Plato. Apologia

Apologia, with introduction & notes, by St. George Stock.

Pt. II. Introduction and Text

Clay, 1827
PREFACE.

Being called upon to produce an edition of the Apology, I found myself embarassed by the very abundance of material. For, unlike the Meno, the Apology had been amply edited in English. Indeed the only chance of imparting any distinctive character to a new edition seemed to lie in neglecting the labours of others and trusting to my own resources to produce such notes as a long experience in teaching suggested might be useful. This course appeared the more excusable as the edition asked for was required to be of a somewhat elementary character. Accordingly no commentator was consulted until my own notes were complete, Riddell only excepted, with whose views I was too familiar to be able to clear my mind of them, if I had wished to do so. It thus happens that a good deal of the common stock, especially in the way of illustrative references, has not been borrowed, but brought afresh. This, however, is a matter of very trifling importance to the reader, whose main concern is to find the matter at hand for his service. The other writers to whom I am bound to make acknowledgesment for help here and there are Mr. Purves, who has included the whole of the Apology in his Selections from the Dialogues of Plato, the late Professor Wagner, and
Mr. Louis Dyer, Assistant Professor in Harvard University, whose lucid Appendix on the Athenian Courts of Law has been of especial service. Mr. Adam's recent school edition, to which the present one must, to my regret, appear as a rival, I have never seen at all. It is perhaps superfluous to add that recourse has been had to such sources of information as Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, the works of Zeller and the inexhaustible mine of learning contained in Grote's writings.

Having acquitted myself of what may be called for distinction public obligations, I now turn to more private and personal ones. My old friend and school-fellow, the Rev. Robert L. Clarke, Fellow and Librarian of Queen's College, has once more exercised his patient kindness in revising my notes. How shall I thank him for the time he has spent upon me, or for the truly Socratic irony with which he convinced me of error, while seeming to defer to my arguments in defence of it! To Mr. Evelyn Abbott too, Fellow of Balliol College, I am indebted not only for the useful suggestions which his practical experience of editing enabled him to make, but also for having placed at my disposal some valuable matter, of which I have availed myself as freely as it was given. The text followed has again been that of K. F. Hermann.

S, Museum Villas, Oxford,

Sept. 1, 1887.
INTRODUCTION.

The world will always be the better for the Apology of Socrates. It shows us philosophy tried before the bar of a passing public opinion, condemned to drink the bitter juice of the hemlock, and justified before the ages. It is an appeal from prejudice to reason, from seeming to being, from time to eternity. How often, when passion has subsided, does the better mind of man reject what man deliberately does in the name of God and goodness! As Anytus was leaving the court radiant with triumph, Socrates remarked, 'How miserable is this man, who seems not to know that, whichever of us has done the better and the nobler for all time, he it is who is the winner!'

It is to Plato’s Apology that the world indirectly owes the deep and enduring influence of Stoicism. For it was the reading of this little work which stirred up Zeno from his far home in Cyprıs, and brought him to Athens to study philosophy.

The Apology is the natural introduction to the writings of Plato. Not only is it one of the simplest and easiest of his pieces, involving as it does no difficulties of argumentation, but it has the further advantage of giving us a full-length portrait of Socrates, in which the whole man is set vividly before us. In the dialogues we have Socrates at work on his mission: but the Apology lets us into the secret of what that mission was, and reveals to us the spirit in which Socrates undertook it. We see there the earnest thirst for truth, the dissatisfaction with received and unreasoned opinion, the incessant converse with men of all classes, the obstinate questioning of himself and others, the abnegation of all preten-
sions to knowledge, the dialectical method, the negative result, the deep-seated persuasion of a personal guidance by some unseen intelligence, the unaltering faith in goodness; nor are the lighter touches wanting—the raillery, the mock-solemnity, the delicious irony, the perfect politeness, the serene good humour.

The 'Socraticæ chartæ' were far more extensive than the remains which have come down to us. We cannot indeed quarrel with time, which has preserved to us all Plato: but still a great loss has been sustained. Of the innumerable works of Antisthenes¹, which made Timon call him 'an all-producing babbler,' not one has been spared to us. He was placed by ancient critics in the foremost rank of the Socratics, on a level with Plato and Xenophon. Of Alexamenus of Teos nothing more is known than that his were the first-written of the Socratic dialogues². Among the other immediate disciples or friends of Socrates there were dialogues current in antiquity under the names of Aeschines, Aristippus, Bryson, Cebes, Crito, Eucleides, Glaucon, Phaedo, Simmias, and lastly of Simon the cobbler, to whose workshop Socrates used to resort, and who took notes of his discourses³. Amid this abundant Socratic literature, all of which owed its birth to the one originative impulse, there must have been much which would have helped us to bridge over the gulf between the Socrates of Plato and the Socrates of Xenophon. Aeschines in particular, owing to his lack of imagination, was supposed by some critics to have reflected more faithfully than anyone else the genuine mind of Socrates⁴. As it is,

¹ Diog. Laert. vi. §§ 15-18. ² Athen. 505 c.
³ On Antisthenes, see Diog. Laert. ii. § 47; on Alexamenus, Athen. 505 c; on Aeschines, Diog. Laert. ii. §§ 60, 61; on Aristippus, Athen. xi. 118 d; Diog. Laert. ii. §§ 83, 84; on Bryson, Athen. xi. 508 d, 509 c, with which cp. Xen. Conv. iv. § 63; on Cebes, one of whose three dialogues, the Πίναξ, is still extant, Diog. Laert. ii. § 125; on Crito, Diog. Laert. ii. § 121; on Eucleides, Diog. Laert. ii. §§ 64, 108; on Glaucon and Simmias, Diog. Laert. ii. § 124; on Simon the tanner, Diog. Laert. ii. §§ 122, 123.
⁴ Aristeides Rhetor Orat. xlvii, p. 295, Dindorf.
however, we are reduced to three contemporary sources of information in endeavouring to estimate the real personality of Socrates—namely, the picture drawn of him by Xenophon, the picture drawn of him by Plato, and the picture drawn of him by Aristophanes.

Widely different as these three pictures are, they have yet no unlikeness which is fatal to the genuineness of any. You may always distort a countenance almost beyond the bounds of recognition by merely depressing some of the features without at all exaggerating the rest. Xenophon, the man of action, brings out into full relief the practical side of the mind of Socrates; the theoretical is sketched only in faint outline. We have a hint given us here and there of a style of discourse, which the biographer, absorbed in admiration of the moral and social qualities of his hero, did not care to record at length. To Plato, on the other hand, the thing of absorbing interest is the theoretical side of his master's mind, with which he has so interblended his own, that his very contemporaries did not seek to distinguish between the two. Socrates and Plato are like the married spirits seen by Swedenborg, who presented to the observer the appearance of one human being.

Even the caricature of Socrates drawn in the Clouds of Aristophanes does not contradict the ideas we derive of him from elsewhere. Only we have now shifted to the point of view of the enemy. Instead of marvelling at the severity and subtlety of the mind which must and will see what can be said on both sides of a question, before it incline to either, we condemn the Sophist, who is upsetting all established notions, and whose whole skill is to 'make the worse appear the better reason.' From this it is an easy descent to represent him as a person of more than doubtful morality, whose society is contaminating his contemporaries from Euripides downwards. Difficult as it is for us to realise that Socrates could ever have been a mark for righteous indignation, as we look back upon his figure, encircled with a halo through the vista of years, we must yet remember that this third picture

\[\text{Frogs, 1491.}\]
of Socrates was the popular one, and that in his own lifetime he was numbered among the disreputable, and labelled 'dangerous.'

As it is this third picture of Socrates which chiefly concerns the reader of the Apology, we will not dwell here upon the other two, nor seek to adjudge between their respective claims to authenticity. Certainly the sententious person described by Xenophon in the Memorabilia, who too often reminds us painfully of Mr. Barlow, does not seem likely to have stirred men's minds by his discourses, as we know that the real Socrates actually did above all talkers before or after him, one only excepted. It may be, as an ingenious friend has put it to me, that Socrates 'talked up to Plato and down to Xenophon;' but more likely Socrates was the same throughout, and the mental eye of Plato and Xenophon saw in him what it brought the power to see. The Memorabilia indeed contains nothing but what is edifying, and some things that are striking; but the mass of it is simply commonplace. We may grant that what is commonplace now was profound and original when it was first uttered, and that it is the triumph of truth to have become truism; but this will not avail us much, for a good deal of what the Memorabilia contains must, to adapt a vigorous phrase of Macaulay's, have been commonplace at the court of Chedorlaomer.

The sketch of Socrates in his lighter moments drawn by Xenophon in his Symposium approaches more nearly to Plato than anything in the Memorabilia. Xenophon's touch lacks the delicacy of Plato's, which redeems some of the features from coarseness: but we feel in reading the Symposium that we have essentially the same man before us as the Socrates of the Platonic dialogues.

How the personality of that man has stamped itself upon the world's memory! We can picture him now to ourselves as familiarly as if he had moved among us but yesterday—

1 Charmides says in the Symposium of Xenophon (Xen. Conv. § 32), ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτης, ὅτε μὲν πλούσιος ἦν, ἐλοιδύρον μὲ ὅτι συνὴν, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ πέπηγεν γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι οὐδὲν μέλει οὐδενὶ.
INTRODUCTION.

the robust frame, the frank ugliness, of which his friends, if not himself, were vain, the Silenus-like features, the snub nose, the thick lips, the protruding eyes—a regular beauty, as he himself declared, if beauty is to be measured by utility; for his eyes enabled him to see round the corner, his nostrils were expanded to meet all odours, his nose had no useless bridge to interfere with seeing, his jaws were strong to bite, and his lips were soft to kiss. We can fancy him starting from his humble home, shoeless and shirtless, as his manner was, except on some great occasion, when he wished to do honour to the banquet of a friend. He has risen betimes in the morning, and enjoyed the plain fare which a slave might have grumbled at; and now he is off to the walks or to the gymnasia, secretly glad perhaps to be relieved for a time from the excellent practice which Xanthippe afforded him in learning to bear patiently the humours of mankind. Later on in the day, when the market is filling, he will be sure to be there: for wherever men congregate, there Socrates finds the materials for study. He may unroll the volumes of antiquity at intervals with his disciples, seeking to cull from their pages some maxims which may be useful for life: but the real books of Socrates are 'the men in the city.' So devoted in fact is Socrates to this fascinating study of man, that he appears like a stranger beyond the city walls, and has to be enticed outside of them by Phaedrus with a book under his arm, like a donkey by a carrot. He might leave Athens on a religious mission, or at the call of duty, to serve with steady valour in the wars of his country; but would never be tempted away by the promptings of inclination. For what need had Socrates to leave Athens, 'the very prytaneum of wisdom,' to which all the most famous wits of the age were only too glad to come? It was there that his life's work lay, which he believed had been appointed him by God 'both by oracles and dreams, and in every way in which any divine dispensation had ever appointed anything to a man to do.'

1 Xen. Conv. v. §§ 5-7.
And what was this life’s work? The queerest surely that was ever undertaken by mortal—but then Socrates was the queerest of mortals, as friends and foes alike declared; in fact half the secret of the mysterious charm which drew around Socrates a circle of devoted attendants, consisting of the keenest and brightest intellects of the age, lay in the fact that they had never seen or heard of anyone like him. The work then to which Socrates conceived himself to be called was that of convincing all the glib talkers of the age—the statesmen, sophists, rhetoricians, poets, diviners, rhapsodes, and all the rest of them, that they really knew nothing of the things which they were talking about. For not one of them could define the art or science which he professed to practise or to teach; and Socrates considered that all true knowledge must rest upon general definitions. It was the effort to apply this simple principle that led to the creation of the science of logic. And as the application was made exclusively to subjects connected with man, the ὁμοιομετρία, which Socrates so incessantly practised, contained in germ ethics, politics, logic and metaphysics. Thus we see how the discourses of Socrates were the prolific seed-bed out of which sprang all subsequent Greek philosophy, except that which dealt with physics. It is not, however, with the philosophical importance of Socrates’ conversation that we are here concerned, but with the practical effect produced by his ἐλέγχος, or method of cross-examination, upon the minds of his victims. That effect, it is scarcely necessary to state, took the form of an extreme exasperation, in spite of the polished urbanity with which the operation was performed; in spite also of the soothing profession, which invariably accompanied it, that Socrates was equally ignorant with his respondent, and was availing himself of his valuable assistance in the search for knowledge.

The picture that we have endeavoured to present of Socrates’ personality is not complete, until we have added the crowning feature of all—the claim modestly but seriously

1 Plat. Symp. 221 c.  
2 Xen. Mem. iv. 6, § 1.
advanced by this strange being that he was directly inspired by God. From his boyhood Socrates had been conscious of a singular experience, which appeared to mark him off from the rest of mankind. This was in an inner voice, which seemed to speak with him, and would check him suddenly when about to do or say something. To this voice Socrates yielded an unquestioning obedience, and was enabled by its aid to give wise advice to his friends with regard to the future—advice which they never refused to follow without subsequently regretting it.

Connected doubtless with this phenomenon were the His fits of strange fits of abstraction to which Socrates was liable at the most unexpected moments. His friends, who were acquainted with this peculiarity, made a point of not allowing him to be disturbed when he was in this condition. On one occasion, at Potidaea, Socrates is related to have stood thus in meditation for twenty-four hours, to the amazement of his fellow-soldiers, some of whom camped out all night from curiosity to see how long the fit of abstraction would continue. At sunrise Socrates said his prayers to the sun, and went off about his business.

Such was the man who, up to the age of seventy, played the part of a gadfly to the Athenians, settling down upon them morning, noon and night, pesterling them with his awkward questions and bewildering them with his dialectic, until all their ideas seemed to be turned upside down; calling into question, always indirectly, and with the most provoking appearance of having reason upon his side, the value of their religion, the value of their morality, the value of their political institutions, the value of their professional employments and of their cherished aims in life—the value in short of everything except truth and goodness: for of the value of these things Socrates never doubted, nor allowed others to doubt.

1 Xen. Mem. i. 1, § 4, iv. 3, § 12, iv. 8, § 5; Apol. Soc. §§ 4, 13; Plato, Apol. 31 D, 40 B; Theaet. 151 A; Phaedrus 242 B, C; Rep. 496 C; Theag. 128 D—129 D.

2 Symp. 175 B, 220 C, D.
Public exasperation against him.

Human nature being what it is, we need not feel much surprised that the day of reckoning should have come at last. People might have put up with Socrates himself\(^1\); but, unfortunately, his example had raised a host of imitators. For the young men who had leisure to attend him, and who naturally belonged in the main to the upper classes, had begun to turn against their elders the weapons of negative dialectic, which they had learnt to use during their intercourse with Socrates. This was the thing which brought public indignation to a climax. There was an outcry raised that the young men were being ruined, and that the person who was ruining them was Socrates. It needed now only that someone should take the initiative in attacking him, for all classes in the community had been annoyed and offended in turn.

Prominent at this time (B.C. 399) among the leaders of the restored democracy was Anytus, who had fought and suffered in the cause of the people. We need not listen to the scandal of Scholiasts and of late Greek writers, by whom his character has been assailed. It is enough that by the confession of Plato, corroborated by the negative testimony of Xenophon, Anytus was a perfectly respectable person, and in fact a fairly favourable specimen of the democratic statesman. To this man Socrates had unfortunately given offence by saying that it ill became his position in the state to bring up his son to the family trade of a tanner. Anytus may have been animated to some extent by personal motives; but it is quite intelligible that he conceived himself to be acting on public grounds, and that he sincerely believed Socrates to be a very mischievous person. This conviction is not likely to have been diminished by the fact that the political leanings of Socrates were rather to the aristocratic side, as manifested by a theoretical admiration for the customs and institutions of Sparta\(^2\). Besides which, Critias, the bloodthirsty inauguratior of the recent reign of terror at Athens, had at one time been prominent among the dis-

\(^1\) Euthyphro, 3 C.  
\(^2\) Crito 52 E.
ciples of Socrates, and some of the odium which his memory excited no doubt recoiled upon his former teacher.

Though Anytus was the prime mover in the matter, he was not the ostensible prosecutor of Socrates, that part being played by a young and comparatively obscure man, named Meletus, the son, as it would appear, of a well-known poet of the same name. A third person who took part in the prosecution was Lycon, a rhetorician. Thus the three accusers were representative of the outraged feelings and harassed interests of different classes in the community—Anytus taking up the quarrel of the manufacturers and politicians against Socrates, Lycon that of the rhetoricians, and Meletus that of the poets.

But it is one thing to believe that a man's influence is mischievous in a community, and quite another to bring home to him a definite charge, which shall suffice to secure his condemnation. How then were his enemies to lay hold of Socrates, the spotless integrity of whose whole career did not seem to offer much handle to an accuser? The following considerations may help us partially to understand this question.

Philosophy up to this period had run wholly in the groove of physical inquiry, and, strange to say, had been thoroughly mechanical and materialistic in its tendencies, seeking to explain everything by evolution out of some material elements. We are apt to regard this as the final consummation of philosophy, but it was the first stage among the Greeks, which they outgrew with the advance of thought. It was so striking a novelty on the part of Anaxagoras to proclaim that mind was necessary to arrange these elements into the organic whole of the universe, that Aristotle tells us he appeared like the only sober man among drunkards. Nevertheless Anaxagoras himself, who had made his home at Athens, had been indicted for impiety, in declaring the sun to be a material object, and had been obliged to take refuge at Lampsacus. Late writers tell us that Socrates had

1 Metaphysics I. ch. iii. ad fin., p. 11, Tauchn.
been a pupil of Anaxagoras, and, after his condemnation, of his disciple Archelaus, with whom the Ionic school of physical philosophy came to a close. We seem to gather however from Plato, that whatever acquaintance Socrates may have had with the doctrines of Anaxagoras was derived from reading. He is made to say in the Phaedo that the delight with which he at first hailed the teaching of Anaxagoras gave way subsequently to intense disappointment, when he found him deserting final for physical causes, and proving untrue to his own grand principle. For Socrates imagined he had found in Anaxagoras a guide who would conduct him on a royal road to the knowledge of nature. If the universe were really constructed by mind, must it not be constructed in the best manner possible? And surely then the right method of studying nature was to seek to ascertain what was best and why. But Socrates found Anaxagoras, instead of pursuing this method, descanting, like the rest, upon air, fire and water, and in fact confounding the physical conditions with the real causes of phenomena. Accordingly he abandoned Anaxagoras in disgust, and included him in his sweeping condemnation of the physicists generally as little better than madmen. The discourses on nature recorded in the Memorabilia are entirely on the lines indicated in the Phaedo. For Socrates did talk occasionally on nature as well as on man, and notwithstanding his disavowal of physical science, he has nevertheless powerfully influenced the world in this department no less than in ethics and in logic, though his influence has been in this case a retarding one. He was the parent of the teleological idea which maintained undisputed sway over men's minds until Bacon headed a reaction against it, and declared in favour of the pre-Socratics, who had contented themselves with the 'how' without the 'why.' But the distinction be-

1 Diog. Laert. ii. §§ 16, 19, 23, 45, x. § 12; Euseb. Praep. Evang. x. 15. § 9, ed. Heinichen.
2 Phaedo 97-99.
3 Xen. Mem. i. 1, §§ 11-13; iv. 7, § 6.
4 Mem. i. 4 and iv. 13; cp. Conv. vii. § 4.
between Socrates and the Ionic school, profound as it was in reality, was too subtle for the men who condemned him. The rough and ready syllogism of the popular judgment ran thus—

All who talk about nature are atheists.

Socrates talks about nature.

∴ Socrates is an atheist.

If, as was well known, Socrates claimed to hold communication with some higher power, this only constituted an aggravation of his offence. Here was a man who was ready to believe in anything except what he was expected to believe in!

A prosecution for heresy was no new thing at Athens, as we have seen already from the case of Anaxagoras. So far back as the year 431 B.C. a law had been carried by the rhetor Diopeithes εἰςαγγέλλεσθαι τούς τὰ θεία μὴ νομίζοντας ἃ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρατῶν διδάσκοντας. And so it came to pass that the man who above all others in that age and country believed most profoundly in God was brought up before a public tribunal as an atheist. This was the first count in the indictment.

The natural sequel to a charge of irreligion is a charge of immorality. It was hopeless to fasten any such charge upon Socrates directly, for the blamelessness of his life was patent to everybody, and so it was represented that his society had a corrupting influence upon the young. This was the second count in the indictment. Such a charge was difficult to meet, while it gave ample room for the play of prejudice. The tyrants of the Oligarchy, who had reason to fear the influence of Socrates upon young and ardent spirits, had shown the way in this direction, in forbidding Socrates to converse with any man under thirty.

As the first count was one which might have been urged against any philosopher of the period, so the second was one which might have been urged against any of the Sophists, a class of professional teachers who supplied the place of

2 Xen. Mem. i. 2, § 35.
hand and the Sophists on the other.

Terms of the indictment against him.

Technical name for it.

Preliminary proceedings. Socrates summoned to appear before the King Archon.

The ἀνάκρισις.

university teachers among the Greeks, and from whom, outwardly at least, Socrates was only distinguished by the fact that he did not receive pay for his services or give regular lectures.

Behold then Socrates arraigned on the double charge of irreligion and immorality! The indictment, with that delightful simplicity which so favourably distinguishes Greek from English legal phraseology ¹, was worded thus:—'Αδικεὶ Σωκράτης, οὐς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοῦ οὐ νομίζων, ἠτέρα δὲ καὶ νὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων' ἀδικεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων. Τίμημα θινατος.

As the offence with which Socrates was charged was not against any individual, but against the state, the proper technical term for the proceedings was γραφὴ, not δίκη, though in a looser sense δίκη was used for any legal case, and is in fact the term exclusively employed in this connection throughout the Apology of Xenophon. It was then a γραφὴ ἀσεβείας which was brought against Socrates.

We can imagine the dismay of Xanthippe when one spring ² morning Meletus called at the door accompanied by two witnesses (κλητῆρες) to serve a summons upon Socrates, citing him to appear before the King Archon. This was the second of the nine archons, who represented the priestly functions of the original patriarchal monarchy, and had jurisdiction over all cases touching religion. The Ἀρχῶν βασιλείας might have stopped proceedings, had he been so inclined. As he did not, the indictment was in due course posted up in some public place, and all the city knew that Socrates was to be tried for his life. The first proceedings were still before the King Archon. They were called the ἀνάκρισις ³, and consisted in part in the registration under oath of the prosecutor's-indictment and the defendant's plea

¹ Compare for instance the will of Aristotle, Theophrastus, or one of the later Peripatetics, preserved by Diogenes, with the will of Shakespeare.

² The trial took place in the Attic month Munychion, corresponding to the latter part of April and the beginning of May.

³ See a playful employment of the term in Xen. Conv. v. § 2.
in answer to it. This was known as the ἀντωμοσία, or, more correctly, the διωμοσία, and the document itself, which contained the indictment and the plea in reply, was also called ἀντωμοσία. It is during this preliminary stage of proceedings that we find Socrates in the Euthyphro. The diviner of that name is surprised to find him quitting his usual haunts in the Lyceum, and resorting instead to the neighbourhood of the King's Porch.

And now the final stage has been reached. The case is The Court. not tried before the high court of Areiopagus, but before an ordinary δικαστήριον or Heliastic Court, consisting of the same mixed elements as the ἔκκλησία. Out of the six thousand annually elected δικασταί some five hundred of his fellow-citizens are told off to try Socrates; and within the limits of a single day the temerity of a city mob will dispose of the life of one of the noblest of mankind. It is true that each of them has sworn a solemn oath that he will give an impartial hearing to prosecutor and defendant, and will not let himself be influenced by considerations extraneous to the case: but this will scarcely avail to supply him with an enlightened mind and a calm judgment.

The time assigned for the trial is divided into three Division lengths, which are measured by the κλεψύδρα, or water-clock. The first of these lengths will be occupied by the speeches of the prosecutors, the second by the defence of the accused and the pleadings of his advocates (συνηγόρου), if he has any. After the speeches have been listened to, as far as tumultuous interruptions will allow, the jurors will declare their vote by secret ballot, and if the perforated balls (ψηφοί) Method of exceed the solid ones, Socrates will be condemned. Then voting, the third length of time will be devoted to estimating the amount and kind of penalty that has been deserved. For The case the proceedings fall under the head of δίκη or ἀγών τίμητος, in which it is left to the court to fix the penalty, instead of its

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1 Theaet. 172 E.
2 Demosthenes against Timocrates, p. 748, § 151.
3 Ὁ τι χρη παθεῖν ἡ ἀποτίσαι, Apol. 36 B; cp. Xen. Conv. v. § 8.
being fixed beforehand by law, as in a δίκη ἀτιμητρος, which required no assessment. Accordingly the prosecutor will speak again in favour of the penalty he has already named, and the convicted man will be allowed to plead for a diminution of it. The jurors will then decide between them, and the legitimate proceedings of the trial will be over. If the prisoner is allowed to address the court further, it will be by an act of grace.

Meletus opens the case for the prosecution, advancing to the raised platform (βηθος), from which the speakers addressed the court. He is followed by Lycon and Anytus, the latter of whom uses his influence to impress upon the minds of the jurors the danger of acquitting Socrates, now that proceedings have been allowed to be taken against him. For his acquittal would be such a triumph, and would give such an impetus to the fashion of imitating him, that the rising generation would be irretrievably ruined.

Our knowledge does not enable us to discriminate between the parts played by the various accusers, nor indeed to realise in any satisfactory manner on what lines the case for the prosecution was conducted. All that we can do is to put down a few points which we know to have been urged. We have seen already that there were two main counts in the indictment,

(1) Irreligion.
(2) Immoral influence.

With regard to the first count Socrates professes himself in doubt as to whether the accusers meant that he did not believe in gods at all, or only that he believed in different gods from those which were recognised by the city. This is a doubt which we must be content to share. If the remark addressed to the jurors by Meletus, about Socrates saying that the sun was a stone and the moon earth, is not a mere invention of Plato's, we may suppose that to some extent a line was followed similar to the gross mis-representation of the Clouds, in which Socrates is represented as having dethroned Zeus, and made 'Vortex' reign in his stead. But the main stress of the indictment, as is evident
from the terms of it, must have fallen rather upon the impiety of which Socrates was supposed to be guilty, in exalting his private and personal source of inspiration over the public worship of his country. He was declared to be a daring innovator in religion, who held the time-honoured gods in contempt.

He would be a bold man who would undertake to say what Socrates really thought about Zeus and Hera, and the rest of the recognised deities of Greece. On the one hand the great philosopher was what would now-a-days be considered a very superstitious person. To say nothing of his inward monitor, he was ready to act on the strength of dreams, and had a robust faith in oracles, especially that of Delphi—a faith which could even survive the shock consequent upon his being told that he was the wisest of men. On the other hand we find in Xenophon clear expressions of a belief in one Supreme Being, the author and controller of the whole universe, which yet is held concurrently with a recognition of the many gods of Paganism, insomuch that monotheistic and polytheistic phraseology are mixed up in the same sentence.

A passage in the Phaedrus is interesting as bearing upon this subject. In reply to a question put by Phaedrus, as to what he thought of the story of Boreas and Oreithyia, Socrates declares that it would be easy enough for him to say with the clever that the girl was blown over a cliff by a gust of wind. But then logical consistency would require a similar rationalisation of innumerable other legends. He really had not time for a task of such appalling magnitude, and preferred to acquiesce in the current acceptance of the myths as they stood. There were mysteries enough in his own being fully to occupy all his attention. Where, however, these myths ran counter to his notions of morality—and it was seldom that they did not—Socrates felt an ex-

1 See Euthyphro, 3 B.
2 ὁ τῶν ὀλον κόσμου σωτάττων τε καὶ συνέχων, Mem. iv. 4, § 13; cp. i. 4, § 18.
3 Phaedrus, 229 C–230 A.
treme repugnance to them. It is hinted in the Euthyphro\(^1\) that this fact may have had something to do with his indictment for impiety.

But whatever the opinions of Socrates may have been, there is no doubt at all about his practice. Accepting the principle laid down by the Delphic oracle\(^2\), he thought it the part of a good citizen to conform to the religion of his country, and was scrupulous in so doing both in public and private life, holding a low opinion of those who did otherwise\(^3\). Everyone will remember his last words to Crito, charging him to sacrifice a cock to Aesculapius.

Under the second count of the indictment it was urged that Socrates ridiculed the institutions of his country, declaring that it was absurd to elect magistrates by lot, when no one would care to entrust his life at sea to a pilot who had been chosen by that method. Such discourses, it was asserted, made the young men feel a contempt for the established constitution, and incited them to violence\(^4\). In proof of this pernicious influence it was pointed out how Critias and Alcibiades had been educated under Socrates\(^5\).

Further it was maintained that Socrates inculcated disrespect to parents and relations generally by pointing out that mere goodwill was useless without knowledge. One did not consult one's relations in case of sickness or of legal difficulties, but the doctor or lawyer. The effect of such teaching, it was declared, was to make the associates of Socrates look so entirely to him, that no one else had any influence with them\(^6\). In the Apology of Xenophon this charge is specially ascribed to Meletus.

The only other point which we know to have been urged against Socrates was that he inculcated depravity by means of garbled citations from the poets\(^7\). Thus he quoted Hesiod's line\(^8\),

\(^1\) Euthyphro, 6 A. \(^2\) Xen. Mem. i. 3, § 1; iv. 3, § 16. \(^3\) Mem. i. 3, § 1. \(^4\) Mem. i. 2, § 9; cp. iii. 7, § 6. \(^5\) Mem. i. 2, § 12; cp. Plat. Apol. 33 B. \(^6\) Mem. i. 2, §§ 49, 51, 52. \(^7\) Mem. i. 2, §§ 56, 58, 59. \(^8\) Works and Days, 309.
"Εργον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνειδος, ἀργῆ δὲ τ' ἐνειδος,

and drew from it the lesson that a man ought to be a πανούργος, or scamp who would do anything for gain. Again he was fond of quoting Homer\(^1\) to show the different treatment meted out by Ulysses to the chiefs and the common people, drawing therefrom the inference that it was desirable to maltreat the humbler citizens. This is plainly nothing but an appeal to the passions of the mob. Xenophon stops the quotation just short of the famous sentiment,

Οὐκ ἄγαθόν πολυκοιραίη εἰς κοίρανος ἐστώ,

of which Theophrastus says that it is the one line in Homer which 'the oligarchical man' is acquainted with. The political animus underlying so frivolous a charge is made even more transparent by Xenophon's reply. Xenophon is rather hard put to it to prove Socrates a good citizen from a democratic point of view\(^2\). He finds proof of this in the fact that Socrates never charged anyone a fee for conversing with him.

When the prosecutors had completed their indictment the first of the three lengths into which the juridical day was divided was at a close.

The water is now turned on for the defendant and his advocates. We gather from a passing expression in Xenophon\(^3\) that Socrates had friends who spoke in his favour, but we know nothing of what they said: so that for us the second length is occupied solely by Socrates' own defence of himself.

This defence was really made impromptu: for Socrates had twice been checked by his inward monitor when he endeavoured to prepare a reply beforehand\(^4\). The Apology of Plato, however, is marked by the same artistic grace which characterises all his work. It is elaborately constructed on

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\(^{1}\) II. ii. 188-192, 198-202.

\(^{2}\) Αἱμοτικός καὶ φίλανθρωπος, Mem. i. 2, § 60.

\(^{3}\) Apol. Soc. § 22.

\(^{4}\) Mem. iv. 8, § 5; Apol. Soc. § 4.
the forensic type, of which it is at once a parody and a criticism. It is divided into three parts, of which the first only constitutes the defence proper. The second is the ἀντιτιμία, or counter-assessment of the penalty, and belongs to the third length of the juridical day. The third part consists of some last words addressed by the prisoner to the court after his conviction. It is not necessary here to enter into details with regard to the contents of these several parts. The reader will find a scheme of the speech prefixed to the text and a detailed analysis interwoven with it. Suffice it to say that the subdivisions of the defence are completely in accordance with rhetorical precedent. The citation of witnesses is also imitated, a proceeding during which the water was stopped, and even the common rhetorical challenge to opponents is reproduced, to bring forward witnesses, if they can, during the time allotted to the speaker. In place of the usual impassioned peroration, Socrates substitutes a dignified refusal to throw himself in any way upon the mercy of his judges.

When the pleadings in defence were concluded, the court proceeded to give their verdict, and condemned Socrates by 281 votes against 220. Considering the long and deeply-rooted prejudice which existed against Socrates at Athens, we can well believe that many honest and ignorant men among the dicasts went home to their suppers that day with the comfortable assurance that they had conscientiously discharged their duty as good citizens. There is no doubt, however, but that to some extent the verdict was influenced by irritation at the unaccustomed tone adopted by the defendant, who addressed his judges, as Cicero says, not as a suppliant or prisoner, but as a teacher or master.

The third length of the day was begun by a speech on the part of the prosecution in advocacy of the death-penalty. Then Socrates rose to present his estimate of the treatment he deserved to suffer, which was support for the rest of his days in the Prytaneum. If the judges had been annoyed before,

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1 19 D, 21 A, 32 E.  
2 34 A.  
3 Cic. de Oratore, i. 54.
they were utterly exasperated now, and the death-penalty was confirmed by eighty additional votes

After the informal delivery of a short address by the condemned prisoner to the court nothing remained but for the officer of the Eleven to lead off Socrates to the adjacent prison, where the dialogue of the Phaedo again takes him up. And so that crime was committed, which, owing to the lustre of its victim, has left a lasting stain upon the name of Athens—the one city in all the Hellenic world which had most reason to pride itself upon its tolerance.

It has been remarked that the Platonic Apology resembles in a certain respect the famous speech of Demosthenes on the Crown, namely, that in both the formal answer to the indictment is thrown into the middle, and extraneous matters, which are more vital to the real issue, are brought to the front, and again insisted upon at the close. We have the key to this treatment in the words put into Socrates’s mouth by Plato, that it is not Meletus or Anytus he has to fear, but the prejudice and envy of the multitude. Accordingly we find the actual indictment treated so carelessly by Socrates that in his citation of it the order of the counts is reversed, and the charge of perverting the youth is dealt with before the charge of irreligion. The latter accusation indeed is never really answered at all—and rightly so, for if Socrates’ life was not an answer to it, any other must have been felt to be idle and derogatory.

Few will deny that the Platonic Apology is in every way worthy of the occasion and the man. How far it represents the actual words of Socrates before his judges is a question which it would be vain to argue a priori, by an appeal to the general fitness of things. But the historical method can to a certain extent be applied here. Reference has already been made to the Apology of Xenophon—a little work which it is the fashion to set down as a forgery, because there is scarcely anything in it which is not also contained in the Memorabilia: as if it were in any way improbable that a

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1 Diog. Laert. ii. § 42.  2 28 A.
writer should cast the same matter at different times into slightly different moulds, or that even a rejected sketch, supposing it to be such, by an author so highly esteemed as Xenophon should have been carefully preserved.

Xenophon himself returned from the expedition which has immortalised his name just too late to support his revered master on his trial; but he derived his information with regard to the closing scenes of Socrates' life from Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus and brother of the wealthy Callias. Hermogenes was an attached friend of Socrates, and is mentioned in the Phaedo as having been present at his death.

To turn from Plato to Xenophon is indeed a fall! The Socrates of the latter is so prosy and self-complacent that we cannot wonder if he irritated his judges. The whole impression produced on the mind by the piece is different from that with which one rises from Plato's Apology; and yet, on examining into details, one is surprised to find what resemblances it offers. The amount both of resemblance and difference will be manifest from a brief analysis of its contents.

The Apology of Xenophon then falls into the same three parts as that of Plato—

I. The Defence proper.

II. The Counter-assessment.

III. The Last Words.

I. The Defence proper, which grapples directly with the terms of the indictment, is sub-divided into two parts, in which the counts are taken in the accuser's order, dealing

(1) with the charge of irreligion;

(2) with the charge of immorality.

(1) The charge of downright irreligion is met by Socrates by an appeal to his habitual conformity with the public worship of his country; and the secondary one of innovation in religious matters by his assimilating the δαυδύνων to divination generally. Under this head Socrates takes occasion

\[1\] Mem. iv. 8, § 4; Apol. Soc. § 1.
to vaunt of his prophetic powers, as a proof of the favour in which he is held by the gods; and then tells the story of Chaerephon consulting the oracle about him\(^1\). The reply of the oracle, as here given, is that there is no one more free, just or temperate than Socrates—a claim which the defendant then proceeds to vindicate in detail by extolling his own virtue under each head.

(2) The refutation of the second count takes the form of a dialogue with Meletus\(^2\). Socrates challenges his accuser to produce a single person who has been demoralised by his society\(^3\). The special charge of inculcating disrespect to parents, which was prompted by jealousy of Socrates' influence, is met by his claiming to be an expert on the subject of education, as much as a doctor was on medicine.

II. The Counter-assessment, it must be confessed, is like the famous chapter on snakes in Iceland. The proposal about the Prytaneum is absent, and we are told that Socrates neither suggested any diminution of the penalty himself nor allowed his friends to do so. It would seem, however, that he must have spoken a few words at this stage of the proceedings, in order to explain the grounds of his refusal to take the usual course, which were that he considered it tantamount to pleading guilty.

III. In the Last Words Socrates refers to perjury on the part of the witnesses against him, dwells on the wickedness of his accusers\(^4\), and denies that the case is proven against him. He has not attempted to dethrone Zeus and Hera, nor corrupted the young, but set them a wholesome example of plain living. He comforts himself by the case of Palamedes\(^5\), and ends by declaring that all time will witness to his righteousness.

The Apology of Xenophon does not claim to be an exhaustive report of the defence of Socrates. Even at the date of its composition what Socrates really said was matter

\(^{1}\) Cp. Plat. Apol. 21.


\(^{3}\) Cp. Plat. Apol. 33 D—34 C.

\(^{4}\) Cp. 39 B.

\(^{5}\) Cp. 41 B.
for critical investigation. The author of it tells us that others had written on the same subject, and as all agreed about the high tone (μεγαληγορία) adopted by Socrates, he presumes that this was characteristic of the real defence. Among these ‘others’ Plato may be included, as Xenophon and he seem to have entered into a tacit agreement to ignore one another 1.

The story is well known how the great orator Lysias presented Socrates with a speech admirably adapted to conciliate the favour of his judges, which was admired by Socrates, but declined with thanks on the ground that it would be as inappropriate to him as fine shoes or cloaks 2. On the other hand the sophist and rhetorician Polycrates, after the death of Socrates, composed an accusation against him, which was mistaken subsequently for the real speech delivered at the trial 3.

Even after the generation which witnessed the trial of Socrates had passed away, echoes of the event still rang on the air, and men exercised their wits in composing his apology. Theodectes, the friend of Aristotle, and a famous orator and dramatic writer of his day, composed an apology of Socrates 4; as also did Demetrius Phalereus, the accomplished disciple of Theophrastus 5.

To return now to Plato’s Apology—the date of its composition is a question which we have no means of determining. As to its affinities with other works of Plato, it presents a superficial resemblance to the Menexenus and a real resemblance to the Gorgias.

In the Menexenus, as in the Gorgias, Plato has given a specimen of what he might have done in the way of

1 The name of Plato is only once mentioned by Xenophon, namely in Mem. iii. 6, § 1; that of Xenophon by Plato never. This silence was ascribed by the ancients to jealousy. See on this subject Athen. xi. 504 e—505 b; Diog. Laert. i. § 34.
2 Cic. de Oratore, i. 54; Val. Max. vi. 4, Extern. 2; Quint. ii. 15, § 30; xi. 1, § 11; Diog. Laert. ii. § 40.
3 Quint. ii. 17, § 4; iii. 1, § 11; Diog. Laert. ii. § 38.
5 Diog. Laert. ix. §§ 37, 57.
rhetoric, had he cared to desert his favourite dialectic. The Apology reflects, while it exalts, the pleadings of the law-
courts; the Menexenus in like manner imitates the funeral orations which formed an important feature in public life at
Athens. But in the Menexenus we have a speech within a dialogue; while in the Apology we have a dialogue within a speech.

In the Gorgias we have the same sharp contrast drawn between the world's way and the way of philosophy. The Gorgias contains the prophecy of which the Apology is the fulfilment. In that dialogue Callicles, the man of the world, warns Socrates with contemptuous good-nature, that if he persists in continuing into mature age the study of phil-
osophy, which is becoming enough in youth, he will unfit himself for converse with mankind, and, owing to his neglect of the rhetoric of the law-courts, will lay himself at the mercy of the meanest accuser who may choose to bring against him a capital charge. Socrates admits that this may very possibly be the case: but contends that it is quite a second-
ary consideration, the first requisite for man's true welfare being to avoid committing injustice, the second only to escape suffering it. He contends that, in pursuing his appointed calling of philosophy, he is the only real politician of his time, since his words are not meant to give men plea-
sure, but to do them good. As this object necessarily involves his saying a great many disagreeable things, he is no more likely to fare well in a law-court than a doctor would be likely to come off triumphant, if tried before a jury of children, at the instance of the cook.

If it be permissible to add one more suggestion to the many conflicting views that have been held as to the main object of the Gorgias, we might say that in the following words, more than in any other, we have an embodiment of Plato's motive in composing that dialogue—εἰ δὲ κολακικῆς ῥητορικῆς ἐνδεῖα τελευτάνην ἔγγει, οὐ οἶδα ὧτι ἰδίως ἄδικος ἦν μὲ φέροντα τὸν θάνατον.

1 Gorg. 486 A, B, 2 Gorg. 522 D, E.
The Gorgias is an earnest defence of that uncompromising spirit which rendered it impossible for Socrates to conciliate his judges at the expense of truth, which made him prefer 'to die as Socrates than to live as Lysias,' which prompted him to forego the remainder of his life rather than sully the past, and, at the cost of a few short years of decaying faculties, to purchase a life which has triumphed over time.
SCHEME OF THE SPEECH.

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Do not be misled by the assertion of my accusers that I am skilled in speech. On the contrary I must ask you to pardon the manner of my defence, which is due to inexperience.

"O ti μὲν ύμεῖς, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πεπόνθατε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγόρων, ὡς οἶδα ἐγὼ δ' ὦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑλόγον ἐμαντοῦ ἐπελαθόμην ὑπὸ πιθανῶς ἐλεγον. καὶ τοι ἄληθές γε, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰρήκασι. μά- λιστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἐθαύμασα τῶν πολλῶν ἄν ἐψεύσαντο, τούτο ἐν ὕ ἐλεγον ὡς χρήμ ύμᾶς ευλαβείσθαι, μὴ ὑπ' Β ἐμοῦ ἐξαπατηθῆτε, ὡς δεινοῦ ὅτοις λέγεν. τὸ γὰρ μὴ αἰσχυνθήμαι, ὅτι αὐτίκα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεγχθήσονται ἐργα, ἐπειδὰν μηδ' ὅπωστειον φαινομαι δεινός λέγεν, τοῦτο μοι ἐδοξέων αὐτῶν ἀνασχυντότατον εἰναι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα δεινὸν καλούσιν οὗτοι λέγεν τὸν τάληθη λέγοντα· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡμολογοῦν ἄν ἐγγὺς οὐ κατὰ τούτους εἰναι ῥήτωρ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἤ τι ἢ οὖδέν ἄληθές εἰρήκασιν ύμεῖς δ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούσασθε πᾶσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ μεντοὶ μὰ Δι', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιεπήσμενοι γε λόγους, ὥσπερ οἱ τούτων, ῥήμασί τε C καὶ δυσμασί, οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένους, ἀλλ' ἀκούσασθε εἰκῇ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν δυσμασί: πιστεῦω γὰρ δίκαια εἰναι ὑ λέγω, καὶ μηδεὶς ύμῶν προσδοκησάτω ἄλλως οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν δῆπον πρέποι, ὃ ἄνδρες, τῇ τῇ ἠλικίᾳ ὥσπερ
2. The Statement, 18 A–19 A.

There are two classes of accusers, those who have maligned me all my life, and those who now indict me. Both must be answered, and the time is short: but let the law be obeyed.

Πρώτον μὲν οὖν δίκαιος εἰμι ἀπολογήσασθαι, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τὰ πρῶτὰ μου ψευδὴ κατηγορημένα καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους κατηγόρους, ἐπειτα δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὑστερα καὶ τοὺς ὑστέρους. ἐμοὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ κατηγοροῦσι γεγόνασι Β πρὸς ύμᾶς καὶ πάλαι πολλὰ ἤδη ἔτη καὶ οὔδὲν ἄλλοθες λέγοντες, οὖς ἔγω μᾶλλον φοβοῦμαι ἢ τοὺς ἄμφι Ἀντων, καίπερ ὅντας καὶ τούτους δεινοῦσι· ἄλλο ἐκείνοι δεινότεροι, ὁ ἄνδρες, οὔ ύμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκ παίδων παραλαμβανοῦσας ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ κατηγόρουν ἐμοῦ [μᾶλλον οὔδὲν
ἈΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ, 18 B–19 A.

[Text in ancient Greek]

άληθέσ], ὦς ἐστι τις Σωκράτης, σοφὸς ἀνήρ, τά τε μετέωρα φροντιστής καὶ τά ὑπὸ γῆς ἀπαντα ἄνεξητηκὼς καὶ

C τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττων ποιών. οὕτω οὐδὲ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οἳ ταῦτην τὴν φήμην κατασκεύαστε, οἳ δεινοὶ
eἰσὶ μου κατήγοροι· οἳ γὰρ ἀκούοντες ἠγούνται τοὺς ταῦτα 

ζητοῦντας οὐδὲ θεοὺς νομίζειν. ἐπειτὰ εἰσὶν οὕτωι οἳ κατήγοροι πολλοὶ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἥδη κατηγοροῦσί
tετεκνηκῖστε, παϊδεις οὕτε, ἐννοεῖ δ’ ὡς καὶ 

μειράκια, ἀτεχνῶς ἑρήμην κατηγοροῦντες ἀπολογοῦμένου οὔ

δὲ πάντων ἀλογώτατον, ὦτι οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα

D οἴον τε αὐτῶν εἰδέναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, πλῆν εἰ τις κωμῳδιο-

ποιὸς τυγχάνει ὡς ὅσοι δὲ φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ χρώμενοι 

ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειθον, οἳ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους πε-

ποντεῖοι, οὕτωι πάντες ἀπορώτατοι εἰσὶν’ οὐδὲ 

γὰρ ἀναβεβάσασθαι οἴον τ’ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα 

οὐδὲ ἑλέγξαι οὐδένα, 

ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη ἀτεχνῶς ὡσπερ σκιαμαχεῖν ἀπολογοῦμένον 

tε καὶ ἑλέγχειν μηδενὸς ἀποκρινομένου. ἀξιώσατε οὖν 

καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, διττοὺς μοι τοὺς 

κατηγόρους γεγονέναι, ἐτέρους μὲν 

tοὺς ἅρτοι κατηγορήσαντας, ἐτέρους

Ε δὲ τὸν πάλαι, οὐς ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ οἰήθητε δεῖν πρὸς 

ἐκεῖνον πρῶτον μὲ ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς 

ἐκεῖνον πρῶτον ἠκουότα 

καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν 

ὑπερῳν. εἰς ἀπολογητέον οὔ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 

καὶ ἐπιχειρητεῖον ὑμῶν ἔξελέσθαι τὴν 

διαβολήν, ἣν ὑμεῖς 

ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἐσχέτε, ταῦτῃ ἐν οὕτως ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. 

βουλομένη μὲν οὖν ἂν τοῦτο οὕτω γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἁμειν 

καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ, καὶ πλέον τί με ποιήσας ἀπολογοῦμένον 

οἴμαι δὲ αὐτῶ χαλεπῶν εἰναι, καὶ οὐ 

πάνιν μελανθικᾶς 

οἴον ἑστίν. ὅμως τοῦτο μὲν ἢ τῷ ὑπ’ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, τῷ δὲ 

νόμῳ πειστέον καὶ ἀπολογητέον.

C
3. The Refutation, 19A–28A.

(a) Defence against vague popular prejudice.

I am no scientific atheist, nor do I educate men for money. Happy
be who for the sum of £20 or so can impart the science of
living well!

The charge
brought by
popular
prejudice
formulated.

Aναλάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τίς ἡ κατηγορία ἐστίν, ἐξ ἢς ἡ ἐμὴ διαβολὴ γέγονεν, ἢ δὴ καὶ πιστεύων Μέλητός με ἐγράψατο τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην. εἰς τὰ δὴ λέγοντες διέβαλλον οἱ διαβάλλοντες; ὥσπερ ὁν̇ κατηγόρων τὴν ἀντωμοσίαν δεὶ ἀναγυώναι αὐτῶν Σωκράτης ἄδικεί καὶ περιεργάζεται ἐγὼν τὰ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ τὰ ἐποιήματα, καὶ τῶν ἠπτῶν λόγον κριττῶ ποιῶν, καὶ ἄλλους ταῦτα ταῦτα διδάσκων. τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐωράτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδία, Σωκράτης τινὰ ἐκεὶ περι-
φερόμενον, φᾶσκοντα τε ἄεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην πολλὴν
φλυαρίαν φλυαροῦντα, δὸν ἐγὼ οὖν ὁύτε ὀντε μέγα ὀντε
σιμικρὸν πέρι ἐπαίω. καὶ οὖχ ὡς ἀτιμάζων λέγω τὴν
τοιαύτην ἐπιστήμην, εἰ τις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σοφὸς ἐστι·
mὴ πῶς ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Μελήτου τοσάττας δίκας φύγομι· ἄλλα
γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὖν ἡνέτεστι. μάρ-
tυρας δ' αὐτοὺς ὡμῖν [τοὺς] πολλοὺς παρέχομαι, καὶ ἄξιον ὡς ὡμᾶς ἄλληλους διδάσκειν τε καὶ φράζειν, ὅσοι ἐμοὶ πώ-
pote ἀκηκόατε διαλεγομένου πολλοὶ δὲ ὡμῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι
eisv. φράζετε οὖν ἄλληλος, εἰ πότε ὡς ὥς σιμικρὸν ἡ μέγα
ήκοντε τὶς ὡμῶν ἐμὸν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαλεγομένου· καὶ ἐκ τοῦτο γνώσσει ότι τοιαῦτ' ἐστι καὶ τὰλλα περὶ ἐμοῦ δ' οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁυτε τοῦτων οὖν ἐστιν, οὖν γ' εἰ
τινος ἀκηκόατε ὡς ἐγὼ παιδεύειν ἐπιχειρῶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ
χρήματα πράττομαι, οὖν τὸτο ἄληθὲς. ἔπει καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέ μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι, εἰ τις οὖς τ' εἰς παιδεύειν

The
Sophists.
Ἀνθρώποις ὀσπερ Γοργίας τε ὁ Δεοντινος καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κείος καὶ Ἰππίας ὁ Ἡλείος. τούτων γὰρ ἐκαστός, ὁ ἄνδρες, [οἷς τ’ ἐστὶν] ἱών εἰς ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων τοὺς νέους, οΐς ἔξεστι τῶν ἐαυτῶν πολιτῶν προϊκα ἠκινεῖαι ὡς ἰδόμεναι, τούτους πείθουσι τὰς ἐκείνων ἔννοιαις.

20 ἂπολιτῶντας σφίσει ἠκινεῖαι χρήματα διδόντας καὶ χάριν προσειδέναι. ἐπεῖ καὶ ἄλλος ἄνήρ ἐστι Πάριος ἐνθάδε σοφὸς, ὃν ἐγὼ ἡ σοφίαν ἐπιδημοῦντα ἔτυχον γὰρ προσ-ελθὼν ἄνδρι ὅσ τετέλεκε χρήματα σοφισταῖς πλεῖσιν ἦς ἔμπαιντες οἱ ἄλλοι, Καλλία τῷ Ἰππούκμοι τούτων οὖν ἀνηρόμεν — ἔστον γὰρ αὐτῷ δόει υἱε — ὁ Καλλία, ἦν ὁ ἐγώ, ἐμεν σοι τῷ νείει πῶλον ἡ μόσχω ἐγενέσθην, ἐίχο-μεν ἂν αὐτῶν ἐπιστάτην λαβέιν καὶ μισθώσασθαι, ὅσ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ καλῶ τε κάγαθω ποιήσεω τὴν προσήκουσαν.

Β ἀρετῆν ἢν ὃ ἄν οὕτως ἦ τῶν ἱππικῶν τις ἤ τῶν γεωργι-κῶν ὕψοις ἢ ἐπειδὴ ἄνθρωπως ἐστόν, τίνα αὐτοῖς ἐν πρό-ἔχεις ἐπιστάτην λαβέιν; τίς τῆς τοιοῦτης ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων ἐστών; οἵμαι γὰρ σε ἐσκέφθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων κτῆσιν. ἦστε τις, ἐφην ἐγώ, ἦν οὐ; Πάνω γε, ἦν ὁ ὃς. Τίς, ἦν ὁ ἐγώ, καὶ ποδαπός, καὶ πόσου διδάσκει; Εὐνύς, ἐφη, ὁ Ὁκρατῆς, Πάριος, πέντε μνῶν καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν Εὐνύνον ἐμακάρισα, ἐὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει.

C ταύτης τὴν τέχνην καὶ οὕτως ἐμμελέως διδάσκει. ἐγὼ, ὅν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκαλλινόμην τε καὶ ἡβρυνόμην ἂν, ἐὶ ἡπισ-τάμην ταύτα: ἄλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι.

'Then how have you got your extraordinary reputation, Socrates?' If I am reported so wise, it is owing to the response which Apollo gave to Chaerephon. ‘Ὑπολάβοι ὃν οὖν τις ὑμῶν ὅσως ἄλλ’, ὁ Σώ-κρατες, τὸ σὸν τί ἐστί πράγμα; πόθεν αἰ διαβολαί σοι.

C 2
ΑΥΤΑΙ ΓΕΓΟΝΑΣΙΝ; ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΔΗΠΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΓΕ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΆΛΛΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΤΟΣΑΥΤΗ ΦΗΜΗ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ [ΕΙ ΜΗ ΤΙ ΕΠΡΑΤΤΕΣ ΆΛΛΟΙΟΝ Ή ΟΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ]. ΛΕΓΕ ΟΥΝ ΌΜΙΝ, ΤΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ, ὩΝ ΜΗ ΌΜΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΣΧΕ-ΔΙΑΞΩΜΕΝ. ΤΑΝΤΙ ΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΑ ΛΕΓΕΩΝ Ο ΛΕΓΩΝ, ΚΑΓΩ ΌΜΙΝ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΙ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΑΙ, ΤΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ Ο ΕΜΟΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΕ ΤΟ ΤΕ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗΝ. ΑΚΟΥΣΤΕ ΟΗ. ΚΑΙ ἩΣΩΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΟΞΩ ΤΙΣΙΝ ΌΜΙΝ ΠΑΙΞΕΙΝ, ἘΙ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΙΣΤΕ, ΠΑΣΑΝ ΌΜΙΝ ΤΗΝ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΕΡΩ. ΕΓΩ ΓΑΡ, Ὅ ΆΝΔΡΕΣ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ, ὙΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΆΛΛΗ ὩΝ ΔΙΑ ΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΕΣΧΗΚΑ. ΠΟΙΑΝ ΔΗ ΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ; ᾿ΗΠΕΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ἩΣΟΣ ΆΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΗ ΣΟΦΙΑ. Τῷ ὙΝΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΣ. ΟΥΤΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΑΧΥ ἈΝ, ΟΥΣ ΑΡΤΙ ΕΛΕΓΟΝ, ΜΕΙΖΩ ΤΙΝΑ ᾿Η ΚΑΤ’ ΆΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΣΟΦΟΙ ΕΙΕΝ, ὩΝ ΌΥΚ ΕΧΩ ΤΙ ΛΕΓΩ.ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΙ ᾿Η ΕΓΩΝΕ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΜΑΙ, ΆΛΛΗ ὩΣΤΟΙ ΦΗΣΙ ΨΕΥΔΕΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ ΤΗ ΕΜΗ ΛΕΓΕΙ. ΚΑΙ ΜΟΙ, Ὅ ΆΝΔΡΕΣ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ, ΜΗ ΘΟΡΥΒΗΣΙΤΕ, ΜΗΔΕ ΕΑΝ ΔΟΞΩ ΤΙ ΌΜΙΝ ΜΕΓΑ ΛΕΓΕΩΝ ΌΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΟΝ ΕΡΩ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ, ὌΝ ΆΝ ΛΕΓΩ, ΆΛΛΗ ΕΙΣ ΑΞΙΟΧΡΕΩΝ ΌΜΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑ ΆΝΟΙΧΩΝ. ΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΗΣ, ΕΙ ΔΗ ΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΣΟΦΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΑ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΑ ΌΜΙΝ ΠΑΡΕΞΟΜΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ. ΧΑΙΡΕΦΩΝΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ἩΣΤΕ ΠΟΥ. ΟΥΤΟΙ ΕΜΟΣ ΤΕ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ ΟΝ ΕΚ ΝΕΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΌΜΙΝ ΤῊ ΠΛΗΘΕΙ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΧΩΝΕΥΞΙ ΤΗΝ ΦΥΓΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ’ ΌΜΙΝ ΚΑΤΗΛΘΕ. ΚΑΙ ἩΣΤΕ ΔΗ ΟΙΟΣ ᾿Η ΧΑΙΡΕΨΩΝ, ΔΩΣ ΣΦΟΔΡΟΣ ΕΦ’ Ὡ ΤΙ ὸΡΜΗΣΕΙΕ. ΚΑΙ ΔΗ ΠΟΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ ΕΛΘΩΝ ΕΤΟΜΗΣΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΑΝΤΕΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ· ΚΑΙ, ΟΠΕΡ ΛΕΓΩ, ΜΗ ΘΟΡΥΒΕΙΤΕ, ΉΙ ΆΝΔΡΕΣ’ ΗΡΕΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΔΗ, ΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΜΟΥ ΕΙΙ ΣΟΦΟΤΕΡΟΣ. ΆΝΕΙΛΕΝ ΟΥΝ ᾿Η ΠΥΘΙΑ ΜΗΘΕΝΑ ΣΟΦΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ Ο ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ ΌΜΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΣΕΙ, ἘΠΕΙΔΗ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΚΕΝ.
When I heard the oracle from Delphi, I proceeded to test its truth by comparing myself with others. First I tried the politicians, and found that they were not aware of their own ignorance, whereas I knew mine.

Socrates tests its truth by a comparison of himself with others.
Next I examined the poets, and found that they could give no intelligible account of their own productions.

Μετὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ἡδή ἔφεξης ἦν, αὐσθανόμενος μὲν καὶ λυπούμενος καὶ δεδώς ὅτι ἀπηχθανόμην, ὡμώς δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοκει ἐγνατὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι: ἵτεον οὖν σκοπούντοι τὸν χρησμὸν, τί θέγει, ἐπὶ ἀπαντας τοὺς τι δοκοῦντας εἰδέναι. καὶ νὴ τῶν κύρια, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι· δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τάληθή λέγειν· ἢ 22 μὴν ἔγνω ἔπαθον τι τοιοῦτον· οἱ μὲν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμοῦντες ἐδοξάν μοι οἷόν δεῖν τοῦ πλείστου ἐνδεείς εἶναι ζητοῦντε κατὰ τὸν θεὸν, ἄλλοι δὲ δοκοῦντες φαυλότεροι ἐπιεικέστεροι εἶναι ἄνδρες πρὸς τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν. δεῖ δὴ ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμήν πλάνην ἐπιδείξαι ὡς περὶ πόνους τών ποιεῖτος, ὡς μοι κἂν ἔλεγκτος ἡ μαντεία γένοιτο· μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς τοὺς τε τῶν τραγῳδίων καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὑθυράμβων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ Β αὐτοφώρῳ καταληψόμενος ἦματον ἀμαθέστερον ἐκείνων ὄντα. ἀναλαμβάνων οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ ποιήματα, ἃ μοι ἔδοκει μᾶλιστα πεπραγματεύσθαι αὐτοῖς, δυρώτων ἂν αὐτοὺς τί λέγοιειν, ἰν' ἀμα τι καὶ μανθάνομι παρ' αὐτῶν· αἰσχύνομαι οὖν ύμίν εἰπείν, ὡς ἄνδρες, τάληθη· ύμώς δὲ ρήτεον. ὥς ἔπος γὰρ εἰπείν ὁλίγου αὐτῶν ἀπαντᾷ· οἱ παρόντες ἂν βέλτιον ἔλεγον περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐπεπούχεσαν, ἐγνωρ ύμῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐνὶ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιεῖν ἢ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τωπ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, Κ ὡς περὶ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμοῦδοι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἰσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι. τοιοῦτον τί μοι ἐφάνῃ σαν πάθος καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πεπονθότες·
Lastly I went to the artisans. They undoubtedly possessed great technical skill, but this only served to inspire a conceit of their own knowledge on subjects of the deepest importance.

The artisans, indeed, were inspired with a conceit of their own knowledge on subjects of the deepest importance.

These inquiries have led to many enmities, and plunged me in poverty, as I have had no time to attend to my private affairs.

The consequences of these inquiries.

ο'στ' ἐμὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνερωτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρησμοῦ, πώτερα δεξαίμην ἂν οὕτως ὄσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν, μήτε τι σοφός ἂν τὴν ἔκεινων σοφίαν μήτε ἀμαθὴς τὴν ἀμαθίαν, η ἀμφότερα ἐκείνοι ἔχουσιν ἔχειν. ἀπεκρινύμην οὖν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῷ χρησμῷ, ὧστε μοι λυσιτελοῖ ὄσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν.
Moreover the young men took delight in hearing my cross-examination of those who pretended to knowledge, and began to imitate me themselves. Hence their victims in a blind rage levelled at me the charges which are brought against all philosophers. These are the real grounds for the present prosecution.

Moreover the young men took delight in hearing my cross-examination of those who pretended to knowledge, and began to imitate me themselves. Hence their victims in a blind rage levelled at me the charges which are brought against all philosophers. These are the real grounds for the present prosecution.
APOLOGY, 23 D–24 B.

χειρα ταύτα λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὰ μετέωρα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς, καὶ θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν, καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν. τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ, οἷμαι, οὐκ ἂν ἔθελοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι κατάδηλοι γίνονται προσποιούμενοι μὲν εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν. ἀτε οὖν, οἷμαι, φιλότιμοι ὄντες καὶ σφοδροὶ καὶ πολλοὶ, Ε καὶ ξυντεταμένως καὶ πιθανῶς λέγουτες περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐμπεπλήκασαν ὑμῶν τὰ ὅτα καὶ πάλαι καὶ σφοδρῶς διαβάλλοντες. ἐκ τούτων καὶ Μέλητος μοι ἐπέθετο καὶ Ἀνυτος καὶ Λύκων, Μέλητος μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀρχόμενος. Ἀνυτος δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν,

24 Λύκων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥήτορων· ὦστε, ὁπερ ἀρχόμενος ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, θαυμάζομ' ἂν εἰ οἶδος τ' εἴην ἐγὼ υμῶν ταύτην τὴν διαβολὴν ἐξέλεσθαι ἐν οὕτως ὀλίγω χρόνῳ οὕτω πολλὴν γεγονυῖαν. ταῦτ' ἐστιν υμῖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τάληθι, καὶ υμᾶς οὔτε μέγα οὔτε σμικρὸν ἀποκρυψάμενος ἐγὼ λέγω οὖθ' ὑποστηλάμενος. καὶ τοι οἴδα σχεδὸν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνομαι· ὃ καὶ τεκμηρίων ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω Β καὶ ὅτι αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ διαβολὴ ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ τὰ αὕτα ταὐτά ἐστι. καὶ ἐὰν τε νῦν εάν τε αὕτις ζητήσητε ταῦτα, οὕτως εὐρήσετε.

(b) Defence against the specific indictment, 24 B–28 A.

It is now time to turn to Meletus and his indictment. He is guilty of trifling on a serious matter.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν δὲν οἱ πρῶτοι μοῦ καθήγοροι κατηγόρουν αὕτη ἐστὶ περὶ ἢκανή ἀπολογία πρὸς υμᾶς· πρὸς δὲ Μέλητον τὸν ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ φιλόπολιν, ὃς φησι, καὶ τοὺς υστέρους μετὰ ταῦτα πειράσομαι ἀπολογεῖσθαι. αὕτις γὰρ δὴ, ὡσπερ ἐτέρων τούτων οὖσών καθηγόρων, λάβωμεν αὖ τὴν τούτων ἀντωμοσίαν. ἔχει δὲ πως ὁδε· ἧσι καὶ αὐτῆς ὅτι τοὺς νέους διαφθείροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὖσ ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ νομίζοντα, ἐτερα δὲ δαι·  

The accusation formulated.

(1) Perversion of the youth.

(2) Atheism.
Its want of seriousness.

You profess a care for the youth, Meletus, and say that I corrupt them. Who then improves them? 'The jurors, audience, everyone.' Then I alone corrupt them! But that is absurd.

Кαί μοι δεῦρο, ὁ Μέλητης, εἶπέ: ἀλλὰ τι ἡ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖ, ὅπως ὃς βέλτιστοι οἱ νεώτεροι ἔσονται; D Ἑγώγης. 'Ἰδι δὴ νῦν εἶπε τούτως, τίς αὐτῶς βελτίων ποιεῖ; δὴλον γὰρ ὃτι οἴσθα, μέλον γέ σοι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διαφθείροντα ἐξευρόν, ὡς φῆς, ἐμὲ εἰσάγεις τον- τοις καὶ κατηγορεῖς τὸν δὲ δὴ βελτίους ποιοῦντα Ἰδὶ εἰπὲ καὶ μὴνςον αὐτῶς, τίς ἐστών. ὡρᾶς, ὁ Μέλητης, ὅτι σιγᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἔχεις εἰπεῖς; καὶ τοι οὐκ αὐτόρρον σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον οὖ ὅθεν ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι σοι οὐδὲν μεμέληκεν; ἄλλα εἰπὲ, ὃ γαθέ, τίς αὐτῶς ἀμείωνες ποιεῖ; Οἱ νόμοι. 'Ἄλλα οὐ τούτο ἐρωτῶ, ὃ E βελτίστε, ἀλλὰ τίς ἀνθρώπος, ὅστις πρῶτον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἴδε, τοὺς νόμους. Οὗτοι, ὁ Σώκρατες, οἱ δικα- σταῖ. Πῶς λέγεις, ὁ Μέλητης; οἴδε τοὺς νέους παιδεύεις ὁδὸι τέ εἰσι καὶ βελτίους ποιοῦσι; Μάλιστα. Πότερον ἄπαντες, ἦ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶς, οἱ δ᾽ οὐ; ἂν ἄπαντες. Ἐν γε νῦ ὑπ' ὅρα Ἡραν λέγεις, καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ὄφε- λοῦντων. τί δὲ δὴ; οἴδε οἱ ἄκροατα βελτίους ποιοῦσιν, 25 ὃ ού; Καὶ οὗτοι. Τί δὲ οἱ βουλευταί; Καὶ οἱ βουλευ-
tal. 'All' άρα, δή Μέλητε, μη οί εν τη̣ έκκλησία, οί
έκκλησιασταί, διαφθείρουσι τοὺς νεωτέρους; η̣ κάκεινοι
βελτίων ποιούσιν ἀπαντες; Κάκεινοι. Πάντες άρα, ὡς
εοίκεν, 'Αθηναίοι καλούς κάγαδους ποιούσι πλήν ἐμοῦ,
ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος διαφθείρω. οὕτω λέγεις; Πάνω σφόδρα
ταῦτα λέγω. Πολλὴν γ' ἐμοῦ κατέγνωκας δυστυχίαν.
καὶ μοι ἀπόκριναι ἦ καὶ περί ὑποὺς οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ.

B ἐχεῖν ὃ μὲν βελτίων ποιούστες αὐτοὺς πάντες ἀνθρώ-
ποι εἶναι, εἰς δὲ τις ὁ διαφθείρων; ἡ τούναυτίων τούτου
πᾶν εἰς μὲν τις ὁ βελτίων οἷος τ' ὁν ποιεῖν ἡ πάνω ὅλι-
γοι, οἱ ἱππικοὶ οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐάντερ ἔμψωσι καὶ χρών-
ται ὑποὺς, διαφθείρουσι; οὐχ οὕτως ἐχεῖ, ὡ Μέλητε,
καὶ περὶ ὑποὺς καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπάντων ἦσων; πάντως
ὅτου, εάν τε σοῦ καὶ 'Ἀνυτοὶ οὗ φήτε εάν τε φήτε-
πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν τις εὐδαιμονία εἶπ περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ εἰς
μὲν μόνος αὐτοὺς διαφθείρει, οἱ οὗ ἄλλοι ὡφελοῦσιν.

C ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὡ Μέλητε, ἵκανος ἐπιδείκνυσαι ὃτι οὐδεπώ-
pote ἑρόντισας τῶν νέων, καὶ σαφῶς ἀποφαίνεις τὴν
σαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν, ὃτι οὐδὲν σοι μεμέληκε περὶ ὃν ἐμὲ
εἰσάγεις.

Again, am I so foolish, Meletus, as to wish to live among bad
fellow-citizens? No! The harm that I do must be involun-
tary. And why bring me to trial for an involuntary act?

'Ετι δὲ ἡμῶν εἴπε, ὡ πρὸς Δίος, Μέλητε, πό-
terou ἐστίν οἰκεῖν ἀμενων ἐν πολίταις χρηστοῖς ἡ πο-
νηροῖς; ὡ 'τἀυν, ἀπόκριναι οὐδὲν γὰρ τοι χαλεπῶν
ἐρωτῶ. οὐχ οἱ μὲν ποιηροὶ κακοῦ τι ἐργάζονται τοὺς
ἀεὶ ἐγγυτάτω ἑαυτῶν ὑμᾶς; οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθοὶ τι;
Πάνω γε. 'Εστίν οὖν ὅσις βούλεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐννοντῶν
D βλάπτεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ὑφελείσθαι; ἀπόκριναι, ὡ 'γαθε̣
'You are an atheist, Socrates. You say that the sun is a stone, and the moon earth.' As if everyone did not know that these are the doctrines of Anaxagoras, not mine! The accusation is not only false, but self-contradictory.

'Allā γάρ, ὃ ἄνδρας Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο μὲν δῆλον ἤδη ἐστίν, δ ἔγνω ἐλεγόν, ὅτι Μελητῷ τούτῳ οὔτε μέγα οὔτε Β σμικρόν πόσποτε ἐμέλησεν ὅμως δὲ δὴ λέγε ἡμῖν, πῶς μὲ φίλος διαφθείρειν, ὃ Μελητῆ, τοὺς νεωτέρους; δὴ δῆλον δὴ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν γραφήν, ἢν ἐγράψω, θεοὺς διδάσκοντα μὴ νομίζειν οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις νομίζει, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καυνά; οὐ
ταῦτα λέγεις ὅτι διδάσκων διαφθείρω; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω. Πρὸς αὐτῶν τοῖς, ὦ Μέλητε, τοῦτον τῶν θεῶν, ὥν νῦν ὁ λόγος ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ ἔτι σαφές· στεροῦ καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τουτοὺς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὗ ὅνυμαι μαθεῖν, πότερον λέγεις διδάσκεις με νομίζειν εἶναι τινας θεοὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρα νομίζω εἶναι θεοὺς, καὶ οὐκ εἰμὶ τὸ παράπαν ἄθεος οὔδε ταύτη ἀδικώ, οὐ μέντοι οὕσπερ γε ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ο μοι ἐγκαλεῖς, ὅτι ἐτέρους· ἡ παντάπασι μὲ φής οὔτε αὐτῶν νομίζειν θεοὺς τοὺς τε ἄλλους ταῦτα διδάσκειν. Ταῦτα λέγω, ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐ νομίζεις θεοὺς. Ωθαμάσει

Μέλητε, ἡν τι ταῦτα λέγεις; οὔδὲ ἧλιον οὔδὲ σελήνην ἄρα νομίζω θεοὺς εἶναι, ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι; Μά Δι', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐπεὶ τὸν μὲν ἧλιον λίθον φησὶν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σελήνην γῆν. Ἀναξαγόρου οἴει κατηγορεῖν, ὑ πίλε Μέλητε, καὶ οὕτω καταφρονεῖς τῶν καὶ οἴει αὐτούς ἀπείρους γραμμάτων εἶναι, ὡστε οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι τὰ Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία τοῦ Κλασσικοῦ γέμει τούτων τῶν λόγων; καὶ ὃ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοὶ μανθάνουσιν,

Ε ὡς ἐξεστιν ἐνίοτε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριαμένους Σωκράτους καταγελάν, ἦν προσποιόμενος ἐκαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλ' τε καὶ οὕτως ἄτοπα ὢντα. ἀλλ' ὦ πρὸς Δίος, οὕτως σοι δοκῶ οὔδένα νομίζεις θεοὺς εἶναι; Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δι' οὐδ' ὁπωσοτέρον. Ἀπιστός γ' εἰ, ὦ Μέλητε, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, ὃς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς, σαυτῷ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες' Ἀθηναῖοι, πάνυ εἶναι ψευδητῆς καὶ ἀκόλογος, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην υβρεί τωι καὶ ἀκολογία

27 καὶ νεότητι γράφασθαι. ἔοικε γὰρ ὡσπερ ἀνύγμα εὐπρεπέντε διαπεραγμένῳ, ἢρα γρῶστεται Σωκράτης ὁ σοφὸς ἡ ἐμοὶ χαριευτιζομένῳ καὶ ἐναρτ' ἐμαυτῷ λέγοντος, ἡ ἐξαπατήσω αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀκούοντας; οὕτως γὰρ ἐμοὶ
APELOGY, 27 A–D.

For Meletus allovos that I believe in daimónia. Therefore I believe in daimónes; and, if in daimónes, then in theoi. Thus Meletus is convicted out of his own mouth.

εὐνεπισκέψασθε ή, ὃ ἀνδρες, ἥ μοι φαίνεται ταῦτα λέγειν· σὺ δὲ ήμίν ἀπόκριμαι, ὃ Μέλητε· ύμεῖς δὲ, ὅπερ κατ' ἄρχας ἔμασ παρηπτησάμην, μέμνησθε μοι μὴ θορυβεῖν, ἡ γὰρ τὸ εἰσοδήμα τότε πού; ἐστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων, ὃ Μέλητε, ἀνθρώπεια μὲν νομίζει πράγματ' εἶναι, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὦ νομίζει; ἀποκρινέσθω, ὃ ἀνδρες, καὶ μὴ ἀλλα καὶ ἀλλα θορυβεῖτω· ἐσθ' ὅστις ἁπλος μὲν ὦ νομίζει εἶναι, ἱπτικά δὲ πράγματα; ἢ αὐλητας μὲν ὦ νομίζει, αὐλητικά δὲ πράγματα; οὐκ ἐστιν, δὲ ἀριστε ἀνθρών' εἰ μὴ σὺ βούλει ἀποκρίνασθαί, εγώ σοι λέγω καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις τουτοισί. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε ἀπόκριμαι· ἐσθ' ὅστις δαιμόνια μὲν νομίζει πράγματ' εἰναι, δαίμονας δὲ ὦ νομίζει; οὐκ ἐστιν. ὃς οὕνεσα, ὅτι μόγις ἀπεκρίνω ὕπο τοιτου τα κακακαθήμενοι. οὐκοῦν δαιμόνια μὲν φῆς με καὶ νομίζειν καὶ διδάσκειν, εἴτ' οὐν καὶνὰ εἰτε παλαία: ἀλλ' οὐν δαιμόνια γε νομίζω κατὰ τὸν σοῦ λόγον, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ διωμόσῳ ἐν τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ. εἴ δὲ δαιμόνια νομίζω, καὶ δαίμονας δῆπον πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ νομίζειν μὲ ἑστιν νῦν οὕτως εἴχει; ἔχει η' τίβημι γάρ σε ὁμολογοῦντα, ἑπειδὴ οὐκ ἀποκρίνει. τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας οὐχὶ ἤτοι θεοὺς γε ἡγουμέθα η θεῶν παῖδας; φῆς ἢ οὐ; Πάνω γε. Οὐκοῦν εἶσπερ δαίμονας ἡγουμαι, ὃς σὺ φῆς, εἴ μὲν θεοὶ τινες εἴσων οἱ δαίμονες, τούτ' ἄν εἶ ο ἐγὼ φημὶ σε αἰνίττεσθαι καὶ χαριετίζεσθαι, θεοὺς οὐχ ἡγούμενον
4. The Digression—A defence by Socrates of his life generally, 28 A—34 B.

It is enough in reply to Meletus. It is not his accusation I have to fear, but the force of popular prejudice.

'Allá γάρ, ὁ ἄνδρας Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃς μὲν ἔγω οὐκ ἄδικῶ κατὰ τὴν Μελήτου γραφὴν, οὐ πολλῆς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀπολογίας, ἀλλ' ἰκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα: ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμ- προσθεν ἔλεγον, ὅτι πολλὴ μοι ἀπέχθεια γέγονε καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς, εὖ ἵστε ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἔστι. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ ἐμὲ αἰρήσει, ἐὰνπερ αἴρῃ, οὐ Μελήτου οὐδὲ Ἀνυτος, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν πολλῶν διαβολὴ τε καὶ φθόνος. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ Ἁλλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἤρηκεν, οἴμαι δὲ καὶ αἰρήσεων' οὖν δὲ δεινὸν μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ στὶ.
I have kept my post under earthly commanders; I will keep it under the heavenly. For to dread death more than disloyalty is to assume a knowledge which we do not possess. So that if you were to offer me my life now on condition of my abandoning philosophy, I would refuse with all respect. Nay, as long as I had any breath in my body, I would continue my mission to young and old.
Εναίοι, εἰ, ὅτε μέν με οἱ ἁρχόντες ἔταττον, οὕς ὑμεῖς ἐλέσθε ἁρχεῖας μου, καὶ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει καὶ ἐπὶ Δηλώ, τότε μέν οὐ ἐκεῖνοι ἔταττον ἐμενον ὡσπερ καὶ ἄλλος τις καὶ ἐκφώνευοσ ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάττοντος, ὡς ἐγὼ φήμην τε καὶ ὑπέλαβον, φιλοσοφοῦντά με δεῖν ξῆν καὶ ἐξετάζοντα ἐμαυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους,

29 ἐνταῦθα δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἡ θάνατον ἡ ἄλλο ὠτοῦν πράγμα λίπουμ τὴν τάξειν. δεινόν μὲν ἄν εἶ, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τότ' ἂν με δικαίως εἰσάγω τις εἰς δικαστήριον, ὅτι οὐ νομίζω θεοὺς εἰναι ἀπειθῶν τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ δειδῆς θάνατον καὶ οἶομενος σοφὸς εἰναι οὐκ ὅν. τὸ γὰρ τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἡ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἰναι μὴ ὑπατ' δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι ἐστὶν ἀ οὐκ οἴδεν. οἴδε μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῦ θάνατον οὐδ' εἰ τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων μέγιστον ὑν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεδίασε δ' ὡς εἰ εἰδότες ὅτι μέγιστον 

Β τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶ. καὶ τοῦτο πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθία ἐστὶν αὐτὴ ἡ ἐπονεώντως, η τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖ εἰδέναι ἀ οὐκ οἴδεν; ἐγὼ δὲ, ὧ ἄνδρες, τοῦτῳ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸς διαφέρω τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἰ ὅτι τῷ σοφοτέρῳ του φαίνει εἰναι, τούτῳ ἂν, ὅτι οὐκ εἰδός ἱκανῶς περὶ τῶν ἐν "Αἰώνου οὗτω καὶ οἷομαι οὐκ εἰδέναι' τὸ δὲ ἁδικεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν τῷ βελτίῳν, καὶ θεόν καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν οἶδα. πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν, ὧν οἶδα ὅτι κακὰ ἐστὶν, ἡ μὴ οἴδα εἰ ἀγαθὰ οὔτα τυγχάνει, οὐδέποτε φοβήσομαι οὐδ' ἄνενθεμεν.

C οὕτως οὖν εἰ με νῦν ὑμεῖς ἀφίετε Ἀνύτῳ ἀπεστῆσαντες, ὅσ ἐφή ἡ τὴν ἁρχὴν οὐ δεῖν ἐμὲ δεῦρο εἰσελθεῖν ἢ, ἐπειδὴ εισῆλθον, οὐχ οἶον τε εἰναι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτεῖαι με, λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὃς, εἰ διαφεκόμην, ἦδη ἂν ὑμῶν οἱ νεῖς ἐπιτηθεῦσαντες ἢ Σωκράτης ἄνοιξκει πάντες παντάπασι διαφθαρήσονται, — εἰ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰποῦτε· ὥ Σώκρατες, νῦν μὲν Ἀνύτῳ οὐ πεισόμεθα, ἄλλ' ἀφίεμεν σε, ἐπὶ
The daily conversation of Socrates.

tούτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' ὅτε μηκέτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐντήσει διατριβευμένη 
φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀλῶς ἔτι τοῦτο πράττον, 
ἀποδεικτεὶ εἰ οὖν με, ὅπερ εἰπον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφιώντε, 
D εἴπομι' ἄν ὡς ὅτι ἐγὼ ὡμᾶς, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ἀστά-
ζομαι καὶ φιλάω, πείσομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ἡ ὡμᾶς, 
καὶ ἐσωπέρ ἂν ἐμπνεύσω καὶ οἷς τε δῶ, οὐ μὴ παύσωμαι 
φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ὡς παρακελεύομενός τε καὶ ἐνδεικνυ-
μενος ὅτι ἂν ἂεi εἰντυγχάνω ὡμᾶς, λέγων οἴαπερ εἰώθα, 
ὅτι ὃ ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν, Ἀθηναίος ὡν, πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης 
καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτης εἰς σοφίαν καὶ ἵσχυν, χρημάτων μὲν 
οὐκ αἰσχύνει ἐπιμελουμένοις, ὅπως οὐ ἐσται ὡς πλείστα, 
καὶ δόξα καὶ τιμή, φρονήσως δὲ καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς 
ψυχῆς, ὅπως ὃς βελτίστη ἐσται, οὐκ ἐπιμελεῖ οὐδὲ φροντί-
ζεις; καὶ ἐὰν τὸ ὡμῶν ἀμφισβητῇ καὶ φῇ ἐπιμελείσθαι, 
οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀφίσω αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀπειμί, ἀλλ' ἐρήσομαι αὐτῶν 
καὶ ἐξετάσω καὶ ἐλέγξω, καὶ ἐὰν μοι μὴ δοκῇ κεκτήσθαι 
ἀρετῆν, φάναι δὲ, οὐδειδώ ὅτι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια περὶ 
ἐλαχιστὸν ποιεῖται, τὰ δὲ φαυλότερα περὶ πλείστον. 
ταῦτα 30 
καὶ νεωτέρῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὅτῳ ἂν εἰντυγχάνω, πονήσω, 
καὶ ξένῳ καὶ ἀστῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀστοῖς, ὅσῳ μοι 
ἐγγυτέρῳ ἐστῇ γένει. ταῦτα γὰρ κελεύει ὁ θεὸς, εἰ ἢς 
καὶ ἐγὼ οἴομαι οὐδὲν ποι ὡμῶν μείζων ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι ἐν 
τῇ πόλει ἣ τῇ ἐμῆ τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίᾳ, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο 
πράττων ἐγὼ περιέρχομαι ἡ πείθων ὡμῶν καὶ νεωτέρους 
καὶ πρεσβυτέρους μήτε σωμάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μήτε 
χρημάτων πρότερον μηδὲ οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπως 
B ὃς ἄριστη ἐσται, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ χρημάτων ἀρετὴ γίγνεται, 
ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς χρήματα καὶ τάλλας ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 
ἀπαντά καὶ ὑδία καὶ δημοσία. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων 
διαφθείρω τοὺς νέους, ταῦτ' ἄν εἰ ἢς βλαβερὰ εἰ δέ τίς μὲ 
φησιν ἄλλα λέγειν ἡ ταῦτα, οὐδὲν λέγει. πρὸς ταῦτα,
Hear me patiently, Athenians; for it will do you good. If you put me to death, you will be injuring yourselves more than me, and flying in the face of Heaven. You will not easily find another to awoke you from the slumber of self-complacency. 

Have I not sacrificed all in your service?

Μη θορυβεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ ἐμμείνατε μοι οἷς ἐδεήθην υμῶν, μηθορυβεῖν ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ᾿ ἀκούειν καὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ὄνησεσθε ἀκούοντες. μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἄτα υμῖν ἔρειν καὶ ἀλλὰ, ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἰσως βοήσεσθε· ἀλλὰ μηδαμῶς ποιεῖτε τούτο. εὖ γὰρ ἱστε, ἐὰν ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνῃτε τοιοῦτον ὀντα, οἰον ἐγὼ λέγω, οὐκ ἐμὲ μειξὼ βλάψετε ἢ υμᾶς αὐτοὺς· ἐμὲ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν βλάψειεν οὔτε Μέλητος οὔτε Ἀνυτος·

D οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὑναίτο· οὐ γὰρ οἰμαί θεμιτοῦ εἶναι ἀμέλειον ἀνδρὶ ὑπὸ χείρονος βλάπτεσθαι. ἀποκτείνειε μὲντ᾿ ἃν ἰσως ἢ ἐξελάσειεν ἢ ἀτιμώσειεν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οὕτος ἰσως οἴεται καὶ ἀλλος τίς που μεγάλα κακά, ἐγὼ δ᾿ οὐκ οἰμαί, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ποιεῖν ὃ οὕτος νυνὶ ποιεῖ, ἀνδρα ἄδικως ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτεινύναι. νῦν οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοὶ δέω ἐγὼ ύπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπολογείσθαι, ὃς τις ἂν οἴοιτο, ἀλλ᾿ ύπὲρ υμῶν, μη τι ἐξαμάρτητε περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν υμῖν ἐμοῦ κατοψη-

Εφισάμενοι. ἦν γὰρ ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνῃτε, οὐ μᾶδος ἄλλον τοιοῦτον εὐρήσετε, ἀτεχνῶς, εἰ καὶ γελοιότερον εἰπεῖν, προσκείμενον τῇ πόλει ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὤσπερ ὑπὸ μεγάλῳ μὲν καὶ γενναίῳ, ὑπὸ μεγέθους δὲ νωθεστέρῳ καὶ δεομένῳ ἐγείρεσθαι ὑπὸ μύωπός τωνος· οἶον δὴ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐμὲ τῇ πόλει προστεθεικέναι τοιοῦτον τινα,

Simile of the horse and gad-fly.

D 2
That I have not addressed you in public is due to the divine sign, which has deterred me from a course which could only end in my destruction.

Reason why Socrates did not take to politics, 31 C-33 A.
When I have acted in a public capacity, it has been at the risk of my life. I maintained the right in the teeth of the Democracy, and again of the Thirty Tyrants.

Megāla o' ēγωγε ύμιν τεκμήρια παρέξωμαι τούτων, οὐ λόγους, ἀλλ' ὃ ύμεῖς τιμᾶτε, ἔργα. ἀκούσατε ὃ μου τὰ ἐμοὶ ἔμπρεβηκότα, ἱν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἐνὶ ὑπεικάθομι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον δεῖσας θάνατον, μὴ ὑπείκων δὲ ἂμ' ἂν καὶ ἀπολοίμην, ἐρώ δὲ ύμῖν φορτικὰ μὲν καὶ οὐ δικαυκά, ἀληθῆ δὲ. ἐγώ γὰρ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλην μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν πώτοτε ἤρξα εἰ τῇ πόλει, ἐβούλευσα δὲ καὶ ἔτυχεν ἡμῶν ἡ φυλή Ἀντιοχίς πρωτανεύουσα, ὅτε ύμεῖς τοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἑκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐβούλεσθε ἀθρόους κρῖνειν, παρανόμως, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἑστέρῳ χρόνῳ Conduct of Socrates at the trial of the generals after the battle of Arginusae.
Could I have survived to this age, if I had attempted a public career, acting, as I should have done on these principles? For neither in public nor in private have I ever swerved from the right, nor connived at such conduct in others. I have never received pay for speaking, nor selected my audience, and I cannot be held responsible for the conduct of those who may have chanced to listen to me.

'Aρ' οὖν ἄγ με οἴεσθε τοσάδε ἔτη διαγενέσθαι, εἰ
The young men, I confess, take pleasure in bearing me examine pretenders to wisdom: but this with me is a divine mission. If I am the corrupter of youth, why are not witnesses brought to prove it from among my circle of associates? Why are the friends of those I have corrupted—men of mature age and established character—here to defend me?

'Αλλὰ διὰ τι δὴ ποτε μετ’ ἐμοῦ χαίρουσί τινες πολὺν χρόνου διατρίβουσι; ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, πάσαν ώμιν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐγὼ εἶπον, ὅτι ἄκουοντες χαίρουσιν ἐξετασμένους τοῖς οἰομένοις μὲν εἶναι σοφοῖς, οὕσιν ὦ οὐ’ ἐστὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἂνθές. ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο,
DIVINE
MISSION
OF
Socrates.

56

APOLOGY, 33 C-34 B.

The apologists were trying to explain their actions and their mission of saving souls.

As for the philosophers, they were engaged in their duties, trying to guide the souls of the enlightened.

And so, the apologists debated with the philosophers, trying to justify their mission.

...
5. The Peroration, 34 B–34 D.

Some of you might perhaps be inclined to judge me harshly, because I have not brought forward my children, and appealed to the court for mercy. Such appeals seem to me to be unworthy of a man, and still more unworthy of the State.

Eisēn ὅ, ὃ ἀνδρείς ὅ μὲν ἐγὼ ἔχωμι ἄν ἀπολογο-γείσθαι, σχέδον ἔστι ταύτα καὶ ἄλλα ἰσως τοιαύτα. τάχα ὅ ἂν τις ὑμῶν ἀγανακτήσεις ἀναμνησθεῖς ἐαυτοῦ, εἰ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἑλάττω τούτων τοῦ ἀγώνος ἀγώνα ἀγωνιζό-μένος ἐδείξη τε καὶ ἴκετευσε τοὺς δικαστὰς μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, παιδία τε αὐτοῦ ἀναβιβάσαμενος, ἦν ὁ τι μάλιστα ἐλεηθείη, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων πολλοὺς, ἐγὼ δὲ οὖν άρα τούτων ποιήσω, καὶ ταύτα κινδυνεύων, ὥς ἂν δόξαμη, τὸν ἑσχάτον κύδινυον. τάχ' ὅν τις ταύτα ἐννοήσας αὐθαδέστερον ἂν πρὸς με σχοίνη, καὶ ὀργισθεῖς αὐτοῦς τούτοις θείτο ἂν μετ' ὀργῆς τὴν δ' ὅν τις ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχει,—οὐκ ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ ἐγωγε' εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐπιεικήν ἂν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς τούτων λέγειν λέγων ὃτι ἐμοί, ὃ ὁρίστε, εἰσὶ μὲν ποὺ τινὲς καὶ οἰκείοι καὶ γὰρ τούτο αὐτῷ τοῦ 'Ομήρου, οὖν' ἐγὼ ἀπὸ ὄρνου οὖν' ἀπὸ πέτρης πέφυκα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ὡςτε καὶ οἰκείοι μοι εἰσὶ καὶ νίνες, ὃ ἀνδρεὶς 'Αθηναῖοι, τρεῖσ, εἰς μὲν μειράκιον ἤδη, δύο δὲ παιδία' ἀλλ' ὁμασ συνεν' αὐτῶν δεύρο ἀναβιβάσα-μενος δεήσομαι ὑμῶν ἀποψηφίσασθαι. τι δὴ οὖν οὖνδὲν Ε[toútw] ποιήσω; οὐκ αὐθαδεύςμενος, ὃ ἀνδρεὶς 'Αθηναῖοι, οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀτιμάζων, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς

Reasons for not entreat-
Besides it is not right for you to listen to appeals. It is your business to be just. If I tried to make you vote against your consciences, I should deserve the name of atheist.

(2) It is not right.
II. THE COUNTER-ASSESSMENT.

The majority against me is small. It is well for Meletus that he had the support of Anytus and Lycon, else he would have had to pay the fine.

To the majority is small. Which is the case of Meletus, for Anytus and Lycon, else they would have had to pay the fine.

The votes are given, and Socrates is condemned.
The penalty is fixed at death. What alternative do I propose? If justice were really to be done to me, I should be supported at the public expense.

Τιμᾶται δ’ οὖν μοι ὁ ἀνὴρ θανάτου. εἰςεν’ ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι τίνος ὑμῖν ἀντιτιμήσομαι, ὥς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναίοι; ἦ δὴ ὄντος ὅτι θ’ ἄξιάς; τί οὖν; τ’ ἄξιός εἰμι παθεῖν ἥ ἀποτίσαι, ὦ τι μαθὼν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ὦν ἦσαν ἤγου, ἄλλ’ ἀμελήσας ὦπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, χρηματισμῷ τε καὶ οἰκονομίᾳ καὶ στρατηγίῳ καὶ ὑμηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχων καὶ ἐννομοσιῶν καὶ στάσεως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γεγομένων, ἡγησάμενος ἐμαυτῶν τῷ ὄντι ἐπιεικέστερον εἰναι ἢ ὡστε εἰς ταῖτ’ ἱόντα σώζεσθαι, ἐνταύθα μὲν οὐκ ἦν, οἱ ἔλθων μήτε ὑμῖν μήτε ἐμαυτῷ ἐμελλὼν μηδέν ὄφελος εἰναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὀδὴ ἐκαστὸν ἰὸν εὐτρεπεῖ τὴν μεγίστην εὐτρεπεῖάν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐνταύθα ἦν, ἐπιειρῶν ἐκαστὸν ὑμῶν πείθειν μὴ πρότερον μήτε τῶν ἔαντον μήδεν ἐμπεμβελείσθαι, πρὶν ἔαντον ἐπιμεληθείσης, ὡς ἐρω βέλτιστος καὶ φρονιμώτατος ἐσούτο, μήτε τῶν τῆς πόλεως, πρὶν αὐτής τῆς πόλεως, τῶν τῶν ἄλλων οὗτῳ κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι’ τί οὖν εἰμὶ ἄξιος παθεῖν τοιοῦτος ὦν; ἀγαθὸν τί, ὥς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, εἰ δεῖ γε κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι’ καὶ ταῦτα γε ἀγαθὸν τοιοῦτον, τοῖ ν αὖ πρέποι εμοὶ. τί οὖν πρέπει ἄνθρο πένητι εὐεργέτη, δεομένῳ ἄγειν σχολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ υμετέρᾳ παρακλεὐσει; οὐκ ἤσθ’ ὅ τι μᾶλλον, ὥς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, πρέπει οὗτως, ως τῶν τοιοῦτον ἀνθρα ἐν πρυτανείᾳ πιεῖσθαι, πολὺ γε μᾶλλον ή εἰ τις υἱῶν ἵππῳ ἡ ψυχορίδι ἡ χεῦχει μενίκηκεν Ὁλυμπίασιν. ο’ μὲν γὰρ ψάλλει εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν [εἰναί], ἐγὼ δὲ εἰναί’ καὶ ο’ μὲν τροφῆς οὖν ἔπει δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δέομαι. εἰ οὖν δεῖ με κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἄξιας τιμᾶσθαι, τούτοι τιμῶμαι, ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτῆσεως.
Do not think me insolent. But I cannot admit that I am deserving of evil. Now imprisonment and exile are certainly evils, whereas death may be a good. I will not therefore prefer either of the former. To go into exile would be merely to invite elsewhere the same treatment that I have met with here.

"Isws o'n umiv kai tautil legein paraepiastivos dokwn legew ogster perl tou oiktov kai tis antivedesw, apaunadioumenov to de ovk estivn, o 'Atheiavoi, touoiv ton, alla toioiude mallon. Pefeismai eyw ekwn einai mbedenai adikein anvrpaion, alla umiv touto ou peiow olignon gar cronon allhlos dieilegymenon epel, ws eygermai, ei hiv umiv noros, ogster kai allous anvrpaion, B perl thanaton miv mian hmeran monon kriven, alla pollass, peiesote an vuv de ouo raioin en cronov oligno megalas diabolos apolusesbai. Pefeisemovs de eyw mbedenai adikein polloiv deo emauton ge adikhesi kai kat' emauton erein auton, ws axios eimi tou kakei kai ti miasesbai toioi touton tivos emauto, ti deisai; h miv patho touto, ou Meliotos moi timatai, o phi ovik eidein ouv' eik agadoi ouv' eik kakon estin; auti touton de elowmai wv eiv ouv' oti kakei ouvton, touton tiquestmenos; poteron desmov; kai ti me dei zwn en desmow-

C thriov, douleovanta ti aexi kathistamejnh arxh, tois evdeka; alla chrimate, kai deodeshtai eos an ektsiow; alla tauton moi estin, ogster vuv de elagva ouv gar esti mo chrimate, opodeuen ektsiow. Alla de fuyghs ti-meshswai; isws gar an moi touton tiysekte. Polleh men' an me filoymphxia exoi, ei ouvus algyiostos eimi, wste miv duvashtai logizeshtai, oti wmeis mewn ouvtes po-litai mou oux oioi te eygenesthe eynegkein tas emas diatr-

D bas kai toous logous, all' umiv baroterai yegonasi kai
'Well, can you not go away and be silent?' No: that would be to disobey the divine command, little as you may believe me when I say it. A money fine I have no objection to, for that is no evil. Perhaps I could manage to pay you a mina of silver. My friends here tell me to say thirty minae, and offer themselves as bail.

'Isos oûn ân tis eítou sigòw dé kai ἱσυχίαν ἁγών, ó Σώκρατεσ, óuχ oίοσ τ' ésee ἦµίν ἐξελθὼν ξήν; tòuti oî esti pàntow xalepώτατον peísai twas ûmw. éan te γâr légw óti τò òthò àpeieithèn tòut' éstí kai diá tòut' adiúton ἱσυχίαν ἁγείν, ou peísesthè moi òw εἰρωνευομένῳ; éan t' òu légw óti kai tûxhànei mégíston 38 ágathòn òn ãnthrôpò ph tòutò, èkásths òhméra peri árêtis tòu lógonos poieôthai kai tòw ãllw. peri òw ûmw èmóî akouète diâlegoménu kai èmavtên kai ãllwov èxestàzontos, ó dé ènveîstastos bìos ou òwòtòs ãnthrôpò, taûta ò' èti ÿttov peísesthè moi légonthi. tâ dé èçhei mêv ouýws, òs ègw φhùm, ò ãndres, peîthèn dé ou rádión. kai ègw ìmp oûk eîðismai èmavtôn àxòwv kakòv ouðevòs. eî mêv γâr ÿn moi ìhrmàta, ètîmîsàmhn àn xrêmátow òsa èmèllôn èktîswvn ouðevn γâr òn ìbldâ- βhûv vûn dé — ou γâr èstiv, eî mê ára òsou ân ègw
APOLOGY, 38 B–E.

III. THE LAST WORDS, 38 C–42 A.

Little have you gained, Athenians, and great will be your loss. I could not have lived long, but now you will have the credit of having killed me. No defence but that which I adopted would have been worthy of myself. I have nothing to regret. It is my accusers who are the real sufferers.

Oū pollloû γ’ ἐνεκα χρόνου, ὡ αὐτρὲς Ἀθηναῖοι, οὖνομα ἐξετε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τὴν πολιν λοιδορεῖν, ὡς Σωκράτη ἀπεκτόνατε, ἀνδρα σοφον φήσουσι γὰρ ὃ τι μὲ σοφὸν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἰμί, οἱ βουλόμενοι ύμῖν ὀνειδίζειν. εἰ οὗν περιεμένατε δλίγων χρόνου, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ἂν ύμῖν τοῦτο ἐγένετο. ὅρατε γὰρ ὃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ὅτι πάρρω ἡδὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου, θανάτου δὲ ἐγγύς. λέγω δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς πάντας ύμᾶς, ἐὰν πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοῦ καταψηφισαμένους βάνατον. λέγω δὲ καὶ τὸδε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦτοι. ἰσως με οἰεσθε, ὡ αὐτρὲς, ἀπορία λόγων ἐαλωκέναι τοιούτων, οἷς ἂν ύμᾶς ἐπεισα, εἰ ὃμιν δειν ἀπαντα ποιειν καὶ λέγειν, ὡστε ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν ὄικην. πολλοῦ γε δει. ἀλλ’ ἀπορία μὲν ἐαλωκα, οὐ μέντοι λόγων, ἀλλὰ τόλμης καὶ ἀναι- σχυνίας καὶ τοῦ ἔθελεν λέγειν πρὸς ύμᾶς τοιαῦτα, οἱ ἂν ύμῖν ἠδιστ’ ἢν ἀκούειν, θηρνοῦτός τε μου καὶ ὑμῖν

The penalty is fixed at death.}
Listen! For I am at the point when men are wont to prophesy. You will suffer for my condemnation. Others, whom I have held in check, will come forward to test your lives, and you will not be able to get rid of them.

A prophecy.

Τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιθυμῶ ὑμῖν χρησμοφόρησαι, ὃ καταψηφισάμενοί μοι καὶ γάρ εἰμι ἥδη ἐνταῦθα, εἰν ὃ μάλιστ' ἀνθρώποι χρησμοφόρουσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποδανεῖσθαι. φημὶ γάρ, δὲ ἄνδρες, οἳ ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε, τιμωρίαν ὑμῖν ἥξειν εἰδὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἐμὸν θάνα-
Τον πολὺ χαλεπώτεραν νὴ Δί' ἦ ὁδαν ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε·

τῷ γὰρ τῷτῳ εἰργάσασθε οἱμὲν μὲν ἀπαλλάξεσθαι

πλείους ἔσονται ὑμᾶς οἱ

Δ ἑλέγχουτες, οὓς υἱὸν ἐγὼ κατείχον, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἕσθανε-

σθε· καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἔσονται ὅσω νεώτεροι εἰσι, καὶ

ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον ἀγανακτήσετε. εἰ γὰρ οἶεσθε ἀποκτέινοντες ἀνθρώπους ἐπισκήνεϊν τῷ διευδίξειν τώ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκ ὅρθως ἐξῆτε, οὐκ ὅρθως διανοοῦσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἐσθ' αὕτη

ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ὤστε πάνω δυνατή ὤστε καλή, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνη καὶ

καλλίστη καὶ ὑστῆ, μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους κολούειν, ἀλλ' ἐαυ-

τὸν παρασκευάζειν ὅπως ἐσται ὃς βέλτιστος. ταῦτα μὲν

οὖν υἱὸν τοὺς καταψηφισμένους μαντευσάμενος ἀπαλ-

λάττημαι.

To you who have acquitted me I would fain say a few words, ere

I go hence. I infer that death is no evil: for the divine sign

never came to hinder me throughout the whole course of the

trial.

Τοῦς δὲ ἀποψηφισμένους ἱδέως ἄν διαλεξθείην ὑπὲρ (β) Address

tοῦ γεγονότος τούτου πράγματος, ἐν ὧν ὁ οἱ ἁρχοντες

ἀσχολίαν ἄγουσι καὶ οὕτω ἔρχομαι οἳ ἐλθόντα με δεῖ

tεδυνάναι. ἀλλὰ μοι, ὡς ἄνδρες, παραμείνω τοσοῦτον

χρόνον· οὖν δὲν γὰρ κωλύει διαμνισθήσαμεν πρὸς ἄλλη-

40 λους, ἐως ἐξεστιν. οὖν γὰρ ὡς φίλοις οὕτως ἐπιδείξαι

εἶδέλω τὸ νῦν μοι ἑβῆμβηκός τί ποτε νοεῖ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ,

ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταὶ—ουμᾶς γὰρ δικαστὰς καλὸν ὅρθως ἄν

καλοῦν—θαυμᾶσιν τι γέγονεν. ἡ γὰρ εἰσεθεῖα μοι

μαντικὴ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παυτὶ

πάνω πυκνῇ ἄει ἥν καὶ πάνω ἐπὶ σμικρῶς ἑναντιομένῃ,

εἰ τι μέλλοιμι μη ὅρθως πράξεω· νυνὶ δὲ ἑβῆμβηκέ μοι,

ἀπερ ὀρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ, ταῦτα ἀ γε ὅ ὅ οἰδηθεῖ ἄν τις καὶ
Nay, there is much reason to hope that death is actually a good.
For death is either a dreamless sleep, which is better than the
average experiences of life, or else it is a migration to a place
where we shall be able to meet and converse with the famous
dead—and what can be better than this?

'Εννοοίσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῇδε, ὡς πολλῇ ἐλπίς ἔστων
ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ εἶναι. δυνῶν γὰρ θάτερον ἐστι τὸ τεθνά-
ναι: ἢ γὰρ οἰόν μηδὲν εἶναι μηδ' αἰσθησιν μηδε-
μίαν μηδεμοῦ ἔχει τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἢ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα
μεταβολὴ τις τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ
tοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένθε εἰς ἀλλον τόπον. καὶ εἰ γε
μηδεμία αἰσθήσις ἔστων, ἀλλ' οἰόν ὑπνος, ἐπειδήν τις
καθεύδων μηδ' ὀναρ μηδὲν ὅρα, θαυμάσιον κέρδος ἂν
εἰπῃ ὁ θάνατος. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν οἴμαι, εἰ των ἐκλεξά-
μενον δέοι ταύτην τὴν νῦκτα, ἐν ἡ οὐτω κατέδαρθεν, ὡστε
μηδ' ὀναρ ἴδειν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νυκτὰς τε καὶ ἡμέρας
tὰς τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιπαραθέντα ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ
dέοι σκεψάμενοι εἰπεῖν, πόσας ἁμείνον καὶ ἱδιον ἡμέρας.
καὶ νῦκτας ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς βεβίωκεν ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ βρῶ,
Ε οὖν ἄν μὴ ὑπὶ ἰδιωτὴν τινὰ, ἀλλὰ τῶν μέγαν βασιλέας
εὐαριθμήτορος ἄν εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας
ήμερας καὶ νῦκτας. εἰ οὖν τοιούτον ὁ θάνατος ἔστι, κέρδος
ἐγὼ γε λέγω καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλείων ὁ πᾶς χρόνος φαίνεται
οὗτω δὴ εἶναι ἡ μία γνύς. εἰ δὲ αὕτω ἀποδημήσας ἔστι
ὁ θάνατος ἐνθέντες εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔστι τὰ
λεγόμενα, ὡς ἀρα ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν ἀπαντεῖ τις τεθνεώτες, τὶ
μείζον ἀγαθὸν τούτον εἶναι ἂν, ὥς ἄνδρες δικαστάλ; εἰ γὰρ
41 τὸς ἀφίκομενος εἰς "Αἴδου, ἀπαλλαγεῖς τούτων τῶν φασκῶν-
των δικαστῶν εἶναι, εὑρήσεις τοὺς ἄληθες δικαστάς, οὔπερ
καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν, Μίνως τε καὶ Ῥαδάμανθις καὶ
Αἰακὸς καὶ Τριπτόλεμος καὶ ἄλλοι ὁσοὶ τῶν ἡμιθέουν
δίκαιοι ἔγενοντο ἐν τῷ ἐαυτῶν βρῶ, ἄρα φαύλη ἂν
eῖ̂ ἡ ἀποδημίᾳ; ἡ αὖ Ὁρφεῖ ἔγγενεσθαι καὶ Μουσαῖος
καὶ Ἡσύοδῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ ἔπι πόσῳ ἄν τις δέξατ' ἀν νῦν;
ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ἐθέλω τεθνάναι, εἰ
taύτ' ἐστιν ἀληθὴ' ἐπεὶ ἐμοίγε καὶ αὐτῷ θαυμαστή ἂν
B εἰ̂ η διατριβὴ αὐτόθι, ὅποτε ἐντύχομι Παλαμήδει καὶ
Αἰαντὶ τῷ Τελαμῶνος καὶ εἰ τῆς ἄλλος τῶν παλαῖων
diὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον τέθνηκεν, ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι τὰ
ἐμαυτοῦ πάθη πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖνων, ὡς ἐγὼ οὕμαι, οὐκ ἂν
ἀμεῖ̂ς εἰ̂ . καὶ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον, τοὺς ἐκεῖ εἶ̂ ἐξετάζοντα
καὶ ἐρευνῶντα ὡσπερ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διάγειν, τίς αὐτῶν
σοφὸς ἦςτι καὶ τίς οὕτες, έστι δ' οὖ. ἐπὶ πόσῳ δ' ἄν τις, ὥς ἄνδρες δικαστάλ, δέξατο ἐξετάζασι τὸν ἐπὶ
Τροίαν ἀγαγόντα τὴν πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἣ Ὁδυσσέα ἥ
C Σίσυφον, ἣ ἄλλους μυρίους ἄν τις εἶ̂ ποι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ
γυναῖκας; οἷς εἶ̂ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ἐννείναι καὶ ἐξετά-
ζειν ἀμήχανον ἂν εἰ̂ η εὐδαίμωνιας. πάντως οὐ δή̂ πο
τούτου γε ἐνεκα οἱ ἐκεῖ ἀποκτεῖνοντο πὰ τὸ γὰρ ἄλλα

The judges in the other world.

The poets.

Palamedes and Ajax.

Ulysses and Sisyphus.
One thing is certain. No evil can happen to a good man in this world or the next. What has befallen me has not taken place without the divine sanction; and I bear no ill-will against my accusers. Only I beg of them to deal with my sons as faithfully as I have dealt with them. And now we part on our several ways—which is the better, God only knows.

' Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς χρή, ὥς ἀνδρεὶς δικασταί, εὐδαιμονεστεροί εἰσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ τῶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἢδη τῶν λοιπῶν χρόνων ἄθανατοί εἰσιν, εἴπερ γε τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ ἔστιν.

Last charge to the condemning jurors.

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HENRY FROWDE

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Amen Corner, E.C.
NOTES.

πεπόνθατε ὑπό] 'Have been affected by.' πάσχειν is in effect a 17 A passive verb, and is regularly constructed as such. See for instance 33 D, 42 A. The same is the case with ὄφλισκαίνω (see 39 B, ὅφ' ύμών θανάτου δίκην ὄφλων) and with φεύγω (see 35 D, ἀσέβειας φεύγοντα ὑπὸ Μελήτου τοιτου). ὑπ' αὐτῶν] 'By reason of them,' 'under their influence.' For this use of ὑπό cp. Gorg. 525 A, καὶ πάντα σκολιὰ ὑπὸ ψεῦδους; also Ion 535 E. ὀλίγου] 'Almost.' Cp. 22 B; Prot. 361 C, ὀλίγου πάντα μᾶλλον φαγῆσαι αὐτὸ ἡ ἐπιστήμην. ὡς ἐπος εἶπεῖν] 'To put it roughly.' One of the many modes which Attic politeness prompted of apologizing for a strong assertion. Cp. 22 B, D. αὐτῶν] 'In them.' Cp. below, B, τούτο μοι ἐδοξεῖν αὐτῶν ἀνασχυντότατον εἶναι. The construction θαμάζειν τί τινος is common in Plato, e. g. Theaet. 161 B, ὃ θαμάζοι τοῦ ἑταίρου σου. τούτῳ ἐν ὃ ἐλεγον] 'The passage in which they said.' δεινοῦ ὄντος λέγειν] Cp. what Xenophon says (Mem. I. 2. § 14) about Socrates twisting everyone round his finger in discussion. Socrates, like Berkeley, had the reputation of being invincible in argument. ἀρήν] Imperfect. We might have expected χρεῖη. There are two peculiarities in this word: (1) the omission of the augment (cp. 33 D ad in. with 34 A); (2) the termination of the 3rd person in ν, in which it resembles ἦν and the forms ἦνειν and ἦδειν, which are sometimes used for ἦει and ἦδει, as well as other pluperfects, on which the more advanced student may consult Rutherford, The New Phrynichus, ch. cxxvi. ἑργῷ] 'In the most practical way.' There is a suppressed B antithesis of λόγῳ. εἰ μὲν] Here we have an instance of the use of μὲν without any contrasted clause following. Cp. Meno 82 B, 89 C. We have it also in the often-recurring phrase πάννυ μὲν οἶν, for which see especially Xen. Conv. IV. §§ 56–60.
où kata toútous einai ῥήτωρ] ‘That I am a far greater orator than they.’ This is an instance of the figure meiosis or litotes, which consists in saying less than is meant. It abounds in Plato, being characteristic of the eiρωνεία of Socrates. For the special use of kata in the sense of ‘on a level with,’ cp. Gorg. 512 B, μή σου δοκεῖ (ὁ μηχανοποιός) κατὰ τὸν δικαίων εἶναι;

η τι η οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς] ‘Little or nothing that is true.’

μᾶ Δι’] The accusative after adverbs of swearing is a use which it would not be easy to classify. Notice that μή is used in affirmative, but μᾶ in negative oaths, except where ναὶ precedes it.

ῥήματι τε καὶ ὅνωμασιν] ‘Expressions and words.’ The distinction between these two terms is a somewhat fluctuating one. In the Cratylus (399 A, B) we are told that Δι’ φίλος is a ῥήμα, but that the omission of one of the iota and the suppression of the acute accent in the middle converts it into an ὅνωμα, Διφίλος. In the strict grammatical sense ὅνωμα and ῥήμα are the two parts of which a λόγος or proposition consists, ὅνωμα being noun and ῥήμα verb. Plato gives as instances of ὅνωματα—λέον, ἔλαφος, ἵππος, and as instances of ῥήματα—βαδίζει, τρέχει, καθεύδει. The λόγος in its simplest form consists of the combination of one ὅνωμα and one ῥήμα, as άνθρωπος μαθάνει. Soph. 262 A–C.

C τίδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ] ‘To a man of my years.’ The three demonstrative pronouns, οὗτος, οὗτος and ἐκέντος, with their derivatives correspond roughly to the three personal pronouns, με, σε, ἐ. Thus below, 18 C, it is ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, where the persons addressed are meant.

παρίεμαι] ‘Crave indulgence.’ παρίεσθαι has the meaning of ‘to beg to be let off.’ Cp. Rep. 341 C, οὐδὲν σου παρίεμαι, ‘I ask no quarter.’

ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν] ‘At the counters.’ τραπεζα was specially used of the table of a money-dealer, and hence came to mean a bank and τραπεζής a banker, as in the speech of Demosthenes on behalf of Phormio. Cp. Matt. xx. 12; Mark xi. 15; John ii. 15—τὸς τραπεζια τῶν κολλυβιστῶν. The money-changer sitting at his table in the market-place is still a familiar sight in the smaller towns of the east of Europe. To discourse ‘at the counters in the marketplace’ was not peculiar to Socrates. Hipp. Min. 368 B.

D μήτε θανμάζειν κ.τ.λ.] This is epexegetical, i. e. explanatory, of the τούτο after δέομαι καὶ παρίεμαι.

νῦν ἐγὼ πρῶτον] This, as the Scholiast remarks, has the force of an objection to the indictment, since Socrates’ mode of life had escaped censure for so many years.

ἀναβήσηκα] ‘Presented myself before a court.’ The ἀνά refers
to mounting the βῆμα, or raised platform from which the speeches were delivered. Cp. 31 C, 33 D, 36 A, 40 B. Similarly with ἀναβιβάζωμαι, 34 C, D. As a rule accusers are said εἰσάγειν, defendants εἰσέναι. Speakers are said ἀναβαίνειν (to step up), καταβαίνειν (to step down).

ἔτη γεγονός πλείω ἐβδομήκοντα ἐβδομήκοντα is of course the genitive. In the Crito, 52 E, Socrates is made to talk of himself as being 70 years old. According to the statement of Apollodorus, confirmed by Demetrius Phalereus (Diog. Laert. II. § 44) Socrates was born in the 4th year of the 77th Olympiad, and died in the first year of the 95th Olympiad. The date of the first Olympiad being B.C. 776, this corresponds to B.C. 468–399, which would make Socrates 69 at the utmost. It follows that if Plato’s statement here is to be trusted we must place the birth of Socrates a few years earlier than is done by Apollodorus.

δίκαιον] ‘As a piece of justice.’ Riddell.

αὑτή ἀρετή] ἀρετή is shown to be predicate by the omission of the article. The subject αὑτή is attracted into its gender.

δίκαιὸς εἰμι ἀπολογήσασθαι] ‘It is right that I should make my defence.’ By a common Greek idiom that is expressed personally which, in Latin or English, would be expressed impersonally. Instances abound, e.g. Crito 45 A ad in.; Gorg. 461 D, 521 A; Menex. 237 D, δικαία ἐπαινεῖσθαι, 246 C, δικαίος εἰμι εἰπεῖν. Demosthenes (against Aristocrates, p. 641, § 64, Dindorf) furnishes us with a strong example, ἄ ... ἡδίων ἐσεσθε ἀκούσατε. We may compare the preference of the Greek for personal forms of expression in such phrases as τυγχάνω ὃν, φαίνομαι ὃν, etc.

ἐμοῦ] The genitive is governed by the verbal notion contained in κατήγοροι.

καὶ πάλαι κ.τ.λ.] The καὶ merely emphasizes the πάλαι, of which πολλά ἢδη ἔτη is epexegetical. The words πολλά ἢδη ἔτη seem to come under the government of λέγοντει as an accusative of duration of time.

It was 24 years since the first representation of the Clouds of Aristophanes (B.C. 423).

τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀνυτον] ‘Anytns and his coadjutors.’ This form of expression includes as the principal the person whose name is mentioned. It is as old as Homer. See for instance II. IV. 252. Cp. Meno 99 B, οἱ ἀμφὶ Θεμιστοκλέα, ‘Themistocles and the like.’ Anytus was by far the most important of the three accusers of Socrates. Hence the ‘Anytique reum’ of Horace (Sat. II. iv. 3). See note on 23 E, Ἀνυτος.

μᾶλλον οὔδὲν ἄληθές] If these words, which are bracketed in the text, were retained, we should have to translate ‘were more busy in
trying to persuade you and in accusing me.’ The μᾶλλον would then be taken to imply that the greater urgency of the former set of accusers was a reason for their being more formidable.


For the subject-matter see notes on 19 B, C.

C οἱ γὰρ ἄκουοντες κ.τ.λ.] Here we have in an early stage the antagonism between science and theology—between the science which looks only at physical causes and the theology which delights to trace the action of Deity in aberration from general law.

οὐδὲ θεοὺς νομίζειν] ‘Do not even believe in gods.’ So below 24 B, 35 D; Prot. 322 A, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ... ἦσσεν μόνον θεοῦ ἐνόμισε, with which cp. Menex. 237 D. This use of νομίζειν is very common. ἡγείσθαι is employed in a similar way. See below 27 D, E, 35 D; and cp. Eur. Hec. 800,

νόμῳ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγούμεθα.

ἐνοι ὅ ὑμῶν καὶ μειράκια] This clause is shown in parenthetically to correct the preceding one, παιδε ὀντες. ‘When you were children—though some of you may have been striplings.’

ἐρήμην] Supply δικήν, which is cognate to κατηγοροῦντες. ἐρήμη δική is a technical term for a suit which goes by default owing to the non-appearance of one of the parties.

ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀλογώτατον] Riddell fills up the construction thus

—ὁ δὲ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀλογώτατον, ἐστὶ τούτο κ.τ.λ.

D πλὴν εἰ τις] Like Latin nisi si quis. Eἰ τις is ‘anyone who,’ εἰ τι, ‘anything which,’ etc.

κομῳδιουπολός] Notably Aristophanes in the Clouds. Eupolis also had ridiculed him as a beggarly gossip:—

Μισῶ δ’ ἐγὼ καὶ Σωκράτην, τὸν πτωχὸν ἀδολέσχην
ὅς τάλλα μὲν πεφρονυτικεν,

ὅπως δὲ καταφαγεῖν ἔχοι, τούτου κατημέληκεν.

(Meineke vol. II. p. 553, Berlin, 1839). The Connus of Ameipsias too, which was represented along with the Clouds, may have contained ridicule of Socrates; for the chorus was of Phrontistae (Athen. 218 C), and Connus, the son of Metrobius is represented as having taught Socrates music in his old age (Euthyd. 272 C, Menex. 235 E). See Meineke vol. I. p. 203. We may add that Ameipsias certainly held up Socrates to ridicule in his play of the Τρίβανων or Old Cloak (Diog. Laert. II. § 48):—

Σωκράτης, ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστος ὀλίγων, πολλῶν δὲ ματαιότατη, ἥκεις καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καρφερικός τ’ εἰ. Πώθεν ἀν σοι χλαίνα γένοιτο; τούτ’ τὸ κακὸν τῶν σκυτοτόμων κατ’ ἐπηρειαν γεγένηται.
APOLGY, NOTES. 18 D—19 B.

οι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ.] A parenthetical clause corrective of the preceding, like the one noticed above, 18 C, ἐνιος δ' ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ. Translate, 'though some of them may have been convinced themselves when they tried to convince others.'

σκιαμαχεῖν ἀπολογούμενον τε] The te is postponed because ἀπολογούμενον unites with σκιαμαχεῖν to form one idea.

καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς] 'For you also.' The καὶ has here its full force, ἔτι so that the expression is equivalent to καὶ γὰρ καὶ. Cp. Meno 97 E, καὶ γὰρ οἱ δοξεὶ κ.τ.λ.

πολὺ μᾶλλον] Supply ἥκουσατε κατηγοροῦντοι.

διαβολήν. 'Calumny believed, i. e. prejudice.' Riddell. Cp. 28 19 A A, and 37 B.

ἐξελέωθαι ... χρόνῳ] 'To disabuse your minds in so short a time of this prejudice which you have had so long to acquire.' The aorist ἐσχέτε belongs to the class which is known as 'aorist of first attainment,' like ἐβασίλευσε, 'he became king,' ἤρε, 'he began to reign.' We have the perfect ἐσχηκα in the same sense below, 20 D. ἐτὶ τι ἀμενον] Supply ἔτη.

καὶ οὖ πάνυ κ.τ.λ.] 'And am far from being deceived as to the nature of it.' Οὐ πάνυ often practically has the meaning of 'not at all,' omnino non, but this is arrived at by an ironical liotes, as its literal meaning is always non omnino, 'not quite,' 'not much,' 'hardly,' etc. See the subject exhaustively discussed in Appendix, note C, to Cope's translation of the Gorgias; see also Riddell, Digest § 139, and Thompson, Gorgias, note on 457 E. The passages cited by the last-mentioned writer in favour of taking οὖ πάνυ as an unqualified negation seem to lend themselves readily to the other interpretation, e. g. the passage quoted from Aristotle, Eth. Nic. X. (5). § 4, χαίροντες ὀτροφῶν σφόδρα οὖ πάνυ δρώμεν ἐτερον, 'we are remiss in doing anything else.' The strongest of them is Laws 704 C, where οὖ πάνυ is used in answer to a question, to convey an emphatic denial; but even this is sufficiently accounted for by the inveterate εἰρωνεία of the Attic diction.

τῷ θεῷ] We may render this simply 'God.' There has been no reference to Apollo or any special deity.

Μελητός] The son of Meletus and a member of the deme Pitthias. B (Diog. Laert. II. § 40). He is referred to in the Euthyphro, 2 B, as a young and obscure man; and is described as having long straight hair, not much beard, and a hooked nose. The Scholiast informs us that he was a bad tragic poet, and a Thracian by extraction. We learn from 23 E that he posed as the representative of the poets in the attack on Socrates. Six years before this date, at the time when the Frogs was produced (b.c. 405), a poet named Meletus possessed
notoriety enough to attract the attacks of Aristophanes. In that play Aeschylus is made to charge Euripides with imitating the σκόλια of Meletus (Frogs 1302, Dindorf). Meletus also, we are told, was mentioned by Aristophanes in the Γεωργοί, which is known to have been represented considerably earlier. Unless Plato has greatly exaggerated the youth and obscurity of Meletus, we may suppose the poet referred to by Aristophanes to have been the father of Socrates' accuser. This would account sufficiently for his taking up the quarrel of the poets. One of the four men who arrested Leon of Salamis (see below 32 C), was named Meletus (Andocides, de Mysteriis, § 94). Diogenes Laertius (II. § 43), declares that when the Athenians repented of their treatment of Socrates, they condemned Meletus to death. Diodorus (XIV. 37 ad fin.) goes so far as to say that the accusers were executed in a body. But there is no valid evidence to show that this change of sentiment ever really occurred in the minds of the generation which condemned Socrates. Had any un-toward fate befallen Anytus, it could not fail to have been mentioned in Xenophon's Apologia (§ 31), which was written after his death. The name is variously spelt Μέλητος and Μέλιτος. This is part of that confusion known among scholars by the term 'itacism.' Whatever may have been the case in ancient times, the vowels η, ι, υ and diphthongs ει, οι have now all precisely the same sound in Greek, namely that of the English long e. See Thompson's Gorgias, p. 80.


ἀντωμοσίαν] 'Affidavit.' Cp. 24 B, τὴν τούτων ἀντωμοσίαν. There was much uncertainty among the Ancients themselves as to the proper meaning of this term. According to the Scholiast on this passage ἀντωμοσία was used of the counter-oaths taken by the prosecutor and defendant at the beginning of a suit, the one swearing that a wrong had been committed, the other that it had not. He mentions another view, that ἀντωμοσία properly referred to the defendant's oath only, while δωμοσία was the name for the oath taken by the prosecutor. The following is the result which Meier and Schömann have arrived at from a thorough examination of the whole question (Der Attische Process, pp. 624, 625, edit. of 1824): 'The prosecutor's oath, according to the grammarians, is properly called προωμοσία, that of the defendant ἀντωμοσία, both together δωμοσία. Still the word ἀντωμοσία is often used for both (i. e. singly as well as together, as the examples selected show), and δωμοσία denotes not merely both together, but often one of the two.' It is plain that in the present passage ἀντωμοσία is neither more nor less than 'indictment,'
the proper term for which is ἐγκλημα, which we have in 24 C ad in. The word is explained by Plato himself in the Theaetetus, 172 D, E: κατεστείγει γὰρ ὑδάρ βέον, καὶ οὐκ ἔχωρει περὶ οὗ ἄν ἐπιθυμήσωσι τοῦς λόγους ποιεῖται, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκην ἔχων ὧν ἀντίδεκτον ἐφέστηκε καὶ ἱπογραφὴν παραναγγελλομένην, ἃν ἐκτὸς οὗ ῥητέον ἴν ἀντώμοσίαν καλοῦσιν. Here we see that ἀντώμοσία was understood by Plato to mean the written statement on oath of the points in dispute between two litigants. ἀναγνώσαι] This word, like recitare in Latin, often means to read out. Hence ἀναγνώσθης, a trained reader (Cic. ad Att. I. 12 ad fin.; Corn. Nep. Att. 13).

Σωκράτης ἄδικεῖ κ.τ.λ.] This is a parody on the real indictment, which began with the same words. See 24 B ad fin. This mock indictment shows us plainly the way in which Socrates’ character was misconceived by his countrymen. He was regarded with suspicion as a physical philosopher with atheistical proclivities and as an unscrupulous sophist who subordinated truth to cleverness.

περιφέρησεται] ‘Follows curious inquiries.’ So Purves, who compares the use of the adjective in Acts xix. 19, ἰκανοὶ δὲ τῶν τὰ περιφέργα πραξάντων. The transition of thought from physical science to magic is very easy to the uneducated. We have a parody on the ‘curious inquiries’ which were supposed to occupy the mind of Socrates in the philosopher’s experiment to ascertain how many times the length of its own foot a flea could jump (Arist. Clouds 144-152).

τὴ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμωδία] The Clouds. For searching into things beneath the earth and things in heaven, see the broad burlesque in 187–201, and for making the worse appear the better cause, see especially 112–18, and the dialogue between the two λόγοι, 886–1104.

περιφερόμενον] Socrates is represented on the stage in a swing (line 218):

φέρε τις γὰρ οὗτος οὕτπε τῆς κρεμάθρας ἄνηρ;

ἀεροβατεῖν] Socrates, when asked by Strepsiades what he is doing up in the basket, replies (line 225):—

ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἡλιον

‘My feet are on the air, My thoughts are in the sun.’—E. A.

δὲν ἐγὼ οὐδέν] Xenophon represents Socrates as having an aversion to physical speculations on the ground of their utter impracticability and remoteness from human interests (Mem. I. 1. §§ 11–15). On the limits of the profitable study of science as conceived of by Socrates see Mem. IV. 7. §§ 2–8.

μὴ πῶς ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.] ‘Lest perchance I should be prosecuted by
Meletus upon so grave a charge.' It is not necessary to take τοσαύτας of number, = tot. The use of the plural for the singular in the phrase δίκας φεύγειν is well borne out by a number of similar phrases which are collected by Liddell and Scott, sub voce IV. 3. The words are a mere passing gibe. "I had better mind what I'm saying, for there is no knowing for what Meletus may fall foul of me.'

ἀλλὰ γὰρ] 'But indeed.' This idiom is of specially frequent occurrence in the Apology, perhaps because the diction is designedly colloquial. Cp. below D ad fin., 20 C ad in., 25 C ad in.; also Meno 92 C, 94 E. The idiom is as old as Homer, and may always be explained by the theory of an ellipse of some kind after the ἀλλὰ. See, for instance, Od. X. 201, 2—

κλαίον δὲ λυγέως, θαλερδὺν κατὰ δάκρυα κέντρες
ἀλλ' οὖ γάρ τις πρήξις ἐγίγνετο μυρομένοις,

where Merry supplies the ellipse thus: 'but [all in vain] for no good came by their weeping.' Shilleto, however, maintains, in his note to Thucydides, Bk. I. ch. 25, that in this use of γάρ we have a relic of an original meaning 'truly,' 'verily,' parallel to that of the Latin nam and enim. In that case we may compare ἀλλὰ γάρ with the use of sed enim in Virgil, Aen. I. 19—

'Progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
Audierat.'

D ἐστίν] 'Is so,' i.e. as alleged. Cp. Acts xxv. 11, εἰ δὲ οὔδὲν ἐστίν ὡς οὕτω κατηγορούσι μου.

Ε χρήματα πράττομαι] This implication pervades the Clouds. See especially line 98—

οὕτω διδάσκουσ', ἀργύριον ἦν τις διδό.

That Socrates never taught for money is abundantly evident from the express testimony of his disciples. Cp. below 31 B, C, and see note on 33 A, οὐδὲ χρήματα μὲν λαμβάνων κ.τ.λ. Aristoxenus, however, a disciple of Aristotle, who wrote a life of Socrates, is quoted by Diogenes Laertius (Π. § 20) as recording that Socrates from time to time collected voluntary contributions—τιθέντα γοῦν, τὸ βαλλόμενον κέρμα ἄθροίζειν εἴτε ἀναλῶσαντα, πάλιν τιθέναι. τιθέντα evidently refers to some kind of subscription-box. The invidious word, χρηματισσαθαί, which precedes is probably due to Diogenes himself, who delights in a bit of scandal. This story has been summarily rejected even by those who accept the general testimony of Aristoxenus as trustworthy; but there is, after all, nothing improbable in the statement that Socrates allowed his friends to help him, nor anything inconsistent with the professions which are put into his mouth by his disciples. The reasons on
which Socrates rested his violent antipathy to teaching virtue for money are (1) that it was degrading, as the teacher made himself for the time being the slave of the man from whom he was expecting a fee; and (2) that it involved an absurdity, as, if moral benefit were really imparted, the person so improved would be anxious to display his gratitude. On this subject cp. Xen. Mem. I. 2. § 7 with Gorg. 520 E, where the following test is laid down of such teaching being effectual, ἡστε καλὸν δοκεῖ τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, εἴ εὖ ποιῆσαι ταύτην τὴν εὔρεγεσίαν ἀντ᾽ εὖ πεῖσται. Human beings, even the most exalted, must live somehow. Socrates had no private property, and did not work for his living. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that he was supported by voluntary contributions.

ἐπεί] This use of ἐπεί points to an ellipse before it. (Not that I mean to disparage those who do undertake to educate people) since, etc. ἐπεί, when used thus, may be rendered 'though.'

Γοργίας] A celebrated rhetorician, a native of Leontium in Sicily. He was an elder contemporary of Socrates, but is said to have outlived him (Quint. III. 1. § 9). We are told that he attained to an enormous age. It is put by Cicero at 107. See De Senectute, ch. 5, where we are informed that his most celebrated pupil, Isocrates, died at the age of 99.

The dialogue of Plato which goes under the name of Gorgias begins with a discussion on the meaning and power of rhetoric, but ends with an earnest vindication of the life of virtue against the corrupt political tendencies of the times.

Πρόδικος] A native of the island of Ceos, and one of the most popular 'teachers of virtue' of his day. He is best known now as the original author of the charming allegory called the 'Choice of Hercules,' which is preserved in Xenophon's Memorabilia (II. 1. §§ 21-34). This piece was an ἐπείδειξις, or show-speech (ἀπερ δὴ καὶ πλέιστος ἐπιδεικνύεται, ibid. § 21. Cp. Plato Crat. 384 B, τὴν πεντηκοντάδραχμον ἐπίδειξιν; Gorg. 447 C; Hipp. Maj. 282 B, C). The Choice of Hercules shines out like a gem amid its somewhat dull surroundings; one can feel the impress of a master-mind in the picturesqueness of its imagery; but Xenophon modestly declares that it fell from the lips of the author in far more magnificent phraseology than that in which he has clothed it. Prodicus had a peculiarly deep voice, which rendered his utterance indistinct (δυσῆκον καὶ βαρὺ φθεγγόμενος, Philostratus, Lives of the Sophists, p. 210). Cp. Prot. 316 A ad in.

Ππίας] Another famous sophist and rhetorician, a native of Elis. He was employed on diplomatic missions to various states,
and, in particular, to Sparta (Hipp. Maj. 281 A, B). This mixture of the professor and politician was a characteristic common to the three sophists here mentioned (Ibid. 282 B, C). Hippias' specialty in science was astronomy (Hipp. Maj. 285 C ad in.; Hipp. Min. 367 E ad fin. Cp. Prot. 315 C). He was also in the habit of lecturing on grammar and music (Hipp. Maj. 285 D ad in.; Hipp. Min. 368 D). Hippias' memory was extraordinarily retentive. Plato makes him boast that he could remember fifty names on once hearing them (Hipp. Maj. 285 E. Cp. Philost., Lives of the Sophists, p. 210 ad in.). He would seem to have invented some artificial system of mnemonics (Hipp. Min. 368 D; Xen. Conv. IV. § 62). Hippias was considerably younger than Gorgias (Hipp. Maj. 282 E). He is treated with less respect by Plato than either Gorgias or Prodicus. We are allowed to see that the main feature of his character was an overweening vanity. Yet he appears to have had a good deal to be vain of, and to have been, in fact, a sort of 'admirable Crichton' of his day. We are told that he appeared on one occasion at Olympia with every article of his apparel and equipment—his ring, seal, flesh-scaper, oil-flask, shoes, cloak, tunic—made by his own hands. To crown all, he wore a girdle resembling the most costly Persian work which he had woven himself. Besides this he carried with him his own works in prose and poetry—epic, tragic, and dithyrambic (Hipp. Min. 368 B−D). Among the prose works of Hippias we have mention of one called the Trojan Dialogue, evidently an ἐπὶ δείξεις, like that of Prodicus. The scheme appears to have been simple—Nestor after the taking of Troy giving advice to Neoptolemus how to show himself a good man (Philost., Lives of the Sophists, p. 210).

ἰῶν εἰς ἐκάστην κ.τ.λ.] One of the chief causes which lent inviciduousness to the pretensions of the Sophists was this claim, that they, coming as strangers to a city, were better qualified to educate the young men than their own relations. See Prot. 316 C, D; Hipp. Maj. 283 E.

πείθοντι] The subject τούτων ἐκαστός is virtually plural, so that there is nothing very startling in this change of number. Plato is everywhere colloquial, but nowhere more so than in the Apology, where it is part of his dramatic purpose to contrast the simple speech of Socrates with the laboured oratory of the law-courts. If the words in brackets, οἷος ὁ ἐστιν, were retained, we would have a violent anacoluthon, or change of construction. There is nothing corresponding to them in the Theages (127 E, 128 A), in which the whole of this passage is reproduced.

20 A ἐπεῖ] See note above on 19 E.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 20 A, B.

ἐπιθυμοῦντα] Notice that verbs of perceiving are constructed with a participle.

Καλλία τῷ Ἰππονίκου] Surnamed ‘the wealthy.’ His house was the largest and richest in Athens. See Prot. 337 D, in which dialogue not only Protagoras himself is represented as being entertained by Callias, but also Prodicus of Ceos, Hippias of Elis, and many others of less note (314 B, C. Cp. Xen. Conv. I. § 5). He had another house at the Peiræus, which is the scene of Xenophon’s Symposium. His mother married Pericles as her second husband, to whom she was already related by blood, and had by him two sons, Paralus and Xanthippus (Prot. 314 E, 315 A; Meno 94 B; Plut. Pericles 165). His brother Hermogenes is one of the interlocutors in the Cratylus (384 A ad fin., 391 B). Callias seems especially to have imbibed the teaching of Protagoras (Crat. 391 C; Theaet. 165 A ad in.). His passion for philosophy is referred to in many passages of Plato, e.g. Prot. 335 D: ᾧ παὶ Ἰππονίκου, δὲ μὲν ἐγωγέ σου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἄγαμα: but it does not seem to have produced any beneficial effect upon his character, as he is said to have been a spendthrift and a profligate. His reputation, however, has suffered at the hands of his enemy Andocides.

ἀνηρόμην] In Attic prose ἡρόμην is commonly used as the aorist of ἐρωτάω. See, for instance, Prot. 350 C, εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ θαρραλεῖοι ἀνδρεῖοι, οὐκ ἡρωτήθην· εἰ γάρ με τὸτε ἡροῦ κ.τ.λ.

δύο υἱεῖ] See Andocides de Mysteriis, §§ 126, 7.

ἀρετήν] Notice that adjectives can be followed by a cognate accusative as well as verbs. Cp. below D, ταύτην εἶναι σοφός: 22 C, D; Meno 93 B.

τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς] ‘The virtue which makes a man and a citizen.’ This was exactly what the Sophists claimed to impart. See Prot. 318 E.

ἐπιστήμων] To Plato’s mind there was an etymological connection between ἑπιστήμων and ἑπιστάτης.

κτήσιν] ‘Owing to your having sons.’ κτάμαι in the present means ‘to acquire,’ κεκτήμαι in the perfect ‘to possess.’ The verbal substantive κτήσις has sometimes the one meaning and sometimes the other. In Euthyd. 228 D, for instance, it distinctly means ‘acquisition,’ Ἡ δὲ γε φιλοσοφία κτήσις ἑπιστήμης. So also Gorg. 478 C. For the other meaning ‘possession,’ which it has here, cp. Rep. I. 331 B; Arist. Eth. Nic. I. (8). § 9, IV. (1). §§ 7, 23.

Τίς, ἤν δ’ ἐγώ κ.τ.λ.] The rapid succession of questions is meant to indicate the eagerness of the speaker. They are answered with a succinctness which might satisfy the most impatient. Πάριος is in reply to ποδαπός.
Evenus is referred to as a poet in Phaedo 60 D; certain technicalities of rhetoric are ascribed to him in Phaedrus 267 A.

C ἐμμελῶς] ‘Teaches so cheaply.’ From meaning ‘harmonious,’ or ‘well-proportioned,’ ἐμμελῆς came to mean ‘small.’ Cp. Laws 760 A, τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μεγίστα ἱερά, δύο δ’ εἰς τὰ σμικρότερα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐμμελέστατα ἐνα. The change in the meaning of ἐμμελῆς somewhat resembles that of the Latin gracilis, which in prose commonly means ‘thin.’ Cp. also ἄξιος and the German billig.

ἐκαλλυνώμην τὲ καὶ ἠβρυνώμην ἄν] ‘Would have prided and plumed myself.’

ἀλλ’ οὐ γάρ] ‘But indeed I don’t know them.’ The ellipse theory would here require us to fill up thus: ἀλλ’ (οὐ καλλύνομαι τε καὶ ἀβρύνομαι), οὐ γάρ ἐπίσταμαι. See note on 19 C, ἀλλὰ γάρ.

τὸ σὸν τί ἔστι πράγμα] ‘How stands the case with you?’

εἰ μὴ τι ἔπραττες κ.τ.λ.] These words, which are bracketed by Hermann, simply repeat the clause above, σοῦ γε οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. They may nevertheless be genuine, as an emphatic tautology is common enough in Plato. Riddell registers it, under the title of ‘Binary Structure,’ as one of the prominent features of his style. Digest, § 204.

D εὖ μέντοι ἔστε] For μέντοι balancing μέν, in place of the usual δὲ, cp. 38 D. μέντοι really goes with ἐρῶ, εὖ ἔστε being adverbial.

ἐσχεκα] See note on 19 A, ἔξελέσθαι . . . χρῆναι.

ποιαν δὴ σοφίαν ταύτην;] The words are drawn into the accusative through the influence of the διὰ preceding. Translate ‘Of what kind then is this wisdom through which I have obtained it?’ Cp. Gorg. 449 D, E, περὶ λόγους. Πολοὺς τούτους; The same attraction may take place where there is no preposition preceding, as in Gorg. 462 E, Τίνος λέγεις ταύτης. Here the word preceding is in the genitive.

ἡπερ] Supply τοιαύτην ἔστιν.

ταύτην εἶναι σοφὸς] Cp. the words which follow, μείζω τινὰ κ.τ.λ., and see note on 20 B, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἄρετην.


μὴ θαρυμβήσῃτε] The aorist subjunctive forbids a particular act in Greek, like the perfect subjunctive in Latin.

The rule of Greek syntax that the subject has the article and the predicate not, extends to the case of a secondary and tertiary predicate. We have here two statements in a compressed form:

1. ἐρω λόγον.
2. δ λόγος οὐκ ἐμὸς ἔσται.

The same principle applies to the next clause also.

Ἀλλ' εἰς ἄξιόχρεων κ.τ.λ. 'But I shall refer it (τὸν λόγον) to a speaker whom you may trust.' It is difficult to say whether οὐκ should be taken immediately with ἄξιόχρεων or with the sentence generally as a dativus commodi after ἀνοίσω.

Χαερεφῶντα] Chaerephon, of the Sphettian deme, was one of the most devoted adherents of Socrates. He associated with him for the sake of mental and moral improvement, and is mentioned by Xenophon as one who had brought no discredit on the teachings of his master (Mem. I. 2. § 48). His disposition was impulsive and excitable (Charm. 153 B). Chaerephon had a younger brother, Chaerocrates. Memorabilia II. 2 contains an exhortation to Chaerocrates to conciliate Chaerephon, with whom he was at variance. Chaerephon figures in the Charmides and in the Gorgias, where we are told that he was a friend of that eminent teacher (Gorg. 447 B). In personal appearance Chaerephon was sickly, lean and dark-complexioned. This explains some of the uncomplimentary allusions of the Comic poets, who were peculiarly bitter in their attacks upon him, partly perhaps for political reasons, as he was evidently a warm partisan. Aristophanes in the Birds calls him an owl (line 1296); in the Wasps he compares him to a sallow woman (line 1413); in the lost play of the Seasons he nicknamed him 'the son of night.' To the same effect is the epithet πύξινος bestowed upon him by Eupolis in the Cities. His poverty, or, it may be, his asceticism, is jeered at in the Clouds, 103, 4—

τοὺς ἄχριστας, τοὺς ἀνυπόδητους λέγεις.

Similarly Cratinus called him αὐξμηρὸν καὶ πένητα. Even the moral character of Chaerephon did not escape scathless. Aristophanes called him a sycophant in one play and a thief in another, while Eupolis accused him of toadyng Callias. On the whole, then, Chaerephon was pretty well known to the Athenians. See the Scholiast on this passage. For other allusions to him in the Clouds see lines 144, 156, 504, 832, 1465. Chaerephon, we see, was already dead when Socrates was brought to trial. Philostratus (p. 203) says that his health was affected by study.

τὴν φυγὴν ταύτην] 'The recent exile,' referring to the expulsion 21 A.
of the popular party from Athens in the time of the Thirty Tyrants, whose usurpation lasted from June 404 B.C. to February 403. The restoration of the democracy was effected in the following year (B.C. 403-402), memorable in Athenian history under the title of the archonship of Eucleides.

*_ApoLOGY, NOTES. 21 A-C._*

_The words of the oracle are recorded by the Scholiast—_

 σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφῶτερος Εὐριπίδης_

 άνδρῶν δ' ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφῶτατος.

The second line only is quoted by Diogenes. Perhaps a δὲ has dropped out before the Εὐριπίδης in the first.

_δὲ ἀδέλφος_] Doubtless the Chaeræcrates already referred to. See note on 20 E, Χαῖρεφώντα.

_Οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτῷ_] We see here that growing moral conception of the divine nature, which led to the revolt of the philosophers against mythology.

_αὐτοῦ_] 'Into it,' i.e. into the matter. This vague use of the pronoun is not uncommon. See Meno 73 C, τί αὐτό φησι.

_μαντεῖον_] This word here evidently means 'the divine utterance,' not the place of divination, which is a meaning it often bears.

_τῷ χρησμῷ_] 'The oracle.' χρησμός is properly the answer given by an oracle, like μαντεῖον just above; but it is here personified out of reverence, to avoid the appearance of calling the god to account.

_ὅτι_] Notice that ὅτι is used with the direct as well as with the oblique narration, unlike 'that' in English, which is confined to the latter.

_ἐφησθα_] For the form cp. ἧσθα, ἥεισθα, ὤσθα.

_όνοματι γὰρ_] γὰρ explains why the mere pronoun τοῦτον is used instead of the proper name. 'I say him, for,' etc.

_πρὸς δὲν ἐγὼ σκοπῶν κ.τ.λ._] 'In whose case I had on inquiry some such experience as this.' For the construction πᾶσχειν πρὸς τινα cp. Gorg. 485 B, καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμώτατον πᾶσχοι πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσοφῶντας ὑπερ πρὸς τοὺς ἤσσομοίους καὶ παῖσσαν.

_καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ_] This is coordinate with διασκοπῶν at the beginning of the sentence.

_εἴδοξε μοι_] Here we have a violent anacoluthon, or, to put it frankly, a piece of bad grammar. After the participle διαλεγόμενος
we should have expected some such construction as the ἐλογιζόμην ὑπὲρ, which follows in D. Instead of which the participle is left to look after itself, thus forming a nominativus pendens, and the sentence is finished in the impersonal form. For similar instances of changed construction see Riddell, Digest of Idioms, § 271.


κινδυνεύει] On the force of κινδυνεύω see L. and S. sub voce, 4 b.

καλὸν κἀγαθὸν This expression is generally used in the masculine, and implies the ne plus ultra of perfection, the man who is beautiful both without and within—the finished result of γυμναστική and μονοτεις. For the neuter use cp. Arist. Eth. Nic. I. (8.) § 9, τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καλῶν κἀγαθῶν.

ἀισθανόμενος μὲν κ.τ.λ. ‘Perceiving indeed with pain and apprehension.’

ἴτεόν οὖν] This may be dependent on ἐδόκει with εἶναι understood; but it is more likely that we have here a sudden transition to the direct narration, ‘So I must go,’ etc.

τὸν χρησμόν, τί λέγει] ‘The meaning of the oracle.’ The Greek idiom is well known by which the subject of the succeeding verb becomes the object of the preceding one. The sentence as we have it is much livelier than if the strict syntax were followed—σκοπώντι ὁ, τί λέγοι ὁ χρησμός.

νὴ τὸν κύνα] The Scholiast quotes Cratinus in the Cheirons—

οἷς ἦν μέγιστος ὄρκος ἀπαντῶν λόγῳ κυνῷ,

ἐπείτα χὴν, θεὸς δὲ ἐσίγων—

and tells us that such oaths as those by the dog, the goose, the plane-tree (see I'haedrus 236 E ad in.), the ram, and so on, were resorted to for the avoidance of profanity. For the oath by the goose, see Aristophanes, Birds 521—

Λάμπαν δ' ὄμνυς ἐτι καὶ νυνὶ τὸν χὴν', ὡταν ἐξαπατῇ τι.

It is probably only Plato's fun to identify ‘the dog’ with the Egyptian god Anubis (Gorg. 482 B, μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτιῶν θεόν). It has been suggested that νὴ τὸν χῆνα is a disguise for νὴ τὸν Ζήνα, like potz-tausend, morbleu and many other modern oaths.

ὁλίγου δεῖν κ.τ.λ.] ‘To be nearly (lit. within a little of being) the most deficient.’ The τῶν belongs to εἶναι. The phrase is usually followed by a simple infinitive, whether it is used personally, as in 30 D, 37 B, or impersonally, as in 35 D.

κατὰ τὸν θεόν] Socrates regards the statement of the god as implying a command to prove its truth.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 22 A, B.

[Text starts here]

...ο̂σπερ τόνευς τινάς πνοούντος] He compares his task of convincing mankind of their ignorance to the labours of a Hercules. πνοούντος agrees with the ἐμοῦ implied in ἐμὴν.

...καὶ καν ἐλεγκτος ἤ μαντεία γένοιτο] This is Hermann’s conjecture for ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος ἤ μαντεία γένοιτο. We are in a dilemma here between piety and politeness. Hermann’s reading represents it as the object of Socrates to refute the oracle. This does not seem consistent with the words above in 21 B, οὐ γὰρ δῆπον ψεῦδεται γε' οὐ γὰρ θέμισ αὐτῷ, while on the other hand it fits in better with the words which immediately follow. If we retain the old reading we may translate—'In order that I might have the divine declaration set quite above dispute.' In this case Socrates, though puzzled by the oracle, is anxious to vindicate the truth of the deity. Riddell distinguishes between μαντείον and μαντεία, taking the former to signify the expression and the latter the meaning, so that μαντεία stands to μαντείον in the same relation as the judgment to the proposition in logic. The propositions of an oracle, as is well known, were peculiarly liable to equivocation and amphiboly, so that the μαντείον might differ seriously from the μαντεία, as in the historical instances of Croesus and Pyrrhus. In its primary meaning μαντεία signifies the process of divination, not, as here, the product.


...διδυράμβων] When Plato is speaking technically, he confines διδυράμβος to a song relating to the birth of Baecchus, coordinating it with ὑμνοῖ, θρήνοι, παίωνες and νόμοι as various species of φθαί, Laws 700 B.

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους] For a fuller list of species of poetry see Ion 534 C, ὁ μὲν (οὗς τε ποιεῖν καλῶς) διδυράμβους, ὁ δὲ ἐγκώμα, ὁ δὲ ἱπορχήματα, ὁ δ’ ἐπη, ὁ δ’ ἰάμβους.

ἐπ’ αὐτοφόρῳ] ‘Palpably.’ Properly said of a thief (φῶρ, fur) caught in the very act (αὐτω-).

...αὐτοῖς] Dative of the agent. πεπραγματεύσθαι is passive.

...οἱ παρόντες] ‘Who were present.’ The participle is in the imperfect tense.

...ἔγνων] See note on 25 D, ἔγνωκας.

...ἐν λόγῳ] ‘In short.’ This is Hermann’s conjecture in place of ἐν ὀλίγῳ, ‘in a short time.’ Riddell however maintains that ἐν ὀλίγῳ itself admits of this meaning. For ἐν λόγῳ cp. Phaedo 97 B.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 22 C–23 A.

φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες] ‘Owing to a sort of instinct and divine afflatus.’ This theory of poetry as a form of inspiration meets us everywhere in Plato, e.g. Phaedrus 245 A; Meno 99 D; Ion 533 D—534 E.

The participle ἐνθουσιάζοντες is here equivalent to a dative of manner.

πάθος . . . πεπονθότες] Accusative of the internal object. πάθος πεπονθέναι means ‘to be in a certain state.’ Cp. οἱ τι . . . πεπόνθατε, 17 A.

ὑσθάμην αὐτῶν . . . οἰομένων] The genitive after a verb of perception; and the participle, instead of infinitive, as after verbs of seeing, knowing, etc.

σοφωτάτων εἰναι] After οἰομένων, the case being preserved.

καὶ ἐντείθεν] ‘From them too.’ Like inde and unde in Latin, ἐντείθεν is sometimes used of persons.

τῷ αὐτῷ] Cp. 21 D, σμικρῷ τινὶ κ.τ.λ.

τούτοις κ.τ.λ.] See note on 21 E, τὸν χρησμόν, τί λέγει. D

εὔρησομι.] Future optative, which is found in oblique oration only. The direct statement would be οἶδα ὅτι εἰσὶν. ἔξειν ἀμάρτημα] ‘To be under a mistake,’ ‘make a mistake.’

With ποιηταί supply εἶχον.

ήξιον] ‘Claimed.’

ἀπέκρυπτεν] ‘Threw into the shade.’ The assumption of universal knowledge was a mistake which outweighed in importance the value of their specific skill in handicraft.

πότερα δεξαμενὴ ἄν] ‘Whether I would choose.’ Literally ἔδωκαὶ ἐξερήσατο, ‘would accept’ (if the choice were offered).

οὗτος ὡσπερ ἔξω ἔχειν] ‘To be as I am.’ This is the meaning of ἔχω with adverbs—ἔχειν καλῶς, κακῶς, etc. But below ἔχειν ἄ ἐκείνου ἔχουσιν means ‘to have what they have,’ their knowledge and their ignorance.

οἶαι χαλεπώταται] ‘Of a kind that are the bitterest.’ Supply 23 A eἰοῦν.

ὁνομα δὲ τούτῳ κ.τ.λ.] ‘And I am called by this name, that I am wise.’ Riddell. We might have expected τὸ εἶναι μὲ σοφόν.

The nominative is due to the fact that Socrates is himself the subject. For a similar construction with the addition of the article cp. Symp. 173 D, ταύτην τὴν ἐπανωμίαν ἔλαβε τὸ μανικὸς καλεῖσθαι.

οὶ παρόντες] ‘The bystanders.’

ἄ ἄν ἄλλον ἔξελέγξε] ‘Wherein I have refuted another.’ Ἐξελέγχω can take two accusatives: (1) of the person; (2) of the thing.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 23 A–C.

τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύειν] Perhaps it is best, with Riddell in his Digest, § 19 (though not in his text), to separate τὸ δὲ by a comma from κινδυνεύειν. τὸ δὲ introduces a counter-statement, and may be rendered ‘whereas,’ ‘but in fact,’ or quite literally, ‘but for that matter.’ For a similar use of τὸ δὲ cp. Meno 97 C, τὸ δὲ ἀρα καὶ δοξά ἦν ἀλήθης, ‘whereas after all there was also right opinion.’ Other instances are Theaet. 157 B, 183 A, 207 B; Soph. 244 A; Symp. 198 D; Prot. 344 E; Rep. 340 D, 443 C; Laws 803 D.

οἶδα] This was probably intended to be understood of Apollo, and yet did not quite mean so in Plato’s mind.

καὶ οὐδὲνός] An instance of the alternative use of καί. ‘Little or nothing.’

οὐ λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτην] ‘Not to mean the individual, Socrates.’


ἐν τινα οἴωμαι] ‘Anyone whom I may imagine.’ Supply τοῦτον before ζητῶ καὶ ἐρευνῶ, ἐν is contracted from εἶν. The verbs of seeking, ζητῶ καὶ ἐρευνῶ, take a double accusative, one of the person and another of the thing, παίσα.

ἐν πενίᾳ μυρίᾳ] ‘In untold poverty.’ μυρίος denotes anything that is beyond counting; μύριοι means definitely ten thousand. The use of μυρίος for πολὺς is found several times in Plato. Aristotle mentions it as a use of the specific for the general word, and so more suitable to poetry than prose. In English we use ‘thousand’ and ‘thousands’ to express an indefinitely large number; sometimes ‘millions.’ The Romans did not get beyond six hundred, sexcenti.

On the poverty of Socrates cp. 31 C, 36 D, 38 B. In the last of these passages Socrates says that he thinks he could pay a fine of a mina (about £4). By Xenophon his whole property is estimated at 5 minae (Oecon. II. § 3). It is recorded of Socrates that when he looked at the variety of goods for sale, he said to himself, ‘How many things there are which I have no need of!’ (Diog. Laert. II. § 25). See also Rep. 337 D; Xen. Mem. I. 2. § 1. Oecon. XI. 3.

οἶς μᾶλιστα σχολή ἐστιν] To attend the lectures and discourses of the Sophists, among whom Socrates, despite his idiosyncracies, must be reckoned, was the Greek equivalent to a university education among ourselves. The poorer classes are engaged in working for their living at the time of life at which this education is imparted.

οἱ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων] ‘The sons of the wealthiest citizens.’ Supply νεῖσι from the νέου preceding, or repeat νέου itself, like Juvenal’s—

‘pinnirapi cultos iuvenes iuvenesque lanistae’ (III. 158).
With ἐπακολουθοῦντες. He means that these young men had not been formally committed to his charge by their parents, and that he was under no tutorial relations to them. Cp. Xen. Mem. I. 2. § 18.

See note on 22 C, ἡμοδόμην κ.τ.λ.

This is adopted by Hermann, on Fischer’s conjecture, in place of the ordinary reading μιμοῦμενοι. For εἶτα thus following a participle cp. Xen. Mem. I. 1. § 5, ἔδεικεν δ’ ἄν ἀμφύτερα ταύτα, ἐπὶ προαγορεύων ὅσ ὑπὸ θεοῦ φαινόμενα κατὰ φευγόμενον ἐφαίνετο.

'As a consequence.' The odium reverted upon Socrates, as he was the originator of this unpleasant system of examination.

Σωκράτης τίς ἐστι] τίς is predicate. 'Socrates is a most pestilent fellow.' Contrast with this the construction in 18 B, ὡς ἐστὶ τίς Σωκράτης, where τίς goes with Σωκράτης and ἐστὶ is the substantive verb.

A metaphor from a stone or other missile which is ready to hand against some one. We have an excellent illustration of the kind of thing referred to in the Symposium of Xenophon, in which the showman, irritated with Socrates for engaging the attention of the guests by his conversation, calls him μετέώρων φροντιστὴς, and asks him how many flea’s paces he is off from him (Xen. Conv. VI. §§ 6–8).

Supply διαφθείρει τοὺς νέους διδάσκαν from above. The accusatives τὰ μετέώρα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς and also the infinitives νομίζειν and ποιεῖν, which are coordinate with them, are governed by διδάσκαν understood.

‘Seeing that they are.’ Lit. 'as being.’ ἄτε is much the same in sense as ὡς, but is more exclusively used to give a reason.

'Earnestly.' Another reading is ἐυντεταγμένως, which would mean 'in set array.'

'Is it on this ground.'

See note on 19 B.

Anytus was a prominent leader of the popular party at Athens (Xen. Hell. II. 3. § 42). His father, Anthemion, had made his fortune as a tanner (see Meno 90 A, and Scholiast on Apology). Hence the propriety of his appearing in a double capacity as champion ὑπὲρ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν.

The Scholiast informs us that Lycon was an Ionian by extraction, and belonged to the deme of

21
Thoricus. He is called a 'demagogue' by Diogenes Laertius, II. § 38 ad fin. His poverty excited the ridicule of the comic poets Cratinus and Aristophanes. The more serious charge of treason is brought against him in the Hostage ("Ομηρος") of Metagenes, one of the ali quorum comedia priscæ virorum est:—

. . . . καὶ Λύκων ἐνταῦθα που
. . . προδοῦς Ναῦτακτον ἄργυρον λαβῶν
ἀγορᾶς ἀγαλμα ἕνικον ἐμπορεύεται.

We are told that Eupolis in the Friends satirized his wife Rhodia. The Scholiast identifies the accuser of Socrates with Lycon, the father of Autolycus, the youth in whose honour the Symposium of Xenophon is represented as having been given; and adds that Lycon was satirized as a stranger in the play of Eupolis called 'The First Autolycus.' This play is assigned to B.C. 420. The identification of the two persons appears highly improbable on chronological and other grounds. There is a Lycon mentioned in an uncomplimentary context by Aristophanes, Wasps 1301.

οὔτε μέγα οὔτε σμικρόν] The frequent recurrence of this phrase in the Apology is perhaps intentional. Cp. 19 C, D; 21 B; 26 B. It may have been a trick of speaking on the part of Socrates, which Plato has been careful to reproduce.

οὖν ὑποστειλάμενος] 'Ὑποστέλλω is used of lowering or furling a sail. The metaphors of a nation give us a clue to their habitual pursuits. Those of the Athenians are mostly naval, legal, or gymnastic.

tοῖς αὐτοῖς] 'Through the same things,'

καὶ ὅτι αὐτῇ κ.τ.λ.] 'And that this is the meaning of the prejudice against me, and these the causes of it.'

Β αὐτῇ ἐστώ κ.τ.λ.] 'Let this be a sufficient defence before you.' Αὐτῇ is attracted into the gender of the predicate ἀπολογία, being put for τοῦτο. This is the prevailing construction in Greek.

πρὸς δὲ Μέλητον] Euripides is instinct with the spirit of the law-courts. It is worth while to compare his Hecuba, lines 1195, 6—

καὶ μοι τὸ μὲν σὸν ὅσε φρομίωσ ἐχεις
πρὸς τόνδε δ' εἴμι, καὶ λόγους ἀμείσομαι.

λάβωμεν αὐ] αὖ does no more than repeat the αὖθις at the beginning of the sentence.

ἀντωμοσιῶν] See note on 19 B.

Σωκράτη φησίν ἀδικεῖν κ.τ.λ.] Xenophon, Mem. I. 1. § 1, gives us the indictment in the direct narration, without vouching for its literal accuracy, as he introduces it by τοιάδε τις ἢν. 'Ἀδικεῖ' Σωκράτης οὐς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἐτέρα δὲ καὶνα.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 24 B—25 A.

The text discusses the Apologia of Socrates and the oblique narration used in it. It also references Diogenes Laërtius and Favorinus, noting that the indictment was preserved in the Metroum. The text explains the use of oxymoron and intentional paradox, and cites examples from various authors. It also discusses the number of judges and the response to the charge in Demosthenes' speeches.

In Demosthenes, p. 1131 ad fin. (Kata Στεφάνου Β, 10), a law is quoted to the following effect: τῶν ἀντιδικοῦ ἐπάναγκες εἶναι ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἀλλήλοις τὸ ἐρωτόμενον, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ μὴ. See Riddell, Introd. p. xviii.

An instance of oxymoron, or intentional paradox. For illustrations of this figure of speech see Farrar's Greek Syntax, § 315 C. Riddell renders it 'is playing off a jest under solemn forms.'

A common interrogative formula in Plato, equivalent to the Latin nonne. To ask, 'Do you do anything else than such and such a thing?' is a roundabout way of indicating our belief that the person does the thing in question. On the same principle we insert a 'not' in English, when we wish to suggest an affirmative answer. 'Do you not consider it of great importance, etc.?'

Translate, 'I am very unfortunate in your opinion.' Καταγγέλειν τινὸς means to form an unfavourable judgment of somebody. Cp. Meno 76 C, καί ἀμα ἐμὸν ἵσον κατέγνωκας, ὧτι εἰμὶ ἡττῶν τῶν καλῶν: Xen. Mem. I. 3. § 10, τοιαῦτα κατέγνωκας αὐτοῦ. Here we have it followed by an accusative analogous to the accusative of the charge.

23
APOLOGY; NOTES. 25 B–D.


tούναντιον τούτων πᾶν] These words should perhaps be considered subject to δοκεῖ understood, and explained by the εἰς μὲν τις which follows in apposition. For a different view see Riddell, Dig. § 13.

οὐ φήτε] How entirely the οὐ coalesces with φημί is plain from the fact that in any other case we should here require μή. Cp. note on φησὶ, 20 E.

C ἀμέλειαν] Socrates has throughout been playing on the name Meletus. Cp. § 24 C, D; 26 B. For other instances of puns in Plato see Riddell, Digest § 323.

ἀ πρὸς Δίος, Μέλητε] It looks as though the ἀ really belonged to the vocative Μέλητε, and were separated only through that confusion of expression which is so common a feature in adjurations. Similarly in Meno 71 D, ἀ πρὸς θεών, Μέναν, τι φης ἀρετὴν είναι; But this idea has to be abandoned when we find the same expression occurring where there is no vocative at all, as below 26 E, ἄλλ' ἀ πρὸς Δίος, οὕτωσι σοι δοκῶ κ.τ.λ. Cp. Rep. 332 C, ΄Ο πρὸς Δίος, ἦν

ἐν πολίταις χρηστοῖς ἢ πονηροῖς] The position of the adjectives throws a predicative force upon them. Translate, 'Is it better to have the fellow-citizens among whom one dwells good or bad?'

ἀ τὰ] Nothing is really known as to the origin and meaning of this mysterious form of address, except that it is a formula of politeness. It is plural as well as singular. See Liddell and Scott.

D καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος κελεύει ἀποκρίνεσθαι] See note on καὶ μοι δεῦρο κ.τ.λ., 24 C.

τηλικοῦτον ὄντος τηλικόσδε ἄν] 'Are you at your age so much wiser than I at mine?' The usual meaning of the pronouns (see note on τῆδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, 17 C) is here exactly reversed. For τηλικόσδε used by the speaker of himself see below 34 E, 37 D; Crito 49 A ad fin.; Theaet. 177 C; and for τηλικοῦτος used of another see Prot. 361 E; Gorg. 466 A, 489 B ad fin. In Crito 43 C we have τηλικοῦτος used both in the first and second person, or rather, without distinction of person.

ἐγνωκας] The aorist ἐγνων in 22 B ad fin. expresses an act; the perfect here expresses the state which is the result of that act. ἐγνων is 'I recognised,' ἐγνωκας is 'you are in the state of having recognised,' and so, 'you know.' Further on, 27 A, the future γνώσεται may be rendered 'find out,' and so with the aorist in 33 D ad in.
APOLOGY; NOTES. 25 D–26 D.

μάλιστα πλησίον] Put for πλησιάτατα.
oüδένα] Supply πείθεσαι.
tοιοῦτον καὶ ἀκούσιόν] The καί is explanatory of τοιοῦτων. It may be omitted in translating.

ἐάν μάθω] 'If I am instructed.' Μανθάνω is practically the passive of διδάσκω, as πάντως of ποιέω, θυνόσω of κτείνω, κείμαι of τίθημι, ὁφλισκάω of καταδικάζω, φεύγω of διάκω, εἰσίναι of εἰσάγειν.

ἡ δῆλον δή ὅτι] Supply φής μὲ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νεοτέρους. B

ὡν] For the simple genitive after λόγος Stallbaum quotes Charm. 156 A, οὐ γάρ τι σοῦ ὅλιγος λόγος ἐστὶν.

tὸ παράπαν οὖν νομίζεις θεός] This was the impression which C the bulk of his contemporaries entertained of Socrates. It is conveyed plainly enough in the Clouds, e.g. in the answer of Socrates to Strepsiades (247, 8) –

ποίεως θεός ὃμεί σύ; πρῶτον γὰρ θεό

虎卫 νόμιμοι οὐκ ἐστι,

and in the epithet ὁ Μήλιος (line 831) which is bestowed upon him, with allusion of course to Diagoras, who was surnamed ἄθεος (Cic. De Nat, Deor. I. chs. 1 and 23).

οὐδὲ ἡλιον οὐδὲ σελήνην] In the Symposium 220 D, Socrates is D recorded to have prayed to the Sun, ἐπειτα ἀδικᾶται προσευχάμενος τῷ ἡλίῳ. The Sun and Moon were regarded as divine beings by the Ancients, quite apart from their personification as Apollo and Artemis. Helios in the Odyssey appears as a distinct person from Apollo (Od. VIII. cp. 271 with 323). Among the definitions of the sun given in the "Ὅρος, which follow the Letters in Hermann's Plato, are these two—(1) ἡμῶν ἁλίθιον, (2) ἐμψυχον τὸ μέγιστον.

Μά Δι'] Supply οὐ νομίζει. See note on 17 B.

tὸν μὲν ἡλιον κ.τ.λ.] See Diog. Laert. II. § 8, in his life of Anaxagoras, Ὀυτός ἐλεγε τὸν ἡλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον, καὶ μείζω τῆς Πελοποννήσου.

tὴν δὲ σελήνην ηῆν] 'And the moon earth.' ἦῆν is probably meant to explain the substance of which the moon was made. But it would be consistent with the tenets of Anaxagoras to translate, 'and the moon an earth.' For Anaxagoras is recorded to have believed that rational animals were not confined to our world, and that the moon contained dwelling-places as well as hills and valleys (Ritter and Preller 57 a; Diog. Laert. II. § 8).

'Αναξαγόρου] Anaxagoras of Clazomenae was born about B.C. 500. He was a man of wealth and position in his own country, but he resigned his patrimony to his kinsmen, and set out for Athens at the age of 20, just at the time of the Persian invasion,
B.C. 480. Here he spent the next 30 years of his life in the study of natural philosophy. Among the most distinguished of his pupils were Pericles and Euripides and Archelaus, the instructor of Socrates. His guesses at truth appear in some instances to have been very successful. Thus he maintained that the moon derived its light from the sun (Crat. 409 B). Also he taught the eternity and indestructibility of matter, and declared 'becoming' and 'perishing' to be merely other names for combination and separation (Ritter and Preller, § 49). But what renders his name of most importance in the history of philosophy was his declaration that intelligence (νοῦς) was the cause of all motion and order in the universe. He was indicted by the Athenians for impiety on account of his opinion about the sun. Hereupon he retired to Lampsacus, where he ended his days in honour at the age of 72. The accounts, however, of his trial and death are very conflicting. According to Hermippus of Smyrna (apud Diog. Laert. II. § 13) he was pardoned by the Athenians on the personal intercession of Pericles, who declared himself to be his disciple, but committed suicide in disgust at the treatment to which he had been subjected. Anaxagoras was a man of lofty mind with a passionate zeal for penetrating the secrets of nature. When asked for what he had been born, he replied, 'To contemplate the sun and moon and heaven.' The fragments that remain of his writings contain Ionic forms. See his life in Diog. Laert. II. §§ 6–15, and the fragments in Ritter and Preller.

οἶει αὐτῶς ἀπείρους] The force of the οὗτω preceding is carried on to these words.

ὡστε οὐκ εἰδέναι] The rule is that ὡστε, when followed by the indicative, requires οὐ, when by the infinitive, μὴ. Thus, to use Shilleto's example, we should have, on the one hand, οὗτως ἀφρων ἦν ὡστε οὐκ ἐβούλετο and, on the other, οὗτως ἀφρων ἦν ὡστε μὴ βούλεσθαι. The difference between these two forms of expression is that the indicative puts the fact prominently forward, while the infinitive rather regards the event as the natural outcome of its antecedent—more briefly, the indicative expresses the real, the infinitive the logical consequence. Now when the infinitive is necessitated by the change from the direct to the oblique narration, this distinction would be lost, were the οὐ changed into μὴ. Hence when stress is meant to be laid upon the matter of fact, the οὐ of direct narration is retained in the oblique. Here the direct statement would have been οὗτως ἀπειροὶ εἰσν, ὡστε οὖς ἱσασί. See Shilleto, Demosth. De Fals. Leg., Appendix B.

τὰ Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία] His principal work was a treatise on
nature, which Diogenes Laertius (II. § 6) tells us was 'written in an agreeable and elevated style.'

καὶ δὴ καὶ] 'And, I suppose.'

eἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ] 'At the most.' Cp. Alcib. 123 C, ἄξιος μῦν ἔνευτικόντα, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ. Similarly εἰν πάμπολον, Gorg. 511 D.

Riddell.

δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχῆστρας] 'Purchasing them (i.e. the doctrines) from the orchestra for a drachma.' In return for the drachma, which was the greatest sum he could be charged for his seat, a theatre-goer was liable to be treated to the doctrines of Anaxagoras, so much had they become part of the common mental stock at Athens. Euripides was specially infected with the new learning. In his Orestes (line 983) the sun is spoken of as a stone.

οὔτως ἀτοπὰ ὄντα] According to Xenophon, Socrates himself shared the vulgar prejudice against physical science on the ground of its impiety, and thought Anaxagoras no better than a madman. See Xen. Mem. IV. 7. § 6. Xenophon combats the doctrine of Anaxagoras, τὸν ἡλιον λίθον διάπυρον εἶναι, on the ground that a stone does not glow when hot, nor retain its heat long, whereas the sun is eternally the brightest of all things. Nor will Xenophon even allow that the sun is of the nature of fire. For—

1. Men can look at fire, but they cannot look at the sun.
2. The sun darkens men's complexions, but fire does not.
3. Sunlight is good for plants, but fire is bad for them (Ibid. § 7).

We need not saddle Socrates with the responsibility for these arguments.

οὔτωσι] 'As you say.' Cp. note on τὴν τὴν ἡλιεία, 17 C.

'Απιστος ... καὶ ... σαντῶ] Because, as Socrates is going to show, he was contradicting himself. 'You are undeserving of credit, Meletus, and that too indeed, as it seems to me, in your own eyes.'

ὁσπερ αὖνγμα] 'A kind of riddle.'

ξυντιθέντι διαπερῳμένῳ] This interlacing of participles is not uncommon in Plato. Cp. ἐξελθόντε ... ἀμειβομένῳ, 37 D.

γνώσεται] See note on ἐγνακας, 25 D.

ἐμοῦ χαριντιξομένου] For the genitive of a noun with participle after verbs of knowing, etc., see Riddell, Digest, § 26.

δ σοφὸς δὴ] δὴ shows that the epithet preceding is bestowed ironically. These finer touches have to be conveyed in English by the inflection of the voice.

ἡ μοι φαίνεται ταῦτα λέγειν] 'What I understand him to mean in saying this.'

ἐν τῷ εἰωθοτι τρόπῳ] That is, by the use of the Socratic induction, which he now proceeds to apply.
καὶ μὴ ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα θορυβεῖτο] 'And not be always raising some fresh disturbance.'

tὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε] 'The next question at all events,' i.e. the question to which the induction had been intended to lead up. Cp. Gorg. 512 E, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σκέπτον, unless that be merely adverbial, as Cope takes it—'hereupon.' More usually the phrase is τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο. Cp. Crat. 391 B, Ὑώκουν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο χρῆ χαίτειν: Prot. 355 A, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄκουετε: Crito 49 E.

'Ὡς ὁνήσας] 'How kind of you.'

ὑπὸ τουτων ἄναγκαζόμενος] See note on Καὶ μοι δεῦρο κ.τ.λ.

24 C.

διαμόσω] See note on ἀντωμοσία, 19 B.

ἀντιγραφὴ] Like ἀντωμοσία this term properly signifies the defendant's plea, but its meaning has been extended so as to cover the indictment. Cp. note on ἀντωμοσία, 19 B.

τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ σκέπτον—The saying 'silence gives consent' seems to have had its origin as one of the rules of the game of dialectic. Cp. Aristotle, Sophist. Elench. 5. § 13, ὡμολογοῦσι τῷ μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἐφαρμόσειν.

D δαίμονας] On the nature and office of daemons, see a passage in the Symposium, 202 E-203 A. They were regarded as something intermediate between God and man, καὶ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δαίμονιον μεταξὺ ἐστὶ θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ—the sources of all divination and prophecy, and the agents in the production of the supernatural generally. The following is the definition of daemons given by Apuleius, who professed himself a follower of Plato, 'genere animalia, animo passiva, mente rationalia, corpore aëria, tempore aeterna.' (Quoted by St. Augustine, De Civ. Dei IX. 8.) By the Jews daemons were considered to be the spirits of the wicked dead. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. VII. 6. § 3. Hesiod, on the other hand, declared that they were the souls of the men of the golden age, Works and Days, 120-3—

αὐτὰ ἐπειδὴ τούτῳ γένος κατὰ γαῖα καλύψειν,

τοῖς μὲν δαίμονες εἰςὶ Δίος μεγάλον διὰ βουλᾶς,

ἐσθωλοὶ, ἐπιχύμοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

In the Alcestis of Euripides 1002-4 we find the belief indicated that such a transformation was possible, at least in the heroic ages—

αὐτὰ ποτὲ προθάναι ἄνθρωπος,

νῦν δὲ ἐστὶ μάκαιρα δαίμων,

χαῖρε, ἐν πότε, εὖ δὲ δοῖς.

φάναι] Epexegetical of οἰνίττεσθαι καὶ χαριεντίζεσθαι.

ἐκ τινῶν ἄλλων ἔν κ.τ.λ.] Translate—'by some other mothers, by whom, as you know, they are declared to be.' It is tempting to take ἐκ τινῶν ἄλλων ἔν with Riddell as equivalent to ἐκ ἄλλων ἔν.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 27 D–28 C.

τινῶν, 'by whatsoever other mothers:' but probably we have nothing more here than the rather common omission of the preposition with the relative, when the antecedent has already been used with the same preposition. E.g. Xen. Conv. IV. § 1, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὁ ὑμῶν ἀκούω.

τοὺς ἤμιλονες] Both sense and sound are improved by the omission of these words, which are very likely due to some unintelligent commentator.

τῆν γραφὴν ταύτην] These words again look like a marginal explanation of ταύτα, which has crept into the text. It seems harsh to take ταύτα as governed by ἀποπειράμενος.

ὡς οὖ τοῦ αὐτοῦ] Translate the whole sentence thus—'But that you should persuade anyone who has the least grain of sense, that it is possible for the same person to believe in things pertaining to divine beings and gods, and yet, on the other hand, not to believe in divine beings or gods or heroes, is absolutely inconceivable.' The οὖ, as Riddell says, is irrational, being simply a confused anticipation of the coming negative in ὀδεμία.

If anyone thinks this explanation too bold, he can extract a meaning out of the words as they stand, while allowing οὖ its proper force—'But that you should persuade anyone who has the least grain of sense, that it is possible for a man to believe in things pertaining to divine beings and at the same time not to believe in things pertaining to gods, and again for the same person not to believe in divine beings or gods or heroes, is absolutely inconceivable.' In this case the reasoning would run thus—You admit that I believe in δαιμόνια, yet you deny that I believe in θεία, and, what is more absurd still, while admitting that I believe in δαιμόνια, you deny that I believe in δαιμόνια or in any other kind of supernatural personal agent.

ταύτα] 'What you have heard.' Cp. note on 17 C, τῇδε τῇ 28 A ἡλικία.

διαβολή] See note on 19 C, διαβολήν.

πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους κ.τ.λ.] 'Many other good men too.'

οὐδὲν δὲ δεινόν κ.τ.λ.] 'Nor is there any fear of their stopping B short at me.' The subject to στὴν is ἀ δὴ above. This sentence is interesting, as it perhaps gives us the key to the common construction with οὐ μὴ. Riddell quotes Phaedo 84 B, οὐδὲν δεινόν μὴ φοβηθῇ and Gorg. 520 D, οὐδὲν δεινόν αὐτῷ μὴ ποτε ἀδικηθῇ. But see note on 29 D, οὐ μὴ παύσωμαι.

obuf ou τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὀφελός ἐστιν] 'A man of any worth at all.' For other instances of this expletive use of καὶ see Riddell, Digest, § 132.

οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ] 'And above all.'
The root meaning of παρά is 'by the side of,' whence it easily passes into the idea of comparison.

The feminine form, θεά, is seldom used in classical Greek except in poetry. Sometimes however it is necessary for distinction, as in Symp. 219 C, μὰ θεούς, μὰ θεάς. Contrast the beginning of Demosth. de Cor., τοῖς θεοῖς εὖχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις.

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The speech of Achilles (98-126), which begins as above, is a peculiarly rambling one; but Plato has seized upon the gist of it.

The word in Homer (Il. XVIII. 104) is ἔτωσιν. Both Plato and Aristotle make slips occasionally in quoting Homer from memory. In some cases of course it is possible that their text may have differed from ours.

The sentence begins as though the participle were about to be balanced by some such clause as κελεύωντος τοῦ ἄρχοντος, then the construction is suddenly changed, probably from a latent consciousness that there was some inconsistency between the passivity of a soldier who is assigned a post and the active construction ἐστὶν τῷ γαρ.

'Εγὼ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] The construction of this sentence is very remarkable. Reduced to its simplest form it amounts to this—'Now it would be a strange thing for me to have done (apodosis), if I were to desert the post which the God assigned me, for fear of death or anything else whatever (protasis),' But the protasis is complicated by a contrast being drawn between the actual behaviour of Socrates towards his human commanders and his supposed behaviour towards his divine commander. This contrast is managed by two clauses, of which the former has a μὲν both in the protasis and the apodosis, which is answered by a δὲ in the protasis and apodosis of the latter. For a similar arrangement of particles cp. Meno 94 C, οὖκοιν δῆλον κ.τ.λ. and Gorg. 512 A, ἐλ μὲν τίς μεγάλοις κ.τ.λ.

The Athenians were engaged in operations against Potidaea from 432 to the close of 430 B.C. In the Charmides (153 A, B) Socrates is represented as returning from the camp at Potidaea just after a battle. From the Symposium (220 E) we learn that Socrates saved the life of Alcibiades at Potidaea, and afterwards resigned the prize of valour in his favour.
In 422 B.C. took place the battle at Amphipolis, in which both Brasidas and Cleon fell.

After the disastrous defeat at Delium in B.C. 424 Socrates and Laches retired from the field together. The look of dogged determination on Socrates' face served better than haste to protect him from the foe. Alcibiades, who was on horseback, repaid his debt to Socrates and covered his retreat (Symp. 221 A, B; Laches 181 B).

'If I were disobedient,' etc. Socrates still speaks as though the oracle had directly enjoined the eccentric course of life which he pursued. Cp. note on κατὰ τὸν θεὸν, 22 A, and the words γῆς καὶ ἑρωνῷ κατὰ τὸν θεὸν, 23 B.

'Seeming to be wise.' Supply τινα. For its omission cp. Meno 81 D, ἀναμηνησάντα.

'In this matter also,' i.e. with regard to the fear of death.

Supply φαίνη.

'That, having no adequate knowledge about the other world, I think also that I have not.'

Attraction of the Relative is most common in Greek when the antecedent is in the genitive, as here, or in the dative, and the relative in the accusative.

'Things of which I cannot know.' The μὴ is due to the hypothetical character of the sentence—'If I am in doubt as to the nature of a thing, I will not fear it more than what I know to be evil.'

'Whether they may not be good.' This is a case in which English idiom requires a negative, while Greek does not.

This sentence is one of extraordinary length. The protasis is repeated three times in different shapes, first in the indicative, which marks an objective contingency; (1) εἴ με νῦν ἰμεῖς ἀφίετε, and then twice over in the optative, which marks a subjective contingency, or a case contemplated as possible; (2) εἴ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰποίητε; (3) εἴ οὖν με, ὁπερ εἰπον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφίετη; the apodosis begins at εἰπομ' ἀν ύμῖν in D and ends at φροντὶς εἰς in E.

'At all.'
ἐπειδὴ εἰσῆλθον] ‘Now that I have been brought up.’ Cp. note on 17 D, ἀναβῆκα and on 26 A, ἐὰν μᾶθω.

ἀν... διαφαρήσονται] For ἀν with the fut. indic. see Riddell, Digest, § 58.

ἐφὶ ὅτε μηκετὶ... διατρίβειν] For the infinitive after the relative cp. Xen. Hell. II. 3. § 11, ἁρέβεντες δὲ ἐφὶ ὅτε συγγρίζῃ νόμοις, and see Riddell, Digest, § 79.

D ἀστάξομαι μὲν καὶ φιλῶ] ‘I am your very humble servant.’ Literally ‘I embrace and kiss you.’ Somewhat similar is the use of ἐπαινῶ καὶ φιλῶ in Prot. 335 D.

πεισόμαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ἡ ὑμῖν] Cp. Acts v. 29, Πειθαρχεῖν δεὶ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνθρώπους: also iv. 19. Modern sentiment would incline us to render this simply ‘God’; but probably it is meant for Apollo.

οὐ μη παῖσκαί] See note on 28 B, οὐδὲν δὲ δεινόν κ.τ.λ. Goodwin indeed (Greek Grammar, § 257) declares that the double negative has merely the force of emphasis, and that the subjunctive is a relic of the old usage which we find in Homer, in which it is equivalent to a future.

Οὐ γάρ πω τοῖσι ὅθον ἀνέρας, οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι (II. I. 262).

χρημάτων μὲν] χρηματα are the lowest form of external goods, δόμα καὶ τιμῇ the highest; φρόνησις and ἄληθεία are internal goods which no one can take away or withhold.

ΣΟ A ἐγγυτέρω] This predicative use of the adverb makes it really an indeclinable adjective.

B οὐκ ἐκ χρημάτων κ.τ.λ.] The conduciveness of virtue to material prosperity is incontestable as regards a community. The difficulty is to persuade the individual that virtue is conducive to his personal welfare, which, as he conceives of it, is not always the case. The material advantages of virtue are insisted on by Socrates in the Memorabilia. See for instance the conversation with Aristippus on the advantages of self-control in the first chapter of the second book.

ταῦτα ἄν εἴη βλασφερά] ‘That, I grant you, would be mischievous.’


ἄττα] Neut. pl. of the indefinite pronoun; to be distinguished from ἄττα (= ἄττα), neut. pl. of ὀστις.

οὐκ ἐρὲ μεῖζον βλάψετε κ.τ.λ.] ‘You will not be doing so much harm to me as to yourselves.’ Another instance of the ineradicable εἰρανέλα of Attic diction. Cp. note on 19 A, καὶ οὐ πάνυ κ.τ.λ.

ἄν βλάψειν] ‘Is not likely to hurt me.’ Attic future.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 30 D–31 C.

δύνατο] Singular, because οὔτε Μέλητος οὔτε Ἀνυτος is disjunctive.

θεμίτων] ‘Permitted by the divine law.’ Latin fás.

ἀποκτείνεις] Notice the Acolic form of the aorist in this and the two verbs which follow.

ἀτιμώσειεν] This has been substituted by Hermann on some slight authority for the common reading ἀτιμάσειεν. Ἀτιμάζω properly means to treat ἀτίμως, ἀτιμώω to make ἀτίμος.

πολύ μάλλον] Supply μέγα κακῶν οἴομαι εἶναι.

πολλοῦ δέω] The usual construction with πολλοῦ δέω is with the simple infinitive as here. Cp. below 35 D, 37 B; Meno 79 B, αὐτὴν μὲν πολλοῦ δεῖς εἰπεῖν ὦ τι ἔστι, 92 A, πολλοῦ γε δέουσι μαίνεσθαι.

ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ὑμῶν] ‘No, it is on your behalf.’ Supply some word like λέγω from ἀπολογεῖσθαι.

εἰ καί γελοιοτέρων εἰπεῖν] There is an ellipse of δέω or some Ε such word. Cp. Gorg. 486 C, εἰ τι καὶ ἀγροικότερων εἰρήσθαι.

μὺπος] From its proper meaning of ‘gadfly,’ which it has here, μύσφ passed by a very intelligible transition to that of a ‘spur,’ which it bears in Theophrastus (Charact. V (xxi) Tauchnitz), ἐν τοῖς μύσφι ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν περιπατεῖν.

προστεθείκέναι] The active, of which προσκεῖμενον preceding is the passive. See note on ἐὰν μάθω, 26 A.

προσκαθιδέων] ‘Settling upon.’ The metaphor of the gadfly is 31 A still continued.

ὑμεῖς δ’ ἵσως τάχ’ ἄν] The τάχ’ ἄν merely reinforces ἵσως. ‘But you perhaps might be apt in a rage,’ etc.

ὄρούσαντες] Hermann has substituted this on his own responsibility for κρούσαντες, which would mean ‘with a tap,’ a word very appropriate in this context.

τῶν οἰκείων] This refers to affairs which touched his family, as B distinguished from those which were purely personal. Xanthippe had her grievances.

ὀσπερ πατέρα κ.τ.λ.] In the accusative because of the ἐμὲ preceding. ‘As a father or an elder brother might.’

τοῦτό γε κ.τ.λ.] ‘Could not carry their shamelessness to such a pitch as to adduce a witness.’ The force of the sentence lies in the participial-clause. See Riddell, Digest, § 303, and cp. 31 D.

ἰκανὸν . . . ἐγὼ παρέχομαι τὸν μάρτυρα] See note on ὅπο γὰρ C ἔμοι ἔρω τὸν λόγον, 20 E.


ἀναβαίνων] See note on ἀναβέβηκα, 17 D. Riddell explains the word differently in this passage, taking it to refer to the Pnyx, ‘as
in the famous πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθήτο, Dem. de Cor. 169, p. 285.'
The Pnyx is a small hill at Athens, near the city wall, on which the
people met.

D θείόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον] See Introduction.

δ ἄνω καὶ κ.τ.λ.] 'Which in fact is the thing that Meletus was
poking fun at in his indictment, when he drew it up.' For the force
of the participle see note on 31 B above, τοῦτο γε κ.τ.λ., and for the
fact cp. Euthyphro 3 B.

ἐπικακωμφαδών[?] We have διακακωμφαδὲῖν used in the Gorgias, 462 E,
μὴ οὐταὶ με διακακωμφαδὲῖν τὸ ἕντυ στιγμῆςμα.

tοῦτο γε σταυ 

See Introduction, p. 11.

tοῦτο γε σταυ ὁ μοὶ ἐναντιοῦται κ.τ.λ.] Cp. Rep. 496 C.

ἀπολάλη[?] Notice the Attic forms of the pluperfect, ἄπολάλη and
ἀφελήκη contracted from the old termination in -εα. So ἀνεστήκη in
Prot. 335 D.

32 A ἰδιωτεύειν ἄλλα μὴ δημοσιεύειν] Verbs in -εως formed from
nouns, whether substantive or adjective, denote being in the state
expressed by the noun.

τεκμήρια παρέξομαι κ.τ.λ.] 'Here appears, in a refined form, the
common τόπος of rehearsing a man's past services in his defence.'
Riddell.

οὐδ' ἄν ἐνί[?] The separation of οὐδὲ or μηδὲ from εἰς renders the
expression more emphatic. Cp. Gorg. 521 C, 'Ὡς μοι δοκεῖς, ὃ
Σώκρατες, πιστεύειν μηδ' ἄν ἐν τοῦτον παθεῖν.

ὑπεικάθομι[?] Cp. Soph. El. 361. This form is considered by
many authorities, including Liddell and Scott, to be a second aorist
of ὑπείκων, resembling ἐσχέδον lengthened from ἐσχόν. Cp. ἐδιώκαθες,
Gorg. 453 A.

οὐ δικανικά[?] The οὐ is an insertion of Hermann's. Without it
the sense would run thus: 'I will tell you a vulgar story and one
which smacks of the law-courts, but which is nevertheless true.' Cp.
ote on τεκμήρια παρέξομαι κ.τ.λ. above.

B ἄλλην μὲν ἄρχην[?] 'Though I never held any office at all in the
city, yet I was a member of council.'

ἡμῶν οὐκ Ἡ 'Αντιοχή[?] For the omission of the article with
the proper name cp. Meno 70 B, οἱ τοῦ σοῦ ἑταῖρον 'Ἀριστίππον
πολίται Λαρισαίοι, and Phaedo 57 A, τῶν πολιτῶν Φιλισάιων.

tοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς[?] The circumstances attending this famous
trial are related by Xenophon in his Hellenics (I. chs. 4-7). Alcibiades
after his triumphant return to Athens in B.C. 407 soon
lost the popularity which had led to his being appointed sole com-
mander of the Athenian forces (ἀπάντων ἡγεμόν αὐτοκράτωρ). He
was deposed, and in his place ten generals were appointed, namely,
Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, Aristogenes. In the following year, B.C. 406, Conon, Leon, and Erasinides were besieged in Mitylene by the Spartan commander, Callicratidas. Diomedon made an ineffectual attempt to relieve them with twelve ships, of which ten were instantly captured. Then the Athenians put to sea with all their forces, and came to the rescue with 120 ships. Their squadron lay at Arginusae, some islands off the coast of Lesbos, where Callicratidas offered them battle, with a fleet of inferior numbers. The result was a great victory for the Athenians, who captured about 70 of the enemy’s ships, at a loss of 25 of their own. The Athenian commanders during this action were the following eight—Aristocrates, Diomedon, Pericles, Erasinides, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, Lysias, Aristogenes. Seven of these names are the same as before. Conon was still besieged in Mitylene by 50 vessels which had been left by Callicratidas under the charge of Eteonicus. Leon, we may conjecture, had been captured in attempting to bring news of Conon’s situation to Athens (see I. 6. § 21). Lysias may have been sent from Athens to supply his place. Xenophon makes no further mention of Archestratus: but we know that he died at Mitylene (Lysias, Ἀπολ. Δωροδ. p. 162; Bekker, vol. I. p. 331). After the battle the Athenian commanders decided in council that 47 vessels should be left under the command of Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and others, to pick up the survivors off twelve of their own ships, which had been water-logged by the enemy, while they themselves proceeded to attack the besieging force under Eteonicus at Mitylene. A great storm which ensued prevented either of these operations from being carried out.

The Athenians at home were not satisfied with the conduct of the commanders, and deposed them all except Conon, whose situation had exculpated him from blame. Of the eight who were engaged in the battle, two—Protomachus and Aristogenes—did not return to Athens. The remaining six—Pericles, Diomedon, Lysias, Aristocrates, Thrasyllus, and Erasinides—found themselves on their return the objects of popular odium, one of the foremost of their accusers being Theramenes, the very man whose duty it had been, according to their statement, to attend to the recovery of the missing sailors. Sentimental appeals were made to the passions of an excitable populace, and at last a senator named Callixenus was induced to propose that the generals should be tried in a body, and, if found guilty, should be put to death. Some of the prytanes refused at first to put this motion to the vote, as being illegal, but they were frightened into compliance, with the single exception of Socrates.
The opposition of Socrates, however, though dignified, was ultimately useless. Sentence of death was passed on the eight generals; and the six who were present were executed. Menexenus 243 C, D shows the strength of the popular sentiment with regard to this passage in history.

ναυμαχίας] The battle of Arginusae.

παρανόμοις] They were entitled each to a separate trial, and they had not been allowed a fair hearing (Xen. Hell. I. 7. § 5, οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἐκαστὸς ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προὔτηθη σφίσα λόγος κατὰ τῶν νόμων).

δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ] It was not long before the Athenians repented of their precipitate action. Proceedings were taken against Callixenus and others who had been prominent in procuring the condemnation of the generals; but they effected their escape during a tumult before they were brought to trial. Callixenus returned to Athens in B.c. 403, when the people came back from the Piraeus: but he was universally detested, and died of starvation (Xen. Hell. I. 7. § 34).

Ἠναντιώθην ὑμῖν μηδὲν ποιεῖν] 'Opposed your doing anything contrary to the laws.' The negative is due to the expression being proleptic. The tendency of the opposition was to make the people do nothing unlawful. The idiom of the French language is in these cases similar to that of the Greek: ' J’empêchais que vous ne fissiez rien contre les lois.'

This incident in the career of Socrates is referred to, with the usual delicate irony with which Plato invests his character, in Gorgias 473 E, Ἄν πώλε, οὐκ εἰμὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, καὶ πέρυς βουλευειν λαχάνων, ἔπειθη ἢ φυλὴ ἐπρυτάνευε, καὶ ἔδει με ἐπιφησίζειν, γέλωτα παρείχον καὶ οὐκ ἠστάμαν ἐπιφησίζειν. References to the same transaction will be found in Axiochus 368 D, E; Xen. Mem. I. i. § 18; IV. 4. § 2. In both passages of the Memorabilia it is distinctly stated that Socrates was ἐπιστάτης on the occasion. We learn from the passage in the Axiochus that the opponents of the generals carried their point next day by means of a packed committee, οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐθραμένην καὶ Καλλίζενον τῇ υστερὰ ἐγκαθέτοι υφέντες κατεχειροτόνησαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄρμοτον βάνατον.

καὶ ἐναντία ἐπιφησίσαμαι] These words are suspected by Hermann of being a gloss. The way in which Socrates opposed the popular will was by refusing to put the question to the vote at all, which in his capacity of chairman (ἐπιστάτης) it lay with him to do. Riddell accepts the words, and refers them by a hysteron proteron to Socrates voting in committee against the bill being laid before the people.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 32 B–33 A.

ένδεικνύοντα με καὶ ἀπάγειν] 'To inform against me or have me summarily arrested.'

φοβηθέντα δεσμὸν ἢ θάνατον] Callixenus threatened to have the C recalcitrant Prytanes included in the same vote with the generals. Xen. Hell. I. 7: § 14.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία ἔγένετο] This was in B.C. 404, a year which was known in Athenian history as 'the anarchy.' Xen. Hell. II. 3. § 1.

οἱ τριάκοντα] The names of the Thirty may be read in Xen. Hell. II. 3. § 2. The leading spirit among them was Critias. They were chosen by the people, under the auspices of Lysander, with the ostensible object of codifying the laws of Athens.

πέμπτον αὐτῶν] 'With four others.' The beautiful conciseness of this idiom has been imitated in the French language. See, for instance, Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV., ch. 12: 'Il échappe à peine lui quatrième.'

τὴν θάλον] The Dome or Rotunda, a building shaped like the Radcliffe, in which the Prytanes dined, and the Scribes also (Demosthenes, De Fals. Leg. p. 419 ad fin.). It was near the council-chamber of the Five Hundred. See Pausanias I. 5. § 1, τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίων θόλος ἐστὶ καλομένη, καὶ θύναι τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις.

Notice that the gender of θόλος is feminine, like that of so many words of the second declension which convey the idea of a cavity, e. g. χηλός, κιβωτός, τάφρος.


ἀγροικότερον] 'Too clownish.' The opposite of ἀγροῖκος is D ἀστείος, which implies refinement and breeding. For the phrase ei μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢν εἶπεῖν cp. Euthyd. 283 E.

τούτοι δὲ τὸ πάν μέλει] 'This, I say, is all my care.' δὲ here lends emphasis to the τούτοι. This use of δὲ should be compared with its employment in the combination καὶ ... δὲ.

διὰ ταξεῶν κατελύθη] They were deposed before the end of the E year and a body of ten men, one from each tribe, elected in their place. Xen. Hell. II. 4. § 23.

ὑφῶν] A conjecture of Hermann's, for ὑμῖν.

μαθητάς] 'Xenophon in his Memorabilia speaks always of the 33 companions of Socrates, not of his disciples: οἱ συνώντες αὐτῶ, οἱ συνουσιασταί (I. 6. § 1)—οἱ συνδιατρίβοντες—οἱ συγγενόμενοι—οἱ
APOLOGY, NOTES. 33  A–D.

ἐταῖροι—οἱ ὀμιλοῦντες αὐτῷ—οἱ συνήθεις (IV. 8. § 2)—οἱ μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ (IV. 2. § 1 ad fin.)—οἱ ἐπιθυμηταί (I. 2. § 60). Aristippus also, in speaking to Plato, talked of Socrates as ὁ ἑταῖρος ἰμῶν. Aristot. Rhetor. II. 24. Grote’s History of Greece, vol. VIII. p. 212, note 3, ed. of 1884. We may add to this list the term ὀμιλητής, Mem. I. 2. §§ 12, 48.


τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ πράττοντοι] That is, carrying out his divine mission. Cp. 28 E; 29 D above; 33 C below. In the Gorgias Socrates is made to say that the soul which is most likely to please Rhadamanthys is that which has inhabited the body φιλοσόφου τὰ αὐτοῦ πράξεως καὶ οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας ἐν τῷ βίῳ.


B ἔρωτὰν] ‘To ask me questions.’ Praebeo me interrogandum.

καὶ ἔαν τις κ.τ.λ.] This is a soft way of saying, ‘And I am ready to question him, if he chooses.’ Riddell.

οὐκ ἄν δικαίως τὴν αἰτιάν ὑπέχομι] Among the followers of Socrates had been Critias and Alcibiades, about the two most unprincipled men of their time. This point was urged against him on the trial. See Xen. Mem. I. 2. §§ 12–18.

C εἴπον, ὅτι] With a comma at εἴπον, ὅτι is explanatory of πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ‘I told you the whole truth, how that they take pleasure,’ etc. But with a colon at εἴπον, ὅτι will mean ‘because,’ and convey the answer to the question with which the sentence begins, ‘It is because they take pleasure,’ etc. Cp. Euthyphro 3 B.

ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] The intense belief in his own divine mission, which is here so emphatically expressed, is one of the chief factors to be taken into account in estimating the character of Socrates.

θεία μοῖρα] ‘Divine dispensation.’

D ἐγνώσαν] ‘Had found out.’ See note on ἐγνώσας, 25 D.

ἀναβαίνοντας] See note on ἀναβαίνοντα, 17 D.

τινὰς] The construction of accusative and infinitive after χρῆν is still continued.

ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ] See note on πεπώθατε ὑπό, 17 A.

πάρεισιν ... ἑνταύθοι] An instance of compressed construction or constructio praegnans, ‘Are present hither’ = ‘Have come hither and are present here.’
The attachment of Crito to Socrates is very touching. Crito was a wealthy man, apparently engaged in business (Euthyd. 304 C), who was always ready to place his riches at the disposal of his friend (38 B; Crito 45 B). It was Crito who made arrangements for Socrates' escape from prison, and who affectionately urged him to avail himself of them; it was Crito who received his last behest, and who closed his eyes in death (Phaedo 118 A). He was the author of a book containing seventeen dialogues on thoroughly Socratic subjects. The titles of them may be read in Diogenes Laertius II. §121. According to this author Crito had four sons, Critobulus, Hermogenes, Epigenes, Ctesippus, who were all instructed by Socrates. It would appear, however, from Euthyd. 306 D, that he had only two, Critobulus and another who was considerably younger. This may be due to the supposed date of the dialogue. But more probably the statement of Diogenes is erroneous. Hermogenes, Epigenes, and Ctesippus are present in the Phaedo (59 B) along with Critobulus, which may have led to the error.

This renders improbable the statement given on the authority of Demetrius of Byzantium that Crito took Socrates away from his trade and educated him, being struck with his ability (Diog. Laert. II. §20 ad fin.).

Socrates belonged to the deme of Alopece.

See note on Krítov above. Also Phaedo 59 B. The conduct of Critobulus is made the text of a sermon from Socrates in the Memorabilia, I. 3. §§8-15; cp. II. 6. §§31, 32. His appearance as a boy is described in Euthyd. 271 B. He figures in the Symposium of Xenophon. He appears to have excited the animosity of Aeschines the Socratic. Athenaeus V. p. 220 a.

Nothing is known of Lysanias, the father of Aeschines, beyond what we learn from this passage. He is to be distinguished from Lysanias, the father of Cephalus, Rep. 330 B. We may set aside on the authority of Plato the statement to which Diogenes Laertius (II. §60) inclines, that Aeschines was the son of Charinus, a sausage-maker.

Commonly known as 'Aeschines the Socratic' (Cic. De Inv. I. 31; Athen. V. 220 a, XIII. 611 e). He was one of the most prominent among the immediate disciples of Socrates, and is mentioned in the Phaedo (59 B) as having been present at the death of his master. A collection of dialogues went under his name in antiquity, of which Diogenes (II. §§60, 61) sets aside several as spurious. Scandal declared that the remainder were really the works of Socrates himself, which had been given to Aeschines by Xanthippe.
after the death of the philosopher (Athen. XIII. 611 e, ὠς οἱ ἀμφὶ τοῦ Ἐθομενέα φασίν. Cp. Diog. Laert. II. § 60, where the same thing is asserted on the authority of Menedemus of Eretria). Even his friend Aristippus is said to have exclaimed against him as a plagiarist when he heard him give a public reading at Megara (Diog. Laert. II. § 62 ad fin.). Aeschines seems to have been embarrassed all his life by poverty, possibly on account of an inclination to good living; for Socrates recommended him ‘to borrow from himself, by decreasing his diet’ (Diog. Laert. II. § 62). After the death of Socrates he set up as a perfumer, but became bankrupt. The tirade of Lysias the orator against him, a fragment of which has been preserved by Athenaeus (XIII. 611 e–612 f) represents his conduct at this time as most degraded. Driven to seek his fortune in Sicily, he was neglected by Plato, but welcomed by Aristippus, who introduced him at the court of Dionysius, from whom he received presents in return for his dialogues. He is said to have stayed at Syracuse until the expulsion of the tyrant. On his return to Athens he did not venture to enter into rivalry with the schools of Plato and Aristippus, but gave lectures for pay, and composed speeches for the law-courts. In his style he chiefly imitated Gorgias of Leontium. There is an amusing instance of inductive reasoning quoted from his works by Cicero (De Inv. I. 31), in which Aspasia, a Socrates in petticoats, gives a moral lesson to Xenophon and his wife.

'Αντιφών ὁ Κηφισιέως] To be distinguished from the Antiphon of the Parmenides (126 B), who was the son of Pyrilampes and half-brother to Plato; also from Antiphon the Sophist, who figures in the Memorabilia I. 6, and who may be the same with Antiphon the Rhamnusian of Menexenus, 236 A.

'Επιγένους] Epigenes is mentioned as present at the death of Socrates (Phaedo 59 B). In the Memorabilia (III. 12) we find Socrates remonstrating with him on the neglect of bodily exercise.

ἐν ταύτη τῇ διατριβῇ γεγόνας] ‘Have been in this way of living.’

Νικόστρατος] There is an actor of this name mentioned by Xenophon (Conv. VI. § 3); but we have no reason to suppose that he is the same person.

ὡστε ... καταδειθείη] ‘So that he at least could not bring any improper influence to bear upon him.’ ἐκεῖνος refers to Theodotus, αὐτοῦ to Nicostratus.

Πάραλος] Distinguish this person from Paralus, the son of Pericles, for whom see Alc. 118 E; Prot. 315 A; Meno 94 B.

34 A Δημοδόκου] In the Theages Demodocus is represented as
brining to Socrates his son Theages, who has an ambition to become σοφός.

**Θέαγνης** In Rep. 496 B, C, Socrates speaks of 'his friend Theages' being only prevented by ill-health from abandoning philosophy for politics. He gives his name to the dialogue above mentioned.

**'Αδεμάντης** This brother of Plato's appears both in the Parmenides (126 Α) and in the Republic (see especially 362 D–367 E). The genius and virtue of himself and his brother Glaucon are extolled by Socrates, who quotes from an elegiac tribute of some admirer of Glaucon's (368 Α)—

παῖς Ἀριστῶν, κλειοῦ θεῖον γένος ἀνδρός.

**Πλάτων** There are only three passages in all the works of Plato in which he names himself, namely, the one before us, 38 B, and Phaedo 59 B, where it is mentioned that he was ill at the time of the death of Socrates.

**'Ἀπολλόδωρος** Of Phalerum (Symp. 172 Α). Mentioned in the Phaedo as having been specially affected by grief during his last interview with Socrates (59 Α ad fin.; 117 D). He is the supposed narrator of the dialogue in the Symposium. His devotion to Socrates and to philosophy was that of a religious enthusiast, and procured him the surname of 'the madman' (Symp. 172, 173). Xenophon speaks of him as ἐπιθυμητὴς μὲν ἱσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ (i.e. Σωκράτους), ἀλλὰς δ’ ἔνθηθη (Apol. Soc. § 28).

ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ λόγῳ 'In his own time of speaking,' as measured by the κλεψύδρα, or water-clock. Cp. the expression of Demosthenes (De Cor. p. 274, ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὤδατι. The water was stopped while witnesses were speaking.

ἐγὼ παραχαρώ] Riddell quotes from Aeschines (In Ctes. p. 77) the full expression, παραχαρῶ σοι τοῦ ἑματος, ἐως ἄν εἵπῃς.

ταῦτα καὶ . . . τοιαύτα] Οὗτος, being the demonstrative of the C second person, is appropriately used of what has gone before, and is now in possession of the hearer. Translate ταῦτα 'what you have heard.' See note on τῷ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, 17 C.

εί ὁ μὲν] 'How that he.'

τὴν ψήφον] Words of the second declension that denote earths, D stones, and the like are generally feminine. Cp. note on τὴν θύλων, 32 C.

οὐκ ἄξιόν μὲν γάρ] (I say 'if') for, etc.

λέγειν λέγων] Where similar words have to be used in the same sentence Plato always prefers to bring them together. We have a remarkable instance in C above, ἀγάνος ἀγάνα ἀγανιζόμενος. See also note on 19 B, διέβαλλον οἱ διαβάλλοντες.
APOLOGY, NOTES. 34 D–36 A.

τὸ τοῦ Ὄμηρου] Od. XIX. 163—
où γὰρ ἀπὸ δρῶν ἐσοὶ παιαφάτον οὐδ’ ἀπὸ πέτρην.
eἰς μὲν μειρύκιον κ.τ.λ.] Cp. Phaedo 116 B, δῦο γὰρ αὐτῶ νείς
ομικροὶ ἱσαν, εἰς δὲ μέγας. The name of the eldest was Lamprocles
(Xen. Mem. II. 2. § 1). The two youngest were Sophroniscus and
Menexenus (Diog. Laert. II. 26).

Ε τηλικόνδε] See note on 25 D, τηλικοῦτον ὄντος κ.τ.λ. We may
translate, if it be not over-refinement, 'At my time of life, and with
the reputation you know of.'

διαφέρειν] This word is constantly used by the figure meiosis in
the sense of 'to be superior.'

35 B ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς] 'Other posts of distinction.' Like honores
in Latin.

τὰ ἑλεενά ταῦτα δράματα] 'These harrowing stage-effects.'

C ἐπὶ τοῦτο] 'For this purpose.' Cp. ψεύδεται καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολὴ τῇ
ἐμῇ λέγει.

ἐθιζεσθαι] 'Let yourselves be accustomed.' An instance of what
Riddell calls the semi-middle sense of the verb. See Digest § 88.
Both passive and middle tenses are so used. Cp. Meno 21 C,
λαβήθηναι.

ἀξιοῦτε μὲ ... δεῖν] 'Expect that I ought.' See note on 28 E,
φιλοσοφοῦντα μὲ δεῖν ζῆν, and cp. Gorg. 512 C, παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ
δεῖν γίγνεσθαι μηχανοποιούσ.

D ἄλλως τε κ.τ.λ.] A violent tmesis. The words μέντοι νὴ Δία are
thrust into the middle of the phrase ἄλλως τε πάντως καί. See
Riddell's note.

φεύγοντα ὑπὸ] See note on πεπόθατε ὑπό, 17 A.

κατηγοροῖν] Notice that vowel verbs take this Attic form of the
optative in preference to the usual termination in -ομι.

τῷ θεῷ] See note on 19 B.

Ε τὸ μὲν μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν] This substantival clause is the direct object
after ἐμβάλλεται, just as we might have ἐμβάλλεσθαι χρήματα,
ἰμάτια, etc.

36 A γέγονε τὸ γεγονός τοῦτο] See note on 19 B, διέβαλλον οἱ
dιαβάλλοντες.

οὗτω παρ’ ὁλίγον] 'So close a thing,' παρ’ ὁλίγον is treated as
one expression, so that the οὗτω precedes.

εἴ τρ.ἀκοντα μόνα κ.τ.λ.] Riddell, following Heffter, takes
the total number of Socrates' judges to have been 501. Then,
accepting the statement of Diogenes Laertiou (II. § 41), that the
majority against Socrates was 281, as representing the aggregate
of condemning votes, he draws the conclusion that the minority
in his favour must have consisted of 220. For 31 votes exactly,
or 30 in round numbers, would thus suffice to turn the scale. It appears that a Heliastic court always consisted of one more than some multiple of 100, the odd man being thrown in to prevent an equality of votes. See Kiddell's Introduction, pp. xii–xiv.

\[\text{άποσηφεύγη} \] Notice the omission of the augment, for which cp. ὤς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ γέγραπτο, Xen. Mem. I. 2. § 64.

\[\text{παντὶ δὴλον τούτῳ γε κ.τ.λ.} \] A fallacy which is not intended to deceive, in other words, a jest. Socrates playfully assumes that as there were three accusers, each of them ought to be credited with one-third of the votes. As these amounted altogether only to 281, Meletus could not claim a full hundred, which was the fifth part required out of the total of 501.

\[\text{ἀνέβη} \] See note on ἀναβέβηκα, 17 D.

\[\text{χιλιᾶς δραχμάς} \] See the law quoted in Demosthenes against B Meidias, p. 529, ὅσοι δ' ἀν γράφωνται γραφᾶς ἴδια κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐὰν τις μῆ ἐπέξεισθῃ ἢ ἐπεξίων μῆ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ἀποτίσατο χιλιάς δραχμὰς τῷ δημοσίῳ.

\[\text{τιμᾶται ... θανάτου} \] Cp. end of note on 24 B, Σωκράτης ψήσιν ἀδικεῖν.

\[\text{ψίν} \] Ethic dative. 'And whereat would you have me set the counter-assessment?'

\[\text{παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι} \] A reference to the terms of the law above quoted in the note on χιλιᾶς δραχμάς. See again Demosthenes against Meidias, p. 529—ὁτου δ' ἀν καταγρω ἢ ἧλικια, τιμᾶτω περὶ αὐτού παραρημα, ὅτου ἀν δοκῇ ᾧξος εἶναι παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι. παθεῖν means suffering in person, ἀποτίσαι in pocket. The phrase passed into use in conversation. See Xen. Conv. V. § 8.

\[\text{ὁ τι μαθῶν} \] The indirect form of the phrase, τι μαθῶν, which like τι παθῶν may loosely be rendered 'Wherefore?' But there is this original difference between the two, that τι μαθῶν must have referred to reasoned and voluntary action, τι παθῶν to involuntary, 'What ails you that?' See Arist. Acharm. 826:—

\[\text{τι δὴ μαθῶν φαίνεις ἀνέυ ὑπναλλίδος;}\]

On what principle do you shine without a wick?

(The pun is untranslatable.)

For the indirect form of the phrase, cp. Euthyd. 283 Ε, σοῦ ἐἰς κεφαλήν, ὁ τι μαθῶν μου καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν καταφεύγει τιμίωτο πράγμα, and again 299 Α, πολὺ μένου, ἐφὶ, δικαίοτερον τῶν υμετέρον πατέρα τύπτοιμι, ὁ τι μαθῶν σοφοὺς νεῖς οὔτως ἐφυσεν. The phrase appears to have passed so completely into a mere formula as to admit of being used even in the neuter plural. See Prot. 353 D (where Hermann has altered the reading on his own conjecture into ὅτι
APOLOGY, NOTES. 36 B–D.

\( \text{παρὸντα} \). Translate here, 'As to what induced me to allow myself no rest in the disposal of my life.'

\( \text{τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν} \) Notice the idiomatic use of ἄλλων. All the things previously mentioned do not come under the head of what follows ἄλλων, as the word 'other' would imply in English. The force of ἄλλων extends to all three genitives which follow. Translate 'and what not besides—official posts and political clubs and the factions that go on in the city.' See Riddell's note and Digest, § 46, and cp. Meno 92 B. A good instance of the idiom in question is to be found in Gorg. 473 D, εὐθαμονιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐννων.

C \( \text{ἐνταῦθα} \) Put here for ἐνταῦθοι, as shown by the relative which follows.

\( \text{ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἰὸν εὐργετεῖν} \) The use of the nominative between τὸ and its infinitive is quite usual. Cp., for instance, Rep. 526 B, ὅμως εἰς γε τὸ ὁξύτεροι αὐτοί αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι πάντες ἐπιδίδοσιν.

\( \text{ἐνταῦθα ἦν} \) These words are part of the text and have to be supplied mentally, if they are omitted. The whole passage from ἡγγαμένος down may be rendered thus—'Thinking myself in reality too honest a man to have recourse to these with safety, I accordingly did not have recourse thereto; for, if I had, I should have been likely to have been no use either to you or to myself: but to going to each of you in private and conferring upon you the greatest benefit, as I maintain, to that I did have recourse.'

\( \text{πρότερον . . . πρίν} \) πρότερον is redundant when πρίν follows; but the combination of the two is quite usual.

D \( \text{kai ταύτα γε} \) 'And that too,' representing παθεῖν above.

\( \text{τοιοῦτον, ὅ τι} \) 'Of such a kind as would be suitable to me.'

The indefinite, instead of the simple, relative, imparts vagueness to the expression.

\( \text{ὁ τι μᾶλλον πρέπει . . . οὕτως} \) Grammatical consistency would require either μᾶλλον ή or οὕτως ὡς. For a similar combination of the comparative with the demonstrative construction see Rep. 526 C, ὃ ἐγε μειξὼ πόνον παρέχει μανθάνοντι καὶ μελετάντι, οὐς ἀν ρξίων οὐδὲ πολλὰ ἂν εὑροίς ὡς τοῦτο. See Riddell, Digest § 164.

\( \text{προτάνειν} \) Every Greek city had a προτάνειν or town-hall, serving as a hearth and home to the corporate life of the community. It was here that state banquets were given, ambassadors entertained, and pensioners supported. See Liddell and Scott, where abundant references are given. The town-hall at Athens, or part of it, was called Θόλος. See note on 32 C, τὴν θόλον.

\( \text{συνείσθαι} \) Riddell quotes Dem. de Fals. Leg. p. 446 ad fin., τι
APOLOGY, NOTES. 36 D–37 E.

δε; δολητ' ἂν ἐν πρῶταις σίτησιν ἡ ἀλλην τινὰ δωρεάν, αἰς τιμάτε
τοις εὐφρέντας;

[ππω ἡ εὐνωρίδι καὶ εὐγει] 'With a horse or pair or team.'

τροφίσσαν οὖν δεῖται] Because such a person was presumably rich. Cp. the phrase οἷκα ἰπποτρόφως and the μέγας καὶ λαμπρός ἰπποτρόφως of Demosthenes (De Cor. p. 331).

τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] ‘But that is not as you imagine, Athenians, but rather as I will tell you.’ Τὸ refers vaguely to the sentence preceding. Distinguish this from the use of τὸ δὲ commented on under 24 A, τὸ δὲ κινοῦντες. For the force of the pronouns cp. note on 34 B, ταῦτα καὶ ... τοιαῦτα.

διειλήγει θεσά] Theaet. 158 C. There appears to be no other perfect middle and passive of διαλέγω besides this form.

ὡν εὖ οἴδ' ὅτι κακῶν ὄντων] In unravelling this curious knot of language we must bear in mind that ὅτι is sometimes used superfluous after a verb of knowing which is followed by a participial construction (e.g. Gorg. 481 D). It is manifest also that ὡν is a partitive genitive. The original construction then may be supposed to have been as follows—ἐλωμαι τι ἐκείνων ἢ εὖ οἶδα κακά ὄντα. Then the ordinary attraction of the relative supervened followed by a very uncommon attraction of the predicate. Cp. Soph. Oed. Col. 334, ἢν φίλερ εἴχον οικετῶν πιστῶ μόνῳ.

tοῖς ἐνδεκα] The Eleven, or commissioners of police at Athens. Cp. One was appointed from each of the ten tribes, and the odd man was their secretary. See Poll. VIII. 102 (quoted by Riddell).

δεδεσθαί] ‘To lie in chains.’

διατριβᾶς καὶ τοὺς λόγους] ‘My way of living and talking.’ Cp. Gorg. 484 E, where the two words occur together again, though the meaning of the first is somewhat different.

τηλικοῦδε] Cp. 34 E, and see note on τηλικοῦτον ὄντος κ.τ.λ., 25 D.

ἲλην ἐξ ἠλλὸς πόλιν πόλεως] The fulness of the expression imparts a beauty to it.

ἐξελθόντι ... ἄμεθομένῳ] For the interlacing of participles cp. ἐννιαθέντι διαπεραμένῳ, 27 A.

καὶ μὲν τούτοις κ.τ.λ.] Here we have a dilemma, which is of the kind known as the complex construction—

If I turn the young men off, they will turn me out; and if I do not turn them off, their parents will turn me out.

But either I must turn the young men off or not.

.: Either they will turn me out or their parents will.

ἡμῖν] Ethic dative. ‘Pray, will you not be able?’

τῷ θεῷ] See note on 19 A.
38 A  

*APOLOGY, NOTRES.* 37 E–38 C.


**38 A**  

ô de ánevètastos býos k.t.l.] The influence of the initial ôi extends to this clause.

taúta de] The de here emphasizes the apodosis, 'This indeed,'  

Cp. Gorg. 502 B, ei de té týmýanv árdes kai òw'êsivov, tóuto de kal  

lêxei kai ãôêetai. See also note on 32 D, tóuto de té páv méleí.

Other instances of de in apodosis are Crito 44 B, 51 A; Phaedo 78 C,  

So D, 81 B, 113 E; Prot. 313 A, 325 C.

ta de] Notice how ta here retains its original demonstrative  

force.

B  

vón de—] Supply ou tímôwrai.


μván árgrivn[v] The sum of 100 drachmae=£.4 1s. 3d. of our  

money. The following passage from Diogenes Laertius (II. §§ 41,  

42) may be merely an echo of Plato. On the other hand it differs  

eleven glue to raise a presumption of independent  

origin, kal tímowmuòv tónv dikastòv, tî chrî pàvèin autòv ἢ ἀποτίςai,  

pènte kal ei÷osin éph draxhìas ἀποτίςæn, Eùbdouliòds mév γαρ φησαι,  

ékatòv ómologìsai. Ὑθορrhìsàntwv de tón dikastòv, ἢEnevka mév,  

eîpe, tónv émol diasprragémévn tímôwma tîn ἄδèì tîs ἐν πρυtanæièv  

sîthèsèwv. Kai de ònàtovn autòv kâtègnwšav, proròbèntes állass ðísìos  

όγdôìkona.

Plástov de de de] The Jewish historian, Justus of Tiberias, has  

preserved or invented an anecdote—how Plato, being a very young  

man at the time of Socrates’ trial, mounted the platform, and had  

got as far as 'Unaccustomed as I am to public speaking,' when he  

was shouted down by the jurors (Diog. Laer. II. § 41).

aútoi de égyanòsòvai] A zeugma. Supply fâsì from këleiòouni.

C  

óu pòllou γ' ἢEnevka ðrónou] These words are explained by the  

next sentence, ei on perêmëínate ðlìgon ðróvon k.t.l. Translate—  

'It is no long time, men of Athens, on account of which ye will have  

the name and the blame at the hands of those who wish to upbraid  

the city,' etc.

ùpò tònv bouõomévnwv] aítìan ëxète is practically a passive verb  

=aiñatìhêsèsvte.

òs Swkrátè ãptekòvnav] Chronology is against the story that  

Euripides meant to reproach his countrymen on this ground in his  

Palamedes, where he said—

'Ekàntè' ëkântè tòn pávsoforon  

tòn oúdèn' álglìvnousan ò̄̄dòvàμìousan.

ùmîn] Dativus commodi. 'Ye would have had this happen.'  

pòrrwv ... tòv ðiòv] Cp. pòrrw tîs ðìlìkias, Gorg. 484 C; Xen.  

Mem. IV. 8. § 1.

46
APOLOGY, NOTES. 38 C–39 E.

τοῦτο] Notice how τοῦτο here is used of what has gone before, while τάδε below is used of what is coming. What a person is going to say can be known only to himself, so that ὅδε, which is the pronoun of the first person, is appropriate to express it. Cp. note on τάδε καὶ ... τοιαῦτα, 34 B.

μέντοι] μέντοι is not unfrequently used to balance μέν. Cp. D 20 D, εὖ μέντοι ὅστι: Prot. 343 E, ὥς ἄρα ὅντων τινῶν τῶν μὲν ὃς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν μὲν, οὐ μέντοι ἀληθῶς: and again 351 A, ὅστε συμβαίνει τούς μὲν ἄνδρείος θαρραλέος εἶναι, μή μέντοι τοὺς γε θαρραλέους ἄνδρείος πάντας. See on this subject Riddell, Digest § 162.

θρηνοῦτός τε μου] Supply ἄκοινειν. 'To hear me, I mean, weeping and wailing.' ἐνεκὰ τοῦ κινδύνου] On account of the danger.' So above, E οὐ παλλοῦ γ' ἐνεκὰ χρόνου.

ὡς ... ἐκεῖνοι] ὡς, 'in the way I have done;' εκεῖνος, 'in the way those others do.' See note on τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, 17 C.

πᾶν ποιῶν] By any and every means.' The phrase here contains 39 A the same idea as the word πανούργος.

ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐ τοῦτ' ἢ χαλεπῶν] Cp. Meno 94 B, ἀλλὰ μὴ σοκ ἢ διδακτῶν. The easiest explanation of such expressions is to suppose an ellipse of some word like φοβοῦμαι or ὁρα before the μή.

θάττον γὰρ θανάτου θεί] That is, the soul is exposed to more chances of death than the body.

πρεσβύτης] Distinguish this from πρεσβευτῆς, an ambassador. B ύφ' ὕμων] See note on πεπόθθατε ὕπο, 17 A.

ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κ.τ.λ.] 'Sentenced by truth to the penalty of vice and injustice.'

ἐδει] 'It was destined.'

τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο] 'But next.'

χρησμῳδοῦσιν] See Riddell's note on the subject of prophetic C power at the point of death. With the references there given we may compare Jacob on his death-bed (Gen. xlviii. 19 and xlix.) See also Phaedo 85 B.

οὐαν] Agreeing with τιμωρίαν understood, a kind of cognate accusative after ἀπεκτόνατε.

τὸ δὲ ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.] 'But that will turn out to you far otherwise.' πλέιοὺς ἔσονται κ.τ.λ.] Grote sees in the fact that this prophecy was not fulfilled an argument for believing that in the Apology we have the real defence made by Socrates. But probably to Plato's mind it was fulfilled already in the rise of the various Socratic schools.

oĩ ἀρχόντες] 'The magistrates,' i.e. here the Eleven.

dιαμυθολογήσαι] Notice that διαλέγεσθαι is not here employed, perhaps because Plato is about to give the reins to his imagination in 41 A–C. For the difference between μῦθος and λόγος see Phaedo 61 B, ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὸν ποιητήν δεῖ, εἰπέρ μέλλοι ποιητῆς εἶναι, ποιεῖν μῦθους, ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος: Prot. 320 C, 324 D; Gorg. 523 A.

40 A ὁ ἄνδρες δικασταῖ] This formula was used once before (26 D), but there it was put into the mouth of Meletus. Socrates reserves it for the judges who acquitted him. Hitherto he has usually addressed his audience as ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, more rarely as ὁ ἄνδρες (e.g. 22 B, 29 A, 34 B, 35 B ad fin., 39 E) or ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι simply (30 B, 33 C, 37 A).

dικασταῖ] 'Dispensers of justice.'

πάνυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς] 'Quite upon trifling matters.' For an instance see Euthyd. 272 E, where the supernatural sign checks Socrates when he is about to rise from his seat.

For the position of πάνυ cp. Prot. 338 E, πάνυ μὲν οὐκ ἥθελεν, 'was quite unwilling.'

B οὔτε ἥρικα ἀνέβαινον] 'Nor when I was coming up here before the court,' i.e. mounting the platform to present myself before the court. See note on 17 D, ἀναβέβηκα, and cp. Gorg. 486 B, εἶς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀναβᾶς.

κινδυνεύει γάρ κ.τ.λ.] 'Perhaps this thing which has happened may have been a good thing for me.' Cp. Xen. Apologia Socratis § 5, Ἡθαμαστόν νομίζεις εἰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ εἰμὲ βέλτιον εἶναι ἡ ὑδή τελευτάν; The key-note of that treatise lies in insistence on the fact that Socrates had made up his mind to die. Xenophon tells us that the δαιμόνιον hindered Socrates when he attempted to prepare a defence (Mem. IV. 8. § 5; Apol. § 4).


tε ἀγαθὸν πράξειν] 'To meet with some good fortune.'

αὐτό] Referring to τὸ τεθνάναι.

ἡ γάρ ὄιον κ.τ.λ.] 'Either it is, as it were, that the dead man is nothing,'

τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθέντε] This is a pregnant construction similar to such phrases as oĩ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφυγον. For a well-known instance cp. Demosth. de Cor. p. 284 ad fin., τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἁγοράν ἐξεἰργον.

D ἐγὼ γάρ ἂν οἷμαι] This is the beginning of the apodosis, which is resumed at οἷμαι ἂν below, after the long protasis has intervened. The ἂν strikes the key-note of the sentence as being conditional, but does not become effective till ἂν εὑρεῖν in E.
\[ \delta \pi\alpha\sigma \chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\omega\] 'All time,' collectively.

\[ \text{M\i\nu\nu\omicron\ s t\ e\ k.t.\Lambda.}\] Strictly these names ought to be in apposition to \( \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\lambda\gamma\theta\omicron\\upsilon\\sigma\omega\\varsigma \ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\), but they are attracted into the nominative through the influence of the relative clause which intervenes. For a similar instance see Meno 94 \( D \), \( \varepsilon\xi\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\iota\upsilon \) \( \alpha\nu \ \upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma \ \varepsilon\mutil\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\uomicron\tau\omega\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\nu\), \( \upsilon \ \tau\omicron\nu\ \varepsilon\pi\iota\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma\omicron\nu \ \tau\iota\varsigma \ \varepsilon\ \tau\iota\varsigma \ \varepsilon\nu\omicron\nu\), where \( \tau\omicron\nu\ ) ought to be in apposition to the suppressed object after \( \varepsilon\xi\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\iota\upsilon\). In the Gorgias 523 \( E \), 524 \( A \), Minos, Rhadamanthys and Aeacus are mentioned as holding judgment on men after death. Rhadamanthys has jurisdiction over the souls that come from Asia, Aeacus over those that come from Europe, while Minos holds a court of appeal, in case the other two are in any doubt. Rhadamanthys is mentioned in the Odyssey (IV. 564) as living in Elysium. Triptolemus appears only here in a judicial capacity.

\[ \text{O\rho\phi\epsilon\iota \ . \ . \ \kappa\alpha\iota \ M\u\omicron\u\omicron\sigma\alpha\omicron\iota} \] These two names occur together again in Prot. 316 \( D \); Ion 536 \( B \); Rep. 364 \( E \). Plato calls Orpheus the son of Oeagrus (Symp. 179 \( D \)), and quotes familiarly from his poems (Crat. 402 \( B \); Phil. 66 \( C \); Laws 669 \( D \)). But he has not the most distant idea of his date, lumping him along with other early discoverers—Daedalus, Palamedes, Marsyas, Olympus and Amphion—as having lived some thousand or two thousand years ago (Laws 677 \( D \)). The legendary history of Orpheus was evidently known to Plato, as he makes Phaedrus in the Symposium (179 \( D \)) give a distorted version of it. The magic of his voice is referred to in Prot. 315 \( A \), and the sweetness of his hymns in Laws 829 \( E \). In the vision of Er his soul is made to choose the life of a swan (Rep. 620 \( A \)). The oracles of Musaeus are mentioned in Herod. VIII. 96. They were arranged and edited by Onomacritus, who was banished from Athens by Hipparchus for interpolating them (VII. 6). Plato speaks of a host of books passing in his time under the names of Orpheus and Musaeus, which he evidently does not regard as authentic (Rep. 364 \( E \)). At the same time he acknowledges a genuine Musaeus, and criticizes his conception of the future life as a degrading one (Rep. 363 \( C \), \( D \)). Musaeus seems also to have written on cures for diseases (Arist. Frogs 1033). The names of Orpheus and Musaeus were connected with mysteries, and were made much use of by a set of priestly pretenders (Prot. 316 \( D \); Rep. 364 \( E \)), who declared these poets to be the offspring of the Moon and the Muses. But these followers of Orpheus (\( \omega\iota \ \alpha\mu\phis \ 'O\rho\phi\epsilon\alpha \)) were not without their higher side. They practised vegetarianism, like the Pythagoreans (Laws 782 \( C \)), and are credited in the Cratylus (400 \( C \)) with the mysterious doctrine, with which Plato was so fascinated, that this life is death, and that the body is
the grave or prison-house of the soul, in which it suffers for its former sins (cp. Phaedo 62 B; Gorg. 492 E, 493 A). Aristophanes (Frogs 1032, 3) sums up pretty well what we know of Orpheus and Musaeus.

'Oρφέως μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι,
Μουσαίως δ' ἔξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρῆσμούς.

ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἂν τίς κ.τ.λ.] 'How much would not any of you give?' Notice the repetition of the ἂν, on which cp. note on ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν οἴμαι, 40 D.

B Παλαμήδει] See note on ὡς Σωκράτη ἀπεκτόνατε, 38 C. Xenophon in his Apology makes Socrates cite the case of Palamedes, παραμυθείται δ' ἐτι με καὶ Παλαμήδης ὁ παραπλησίως ἐμοὶ τελευτήσας (Apol. Socr. § 26).

οὐκ ἂν ἄρθρης εἰη] These words merely repeat the apodosis which we had at starting, θαναστῇ ἂν εἰη ἢ διατριβῇ αὐτῷ. It is an instance of binary structure. See Riddell, Digest § 207.

Σίσυφον] Mentioned here as a type of cunning.

C ἢ ἀλλος μυρίος ἂν τίς εἰπο] The regular construction is broken off as if in impatience. See Riddell, Digest, § 257.

ἀμήχανον εὐδαιμονίας] 'An inconceivable happiness.' Lit. 'inconceivable in happiness.'

D οὐκ ἐστιν ἄνθρι ἄγαθῳ κ.τ.λ.] In this sentence Socrates reaches the sublimest height of Stoicism, tempered with religious faith and hope.

οὐ πάνυ χαλεπαίνω] 'I cannot say I am angry.' See note on καὶ οὐ πάνυ κ.τ.λ., 19 A.

42 A πεπονθὼς ἐστομαι] Cp. καταεγὼς ἐσται, Gorg. 469 D

ὑφ' ὑμῶν] See note on πεπονθατε ἤπιδ, 17 A.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ] 'But (I will say no more) for' etc. Translate, 'But enough—it is now time to go away.' See however note on 19 C, ἀλλὰ γὰρ.
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