτήκασιν οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τῆς Θέτιδος
 υἱός, ὃς τοσοῦτον τοῦ κινδύνου κατεφρόνησεν παρὰ
 τὸ αἰσχρόν τι ὑπομεῖναι, ὥστε ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ἡ μήτηρ
 αὐτῷ προθυμουμένῳ Ἑκτορα ἀποκτεῖναι, θεὸς οὔσα,

οὕτωςί πως, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι· ὦ παῖ, εἰ τιμωρήσεις Πα- 25
 τρόκλῳ τῷ ἐταίρῳ τὸν φόνον καὶ Ἑκτορα ἀποκτε-
 νεῖς, αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖ· αὐτίκα γάρ τοι, φησί, μεθ'
 Ἑκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας τοῦ
 μὲν θανάτου καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου ὠλιγόωρησε, πολλὴ δὲ
 D μᾶλλον δέσας τὸ ζῆν κακὸς ὢν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μὴ 30
 τιμωρεῖν, αὐτίκα, φησί, τεθναίην δίκην ἐπιθεὶς τῷ
 ἀδικούντι, ἵνα μὴ ἐνθάδε μένω καταγέλαστος παρὰ
 νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν ἄχθος ἀρούρης. μὴ αὐτὸν οἶει
 φροντίσαι θανάτου καὶ κινδύνου; οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει,
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὐ ἂν τις ἑαυτὸν 35
 τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι ἢ ὑπ' ἀρχοντος
 ταχθῇ, ἐνταῦθα δεῖ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυ-
 νεύειν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε
 ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.

XVII. Ἐγὼ οὖν δεινὰ ἂν εἶην εἰργασμένος, ὦ
 E ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν με οἱ ἄρ- I for my part do
 χοντες ἔταττον, οὓς ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε ἄρχειν not fear death :
 μου, καὶ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει I would die many
 καὶ ἐπὶ Δηλῷ, τότε μὲν οὐ ἐκείνοι ἔτατ- times, sooner than
 τον ἔμενον ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλος τις καὶ ἐκινδύνευον cease the pursuit
 ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάττοντος, ὡς ἐγὼ ᾤκη- of wisdom. 5
 τε καὶ ὑπέλαβον, φιλοσοφούντά με δεῖν ζῆν καὶ
 ἐξετάζοντα ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ
 29 φοβηθεὶς ἢ θάνατον ἢ ἄλλο | ὅτι οὖν πρᾶγμα λίποιμι 10
 τὴν τάξιν. δεινὸν τᾶν εἶη, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τότε
 ἂν με δικαίως εἰσάγοι τις εἰς δικαστήριον, ὅτι οὐ
 νομίζω θεοὺς εἶναι ἀπειθῶν τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ δεδιῶς
 θάνατον καὶ οἰόμενος σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ὢν. τὸ γὰρ
 τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ 15
 δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα· δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι

ἐστὶν ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν. οἶδε μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θάνατον
 οὐδ' εἰ τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων μέγιστον ὄν
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεδίασι δ' ὥς εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι μέγιστον
 10 τῶν κακῶν ἐστί. καὶ τοῦτο πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθία ἐστὶν B
 αὕτη ἢ ἐπονείδιστος, ἢ τοῦ οἶσθαι εἰδέναι ἃ οὐκ
 οἶδεν; ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τούτῳ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἴσως
 διαφέρω τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ σο-
 φώτερός του φαίην εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔν, ὅτι οὐκ εἰδὼς
 25 ἱκανῶς περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾿Αιδου οὕτω καὶ οἶομαι οὐκ
 εἰδέναι· τὸ δὲ ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν τῷ βελτίονι, καὶ
 θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν
 οἶδα. πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν, ὧν οἶδα ὅτι κακά ἐστιν,
 ἃ μὴ οἶδα εἰ ἀγαθὰ ὄντα τυγχάνει, οὐδέποτε φοβή-
 30 σομαι οὐδὲ φεύξομαι· ὥστε οὐδ' εἴ με νῦν ὑμεῖς
 ἀφίετε Ἄνυτῳ ἀπιστήσαντες, ὃς ἔφη ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν C
 οὐ δεῖν ἐμὲ δεῦρο εἰσελθεῖν ἢ, ἐπειδὴ εἰσῆλθον, οὐχ
 οἷόν τ' εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι με, λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 ὥς, εἰ διαφευξοίμην, ἤδη ἂν ὑμῶν οἱ νιεῖς ἐπιτη-
 35 δεύοντες ἃ Σωκράτης διδάσκει πάντες παντάπασι
 διαφθαρήσονται,—εἴ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα εἵποιτε· ὦ Σώ-
 κρατες, νῦν μὲν Ἄνυτῳ οὐ πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀφίεμέν
 σε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' ὅτε μηκέτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
 ζητήσῃ διατρίβειν μηδὲ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀλφῶς
 40 ἔτι τοῦτο πράττων, ἀποθανεῖ· εἰ οὖν με, ὅπερ εἶπον, D
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφίετε, εἵποιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς,
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀσπάζομαι μὲν καὶ φιλῶ, πεί-
 σομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ἢ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἕωσπερ ἂν
 ἐμπνέω καὶ οἷός τε ὦ, οὐ μὴ παύσωμαι φιλοσοφῶν
 45 καὶ ὑμῖν παρακελεύομένος τε καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτῳ
 ἂν αἰεὶ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν, λέγων οἷά περ εἶωθα, ὅτι ὦ
 ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν, Ἀθηναῖος ὢν, πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης

καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτης εἰς σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχύν, χρημάτων
 μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνηι ἐπιμελούμενος, ὅπως σοι ἔσται ὡς
 Ε πλείστα, καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς, φρονήσεως δὲ καὶ 50
 ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπως ὡς βελτίστη ἔσται,
 οὐκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φροντίζεις; καὶ ἐάν τις ὑμῶν
 ἀμφισβητῇ καὶ φῇ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀφήσω
 αὐτὸν οὐδ' ἄπειμι, ἀλλ' ἐρήσομαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξετάσω
 καὶ ἐλέγξω, καὶ ἐάν μοι μὴ δοκῇ κεκτῆσθαι ἀρετὴν, 55
 30 φάναι δέ, ὀνειδιῶ ὅτι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια περὶ | ἐλα-
 χίστου ποιεῖται, τὰ δὲ φαυλότερα περὶ πλείονος.
 ταῦτα καὶ νεωτέρῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὅτῳ ἂν ἐντυγ-
 χάνω, ποιήσω, καὶ ξένῳ καὶ ἀστῶ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς
 ἀστοῖς, ὅσῳ μου ἐγγυτέρω ἔστέ γένει. ταῦτα γὰρ 60
 κελεύει ὁ θεός, εὖ ἴστε, καὶ ἐγὼ οἶμαι οὐδέν πω
 ὑμῖν μείζον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τὴν
 ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν. οὐδέν γὰρ ἄλλο πρᾶπτων
 ἐγὼ περιέρχομαι ἢ πείθων ὑμῶν καὶ νεωτέρους καὶ
 πρεσβυτέρους μήτε σωμάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μήτε 65
 Β χρημάτων πρότερον μηδὲ οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς τῆς
 ψυχῆς, ὅπως ὡς ἀρίστη ἔσται, λέγων· οὐκ ἐκ χρη-
 μάτων ἀρετὴ γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς χρήματα
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅπαντα καὶ ἰδίᾳ
 καὶ δημοσίᾳ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων διαφθεῖρω 70
 τοὺς νέους, ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη βλαβερά· εἰ δὲ τίς μέ φησιν
 ἄλλα λέγειν ἢ ταῦτα, οὐδέν λέγει. πρὸς ταῦτα,
 φαίην ἂν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἢ πείθεσθε Ἀνύτῳ ἢ μή, καὶ
 ἢ ἀφίετε ἢ μὴ ἀφίετε, ὡς ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποιήσουντος
 C ἄλλα, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλω πολλάκις τεθνάναι. 75

XVIII. Μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ'
 ἐμμείνατέ μοι οἷς ἐδεήθην ὑμῶν, μὴ θο- If you kill me,
 ρυβεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ' ἀκούειν. who am God's
 minister in Ath-

ens, it is you
 who suffer, and
 not I.

5 καὶ γάρ, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ὀνήσεσθε ἀκούον-
 τες. μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἅττα ὑμῖν ἐρεῖν
 καὶ ἄλλα, ἐφ' οἷς ἴσως βοήσεσθε· ἀλλὰ μηδαμῶς
 ποιεῖτε τοῦτο. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ἐὰν ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε
 τοιοῦτον ὄντα, οἷον ἐγὼ λέγω, οὐκ ἐμὲ μέizω βλάψετε
 ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· ἐμὲ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν βλάβῃειν
 10 οὔτε Μέλητος οὔτε Ἄνυτος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο·
 οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἀμείνονι ἀνδρὶ ὑπὸ χεί- D
 ρονος βλάπτεσθαι. ἀποκτείνειε μεντὰν ἴσως ἢ ἐξε-
 λάσειεν ἢ ἀτιμώσειεν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οὗτος μὲν ἴσως
 οἶεται καὶ ἄλλος τίς που μεγάλα κακά, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ
 15 οἶομαι, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ποιεῖν ἢ οὗτος νυνὶ ποιεῖ,
 ἀνδρα ἀδίκως ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτείνῃναι. νῦν οὖν, ὦ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοῦ δέω ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὥς τις ἂν οἶοιτο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, μὴ
 τι ἐξαμάρτητε περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῖν ἐμοῦ
 20 καταψηφισάμενοι. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε, οὐ E
 ῥαδίως ἄλλον τοιοῦτον εὐρήσετε, ἀτεχνῶς, εἰ καὶ
 γελοιότερον εἰπεῖν, προσκείμενον τῇ πόλει ὑπὸ τοῦ
 θεοῦ, ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μεγάλῳ μὲν καὶ γενναίῳ, ὑπὸ
 μεγέθους δὲ νωθεστέρῳ καὶ δεομένῳ ἐγείρεσθαι ὑπὸ
 25 μύωπός τινος· οἷον δὴ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐμὲ τῇ πόλει
 προστεθεικέναι τοιοῦτόν τινα, ὃς ὑμᾶς ἐγείρων καὶ
 πείθων καὶ ὀνειδίζων ἕνα ἕκαστον, οὐδὲν παύομαι
 | τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην πανταχοῦ προσκαθίζων. τοιοῦτος 31
 οὖν ἄλλος οὐ ῥαδίως ὑμῖν γενήσεται, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ'
 30 ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πείθησθε, φείσεσθέ μου· ὑμεῖς δ' ἴσως τάχ'
 ἂν ἀχθόμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ νυστάζοντες ἐγειρόμενοι,
 κρούσαντες ἂν με, πειθόμενοι Ἀνύτῳ, ῥαδίως ἂν
 ἀποκτείναιτε, εἴτα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καθεύδοντες
 διατελοῖτε ἂν, εἰ μὴ τινα ἄλλον ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐπι-

πέμψειεν κηδόμενος ὑμῶν. ὅτι δ' ἐγὼ τυγχάνω ὧν 35
 τοιοῦτος, οἷος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ πόλει δεδόσθαι, ἐν-
 B θένδε ἂν κατανοήσαιτε· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ ἔοικε τὸ
 ἐμὲ τῶν μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπάντων ἡμεληκέναι καὶ ἀνέ-
 χεσθαι τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελουμένων τοσαῦτα ἤδη ἔτη,
 τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον πράττειν αἰεὶ, ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ προσιόντα 40
 ὥσπερ πατέρα ἢ ἀδελφὸν πρεσβύτερον, πείθοντα
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀρετῆς. καὶ τοι εἰ μὲν τι ἀπὸ τούτων
 ἀπέλανον καὶ μισθὸν λαμβάνων ταῦτα παρεκελευό-
 μην, εἶχον ἂν τινα λόγον· νῦν δὲ ὁρᾶτε δὴ καὶ
 αὐτοί, ὅτι οἱ κατήγοροι τᾶλλα πάντα ἀναισχύντως 45
 οὕτω κατηγοροῦντες τοῦτό γε οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο
 C ἀπαναισχυντῆσαι παρασχόμενοι μάρτυρα, ὥς ἐγώ
 ποτέ τινα ἢ ἐπραξάμην μισθὸν ἢ ἤτησα. ἱκανὸν
 γάρ, οἶμαι, ἐγὼ παρέχομαι τὸν μάρτυρα, ὥς ἀληθῆ
 λέγω, τὴν πενίαν.

50

XIX. Ἴσως ἂν οὖν δόξειεν ἄτοπον εἶναι, ὅτι δὴ
 ἐγὼ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ταῦτα ξυμβουλεύω περιῶν In obedience to
 καὶ πολυπραγμονῶ, δημοσίᾳ δὲ οὐ τολ- my divine sign,
 μῶ ἀναβαίνων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτε- I have abstain-
 ρον ξυμβουλεύειν τῇ πόλει. τούτου δὲ ed from political
 αἰτίον ἐστὶν ὃ ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ πολλάκις ἀκηκόατε πολ- life: had I not, I
 D λαχοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι μοι θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον γίγ- should long ago
 νεται [φωνή,] ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐπικωμῶδῶν have perished: 5
 Μέλητος ἐγράψατο· ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ παιδὸς
 ἀρξάμενον, φωνή τις γιγνομένη, ἢ ὅταν γένηται, αἰεὶ 10
 ἀποτρέπει με τοῦτο ὃ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν, προ-
 τρέπει δὲ οὐποτε· τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ μοι ἐναντιοῦται τὰ
 πολιτικὰ πράττειν. καὶ παγκάλως γέ μοι δοκεῖ
 ἐναντιοῦσθαι· εὐ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ
 ἐγὼ πάλαι ἐπεχείρησα πράττειν τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγ- 15

ματα, πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλῃ καὶ οὐτ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ὠφελήκη
οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἂν ἐμαυτόν. καὶ μοι μὴ ἄχθεσθε λέγοντι Ε
τὰλθθῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων σωθήσεται
οὔτε ὑμῖν οὔτε ἄλλῳ πλήθει οὐδενὶ γνησίως ἐναν-
10 τιούμενος καὶ διακωλύων πολλὰ ἄδικα καὶ παρά-
νομα ἐν τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι, | ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι 32
τὸν τῷ ὄντι μαχούμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ εἰ
μέλλει ὀλίγον χρόνον σωθήσεσθαι, ἰδιωτεύειν ἀλλὰ
μὴ δημοσιεύειν.

XX. Μεγάλα δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῖν τεκμήρια παρέξο-
as is clear from my opposition to you and to the
Thirty on two se-
parate occasions.
μαι τούτων, οὐ λόγους, ἀλλ' ὃ ὑμεῖς
τιμᾶτε, ἔργα. ἀκούσατε δὴ μου τὰ ἐμοὶ
ξυμβεβηκότα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἐνὶ
5 ὑπεικάθοιμι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον δείσας θάνατον, μὴ
ὑπέικων δὲ ἅμα καὶ ἅμα ἂν ἀπολοίμην. ἐρῶ δὲ
ὑμῖν φορτικά μὲν καὶ δικανικά, ἀληθῆ δέ. ἐγὼ γάρ,
ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄλλην μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε Β
ἦρξα ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐβούλευσα δέ· καὶ ἔτυχεν ἡμῶν
10 ἡ φυλὴ Ἀντιοχίς πρυτανεύουσα, ὅτε ὑμεῖς τοὺς
δέκα στρατηγούς τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
ναυμαχίας ἐβούλεσθε ἀθρόους κρίνειν, παρανόμως,
ὥς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδοξε. τότε
ἐγὼ μόνος τῶν πρυτάνεων ἠναντιώθην μηδὲν ποιεῖν
15 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ἐναντία ἐψηφισάμην, καὶ
ἐτοίμων ὄντων ἐνδεικνύναι με καὶ ἀπάγειν τῶν ῥη-
τόρων, καὶ ὑμῶν κελευόντων καὶ βοώντων, μετὰ τοῦ
νόμου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ᾤμην μᾶλλον με δεῖν διακιν- C
δινεύειν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι μὴ δίκαια βουλευο-
20 μένων, φοβηθέντα δεσμὸν ἢ θάνατον. καὶ ταῦτα
μὲν ἦν ἔτι δημοκρατουμένης τῆς πόλεως· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
ὀλιγαρχία ἐγένετο, οἱ τριάκοντα αὖ μεταπεμφάμενοί

με πέμπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον προσέταξαν ἀγα-
γεῖν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμῖνιον, ἵνα ἀπο-
θάνοι· οἱα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ 25
προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὥς πλείστους ἀναπλήσαι
D αἰτιῶν· τότε μέντοι ἐγὼ οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ αὐ
ἐνεδειξάμην, ὅτι ἐμοὶ θανάτου μὲν μέλει, εἰ μὴ
ἀγροικότερον ἢ εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν
ἄδικον μηδ' ἀνόσιον ἐργάζεσθαι, τούτου δὲ τὸ πᾶν 30
μέλει. ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐκείνη ἡ ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἐξέπληξεν οὕτως
ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, ὥστε ἄδικόν τι ἐργάσασθαι, ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς θόλου ἐξήλθομεν, οἱ μὲν τέτταρες
ῥῶχοντο εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ ἤγαγον Λέοντα, ἐγὼ δὲ
ῥῶχόμεν ἀπιὼν οἴκαδε. καὶ ἴσως ἂν διὰ ταῦτα ἀπέ- 35
θανον, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ διὰ ταχέων κατελύθη· καὶ
E τούτων ὑμῖν ἔσονται πολλοὶ μάρτυρες.

XXI. Ἄρ' οὖν ἂν με οἴεσθε τοσάδε ἔτη διαγε-
νέσθαι, εἰ ἔπραττον τὰ δημόσια, καὶ Strictly speak-
ing, I am no man's
teacher. I am not
responsible for
those who have
heard me con-
verse. 7
πράττων ἀξίως ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐβοήθουν
τοῖς δικαίοις καί, ὥσπερ χρή, τοῦτο περὶ
πλείστου ἐποιοῦμην; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὧ 5
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων
33 οὐδεὶς. | ἀλλ' ἐγὼ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου δημοσίᾳ τε,
εἴ πού τι ἔπραξα, τοιοῦτος φανούμαι, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὁ
αὐτὸς οὗτος, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ξυγχωρήσας οὐδὲν παρὰ
τὸ δίκαιον οὔτε ἄλλῳ οὔτε τούτων οὐδενί, οὓς οἱ 10
διαβάλλοντές ἐμέ φασιν ἐμούς μαθητὰς εἶναι. ἐγὼ
δὲ διδάσκαλος μὲν οὐδενὸς πώποτ' ἐγενόμην· εἰ δέ
τίς μου λέγοντος καὶ τὰ ἐμαντοῦ πράττοντος ἐπι-
θυμεῖ ἀκούειν, εἴτε νεώτερος εἴτε πρεσβύτερος, οὐ-
δενὶ πώποτε ἐφθόνησα, οὐδὲ χρήματα μὲν λαμβάνων 15
B διαλέγομαι, μὴ λαμβάνων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καὶ

πλουσίῳ καὶ πένητι παρέχω ἑμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν, καὶ
 εἴαν τις βούληται ἀποκρινόμενος ἀκούειν ὧν ἂν
 λέγω. καὶ τούτων ἐγὼ εἴτε τις χρηστὸς γίγνεται
 10 εἴτε μὴ, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπέχοιμι, ὧν
 μήτε ὑπεσχόμην μηδενὶ μηδὲν πώποτε μάθημα μήτε
 ἐδίδαξα· εἰ δέ τίς φησι παρ' ἐμοῦ πώποτε τι μαθεῖν
 ἢ ἀκούσαι ἰδίᾳ ὃ τι μὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες, εὖ ἴστε
 ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγει.

XXII. Ἀλλὰ διὰ τί δὴ ποτε μετ' ἐμοῦ χαί-
 ρουσί τινες πολλὸν χρόνον διατρίβοντες;
 ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· πᾶσαν C
 ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐγὼ εἶπον· ὅτι ἀκούον-
 5 τες χαίρουσιν ἐξεταζομένοις τοῖς οἰομέ-
 νοις μὲν εἶναι σοφοῖς, οὗσι δ' οὐ· ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἀηδές.
 ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ
 θεοῦ πράττειν καὶ ἐκ μαντείων καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων καὶ
 παντὶ τρόπῳ, ᾧπερ τίς ποτε καὶ ἄλλη θεία μοῖρα
 10 ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὁτιοῦν προσέταξε πράττειν. ταῦτα,
 ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν καὶ εὐλέγκτα. εἰ γὰρ
 δὴ ἔγωγε τῶν νέων τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρω, τοὺς δὲ D
 διέφθαρκα, χρῆν δήπου, εἴτε τινὲς αὐτῶν πρεσβύ-
 τεροι γενόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ὅτι νέοις οὗσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ
 15 κακὸν πώποτε τι ξυνεβούλευσα, νυνὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνα-
 βαίνοντας ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ
 μὴ αὐτοὶ ἠθέλουν, τῶν οἰκείων τινὰς τῶν ἐκείνων,
 πατέρας καὶ ἀδελφούς καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς προσήκου-
 τας, εἴπερ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τι κακὸν ἐπεπόνθεσαν αὐτῶν οἱ
 20 οἰκείοι, νῦν μεμνήσθαι καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι. πάντως
 δὲ πάρεσιν αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐνταυθοί, οὓς ἐγὼ ὀρώ,
 πρῶτον μὲν Κρίτων οὐτοσί, ἐμὸς ἡλικιώτης καὶ δη-
 μότης, Κριτοβούλου τοῦδε πατήρ· ἔπειτα Λυσανίας E

The regard of
 the young men
 themselves and
 of their kinsmen
 shews that I am
 no corrupter of
 the youth.

ὁ Σφήττιος, Αἰσχίνου τοῦδε πατήρ· ἔτι Ἀντιφῶν ὁ
 Κηφισιεὺς οὗτοςί, Ἐπιγένους πατήρ· ἄλλοι τοίνυν ²⁵
 οὔτοι, ὧν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ γεγόνασιν,
 Νικόστρατος Θεοζοτίδου, ἀδελφὸς Θεοδότου—καὶ
 ὁ μὲν Θεόδοτος τετελεύτηκεν, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνους
 γε αὐτοῦ καταδεθείη—, καὶ Πάραλος ὅδε, ὁ Δημο-
 34 δόκου, οὗ ἦν Θεάγης ἀδελφός· ὅδε δὲ | Ἀδείμαντος, ³⁰
 ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, οὗ ἀδελφὸς οὗτοςί Πλάτων, καὶ Αἰαν-
 τόδωρος, οὗ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὅδε ἀδελφός. καὶ ἄλλους
 πολλοὺς ἐγὼ ἔχω ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ὧν τινὰ ἐχρῆν μάλις-
 τα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ παρασχέσθαι Μέλητον
 μάρτυρα· εἰ δὲ τότε ἐπελάθετο, νῦν παρασχέσθω, ³⁵
 ἐγὼ παραχωρῶ, καὶ λεγέτω, εἴ τι ἔχει τοιοῦτον.
 ἀλλὰ τούτου πᾶν τὸναντίον εὐρήσετε, ὦ ἄνδρες,
 πάντας ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν ἐτοίμους τῷ διαφθείροντι, τῷ
 κακὰ ἐργαζομένῳ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν, ὥς φασι
 Β Μέλητος καὶ Ἄνυτος. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ διεφθαρ- ⁴⁰
 μένοι τάχ' ἂν λόγον ἔχοιεν βοηθοῦντες· οἱ δὲ ἀδιά-
 φθαρτοι, πρεσβύτεροι ἤδη ἄνδρες, οἱ τούτων προσ-
 ἤκοντες, τίνα ἄλλον ἔχουσι λόγον βοηθοῦντες ἐμοὶ
 ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν ὀρθόν τε καὶ δίκαιον, ὅτι ξυνίσασι Με-
 λήτῳ μὲν ψευδομένῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀληθεύοντι; 45

Concluding Remarks: XXIII—XXIV.

XXIII. Εἰεν δὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες· ἃ μὲν ἐγὼ ἔχοιμ'
 ἂν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, σχεδὸν ἐστι ταῦτα καὶ
 ἄλλα ἴσως τοιαῦτα. τάχα δ' ἂν τις
 C ὑμῶν ἀγανακτήσειεν ἀναμνησθεὶς ἑαν-
 τοῦ, εἰ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐλάττω τουτοῦτ' τοῦ
 ἀγῶνος ἀγῶνα ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐδεήθη τε
 καὶ ἰκέτευσε τοὺς δικαστὰς μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων,

I refrain from
 the usual attempts
 to move your
 compassion, not
 out of pride or
 contempt, but be-
 cause they are ⁵
 dishonourable,

παιδιά τε αὐτοῦ ἀναβιβασάμενος, ἵνα ὃ τι μάλιστα
 ἐλεηθείη, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων πολ-
 10 λούς, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα τούτων ποιήσω, καὶ ταῦτα
 κινδυνεύων, ὥς ἂν δόξαιμι, τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον.
 γὰρ οὖν τις ταῦτα ἐννοήσας αὐθαδέστερον ἂν πρὸς
 με σχοίη, καὶ ὀργισθεὶς αὐτοῖς τούτοις θέϊτο ἂν μετ'
 ὀργῆς τὴν ψῆφον. εἰ δὴ τις ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχει, — οὐκ D
 15 ἀξιῶ μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐπεικῇ ἂν μοι δοκῶ
 πρὸς τοῦτον λέγειν λέγων ὅτι ἐμοί, ὦ ἄριστε, εἰσὶν
 μὲν πού τινες καὶ οἰκείοι· καὶ γάρ, τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ
 τοῦ Ὀμήρου, οὐδ' ἐγὼ ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης
 πέφυκα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ οἰκείοί μοι
 20 εἰσι καὶ υἱεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τρεῖς, εἰς μὲν
 μεράκιον ἤδη, δύο δὲ παιδιά· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδέν'
 αὐτῶν δεῦρο ἀναβιβασάμενος δεήσομαι ὑμῶν ἀπο-
 ψηφίσασθαι. τί δὴ οὖν οὐδὲν τούτων ποιήσω; οὐκ
 αὐθαδιζόμενος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ἀτι- E
 25 μάζων, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον
 ἢ μῆ, ἄλλος λόγος, πρὸς δ' οὖν δόξαν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ
 ὑμῖν καὶ ὅλη τῇ πόλει οὗ μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι ἐμέ
 τούτων οὐδὲν ποιεῖν καὶ τηλικόνδε ὄντα καὶ τοῦτο
 τοῦνομα ἔχοντα, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθὲς εἴτ' οὖν ψεῦδος·
 30 ἀλλ' οὖν δεδογμένον γέ ἐστι τὸν Σωκράτη διαφέρειν
 τινὲ τῶν πολλῶν | ἀνθρώπων. εἰ οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ δο- 35
 κούντες διαφέρειν εἴτε σοφία εἴτε ἀνδρεία εἴτε ἄλλη
 ἥτινι οὖν ἀρετῇ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται, αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη·
 οἴουσπερ ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐώρακά τινας, ὅταν κρί-
 35 νωνται, δοκοῦντας μὲν τι εἶναι, θαυμάσια δὲ ἐργα-
 ζομένους, ὥς δεινόν τι οἰομένους πείσεσθαι εἰ ἀπο-
 θανοῦνται, ὥσπερ ἀθανάτων ἐσομένων, ἂν ὑμεῖς
 αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀποκτείνητε· οἱ ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν αἰσχύνῃ

τῇ πόλει περιάπτειν, ὥστ' ἂν τινα καὶ τῶν ξένων
 ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι οἱ διαφέροντες Ἀθηναίων εἰς ἀρετὴν, 40
 B οὓς αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν ἔν τε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
 τιμαῖς προκρίνουσιν, οὗτοι γυναικῶν οὐδὲν διαφέ-
 ρουσιν. ταῦτα γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε ὑμᾶς
 χρὴ ποιεῖν τοὺς δοκοῦντας καὶ ὀπιοῦν τι εἶναι, οὔτ',
 ἂν ἡμεῖς ποιῶμεν, ὑμᾶς ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ 45
 ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ὅτι πολὺ μᾶλλον καταψηφιεῖσθε τοῦ
 τὰ ἐλεεινὰ ταῦτα δράματα εἰσάγοντος καὶ καταγέ-
 λαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιούντος ἢ τοῦ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντος.

XXIV. Χωρὶς δὲ τῆς δόξης, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ
 δίκαιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι δεῖσθαι τοῦ δι- unjust, and im-
 C καστοῦ οὐδὲ δέομενον ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ pious.
 διδάσκειν καὶ πείθειν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κάθηται
 ὁ δικαστής, ἐπὶ τῷ καταχαρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, ἀλλ' 5
 ἐπὶ τῷ κρίνειν ταῦτα· καὶ ὁμῶμοκεν οὐ χαριεῖσθαι
 οἷς ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ δικάσειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.
 οὐκ οὖν χρὴ οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἐθίζειν ὑμᾶς ἐπιορκεῖν, οὔθ'
 ὑμᾶς ἐθίζεσθαι· οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἂν ἡμῶν εὐσεβοῖεν.
 μὴ οὖν ἀξιούτέ με, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιαῦτα δεῖν 10
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἃ μήτε ἡγοῦμαι καλὰ εἶναι
 D μήτε δίκαια μήτε ὅσια, ἄλλως τε μέντοι νῆ Δία
 πάντως καὶ ἀσεβείας φεύγοντα ὑπὸ Μελήτρου του-
 τουτ'. σαφῶς γὰρ ἂν, εἰ πείθοιμι ὑμᾶς καὶ τῷ
 δεῖσθαι βιαζοίμην ὁμωμοκότας, θεοὺς ἂν διδάσκοιμι 15
 μὴ ἡγείσθαι ὑμᾶς εἶναι, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἀπολογούμενος
 κατηγοροῖην ἂν ἑμαντοῦ ὡς θεοὺς οὐ νομίζω. ἀλλὰ
 πολλοῦ δεῖ οὕτως ἔχειν· νομίζω τε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγορῶν, καὶ ὑμῖν
 ἐπιτρέπω καὶ τῷ θεῷ κρίναι περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅπῃ μέλλει 20
 ἐμοί τε ἄριστα εἶναι καὶ ὑμῖν.

PART II. AFTER THE VERDICT AND BEFORE THE SENTENCE.

(*Second Speech.*)

CHAPTERS XXV—XXVIII.

XXV. Τὸ μὲν μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- Ε

ναῖοι, ἐπὶ | τούτῳ τῷ γεγονότι, ὅτι μου 36
κατεψηφίσασθε, ἅλλα τέ μοι πολλὰ
ξυμβάλλεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέλπιστόν μοι
γέγονεν τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πολὺ
μᾶλλον θαυμάζω ἐκατέρων τῶν ψήφων τὸν γεγονότα
ἀριθμόν. οὐ γὰρ φόβην ἔγωγε οὕτω παρ' ὀλίγων
ἔσσεσθαι ἀλλὰ παρὰ πολὺ· νῦν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰ
τριάκοντα μόναι μετέπεσον τῶν ψήφων, ἀπεπε-
10 φεύγη ἄν. Μέλητον μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκῶ, καὶ νῦν
ἀποπέφευγα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀποπέφευγα, ἀλλὰ παντὶ
δῆλον τοῦτό γε, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἀνέβη Ἄνυτος καὶ Λύ-
κων κατηγορήσοντες ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὄφλε χιλίας δραχμάς,
οὐ μεταλαβὼν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. B

XXVI. Τιμᾶται δ' οὖν μοι ὁ ἀνὴρ θανάτου.

εἶεν· ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ τίνος ὑμῖν ἀντιτιμῆσο-
μαι, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι
τῆς ἀξίας; τί οὖν; τί ἄξιός εἰμι παθεῖν
5 ἢ ἀποτίσαι, ὃ τι μαθὼν ἐν τῷ βίῳ οὐχ
ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσας ὧν περ οἱ πολλοί,
χρηματισμοῦ τε καὶ οἰκονομίας καὶ στρατηγιῶν καὶ
δημηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀρχῶν καὶ ξυνωμοσιῶν

I marvel, judges,
not at your ver-
dict, but at the
small majority
which has pro-
nounced me
guilty.

5

If I must fix the
counter-penalty
at my deserts, I
propose that I
should be sup-
ported in the Pry-
taneum.

5

καὶ στάσεων, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνομένων, ἡγησά-
 μενος ἑμαυτὸν τῷ ὄντι ἐπικεκότερον εἶναι ἢ ὥστε 10
 C εἰς ταύτ' ἰόντα σφῆξασθαι, ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἦα, οἱ
 ἔλθων μήτε ὑμῖν μήτε ἑμαυτῷ ἔμελλον μηδὲν ὀφελος
 εἶναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον ἰὼν εὐεργετεῖν τὴν
 μεγίστην εὐεργεσίαν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐνταῦθα ἦα,
 ἐπιχειρῶν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν πείθειν μὴ πρότερον μήτε 15
 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μηδενὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, πρὶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπι-
 μεληθεῖν, ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστος καὶ φρονιμώτατος
 ἔσοιτο, μήτε τῶν τῆς πόλεως, πρὶν αὐτῆς τῆς πό-
 λεως, τῶν τε ἄλλων οὕτω κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
 D ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· τί οὖν εἰμι ἄξιος παθεῖν τοιοῦτος ὢν; 20
 ἀγαθόν τι, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ δεῖ γε κατὰ τὴν
 ἀξίαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι· καὶ ταῦτά γε ἀγαθὸν
 τοιοῦτον, ὃ τι ἂν πρόποι ἐμοί. τί οὖν πρέπει ἀνδρὶ
 πένητι εὐεργέτῃ, δεομένῳ ἀγειν σχολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑμε-
 τέρᾳ παρακελεύσει; οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃ τι μᾶλλον, ὃ ἄνδρες 25
 Ἀθηναῖοι, πρέπει [οὕτως], ὡς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἐν
 πρυτανείῳ σιτεῖσθαι, πολὺ γε μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ὑμῶν
 ἵππῳ ἢ ξυνωρίδι ἢ ζεύγει νενίκηκεν Ὀλυμπίαςιν.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ
 E δὲ εἶναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δέο- 30
 μαί. εἰ οὖν δεῖ με κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀξίας τι-
 37 μᾶσθαι, τούτου | τιμῶμαι, ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως.

XXVII. Ἴσως οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ταυτὶ λέγων παρα-
 πλησίως δοκῶ λέγειν ὥσπερ περὶ τοῦ I should be un-
 οἴκτου καὶ τῆς ἀντιβολήσεως, ἀπαυθα- I just to myself, if
 διζόμενος· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, I proposed im-
 τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε μᾶλλον. πέπεισμαι ἐγὼ 5
 ἐκὼν εἶναι μηδένα ἀδικεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς
 τοῦτο οὐ πείθω· ὀλίγον γὰρ χρόνον ἀλλήλοις διει-

λέγεσθαι· ἐπεὶ, ὡς ἐγὼμαι, εἰ ἦν ὑμῖν νόμος, ὥσπερ
 καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, περὶ θανάτου μὴ μίαν ἡμέραν
 10 μόνον κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς, ἐπείσθητε ἄν· νῦν δ' Β
 οὐ ῥᾶδιον ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ μεγάλας διαβολὰς ἀπο-
 λύεσθαι. πεπεισμένος δὴ ἐγὼ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν πολ-
 λοῦ δέω ἑμαυτὸν γε ἀδικήσῃν καὶ κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ
 ἐρεῖν αὐτός, ὡς ἄξιός εἰμί του κακοῦ, καὶ τιμῆσεσθαι
 15 τοιούτου τινὸς ἑμαυτῷ. τί δείσας; ἢ μὴ πάθω τοῦτο,
 οὐ Μέλητος μοι τιμᾶται, ὃ φημι οὐκ εἰδέναι οὐτ' εἰ
 ἀγαθὸν οὐτ' εἰ κακὸν ἐστίν; ἀντὶ τούτου δὴ ἔχωμαι
 ὦν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κακῶν ὄντων; τοῦ τιμησάμενος;
 πότερον δεσμοῦ; καὶ τί με δεῖ ζῆν ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ, C
 20 δουλεύοντα τῇ αἰεὶ καθισταμένῃ ἀρχῇ, τοῖς ἑνδεκα;
 ἀλλὰ χρημάτων, καὶ δεδέσθαι ἕως ἂν ἐκτίσω; ἀλλὰ
 ταυτὸν μοί ἐστιν, ὅπερ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι
 μοι χρήματα, ὁπόθεν ἐκτίσω. ἀλλὰ δὴ φυγῆς τιμή-
 σωμαι; ἴσως γὰρ ἂν μοι τούτου τιμήσαιτε. πολλῇ
 25 μεντὰν με φιλοψυχία ἔχοι, εἰ οὕτως ἀλόγιστός
 εἰμι, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν
 ὄντες πολῖταί μου οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐγένεσθε ἐνεγκεῖν τὰς
 ἐμὰς διατριβὰς καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν βαρύτεραι D
 γεγόνασιν καὶ ἐπιφθονώτεραι, ὥστε ζητεῖτε αὐτῶν
 30 νυνὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰς οἴσουσι
 ῥαδίως; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι. καλὸς οὖν ἂν
 μοι ὁ βίος εἴη ἐξελθόντι, τηλικῶδε ἀνθρώπῳ ἄλλην
 ἐξ ἄλλης πόλεως ἀμειβομένῳ καὶ ἐξελαυνομένῳ
 ζῆν. εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, ὅποι ἂν ἔλθω, λέγοντος ἐμοῦ
 35 ἀκροάσονται οἱ νέοι ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε· καὶ μὲν τού-
 τους ἀπελαύνω, οὗτοι ἐμὲ αὐτοὶ ἐξελῶσι, πείθοντες
 τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπελαύνω, οἱ τούτων Ε
 πατέρες τε καὶ οἰκείοι δι' αὐτοὺς τούτους.

XXVIII. Ἴσως οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι· σιγῶν δὲ καὶ
 ἡσυχίαν ἄγων, ὃ Σώκρατες, οὐχ οἷός τ' I cannot disobey
God and change
my mode of life.
 ἔσει ἡμῖν ἐξελθὼν ζῆν; τουτὶ δὴ ἐστὶ I propose a fine
of 30 minae.
 πάντων χαλεπώτατον πείσαι τινας ὑμῶν.
 ἐάν τε γὰρ λέγω ὅτι τῷ θεῷ ἀπειθεῖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν καὶ 5
 διὰ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, οὐ πείσεσθέ μοι
 38 ὥς εἰρωνευομένῳ· | ἐάν τ' αὖ λέγω ὅτι καὶ τυγχάνει
 μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ὃν ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦτο, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
 περὶ ἀρετῆς τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων,
 περὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ ἀκούετε διαλεγομένου καὶ ἐμαν- 10
 τὸν καὶ ἄλλους ἐξετάζοντος, ὃ δὲ ἀνεξέταστος βίος
 οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπῳ, ταῦτα δ' ἔτι ἤττον πείσεσθέ
 μοι λέγοντι. τὰ δὲ ἔχει μὲν οὕτως, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι,
 ὃ ἄνδρες, πείθειν δὲ οὐ ῥάδιον. καὶ ἐγὼ ἅμα οὐκ
 εἴθισμαι ἐμαυτὸν ἀξιούν κακοῦ οὐδενός. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 15
 B ἦν μοι χρήματα, ἐτιμησάμην ἂν χρημάτων ὅσα
 ἔμελλον ἐκτίσειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐβλάβην· νῦν δέ—
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὅσον ἂν ἐγὼ δυναίμην
 ἐκτίσαι, τοσούτου βούλεσθέ μοι τιμῆσαι. ἴσως δ'
 ἂν δυναίμην ἐκτίσαι ὑμῖν μνᾶν ἀργυρίου· τοσούτου 20
 οὖν τιμῶμαι. Πλάτων δὲ ὅδε, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 καὶ Κρίτων καὶ Κριτόβουλος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος
 κελεύουσίν με τριάκοντα μνῶν τιμῆσασθαι, αὐτοὶ δ'
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι· τιμῶμαι οὖν τοσούτου, ἐγγυηταὶ δ' ὑμῖν
 ἔσονται τοῦ ἀργυρίου οὗτοι ἀξιόχρεοι. 25

PART III. AFTER THE SENTENCE.

(Third Speech.)

CHAPTERS XXIX—XXXIII.

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

XXIX. Οὐ πολλοῦ γ' ἔνεκα χρόνου, ὦ ἄνδρες C
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄνομα ἔξετε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπὸ
 τῶν βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν λοιδορεῖν,
 ὡς Σωκράτη ἀπεκτόνατε, ἄνδρα σοφόν·
 5 φήσουσι γὰρ δὴ με σοφὸν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ
 μὴ εἰμί, οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑμῖν ὀνειδίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν πε-
 ριεμείνατε ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ἂν
 ὑμῖν τοῦτο ἐγένετο· ὁρᾶτε γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτι
 πόρρω ἤδη ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου, θανάτου δὲ ἐγγύς. λέγω
 10 δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοῦ D
 καταψηφισαμένους θάνατον. λέγω δὲ καὶ τόδε πρὸς
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους. ἴσως με οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες,
 ἀπορία λόγων ἐάλωκεναι τοιούτων, οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς
 ἔπεισα, εἰ ὅμην δεῖν ἅπαντα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ὥστε
 15 ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν δίκην. πολλοῦ γε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἀπορία
 μὲν ἐάλωκα, οὐ μέντοι λόγων, ἀλλὰ τόλμης καὶ
 ἀναισχυντίας καὶ τοῦ ἐθέλειν λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 τοιαῦτα, οἷ ἂν ὑμῖν ἡδιστα ἦν ἀκούειν, θρηνησύντος
 τέ μου καὶ ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἄλλα ποιούντος καὶ
 20 λέγοντος πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι· οἷα E

δὴ καὶ εἴθισθε ὑμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' οὔτε τότε φήθηεν δεῖν ἕνεκα τοῦ κινδύνου πράξαι οὐδὲν ἀνελεύθερον, οὔτε νῦν μοι μεταμέλει οὕτως ἀπολογησαμένῳ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον αἰρούμαι ὥδε ἀπολογησάμενος τεθνάναι ἢ ἐκείνως ζῆν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν 25 δίκη οὐτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὐτ' ἐμὲ οὐτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα δεῖ

39 τοῦτο | μηχανᾶσθαι, ὅπως ἀποφεύξεται πᾶν ποιῶν θάνατον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πολλάκις δῆλον γίγνεται ὅτι τό γε ἀποθανεῖν ἂν τις ἐκφύγοι καὶ ὅπλα ἀφελὺς καὶ ἐφ' ἱκετείαν τραπόμενος τῶν 30 διωκόντων· καὶ ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ πολλαί εἰσιν ἐν ἐκάστοις τοῖς κινδύνοις, ὥστε διαφεύγειν θάνατον, εἴαν τις τολμᾷ πᾶν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν. ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐ τοῦτ' ἢ χαλεπὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ χαλεπώτερον πονηρίαν· θάπτον γὰρ θανάτου 35

B θεῖ. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἄτε βραδὺς ὢν καὶ πρεσβύτης ὑπὸ τοῦ βραδυτέρου ἑάλων, οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ κατήγοροι ἄτε δεινοὶ καὶ ὀξεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θάπτονος, τῆς κακίας. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπειμι ὑφ' ὑμῶν θανάτου δίκην ὀφλῶν, οὗτοι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ὀφληκότες μοχθη- 40 ρίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν. καὶ ἐγὼ τε τῷ τιμῆματι ἐμμένω καὶ οὗτοι. ταῦτα μὲν που ἴσως οὕτως καὶ ἔδει σχεῖν, καὶ οἶμαι αὐτὰ μετρίως ἔχειν.

XXX. Τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιθυμῶ ὑμῖν

C χρησμοφθεῖναι, ὃ καταψηφισάμενοί μου καὶ γὰρ εἰμι ἤδη ἐνταῦθα, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι χρησμοφδοῦσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι. φημὶ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ 5 ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε, τιμωρίαν ὑμῖν ἤξειν εὐθύς μετὰ τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον πολὺ χαλεπωτέραν νῆ Δία ἢ οἶαν ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε· νῦν γὰρ τοῦτο εἰργάσασθε οἰόμενοι

My mantle will
fall upon others:
you will still
have to endure
reproaches, for
not living aright. 5

μέν ἀπαλλάξεσθαι τοῦ διδόναι ἔλεγχον τοῦ βίου,
 10 τὸ δὲ ὑμῖν πολὺ ἐναντίον ἀποβήσεται, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι.
 πλείους ἔσονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἐλέγχοντες, οὓς νῦν ἐγὼ
 κατεῖχον, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἠσθάνεσθε· καὶ χαλεπώτεροι D
 ἔσονται ὅσῳ νεώτεροί εἰσιν, καὶ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον ἀγα-
 νακτήσετε. εἰ γὰρ οἴεσθε ἀποκτείνοντες ἀνθρώπους
 15 ἐπισχῆσειν τοῦ ὀνειδίζειν τινὰ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς
 ζῆτε, οὐκ ὀρθῶς διανοεῖσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἐστ' αὕτη ἡ
 ἀπαλλαγὴ οὔτε πάνυ δυνατὴ οὔτε καλή, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη
 καὶ καλλίστη καὶ ῥάστη, μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους κολούειν,
 ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζειν ὅπως ἔσται ὡς βέλτισ-
 20 τος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν τοῖς καταψηφισαμένοις
 μαντευσάμενος ἀπαλλάττομαι.

XXXI. Τοῖς δὲ ἀποψηφισαμένοις ἡδέως ἂν δια- E

To you, who
 voted in my fa-
 vour, I would
 say: The silence
 of my Divine
 Sign convinces
 5 me that this thing
 is no evil.

λεχθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος τουτουῖ
 πράγματος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀσχολίαν
 ἄγουσι καὶ οὐπω ἔρχομαι οἱ ἐλθόντα με
 δεῖ τεθνάναι. ἀλλὰ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, πα-
 ραμείνατε τοσοῦτον χρόνον· οὐδὲν γὰρ
 κωλύει διαμυθολογῆσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἕως ἔξεστιν.
 ὑμῖν γὰρ ὡς | φίλοις οὖσιν ἐπιδείξαι ἐθέλω τὸ νυνὶ 40
 μοι ξυμβεβηκὸς τί ποτε νοεῖ. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
 10 δικασταί—ὑμᾶς γὰρ δικαστὰς καλῶν ὀρθῶς ἂν κα-
 λοίην—θαυμάσιόν τι γέγονεν. ἡ γὰρ εἰθυδιά μοι
 μαντικὴ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ
 παντὶ πάνυ πυκνὴ αἰὲ ἦν καὶ πάνυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς
 ἐναντιούμενη, εἴ τι μέλλοιμι μὴ ὀρθῶς πράξειν.
 15 νυνὶ δὲ ξυμβέβηκέ μοι, ἅπερ ὁράτε καὶ αὐτοί, ταυτὶ
 ἃ γε δὴ οἰηθεῖν ἂν τις καὶ νομίζεται ἔσχατα κακῶν
 εἶναι. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὔτε ἐξιόντι ἔωθεν οἴκοθεν ἡναντιώθη B
 τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον, οὔτε ἡνίκα ἀνέβαινον ἐνταυθοῖ

ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, οὔτε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐδαμοῦ μέλλοντί τι ἐρεῖν· καὶ τοι ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις πολλαχοῦ 20
 δὴ με ἐπέσχε λέγοντα μεταξύ· νῦν δὲ οὐδαμοῦ περὶ
 ταύτην τὴν πράξιν οὔτ' ἐν ἔργῳ οὐδενὶ οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ
 ἠναντιώταί μοι. τί οὖν αἴτιον εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω;
 ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ· κινδυνεύει γάρ μοι τὸ ξυμβεβηκὸς
 τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἡμεῖς 25
 C ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ὅσοι οἰόμεθα κακὸν εἶναι τὸ
 τεθνάναι. μέγα μοι τεκμήριον τούτου γέγονεν· οὐ
 γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἠναντιώθη ἄν μοι τὸ εἰωθὸς ση-
 μείον, εἰ μὴ τι ἔμελλον ἐγὼ ἀγαθὸν πράξειν.

XXXII. Ἐννοήσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῇδε, ὡς πολλὰ
 ἐλπίς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι. Death is either annihilation or a better mode of life : and either of these is good. δυοῖν
 γὰρ θάτερόν ἐστιν τὸ τεθνάναι· ἢ γὰρ
 οἶον μηδὲν εἶναι, μηδὲ αἰσθησιν μηδεμίαν
 μηδενοῦς ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἢ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα 5
 μεταβολὴ τις τυγχάνει οὔσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ
 ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον. καὶ
 D εἴτε μηδεμία αἰσθησίς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἶον ὕπνος, ἐπει-
 δάν τις καθεύδων μηδ' ὄναρ μηδὲν ὄρα, θαυμάσιον
 κέρδος ἂν εἴη ὁ θάνατος. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι, εἴ τινα 10
 ἐκλεξάμενον δέοι ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἐν ἣ οὔτω κατέ-
 δαρθεν, ὥστε μηδὲ ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας
 τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιπαρα-
 θέντα ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ δέοι σκεψάμενον εἰπεῖν, πόσας
 ἄμεινον καὶ ἥδιον ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ταύτης τῆς 15
 νυκτὸς βεβίωκεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ, οἶμαι ἂν μὴ ὅτι
 ἰδιώτην τινά, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα εὐαριθμήτους
 E ἂν εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας καὶ
 νύκτας. εἰ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν, κέρδος
 ἔγωγε λέγω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλεῖον ὁ πᾶς χρόνος 20

φαίνεται οὕτω δὴ εἶναι ἢ μία νύξ. εἰ δ' αὖ οἷον
 ἀποδημῆσαί ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον
 τόπον, καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὥς ἄρα ἐκεῖ
 εἰσὶν ἅπαντες οἱ τεθνεώτες, τί μείζον ἀγαθὸν τούτου
 25 εἴη ἂν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί; εἰ γὰρ τις ἀφικόμενος
 εἰς Ἄιδου, ἀπαλλαγείς τούτων | τῶν φασκόντων 41
 δικαστῶν εἶναι, εὐρήσει τοὺς ἀληθῶς δικαστάς,
 οἵπερ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν, Μίνως τε καὶ
 Ῥαδάμανθυς καὶ Αἰακὸς καὶ Τριπτόλεμος, καὶ ἄλλοι
 30 ὅσοι τῶν ἡμιθέων δίκαιοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῶν
 βίῳ, ἄρα φαύλη ἂν εἴη ἡ ἀποδημία; ἢ αὖ Ὀρφεὶ
 ξυγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ
 ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἂν τις δέξαιτ' ἂν ὑμῶν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
 πολλάκις θέλω τεθνάναι, εἰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ.
 35 ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ θαυμαστὴ ἂν εἴη ἡ διατριβὴ
 αὐτόθι, ὅποτε ἐντύχοιμι Παλαμῆδαι καὶ Αἴαντι τῷ B
 Τελαμῶνος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν διὰ κρί-
 σιν ἄδικον τέθνηκεν· ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι τὰ ἑμαντοῦ
 πάθη πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀηδὲς
 40 εἴη. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐξετάζοντα καὶ
 ἐρευνῶντα ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διάγειν, τίς αὐτῶν
 σοφός ἐστιν καὶ τίς οἶεται μὲν, ἔστιν δ' οὐ. ἐπὶ πόσῳ
 δ' ἂν τις, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, δέξαιτο ἐξετάσαι τὸν
 ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀγαγόντα τὴν πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἢ Ὀδυσ-
 45 σέα ἢ Σίσυφον; ἢ ἄλλους μυρίους ἂν τις εἴποι καὶ C
 ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, οἷς ἐκεῖ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ
 ξυνεῖναι καὶ ἐξετάζειν ἀμήχανον ἂν εἴη εὐδαιμονίας.
 πάντως οὐ δήπου τούτου γε ἕνεκα οἱ ἐκεῖ ἀποκτεί-
 νουσι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα εὐδαιμονέστεροί εἰσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ
 50 τῶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἤδη τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀθάνατοί
 εἰσιν, εἴπερ γε τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν.

XXXIII. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς χρή, ὦ ἄνδρες δι-
 κασταί, εὐέλπιδας εἶναι πρὸς τὸν θάνα-
 τον, καὶ ἔν τι τοῦτο διανοεῖσθαι ἀληθές,
 D ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κακὸν οὐδὲν
 οὔτε ζῶντι οὔτε τελευτήσαντι, οὐδὲ ἀμε-
 λείται ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ τούτου πράγματα·
 οὐδὲ τὰ ἐμὰ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ
 μοι δῆλόν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὅτι ἤδη τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλ-
 λάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἦν μοι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 ἐμὲ οὐδαμοῦ ἀπέτρεψεν τὸ σημεῖον, καὶ ἔγωγε τοῖς 10
 καταψηφισαμένοις μου καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς οὐ πάνυ
 χαλεπαίνω. καί τοι οὐ ταύτῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατεψηφί-
 ζοντό μου καὶ κατηγοροῦν, ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν.
 E τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἄξιον μέμφεσθαι. τοσόνδε μέντοι
 αὐτῶν δέομαι· τοὺς υἱεῖς μου, ἐπειδὰν ἡβήσωσι, τι- 15
 μωρήσασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ταῦτα ταῦτα λυποῦντες, ἅπερ
 ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐλύπουν, ἐὰν ὑμῖν δοκῶσιν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ
 ἄλλου του πρότερον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἐὰν
 δοκῶσί τι εἶναι μηδὲν ὄντες, ὀνειδίζετε αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ
 ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται ὧν δεῖ, καὶ οἶονταί 20
 τι εἶναι ὄντες οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι. καὶ ἐὰν ταῦτα ποιῇτε,
 42 δίκαια | πεπονθὼς ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτός τε
 καὶ οἱ υἱεῖς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ὥρα ἀπιέναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν
 ἀποθανουμένῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ βιωσομένοις· ὁπότεροι δὲ
 ἡμῶν ἔρχονται ἐπὶ ἄμεινον πρᾶγμα, ἄδηλον παντὶ 25
 πλὴν ἢ τῷ θεῷ.

Believe me, judges, no evil can befall the good man, living or dying. I entreat you who are my enemies to deal with my sons as I have dealt with you.

NOTES.

PART I.

Before the Verdict.

(FIRST SPEECH.)

CHAPTER I.

1. $\delta\ \tau\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ — $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$. Not $\delta\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ — $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ because 17 A the contrast is rather between the two clauses considered as wholes than between $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$.

$\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \text{'}\acute{\text{Α}}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$. Socrates reserves the usual form of address ($\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$) for those judges who voted in his favour, cf. 40 A $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\iota\eta\nu$: 40 E and 41 C.

2. $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\theta\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}$. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ as passive to $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ is followed by $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}$ (ab), the usual preposition denoting the agent after passive verbs: so $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\theta\eta\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\kappa\omega\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\iota$ $\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega\ \mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ etc. are used as passives to $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\ \delta\iota\acute{\omega}\kappa\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\psi\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, etc.

3. $\delta'\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ = 'at all events'. $\delta'\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$ introduces a fact dogmatically stated in opposition to the uncertainty of the preceding clause: cf. 34 E $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \theta\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ —, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \delta'\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha\nu$ — $\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\tau\lambda$. Cron compares Xen. Anab. I. 3. 5 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\grave{\eta}\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\ \pi\omicron\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$, $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \omicron\iota\delta\alpha$ · $\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \delta'\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$.

$\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\nu$ sc. $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ which is written infra 22 A.

5. $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ i.q. *paene dixerim*: in good authors hardly ever if at all = *ut ita dicam*. The phrase is regularly used to limit the extent or comprehension of a phrase or word. It is generally, but by no means exclusively, found with $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$: $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ = 'hardly anyone': $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ = 'nearly every one'.

Cf. *infra* 22 D and 22 B (with *ὀλιγον ἅπαντες*). Plato uses it also with *φᾶλλον* (trivial, little) Phil. 55 E: with *οὐδὲ σμικρόν* Symp. 192 C: as the opposite of *ἀκριβεί λόγῳ* Rep. I. 341 B: with *ξύμπατος* Phaed. 66 A: with *ἀθάνατα* *ibid.* 80 D: cf. also Euthyd. 272 B *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν γέροντε ὄντε*, Symp. 209 D *σωτήρας τῆς Λακεδαιμονος καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* (one might almost say) *τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, and Prot. 325 C *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ξυλλήβδην τῶν οἰκῶν ἀνατροπαί*. In Aesch. Pers. 714 *διαπεπρόρθηται τὰ Περσῶν πράγματ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος* it modifies the *δια-* of *διαπεπρόρθηται*.

6. *αὐτῶν ἐν ἐθαύμασα*. *θαυμάζω τί τις* is a usual construction e.g. Theact. 161 B *οἶσθ' ὅν—δ θαυμάζω τοῦ ἐταίρου σου*. *τῶν πολλῶν* *infra* is a partitive gen. after *ἐν*.

8. *χρή ὑμᾶς εὐλαβεῖσθαι*. *χρῆν* (the reading of the best MSS) would mean 'it would be (have been) right' (implying, 'but you don't do it'). Cf. *infra* 33 D *χρῆν δήπου*, 34 A *ὦν τινα ἔχρην—παρασχέσθαι*. In the direct *χρή* was used: Greek like Latin puts such expressions categorically and not conditionally (*δεῖ* oportet rather than *εἰ* *ἂν* oporteret). In the indirect *χρή* may either remain as here or become *χρεῖη* (Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, p. 257): it cannot be changed to *χρῆν*, since a present tense of the direct does not become an imperfect in the indirect. [App. 2.]

17 B 10. *ἔργῳ* i.e. practically: 'they will receive a practical refutation at my hands': my poor defence will shew that I am far from being a clever speaker.

11. *τούτο*: the antecedent is *τὸ γὰρ—λέγειν*. *Infra αὐτῶν* is a partitive genitive. Tr. 'this seemed to me the most shameless point about them'.

12. *εἰ μὴ ἄρα* = nisi forte. *ἄρα* marks the sentence as ironical: so *infr.* 38 B *εἰ μὴ ἄρα—βούλεσθέ μοι τιμῆσαι*. Cf. also Xen. Mem. I. 2. 8 *εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλεια διαφθορά ἐστίν*.

13. *εἰ μὲν γάρ κτλ.* There is no antithetical clause with *εἰ δὲ μή* corresponding to this, because the antithesis is already expressed in what precedes. Cf. *infra* *τούτου μὲν* in 21 D, without a following *δὲ* clause.

14. *οὐ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι ῥήτωρ* = 'an orator, but not after their style'. *ῥήτωρ* is merely a variation for *δεινὸς λέγειν*. The meaning is explained by 18 A *ῥήτορος δὲ τάληθ' λέγειν*: the language may be illustrated from Hdt. I. 121 *πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε—καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*. Cf. Thuc. II. 62. 3 *οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρεῖαν—αὕτη ἡ δύναμις*

φαίνεται and Pl. Symp. 211 D οὐ κατὰ χρυσίον τε καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς παῖδας—δόξει σοι εἶναι. οὐ κατὰ τούτους as Bäumlein has shewn (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. vol. 93 p. 115 ff.) is inserted half-parenthetically like μόγῃς πάνυ in 21 B, or μάλα χαλεπῶς in Xen. Hell. VI. 5. 13 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τέχους μάλα χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλθον. [Muretus who misunderstood κατὰ declared οὐ to be spurious: v. App. 2.]

16. ἢ τι ἢ οὐδέν = 'little or nothing'. Xen. Cyr. VII. 5. 45 τούτων δὲ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἢ τινα ἢ οὐδένα οἶδα, Pl. Rep. VI. 496 C ἢ γὰρ πῶς τινι ἄλλῃ ἢ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν γέγονε (sc. τὸ δαιμόνιον σημεῖον). Cf. Pers. Sat. I. 3 vel duo vel nemo. Infr. 23 C we have ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδέν.

ὑμεῖς δέ μιν. As the antithesis is between οὗτοι and μιν we should expect ἐμοῦ δ' ἀκούσεσθε. But the antithesis is not pressed, and the similarity of case is allowed to attract ὑμεῖς to the first place. In this way additional emphasis is also thrown on πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

18. κεκαλλιεπημένους γὰρ λόγους. κεκαλλιεπημένους is here passive. The "passive usage of deponents was avoided by good writers in the present and imperfect tenses, and was not common in the aorist, although in the perfect it was of frequent occurrence". Rutherford's New Phrynichus p. 186. καλλιεπείσθαι = 'to use fine language': cf. Ar. Rhet. III. 2. 1404^b 16 εἰ δοῦλος καλλιεποιτο ἢ λίαν νέος, ἀπρεπέστερον.

19. ὥσπερ οἱ τούτων sc. κεκαλλιεπνῆνται.

ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν = 'expressions and words'. So in Symp. 198 B τοῦ κάλλους τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων τίς οὐκ ἀνέξε-πλάγη ἀκούων; ὀνόματα are names, ῥήματα expressions involving a predicate. Thus in Crat. 399 A—B Δίφιλος is called an ὄνομα: Δίτ' φίλος α ῥήμα. In Rep. V. 463 E the sentence τὸ ἐμὸν εὖ πράττει is also alluded to as a ῥήμα. The transition was easy to the grammatical use of ὀνόματα and ῥήματα = nouns and verbs, e.g. Plato Soph. 262 A foll. and repeatedly in Aristotle (see following note) and the grammarians.

20. κεκοσμημένους sc. with metaphors and tropes)(κύρια or unmetaphorical words and expressions. Cf. Ar. Rhet. III. 2. 1404^b 4 foll. τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων (nouns and verbs) σαφὴ μὲν ποιεῖ τὰ κύρια, μὴ ταπεινὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ κεκοσμημένην τὰλλα ὀνόματα ὅσα εἰρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς κτλ.

εἰκῇ λεγόμενα—ὀνόμασιν. εἰκῇ = temere hardly differs from τοῖς 17 C

ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασιν = 'in the first words that present themselves'. Socrates made no preparations for his defence: v. Introd. p. xxxi. Cron refers to St Matth. x. 19 *ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσητε*. *δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσητε*.

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

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

23. *τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ* = *ἐμοὶ τηλικῶδε ὄντι*. Hence *πλάττοντι* (not *πλαττούσῃ*) by the construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν*. *ᾄδε* constantly = *ἐμός* as *hic* = *meus*.

24. *εἰς ὑμᾶς*. *ὑμᾶς* = *δικαστάς* = *δικαστήριον* as in Gorg. 521 C *ἐάνπερ εἰσὶ εἰς δικαστήριον*: v. L. and S. s. v. *εἰσέρχομαι*.

25. *καὶ μέντοι καὶ πάνν*—*παρίεμαι* = 'Yes, and I particularly beg and entreat this of you'. The first *καὶ* = 'and': the second emphasizes *πάνν*. *παρίεμαι* = *deprecor*. Cf. Rep. I. 341 B *οὐδέν σου παρίεμαι*. So *infra* *παρηγησάμην* in 27 A *ὅπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑμᾶς παρηγησάμην*.

28. *ἐπὶ τῶν τραπέζων*. These *τράπεζαι* are the tables or counters of money-changers and bankers set up in the market-place. They were a favourite resort of those who wished to see life. Hippias Minor 368 B *ὥς ἐγὼ ποτὲ σου ἤκουον μεγαλαυχουμένου, πολλὴν σοφίαν καὶ ζηλωτὴν σουτοῦ διεξιόντος ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις*. Cf. Theophr. Char. 21 where it is said to be a trait in the character of the *μικροφιλότιμος*, *τῆς μὲν ἀγορᾶς πρὸς τὰς τραπέζας προσφοιτᾷν κτλ.*

7 *ἵνα ὑμῶν πολλοὶ ἀκηκόασι*. *ἵνα* is rarely used in good Attic prose writers in the sense of 'where': it is so used occasionally in Plato, as here. Cf. also Soph. 243 B *ὅρῳ ἵν' ἐσμέν αὐτοῦ πέρι τῆς ἀπορίας*. Phil. 61 B *ἵν' οἰκεῖ*.

17 D 29. *θορυβεῖν* denotes a disturbance of any kind, whether applause or the reverse.

31. *ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα*. So *infra* 36 A *εἰ μὴ ἀνέβη ἄνθρωπος*. The phrase *ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβαίνειν* was common for appearing before a law-court. Cf. Euthyd. 305 C and Gorg. 486 B. Göbel compares the German 'aufs Gericht'. The original reference in the *ἀνα*- of *ἀναβέβηκα* was no doubt to the *βήματα* or platforms

from which the accuser and the accused spoke. This is more probable than to suppose with Cron and Wagner that the reference is to the elevated position of the court-house. Cf. note on 31 C ἀναβαλῶν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος.

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

32. ἀτεχνῶς οὖν ξένος ἔχω = 'I am literally a stranger to': ἀτέχνως = without art, empirically; ἀτεχνῶς = literally, absolutely: our 'simply' has both these meanings. In Ar. Av. 605 ἀτεχνῶς οὐδεὶς = 'literally nobody': v. also on 18 D ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ. ξένος ἔχω i. q. ἀπειρός εἰμι.

τῆς ἐνθάδε i.e. τῆς δικανικῆς. What this style was is explained infra 34 B foll.

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

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

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

35. καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν = οὕτω καὶ νῦν as in the similar sentence 18 A (Prot. 334 D) ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ ἐτύχχανον ὑπόκωφος ὢν, φου ἂν χρῆναι—μείζον φθέγγεσθαι—, οὕτω καὶ νῦν κτλ. In both places νῦν is not 'now', but 'as it is', 'situated as I am'. νῦν δέ (= Lat. nunc) is very common in this sense, e.g. Prot. 335 C ἀλλὰ σὲ ἐχρῆν ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν—νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐθέλεις κτλ. Cf. infr. 20 B νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐστόν et al.

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

40. αὕτη (i. q. τοῦτο) has for its antecedent αὐτὸ...μή. τοῦτο which would be the natural expression is attracted into the gender of the predicate ἀρετή. So in Phaedo 97 A ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, αὕτη (sc. τὸ πησιῶσαι ἀλλήλοις) ἄρα αἰτία αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δοῦν γενέσθαι.

CHAPTER II.

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

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

18 B 5. ἐμοῦ γὰρ—πάλαι. καί before πάλαι is 'even': 'even of old many men have accused me to you, talking now for many years and saying nothing true'. For καί 'even' followed by καί 'and' Münscher (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1866 p. 821 foll.) quotes Lys. adv. Eratosth. § 61 ταῦτα δὲ ἐπίστασθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οἶδ' ὅτι κτλ. Cf. also infr. 28 A πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς and note. For the reverse change from καί 'and' to καί 'even' v. supra Apol. 17 C καὶ μέντοι καὶ πάνυ. [Others wrongly take καὶ πάλαι with λέγοντες.]

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

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

παραλαμβάνοντες = 'taking in hand' is used of taking a pupil in Alc. I. 121 E τὸν παῖδα παραλαμβάνουσιν οὗς ἐκεῖνοι βασιλεῖους παιδαγωγοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν.

11. κατηγόρουν ἐμοῦ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀληθές = 'used to accuse me of what is nevertheless not true': οὐδὲν μᾶλλον sc. in spite of their efforts to persuade you. Cf. Symp. 214 A τοσοῦτον ἐκπιῶν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μήποτε μεθυσθῇ. Thuc. II. 62. 1 τὸν δὲ πόνον—μὴ γένηται τε πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον περιγενώμεθα. [The best MS has μᾶλλον οὐδὲν v. App. 2.]

ὥς ἔστιν τις Σωκράτης = 'that there is one Socrates'. τις is contemptuous: cf. Plato Symp. 210 D ἀγαπῶν παιδαρίου κάλλος ἢ ἀνθρώπου τινός 'content with the beauty of a boy or of some poor mistress'. Gorg. 483 B ἀνδραπόδου τινός.

12. σοφός ἀνὴρ. σοφός and its derivatives were often used ironically in Socrates' time: cf. Meno 75 C τῶν σοφῶν—καὶ ἐριστικῶν καὶ ἀγωνιστικῶν and Ion 532 D σοφοὶ μὲν που ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ βαψυδοὶ καὶ ὑποκριταὶ κτλ. Here the epithet serves to identify Socrates with the so-called Sophists. Cf. infra 20 A where Evenus is called ἀνὴρ Πάριος σοφός and Xen. Mem. II. 1. 21 Πρόδικος ὁ σοφός.

τά τε μετέωρα φροντιστής = 'one who speculates about the heavens'. The noun φροντιστής is here followed by the same case as the verb from which it comes. Cf. Charm. 158 C ἐξάρνῃ εἶναι τὰ ἐρωτώμενα and Aesch. Choeph. 23 χοὰς προπομπός 'escorting the libations'. There is no sufficient reason for bracketing φροντιστής, as is done by A. v. Bamberg: τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν is a parallel expression in prose infr. 30 A. Similarly, in Xen. Symp. vi. 6, Socrates has the reputation of being τῶν μετεώρων φροντιστής: and to this contemptuous use of μετέωρος and its derivatives Plato alludes in Rep. vi. 488 E and 489 C, where he says the true pilot (analogous to the true philosopher in a state) will be called μετεωροσκόπος and ἀδολεσχής and μετεωρολέσχής by those who are ignorant of navigation: cf. also Eurip. Alc. 962 ff. ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ μούσας καὶ μεταρσίους ἦξα καὶ πλείστων ἀψάμενος λόγων κρείσσον οὐδὲν ἀνάγκας ἡῦρον. Like σοφός, the term φροντιστής had an invidious meaning among some of Socrates' contemporaries, v. Aristophanes Nub. 456 and 1039: it was also a nickname of Socrates, Nub. 266: cf. Xen. Symp. vi. 6 ἄρα σὺ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ φροντιστής ἐπικαλοῦμενος;

13. τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς, cf. Ar. Nub. 188 ζητοῦσιν οὗτοι τὰ κατὰ γῆς. There are no good grounds for holding that Socrates was himself addicted to physical speculations, although he had studied astronomy to some extent (Xen. Mem. iv. 7. 4 foll.): he knew but disagreed with certain physical theories of Anaxagoras (ibid. 6—7). This charge completes the identification of Socrates with at least a section of the Sophists: v. Prot. 315 C, where Hippias expounds astronomy: ἐφαίνοντο δὲ περὶ φύσεώς τε καὶ τῶν μετεώρων ἀστρονομικὰ ἅπτα διερωτᾶν τὸν Ἰππίαν, ὁ δ' ἐν θρόνῳ καθήμενος ἐκάστοις αὐτὸν διέκρινε καὶ διεξήει τὰ ἐρωτώμενα.

τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν. This was one of the stock charges against the sophistic rhetoric; cf. Ar. Nub. 112—115 ἀμφὺ τῷ λόγῳ, τὸν κρείττον' ὅστις ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸν ἥττονα. τούτοις τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν λόγων, τὸν ἥττονα, νικᾶν λέγοντά φασι τὰδικώτερα. Ibid. 889—1104 both λόγοι hold a contest on the stage and the ἄδικος λόγος wins. The

precise meaning of the expression is 'making the worse appear the better cause': *ἥττων* and *κρείττων* mean worse and better in point of justice or morality. See Ar. Nub. 1038—1040 and Arist. Rhet. II. p. 321 (ed. Cope): also Cic. Brut. 30 and Zeller Philos. der Griechen II. 1. p. 181 note 1. *λόγος* does not here mean 'reason', but 'cause', as Cicero correctly takes it: the usual mistranslation 'reason' is probably due to the line in *Paradise Lost* (II. 113) 'his tongue Dropt manna and could make the worse appear The better reason'.

18 C 15. οἱ δεινοὶ...κατήγοροι. The predicate has an article because these accusers have already been called *δεινότεροι* (supra B).

17. οὐδὲ (ne—quidem) θεοὺς νομίζειν = "do not believe in gods either": as if Plato had said οὐ μόνον ταῦτα ζητεῖν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θεοὺς νομίζειν. οὐδέ is used in much the same way *infr.* 21 D ὥσπερ οὖν οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ οἶμαι.

19. ἔτι δὲ καὶ. καὶ goes with ἔτι.

20. ἐν ᾗ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε. "In which ye would be" (iterative) "most ready to believe them." ἂν with the aorist indicative denotes repetition v. Goodwin MT. p. 56. This view (Göbel's) is better than to regard ἂν ἐπιστεύσατε as "expressing for the past what for the present or future would run ἐν ᾗ ἂν μάλιστα πιστεύσατε" (Cron).

22. ἐρήμην (sc. δίκην)...οὐδενός = "being literally prosecutors in a case given by default, where there was no defendant": for ἀτεχνῶς = 'literally' v. note on 17 D. Except in this phrase, the fem. of ἐρημος is generally like the masculine. There is no reason for regarding ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός as spurious: other examples of tautology in the speech are 23 D ἀλλ' ἀγνοοῦσιν, 25 A οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἐκκλησιασται, cf. 26 A, 30 E, 37 C, 40 B.

δ δὲ π. ἀλογ. sc. τοῦτ' ἐστίν, whence ὅτι. Sometimes ὅτι is omitted as in Symp. 220 A (cited by Cron) δ πάντων θαυμαστότατον, Σωκράτη μεθύοντα οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐωράκει ἀνθρώπων: sometimes it is replaced by γάρ e.g. Ar. Av. 514 ὁ δὲ δεινότητόν γ' ἐστίν ἀπάντων ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων ἀετὸν δρῶν ἐστηκεν ἔχων κτλ.

18 D 24. κωμωδοποιός i.e. Aristophanes cf. 19 C. Other comic poets (chiefly Amipsias and Eupolis) had also satirised Socrates upon the stage: v. *Introd.* pp. viii and ix. The form κωμωδοποιός rather than κωμψδοποιός is supported by the authority of Moeris (κωμψδοποιοὶ Ἀττικῶς, κωμψδοποιοὶ Ἑλληνικῶς) and by Ar. Pax 734 (κωμψδοποιητής). The form is etymologically incorrect: but some light is

perhaps thrown on it by the regular use of τραγωδοί where we should expect τραγωδίαι for the exhibition of tragedies, cf. Ar. Av. 512 ἐν τοῖσι τραγωδοῖσι and Kock's note. Wohlrab thinks the former κωμωδοποιός may have owed its origin to the false analogy of κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος. See App. 2.

26. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι = 'some it may be because they have been themselves convinced'. The natural form of this sentence would be σοὶ δὲ, οἱ μὲν...χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους πείθοντες, ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειθον. For οἱ δέ and the like without a preceding οἱ μὲν cf. Theaet. 181 D δύο εἶδη κινήσεως, ἀλλοίωσιν, τὴν δὲ φοράν, Soph. 248 A, Soph. O. T. 1229 ὅσα κεύθει τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ φῶς φανεῖ κακά. Analogous is ἐνιοὶ δ' ὑμῶν καὶ μεῖράκια in C without preceding ἐνιοὶ μὲν.

27. ἀπορώτατοι = 'the hardest to meet'.

28. ἐνταυθοῖ sc. ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον which is expressed infr. 40 B. ἀναβιβάσασθαι is the causal corresponding to ἀναβῆναι, v. supra on 17 D ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα.

29. ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ = 'literally as it were'. The phrase is frequent in comparisons: cf. Symp. 217 C ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἐραστὴς παιδικοῖς ἐπιβουλεύων. See also infr. 30 E ἀτεχνῶς—προσκέμενον κτλ. and cf. supra note on ἀτεχνῶς οὖν ξένως ἔχω 17 D.

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

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

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

37. εἶεν = 'very well' marks the transition to the real work of the defence. εἶεν was pronounced εἶέν with intervocalic aspiration as in ταῶς εὐοῖ εὐάν. This is abundantly attested by ancient grammarians, as Uhlig has shewn (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1880 p. 790 foll.). Probably the word has nothing to do with εἶμι: for on such a theory its number and mood, no less than its pronunciation, can hardly be accounted for: it may be connected with εἶα as ἐπειτεν is with ἐπειτα. Cf. the Homeric εἰ δ' ἄγε, if = εἶα ἄγε (Monro Hom. Gr. p. 234).

39. διαβολήν = 'prejudice'.

ἔσχετε = 'conceived', not 'entertained'. The aorist ἔσχον means

7 'got' 'acquired' not 'had'. Eur. Herc. Fur. 4 Θήβας ἔσχεν 'gat Thebes'. Pl. Gorg. 519 D σχόντας δὲ δικαιοσύνην.

40. ταύτην sums up in one word the clause ἦν—ἔσχετε. Cf. infr. 35 A—B οἱ διαφέροντες—οὗς αὐτοὶ ἐαυτῶν—προκρίνουσιν, οὗτοι κτλ.

42. πλεόν ποιῆσαι i.q. proficere = 'be successful'.

43. οὐ πᾶν = 'not exactly' i.e. 'not at all', by the figure called *litotes* or *meiosis*: among Greek grammarians it was often called *ἐμφασις*. So in English 'not quite' means 'not exactly' or 'not at all' according to the tone in which it is pronounced. Cf. Riddell Digest of Platonic idioms § 139 and Thompson on Plato Gorg. 457 E. με λανθάνει = me latet.

44. τῷ θεῷ is nearly equivalent to τῷ θεῷ but is less impersonal.

CHAPTER III.

With this chapter begins Socrates' defence properly so called. Chapters III.—X. are directed against the *πρώτοι κατήγοροι*.

19 B 3. Μελίττος με ἐγράψατο τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην = 'Meletus drew up this indictment against me'. Meletus figured as Socrates' chief accuser, v. Introd. p. xxvi. γραφή is a *criminal* prosecution, undertaken in the name of the state: δίκη is the name for a *private* action. For the construction cf. Euthyph. 2 B τίνα γραφὴν σε γέγραπται;

4. εἶν v. on 18 E above.

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

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

19 C 12. κωμῳδίᾳ viz. the Clouds: see Introd. p. ix. foll.

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

περιφερόμενον = 'swinging about'. In Nub. 225 Socrates,

speaking from a *ταρρός* or wicker-basket (*ἐπειτ' ἀπὸ τὰρροῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονεῖς*; verse 226) says *ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον*.

14. *οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρόν*. So in 21 B and 24 A. In 19 D we have *ἢ μικρόν ἢ μέγα*. For the position of *πέρι* (which belongs to *ὦν*) cf. Plato Legg. VII. 809 E *γραμμαμάτων εἰπομεν ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἔχεις πέρι τὸ πρῶτον*. *περὶ* and *ἐνεκα* are the only two prepositions that may follow their case in the best Attic prose.

15. *οὐχ ὡς ἀτιμάζων*: ironical. Cf. Xen. Mem. I. I. 11: Socrates was no physicist, *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυε*. The study of physics, except in so far as it served some practical end, Socrates not only despised, but thought impious, v. Mem. IV. 7. 6 *οὔτε χαρίζεσθαι θεοῖς ἂν ἡγήτο τὸν ζητούντα, ἃ ἐκείνοι σαφηνίσαι οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν*.

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

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

22. *οἱ τοιοῦτοι* sc. *οἱ ἀκηκοότες*.

19 D

25. *τοιαῦτ'* i.e. *ψευδῆ*.

τᾶλλα not *τᾶλλα* because = *τα ἄλλα*: MSS however generally write *τᾶλλα*.

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

CHAPTER IV.

1. *οὔτε...οὐδέ γ'*. We rarely find *οὔτε* followed by *οὐδέ* and only when special emphasis is thrown on the second clause: here the emphasis is further intensified by *γε*. So Rep. VI. 499 B *οὔτε πόλις*

οὔτε πολιτεία οὐδὲ γ' ἀνὴρ. Cf. also Soph. O. C. 1297 οὐτ' εἰς ἐλεγ-
χον χειρὸς οὐδ' ἔργου μολῶν.

19 E 4. οὐδὲ τοῦτο = ne hoc quidem.

ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο. Here ἐπεὶ = 'although', 'and yet' (quanquam). Its force is obscured by an ellipse: '(I wish it were) for etc.' Cf. Prot. 335 C ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μακρὰ ταῦτα ἀδύνατος, ἐπεὶ ἐβουλόμην ἂν οὕτως εἶναι and Symp. 188 A: see also infra note on 20 A. The use of ἐπεὶ with imperatives is nearly akin e.g. Hipp. Min. 369 A ἀλλ' οὐχ εὐρήσεις—οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπεὶ σὺ εἶπες 'for' (sc. if there is) 'you should name it'.

6. Γοργίας τε ὁ Λεοντίνος...Ἰππίας δ' Ἑλᾶδος.

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

Prodicus of Ceos (the birthplace of *Simonides*), junior by several years to *Gorgias*, was famous for his careful study of synonyms and synonymous expressions: see the amusing parody of his style in Prot. 337 A—C. He was very popular as a teacher and charged a heavy fee (Crat. 384 B): among his pupils we hear of *Damon*, *Theramenes*, *Euripides* and *Isocrates*: even *Socrates* calls *Prodicus* his teacher, as he does *Aspasia* and *Diotima*, although probably he means no more than that he enjoyed the privilege of personal intercourse with them (Meno 96 D, Prot. 341 A: cf. Menex. 235 E and Symp. 201 D). The well-known apologue of *Heracles* at the cross-roads was one of *Prodicus*' most popular lectures (Xen. Mem. II. 1 21 ff.).

Hippias of Elis, a contemporary of *Prodicus*, was one of the most learned of all the Sophists. We are left to infer that he had an extensive if not sound knowledge of Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Philology, Music, Mythology, History and Archaeology

(Hipp. Major 285 B ff.): he also invented a system of mnemonics (*μνημονικὸν τέχνημα* Hipp. Min. 368 D). On one occasion he is said to have appeared at Olympia with nothing on his person that he had not made himself (Hipp. Min. 368 B foll.).

8. *οἷός τ' ἐστὶν...βούλονται*. After *οἷός τ' ἐστὶν* we should expect the infinitive: instead of which we have the finite verb by the *ἀνακολουθία* common in a spoken speech. Cron points out that there is rhetorical force in the anacoluthon here: the audience might be led by *οἷός τ' ἐστὶν* to expect some other verb, for example *παιδεύειν*: the shock of surprise thus lends additional effect to the really important point, which is expressed in *τούτους πείθουσι*.

9. *οἷς ἐξιστι...βούλονται* = 'who may associate with any of their fellow-citizens they like without paying a fee'. *ξυνεῖναι* and *ξυνουσία* are used of the intercourse between pupil and teacher: cf. Theaet. 151 A *δεόμενοι τῆς ἐμῆς ξυνουσίας.....ἀποκωλύει ξυνεῖναι*.

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

ἐπεὶ κτλ. '(I could mention more) for etc.': 'for that matter there is also another wise man here from Paros': v. on 19 E *ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο*.

14. *ὃν ἤσθόμην*. Socrates implies that he has not himself met Evenus. With the construction contrast 22 ὃν ἤσθόμην αὐτῶν...οἰομένων. There the gen. is used because Socrates *had* met them himself.

16. *ξύπαντες* = 'all put together'.

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

18. *υἱέε*. *υἱός* in good Attic is declined in the singular according to the second declension (except gen. and dat. *υἱέος υἱεῖ* as well as *υἱοῦ υἱῶ*): in dual and plural forms of the third declension are alone used *υἱέε (υἱῇ) υἱέων υἱεῖς υἱέων υἱεῖσι υἱεῖς* (Rutherford N. Phr. p. 142).

19. *πάλω ἢ μόσχῳ ἐγενέσθην* = 'had been born foals or calves'. So in Mem. IV. 4. 5 Socrates expresses surprise that it should be so hard to find a man to teach justice, when there is no lack of people ready to teach shoemaking, carpentry, riding, etc.

See also Lach. 184 D—E. In Prot. 319 E ff. and Meno 93 B ff. Socrates seeks to shew that πολιτικὴ ἀρετή cannot be imparted by teaching, otherwise Themistocles and Pericles and other great statesmen would surely have imparted it to their sons and wards.

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

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

25. *ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς*: for as Aristotle says (Pol. I. 2. 1253^a 2) *ἀνθρώπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον*.

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

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

31. *ἐμμελῶς* i.q. *μετρίως* here = 'at a moderate fee'. For *ἐμμελῶς* = 'cheaply' cf. *ἐμμελέστατα* = 'smallest' Legg. VI. 760 A.

20 C 33. *ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ* v. on 19 C.

CHAPTER V.

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

4. *οὐ γάρ δήπου...πραγματευομένου*. This is not a conditional clause, as *οὐδέν* shews: tr. 'for surely all these stories and reports

have not grown up about you while you have been doing nothing more than other people'.

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

ἔπειτα=tamen: cf. Aesch. Eum. 653—654 τὸ μητρὸς αἵμ' ὀμαιμον ἐκχέας πέδοι, ἔπειτ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ δώματ' οἰκῆσει πατρός; Phaed. 70 E ἀνάγκη που ἐξ ἐλάττωτος ὄντος πρότερον ἔπειτα μείζον γίγνεσθαι; See also on εἰτ' οὐκ—αἰσχύνει 28 B infra.

6. εἰ μὴ τι...οἱ πολλοί='unless you were doing something different from the majority of men': not 'unless you *had* been doing'. This sentence presents the fact expressed in οὐδὲν...περιττότερον πραγματευομένον in a slightly different light: while περιττόν is quantitative, ἀλλοῖον is qualitative. [Some critics reject the clause: v. Appendix 2.]

8. περὶ σοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάζωμεν='judge you unadvisedly'. The verb αὐτοσχεδιάζω means 'to act or speak offhand', e.g. Phaedr. 236 D αὐτοσχεδιάζων περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν='extemporising': Xen. Mem. III. 5. 21 τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οἱ πλείστοι αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν: hence speak, think, decide hastily or unadvisedly, e.g. Euthyphro 16 A οὐκέτι ὑπ' ἀγνοίας αὐτοσχεδιάζω.

14. δι' οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ=non nisi propter. ἀλλ' is of course 20 D ἀλλά: its connection with ἄλλος is clearly seen in this phrase (cf. Lat. ceterum). ἀλλ' ἢ=nisi: so infra 34 B τίνα ἄλλον ἔχουσι λόγον—ἀλλ' ἢ. Where the notion of *difference* needs emphasizing, we find ἄλλο ἢ, e.g. 29 A infr. οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι.

15. ἔσχηκα=have obtained, cf. note on ἔσχετε supr. 19 A. Cron cites Phaedr. 241 B νοῦν ἥδη ἔσχηκώς καὶ σεσωφρονηκώς.

ποῖαν δὴ σοφίαν ταύτην=ποῖα δὴ ἐστὶν ἡ σοφία αὕτη; For the dropping of διὰ cf. Polit. 283 C περὶ δὴ τούτων αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος—ὁρθῶς ἂν γίγνοιτο. τίνων; where τίνων=περὶ τίνων, and for the accusative cf. Rep. IX. 588 B εἰκόνα πλάσαντες τῆς ψυχῆς—Ποῖαν τινά; Meno 73 E.

16. ἀνθρωπίνῃ σοφίᾳ='the wisdom possible to man'. Socrates professed to study only ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροις κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται (Diog. Laert. II. 21).

18. μείζω τινὰ ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπον σοφίαν='a wisdom too great 20 E for man'. Socrates held that man cannot know external nature and should not try to (Mem. IV. 7. 6): if we would foreknow any of its phenomena, we are to betake ourselves to divination (ibid. 10).

19. ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω = 'or I know not how to describe it'. An ironical way of hinting that it is no wisdom at all.

20. ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἐμῇ = 'to raise a prejudice against me'. ἐμῇ stands for the objective genitive. Cf. Gorg. 486 A εὐνοία γὰρ ἐρῶ τῇ σῇ.

21. μὴ θορυβήσητε sc. now, ἂν δόξω τι ὑμῶν μέγα λέγειν. In 21 A and 30 C μὴ θορυβεῖτε is used, because (Goodwin MT. p. 89) the request is more general: but see Cl. Rev. IX. pp. 145—149.

22. μέγα λέγειν = 'talk big', 'speak arrogantly': Soph. Aias 386 μὴ δὲν μέγ' εἴπῃς: Phaed. 95 B μὴ μέγα λέγε. So μέγα φρονεῖν = 'be proud'.

οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ τὸν λόγον. There is probably an allusion to a line in Euripides' lost tragedy called *Μελανίππη ἡ σοφὴ*. Cf. Sympos. 177 A ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Εὐριπίδου *Μελανίππην*: οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλὰ Φαίδρου τοῦδε. The line is οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς παρὰ (Dindorf Poet. Sc. Graeci⁵ p. 327, Frag. 488).

23. ἀξιοχρεῶν i.q. ἀξίοπiston. Note the order ἀξιοχρεῶν τὸν λέγοντα (so ἐμὸν τὸν λόγον, cf. also infra 31 C *ἱκανὸν...τὸν μάρτυρα*). The expression is equivalent to ἀξιοχρεῶς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων εἰς ὃν ἀπολίσω.

24. τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς sc. σοφίας, but Socrates avoids the appearance of arrogance by substituting *εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστι σοφία*, 'if it be wisdom of a sort'.

25. καὶ οἷα recalls ποῖαν supra D.

26. Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε πού = 'I suppose you remember Chaerephon'. Chaerephon was dead: so that ἴστε (for which Herwerden suggested *ᾔστε*) is not 'know', but 'know about', 'remember'. For other examples of the introductory γὰρ (by derivation = γ' ἀρ' = γε ἀρα = 'well then') v. infr. 21 A, 24 B, 30 C and 31 B. It is especially frequent after *τεκμήριον δέ, σημείον δέ* and the like. The Latin equivalent is enim, e.g. Cic. de Fin. III. 59 quod efficitur hac etiam conclusione rationis: quoniam enim etc.

Chaerephon was a warm friend of Socrates (Xen. Mem. I. 2. 48, v. also Charm. 153 B *Χαιρεφῶν δὲ αἶτε καὶ μανικὸς ὢν, ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ μέσων ἔθει πρὸς με καὶ μου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἥ δ' ὅς, πῶς ἐσώθης ἐκ τῆς μάχης*;) and an enthusiastic student of philosophy (Ar. Nub. 501 foll.). Xenophon tells us he was one of those who sought the society of Socrates to improve his own moral character and not to acquire oratorical and forensic skill. In Ar.

Nub. 103—104 he is coupled with Socrates as one of the *ὥχρῳντες* and *ἀνυπόδητοι*: in the Birds (1564) he is nicknamed *νυκτερίς* or 'bat' on account of his thin voice (Teuffel on Nub. 104).

28. τῷ πλήθει, i.e. the democratic party. Cf. Polit. 291 D ἡ τοῦ 21 A πλήθους ἀρχή, δημοκρατία τοῦτομα κληθεῖσα. Chaerephon was almost the only member of the Socratic circle who was genuinely attached to the Athenian democracy, v. Zeller Philos. der Griechen II. 1, p. 188.

ἐταῖρος τε (sc. ἦν) καὶ. ἐταῖρος of political partisanship as in Gorg. 510 A τῆς ὑπαρχούσης πολιτείας ἐταῖρον εἶναι. For the construction cf. Phaedo 69 B μὴ σκιαγραφία τις ἢ ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρετὴ καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀνδραποδώδης τε (sc. ἦ) καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ' ἀληθὲς ἔχουσα and Theaet. 158 B. [App. 2.]

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

30. σφοδρός = 'vehement'. Plato elsewhere calls him *μανικός*: see Charm. 153 B quoted above on line 26.

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

31. τοῦτο μαντεύσασθαι. τοῦτο refers forward to ἤρετο γὰρ κτλ.

32. ὅπερ λέγω = 'as I said' supra 20 E. The present is common in phrases of this kind. So supr. 17 B ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω: infr. 33 C ὡς ἐγὼ φημι.

33. ἤρετο γὰρ v. supr. on 20 E Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἵστε πον. The γὰρ is not to be translated.

ἀνέλεν οὖν κτλ. 'So the priestess answered'. οὖν does not refer back to μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παρέξομαι τὸν θεόν (20 E) as Cron thinks: it merely continues the narrative. So 20 A τοῦτον οὖν ἀνηρόμην: Phaed. 59 E εἰσιόντες οὖν καταλαμβάνομεν τὸν μὲν Σωκράτη κτλ. Neither the oracle given by the Scholiast on Ar. Nub. 144 (σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης) nor that in Diog. Laert. II. 5. 37 (ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος) has any claim to be considered genuine: but there is of course no doubt as to the story itself, although Athenaeus v. 218 E refuses to believe it. Cf. also Plut.

adv. Colot. p. 1116 E. On the effect of this oracle upon the life and profession of Socrates see Introd. p. vii.

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

CHAPTER VI.

21 B 1. μᾶλλον γάρ. This clause explains ὧν ἕνεκα: γάρ should not be translated.

5. οὔτε μέγα οὔτε σμικρόν v. on 19 C.

6. σοφὸς ὧν. This might have been σοφῶ ὄντι. Cf. 22 C ἐμαντῶ γὰρ ξυνήδῃ οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ.

7. λέγει φάσκων = 'mean by asserting'. λέγω often = 'I mean', e.g. Ar. Eq. 1059 τί τοῦτο λέγει. Infr. 21 E τὸν χρησμὸν τί λέγει. φάσκων (often = 'pretending') conveys a slight feeling of distrust.

8. οὐ γὰρ δήπου ψεύδεταί γε. Cf. Rep. II. 382 E πάντῃ ἄρα ἀψευδὲς τὸ δαιμόνιον τε καὶ τὸ θεῖον: Pind. Pyth. IX. 42 τὸν οὐ θεμιτὸν ψεύδει θιγεῖν.

10. μόγις πάννυ = 'with great reluctance': v. on 17 B οὐ κατὰ τούτους.

21 C 13. τὸ μαντεῖον = 'the oracle', not 'the response', as τῷ χρησμῶ shews.

14. σὺ δ' ἐμὲ ἔφησθα. The χρησμός is personified, as λόγος so often is in Plato.

15. ὀνόματι = 'by name': Xen. Anab. I. 4. 11 πόλις...θάψακος ὀνόματι.

16. πρὸς ὃν goes with ἐπαθον, not of course with σκοπῶν. Cron compares Gorg. 485 B ὁμοίωτατον πάσχω πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσοφούντας ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς ψελλιζομένους καὶ παίζοντας.

17. καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, ἔδοξέ μοι. After διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ we should expect ἔγνων, 'I observed', or the like. ἔδοξέ μοι is put instead by a not infrequent anacoluthon. Cf. Legg. III. 686 D ἀποβλέψας γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν στόλον...ἔδοξέ μοι ἀγκαλὸς τε εἶναι κτλ., Xen. An. III. 2. 12 εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι...ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς. [App. 2.]

21 D 22. ἐντεῦθεν = 'by so doing', inde.

23. πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἰλογιζόμεν = mecum reputabam. So Euthyphro 9 C πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν σκοπῶ, Charm. 160 E πρὸς ἑαυτὸν διασκεψάμενος.

ἐλογιζόμεν ὅτι. ὅτι here introduces the Direct as *supra* in C: "I thought to myself 'I am wiser than this man'" (Church).

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

27. ὥσπερ οὖν = 'as in point of fact'. So Phaedr. 242 E εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔστι θεός.

ἔοικα γοῦν = 'I seem at any rate'. It is not necessary to read γ' οὖν with Cron and Göbel.

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

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

CHAPTER VII.

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

3. ὅμως δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοκει = ὅμως δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμενος εἶναι, but the use of the finite verb where we should expect the participle

to balance *αισθανόμενος μὲν* imparts a colloquial air to the sentence. Cron compares Lach. 196 E *τοῦτο δὲ λέγω οὐ παίζων, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον οἶμαι*: v. also *infr.* 29 E, 36 A.

5. *ἴτεον οὖν*. 'So I must go'. Socrates vividly represents the necessity (*ἀναγκαῖον* line 3) of the case by using the direct form, as if he were addressing himself. Cf. Xen. Hell. I. 1. 27 *παρήνεσαν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας... νενικηκάτε* κτλ. Cf. also *infr.* 27 A *ἄρα γινώσεται*.

6. *νῆ τὸν κύνα*. We are told that Socrates swore by the dog, the goose, and the plane-tree *ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύῃ* (Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. VI. 257 ad fin.): but v. *infr.* 24 E *νῆ τὴν Ἥραν*, from which it is clear that his conscience did not forbid him to swear by gods too. We also hear of people swearing by *λάχανα* (Suidas s. v. 'Ραδαμάνθους ὄρκος), *κράμβη*, *κάππαρις* the caper-plant (Athen. IX. 370 B and C), and *ἀμυγδαλῇ* the almond (Eupolis Βάπτει Frag. VII ed. Mein.). This style of oath was called 'Ραδαμάνθους ὄρκος. The oath was supposed to date from times of primitive piety: according to the Scholiast on Ar. Av. 521 Rhadamanthys would not allow his subjects to swear by the gods, but commanded them to swear by the goose, the dog, the ram, and the like: cf. Cratinus Frag. 238 *οἷς ἦν μέγιστος ὄρκος ἅπαντι λόγῳ κύων ἔπειτα χῆν, θεοὺς δ' εἰσίγων*. Becker (quoted by Kock on Ar. Av. 521) thinks *χῆνα* may have been substituted for *Ζῆνα* so as to get the relief of swearing without incurring the sin: every one is familiar with such devices. But this theory will not explain *μὰ τὸν κύνα, τὴν κράμβην* and the rest. Porphyry (De Abstinence III. 16) sees in Socrates' manner of swearing a recognition of the common soul animating everything that lives. It is probable that the oath was originally connected with some kind of animal worship, but there is no proof that it came from Egypt, as has been inferred from Gorg. 482 B *μὰ τὸν κύνα, τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν*, where *τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν* is merely an 'epitheton ornans' of the dog. [See besides Archil. Frag. 108 and Bergk in loc.: also Urlichs' Chrestomathia Pliniana p. 8.]

22 A 8. *ἦ μήν*. This particle (= Homeric *ἦ μὲν*) is only used in strong asseverations and oaths.

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

9. *ὀλίγου δεῖν* v. on 17 A *supra*. *ὀλίγου δεῖν* followed by *τοῦ πλείστου ἐνδεὲς εἶναι* (sc. *πρὸς τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν*) has the effect of an oxymoron. Cf. *infra* on *τῷ δεῖσθαι βιαζόμενῳ* 35 D.

10. κατὰ τὸν θεόν here and in 23 B = 'as the God commanded'.

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

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

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

γάρ v. supra on 20 E Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε πού.

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

20. πεπραγματεῦσθαι passive. Cf. on 17 B supr. κεκαλ. 22 B λειπημένους.

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

23. ὥς ἔπος γὰρ εἰπεῖν qualifies ὀλίγου ἅπαντες. Cf. on 17 A. Göbel needlessly brackets ὀλίγου as a gloss on ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν.

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

αὐτοί sc. οἱ ποιηταί.

25. ἔγνων = 'I remarked', 'I observed', as in Prot. 335 A ἔγνων γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἤρρεσεν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ and infra 33 D.

26. ἐν ὀλίγῳ sc. χρόνῳ = 'soon'. Cf. Soph. 234 A ἐν ὀλίγῳ 22 C 7 χρόνῳ. Pind. Pyth. VIII. 131 ἐν δ' (= within) ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν τὸ τερπνὸν αὖξεται. So δι' ὀλίγου, ἐξ ὀλίγου, ἐπ' ὀλίγον and μετ' ὀλίγον. [App. 2.]

ποιοῖεν. For ποιεῖν = 'make poetry' cf. Rep. II. 379 A παρ' οὗς

ἐὰν ποιῶσιν (sc. οἱ ποιηταί), *ibid.* x. 598 E ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν, εἰ μέλλει περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῇ καλῶς ποιήσῃ, εἰδὼτα ἅρα ποιεῖν, ἢ μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι ποιεῖν. In old English 'make' is similarly used: 'ye lovers, that can make of sentement' (Chaucer).

27. φύσει τινι καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες = 'by a sort of instinct and inspiration'. φύσει implies that the poet is a mere unconscious vehicle of communicated ideas, cf. *Ion* 533 D ff. where we are told that the poet is not *ἐμφρων*, but *ἐνθεος* and *κατεχόμενος*: like the magnet which not only itself attracts rings, but also communicates to them magnetic power, so the poet imparts inspiration to those who declaim or act his poetry, rhapsodists, choristers, etc. (*ibid.* 533 E, 536 A). Elsewhere Plato tells us that poesy like love and prophecy is a species of madness (*Phaedr.* 245 A, *Legg.* IV. 719 C): that the poet is destitute of *νοῦς*, and can only boast the inferior virtue which is called *δημοτικὴ ἀρετή* (*Meno* 99 D—E. Cf. Archer-Hind's *Phaedo*, App. 1). Like the oracle-monger, the seer, and the politician whose success is attained through correct opinion and not knowledge, the poet is *θεῖός τις*: God and not the poet is responsible for the productions of his Muse. On the ground that poetry is only an imitation of imitation (*Rep.* x. 598 B—602) Plato banishes the drama altogether from his ideal state, and only allows epic and lyric poetry under the most stringent conditions, both as to matter and form (*Rep.* III. 397 D ff., x. 607 A ff.).

28. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι. καὶ goes with οὗτοι.

31. ἡσθόμεν αὐτῶν...οιομένων v. supra on 20 A: ὃν ἐγὼ ἡσθόμεν ἐπιδημοῦντα.

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

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

CHAPTER VIII.

2. οὐδὲν...ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν v. on 17 A.

ξυνήδη οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένω v. on 21 B for the construction. The forms *ἥδη ἥδησθα* or *ἥδης ἥδει(ν)* are the only correct forms of the sing. imperf. of *οἶδα* in Attic: the terminations are contracted from -*εα* -*εασθα* (-*eas*) -*εε(ν)*, the first and third of which are found regularly in Homer and Hdt. (*ἥδεα* = *ἥδε(σ)α* = *videram*). The same rule holds for the singular of all pluperfects active. See Rutherford's *New Phryn.* 229: Gustav Meyer *Griech. Gr.*² 493: Schanz Vol. XII. p. XIII. [Here the Bodleian has *ξυνήδειν* and *ἥδειν* but infra *ἀποπεφύργη* 36 A.]

3. δέ γε. γε emphasises *τούτους*. So 24 C *ἐγὼ δέ γε*. 22 D

4. εὐρήσοιμ = *εὐρήσω* of the Direct: this is the regular use of the fut. opt. Goodwin MT. p. 43.

8. ὅπερ καὶ οἱ ποιηταί = 'as the poets also'. *Phileb.* 61 B *ὥσπερ καὶ κατ' ἀρχάς. καὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δημιουργοί* = 'even the good craftsmen'. This is added as a kind of afterthought. [App. 2.]

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

10. τὰ μέγιστα. Plato means politics: Lach. 197 E *πρέπει μέντοι—τῶν μεγίστων προστατοῦντι μεγίστης φρονήσεως μετέχειν*. *Gorg.* 484 C *γνώσει δὲ ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλζω ἐλθῆς ἐάσας ἥδη φιλοσοφίαν*.

11. ἀπέκρυπτεν = 'threw into the shade'.

12. ὥστε με. So the Bodleian MS. The editors generally 22 E write *ὥστ' ἐμέ*, but Cron points out that *ὥστε με ἀνερωτᾶν* is like *ὥστε ἀνηρώτων*, while *ὥστ' ἐμέ* resembles *ὥστε ἐγὼ ἀνηρώτων*.

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

15. ἀμφοτέρα sc. *τὴν τε σοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν*.

17. λυσιτελεῖ. The Bodleian has *λυσιτελοῖ*: but v. Rutherford *New Phryn.* p. 442 foll. According to Rutherford, the Athenians of Plato's time used the long forms (-*οίην* etc.) in the singular optative of contracted verbs, and the short forms (-*οίμεν* etc.) in the plural. Although in very many cases the best MSS of Plato do undoubtedly present the short form in the singular, yet here the change is so slight that I follow less good MSS and read -*εῖ*. The indicative seems more natural and direct, v. on 20 B *εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει*.

CHAPTER IX.

1. *ἐξετάσεως*. *ἐξετάζω* and its derivatives are regularly used of the Socratic cross-examination. Cf. *infr.* 23 C: 38 A *ἐμμαντὸν καὶ ἄλλους ἐξετάζοντος, ὃ δὲ ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπῳ*.

23 A 3. *οἶαι χαλεπώταται* sc. *ἂν εἶεν* as appears from Xen. Mem. IV. 8. 11 *ἐδόκει τοιοῦτος εἶναι, οἷος ἂν εἴη ἀριστός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατος*. So Symp. 220 B *πάγου οἴου δεινοτάτου*: Xen. An. IV. 8. 2 *χωρίον οἶον χαλεπώτατον*. Madvig's Greek Syntax p. 77.

5. *ὄνομα δὲ τοῦτο...εἶναι*. The natural balance to *πολλὰ μὲν ἀπέχθεται* would be *ὄνομα δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦμαι*. Instead of this the clause with *δέ* is placed in the infinitive by attraction to *ὥστε γεγενῆσθαι*. *ὄνομα* is the adverbial acc. = 'by name' (Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 215. 1), so that *ὄνομα λέγεσθαι* = *ὀνομάζεσθαι*: *τοῦτο* is the nom. referring forward to *σοφός*. In the absence of the article *τοῦτο* must not be taken with *ὄνομα*. For *σοφός* we should expect the acc. *σοφόν*: but *σοφός* is put by a sort of *κατὰ σύνεσιν* construction, since *πολλὰ μὲν ἀπέχθεται μοι γέγονασι* = *πολλοῖς μὲν ἀπεχθῆς γέγονα*. Finally, the *εἶναι* after *σοφός* is redundant: this redundancy is frequent with words signifying 'to name', cf. Phaed. 102 C *ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει σμικρὸς τε καὶ μέγας εἶναι* and Lach. 192 A *τί λέγεις τοῦτο, ὃ ἐν πάσῃ ὀνομάξεις ταχυτῆτα εἶναι*; On the word *σοφός* v. *supr.* on 18 B.

8. *τὸ δέ...τῷ ὄντι* = 'whereas in very truth'. In Plato *τὸ δέ* often means 'but in point of fact'. Cf. *infr.* 39 C and Rep. I. 340 D. In this phrase *τό* is demonstrative: in point of syntax it is (I think) the acc. in apposition to the sentence. Here it is strengthened by *τῷ ὄντι* as it is elsewhere by *ἀληθείᾳ γε* (Legg. v. 731 E). With the sentiment cf. Symp. 203 E *θεῶν οὐδεὶς φιλοσοφεῖ οὐδ' ἐπιθυεῖ σοφός γενέσθαι· ἔστι γάρ*.

10. *ὀλίγον τινὸς καὶ οὐδενός* = 'little or nothing'. *καὶ* is corrective = *atque*. Cf. Cic. Orat. XVI. 52 *rem difficilem...atque omnium difficillimam* (Cron).

11. *φαίνεται τοῦτ' οὐ λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτη κτλ.* = 'he appears not to say this of Socrates, but to have made use of my name therein' (*προς*-, i.e. for the purposes of the oracle), 'because he took me as an example'. *τοῦτο* viz. *τὸ σοφὸν εἶναι*. Socrates skilfully escapes from the odium of the oracle by interpreting it to mean 'Human

wisdom is absolutely worthless: at best it is no more than the confession of ignorance'. [The best MSS read *τούτων*: *τούτο* has also slight MS authority. The emendation *τούτ' οὐ* is due to F. A. Wolf. For other (less correct) views on this passage v. App. 2.]

13. ὥσπερ ἂν sc. ἐμὲ παράδειγμα ποιοῖτο. So infr. 27 E ὁμοίως 23 B γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπον εἴη, ὥσπερ ἂν (sc. ἄτοπον εἴη) εἰ τις—ἡγοῖτο κτλ.

16. ταῦτα=διὰ ταῦτα is frequent in Plato and Aristophanes. Cf. Symp. 174 A, Protag. 310 E ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἤκω παρὰ σε. It is more often found with ἄρα, e.g. Nub. 319 ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὸ φθέγμ' ἢ ψυχὴ μου πεπότηται.

17. κατὰ τὸν θεόν v. supr. on 22 A.

καὶ τῶν ἀσπῶν καὶ ξένων. For the omission of the article Riddell compares Phaedo 85 A ἡ τε ἀηδὼν καὶ χελιδὼν: tr. 'if I think any one wise, citizen or stranger'.

19. ἐνδείκνυμαι='prove' as in 29 D.

22. πεντήκ. Socrates in Xen. Oec. II. 3 values all his possessions at 5 minae (about £20). Cf. infr. 37 C οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι χρήματα, ὅπόθεν ἐκτίσω: 38 B ἴσως δ' ἂν δυναμὴν ἐκτίσαι ὑμῶν μῶν ἀργυρίου.

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

CHAPTER X.

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

5. εἰτα ἐπιχειροῦσιν='and go and try to'. εἰτα introduces no new statement, but only an explanation of ἐμὲ μιμουνται. Cf. κᾶπειτα in Crat. 411 B αἰὲν Διγγιῶσι κᾶπειτα αὐτοῖς φαίνεται περιφέρεισθαι τὰ πράγματα. For εἰτα (ἐπειτα) used (as here) where we should expect κᾶτα (κᾶπειτα) cf. infra 31 A ὑμεῖς δ' ἴσως—ῥαδίως ἂν ἀποκτείναιτε, εἰτα—καθεύδοντες διατελοῖτε ἂν and Theaet. 151 C ἐὰν ἄρα σκοπούμενός τι ὦν ἂν λέγῃς ἡγήσωμαι εἰδῶλον...εἰτα ὑπεξαίρωμαι καὶ ἀποβάλλω κτλ.

8. ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδέν. Cf. supra on 17 B ἢ τι ἢ οὐδέν.

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

v. Theact. 168 A *ἐαυτοὺς αἰτιάσονται—τῆς αὐτῶν ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπορίας, ἀλλ' οὐ σέ, καὶ σὲ μὲν διώξονται καὶ φιλήσουσιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μισήσουσι, καὶ φεύξονται ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν.* [On αὐτοῖς v. App. 2.]

14. τὰ κατὰ πάντων τῶν φιλοσοφούντων πρόχαρα ταῦτα = 'your ready-made charges against all who study philosophy'. ταῦτα is contemptuous, like *ista*. Cf. Crito 45 A οὐχ ὁρᾷς τοὺτους τοὺς συκοφάντας; Aristophanes (Clouds 225; 188; 247; 112 ff.) attacks Socrates and his pupils on all four grounds. Cf. supr. 18 B and 19 B. So Xenophon Mem. I. 2. 31 speaks of λόγων τέχνη as τὸ κοινὴ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιτιμώμενον.

15. *ὅτι* sc. *διαφθείρει διδάσκων*. Both accusatives and both infinitives depend on *διδάσκων* understood. Socrates states the charge carelessly and elliptically so as to insinuate that it is trivial and irrelevant. On τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν v. note on 18 B.

18. *ὅτι* κτλ. = 'which is, that' etc.

23 E 20. *ξυντεταγμένως καὶ πιθανῶς*, 'in studied and persuasive style'. *ξυντεταγμένως* = Lat. composite. [App. 2.]

22. καὶ παλαι καὶ νῦν : v. App. 2.

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

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

27. ἀρχόμενος *supr.* 19 A.

29. *οὕτω πολλὴν γεγονυῖαν* = 'when it has grown so strong'.

30. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑμῖν τἀληθές = 'There you have the truth'.

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

ἀποκρυψάμενος οὐδ' ὑποστειλάμενος = 'neither concealing nor suppressing'. Cf. Dem. Philipp. I. 51 οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος πεπαρησίασμαι. *ὑποστειλάμενος* need not be a nautical metaphor, in spite of Pindar Isthm. II. 60 οὗρος ἐμπνεύσαις ὑπέστειλ' ἱστῖον, 'made him furl his sail'.

33. οἶδα σχεδόν = satis scio, 'I am pretty well aware'. σχεδόν means 'nearly' (fere): by the figure called *litotes* it comes to mean

'quite well'. Cf. Hdt. v. 19 *σχεδὸν γὰρ...συνίημι* and v. supra on οὐ πάνυ 19 A.

τοῖς αὐτοῖς = 'for the same', i.e. for saying this.

ὁ καὶ τεκμήριον κτλ., 'which is also an indication that my words are true'. For if Socrates is right in attributing his unpopularity to the personal chagrin of his victims, they will hate him for doing so: and as they do hate him, he infers that he *is* right.

34. αὕτη and ταῦτα are in the predicate: 'and that the prejudice against me is this, and its causes these'.

36. οὕτως sc. *ἐχόντα*.

24 B

CHAPTER XI.

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

1. ὧν = τούτων ὧν for τούτων ᾧ: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 211.

4. ὃς φησι covers ἀγαθόν as well as φιλόπολις: 'the good man and patriot, as he says he is'.

5. αὐθις supr. 19 B. With αὐθις—αὐ cf. αὐ—πάλιν 27 D.

γάρ is introductory: v. on 20 E.

6. ὥσπερ ἐτέρων τούτων ὄντων κατηγορῶν = 'regarding these as new accusers'.

7. ἀντομοσίαν v. on ὥσπερ οὖν—αὐτῶν 19 B.

ἔχει δέ πως ᾧδε. Socrates does not profess to give it with absolute accuracy. So 19 C above *τοιαύτη τις ἐστίν*. For another version of the indictment v. Introd. p. xxvi, and *ibid.* pp. xxvii foll. for the meaning and relation of its three counts.

8. φησὶν sc. ὁ ἀντομόσας, i.e. Meletus.

11. τοιοῦτον. The best MSS of Plato write *τοιοῦτον τηλικούτον* 24 C *τοσοῦτον ταύτόν* in the neuter: rarely *τοιοῦτο* and the like. Homer always uses the forms in -ν: v. Gustav Meyer *Griech. Gr.*² p. 393.

12. φησὶ γάρ: v. supra B and on 20 E.

13. ἐγὼ δέ γε: v. on 22 D *τούτους δέ γ' ἦδη*.

14. ὅτι σπουδῇ *χαριεντίζεται* = *quod serio iocatur* = 'in making fun of earnest'. An oxymoron, since *χαριεντίζεσθαι* = *παίζειν*.

15. ῥαδίως = 'lightly', 'in lightly bringing men to trial'. Cf. *Meno* 94 E *ῥαδίως μοι δοκεῖς κακῶς λέγειν ἀνθρώπους*. With *εἰς ἀγῶνα καθιστὰς ἀνθρώπους* *Cron* compares *Xen. Rep. Lac. VIII. 4 εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστήσαι*.

17. ὣν goes with ἐμέλησεν. So infr. 26 B τούτων...ἐμέλησεν. οὐδέν is adverbial.

ἐμέλησεν. Here probably and certainly in 24 D and 25 C (ἀμέλειαν) Socrates plays on Meletus' name. For more examples of the play upon words in Plato v. Riddell Digest of Idioms § 323, to whose list add Rep. x. 614 B ἀλλ' οὐ μέντοι σοι—'Ἀλκίον γε ἀπόλογον ἐρῶ, ἀλλ' ἀλκίμου μὲν ἀνδρός κτλ. and Lach. 188 B ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀηθες οὐδ' αὖ ἀηδὲς ὑπὸ Σωκράτους βασιανέζεσθαι.

CHAPTER XII.

1. καὶ μοι δεῦρο εἰπέ='agedum dic mihi': καί='pray' is frequent before imperatives, e.g. 25 A καὶ μοι ἀπόκριναι. δεῦρο=ἔθι of line 3: cf. Rep. v. 445 B δεῦρο νῦν—ἵνα καὶ ἴδῃς.

ἄλλο τι ἢ=aliudne quid—quam? i.e. Nonne? Phaedo 70 C ἄλλο τι ἢ εἰεν ἂν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν ἐκεῖ; Plato uses ἄλλο τι without ἢ in the same sense, e.g. Gorg. 495 C ἄλλο τι—δύο ταῦτα εἶλες;

24 D 5. μέλον γέ σοι=quippe quod tua referat (γε=quippe). For the acc. abs. see Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 302. 2.

6. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διαφθείροντα—τοντοισί='for having found their corrupter, myself as you say, you are bringing him to trial before these men'.

7. εἰσάγεις viz. εἰς τούτους (i.e. τοὺς δικαστάς), for which τοντοισί is here substituted to avoid the threefold recurrence of the syllable -εις. εἰσάγω is said properly of the presiding magistrate who receives the complaint (ὁ εἰσαγωγεὺς), here it is said of the prosecutor, whence καὶ κατηγορεῖς is added. Cf. infr. 25 D and Dem. adv. Timocr. § 10 εἰ—εἰσαγαγόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς λῦσαι δυναμέσθαι. εἰσέρχομαι is said of the parties to the suit: cf. infr. 29 C οὐ δεῖν ἐμέ (Socrates the defendant) δεῦρο εἰσελθεῖν and Demosth. in Neaer. 1 γράφασθαι Νέαιραν—καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ὑμᾶς (of the accuser). [App. 2.]

12. μεμέληκεν v. on C above ἐμέλησεν.

24 E 14. ὅστις πρῶτον...τοὺς νόμους='starting with a knowledge of the laws'. καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο='just this very thing', viz. τοὺς νόμους. So in Gorg. 449 C, after Gorgias has boasted that no one can put things more tersely (ἐν βραχυτέροις) than himself, Socrates says καὶ μοι ἐπιδείξιν αὐτοῦ τούτου ποιῆσαι, τῆς βραχυλογίας.

15. οὔτοι...οἱ δικάσταί = 'These, Socrates, the jurymen'. οὔτοι is deictic, followed by οἱ δικάσταί in apposition.

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

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

22. ἀλλ' ἄρα...μή. Cf. Euthyd. 290 E ἀλλ' ἄρα—μή ὅ 25 A Κτήσιππος ἦν ὁ ταύτ' εἰπών; μή=num expects the answer 'no', as in 28 D.

23. οἱ ἐκκλησιασταί. For the tautology cf. infr. 37 C τῇ δὲ καθισταμένῃ ἀρχῇ, τοῖς ἔνδεκα. Such pleonasm is in harmony with the character of a speech: there is no good ground for rejecting the words: cf. supra on 18 C ἐρήμην—ἀπολογουμένον οὐδενός.

26. καλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς v. on 21 D καλὸν καὶ καλόν.

28. πολλήν γέ μου κατέγνωκας δυστυχίαν = 'You have discovered me to be a most unfortunate man' (Church). καταγιγνώσκειν means to see a weak point in one: cf. Ar. Eq. 46 οὗτος καταγνοὺς τοῦ γέροντος τοὺς τρόπους—ἡκαλλ', ἐθώπεν', ἐκολάκευ', ἐξηπάτα: Rep. x. 607 B μὴ καὶ τινα σκληρότητα ἡμῶν καὶ ἀγροικίαν καταγνώσῃ: Phaed. 116 C οὐ καταγνώσομαι γε σοῦ ὅπερ τῶν ἄλλων καταγιγνώσκω.

29. καὶ μοι ἀποκρίναι = 'pray answer me', v. on 24 C καὶ μοι δεῦρο εἰπέ.

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

32. τούναντίον τούτου πᾶν = 'quite the contrary'. τούναντίον πᾶν is the acc. in apposition to the sentence εἰς μὲν τις—διαφθείρουσιν.

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

38. πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν τις. τίς goes with πολλή as supra (line 32) with εἰς.

ἂν...εἴη...εἰ διαφθεῖραι. A 'mixed conditional sentence', v. Goodwin MT. p. 188. Tr. 'Young men will be very fortunate, if' (sc. as you say) 'only one man corrupts them'. Cf. infr. 30 B εἰ—διαφθεῖρω—, ταύτ' ἂν εἴη βλαβερά and 33 D.

40. ἀλλὰ γάρ v. on 19 C.

41. ἐφρόντισας τῶν νέων. Cf. infr. 28 D φροντίσαι θανάτου καὶ κινδύνου.

42. ἀμέλειαν v. on 24 C ἐμέλησεν.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. ὦ πρὸς Διὸς Μέλητε. πρὸς Διὸς belongs to *ειπέ*. For the order compare Meno 71 D σὺ δὲ αὐτός, ὦ πρὸς θεῶν Μένων, τί φῆς ἀρετὴν εἶναι. Note that πρὸς Διὸς is used only in entreaties: *νή Δία* in asseverations.

3. ὦ τάν. So the Bodleian MS: the editors variously read ὦταν ὦ τάν ὦ τάν and ὦ τάν. Tr. 'my dear fellow'. The word τάν (*tân*) is variously explained as = *ἐταῖρε* and *σύ* (Photius and Suidas): in the first case it has been connected with *εἰης*, in the second with Skt. *tvam* = 'thou': the latter is the more probable view. In the comic poets it is also used in addressing two or more persons (v. Ar. Plut. 66 ὦ τάν, ἀπαλλάχθητον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ), just as *ἄγε* and *φέρε* are sometimes used in addressing more persons than one. [The identity of τάν with *χάν* (on coins of Crete) = *Boeotian Δᾶν* = *Attic Zeû* cannot be maintained.]

5. τοὺς δὲ ἐγγυάτω δοντας = 'those who are from time to time nearest to them'.

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

25 D 8. ἀποκρίνου. Meletus is reluctant to give an answer.

9. καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος κελεύει ἀποκρίνεσθαι. Forster quotes a law ap. Demosth. in Steph. 10 τοῶν ἀντιδικῶν ἐπάναγκες εἶναι ἀποκρίνασθαι ἀλλήλοις τὸ ἐρωτώμενον, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ μή.

14. σὺ ἐμοῦ σοφώτερος...τηλικούτου ὄντος τηλικόσδε ὢν. Note the Chiasmus

σὺ ἐμοῦ
τηλικούτου / τηλικόσδε (Dyer). Tr. 'Are you at your age so much wiser than I at mine?' In Plato Euthyphr. 2 B Meletus is spoken of as νέος τις καὶ ἀγνώστ, v. also Introd. p. xxvi.

15. ὥστε σὺ μὲν ἔγνωκας...ἐγὼ δὲ δῆ= 'that whereas you know etc. I forsooth'.

18. ὥστε καὶ τοῦτ' ἀγνοῶ. τοῦτο is explained by ὅτι—ἀπ' 25 E αὐτοῦ.

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

ὥστε τοῦτο...ἐκὼν ποιῶ= 'so that I commit this great crime intentionally, as you say'. ὥστε sc. 23 a result of not knowing ὅτι κινδυνεύσω κακὸν τι λαβεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Note the threefold occurrence of ὥστε in this sentence: the second stands in a subordinate relation to the first, and the third to the second.

22. οἶμαι δέ sc. πείθεσθαι.

23. ἢ εἰ διαφθεῖρω, ἄκων sc. διαφθεῖρω. Cf. infra 29 B εἰ δὴ τῷ σοφώτερός του φαίην εἶναι, τούτῳ ἂν sc. φαίην σοφώτερος εἶναι. [App. 2.]

25. τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀκουσίων. The words καὶ ἀκουσίων are 26 A perhaps a gloss on τοιούτων, since τοιούτων by itself=ἀκουσίων. Cf. Phil. 58 C καθάπερ τοῦ λευκοῦ πέρι τότε ἔλεγον, κἂν εἰ σμικρὸν, καθαρὸν δὲ εἴη, τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ μὴ τοιούτου (=καθαροῦ) διαφέρειν: and so regularly in ἕτερος τοιοῦτος= 'just such another' e.g. Euthyd. 298 D—E. Cf. Gorg. 493 B φοροῦεν εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ὕδωρ ἐτέρῳ τοιοῦτῳ τετρημένῳ κοσκίνῳ where it is possible that τετρημένῳ is a gloss: v. Thompson in loc. But from supra 24 D εἰσάγεις καὶ κατηγορεῖς and other examples of tautology in the speech (v. on 18 C above) I think it just possible that the words are genuine: I do not therefore enclose them in brackets. εἰσάγειν (v. on 24 D) is followed by a genitive of the charge: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 224. 2. [App. 2.] With οὐ νόμος—ἐστίν= 'it is not lawful' cf. Gorg. 512 B διὰ ταῦτα οὐ νόμος ἐστὶ σεμνύνεσθαι τὸν κυβερνήτην, καίπερ σφύζοντα ἡμᾶς, and Phaedr. 256 D εἰς γὰρ σκότον καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ γῆς πορείαν οὐ νόμος ἐστίν ἐτι εἰλθεῖν.

28. ἐὰν μάθω= 'if I am taught'. μανθάνω is often used as the passive of διδάσκω: v. on 17 A πεπόνθατε.

παύσομαι sc. ποιῶν to be supplied from ποιῶ. [App. 2.]

31. ἀλλ' οὐ v. on 23 D supra ἀλλ' οὐχ αὐτοῖς.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. ἀλλὰ γάρ v. supr. on 19 c.

2. δ ἐγὼ λέγον, viz. in 25 c.

26 B 3. τούτων v. on 24 C ὡν οὐδέν—ἐμέλησεν, and for οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρόν cf. note on 19 c.

6. ἡ δὴλον δὴ ὅτι sc. φῆς με διαφθεῖρειν. ἡ=Latin *an?* introduces a second question intended to anticipate Meletus' answer to the first. Cf. infra 36 B ἡ δὴλον ὅτι, 37 B ἡ μὴ πάθω τοῦτο, and Prot. 309 A πόθεν, ὦ Σώκρατες, φαίνει; ἡ δὴλα δὴ ὅτι ἀπὸ κυνηγεσίου κτλ.; This use of ἡ is especially frequent in Aristotle.

8. οὐ ταῦτα λέγεις ὅτι διδάσκων. ταῦτα belongs to διδάσκων: its position is for emphasis: so δεῦρο in 26 A οὐ δεῦρο νόμος εἰσάγειν ἐστίν.

9. πάνυ μὲν οὖν σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω='that is exactly what I do most emphatically mean'. μὲν οὖν (μὲν here=μῆν: so regularly in Homer and Herodotus) is used by Plato in two senses—the affirmative, as here, and the corrective=immo vero, e.g. Crito 44 B ὡς ἄτοπον τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἐναργὲς μὲν οὖν. In late Greek μενοῦν=immo vero even begins the sentence, e.g. Luke xi. 28 μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες κτλ.

11. ὦν νῦν ὁ λόγος ἐστίν i.q. οὗς νῦν λέγομεν. περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος ἐστίν would=περὶ ὧν νῦν λέγομεν. The first expression is alone appropriate here: Socrates *refers* to the gods, but is *discussing*, not the gods, but his own alleged impiety.

26 C 13. πότερον is followed by ἢ infr. line 17.

εἶναι τινὰς θεούς='that there are *some* gods'. τινὰς is clearly emphatic, and ought to have an accent: MSS and Editors *εἶναι τινας*. Cf. Theaet. 147 B τινὸς γὰρ ἐπιστήμην ἀποκρίνεται, οὐ τοῦτ' ἐρωτηθῆς. Infr. ἄρα='accordingly', sc. since I teach *them* to believe in some gods.

15. οὐ μέντοι (sc. νομίζειν) οὕτω γὰρ ἡ πόλις (sc. νομίζει)='but not in the gods of the state'.

17. ὅτι ἐτέρους sc. διδάσκω νομίζειν. Infr. παντάπασιν='at all' belongs to νομίζειν.

18. οὔτε...τε=neque—que. Cf. Rep. IX. 566 D—E οὔτε τύραννός φησιν εἶναι, ὑπισχνεῖται τε πολλά. Cic. De Fin. I. 48 nec intemperantiam propter se fugiendam esse temperantiamque expetendam. ταῦτα sc. παντάπασιν οὐ νομίζειν θεούς. [App. 2.]

19. τὸ παράπαν οὐ νομίζεις θεούς. Aristophanes (Nub. 830) nicknames Socrates ὁ Μήλιος after Diagoras the Melian atheist.

20. ἵνα τί ταῦτα λέγεις; ἵνα τί (sc. γένηται) = quid ut fiat? quam ob rem? So in Sympos. 205 A ἵνα τί δὲ βούλεται εὐδαίμων εἶναι κτλ.; Ar. Pax 409 ἵνα τί δὲ τοῦτο δράττον;

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

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

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

26. ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναι. For ὥστε οὐκ (rather than μή) with infinitive if dependent on φημί οἶμαι and the like v. Madvig Gk. Synt. p. 195. 3.

27. τὰ Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία. Anaxagoras wrote a book called περὶ φύσεως (see Phaed. 97 B ff.): it is this which is chiefly meant here. He also wrote on the laws of scenic painting (περὶ ἀκτονογρα-

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

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

29. *ἐνίοτε* = 'sometimes'. The precise reference in *ἐνίοτε* is uncertain: perhaps an old copy of Anaxagoras' book might occasionally be had cheap (Böckh Staatshaushaltung der Athenen³ I. p. 137 note i: cf. Appendix I. to this edition, on the price of Books at Athens).

εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ = 'at most'. So Alc. I. 123 C *κόσμος ἴσως δέξιος μῶν πεντήκοντα, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ*. In Gorg. 511 E we find *ἐὰν πάλυ πολυ... δύο δραχμαὶ ἐπράξατο*. A drachma (about 10d. of our money) seems very little for the price of a book: see on the whole of this passage Appendix I.

26 E 30. *ὀρχήστρας*. The orchestra is probably not the part of the theatre bearing this name: but a round terrace in or near the Agora, identified by Köhler (Hermes VI. p. 92 foll.) with 'the terrace of rock on the north slope of the Areopagus, where the modern church of St Athanasius now stands'. On this terrace stood the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Cf. Timaeus Lexic. Voc. Plat. (ed. Ruhnken 1824) *ὀρχήστρα: τὸ τοῦ θεάτρου μέσον χωρίον, καὶ τόπος ἐπιφανῆς εἰς πανήγυριν, ἐνθα Ἀρμόδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνας*. This is the only passage where we hear of books being sold there: but it is not improbable that the Book Market mentioned by Pollux (IX. 47 *τὰ βιβλία*, cf. *τὰ λύχνα, τὰ θρνεα*, etc. in Aristophanes) was situated in this part of the Agora. [See Böckh Staatshaushaltung³ I. p. 61 and Schöne in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. for 1870, pp. 802—803. The latter was the first (so far as I know) to interpret the passage in this way. For other views and more as to the Orchestra v. App. I.]

31. *ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτως ἄτοπα ὄντα* = 'especially as they are so absurd'. Socrates might well incur ridicule for pretending to any doctrines which were not his, but particularly when they were so absurd. Socrates used to say that Anaxagoras must have been

beside himself (*παρεφρόνησεν* Xen. Mem. iv. 7. 6) before he invented such a theory of the sun.

32. *ἀλλ' ὃ πρὸς Διός.* *ἀλλὰ* marks the end of the digression about the views of Anaxagoras and Socrates' dissent from them. It recalls 26 C line 19 *ταῦτα λέγω, ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐ νομίζεις θεούς.* For *ὦ πρὸς Διός* without a following vocative cf. Rep. v. 459 A *ἂρ' οὖν, ὦ πρὸς Διός, προσέσχηκας τι τοῖς τούτων γάμοις κτλ.* ;

οὕτως σοι δοκῶ; οὐδένα νομίζω θεὸν εἶναι = 'Is *this* what you think of me? Do I believe in *no* god?' *οὕτως* is explained by the following question. [App. 2.]

34. *ἀπιστός γ' εἰ* = 'No one believes you': *ἀπιστος* is passive. In this sense it is more often used of things, e.g. Theaet. 170 B *ἀλλ' ἀπιστον, ὦ Σώκρατες.*

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

39. *ἔοικεν γὰρ...διαπειρωμένῳ.* *ἔοικεν* goes with *διαπειρωμένῳ*, 27 A to which *ὥσπερ αἰνιγμα ξυντιθέντι* is subordinate. Tr. 'he seems by framing a sort of riddle to be trying me to see if', etc. For the construction of *ἔοικεν* cf. Rep. VII. 527 D *ἔοικας δεδιότι τοὺς πολλοὺς* and infra 31 B *οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ ἔοικε*: for the subordination of the first participle to the second see (with Riddell) Rep. VII. 555 E *τὸν αἰεὶ ὑπεκόντα ἐνιέντες ἀργύριον τιτρώσκοντες.*

40. *ἄρα γινώσεται.* Socrates vividly expresses the alleged purpose of Meletus by throwing it into the form of a soliloquy. For a parallel case v. on 21 E *ιτέον οὖν κτλ.* *γινώσεται* = 'perceive' 'guess' with gen. like *ἡσθόμην αὐτῶν—οιόμενων* in 22 C. So Iliad IV. 357 *ὡς γινῶ χωομένοιο.*

ὁ σοφὸς δῆ. *δῆ* adds a touch of irony.

CHAPTER XV.

2. *ταῦτα viz. ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης—ἀλλὰ θεοὺς νομίζων* supr. lines 44—46.

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

First, the man who believes in *δαιμόνια* must believe in *δαίμονες*. (This is proved by analogy.) And you allow that I believe in *δαιμόνια*. Therefore I believe in *δαίμονες*. Cf. Arist. Rhet. II. p. 255 (ed. Cope).

Secondly, the man who believes in *δαίμονες* must believe in gods. For *δαίμονες* are either (a) gods, or (b) children of gods. If (a), then by your own confession I believe in gods. If (b), the belief in children involves the belief in fathers (proved by analogy). Therefore once more I believe in gods.

3. κατ' ἀρχὰς παρηγησάμην, viz. 17 C δέομαι καὶ παρίεμαι—μήτε θαυμάζειν μήτε θορυβεῖν.

27 B 4. μέμνησθέ μοι = 'pray remember'.

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

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

13. τοῖς ἄλλοις τουτοιού, viz. the δικασταὶ and the ἀκροαταὶ (supr. 24 E).

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

27 C 14. δαιμόνια πράγματα. Riddell remarks that Socrates' reasoning is valid only if δαιμόνια πράγματα is the same as δαιμόνια. In the present case they are identical: for Socrates' δαιμόνιον is not a personal genius, but a δαιμόνιον σημεῖον, i.e. something appertaining to δαίμονες, or a δαιμόνιον πρᾶγμα. On the δαιμόνιον v. Introd. p. xxvii.

16. ὥς ὄνησας = 'How kind of you!' Cf. Hipp. Min. 373 A εἰ θέλεις μοι ἀποκρίνεσθαι, πάνυ ὀνήσεις. Ar. Lys. 1033 νῆ Δρ ὄνησάς γέ με. Infr. on μόγισ v. note on 17 B οὐ κατὰ τούτους. Plato prefers the early form μόγισ to μόλις, which is generally employed by the tragedians.

18. εἴ' οὖν καινὰ εἴτε παλαιὰ κτλ. = 'thus, be they new or be they old, at all events I do believe in supernatural things, on your own shewing'. Cf. Phaed. 91 B εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐστὶ τελευτήσαντι, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦτόν γε τὸν χρόνον—ἦπτον—ἀηδὴς ἔσομαι and Meno 84 A ἀλλ' οὖν φετό γε. For ἀλλ' οὖν—γε we find ἀλλὰ—γοῦν in Phaed. 71 B. [App. 2.]

20. διαμύσω ἐν τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ = 'you swore in your deposition'. διόμνυμαι is used of swearing to the truth of the indictment. Cf.

Lys. adv. Theomn. § 11 ὁ μὲν γὰρ διώκων ὡς ἔκτεινε διόμνυται κτλ. ἀντιγραφὴ here = ἀντωμοσία, 'affidavit' 'deposition', v. on 19 B τὴν ἀντωμοσίαν. So in Hyperides Euxen. ch. 40 ad fin. μικρὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀντιγραφῆς εἰπὼν ἐτέρας αἰτίας... ἡκεῖς φέρων. Generally ἀντιγραφὴ means a counter-plea put in by the defendant: cf. Lys. xxiii. 5 and 10.

24. ἤτοι—ἢ or ἤτοι—γε—ἢ (as here) is frequently used where 27 D more emphasis is to be laid on the first than on the second member of the disjunction. Cf. Aesch. Choeph. 497—8 ἤτοι δίκην λαλλε—ἢ τὰς ὁμοίας ἀντίδος λαβὰς λαβεῖν: Gorg. 467 E ὁ οὐχὶ ἤτοι ἀγαθὸν γ' ἐστὶν ἢ κακόν κτλ.

27. τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη—χαριεντίζεσθαι κτλ. = 'this will be the riddle and the pleasantry which I attribute to you, to say that I, while I do not believe in gods, do still believe in gods'. τοῦτο refers forward to φάναι. On αὐ—πάλιν v. on ch. XI. 24 B αὐθις—αὐ.

31. ἢ ἐκ νυμφῶν ἢ ἐκ τινων ἄλλων = 'either by nymphs or by some other mothers'. Infr. ὧν δὴ = ἐξ ὧν δὴ: cf. Gorg. 453 E εἰ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνῶν λέγομεν ὧν περ νῦν δὴ. Λέγονται sc. παῖδες εἶναι.

34. ὥσπερ ἂν sc. ἀποπον εἴη. Infr. ἢ καὶ ὄνων = 'or, if you like, 27 E asses'. Cf. Phaedr. 269 A τὸν μελιγερὸν Ἄδραστον—ἢ καὶ Περικλέα. The words τοὺς ἡμίονους were interpolated at a very early date by some one who misunderstood the meaning. The other view, according to which τοὺς ἡμίονους is genuine, and ἢ before καὶ spurious, although accepted by Münscher and Schanz, is manifestly wrong: for then the simile to be in point would imply that Meletus charged Socrates with disbelieving in nymphs as well as in gods, which was not the case. Moreover it is easier to explain the introduction of τοὺς ἡμίονους into the text than the insertion of ἢ before καὶ. Socrates chooses his illustration quite arbitrarily and at random. Cf. supra 20 A εἰ μὲν σου τῷ υἱέ πῶλῳ ἢ μόσχῳ ἐγσεέσθην. [App. 2.]

36. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως—οὐχί = fieri non potest quin.

ταῦτα refers forward to τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην. Cf. supra on τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη—χαριεντίζεσθαι line 27. [App. 2.]

38. ὃ τι ἐγκαλοῖς. 'The optative represents Meletus' original reflection τί ἐγκαλῶ;'. The conjunctive might have been retained' (Dyer). Cf. Goodwin MT. p. 265.

39. ὅπως δὲ σέ κτλ. I have accepted the emendation of Wecklein (Rh. Mus. xxxvi. p. 145), according to whom καὶ δαίμο-

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

CHAPTER XVI.

- 28 A 1. ἀλλὰ γὰρ v. on 19 C ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ κτλ.
 5. ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, viz. Ch. IX.
 7. τοῦτ' ἔστιν—ἐάνπερ αἰρή = 'this is what will cause my condemnation, if I am condemned', lit. 'if it do condemn me'. διαβολή and φθόνος are here viewed as prosecutors: for αἰρεῖ is said of the prosecutor who wins his case, ἀλλίσκεται of the defendant who loses: cf. Legg. XII. 941 D δοῦλον ἂν τις τι κλέπτοντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἔλθῃ: ibid. XI. 937 B ἐὰν δέ τις ἀλῶ δις ψευδομαρτυρῶν.
 9. πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας = 'many other good men too'. The first καὶ (=also) is like the καὶ in εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος: the second = 'and' is used according to the regular idiom πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί = 'many good'. [Others read against the MSS πολλοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, but the Platonic idiom is καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς; v. on 21 D καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν.]
 11. οὐδὲν δὲ δεινόν—οὔτι = 'there is no danger of their stopping short at me', i.e. 'There is no fear that I shall be their last victim'

(Church). This use of *ἴσταμαι* is common in Aristotle, e.g. *Phys. H. 242^a 19* οὐ δὴ εἰς ἄπειρον εἰσιν ἀλλὰ στήσεται πον. For οὐδὲν δεινὸν μή cf. *Gorg. 520 D* οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτῷ μήποτε ἀδικηθῇ.

12. εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνει = 'what! are you not ashamed?' The 28 B particle *εἰτα* (*ἔπειτα*) introducing a question expresses indignation or surprise, e.g. *Ar. Nub. 1214* εἰτ' ἀνδρα τῶν αὐτοῦ τι χρὴ προέσθαι; *ibid. 226* ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ ταρροῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονεῖς κτλ.; *Pl. Rep. VII. 519 D* ἔπειτ' ἀδικήσομεν—αὐτοὺς κτλ.; Cf. note on *ἔπειτα* 20 C supra.

15. εἰ οἶα—ἀνδρα = 'if you think a man ought to consider chances of life or death'. *ὑπολογίζεσθαι* means to entertain a reflection pointing to the opposite line of conduct from that which we are or ought to be pursuing. Cf. *Gorg. 480 C* τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν διώκοντα, μὴ ὑπολογιζόμενον τὸ ἀλγεινόν and *Crito 48 D*. In *Lach. 189 B* ὑπόλογον ποιούμενος = ὑπολογιζόμενος.

16. τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι. The article appears only once because *ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι* is a single notion nearly equivalent to *πότερον βιώσομαι ἢ ἀποθανοῦμαι*. For the sentiment compare *Gorg. 512 D—E* μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ ζῆν ὅσον δὴ χρόνον, τὸν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνδρα ἐατέον ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ φιλοψυχητέον.

δοῦν τι—δφελός ἐστιν = 'who is good for anything at all', or 'if he is etc.' Cf. *Crito 46 A* εἴ τι καὶ σμικρὸν ἡμῶν δφελος ἦν.

20. τῶν ἡμιθέων i.q. τῶν ἡρώων, v. 28 A μήτε ἦρωας. *Infr. ol 28 C* τε ἄλλοι καί = cum ceteri tum praecipue.

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

22. παρὰ τὸ αἰσχρόν τι ὑπομέναι = 'compared with enduring a disgrace', 'where the alternative was a disgrace' (Church). Cf. *Xen. Mem. I. 4. 14* παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα ὥσπερ θεοὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι βιοτεύουσι.

24. θεὸς οὖσα: *Od. 4. 468* θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα ἴσασιν (Dyer). Observe that *θεός* not *θεά* is the only good word for 'goddess' in the best Attic prose.

25. ὦ παῖ (IL XVIII. 95 ὠκύμορος δὴ μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι). The words are not found in the text of B, but in the margin, and in T. Line 96 (presently cited) is αὐτίκα γὰρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα πόντος ἐτοῖμος.

28. ὁ δὲ. For this *ἐκείνος* without *δέ* would be more regular, to suit *ὥστε* in line 23: the anacoluthon is due to the space occupied by the speech of Thetis. In *τοῦ μὲν θανάτου* the article is written because Achilles' doom (*πότμος*) has already been named: cf. *infr.* 29 A *οἷδε μὲν γὰρ οὐδείς τὸν θάνατον κτλ.*

28 D 30. τὸ ζῆν κακὸς ὦν = 'to live a coward'. τὸ ζῆν is the direct object after *δέσας*: cf. Thuc. I. 136 I *δεδιέναι δὲ φασκόντων Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτόν.*

31. αὐτίκα τεθναίην κτλ. See Iliad XVIII. vv. 98 and 104 *αὐτίκα τεθναίην—ἀλλ' ἤμαι παρὰ νηυσίν, ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης.* For *ἐτώσιον* Socrates, who does not profess to quote accurately (*οὕτως* *πῶς* *supr.* c line 25), substitutes *κορωνίσιν* 'crooked'.

33. μὴ αὐτὸν οἶα...; μῆ = num as in 25 A.

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

38. ὑπολογιζόμενον v. on B above, line 15. *Infr.* *πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ* = 'before disgrace', i.e. his first thought should be of the shame of flight, and only his second of death or danger. So *infra* 29 B *πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν* and Symp. 179 A *πρὸ τούτου τεθνάναι ἂν πολλάκις ἔλοιτο.*

CHAPTER XVII.

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

28 E 2. εἰ ὅτε μὲν—τότε μὲν—τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ—ἐνταῦθα δέ, i.e. 'if, when the officers etc., I stood my ground then, but now, when the god etc.' Socrates says it would be shamefully inconsistent to have held the post assigned to him by men, and to desert the post in which he has been placed by God. *τότε μὲν* and *ἐνταῦθα δέ* are interposed to make the contrast more direct and emphatic: *τότε* sums up in one word the sentence *ὅτε μὲν—Δηλίῳ*, *ἐνταῦθα* the sentence *τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ—ἄλλους*. (Cf. *infra* 32 D *τούτου δέ* and 38 A *ταῦτα δ' ἐτι ἦπτον*.) Stallbaum cites an exactly parallel case from Isocr. Areopag. 47. See also Meno 94 C—D *οὐκ οὐκ δὴλον, ὅτι οὗτος οὐκ ἂν*

ποτε, οὐ μὲν ἔδει δαπανώμενον διδάσκειν, ταῦτα μὲν ἐδίδαξε τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὐτοῦ, οὐ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔδει ἀναλώσαντα ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ποιῆσαι, ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐδίδαξεν and Crito 50 E—51 A ἡ πρὸς μὲν ἄρα σοι τὸν πατέρα—πρὸς δὲ τὴν πατρίδα κτλ.: and cf. infr. 29 D χρημάτων μὲν κτλ. The ἄρχοντες (=στρατηγοί) were Callias at Potidaea (432 B.C. Thucyd. i. 61), Cleon at Amphipolis (422 B.C. Thuc. v. 2), Hippocrates at Delium (424 B.C. Thuc. iv. 90): Grote, chapters 47, 54, 53. In the battle at Potidaea (a Corinthian colony in Chalcidice) Socrates saved the life of Alcibiades (Symp. 220 D foll.): at Delium (in Boeotia) he displayed the utmost gallantry in the retreat (Symp. 221 A foll.). Cf. also Charm. 153 A foll. and Lach. 181 B.

3. ὑμεῖς ἐλεσθε: ὑμεῖς = ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι not simply δικασταί. Ten στρατηγοί were elected yearly by show of hands (χειροτονία).

10. λίπομι τὴν τάξιν is still controlled by εἰ. The optative 29 A mood signifies of course that the contingency is a future one: ἔμενον and ἐκινδύνεον refer to actual facts now past. Cf. infr. 34 C εἰ—ἐδεήθητε καὶ ἰκέτευσσα. 'The expression intentionally recalls the λιποταξίου γραφή, which involved the loss of civil rights (ἀτιμία)' Cron.

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

17. ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν sc. τις, which is often understood from the subject of a preceding infinitive, e.g. Euthyd. 289 B ἐπίστασθαι χρῆσθαι τούτῳ δ' ἂν ποιῇ. Infra 39 D παρασκευάζειν ὅπως ἔσται ὡς βέλτιστος. For an analogous case in Latin see Cic. De Fin. III § 20 primum est officium—ut se conservet and ibid. § 45.

οἶδε—τὸν θάνατον. The subject of the subordinate clause is made the object of the main verb, as frequently happens when the verb is εἰδέναι. So infra 29 D with ἐπιμελεῖσθαι: χρημάτων—ἐπιμελοίμενος, ὅπως σοι ἔσται ὡς πλεῖστα. Translate 'No one so much as (οὐδέ) knows whether death may not be etc.'

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

20. καὶ τοῦτο—ἐπονεδιστος='why, is not this etc.': for καὶ 29 B compare (with Wohlrab) Gorg. 519 C καὶ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τί ἂν ἀλογώτερον εἴη πρῶγμα; For the article in the predicate cf. supra 18 C οὗτοι—οἱ δεινοὶ εἰσὶν μου κατήγοροι. ἐπονεδιστος, viz. in 21 D.

22. καὶ ἐνταῦθα = 'here too'. Infra διαφέρω = 'I am better than' as in 34 E.

24. τούτῳ ἄν sc. φαίην σοφώτερος εἶναι, cf. supra 25 E ἢ οὐ διαφθείρω, ἢ, εἰ διαφθείρω, ἄκων sc. διαφθείρω. Infra οὕτω is used because οὐκ εἰδώς = ὥσπερ οὐκ οἶδα.

28. πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν v. on 28 D πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.

ὦν οἶδα: ὦν by attraction for ᾧ (acc. cf. on 29 A οἶδε τὸν θάνατον). Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 211.

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

29 C 31. τὴν ἀρχὴν or ἀρχήν = 'at all' is used by correct authors only in negative clauses. Theaet. 186 D ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδ' εἶναι. Soph. Ant. 92 ἀρχὴν δὲ θηρῶν οὐ πρέπει τάμηχανα.

32. εἰσελθεῖν v. on εἰσάγεις 24 D.

οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτείνειν. For τὸ μὴ we should expect τὸ μὴ οὐ (Goodwin MT. p. 202): but cf. Soph. O. T. 1388 οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην τὸ μὴ ἀποκλῆσαι τοῦμὸν δῖον δέμας.

34. εἰ διαφευξομένη—ἂν διαφάρησονται. διαφευξομένη = διαφεύξομαι of Direct: the future optative is rarely used otherwise: Goodwin MT. p. 43. ἂν διαφάρησονται are the words used by Meletus, which may be retained in the indirect (Goodwin MT. p. 257): the fut. optat. is not used with ἂν (ibid. pp. 67 and § 197). For ἂν with the future indicative, found occasionally in Attic Greek, cf. Symp. 222 A ἰδὼν ἂν τις—εὐρήσει, Rep. X. 615 D οὐχ ἤκει, φάναι, οὐδ' ἂν ἤξει δεῦρο. It is tolerably common in early poetry (Goodwin ibid. p. 65). Cf. also infr. 30 C ὡς ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποιήσουστος ἄλλα.

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

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

42. ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι: more impressive than ὦ κτλ. So in 30 C: μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

ἀσπάζομαι—καὶ φιλῶ. Cf. Rep. x. 607 A φιλεῖν μὲν χρὴ καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι ὡς θύτας βελτίστους εἰς ὅσον δύνανται and Legg. III. 689 A. ἀσπάζεσθαι=χαίρειν κελύω as in Homer Od. III. 35 χερσὶν τ' ἡσπάζοντο κτλ. Tr. 'I wish you good cheer and love you'.

πάσσομαι δὲ μᾶλλον κτλ. Acts v. 29 πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις.

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

45. παρακελευόμενός τε καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος. Cf. supr. 23 B ἐνδεικνυμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σοφός. The exhortation follows in ὦ ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν—οὐκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φροντίζει; the demonstration is further explained in 29 E οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀφήσω—ἐγγυτέρω ἐστὲ γένοι. The clause ὅτ' ἂν δεῖ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν defines ὑμῶν more nearly.

48. πόλεως—εἰς σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχύν='a city which is the greatest and most famous in wisdom and strength'. With εἰς='in respect of' cf. infra 35 A οἱ διαφέροντες Ἀθηναίων εἰς ἀρετήν. Ἀθηναῖος='Ἀθηναίων', whence πόλεως (Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 195 fin.). ἰσχύς here means strength of character no less than physical power: see Pericles' description of Athenian character and enterprise in Thuc. II. 40—41.

χρημάτων μὲν—φρονήσεως δέ. Cf. on 28 E εἰ ὅτε μὲν κτλ. For the position and case of χρημάτων μὲν v. on οἶδε τὸν θάνατον 29 A. Infra τῇ ψυχῇ='your soul'.

52. οὐκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φροντίζει is more direct and vivid than 29 E οὐκ ἐπιμελούμενος οὐδὲ φροντίζων which would be the logical expression here: v. on ὅμως δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει εἶναι 21 E.

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

58. πρεσβυτέρῳ—ποιήσω. Socrates uses the dat. rather than 30 A

the acc. because he does all this for their good (Dativus Commodi). Cf. Isaeus *περὶ τοῦ Νικοστράτου κλήρου* 19 τῷ τεθνεῶτι μηδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων ποιήσας.

59. μᾶλλον δὲ—δοφ. Cf. *infr.* 39 D χαλεπώτεροι ἔσονται δοφ κτλ. On ἐγγυτέρω ἔστέ γένει Engelhardt remarks that either ἐγγὺς εἶναι τινα γένους or ἐγγὺς εἶναι τινος γένει is good Greek, but not ἐγγὺς εἶναι τινα γένει.

62. τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν. Cf. *infr.* 30 D δόσω ὑμῖν and contrast 23 C τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν. See also note on 18 B τὰ τε μετέωρα φροντιστής.

30 B 66. μηδὲ οὕτω σφόδρα ὥς. μηδέ joins πρότερον and οὕτω σφόδρα. Tr. 'sooner than, or so earnestly as'. After πρότερον we should expect ἤ, but ὥς does duty instead on account of the following οὕτω σφόδρα. Nearly parallel, but not quite, is Hyperid. Epitaph. 14 ff. (ed. Blass) οὐδένας οὕτως αὐτοῖς οἰκείους οὐδὲ πιστοτέρους ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζειν ὥς. In a few examples ὥς or ὥσπερ (like Latin quam) is actually found after comparatives in Greek, e.g. Xenophanes Frag. III. 4 οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χίλιοι εἰς ἐπίπαν, v. *infr.* on 36 D μᾶλλον—πρέπει [οὕτως] ὥς.

67. οὐκ ἐκ χρημάτων κτλ. More impressive than δοῖ οὐκ κτλ. (the reading of inferior mss). Socrates continually proclaimed that virtue or knowledge is the only sure foundation of prosperity and happiness. Cf. Mem. iv. 5. 6 σοφίαν δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν: iv. 8. 6 ἀριστα μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι ζῆν τοὺς ἀριστα ἐπιμελομένους τοῦ ὥς βελτίστους γίγνεσθαι, ἡδιστα δὲ τοὺς μάλιστα αἰσθανομένους, ὅτι βελτίους γίγνονται. Cf. *ibid.* i. 6. 9: Alc. II. 146 E, where it is shewn that in the absence of virtue or knowledge of the good all other knowledge is positively harmful. Euthyd. 281 B ἀρ' οὖν, ὦ πρὸς Δίος, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὀφελός τι τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἀνευ φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας; The proverb χρήματα χρήματα' ἀνὴρ (Pind. Isthm. II. 11) he repudiated both in theory and in practice: he was one of the poorest men in Athens (v. *supra* note on 23 C ἐν πενίᾳ μυρία εἰμί).

70. εἰ—διαφθείρω, ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη v. on 25 B ἂν—εἴη, εἰ—διαφθείρω. ταῦτα is 'these doctrines'.

72. οὐδὲν λέγει)(λέγει τι = 'he is wrong'.

πρὸς ταῦτα = 'therefore': frequent in the Tragedians. [On *μη ἀφίετε* v. App. 2.]

74. ὥς ἐμοῦ—ἄλλα. ὥς is often found with the gen. abs. when dependent on an imperative: Hdt. VIII. 144 νῦν δὲ ὥς οὕτω ἐχόντων

στρατιῇ—ἐκπέμπετε. On *δν* with future participle (an idiom which some critics refuse to recognise) v. Goodwin MT. p. 71.

75. πολλάκις τεθνάναι. Cf. Dem. Phil. III. 65 τεθνάναι γὰρ 30 C μυριάκις κρείττον. In this phrase τεθνάναι (*mortuus esse*) is regularly used where we should expect ἀποθνήσκειν. Cf. 41 A πολλάκις θέλω τεθνάναι. It differs from ἀποθνήσκειν in being slightly more emphatic. See also *infr.* 39 E οἱ ἐλθόντα με δεῖ τεθνάναι.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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

2. οἷς ἐδεήθην ὑμῶν *supr.* 17 D and 20 E.

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

7. εὖ γάρ ἴστε. γάρ is here introductory and should not be translated, v. on 20 E Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε πον.

11. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι—βλάπτεσθαι. The dat. and inf. follows 30 D θεμιτὸν εἶναι as it might ἐξεστὶ or προσήκει. Cf. Phaedo 67 B and Tim. 30 A θέμις δὲ οὐτ' ἦν οὐτ' ἐστὶ τῷ ἀρίστῳ δρᾶν ἄλλο πλὴν τὸ κάλλιστον. This remark of Plato is repeatedly quoted and referred to by ancient writers, e.g. Epictetus and Plutarch.

13. ἀτιμώσκειν. Cf. Rep. VIII. 553 B ἀποθανόντα ἢ ἐκπεσόντα ἢ ἀτιμωθέντα. [The MSS have ἀτιμάσειεν, v. App. 2.] ἀτιμία (=deminutio capitis) signifies either the entire or partial (ἀτιμία κατὰ προστάξεις) loss of civil rights.

14. καὶ ἄλλος τις = 'and many another'. With this use of *τίς* cf. Thuc. II. 37 παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον ὄντες τινὶ ἢ μιμούμενοι ἐτέρους.

16. ἀποκτείνουαι. This form of the infinitive from ἀποκτείνω is not uncommon in Plato.

19. περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῖν v. *supr.* 30 A τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν.

21. ἀτεχνῶς = 'literally', v. on 18 C ἀτεχνῶς ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦν. 30 E *τες* and on 18 D ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ.

εἰ καὶ γελοιότερον εἰπεῖν. Cf. Gorg. 486 C εἰ τι καὶ ἀγροικότερον εἰρήσθαι: v. infra on μύωπός τις line 25.

22. προσκείμενον = 'additum', 'datum' as is clear from ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ and προστεθεικέναι (whose passive is προσκείσθαι, v. supr. note on 17 A) and infr. 31 A ἐπιπέμψειεν and οἷος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδοσθαι. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ is wrongly bracketed by some editors on the ground that ὁ θεός infra renders it superfluous, but v. on 18 C ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦντες ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός. [App. 2.]

24. νωθεστέρῳ = 'somewhat sluggish', 'somewhat drowsy'. Infr. δεομένῳ ἐγείρεσθαι = 'needing to be aroused', sc. out of this state of drowsiness. Cf. infr. 36 D δεομένῳ ἀγειν σχολήν. In Theaet. 153 B—C we are told that idleness and repose are fatal both to soul and body: τὸ μὲν ἄρα ἀγαθόν, κίνησις, κατὰ τε ψυχὴν καὶ κατὰ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ (sc. ἡσυχία) τοῦναντίον; ναι.

25. μύωπός τις = 'a sort of gadfly'. τις (like Latin quidam) apologises for the comparison. The simile may have been suggested to Socrates by the story of Io: v. Aesch. Prom. 674 foll. κεραστίς δ' ὥς ὁρᾷτ' ὀξυστόμφ μύωπι χρισθεῖς' ἐμμανεῖ σκιρτήματι ἦσσαν κτλ. In Meno 80 A Socrates is compared to a torpedo (νάρκη) on account of the paralysing action of his dialectic (δοκεῖς μοι παντελῶς—ὁμοιωτάτος εἶναι—ταύτῃ τῇ πλατεῖα νάρκῃ τῇ θαλαττίᾳ): elsewhere he compares himself to a midwife (Theaet. 149 A foll. and v. Grote VIII. p. 252 ff.). These examples make it clear that we are justified in assigning to μύωψ its more ludicrous signification (εἰ καὶ γελοιότερον εἰπεῖν supra line 21) of 'gadfly' rather than 'spur': the words προσκαθίζων, and infra 31 A ὥσπερ οἱ νυστάζοντες ἐγειρόμενοι, and particularly κρούσαντες, seem to me conclusive in favour of this interpretation. [App. 2.]

οἷον δὴ = 'even such an one as'. The following τοιοῦτόν τινα is added to introduce the relative clause which explains more precisely what is implied in οἷον.

27. ἕνα ἕκαστον is the object to καὶ πελθων καὶ δνειδίζων. οὐδὲν—προσκαθίζων = 'never cease from darting down upon you at every point the whole day long'. Cf. Gorg. 517 C οὐδὲν παύομεθα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ δεῖ περιφερόμενοι. Xen. Mem. IV. 4. 10 οὐδὲν παύομαι ἀποδεικνύμενος.

31 A 30. ἴσως τάχ' ἂν—κρούσαντες ἂν—ῥαδίως ἂν. For the repetition of ἂν (which belongs of course in each case to ἀποκτείναιτε) v. Goodwin MT. pp. 73, 74.

31. ὥσπερ οἱ νυστάζοντες ἐγειρόμενοι = velut qui dormitantes

excitantur: of probably belongs to ἐγειρόμενοι. The simile here is slightly changed: the δῆμος is no longer a drowsy horse, but a drowsy man, who suddenly crushes the persecuting insect with his hand. [On κρούσαντες v. App. 2.]

33. εἶτα v. on 23 C εἶτ' ἐπιχειροῦσιν.

36. τοιοῦτος οἷος—δεδοσθαι='the kind of man to have been given'. Cf. Crito 46 B τοιοῦτος οἷος—πείθεσθαι: Goodwin MT. p. 305.

37. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἔοικε. On γὰρ v. supr. note on 20 E 31 B Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε πού. For ἔοικε v. on ἔοικεν γὰρ 26 E. ἀνθρωπίνῃ means the course of action appropriate to an ἀνθρωπος, here τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. Socrates refers to his personal unselfishness as a proof that he is called of God.

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

42. καὶ τοι εἰ μὲν τι. So Göbel for καὶ εἰ μέντοι τι: Cobet and Schanz read καὶ εἰ μὲν τι. καὶ τοι=quamquam='and yet' suits exactly here: cf. Phaed. 73 A καὶ τοι εἰ μὴ ἐτόγγανεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη ἐνούσα καὶ ὁρθὸς λόγος, οὐκ ἂν οἷοί τ' ἦσαν τοῦτο ποιῆσειν and ibid. 65 B.

44. εἶχον ἂν τινα λόγον, i.e. I should have been understood, 'my conduct would have been intelligible'. Cf. infr. 34 B τάχ' ἂν λόγον ἔχοιεν βοηθοῦντες. [App. 2.]

νῦν δέ='but as it is', v. on καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν 18 A supra.

46. τοῦτό γε—μάρτυρα. ἀπαναισχυντεῖν means to maintain some shameless falsehood in denial (ἀπ-) of something said by another. Cf. Demosth. πρὸς Ἀφοβόν 20 οὗτος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπηναισχύντει ('=shamelessly denied it'). τοῦτό γε refers forward to ὡς ἐγώ—ἦτησα: verbs signifying 'to contradict' like ἀπαναισχυντεῖν, e.g. ἀντιλέγειν ἀμφισβητεῖν, are regularly followed by a clause with ὡς (ὅτι) giving that which is maintained, not that which is denied: cf. Ar. Pol. III. 16. 1287^b 23 οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γ' ἀντιλέγουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὸν κρινόμενον—ἀλλ' ὅτι. Pl. Rep. v. 476 D τί οὖν ἐάν—ἀμφισβητῇ ὡς οὐκ ἀληθὴ λέγομεν. Translate 'were unable to bring forward a witness and unblushingly contend that I ever etc.' [Cobet conjectures ἐπαναισχυντῆσαι, i.e. 'to make this further unblushing assertion', the ἐπὶ being used with reference to τὰλλα πάντα ἀναισχύντως κατηγοροῦντες: but there is no necessity for any change.]

- 31 C 48. *ἱκανὸν—τὸν μάρτυρα* = 'the witness I produce is sufficient': *ἱκανόν* is of course predicative: cf. 20 E *ἐς ἀξιώχρεων ὑμῖν τὸν λέγοντα ἀνόσω*. On *τὴν πενίαν* see ch. IX. 23 C *ἐν πενίᾳ μυρία εἰμι*, and on *ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω*, App. 2.

CHAPTER XIX.

3. *πολυπραγμονῶ*: so most good MSS: *πολυπραγμονῶν* is an inferior reading. *πολυπραγμονῶ* is the antithesis of *τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ πράττω*.

4. *ἀναβαλῶν ἐς τὸ πλήθος*. Cf. Liv. II. 7. 7 'in contionem escendit'. The *ἀνα-* refers to the *βῆμα* or platform as 'escendit' probably to the rostra (Weissenborn in loc.). Cf. note on 17 D *ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα*.

7. *θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον* = 'something divine and supernatural'.

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

8 *δὴ καὶ* = 'which as you know (*δὴ*) is just what'. Infra *ἐπικωμῶδῶν* is explained by 26 E foll. *ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ οὐτοσί—πάνυ εἶναι ὑβριστῆς καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ—ὑβρεῖ τινι—καὶ νεότητι γράψασθαι*. In particular, Meletus caricatured the *δαιμόνιον* of Socrates by representing it as a personal god: see supra 24 C.

9. *ἐμοὶ δὲ—φωνή τις γιγνομένη* = 'From childhood this has been with me, a voice coming to me, and when it comes etc.' For *γιγνομένη* cf. Euthyphr. 3 B *ὅτι δὴ σὺ τὸ δαιμόνιον φῆς σαυτῷ ἐκάστοτε γίγνεσθαι*. On *ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρξάμενον* = iam inde a puero v. note on *ἐκ παιδῶν* 18 B. [App. 2.]

11. *τοῦτο δ' ἂν μέλλω πράττειν*. *τοῦτο* depends on *πράττειν*: with *μέλλω* another *πράττειν* is to be understood. For the statement itself, cf. Phaedr. 242 B *ἀεὶ δέ με ἐπισχέι δ' ἂν μέλλω πράττειν* and Cic. de Div. I § 122 *esse divinum quiddam, quod δαιμόνιον appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, saepe revocanti*.

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

15. *πάλαι ἐπεχείρησα—πάλαι*. The repetition of *πάλαι* not only increases the rhetorical effect but greatly intensifies the meaning: if (with Cobet and Schanz) we omit the first *πάλαι* Socrates only says 'If I had entered on politics I should have perished long

ago': as it is, he says 'If I had long ago etc., I should long ago have perished'. He implies that there would have been but a brief interval between his *début* and his death.

16. ἀπολώλη—ἀφελήκη v. on ξυνήδη ch. VIII. 22 C. With οὐτ' ἄν—οὐτ' ἄν Wohlrab compares Symp. 196 E οὐτ' ἄν ἐτέρῳ δοίη οὐτ' ἄν ἄλλον διδάξειε.

17. καὶ μοι μὴ. On καὶ 'pray' v. supra note on καὶ μοι δεῦρο 31 E εἰπέ ch. XII. 24 C.

22. καὶ εἰ='even if': whereas εἰ καὶ simply means 'although' 32 A (etsi). The expression is nearly equivalent to but is somewhat less emphatic than εἰ μέλλει καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον σωθήσεται. In this impressive sentence Plato appears definitely to renounce his early aspirations after political life: the Gorgias contains his final renunciation: see 513 A and 515 C foll.

CHAPTER XX.

2. οὐ λόγους ἀλλ'—ἔργα. Cron quotes Demosth. Olynth. II. 12 ἅπας μὲν λόγος, ἂν ἀπὴ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν. It was a common taunt levelled at Socrates and the Sophists that they were more given to words than deeds: v. Aristoph. Nub. 1003 στωμύλλων κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τριβολεκτράπελ' οἰάπερ οἱ νῦν: to the Athenians of the conservative school deeds seemed better (ὁ ὑμεῖς τιμᾶτε) than words, *ibid.* 986.

4. οὐδ' ἂν ἐνί=ne uni quidem is more emphatic than οὐδενὶ ἄν. Cf. Prot. 328 A οὐδ' ἂν εἰς φανείη. T

6. μὴ ὑπείκων δὲ ἅμα καὶ ἅμα ἄν. So the Bodleian ms. The first ἅμα goes with ὑπείκων: the second is correlative (cf. 31 D supr. πάλαι—πάλαι) and belongs to ἀπολόμην. Tr. 'and that I would perish on the spot sooner than give way'. μὴ goes closely with ὑπείκων. The nearest parallel to this somewhat unusual expression seems to be Xen. Cyr. III. 1. 27 ὅρα μὴ ἅμα τε εὐ ποιήσης καὶ ἅμα οὐ φίλον νομισώσι σε, which = μὴ εὐ ποιούντα ἅμα καὶ ἅμα οὐ φίλον νομισώσι σε (Fischer). [App. 2.]

7. φορτικά μὲν καὶ δικανικά. φορτικά = ἐπαχθῆ = 'gravia auribus et molesta' (Fischer) means what an audience will resent (think a burden or φόρτος) as in bad taste—e.g. self-praise, as here: δικανικά means such as one often hears in law-courts. Cf. Demosth. De Pace 4 ἀκριβῶς δ' εἰδῶς—τὸ λέγειν περὶ ὧν αὐτοὺς εἰπέ τις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ—τῶν πάνυ λυσιτελούντων (and therefore

often done i.e. *δικανικά*)—*ὅν, οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικὸν καὶ ἐπαχθέες ὥστε ἀνάγκην ὁρῶν ὁμῶς ἀποκνῶ*. Tr. 'what sounds arrogant and forensic'. [App. 2.]

ἐγὼ γάρ. On *γάρ* v. supr. note on 20 E.

- 32 B 10. *ἡ φυλὴ Ἀντιοχίς*. 'Αντιοχίς is added epexegetically: 'our tribe, Antiochis'. Cf. Phaedo 57 A *τῶν πολιτῶν Φλιασίων* and Archer-Hind's note. Some critics reject the word 'Αντιοχίς: v. App. 2.

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

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

11. *ἀναισθημένους*. *ἀναιρεῖσθαι* is regularly used of removing the dead bodies after a battle: cf. Rep. X. 614 B *ἀναιρεθέντων—τῶν νεκρῶν—ὕγιής μὲν ἀνῆρέθη* κτλ. Infr. *τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας= τοὺς ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας*.

12. *παράνομος...ἔδοξε*. At the trial of the generals it was proposed by Callixenus that two urns should be distributed to each tribe, one for 'guilty' and the other for 'innocent', and that all the generals should be condemned or acquitted together (*ἁθρόοι*), Xen. Hell. I. 7. 9. This was in direct opposition to the statute known as the *Καννώνου ψήφισμα*, which enacted among other clauses that it should be held illegal to vote upon the case of two or more accused persons at once (Xen. Hell. I. 7. 34: cf. Hesych. s. v. *Καννώνου ψήφισμα*). Callixenus was threatened with a *γραφὴ παράνομων* by Euryptolemus, who was ultimately compelled to withdraw his threat on pain of being included in the same accusation with the generals. Thereupon some of the *πρυτάνεις* declared that they would not put the question: but all of them ultimately desisted from their opposition, except only Socrates who *οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πάντα ποιήσειν* (Hell. I. 7. 15). In the other two contemporary accounts which we possess of this affair (Xen. Mem. I. 1. 18 and IV. 4. 2: it is not certain though I think probable that Pl. Gorg. 473 E ff. refers to this occasion) it is implied that Socrates was *ἐπιστάτης* for the day and refused to put the question (*ἐπιψηφίζειν*); the balance of evidence remains in spite of Grote in favour of this view. With *ὡς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω...ἔδοξε* cf. Hell. I. 7. 35 *καὶ οὐ πολλῶ ὑστέρον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*: Xenophon says they conceived such a hatred for Callixenus that they let him starve to death.

15. *ἐναντία ἐψηφισάμην*. The precise reference of these words is not clear: they cannot of course (as Wohlrab apparently thinks) refer to Socrates' refusal as *ἐπιστάτης* to put the question. They refer either (a) to Socrates' protest at the deliberations of the *πρυτάνεις* before the question was put, or (b) to his vote in the assembly. The words of Xenophon (Hell. I. 7. 14—16) are clearly in favour of the first view: *οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις ὡμολόγουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου*. That *ψηφίσασθαι* does not necessarily mean to register a vote is clear from Symp. 177 D *οὐδέ σοι—φάναι τὸν Σωκράτη, ἐναντία ψηφιεῖται*. [App. 2.]

16. *ἐνδεικνύναι με καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν*='to indict and arrest me'. *ἐνδείξις* and *ἀπαγωγή* were two summary modes of procedure in cases of manifest and admitted breach of the laws. The first was usually employed when any one exercised political rights or privileges to which he had no legal claim. Information was given to the archon and the culprit was at once arrested (*ὁ δ' ἐνδεικνύμενος—*

πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα τὴν ἐνδειξιν ἀποφέρει, Pollux VIII. 49). The second was generally chosen where offenders against life and property were caught in the act: they were handed over to the eleven (τοῖς ἑνδεκα, cf. infr. 37 C), who at once inflicted on them the statutory penalty. In the present case Socrates by holding out against the resolution of his fellow *πρυτάνεις* was considered to be exceeding his rights. Cf. Xen. Hell. I. 7. 14: οἱ δὲ ἐβδων καλεῖν (=summon) τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας (sc. τὴν διαψήφισιν προθήσειν).

17. *κελευόντων καὶ βούντων*. Cf. Horace Carm. III. 3. 2 'non civium ardor prava iubentium'. Döring (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1879, p. 16) believes that Horace had this passage in view when he wrote the opening lines of his famous ode.

32 C 20. *δεσμὸν ἢ θάνατον* = 'imprisonment or death'. The plural of *δεσμὸς* in this sense is *δεσμοί*: *δεσμά* = chains. Rutherford New Phryn. p. 253.

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

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

24. *Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμῖνον*: Xenoph. Hell. II. 3. 39: Grote VIII. pp. 35—36. To this incident Horace seems to allude in Carm. III. 3. 3 Non vultus instantis tyranni etc. Cf. Seneca Epist. 28. 8 Triginta—tyranni Socratem circumsteterunt, nec potuerunt animum eius infringere.

ἀποθάνοι = 'be put to death', as in 32 D infr.: v. on *πεπόνθατε* 17 A.

25. οἷα δὴ: not adverbial, but the direct object to *προσέταττον*.

26. *ἀναπλήσαι* = 'to implicate'. The verb *ἀναπικλάσαι* is used of involving one in something unpleasant or bad: Ar. Ach. 847 *δικῶν ἀναπλήσει*. Hence it often means 'to defile', e.g. Ar. Nub. 1023 and Plato Phaedo 67 A: so *ἀνάπλεος* = 'tainted' in Phaed. 83 D τοῦ σώματος ἀναπλέα. In the language of medicine it means 'to infect' e.g. Thuc. II. 51. 4 *ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπικλάμενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἐθνησκον*.

28. εἰ μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢν εἰπεῖν. Socrates apologises for the 32 D somewhat strong and arrogant expression οὐδ' ὅτιοι: cf. Gorg. 509 A κατέχεται καὶ δέδεται, καὶ εἰ ἀγροικότερόν τι εἰπεῖν ἐστὶ, σιδηροῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις λόγοις. The apology is expressed as the protasis to an unfulfilled result: cf. Euthyd. 283 E εἰ μὴ ἀγροικότερον—ἢν εἰπεῖν, εἶπον ἂν κτλ.

30. τοῦτου δὲ sums up in a word the clause τοῦ δὲ—ἐργάζεσθαι so as to provide a more emphatic antithesis to θανάτου μέν. Cf. note on εἰ ὅτε μέν—ἐνταῦθα δὲ 28 E and ταῦτα δὲ in 38 A. τὸ πᾶν is adverbial: Tim. 72 B τὸ πᾶν ἡγροηκότες ὅτι κτλ.

31. ἐκείνη ἡ ἀρχή, viz. οἱ τριάκοντα. Infra ὥστε is to be taken with ἐξέπληξεν and not with οὕτως λυχυρά.

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

CHAPTER XXI.

3. ἐβοήθουν τοῖς δικαίοις. τοῖς δικαίοις is neuter: the plural 32 E refers to different occasions='what was just in each case'.

6. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν...οὐδεῖς sc. τοσάδε ἔτη διεγένετο ἀν.

8. τοιοῦτος: explained by the participial clause οὐδεὶς πώποτε 33 A ἐσυγχωρήσας κτλ. Cf. 35 C οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κἀθῆται ὁ δικαστής, ἐπὶ τῷ καταχαρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια. Infr. ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος is in the predicate.

13. τὰ ἑμαντοῦ πράττοντος, 'fulfilling my mission', viz. to examine and exhort the Athenian people: v. supra 29 D, 30 E.

ἐπιθυμέ—ἐφθόνησα. The aorist ἐφθόνησα is used to correspond with the aorist in διδάσκαλος οὐδενὸς πώποτ' ἐγενόμην.

15. οὐδέ—μὴ λαμβάνων δὲ οὐ. οὐδέ negatives the whole clause, "neither do I converse for payment, and refuse to converse without payment" (Church). Cf. ch. IV. 19 D ὡς—χρήματα πράττομαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές. Socrates' refusal to take a fee was one of the many points of difference between him and the Sophists: v. Xen. Mem. I. 2. 6, where Socrates declares that those who take money for teaching make themselves slaves (τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας τῆς ὁμιλίας μισθὸν ἀνδραποδιστὰς ἐαυτῶν ἀπεκάλει), because they are no longer free to talk on any subject they please. In a conversation with the Sophist Antiphon, who argued that to teach gratis was to confess that your instruction was valueless, Socrates is still more

severe: τὴν τε γὰρ ὄραν ἔαν μὲν τις ἀργυρίου πωλῇ τῷ βουλομένῳ, πόρον αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦσιν—καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίου τῷ βουλομένῳ πωλοῦντας, σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλοῦσιν κτλ. (Mem. I. 6. 13).

- 33 B 17. παρέχω ἑμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν = 'I submit to be questioned'. The subject to ἐρωτᾶν is of course 'the rich and poor'. So καλὸς ἰδεῖν = 'fair to be seen', i.e. fair for others to see. With παρέχω in this sense cf. Phaedr. 228 E ἑμαυτὸν σοὶ ἐμμελετᾶν παρέχειν. παρέχω by itself is often used in this way, e.g. Gorg. 456 B φάρμακον πιεῖν ἢ τεμεῖν ἢ καῦσαι παρασχεῖν τῷ ἱατρῷ and Prot. 348 A. καὶ ἂν τις—ὃν ἂν λέγω sc. παρέχω ἑμαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶν. Tr. 'and also if any one wants to answer and hear what I've got to say'. Socrates said what he had to say oftener by questions than by answers. [App. 2.]

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

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

21. ὑπεσχόμεν: like Protagoras (Prot. 318 D foll.) or Gorgias (Gorg. 449 B: ἐπαγγέλλομαι γε δὴ—οὐ μόνον ἐνθάδε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοθι).

23. ἄλλοι πάντες = 'any other men', 'alius quisvis': πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι = ceteri omnes.

CHAPTER XXII.

- 33 C 4. ὅτι is 'because', answering to διὰ τί—χαίρουσι. Stallbaum compares Euthyphr. 3 B φησὶ γὰρ με ποιητὴν εἶναι θεῶν καὶ—ἐγράψατο τούτων αὐτῶν ἕνεκα. μανθάνω, ὦ Σώκρατες· ὅτι δὴ σὺ τὸ δαιμόνιον φῆς σαυτῷ ἐκάστοτε γίνεσθαι.

5. χαίρουσιν ἐξεταζομένοις: χαίρειν is followed by an instrumental dat. of cause: Hom. Od. XIX. 462—463 τῷ μὲν ῥα πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ χαῖρον νοστήσαντι. In 23 C supra where ἀκούοντες πολλοὺς χαίρουσιν we have ἐξεταζομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων:

in Gorg. 513 B we find χαίρειν with a gen. abs. τῷ αὐτῶν γὰρ ἡθεὶ λεγομένων τῶν λόγων ἕκαστοι χαίρουσι.

7. ὡς ἐγὼ φημι v. supra on ὅπερ λέγω 21 A.

8. ἐξ ἐνυπνίων. Socrates seems to have looked upon dreams as an indication of the divine will. Cf. Phaedo 60 E 'I have often had a vision (ἐνύπνιον) recurring in various forms, always saying the same thing: ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, μουσικὴν ποιεῖ καὶ ἐργάζου. See also Crito 44 A = Diog. Laert. II. 5. 35 where we hear that a lady clothed in white appeared to Socrates in a vision two nights before he died, and addressed him in these words: ἡματὶ κεῖν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο (cf. Il. IX. 363). On the night before Socrates first met Plato he is said to have dreamt that a young swan rested on his knees for a moment and then suddenly flew aloft, uttering a sweet note (Diog. Laert. III. 5).

9. θεία μοῖρα = 'divine dispensation'; μοῖρα for *μόρ-ια is connected with εἰ-μαρ-ται.

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

13. χρῆν = oportebat not oporteret. In the apodosis to an 33 D unfulfilled conditional sentence ᾧ is generally omitted with verbs expressing necessity, possibility and the like (χρῆν ἔδει ἐξῆν εἰκὸς ἦν etc.) unless (which is rare) the "main idea is contained in the verb of necessity": Goodwin MT. p. 152. χρῆν is for χρῆ ἦν = necesse erat: in ἐχρῆν the ε is due to the working of analogy.

The protasis εἰ—διαφθείρω, τοὺς δὲ διέφθαρκα (primary tenses v. on 25 B) is subdivided into two disjunctive clauses εἴτε—ἔγνωσαν, and εἰ δὲ μὴ—ἤθελον: the substitution of εἰ δὲ μὴ for the more natural εἴτε (cf. εἰ δ' αὖ in 40 E following εἴτε in 40 C) is partly occasioned by the intervention of the clause ὅτι νεοῖς—τιμωρεῖσθαι and throws additional emphasis on the second alternative. Finally the original protasis is repeated with a secondary tense of the verb πάσχω (ἐπεπόνθεσαν: implying—they have not suffered harm) in εἴτε—οἰκείοι.

14. ἔγνωσαν = 'had perceived' v. on ἔγνω 22 B supra.

15. αὐτοὺς ἀναβαλόντας: αὐτοὺς = ipsos. For ἀναβαλόντας v. on ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα 17 D.

17. τῶν ἐκείνων: "gen. of οἱ ἐκείνων" (Göbel). Cf. Theaet. 169 E ἐκ τοῦ ἐκείνου λόγου = 'from his theory': Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 202, 2.

20. μεμνήσθαι καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι = μνησικακεῖν (Cron). The words καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι are rejected by most editors: but as they

occur in the best MS and make good sense I do not feel quite justified in bracketing them, in spite of *καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι* above.

πάντως = 'certainly'. With *πάρεισιν ἐνταυθοῖ* cf. Thuc. III. 8 Ὀλυμπίαζε παρῆναι and the 'Huc ades' of Latin poetry.

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

ἑμὸς-δημότης. Socrates belonged to the deme Ἀλωπεκὴ of the tribe Antiochis.

24. ὁ Σφήττιος. Σφήττιος was a deme of the tribe Ἀκαμαντίς. 33 E Infr. Κηφισιεύς means 'of the deme Κηφισία', in the tribe Ἐρεχθίδς.

25. ἄλλοι τοίνυν. τοίνυν marks the transition to a new set of relationships. This use (= 'besides') is not rare in Plato (e.g. Rep. x. 603 B) and very frequent in the Attic orators.

28. ἐκεῖνός γε sc. the dead Theodotus. The pronoun ἐκεῖνος is used in referring to the dead. Cf. Philebus 36 D ὦ παῖ 'κείνου τάνδρός: Rep. 368 A ὦ παῖδες ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός.

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

33. ἐκρῆν μάλιστα μὲν—παρασχέσθαι = 'ought properly to have called'. μάλιστα μὲν = as the best course: the next best course (δεύτερος πλοῦς) is given in the apodosis to the following εἰ δέ clause. Cf. Euthyd. 304 A ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλῳ μόνῳ διαλέγεσθον (imperative), εἰ δέ μή, εἴπερ ἄλλου του ἐναντίον, ἐκείνου μόνου, ὅς ἂν ὑμῖν διδῶ ἀργύριον.

36. ἐγὼ παραχωρῶ sc. σοι τοῦ βήματος (Riddell).

37. τούτου πᾶν τούναντίον = 'quite the reverse of this': an adverbial acc. in apposition to the sentence, v. on 25 B τούναντίον τούτου πᾶν and on 34 D. The object to εὐρήσετε is πάντας κτλ.

41. λόγον ἔχουεν v. on 31 B εἶχον ἂν τινα λόγον: cf. infra 34 B ἔχουσι λόγον line 43.

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

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

44. ἀλλ' ἢ v. above on δι' οὐδέν ἀλλ' ἢ 20 D.

ἐνίστασι—ἀληθεύοντι: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 305 n. 2.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. εἰεν δὴ v. supra note on 18 E.

5. εἰ ὁ μὲν ἐδείθη—ἐγὼ δὲ ποιήσω. On εἰ (= 'that') after 34 C ἀγανακτήσειεν v. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 274: on μὲν—δέ v. note on ch. XVII. 28 D—E εἰ ὅτε μὲν κτλ.: and on ἐδείθη note on λίκτοιμε τὴν τάξιν 28 E.

8. παῖδρα ἀναβιβασάμενος. Fischer compares Aristoph. Plutus 383 foll. ὁρῶ τιν' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καθεδόμενον ἱκτηρίαν ἔχοντα μετὰ

τῶν παιδίων καὶ τῆς γυναικός and Vesp. 563 foll. Every means was employed to awaken the compassion of the judges in Athenian trials: but Socrates οὐδὲν ἠθέλησε τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ποιῆσαι (Xen. Mem. IV. 4. 4).

10. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα κτλ. ἄρα here expresses surprise: that Socrates should act so differently from others in the same situation might seem strange. ἄρα has the same force infr. 37 C—D εἰ οὕτως ἀλόγιστός εἰμι—ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰς ὁλοοῦσι ραδίως; and in Crito 46 D. Cf. also Tim. 51 C τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρ' (=after all) ἦν ἡ λόγος and Apol. 40 E.

11. ὥς ἂν δοξάμην goes closely with τὸν ἔσχατον: 'what might be thought the supreme danger'. Socrates did not so regard it himself infr. 37 B.

12. αὐθαδέστερον ἂν—σχοίη="will harden himself" (Church), lit. 'will become more obdurate'.

13. αὐτοῖς τούτοις='just because of this': cf. supra 24 A τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνομαι.

34 D 15. οὐκ εἰσὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε='I do not think you need be'. Socrates wishes to make it clear that he is putting only a possible and not necessarily a real case (hence τὰχ' οὖν and εἰ δὴ). οὖν in εἰ δ' οὖν is resumptive, v. on 29 D εἰ οὖν με.

ἐπικεικὴ ἂν μοι δοκῶ—λέγαν. ἂν goes with λέγειν: Goodwin (MT. p. 72) cites Xen. Cyrop. VIII. 7. 25 καὶ νῦν ἡδέως ἂν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι.

17. τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου='in these very words of Homer'. τοῦτο αὐτὸ τό is the acc. in apposition to the sentence: cf. Theaet. 183 E Παρμενίδης δὲ μοι φαίνεται, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, αἰδοῖός τέ μοι ἅμα δεινός τε. τὸ λεγόμενον 'as the saying is' admits of the same explanation: so πᾶν τούναντίον and similar expressions. The line in Homer is οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης (Od. XIX. 163), "an old proverbial expression, referring to the story that the first men came from trees and rocks" (Ameis in loc.). οὐδ' ἐγώ=ne ego quidem sc. any more than they. I formerly suggested τοῦτο αὖ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, αὖ referring to 28 C, but now think the MSS right.

19. ἔξ ἀνθρώπων='out of human beings'.

ὥστε καὶ. καὶ here is 'also' as in εἰσὶν μὲν ποῦ τινες καὶ οἰκίαι in line 16. καὶ υἱεῖς ὧ ἄνδρες 'A. τρεῖς='yes men of Athens and three sons'. The separation of υἱεῖς from τρεῖς is for emphasis. As to the facts compare Phaedo 116 B δύο γὰρ αὐτῷ υἱεῖς μικροὶ ἦσαν,

εἰς δὲ μέγας. Their names were Lamprocles Sophroniscus and Menexenus: Lamprocles was the oldest (Xen. Mem. II. 2. 1).

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

26. ἄλλος λόγος = alia res est (Göbel).

πρὸς δ' οὖν δόξαν κτλ. = 'but at any rate for my own credit and for yours, etc.' δ' οὖν as in 17 A (where see note) δ τι μὲν ὑμεῖς πεπόνθατε—οὐκ οἶδα· ἐγὼ δ' οὖν.

28. τοῦτο τοῦνομα: v. 23 A ὄνομα δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, σοφὸς εἶναι. For εἶτ' οὖν ἀληθὲς εἶτ' οὖν ψεῦδος (ψεῦδος is preferred to ψευδές in this phrase) cf. Legg. XI. 934 D ἐάν τ' οὖν δοῦλον ἐάν τ' οὖν καὶ ἐλεύθερον περιορᾷ. Sometimes οὖν is inserted only after the second εἶτε (Soph. Phil. 345): sometimes only after the first, e.g. Soph. O. T. 1049 εἶτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀγρῶν εἶτε κἀνθάδ' εἰσιδῶν, and Pl. Euthyphr. 3 D εἶτ' οὖν φθόνῳ, ὥς σὺ λέγεις, εἶτε δι' ἄλλο τι. The εἶτ' οὖν—εἶτ' οὖν of 27 C supra is hardly parallel; there the first οὖν = 'therefore'. [App. 2.]

30. ἅλλ' οὖν δεδογμένον γε κτλ. = 'but at all events men have made up their minds that Socrates is in some way better etc.' Socrates means that he had the reputation of being 'unco guid'. On ἅλλ' οὖν—γε v. on 27 C above. τὸν Σωκράτη almost = 'the great Socrates' (ironical): cf. Theaet. 166 A γέλῳτα δὴ τὸν ἐμέ (me, the great Protagoras) ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπέδειξεν and Phaedr. 258 A τὸν ἐαυτὸν δὴ λέγων μάλα σεμνῶς καὶ ἐγκωμιάζων. [App. 2.]

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

35. δοκούντας μὲν τι εἶναι, 'considered to be somewhat', 'men of reputation'. Cf. 41 E ἐὰν δοκῶσι τι εἶναι μηδὲν ὄντες. Infra ὡς of course belongs to οἰόμενος.

θαυμάσια δὲ ἐργαζομένους = 'shewing marvellous zeal'. The phrase θαυμάσια (θαυμαστὰ) ἐργάζεσθαι is idiomatically used by Plato as = πάντα λίθον κινεῖν. Cf. Rep. v. 474 A θεῶν διατεταμένους ὡς θαυμάσια ἐργαζομένους. Symp. 212 D οὐτοσί ζηλοτυπῶν με καὶ φθονῶν θαυμαστὰ ἐργάζεται (nearly = 'implores me'). So θαυμαστὰ δρῶντες in Theaet. 151 A, δεόμενοι τῆς ἐμῆς συνοουσίας καὶ

θαυμαστά δρῶντες and θαυμαστά ἔργα ἐργαζομένῳ in Symp. 182 E; but θαυμάσια ἐργάζετο in Symp. 220 A has a more general meaning.

37. ὥσπερ θάνατον ἰσομένων: the subject to ἰσομένων is supplied from ολομένων. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 302, 1, note.

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

35 B 42. οὗτοι emphatically repeats the subject: v. on 19 A ταύτην.

43. ταῦτα γάρ: γάρ refers to οἱ ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν αἰσχύνειν—περιάπτειν.

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

44. τοὺς δοκοῦντας καὶ ὀπιοῦν τι εἶναι = 'who have even the smallest reputation'. Cf. Prot. 353 D καὶ ὀπιοῦν. καὶ ὀπιοῦν (vel minime) τι is Heindorf's emendation for καὶ ὀπητιοῦν of B.

47. τὰ ἄλαινά ταῦτα δράματα = "these pitiful pieces of acting" (Church). The word εἰσάγειν is very appropriate, because it means not only 'bring into court' but also 'bring on the stage': Rep. II. 381 D μὴδ' ἐν τραγωδίαις—εἰσαγέτω Ἥραν ἡλλουμένην: v. also supra note on εἰσάγεις 24 D.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. οὐδὲ δίκαιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι = 'I do not think it just either': that it is dishonourable Socrates has already shewn. οὐδέ = ne—quidem as in οὐδ' ἐγὼ in 34 D above. By 'just' Socrates probably means what is legally as well as morally right: for in Mem. IV. 6. 6 and IV. 4. 12 (φημι γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι) he identifies the νόμιμον with the δίκαιον.

35 C 3. ἀποφύγειν: pass. of ἀποψηφίζεσθαι v. on 17 A above.

4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ—ἐπὶ τῷ καταχαρίζεσθαι v. on 33 A τοιοῦτος. καταχαρίζεσθαι, 'to yield out of partiality', generally denotes some concession which it is *wrong* to make (this is the force of κατά, cf. κατακερδαίνειν = 'to make gain of *wrongly*'). So in Gorg. 513 D μὴ καταχαριζόμενον ἀλλὰ διαμαχόμενον: Arist. Pol. II.

9. 1271^a 3 καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν. Here translate 'to give away justice by favour'.

6. κρίναι ταῦτα, 'decide thereupon': ταῦτα=τὰ δίκαια.

καὶ ὁμώμοκεν—δικάσαιεν='and he has sworn, not to favour but to judge', etc. The words οὐ χαριεῖσθαι—αὐτῷ refer to οὐτε χάριτος ἔνεκα in the oath (v. infra): the negative οὐ (for which μή would be more regular) is kept probably because Socrates wishes to bring the words of the oath vividly before the minds of the judges. All Athenians who had been admitted as Heliasts for the current year had to take the following oath in the beginning of their year of office: ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων, περὶ δ' ὧν ἂν νόμοι μὴ ᾤσι, γνώμῃ τῇ δικαιοσάτῃ καὶ οὐτε χάριτος ἔνεκ' οὐτε ἐχθρας (Gilbert, Handbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer¹ I. p. 373).

10. ἀξιοῦτε. After ἀξιοῦτε, δεῖν is hardly necessary: Plato adds it because already in his time ἀξιοῦν had come to mean no more than 'think'. Cf. Rep. IV. 436 D οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι ἀξιοῖμεν οὕτω λέγειν δεῖν.

11. μήτε ἡγοῦμαι καλὰ: 34 E foll.

12. μήτε δίκαια μήτε δσια: as Socrates has just shewn in 35 C. 35 D μήτε δσια, viz. because such conduct is forbidden by the oath.

ἄλλως τε μὲντοι κτλ.= 'yes by Zeus, both in every other case and particularly', etc. Cf. Aesch. Eum. 725—726 οὐκ οὖν δίκαιον τὸν σέβοντ' εὐεργετεῖν, ἄλλως τε πάντως χῶτε δεόμενος τύχοι; [App. 2.]

14. τῷ δεῖσθαι βιαζομένην like ἀπολογούμενος κατηγοροῖν in line 16 is an oxymoron: 'constrain you by entreaties'. Cf. 22 A ὀλίγου δεῖν τοῦ πλείστου ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι.

16. καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κτλ.= 'and my defence would literally be an accusation': v. on ἀτεχνῶς supra note on 17 D.

PART II.

After the Verdict.

(SECOND SPEECH.)

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

CHAPTER XXV.

36 A 4. *ξυμβάλλεται*. *ξυμβάλλεσθαι* = 'contribute to' is regularly followed by *εἰς*, e.g. Thucyd. III. 45. 5 *ἡ τύχη—οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ξυμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ ἐπαίρειν*. The position of *τὸ μὲν μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν* at the beginning of the sentence leads one to expect some verb like *παρέχει* for it to depend upon: Socrates uses *ξυμβάλλεται* instead because the word suits the *πολλά* of *ἄλλα τέ μοι πολλά* better. This looseness of construction is affected by Plato to make the speech seem as if it had been spoken. Cron compares Rep. 331 B *τὸ μὴ δὲ δκοντά τινα ἐξαπατήσαι—εἰς τοῦτο ἡ τῶν χρημάτων κτήσις ξυμβάλλεται*, where *εἰς τοῦτο* (like *οὗτοι* in Apol. 35 B) is epanaleptic.

καί—γέγονεν. Strict logic would require *καί τοῦτο ὅτι οὐκ* to suit *ἄλλα τε πολλά ξυμβάλλεται*: but the clause derives more emphasis from being stated as an independent fact, v. on 21 E *ὁμῶς δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἰδῶκει εἶναι*.

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

7. *οὕτω παρ' ὀλίγον ἔσεσθαι* = 'that it would be so close', lit. 'would be by so little', 'having so little to spare'. Thucydides VII. 71. 3 *δεῖ γὰρ παρ' ὀλίγον ἢ διέφευγον ἢ ἀπώλλυντο*, i.e. were

always escaping or perishing by a little = 'were always within an ace of perishing when they escaped, and of escaping when they perished'. οὕτω παρ' ὀλίγον is like οὕτως ἐπὶ μεγάλης σπουδῆς (Symp. 192 C), ὡς διὰ βραχυτάτων, οὐδὲ δι' ἑτέρων, or πάνυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς (infr. 40 A): in such expressions the preposition is regularly placed between the adverb and the adjective.

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

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

9. μετέπεσον = 'had changed sides' is the passive to μετέθεσαν or μετέβαλον, v. on 17 A.

10. ἀπεπεφύγη ἄν. On the form cf. supra note on ξυγῆδη 22 C, and for the statement itself, Introd. p. xxxi. The Bodleian has ἀποπεφεύγη.

12. ἀνέβη—κατηγορήσοντες. For the syntax Stallbaum quotes Legg. v. 729 E—730 A δύναται δὲ διαφερόντως ὁ ξένιος ἐκάστων δαίμων καὶ θεὸς τῷ ξενίῳ ξυνεπόμενοι Δμ. Lys. in Eratosth. § 12. Dem. Aristocr. § 12.

13. χιλίας δραχμάς. In criminal trials (γραφαί), if the prosecutor failed to obtain $\frac{1}{2}$ th of the votes, he was fined 1000 drachmae and forfeited the right to bring similar actions at any future time. In many civil suits (δίκαι) the prosecutor had under these circumstances to pay over to the defendant $\frac{1}{2}$ th of the amount claimed—an obol in every drachma (ἐπωβελία).

14. μεταλαβὼν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος. μεταλαμβάνειν = 'to receive 36 B | a part of' is followed by the accusative of words signifying 'part', elsewhere by the genitive. Note the article in τὸ πέμπτον μέρος: this particular $\frac{1}{4}$ th is well known.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. τιμᾶται—θανάτου = 'proposes death as the penalty': so in 37 B and 38 B τοσούτου οὖν τιμῶμαι. θανάτου is a gen. of price: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 227. On οὖν v. supra note on εἰ οὖν 25 D. On εἰεν v. 18 E note.

2. ἐγὼ δὲ δῆ. For the order cf. supra ch. v. 20 C τὸ σὸν τί ἐστι πῶγμα; ὑμῶν is the ethic dative: tr. 'what counter-penalty would you have me propose?'

3. ἡ δῆλον ὅτι. On ἡ = Lat. an v. note on ἡ δῆλον δὴ ὅτι 26 B.

4. τῆς δξίας = 'my deserts', 'what I deserve'. Cf. Aristoph. Av. 1222—1223 δικαιοτάτ' ἄν—ἀπέθανες εἰ τῆς δξίας ἐτύγχανες. δξίας is a substantive, and τιμῆς is not to be supplied.

παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι = 'to suffer or to pay': the first includes δεσμός φυγή θάνατος and ἀτιμία, the second refers to fines. The phrase was regular in Athenian law-courts, cf. Xen. Mem. II. 9. 5 καὶ αὐτῶν τινα προσεκαλέσατο εἰς δίκην δημοσίαν, ἐν ᾗ αὐτὸν ἔδει κριθῆναι, ὅ τι δεῖ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι: v. L. and S. s. v. ἀποτίνω.

5. ὅ τι μαθὼν = propterea quod, an emphatic 'because', originally 'having taken into my head what'. So Euthyd. 283 E εἶπον ἄν, σοὶ εἰς κεφαλὴν, ὅ τι μαθὼν ἐμοῦ—καταψεύδει: Prot. 353 E ὅ τι μαθόντα χαίρει ποιεῖ καὶ ὀπρῶν. The phrase is strictly speaking an indirect question = τί μαθὼν of the direct as in Aristoph. Ach. 826 (τί δὴ μαθὼν φαίνεις ἄνευ θρυαλλίδος); but the interrogative force has practically disappeared here. ὅ τι παθὼν, lit. 'having experienced what', is similarly used in the sense of 'because'. [For a conjecture as to the way in which the causal sense was developed v. App. 2 on 17 A.]

6. ὥνπερ οἱ πολλοί sc. ἐπιμελοῦνται, understood from ἀμελήσας. Cron compares Hdt. VII. 104 οὐκ ἔων φεύγειν οὐδὲν πληθὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι (sc. κελεύων).

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

8. ξυνωμοσιῶν = 'clubs', 'caucuses'. Cf. Thuc. VIII. 54 ξυνωμοσίας, αἵπερ ἐτύγχανον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὖσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς. Political clubs (called also ἐταιρίαι Theaet. 173 D) did much to bring about the oligarchical revolutions of 411 (Thuc. VIII. 63 foll., Grote VII. p. 250) and 404 (Lysias 14 Eratosth. 43—44: Grote VIII. p. 25). Plato states his opinion of such revolutionary caucuses in Legg. IX. 856 B: 'whosoever enslaves the laws, and makes the state subject to caucuses,—τοῦτον δὴ διαροῖσθαι δεῖ πάντων πολεμιώτατον τῇ πόλει': he is to be tried and put to death if guilty (ibid. c).

9. ἡγησάμενος ἑμαντόν. The more usual construction would be ἡγησάμενος—ἐπικεικότερος εἶναι ἢ ὥστε—ίων κτλ. The difference between the two is like that between οἰόμενος ὅτι ἐγὼ αὐτός and οἰόμενος ὅτι, i.e. in the first case more emphasis is thrown on 'I'.

Cron compares Soph. 234 E: οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ τῶν ἐτι πόβρωθεν ἀφειστηκότων εἶναι.

10. ἐπιεικέστερον ἢ ὥστε='too upright to', 'too honest to': v. 31 D and 32 E, and the proof of this in ch. XX.

11. εἰς ταῦτ' ἰόντα. The reading of the Bodleian is εἰς ταῦτ' 36 C ὄντα, which Cron retains, but v. App. 2.

ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἦα. Cf. Rep. IV. 445 B ἐνταῦθα ἐληλύθαμεν. The imperfect of εἶμι in the best Attic prose is ἦα, ἦεις or ἦεισθα, ἦει or ἦειν (before vowels): in the plural ἦμεν ἦτε ἦσαν—not ἦειμεν, etc.: the dual is ἦτον ἦτην.

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

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

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

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

the true philosopher knows no more than he does of the proverbial 'gallons in the sea'."

20. οὖν recalls τί οὖν; τί ἀξίως εἶμι παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι in line 4 of this chapter.

36 D 21. εἰ δέ γε—τιμᾶσθαι = 'if I *must* propose what I really deserve'. δέ is here emphasized because Socrates implies that he is bound by law to propose such a counter-penalty as he really deserves: afterwards (38 B) he condescends to propose a fine of 30 minae.

24. εὐεργέτης. The title εὐεργέτης was given both to citizens and strangers who had conferred some signal benefit on Athens, Demosth. in Aristocrat. § 185 πολίτης εὐεργέτης, στέφανοι, δωρεαί. Cf. Lys. pro Polyst. § 19: εὐεργέτης ἀναγραφῆναι. The omission of conjunctions increases the rhetorical effect. δεομένῳ of course goes with ἄγειν σχολήν 'who requires to enjoy leisure': cf. supra 30 E δεομένῳ ἐγείρεσθαι.

25. μάλλον—πρέπει [οὕτως] ὥς κτλ. I believe οὕτως to be a gloss on μάλλον. For ὥς (=quam) after comparatives v. on 30 B supra πρότερον μηδὲ οὕτω σφύδρα ὥς and compare Rep. VII. 526 C ἃ γε μείζω πόνον παρέχει μαθάνοντι—, οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως οὐδὲ πολλὰ ἂν εὖροις, ὥς τοῦτο. Lysias περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ § 31 προθυμότερον ὥς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡναγκαζόμεν. The cases quoted by Heusde (ap. Stallb.) in support of μάλλον—οὕτως ὥς are from spurious dialogues and are neither of them parallel. [Thompson's remark on Plato Gorg. 492 E that ὥς after comparatives is a barbarism is therefore hardly correct and Aesch. Prom. 629 μή μου προκῆδον μᾶσσον ὥς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ is probably right. Cf. also Solon Frag. 36. 18 κέντρον δ' ἄλλος ὥς ἐγὼ λαβών with Bergk's note.]

26. ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτεῖσθαι. The Prytaneum (to be carefully distinguished from the θόλος where the Πρυτάνεις dined, v. supr. 32 C) was situated on the North East slope of the Acropolis. It was sacred to Hestia and contained what was called the 'common hearth' of the city, corresponding to the temple of Vesta at Rome. In it ambassadors were entertained and distinguished citizens kept at the public expense (δελσῖται), priests of the Eleusinian mysteries, the nearest of kin among the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the victors in the Olympian Pythian Nemean and Isthmian games and probably some others. This τιμῆσις of Socrates is referred to by Cicero in his De Or. I. 54. 232. [See on the Prytaneum Frazer in Journal of Philology Vol. XIV. pp. 145—172 and Hermann Lehrbuch der Gr. Staatsalterthümer p. 485 foll.]

28. ἵππῳ ἢ ξυνωρίδι ἢ ζεύγει. ἵππος is a single race-horse (κέλης), ξυνωρίς a pair, and ζεύγος four abreast (τέθριππον).

Ὀλυμπίασιν 'at Olympia' is an old locative like Πλαταιῶσι Θεσπιάσι Μουνυχιάσι Θήβησι Ἀθήνησι.

29. δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶναι. Cf. Rep. II. 361 B ἄνδρα—κατ' Ἀλσχύλον οὐ δοκεῖν ἀλλ' εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἐθέλοντα (Aesch. Sept. 592 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἀριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει). Infra τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται sc. because only rich men could afford to compete in the chariot-races.

CHAPTER XXVII.

3. οἴκτου ('tears', 'lamentations') v. ch. XXIII.

37 A

4. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν—τοιούτων='but really it is not so': τό is demonstrative as in 23 A.

6. ἐκὼν εἶναι='intentionally' goes with ἀδικεῖν. On the phrase ἐκὼν εἶναι (found almost exclusively in negative or quasi-negative sentences) v. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 298. For the assertion itself v. 25 E foll. and Gorg. 522 D.

8. ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις: as for example at Sparta. Plutarch (Apophth. Lac. 217 A—B) quotes a remark of Anaxandrides in answer to the question διὰ τί τὰς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου δίκας πλείοσιν ἡμέραις οἱ γέροντες κρίνουσιν; Anaxandrides assigned as a reason for the practice the fact that the penalty of death could not be revoked: see also Thuc. I. 132. 5. As Socrates was supposed to favour Spartan laws and customs the allusion here is hardly more politic than his remarks in ch. XXIII.

10. νῦν δέ: v. on 18 A καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν.

37 B

13. ἀδικήσαν—ἔρεῖν: on the tense v. Goodwin MT. p. 36.

14. του κακοῦ. Not τοῦ with inferior MSS.

15. ἣ=Lat. an: v. on 26 B ἡ δὴλον δὴ ὅτι. [App. 2.]

16. φημί viz. in 29 A foll.

17. ἀντὶ τούτου δή. δή='forsooth'.

ἐχωμαὶ ὦν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κακῶν ὄντων='shall I lay hold on what I well know are evils?' ὦν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κακῶν ὄντων is for ὦν=(τούτων ᾧ acc.) εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κακὰ ὄντα. Cf. Thucyd. IV. 37 γροὺς δὲ ὁ Κλέων—ὅτι—διαφθορησομένους αὐτούς and Gorg. 481 E αἰσθάνομαι οὖν σοῦ—ὅτι—οὐ δυναμένου ἀντιλέγειν. The use of the participle where we should expect the finite verb is the less unnatural here because οἶδ' ὅτι is often =οἶδα (e.g. Dem. Phil. III. 1 πάντων οἶδ' ὅτι

φησάντων γ' αὖν): τούτων ἂ εὖ οἶδα κακὰ ὄντα would be quite regular. [ἔχωμαι is my emendation for ἔλωμαι of MSS and Edd. v. App. II.]

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

19. πότερον δεσμοῦ = 'Imprisonment?' v. on 32 C above.

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

21. δεδέσθαι ἕως ἂν ἐκτίσω = 'to be kept in prison till I pay it': for δεδέσθαι v. Goodwin MT. p. 34. Cf. the law ap. Dem. adv. Timocr. 63 ἐὰν δ' ἀργυρίου τιμηθῇ, δεδέσθω ἕως ἂν ἐκτίσῃ ὃ τι ἂν αὐτοῦ καταγνωσθῇ.

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

22. νῦν δὴ = ἀρτίως = 'just now': so repeatedly in Plato. The reference is to 23 C above ἐν πενία μυρία εἰμι διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν. In Phaedr. 277 A νῦν δὴ ἐκεῖνα ἤδη—δυναμέθα κρίνειν, νῦν δὴ = nunc demum: so Rep. I. 353 A νῦν δὴ, οἶμαι, ἄμεινον ἂν μάθοις. [When νῦν δὴ = ἀρτίως Cobet (Var. Lect. p. 233) and Schanz would write νυνδῇ.]

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

24. τιμήσαιτε. The active is used of the judge: the middle of the parties to the trial. Gorg. 516 A ὀλίγου δὲ καὶ θανάτου ἐτίμησαν.

25. ἔχοι, εἰ—εἰμί v. on 25 B πολλὴ γὰρ αὖν—εἴη—εἰ—διαφθείρω and cf. 30 B.

26. οὔτι ὑμεῖς μὲν—ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα. Instead of a question in the second clause we should expect ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα πολὺ ἥττων κτλ. The rhetorical effect is increased by resolving the clause into an independent question answered emphatically by πολλοῦ γε δεῖ.

37 D 28. βαρύτεραι—καὶ ἐπιφθονώτεραι = 'too burdensome and odious', sc. ἥ ὥστε ἐνεγκεῖν. βαρύτεραι follows the gender of διατρε-

βάς, to which *καὶ τοὺς λόγους* is explanatory: Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 197.

30. ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα: on ἄρα v. supr. note on ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα 34 C.

32. ἐξελθόντι. ἐξέρχομαι (inf. ἐξίέναι) = 'I go into exile': φεύγω = 'I live in exile': κατέρχομαι (inf. κατιέναι) = 'I return from exile'.

τηλικῶδε—ζῆν = 'for a man of my years to pass his days in going from city to city and continually being expelled'. ἀμείβομαι = 'to leave', 'quit' is from the same root as mig-rare (Gustav Meyer Griech. Gr.² p. 198). No longer the μύωψ, Socrates would now as it were be Io: Aesch. Prom. 681—682 οἰστροπλήξ δ' ἐγὼ—γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι. Cron remarks that Socrates' words recall the wandering life of the Sophists. Cf. Soph. 234 B μαθήματα ξυνωνούμενον πόλιν τε ἐκ πόλεως νομίσματος ἀμείβοντα.

37. οἱ τούτων πατέρες κτλ. This is apparently inconsistent 37 E with 34 A εὐρήσετε—πάντας ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν ἐτοίμους τῷ διαφθείροντι—τοὺς οἰκέλους αὐτῶν. The inconsistency is hardly removed, as Bobrik thinks (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1873, p. 712), by the fact that the whole passage describes a purely hypothetical scene. It is probable that Socrates knew that he would find less tolerance outside of Athens: see Meno 80 B, where Meno thus addresses Socrates: καὶ μοι δοκεῖς εἰδὼς βουλευέσθαι οὐκ ἐκπλέων ἐνθένδε οὐδ' ἀποδημῶν· εἰ γὰρ ξένος ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ταυῦτα ποιοῖς, τάχ' ἂν ὡς γόνης ἀπαχθείης. In Sparta at least Socrates would not have been tolerated long: even in the Platonic Republic, as Grote truly remarks (VIII. p. 299), he 'would not have been allowed to pursue his vocation for a week'.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

2. οὐχ οἷός τ' ἔσει ἡμῖν ἐξελθὼν ζῆν = 'pray tell us (ἡμῖν), will you not be able to leave Athens and live etc.' ἡμῖν is the ethic dative.

4. τινὰς ὑμῶν = 'a number of you': Socrates really means nearly all, v. above on 30 D.

7. ὡς εἰρωνευομένῳ = 'believing me to be insincere'. The εἰρωνεία of Socrates consisted in apparently insincere professions or disclaimers of some sort: in either case it is some sort of self-depre-

ciation, moral or intellectual, (ἀλαζονεία. See Sympos. 216 D foll., where two examples are given: the first, that Socrates continually pretends to be in love when he is not (ἐρωτικῶς διαίκεται τῶν καλῶν καὶ αἰετὶ περὶ τούτους ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκπέπληκται), the second, that he professes not to know that which he really knows (ἀγροεῖ πάντα καὶ οὐδὲν οἶδεν). With this sense of the root *Fer* cf. 'verba dare': see Cope on Arist. Rhet. II. p. 63 and cf. Zeller II. i p. 107 note 3.

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

11. ὁ δὲ ἀνεξέταστος κτλ.= 'and that an unexamined life is not worth living' (Church). Demosth. in Mid. 131 ἀβίωτον φετ' ἐσεσθαι τὸν βίον αὐτῷ.

12. ταῦτα δ' ἐπὶ ἤττον. For δέ v. note on 32 D τούτου δέ.

13. τὰ δὲ ἔχει κτλ.= 'but indeed it is so': τὰ is demonstrative: v. on 37 A τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν and cf. 23 A.

14. οὐκ εἴθισμαι—οὐδενός supr. 37 B.

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

16. ὅσα ἐμελλον ἐκτίσειν= 'as much as I should have been in a position to pay'. For ἐμελλον v. on 20 A ὅς ἐμελλον.

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

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

20. μνᾶν ἀργυρίου: apparently $\frac{1}{4}$ th of Socrates' whole property, v. on ch. IX. ad finem. The mina was no coin but a sum of money equal to about £4.

23. αὐτοὶ δ' ἐγγυᾶσθαι sc. φασὶν to be supplied from κελεύουσι. By their surety Socrates would escape imprisonment, which he *did* consider an evil 37 B.

PART III.

After the Sentence.

(THIRD SPEECH.)

The judges condemned Socrates to death by an increased majority. Diog. Laert. II. 42 *καὶ οἱ θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, προσθέντες ἄλλας ψήφους ὁγδοήκοντα*. In the remaining chapters of the speech, Socrates addresses the Court upon the result of the trial. See *Introduct.* p. xxxi.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. οὐ πολλοῦ γ' ἔνεκα χρόνου κτλ. = 'it is for no great gain in 38 C time, men of Athens, that ye will have the name and the blame of having put Socrates to death etc.' Socrates means: the brief period that your sentence takes from my life (he was already seventy) is not worth the price you will have to pay for it in disgrace and shame.

2. ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων: ὑπὸ is used because *δομα* *ἐξετε* καὶ *αἰτίαν* are equivalent to passive verbs, v. on 17 A *πεπόνθατε*. *Infr.* 7
ὡς depends on *δομα* *ἐξετε* καὶ *αἰτίαν*.

8. τοῦτο sc. τὸ ἐμὲ ἀποθανεῖν.

9. τοῦ βίου partitive gen. with *πρόρρω* 'far advanced in years'.
Gorg. 484 C *ἐὰν γὰρ—πρόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας φιλοσοφῇ*.

13. ἐάλωκεναι passive of *ἡρῆκεναι* v. on 28 A.

14. ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν = 'in order to be acquitted'. Cf. *Gorg.* 38 D
479 C *πάν ποιούσιν ὥστε δίκην μὴ δίδοναι*: Goodwin MT. p. 224. 1

15. ἀπορίᾳ μὲν ἐάλωκα κτλ. Cf. ch. XXIII. Cron cites *Gorg.* 522 D where Socrates thus speaks: *εἰ δὲ κολακικῆς ῥητορικῆς ἐνδείξι τελευτήσῃν ἐγωγε, εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι ῥαδίως ἰδοὺς ἂν με φέροντα τὸν θάνατον*. We have it also on the authority of Xenophon that Socrates would have been acquitted if he had stooped to employ the usual arts of pleaders (*Mem.* IV. 4. 4).

18. *θρηνηούντος τί μου κτλ.* is expegetic of *οἷ' ἄν*. The genitives are due to the influence of *ἀκούειν* which takes a gen. of

persons but an accusative of neuter pronouns: so infra line 20
οἷα δὲ—εἰσισθε—τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν.

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

25. ἢ ἐκείνως γῆν. ἐκείνως=ἐκείνως ἀπολογησάμενος.

39 A 27. ὅπως ἀποφεύξεται—θάνατον='how he shall escape death at any price'. For πῶν ποῶν cf. Gorg. 479 C quoted above on ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν 38 D.

29. τό γε ἀποθανεῖν: γε emphasises τὸ ἀποθανεῖν: 'at least from death', sc. if not from dishonour. For ὥστε in ὥστε διαφεύγειν infr. v. on 38 D ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν.

33. μὴ οὐ τοῦτ' ἢ χαλεπὸν: μὴ=nescio an='I rather think'. Tr. 'I fear it is not this that is difficult etc.' Cf. Gorg. 462 E μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν. Goodwin MT. p. 92. Some verb expressing fear or apprehension is probably to be understood: it is frequently expressed as in Prot. 313 E ὅρα—μὴ περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις κυβεύης τε καὶ κινδυνεύης (=vide ne). μὴ with the *Indicative* sometimes='perhaps' from Plato downwards, e.g. Meno 89 C ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο οὐ καλῶς ὠμολογήσαμεν: very frequently in Aristotle, especially with ποτε, e.g. Eth. Nic. X. 1. 1172^a 33 μὴ ποτε δὲ οὐ καλῶς τοῦτο λέγεται: ibid. 2. 1173^a 22 et al. The origin of this construction is manifest from Plato Charm. 163 A ὅρα μὴ ἐκείνον κωλύει.

35. θάπτον γὰρ θανάτου θεῖ="flies faster than fate" (Dyer). Note the effective alliteration of the first letter of the emphatic θεῖ: cf. Soph. O. R. 371 where the taunt of blindness is intensified by the repetition of the initial τ of τυφλός: τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ὥτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὀμματ' εἰ.

39 B 37. ὑπὸ τοῦ βραδυτέρου ἐάλων. Stallbaum thinks this may be a reminiscence of Od. VIII. 329 οὐκ ἀρετῇ κακὰ ἔργα· κίχ' ἀνεί τοι βραδύς ὥκυν.

38. δεινοὶ καὶ ὀξεῖς='clever and sharp'. So in Theaet. 190 A ὀξύτερον is opposed to βραδύτερον: ὅταν δὲ ὀρίσασα, εἴτε βραδύτερον εἴτε ὀξύτερον ἐπαίξασα, τὸ αὐτὸ ἤδη φῆ—δόξαν ταύτην τίθεμεν αὐτῆς.

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

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

ὑπό: v. on 17 A πεπόνθατε. *Infra* ὠφληκότες μοχθηρίαν = 'condemned to evil and injustice', i.e. to the name of being evil and unjust men like *μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνω* Soph. Ant. 470.

41. καὶ ἐγώ τε—καὶ οὗτοι = 'and I abide by my sentence' (death) 'and they by theirs' (disgrace).

42. οὕτως καὶ ἔδει σχεῖν κτλ., 'it was inevitable that this should so fall out and in my opinion it is well'. Cf. 19 A οἶμαι δὲ αὐτὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ οὐ πάνυ με λανθάνει οἷόν ἐστιν.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. τὸ—μετὰ τοῦτο = 'in the next place' lit. 'as to what follows this'. So in Crit. 49 E λέγω δὴ αὖ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο. τὸ is probably the acc. in apposition to the sentence, v. on 23 A. [The other possible meaning 'in regard to the future' is less likely here: τὸ—μετὰ ταῦτα would (in view of ταῦτα μέν) be more naturally used in that sense.]

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

5. φημί γάρ. For γάρ v. supra note on 20 E Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε πού.

7. ὅταν ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε: "by brachylogy for ὅταν (sc. τιμωρίαν) ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνοντες ἐτιμωρήσασθε." Göbel.

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

11. πλείους ἔσονται. For the asyndeton v. on 22 A above οἱ μὲν μάλιστα.

13. ὅσῳ νεώτεροί εἰσι. Cf. 30 A ὅσῳ ἐγγυτέρω ἔστέ γένει. 39 D

15. τινὰ v. on 30 D supra.

16. αὕτη ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ = 'that way of escape', sc. τοῦ διδόναι ἑλεγχον τοῦ βίου.

17. οὔτε πάνυ = 'neither altogether', v. above on οὐ πάνυ 19 A.

18. μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους κολούειν = 'not to suppress' (put down) 'other men'. Cf. Euthyd. 305 D ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίῳι λόγοις δταν ἀποληφθῶσω, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Εὐθύδημον κολουέσθαι.

19. ὅπως ἔσται ὡς βέλτιστος v. on δ οὐκ οἶδεν supra 29 A.

CHAPTER XXXI.

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

3. οἱ ἄρχοντες = οἱ ἑνδεκα supr. 37 C τῇ αἰε καθισταμένη ἀρχῇ, τοῖς ἑνδεκα. So in Phaedo 58 C and 116 C.

δοσχολίαν ἄγουσι: presumably they were occupied with the arrangements for conveying Socrates to prison.

4. οἱ ἐλθόντα με δεῖ τεθνάναι viz. the δεσμοκτήριον.

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

7. διαμυθολογῆσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους = 'tell one another our fancies'. διαμυθολογεῖν differs from διαλέγεσθαι as μῦθος differs from λόγος. Cron well compares Phaedo 61 D—E καὶ γὰρ ἴσως καὶ μάλιστα πρέπει μέλλοντα ἐκείσε ἀποδημεῖν διασκοπεῖν τε καὶ μυθολογεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας τῆς ἐκεῖ. Socrates' reverence for ascertained truth leads him to speak of the speculations that follow as a μῦθος rather than as a λόγος.

40 A 9. τί ποτε νοεῖ = 'quid sibi velit' (Göbel). Cf. Crat. 416 A τὸ δὲ δὴ κακόν—τί δὲ νοοῖ τοῦνομα;

ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί: v. on ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι 17 A.

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

13. πάντῃ ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς. On the order v. 36 A οὕτω παρ' ὀλίγον and note.

14. εἰ τι μέλλοιμι: a general supposition relating to the past: Goodwin MT. p. 142.

16. ἃ γε δὴ οἰηθείη—καὶ νομίζεται. The subject to νομίζεται is an anaphoric pronoun to be supplied out of ἃ γε. Where after the

conjunction the relative (according to the English idiom) would be in an oblique case, the anaphoric pronoun is expressed (αὐτοῦ etc.), e.g. Gorg. 452 D τί ἐστι τοῦτο δὲ φης σὺ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι—καὶ σὲ δημιουργὸν εἶναι αὐτοῦ. Theaet. 192 A δὲ μὴ οἶδε μὴδ' ἔχει αὐτοῦ σφραγίδα. Cf. also Rep. VI. 505 E and Stallbaum's note. The same idiom is also common in Latin, e.g. Cic. Orator § 9 quam intuens in eaque defixus (v. Munro on Lucr. I. 720), and not unknown in English: 'Against his Deity, which then I knew not, Nor did believe in him' Massinger.

18. ἀνέβαινον ἐνταυθοὶ κτλ. = 'was coming before the court here'. 40 B Cf. Cicero De Div. I. 54. 124 'neque enim domo egredienti, neque illud suggestum, in quo causam dixerat, *ascendenti* signum sibi ullum—a deo—datum'. Cicero interprets ἀνα— somewhat too literally, v. on 17 D ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα.

21. λέγοντα μεταξὺ = 'in the act of speaking': on μεταξὺ with participles v. Goodwin Gk. Gr. p. 301.

περὶ ταύτην τὴν πράξιν = 'in this matter'. πράξις includes both ἔργον and λόγος.

24. κινδυνεύει γάρ. Here and infra in οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως line 28, and in δοῖν γὰρ θάτερον of Ch. XXXII. line 3, γάρ is introductory and should not be translated, v. on 20 E.

29. εἰ μὴ τι—πράξιν = 'if I were not going to fare in some way 40 C well'. ἀγαθόν τι πράττειν = εὖ πράττειν πως. Cf. Ar. Plutus 341 χρηστόν τι πράττων τοὺς φίλους μεταπέμπεται. The silence of the voice on so momentous an occasion shewed Socrates that all was well. See also Xen. Mem. IV. 8 on the timeliness of Socrates' death, and compare the Xenophontic Apologia Socratis §§ 6—8.

CHAPTER XXXII.

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

4. ὅλον μὴδὲν εἶναι κτλ. = 'like ceasing to be, and the dead man's losing all sensation of everything'. The construction = τοιοῦτόν

ἐστιν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ μηδὲν εἶναι. Cf. *infr.* 40 E οἶον ἀποδημήσαι. For μηδὲν (*indecl.*) εἶναι lit. 'to be nothing' cf. Soph. Aias 1231 δ' οὐδὲν ὦν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀντέστης ὕπερ.

5. κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα sc. by the poets, Homer Hesiod and Pindar etc., and in the mysteries. Cf. 40 E καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν τὰ λεγόμενα ὡς ἄρα ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν ἅπαντες οἱ θεογεῶτες.

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

19. κέρδος = 'gain'. Socrates does not say ἀγαθόν, because such a state is 'neither good nor bad', since οὐδὲν ἐτι τῷ τεθνεῶτι δοκεῖ οὔτε κακὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν εἶναι Ar. Eth. Nic. III. 9. 1115^a 26, where on the other hand it is maintained that death is most formidable just because it does end all. Cf. Epicurus ap. Diog. Laert. x.

139 ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δὲ ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

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21. οὕτω δὲ='according to that view'.

οἷον ἀποδημηῆσαι. See above on 40 C οἷον μηδὲν εἶναι. Cf. with the whole sentence Tac. Agr. 46 Si quis piorum manibus locus etc.

23. ὡς ἄρα ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν='that after all every man who has died is existing in that other world'. On ἄρα v. above on ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα 34 C. ἐκεῖ and ἐκεῖσε are used of the other world as ἐνθάδε and ἐνθένδε are of this. Cf. Theaet. 176 B πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε φεύγειν ὃ τι τάχιστα. Ar. Ran. 82 δδ' εὐκολος μὲν ἐνθάδ', εὐκολος δ' ἐκεῖ. So ἐκεῖνος sometimes='the departed', v. on 33 E above.

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33. ἐπὶ πόσῳ—ὕμῳν='what would not some of you give for that!' Cf. Hdt. III. 38 εἶπετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλόατο.

The Greek idiom frequently makes use of the interrogative pronoun where in English we use the exclamation. On *τις* cf. supra 30 D and note.

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35. *ἑμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ* = 'for myself especially'.

41 B 36. *Παλαμήδης*. See *Virg. Aen.* 11. 81 foll. Odysseus is said to have caused a forged message from Priam to be delivered to Palamedes: whereupon the latter was stoned by the Greeks on a false charge of treason (*falsa sub proditiōne Virg. l. c.*). In the *Xenophontic Apology* § 26 Socrates consoles himself in much the same way by reflecting on the fate of Palamedes: see also *Mem.* 1v. 8. 10. The story of Palamedes was dramatized by all three tragedians, v. *Dindorf, Poetae Scenici Graeci*⁵, pp. 113, 145, 333. The story of Ajax is familiar from Sophocles' play.

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

40. *καὶ δὴ καί* = 'and above all' introduces a climax, see on 26 D supra. *τὸ μέγιστον* = 'which is the chief thing' is the acc. in apposition to the sentence: v. supra note on 34 D. The inf. *διάγειν* is due to the preceding *οὐκ ἂν ἀηδὲς εἶη*: the interrogatives depend on *ἐξετάζοντα καὶ ἐρευνῶντα*.

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

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

41 C 45. *ἢ—οἷς ἕκαστ. κτλ.* = 'or one might name ten thousand more, both men and women, with whom' etc. Cf. *Gorg.* 483 D *ἢ ἄλλα μυρί' ἂν τις ἔχοι τοιαῦτα λέγειν*. [On the punctuation v. App. 2.]

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48. *τούτου γε ἕνεκα* sc. *τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι κτλ.*

CHAPTER XXXIII.

3. ἐν τὶ τοῦτο διανοεῖσθαι = 'to consider this one thing', lit. 'one thing, this'. Cf. εἰς μὲν τις in 25 B. ἀληθές = 'which is true' is added emphatically like δίκαιον supr. 18 A.

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

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14. τοῦτο αὐτοῖς δέξιον μέμψεσθαι = 'for this they deserve to be 41 E blamed'. δέξιον is the predicate to τοῦτο. "Cf. δξίως ἐστὶν ἐπαινέσαι (=qui laudetur)" Göbel. Infra τιμωρήσασθε = 'take your revenge upon'.

23. ἀλλὰ γάρ v. on 19 C.

26. πλὴν ἤ. Cf. Ar. Nub. 361 πλὴν ἣ Προδικῶ and ἣ in ἀλλ' ἣ supra 34 B. Well might Cicero (Tusc. Disp. I. 99) admire the impressive ending of this noble speech. 'Nihil autem melius extremo: Sed tempus est, inquit, iam hinc abire, me, ut moriar, vos, ut vitam agatis. Utrum autem sit melius, dei immortales sciunt: hominem quidem scire arbitror neminem.' 42 A

ἐστιν οὐδὲν ἐστι μὴδὲν εἶναι. Cf. *infr.* 40 E οἷον ἀποδημῆσαι. For μὴδὲν (*indecl.*) εἶναι *lit.* 'to be nothing' cf. *Soph. Aias* 1231 ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὦν τοῦ μὴδὲν ἀντέστης ὑπερ.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

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APPENDIX I.

APOL. 26 D—E.

καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνουσιν, ἃ ἔξεστιν ἐνίοτε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριαμένοις Σωκράτους καταγελᾶν, ἐὰν προσποιῇται ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτως ἄτοπα δντα.

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

The first view which requires to be considered is that of Böckh. In his *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, Vol. 1. p. 61 he remarks: 'In Sokrates' Zeit muss in der Orchestra des Dionysischen Theaters natürlich zur Zeit, wann nicht gespielt wurde, ein Buchhandel gewesen sein; wo man des Anaxagoras Bücher, wenn hoch, zu einer Drachme haben konnte.' In a note he adds: 'Dies ist der Sinn der meistentheils missverstandenen Stelle des Platon Apol. S. 26 D—E.' This view is still maintained by Polle (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1868 pp. 770—772) and Göbel: by the latter not without some hesitation.

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

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

sicists, and in particular of Anaxagoras, for poetical purposes. In the *Phaethon*—probably an early play (see Von Wilamowitz-Möller in *Hermes* xviii. p. 434)—Euripides called the sun a χρυσέα βῶλος: and in *Orestes* 982—986 we read: μόλοιμι τὸν οὐρανοῦ μέσον χθονὸς τε τεταμέναν αἰωρήμασι μυρίαίς πέτραν ἀλύσει χρυσέαισι φερομένην δίναισι βῶλον ἐξ Ὀλύμπου. It is inferred that Socrates is expressing indignation that he should be charged with teaching doctrines which any one could hear for the sum of a drachma in the choral odes of the tragedians.

This interpretation, though hardly 'teeming with absurdity', as Mahaffy asserts, is open to serious objections. In the first place it is doubtful if 'buying doctrines from the orchestra' could mean 'paying money to learn these doctrines from choral odes'. Secondly, the charge for admission to the theatre was not a drachma, but two obols (διώβολον), and there is no good authority for the assertion that the admission-fee ever rose to a drachma per man, nor can it be supposed that the lessee of the theatre would have been allowed to sell the best places at a higher price (Mahaffy *Hermathena* iii. p. 460 foll.). To assert with Fränkel (*Anmerkungen zu Böckh's Staatshaushaltung*³ Vol. II. p. 13*) that a drachma is named as the price of a *three days'* ticket is to make Socrates guilty of an anti-climax: for one need not have spent a drachma when two obols would have been enough, and 'two obols at most' would have been far more emphatic as a climax. Thirdly, the natural thing for Socrates to say was not 'go and learn Anaxagoras' doctrines from the *poets*, his pupils', but 'go and read Anaxagoras' own book'. Plato would hardly have made Socrates recommend Euripides as a better exponent of Anaxagorean views than Anaxagoras himself.

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

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

of *καὶ δὴ καὶ* does not constitute a serious difficulty, for the following sentence may be regarded as a sort of climax¹: and *ἐντορὲ* though obscure, is not perhaps inexplicable. But by far the weightiest argument against Schöne's view is that drawn from the price of books at Athens². It is undoubtedly a shock to be told that Anaxagoras' *περὶ φύσεως* could be bought in the time of Socrates for a drachma at most. But it must be remembered that the price is hardly less difficult to explain on Cron's view: and in point of fact, it is allowed by Birt that we know nothing of the price of books in Athens at the time. The fact that two *χάρται* cost two drachmae and four obols in 407 B.C. proves nothing, as Birt admits, for we know neither the quality of the paper nor how much a *χάρτης* contained. It is useless to argue from the prices of books in later times, when money was cheaper: and, if a man could be conveyed from the Pontus to Athens for two drachmae³ at most, I confess I do not see why half that sum may not have occasionally (*ἐντορὲ*) procured a copy of the *περὶ φύσεως*⁴. Books must have been fairly cheap and common before Ar. could have written *βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἕκαστος μαθάνει τὰ δεξιὰ* (Ran. 1114).

That there was a book-market in or near the market-place is clear from Eupolis Frag. 304 (ed. Th. Kock): *περιήλθον εἰς τὰ σκρόδα καὶ τὰ κρόμμυα καὶ τὸν λιβανωτόν, κεύθῃ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καὶ περὶ τὰ γέλγη χροὺ τὰ βυβλί' ὦνια*. The exact locality of the Orchestra is not fixed: see Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen in Alterthum* p. 170 foll. From Arist. Rhet. I. 9. 38 (where see Cope) and Aristoph. Eccles. 681—682 it would seem to have been actually in the Agora: *τὰ δὲ κληρωτήρια ποῦ τρέψεις; ΠΠΑ. εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταθήσω κῆρα στήσασα παρ' Ἀρμοδίῳ κληρώσω πάντας κτλ.*, for the statue of Harmodius was in the Orchestra: see note on 26 E. Milchhöfer in the *Denkmäler des classischen Alterthums*, p. 165, places it to the north of the low ground between the Acropolis and the Areopagus, but differs from Köhler in believing it to be a terrace of earth and not of rock: compare Plutarch *Dem. Ch.* XII. When any independent evidence is found connecting the book-market with the Orchestra, I shall regard Schöne's view as proved: I have adopted it now, because I believe the balance of evidence is in its favour⁵.

¹ See note on Apol. 26 D.

² Fränkel l. c.

³ Plato *Gorg.* 511 D.

⁴ See also Hager in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Vol. I. p. 246 foll.

⁵ Compare now (1889) L. C. Purser in *Classical Review*, Vol. I. p. 150.

APPENDIX II.

On certain points in the Text of the Apology.

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

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

17 A. $\delta \tau\iota$. Cron writes $\delta \tau\iota$, on the ground that $\delta \tau\iota$ would open the door to $\delta \tau\iota \pi\omega\tau\epsilon$, and even to $\delta \tau\tau\iota$ in Homer (*Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Platon's Apologie* p. 77). That $\delta \tau\iota$ and $\delta \tau\iota$ were still felt by the Greeks themselves to be the same word (= Latin quod) is probable on many grounds and in particular from the phrase $\delta \tau\iota \pi\alpha\theta\omega\upsilon$ = 'propterea quod'. The origin of that phrase is perhaps this. $\tau\iota$ = 'what': therefore $\tau\iota \pi\alpha\theta\omega\upsilon$ = 'why' in direct and $\delta \tau\iota \pi\alpha\theta\omega\upsilon$ = 'why' ($\delta \tau\iota$) in indirect; but as $\delta \tau\iota$ and $\delta \tau\iota$ are the same word, and as $\delta \tau\iota$ means not only 'why', but also 'because', $\delta \tau\iota \pi\alpha\theta\omega\upsilon$ also comes to mean 'because' (v. also note on 36 B). I think

Cron (who is followed by Wohlrab) is theoretically right in printing the words in the same way: but for the sake of clearness I have conformed to the usual practice and written $\delta \tau$ for 'what' and $\delta \tau$ for 'that' or 'because'. In such a case as Charm. 170 B-C, where the point turns on the distinction between 'what' and 'that', it would be extremely inconvenient to write $\delta \tau$ in both cases.

χρή. So Hdf. with some MSS: Bekk. $\chi\rho\eta\eta$. B has $\chi\rho\eta\eta$ with ν erased: T $\chi\rho\eta\eta$ (sic).

17 B. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ κατὰ τούτους. Muretus wrongly took κατὰ as = 'according to', and rejected $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, which is found in all MSS.

17 D. $\xi\tau\eta$ γεγονώς ἐβδομήκοντα. So B and most of the better class of MSS: the others have $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ ἐβδομήκοντα or $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα. Later writers assign Socrates' birth to 470 or 471: but cf. Crito 52 E ἐν ἑτεσιν ἐβδομήκοντα.

18 A. $\psi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\eta$. B has $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta$: see note *in loc.*

18 B. κατηγοροῦν ἐμοῦ οὐδέν μᾶλλον ἀληθές. So I read for μᾶλλον οὐδέν ἀληθές of B: T reads οὐδέν ἀληθές without μᾶλλον. Riddell retains μᾶλλον, taking it with κατηγοροῦν cf. 18 E πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶνδε τῶν ὕστερον. Schanz formerly read $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ τὸν—οὐδέν ἀληθές cf. Gorg. 466 E $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ τόν, οὐ. σύ γε: now he follows T. Other editors either reject all three words or read οὐδέν ἀληθές. Mr Hadley of Pembroke College suggests μᾶλλον < ἢ > οὐδέν ἀληθές.

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

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

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

20 B. *ἐὼς ἀληθῶς ἔχοι*. So BT: but B presently has *διδάσκει*. I follow T with Schanz.

20 C. *ἐὼς μὴ τι ἔπραττες ἄλλοιόν ἢ οἱ πολλοί* is bracketed by Herm. Cob. Sch. Kral. I retain it with MSS Cron Göbel etc. See my note on 18 C *ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός* and Wohlrab's excellent remarks on *ἀθέτησις* in the criticism of the Apology (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1876 pp. 122 foll.).

21 A. *ἐταῖρός τε καί*. Cobet rejects *ἐταῖρός τε*: Ludwig, Schanz and Kral reject all three words. Vahlen in the Zeitschr. f. d. Oesterr. Gymnas. 1872 p. 522 while remarking that *ἐταῖρος, ὅς γε καί* would be a better remedy than to reject the words, defends the text by the passages cited in my note.

21 C. *διασκοπῶν οὖν τοῦτον—καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ*. Schanz brackets the last three words: Wex in Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1856 p. 670 includes them in the parenthesis as a participial clause parallel to *πρὸς ὃν ἐγὼ σκοπῶν*: but this throws too much emphasis on *καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ*: see also Cron (Bemerkungen pp. 89–90), who quotes Xen. Anab. IV. 2. 12 *καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶντες ἐμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὖθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι*, where however L. Dindorf reads *ὁρῶσιν*. Göbel (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 1882 p. 747) makes the parenthesis begin with *τοῦτον*, which he takes as the object after *λέγειν*, arguing that *διασκοπεῖν* is equivalent to *dispicere*, *perspicere*, not to *ἐξετάζειν*, and cannot take a person as its object: but Kral (p. XI) in reply quotes Prot. 311 B *καὶ ἐγὼ ἀποπειρώμενος Ἰπποκράτους τῆς βώμης διεσκόπουν αὐτόν*.

21 E. *αἰσθανόμενος μὲν καὶ λυπούμενος καὶ δεδιώς*. Wex in Fleck. Jahrb. 1856 p. 671 rightly translates 'sentiens cum maerore et metu'. Cobet and Schanz bracket *καί*: v. Cobet Var. Lect. p. 191. F. A. Wolf Stallbaum Cron and apparently Göbel take all three participles as coordinate; Göbel cites Xen. Cyrop. VI. 2. 30 for *ὅτι* after *δεδιώς*.

22 A. *ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος*. So MSS. Stephanus followed by

Schanz reads *ὅα μή μοι κτλ.*: Hermann *ὅα μοι κἂν ἐλεγκτός*, but the text is undoubtedly right (so Riddell Cron Göbel Kral etc.).

22 C. *ἐν ὀλίγῃ*. Hermann reads *ἐνὶ λόγῳ* against the MSS.

22 D. *καὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δημιουργοὶ* is suspected by Hirschig and Schanz: but see above on 20 C (App. 2) *εἰ μή τι ἐπραττες ἄλλοιόν ἢ οἱ πολλοί* and my note on 18 C *ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός*.

23 A. *καὶ φαίνεται τοῦτ' οὐ λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτη*. This is a most difficult passage. MSS have *τοῦτον* which Ast defends, taking *τοῦτον τὸν Σωκράτη* as = *ἐμέ*. The Vulgate has *τούτου*. F. A. Wolf (who is followed by Bekk. Herm. Ridd. Whlb. Sch.) reads *τοῦτ' οὐ*: Mudge Stallbaum Cron Göb. Kr. read *τοῦτο* with slender MS authority. In favour of *τοῦτ' οὐ* may be urged: 1) it is somewhat nearer to the good MSS than *τοῦτο*: 2) it gives a somewhat simpler meaning. *οὐ* is followed by *δέ* as infra 24 B *θεοὺς οὗς ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινά*. *τοῦτο* means *ὅτι σοφός ἐστιν*, as would be understood from the context. Those editors who read *τοῦτο λέγειν* generally refer *τοῦτο* to the clause *ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία—οὐδενός* and understand *φαίνεται τοῦτο λέγειν* as 'it is evident that he says this', *τοῦτο* here denoting the same thing as *τούτο* in line 9: only *φαίνεται τοῦτο λέγειν* according to Eichler (Philolog. Rundschau v. p. 814) would mean 'apparently he says this', and *προσκέχρηται*, not *προσκεχρησθαι*, would have to follow in that case. Göbel takes *τοῦτο* as anticipatory of the clause *ὅτι οὗτος ὑμῶν κτλ.*, regarding *προσκεχρησθαι—ποιούμενος* as semi-parenthetical, and *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἶποι* as a kind of repetition of *τοῦτο*: this strikes me as somewhat heavy and forced. Füsslein (Philologus XLIII. 1883—1884 p. 243) proposes *ταῦτόν* for *τοῦτον* of MSS: taking *ταῦτόν* as = *ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία κτλ.* If Eichler's objection can be surmounted—and I think it can, since *φαίνεται τοῦτο λέγειν—προσκεχρησθαι δὲ—ἐμέ παράδειγμα ποιούμενος* = *φαίνεται τοῦτο λέγειν—προσκεχρησμένος δὲ—ἐμέ παράδειγμα ποιεῖσθαι*, *φαίνεται* being connected logically with *ἐμέ παράδειγμα ποιούμενος*—I think *τοῦτον* of the MSS might possibly be retained as equivalent to *τὸν χρησμόν* (supra line 9 *ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τούτῳ*): the meaning then would be: 'he seems to apply this oracle to Socrates and to have used my name for it, in order to make me an example etc.' But on the whole I incline to *τοῦτ' οὐ*. Two objections of some force might be urged against it. First, *τοῦτ' οὐ* in that case denotes something different from the *τοῦτο* immediately preceding in line 9. I do not think this objection serious, since that *τοῦτο* is merely anticipatory of the following clause,

like the Latin *illud*. I have endeavoured to obviate this difficulty by printing a full stop before *καὶ φαίνεται*. Secondly, Cron (Bemerk. p. 91) argues that *προσ-* in *προσσεχρῆσθαι* has no force unless we read *τοῦτο*: he translates 'bediente sich aber dazu noch meines Namens'. But *προσσεχρῆσθαι* (a very frequent word in Plato, less common elsewhere) sometimes means to call in the aid of something one could do without, as here the God might have expressed his meaning without using Socrates' name at all: see Ast's *Lexicon Platonium* s. v. *προσχωμαι*.

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

23 E. *ξυντεταγμένως*. So the best MSS and Bekk. Ridd. Cr. Wohlrab: Sch. Göb. Kr. etc. read *ξυντεταμένως* with E. Riddell explains *ξυντεταγμένως* as 'in set array', comparing Aeschin. *περὶ παραπρεσβείας* § 74 *οἱ ξυντεταγμένοι ῥήτορες*. *ξυντεταμένως* and *ξυντεταγμένως* are found more than once as variants in Platonic MSS v. Ast *Lex. Plat.* s. v. *συντεταμένως*.

καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν with the second hand in B and Cron Whlb. Göb. Kr. T omits *νῦν*: so also Stallb. Ridd. Wag. Sch.

24 D. *ἐμὲ εἰσάγεις τουτοιούτῳ*. So MSS Bekk. Ridd. Cr. Göb. Kr.: Sch. reads *εἰς τουτοιούτῳ* after Cob.

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

26 A. *τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀκουσίων ἀμαρτημάτων*. Cob. boldly reads *τῶν τοιούτων ἔνεκα ἀμαρτημάτων*.

παύσομαι ὃ γε ἄκων ποιῶ. So MSS Bekk. Ridd. Cr. Göb. Kr.: Sch. reads *οὐ γε* for *ὃ γε*. Perhaps *παύσομαι, ὃ γε ἄκων ποιῶ* 'I will stop, as I am doing it unwillingly'.

26 C. *ταῦτα διδάσκειν*. So MSS and Edd. Perhaps we should read *ταῦτὰ διδάσκειν*.

26 D. *Ἀναξαγόρου*. Baiter strangely requires *Σωκράτους*: Sch. brackets the word: Kr. reads *Ἀναξαγόρου οἷε κατηγορεῖν*—<ἦ> *καὶ κτλ.* The sentence is of course a question.

26 E. *πριαμένοις*. Ridd. reads *πριαμένους* against MSS.

οὕτως σοι δοκῶ οὐδένα νομίζω θεὸν εἶναι is the reading of the best MS: I follow Wagner in taking *οὕτως σοι δοκῶ* as a question.

Most Edd. read οὐτωςί—δοκῶ—νομίζειν κτλ. with inferior MSS: Sch. once bracketed δοκῶ, and read νομίζω.

27 C. εἴ' οὖν καινὰ εἴτε παλαιά, ἀλλ' οὖν κτλ. So Göbel: Sch. and the other Edd. print a full stop (or colon) after παλαιά. In 34 E Göbel's view seems less natural.

27 E. ἔκτων μὲν παῖδας ἤγοίτο ἥ καὶ θῶν [τοὺς ἡμίονους] κτλ. The words τοὺς ἡμίονους are in all the MSS, and were already in the text used by Arrian. If they are genuine, ἥ before καὶ must be rejected, as is done by Bekk. Sch. Dyer. Münscher in Fleck. Jahrb. 1865 p. 473 argues that τοὺς ἡμίονους is genuine, partly on the ground that mules may be considered the *bastard* offspring of horses and asses just as δαίμονες are spoken of above as νόθοι παῖδες of gods and nymphs or other mothers. But the illegitimacy does not require to be illustrated in the simile: and besides, (as I have remarked in my note), if we retain τοὺς ἡμίονους, and reject ἥ before καὶ, the illustration will then imply that Socrates does not believe in νόμφαι ἥ τῶες ἄλλαι, a charge which Meletus has not made. Winckelmann reads ἥ <ἔκτων> καὶ θῶν, τοὺς ἡμίονους, which may possibly be right. Cron and Wohlrab reject καὶ after ἥ as well as τοὺς ἡμίονους: but καὶ should be retained (so also Ridd.): see my note. Kral reads ἔκτων μὲν παῖδας ἤγοίτο καὶ θῶν, ἔκτους δὲ καὶ θῶν μὴ ἤγοίτο εἶναι. The simplest view is to hold that τοὺς ἡμίονους is a gloss by some one who in reading failed to notice the ἥ before the καὶ.

ταῦτα—τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην. Herm. Ridd. Cr. Göb. reject τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην: Sch. brackets ταῦτα. Wagner and Kral retain both, and take ταῦτα with ἀποπειρώμενος, the latter illustrating the hyperbaton by Apol. 26 B οὐ ταῦτα λέγεις ὅτι διδάσκων διαφθείρω Crit. 50 E Apol. 26 A etc. I think it more natural to take the words as I have taken them.

ὥς οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστίν κτλ. The choice clearly lies between Wecklein's view and that of Cron. The latter omits οὐ after ὥς: but Cron's view can hardly be maintained unless τοῦ αὐτοῦ after αὐτὸ be also rejected (so Kral). If we follow Cron, the meaning is, 'you cannot possibly persuade any one who has the slightest understanding that one and the same individual may believe in δαίμονια and in θεῖα and not both in δαίμονες and in θεοί. I prefer to follow Wecklein 1) because it is natural that Socrates should thus emphatically state his conclusion both positively and negatively, 2) because I think it is bolder to omit τοῦ αὐτοῦ and particularly οὐ than to assume that the words supplied by Wecklein have fallen out. Bekk. Hermann

Ridd. Whlb. retain the MSS reading: but I do not think any one who has mastered the argument of the chapter will agree with them: and besides, the transition to the negative proposition *καὶ αὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μήτε κτλ.* is inexplicable except upon Cron or Wecklein's view. The MSS text is unsuccessfully defended by Keck (Fleck. 1861 p. 408), Münscher (ibid. 1865 p. 474) and Bäumlein (ibid. 1866 p. 117): see in reply Cron ibid. 1866 p. 123 and Bemerk. p. 96 foll. Göbel's view, according to which *ὡς οὐ—ἥρωας* is parenthetical and *ὡς=* 'since', is more ingenious than convincing.

28 D. *τάξῃ ἡγησάμενος—ἡ—ταχθῇ.* Some MSS have *τάξῃ—ἡ*, but the second hand in B '*ἡ punctis notavit*' (Sch.), and Stobaeus and other ancient authors quote the passage without *ἡ*. *ἡ* is retained by Bekk. St. Herm. Ridd. Wagner: it is bracketed or rejected by Cron Whlb. Sch. Göb. Kr. Wex in Fleck. Jahrb. 1856 p. 670, rejects *ἡ* with the question 'kann man vielleicht auch sagen: "Wer sich selbst tödtet, entweder aus Lebensüberdruß oder weil er von einem andern getödtet wird"?'

30 B. *ἀφίερε ἡ μὴ, ἀφίερε* is proposed by Schlenger (Philologus XLI. p. 532 foll.). This is ingenious and at first sight pleasing: but it makes the sentence somewhat abrupt.

30 D. *ἀτιμώσεις.* MSS *ἀτιμάσειεν*, which is retained by Bekk. St. Ridd. Whlb. Riddell says *ἀτιμάζω* can bear the same sense as *ἀτιμῶ*, citing Legg. 762 D *περὶ τὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀρχὰς ἡτιμάσθω πᾶσας*, but there the meaning is more general. Hermann's emendation *ἀτιμώσεις* is confirmed by Stobaeus, as well as by the passage in Rep. VIII. 553 B (though there too some MSS have *ἀτιμασθέντα*, cf. Cron Bemerk. p. 99): it is accepted by Cron Sch. Göb. Kr.

30 E. *ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.* So MSS Bekk. Ridd. Wag. Huhle (v. infra): Stallb. Sch. Cron Whlb. Göb. Kr. bracket or reject the words with Hirschig. This whole simile is discussed by Cron in his Bemerkungen p. 99 foll.: Cron there decides that *μύωψ* is 'a spur.' Huhle in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1879 p. 105 foll. proves I think beyond dispute that the word here means a gadfly. To this view the *τινός* (cuiusdam) points as well as *γελοιώτερον* and *νωθεστέρῳ*: the last word (says Huhle) is not equivalent to *βραδυτέρῳ* but means 'somewhat lazy' 'träge, der Regsamkeit und Schneidigkeit ermangelnd', as in Politicus 310 E. Cron's reply (ibid. p. 403 foll.) proves nothing. Wecklein (ibid. p. 765) interposes in the controversy as an *εφεδρος*, and tries to discover a *via media*, taking *μύωπος* in *ὑπὸ μύωπός τινος* as 'a spur', and understanding it in the

rest of the simile as 'a gadfly': but this will convince nobody. Cron finally closed the controversy (*ibid.* p. 817) by demolishing Wecklein's view.

31 A. κρούσαντες. So mss: Herm. strangely reads *δρούσαντες*. The simile is of course changed (see my note). The notes of Stallbaum and Elberling excite the mirth of Huhle (l. c.). 'κρούειν quod usurpatur de animalibus vel cornibus vel pedibus ferientibus ac pulsantibus' St. 'Hoc vocabulo propterea usus esse videtur, quod civitatem cum equo comparavit; nam κρούειν proprie de animalibus usurpatur, quae cornibus petunt' Elberling.

31 B. εἶχον ἄν τινα λόγον. So B and most of the better mss and all good Edd. Sch. formerly read *εἶχεν ἄν* with E etc., but now writes *εἶχον ἄν*. Wex in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 1856 p. 670 reads *εἶχεν ἄν* on the strength of Phaedo 62 B et al., but Apol. 34 B proves *εἶχον* right here.

31 C. ὥς ἀληθῆ λέγω. So mss: Herm. Ridd. ἀληθῆ ὥς λέγω without MS authority.

31 D. ὅτι μοι θεῖόν τι καὶ δαίμόνιον γίγνεται φωνή. φωνή although found in all mss is rejected by all Edd. except Fischer and Riddell. Keck also defends the word: v. Cron *Bemerk.* p. 102 foll. I think φωνή is an interpolation: if it is retained, it must be viewed as part of the predicate 'that something divine and supernatural becomes to me a voice', and lines 9 and 10 must then be translated 'This I have had from my childhood, becoming a voice (with *γιγνομένη* for *γιγνόμενον* cf. in 18 A αὐτῇ=τοῦτο), and when it becomes this (quae cum fiat) etc.' But the passage quoted from the Euthyphro shews that *μοι γίγνεται*='comes to me.'

32 A. ἅμα καὶ ἅμα ἄν. So Cron with B etc. ἅμ' ἄν Bekk. ἅμ' ἄν καὶ Herm. ἅμα καὶ Ridd. Sch. ἅρα καὶ ἅμ' ἄν Madvig ἅμα Sch. ἅμα καὶ Kr. (the reading of T). Professor Campbell's suggestion (ap. Ridd.) ἅλλα καὶ ἅλλ' ἄν ἀπολομένη 'meet death in sundry forms' seems questionable Greek: μὴ ἅλλα καὶ ἅλλα θορυβεῖτω in 27 D is different.

καὶ δικανικά. Herm. strangely reads οὐ δικανικά.

32 B. Ἀντιοχίς. So mss and most Edd. except Wagner and Kral who bracket or reject the word. Cron (*Bemerk.* p. 104 and in the Appendix to his 8th ed.) inclines to regard the word as a gloss, but refers to Xen. *Agas.* 1 10 τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας in support of the text.

καὶ ἐναντία ἐψηφισάμην is bracketed by Herm. and Sch.

33 B. ἐρωτᾶν. So MSS and Edd. except Göbel, who reads *παρέχω ἑμαυτὸν* (ἐρωτῶν καὶ, ἐὰν τις βούληται, ἀποκρινόμενος) ἀκούειν κτλ.: see his Fulda program 1882 p. 3 foll. I do not think he makes out his case.

34 D. τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου. If the emphasis appears to be excessive, we may perhaps read αὐ for αὐτό (see note *in loc.*); but it is probably safer to adhere to the MSS (with other Edd.).

34 E. εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθὲς—ψεύδος, ἀλλ' οὖν κτλ. is Göbel's reading: cf. supra on 27 C, App. 2.

τὸν Σωκράτη. So I read with the second hand in B, Bekk. and St. B has τῷ Σωκράτει, followed by Ridd. Whlb. (But this could only mean 'Socrates has resolved to excel etc.'). Less good MSS read τὸ Σωκράτη and so Herm. Cron Wagner Göb. Kr. Schmelzer Sch.

35 B. οὔτε ὑμᾶς χρή ποιεῖν. So B etc. Ridd. Herm. Cron Wag. Göb.: Bekk. St. Sch. Whlb. Kr. read ἡμᾶς for ὑμᾶς with E, comparing 35 C οὐκ οὖν χρή οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἐθίζειν ὑμᾶς ἐπιτορκεῖν, οὐθ' ὑμᾶς ἐθίξεσθαι.

35 D. ἄλλως τε μέντοι νῆ Δία πάντως. So B etc. Herm. Ridd. Cron Schmelzer: St. Göb. bracket νῆ Δία πάντως: πάντως alone is bracketed or rejected by Whlb. Sch. Kral.

36 C. εἰς ταῦτ' ἰόντα. B and other good MSS read εἰς ταῦτ' ὄντα, which Cron (followed by Wagner) retains, defending the expression by *πάρεμι εἰς τι*. But, not to speak of syntactical considerations, ἦα in line 11 makes it almost certain that ἰόντα (the reading of T) is right here.

ἰών. So MSS and Bekk. Stallb. Herm. Ridd. Cron Göb.: Sch. and Whlb. bracket ἰών: Kral omits the word. Partly for the reasons stated in my note, and partly because ἐπὶ τὸ ἰδίᾳ and ἕκαστον—εὐεργετεῖν κτλ. are to my ear kept slightly apart by the sentence-accent, I think ἰών may be taken with ἐπὶ. The alternative is to reject the word. *Infra ἐνταῦθα* is generally taken as epanaleptic of ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἰδίᾳ κτλ.: I prefer to regard it as anticipatory of the following participial clause, for the reason stated in my note.

37 B. ἡ μῆ. B has ἡ: but the second hand writes ἡ along with the other MSS. The Edd. read ἡ, which may be right.

ἀντὶ τούτου δὲ ἔχωμαι. B and other good MSS read ἔλωμαι: E has ἔλωμαι τι (so Bekk.). If ἔλωμαι is retained, we can only explain the genitive as a partitive gen. depending on τοῦ (τούτου MSS) in τοῦ τιμησάμενος; but it will be allowed that this is somewhat

forced, and unlike the simple style of the Apology. Or if *ἐλωμαι* is supposed to be followed immediately by a partitive genitive, I know no other example of this construction, and here, if *τούτου* is retained, it is so harsh that Bekker felt it necessary to read *ἐλωμαι τι* with inferior MSS: while assuming that *τοῦ* for *τούτου* is right—as most scholars will allow—Socrates is then made to ask what is nearly the same question twice. If on the other hand we read *ἐχωμαι*, first one question of a more comprehensive character is asked, and then *τοῦ τιμησάμενος*—the specific question—follows with increased rhetorical effect. I believe Plato wrote *ἐχωμαι*: after this was corrupted into *ἐλωμαι, τι* was added in some inferior MSS to account for the genitive *ὦν κτλ.* Gomperz conjectures *κακῶν ὄντων τί; τοῦ κτλ.* Göbel, as is clear from his note, felt dissatisfied with the MS reading.

τοῦ τιμησάμενος. Meiser's emendation is accepted by Sch. Whlb. Wagner Kral.

37 C. *χρήματα, ὁπόθεν ἐκτίσω.* Hirschig brackets *χρήματα*, Göbel prints a comma before *χρήματα* and takes that word as the object after *ἐκτίσω.*

39 B. *ὀφλῶν.* So Bekk. Herm. Ridd. Whlb. Wagner: Cron and Kral read *ὀφλῶν*: so too Cobet Sch.

40 A. *ἢ τοῦ δαιμονίου:* rejected by Schleiermacher and bracketed by Schanz without sufficient reason.

40 C. *μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε.* Cob. reads *μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνθένδε* without MS authority: Schanz rejects *τοῦ τόπου τοῦ.*

40 E. *πλείον.* So Fischer Göbel Kral with one inferior MS: B and most edd. read *πλείων.*

41 B. *τέθηκεν ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι κτλ.* So I punctuate with Bekk. Whlb. Kr. Göbel prints a full stop before *ὅποτε ἐντόχοιμι* in line 36 and a comma before *ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι.*

καὶ δὴ καί. So T and Bekker: the Edd. generally read *καὶ δὴ* with the better class of MSS; but *καὶ δὴ καί* is very much more commonly used in prose to introduce a climax of this kind: see note on Apol. 26 D.

ἀγαγόντα. B has *ἄγοντα*, which is retained by Ridd. Cr. Göb.: most other edd. read *ἀγαγόντα*: I think the latter is alone possible here.

41 C. *Σίσυφον; ἢ ἄλλους κτλ.* I have slightly altered the punctuation, placing the mark of interrogation after *Σίσυφον* rather than after *γυναῖκας*, where it is generally placed.

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