Laws

PLATO
c. 428–348 BC

Laws

Νόμοι

Translated from the Greek with AI (Claude) and edited

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Laws · Plato (c. 428–348 BC)

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INTRODUCTION

The *Laws* is Plato's last and longest work. Three old men — an unnamed Athenian, Clinias of Crete and Megillus of Sparta — walk on a summer's day from Knossos toward the cave of Zeus, and pass the time by discussing laws. Clinias reveals that he is helping to found a new colony, and the conversation turns into the design of a whole city, Magnesia, down to its religion, education, marriage, property, crime and punishment.

Where the *Republic* imagines rule by philosopher-kings, the *Laws* settles for the "second-best" city, governed by written law. Its ideas — laws that begin with persuasive preambles, a mixed constitution, education through song and dance, and a proof of the gods' existence in Book X — shaped political thought from Aristotle to the American founders.

Book I

Is war the aim of law? Drinking parties as a test of virtue.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
624a	**ATHENIAN** θεὸς ἤ τις ἀνθρώπων ὑμῖν, ὦ ξένοι, εἴληφε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν νόμων διαθέσεως;	**ATHENIAN** Tell me, strangers: is it a god or some human being who gets the credit among you for establishing your laws?[1]
	CLINIAS θεός, ὦ ξένε, θεός, ὥς γε τὸ δικαιότατον εἰπεῖν· παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν Ζεύς, παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅθεν ὅδε ἐστίν, οἶμαι φάναι τούτους Ἀπόλλωνα. ἦ γάρ;	**CLINIAS** A god, stranger, a god—to put it in the justest way. With us it's Zeus; with the Spartans, where our friend here comes from, I believe they say Apollo. Isn't that right?
	MEGILLUS ναί.	**MEGILLUS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN μῶν οὖν καθ' Ὅμηρον λέγεις ὡς τοῦ Μίνω φοιτῶντος 624b πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἑκάστοτε συνουσίαν δι' ἐνάτου ἔτους καὶ κατὰ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου φήμας ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμῖν θέντος τοὺς νόμους;	**ATHENIAN** Do you mean, then, as Homer says, that Minos used to go 624b every ninth year to meet with his father, and laid down laws for your cities according to the pronouncements he brought back from him?[2]
624b	**CLINIAS** λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παρ' ἡμῖν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν γε αὐτοῦ Ῥαδάμανθυν—ἀκούετε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα—δικαιότατον 625a γεγονέναι. τοῦτον οὖν φαῖμεν ἂν ἡμεῖς γε οἱ Κρῆτες, ἐκ τοῦ τότε διανέμειν τὰ περὶ τὰς δίκας, ὀρθῶς τοῦτον τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι.	**CLINIAS** Yes, that's what's said among us. And his brother Rhadamanthus too—you've heard the name—was the most just of men. 625a We Cretans at least would say that he rightly earned this praise from the way he handled judicial matters in those days.
625a	**ATHENIAN** καὶ καλόν γε τὸ κλέος ὑεῖ τε Διὸς μάλα πρέπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τοιούτοις ἤθεσι τέθραφθε νομικοῖς σύ τε καὶ ὅδε, προσδοκῶ οὐκ ἂν ἀηδῶς περί τε πολιτείας τὰ νῦν καὶ νόμων τὴν διατριβήν, λέγοντάς τε καὶ ἀκούοντας ἅμα κατὰ 625b τὴν πορείαν, ποιήσασθαι. πάντως δ' ἥ γε ἐκ Κνωσοῦ ὁδὸς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄντρον καὶ ἱερόν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, ἱκανή, καὶ ἀνάπαυλαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς εἰκός, πνίγους ὄντος τὰ νῦν, ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς δένδρεσίν εἰσι σκιαραί, καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις πρέπον ἂν ἡμῶν εἴη τὸ διαναπαύεσθαι πυκνὰ ἐν αὐταῖς, λόγοις τε ἀλλήλους παραμυθουμένους τὴν ὁδὸν ἅπασαν οὕτω μετὰ ῥᾳστώνης διαπερᾶναι.	**ATHENIAN** A fine reputation, and very fitting for a son of Zeus. Since you and our friend here were brought up under legal customs like these, I expect it would be no unpleasant thing for us to spend the time now talking about constitutions and laws, speaking and listening as we go 625b along. The road from Knossos to the cave and shrine of Zeus is long enough, so we hear, and along the way, as you'd expect, there are shady resting places under tall trees, now that the heat is stifling. It would suit men of our age to rest in them often, and to encourage one another with conversation, and in that way to get through the whole journey with ease.

1 The *Laws* opens on Crete, as three old men walk from Knossos toward the cave of Zeus on Mount Ida, where the god was said to have been raised.
2 Minos, legendary king of Crete and son of Zeus; the *Odyssey* (19.178–9) calls him the "confidant of great Zeus" who ruled in nine-year periods.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
625b	**CLINIAS** καὶ μὴν ἔστιν γε, ὦ ξένε, προϊόντι κυπαρίττων τε [625c] ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν ὕψη καὶ κάλλη θαυμάσια, καὶ λειμῶνες ἐν οἷσιν ἀναπαυόμενοι διατρίβοιμεν ἄν.	**CLINIAS** Yes, stranger, and as you go further there are cypresses [625c] in the sacred groves, of amazing height and beauty, and meadows where we could rest and pass the time.
625c	**ATHENIAN** ὀρθῶς λέγεις.	**ATHENIAN** You're right.
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν· ἰδόντες δὲ μᾶλλον φήσομεν. ἀλλ' ἴωμεν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.	**CLINIAS** Certainly—and we'll say so even more once we've seen them. But let's go, and good luck to us.
	ATHENIAN ταῦτ' εἴη. καί μοι λέγε· κατὰ τί τὰ συσσίτιά τε ὑμῖν συντέταχεν ὁ νόμος καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων ἕξιν;	**ATHENIAN** So be it. Now tell me: with what aim has your law arranged your common meals, your athletic training and the kind of arms you carry?[3]
	CLINIAS οἶμαι μέν, ὦ ξένε, καὶ παντὶ ῥᾴδιον ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι τά γε ἡμέτερα. τὴν γὰρ τῆς χώρας πάσης Κρήτης φύσιν [625d] ὁρᾶτε ὡς οὐκ ἔστι, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν Θετταλῶν, πεδιάς, διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἵπποις ἐκεῖνοι χρῶνται μᾶλλον, δρόμοισιν δὲ ἡμεῖς· ἥδε γὰρ ἀνώμαλος αὖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεζῇ δρόμων ἄσκησιν μᾶλλον σύμμετρος. ἐλαφρὰ δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ μὴ βάρος ἔχοντα θεῖν· τῶν δὴ τόξων καὶ τοξευμάτων ἡ κουφότης ἁρμόττειν δοκεῖ. ταῦτ' οὖν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἅπαντα ἐξήρτυται, [625e] καὶ πάνθ' ὁ νομοθέτης, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπων συνετάττετο· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια κινδυνεύει συναγαγεῖν, ὁρῶν ὡς πάντες ὁπόταν στρατεύωνται, τόθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ἀναγκάζονται φυλακῆς αὑτῶν ἕνεκα συσσιτεῖν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον.	**CLINIAS** I think, stranger, that anyone can easily grasp the reasons for ours at least. You can see that the land of Crete as a whole [625d] isn't flat, as Thessaly is. That's why the Thessalians use horses more, and we use running on foot, since this land is uneven and better suited to training for foot races. In such country one has to have light arms, so as to run without carrying weight, and the lightness of bows and arrows seems to fit. So all these things have been fitted out for war, [625e] and it seems to me, at least, that the lawgiver arranged everything with his eye on that. Even the common meals: he probably brought them in because he saw that whenever men are on campaign, the situation itself forces them all to eat together for that time, for their own protection.
625e	ἄνοιαν δή μοι δοκεῖ καταγνῶναι τῶν πολλῶν ὡς οὐ μανθανόντων ὅτι πόλεμος ἀεὶ πᾶσιν διὰ βίου συνεχής ἐστι πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς πόλεις· εἰ δὴ πολέμου γε ὄντος φυλακῆς ἕνεκα δεῖ συσσιτεῖν καί τινας ἄρχοντας καὶ [626a] ἀρχομένους διακεκοσμημένους εἶναι φύλακας αὐτῶν, τοῦτο καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ δραστέον. ἣν γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰρήνην, τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνον ὄνομα, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πάσαις πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀεὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι.	And he seems to me to have convicted the many of folly, for not understanding that everyone is always engaged, throughout life, in continuous war against all cities. If in war one must eat together for protection, and have certain rulers and [626a] ruled arranged to guard them, then the same must be done in peacetime too. For what most people call peace is only a name; in reality every city is always, by nature, in an undeclared war against every other.
626a	καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνευρήσεις, οὕτω σκοπῶν, τὸν Κρητῶν νομοθέτην ὡς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἅπαντα δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τὰ νόμιμα ἡμῖν ἀποβλέπων συνετάξατο, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα [626b] οὕτω φυλάττειν παρέδωκε τοὺς νόμους, ὡς τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ὄφελος ὂν οὔτε κτημάτων οὔτ'	Look at it this way and you'll pretty well discover that the lawgiver of the Cretans arranged all our institutions, public and private, with his eye on war, and handed down the laws [626b] to be kept on that basis. His view was that nothing else, neither possessions nor pursuits, is of any use unless one

3 Common meals (*syssitia*): in Crete and Sparta the citizen men ate together every day in fixed messes, an institution tied to military life.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἂν μὴ τῷ πολέμῳ ἄρα κρατῇ τις, πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν νικωμένων ἀγαθὰ τῶν νικώντων γίγνεσθαι.	prevails in war, since all the goods of the defeated go to the victors.
626b	ATHENIAN καλῶς γε, ὦ ξένε, φαίνῃ μοι γεγυμνάσθαι πρὸς τὸ διειδέναι τὰ Κρητῶν νόμιμα. τόδε δέ μοι φράζε ἔτι σαφέστερον· ὃν γὰρ ὅρον ἔθου τῆς εὖ πολιτευομένης πόλεως, [626c] δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν οὕτω κεκοσμημένην οἰκεῖν δεῖν, ὥστε πολέμῳ νικᾶν τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις. ἦ γάρ;	ATHENIAN You seem to me, stranger, to be well trained in understanding the institutions of the Cretans. But explain this to me more clearly still. The standard you set for a well-governed city: [626c] you seem to me to be saying that it must be organized so as to defeat other cities in war. Is that it?
626c	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὕτω συνδοκεῖν.	CLINIAS Certainly. And I think our friend here agrees.
	MEGILLUS πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ἀποκρίναιτο, ὦ θεῖε, Λακεδαιμονίων γε ὁστισοῦν;	MEGILLUS How else could any Spartan answer, my inspired friend?
	ATHENIAN πότερ' οὖν δὴ πόλεσι μὲν πρὸς πόλεις ὀρθὸν τοῦτ' ἐστί, κώμῃ δὲ πρὸς κώμην ἕτερον;	ATHENIAN So is this right for city against city, but something different for village against village?
	CLINIAS οὐδαμῶς.	CLINIAS Not at all.
	ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ ταὐτόν;	ATHENIAN The same, then?
	CLINIAS ναί.	CLINIAS Yes.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; πρὸς οἰκίαν οἰκίᾳ τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ ἑνὶ πρὸς ἕνα, ταὐτὸν ἔτι;	ATHENIAN What about household against household in the village, and man against man, one against one? Still the same?
	CLINIAS ταὐτόν.	CLINIAS The same.
626d	ATHENIAN αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς αὑτὸν πότερον ὡς πολεμίῳ πρὸς πολέμιον διανοητέον; ἢ πῶς ἔτι λέγομεν;	ATHENIAN And a man against himself: must we think of him as enemy against enemy? Or what do we say now?
	CLINIAS ὦ ξένε Ἀθηναῖε—οὐ γάρ σε Ἀττικὸν ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν προσαγορεύειν· δοκεῖς γάρ μοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐπωνυμίας ἄξιος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπονομάζεσθαι· τὸν γὰρ λόγον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ἀναγαγὼν σαφέστερον ἐποίησας, ὥστε ῥᾷον ἀνευρήσεις ὅτι νυνδὴ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς ἐρρήθη τὸ πολεμίους εἶναι πάντας πᾶσιν δημοσίᾳ τε, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστους αὐτοὺς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.	CLINIAS Athenian stranger—for I wouldn't like to call you "Attic": you seem to me to deserve rather to be named after the goddess—you've made the argument clearer by rightly taking it back to its starting point. So you'll more easily see that what we said just now was right: that all men are enemies of all in public life, and in private each is an enemy to himself.[4]
626e	ATHENIAN πῶς εἴρηκας, ὦ θαυμάσιε;	ATHENIAN What do you mean, my remarkable friend?
	CLINIAS κἀνταῦθα, ὦ ξένε, τὸ νικᾶν αὐτὸν αὑτὸν πασῶν νικῶν πρώτη τε καὶ ἀρίστη, τὸ δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντων αἴσχιστόν τε ἅμα καὶ κάκιστον. ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς πολέμου ἐν ἑκάστοις ἡμῶν ὄντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σημαίνει.	CLINIAS Here too, stranger, victory over oneself is the first and best of all victories, and to be defeated by oneself is the most shameful and the worst of all things. This shows that there is a war in each of us against ourselves.

4 Athens is named for the goddess Athena; "Attic" refers merely to the region, Attica.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN πάλιν τοίνυν τὸν λόγον ἀναστρέψωμεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἷς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ὁ μὲν κρείττων αὑτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἥττων [627a] ἐστί, πότερα φῶμεν οἰκίαν τε καὶ κώμην καὶ πόλιν ἔχειν ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ἐν αὑταῖς ἢ μὴ φῶμεν;	ATHENIAN Then let's turn the argument back the other way. Since each one of us is either superior to himself or inferior, [627a] are we to say that households, villages and cities have this same thing in them, or not?
627a	CLINIAS τὸ κρείττω τε ἑαυτῆς εἶναι λέγεις τινά, τὴν δ' ἥττω;	CLINIAS You mean that one is superior to itself, another inferior?
	ATHENIAN ναί.	ATHENIAN Yes.
	CLINIAS καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἤρου· πάνυ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ σφόδρα τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. ἐν ὁπόσαις μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἀμείνονες νικῶσιν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς χείρους, ὀρθῶς ἂν αὕτη κρείττων τε ἑαυτῆς λέγοιθ' ἡ πόλις, ἐπαινοῖτό τε ἂν δικαιότατα τῇ τοιαύτῃ νίκῃ· τοὐναντίον δέ, ὅπου τἀναντία.	CLINIAS You were right to ask this too. There certainly is such a thing, very much so, and not least in cities. In all those where the better people defeat the multitude and the worse, that city would rightly be called superior to itself, and would be most justly praised for such a victory; and the opposite where the opposite happens.
627b	ATHENIAN τὸ μὲν τοίνυν εἴ ποτέ ἐστίν που τὸ χεῖρον κρεῖττον τοῦ ἀμείνονος ἐάσωμεν—μακροτέρου γὰρ λόγου—τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενον μανθάνω νῦν, ὡς ποτε πολῖται, συγγενεῖς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως γεγονότες, ἄδικοι καὶ πολλοὶ συνελθόντες, δικαίους ἐλάττους ὄντας βιάσονται δουλούμενοι, καὶ ὅταν μὲν κρατήσωσιν, ἥττων ἡ πόλις αὑτῆς ὀρθῶς αὕτη λέγοιτ' ἂν ἅμα καὶ κακή, ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡττῶνται, κρείττων τε καὶ ἀγαθή.	ATHENIAN Well, whether the worse is ever superior to the better, let's leave aside—that needs a longer discussion. But I understand what you're saying now: that sometimes citizens, kinsmen born of the same city, who are unjust and numerous, will band together and use force to enslave the just, who are fewer. When they prevail, the city would rightly be called inferior to itself and bad as well; and where they are defeated, superior to itself and good.
627c	CLINIAS καὶ μάλα ἄτοπον, ὦ ξένε, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον· ὅμως δὲ ὁμολογεῖν οὕτως ἀναγκαιότατον.	CLINIAS What's being said now is very strange, stranger. Still, we can't avoid agreeing to it.
	ATHENIAN ἔχε δή. καὶ τόδε πάλιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα· πολλοὶ ἀδελφοί που γένοιντ' ἂν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός τε καὶ μιᾶς ὑείς, καὶ δὴ καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοὺς πλείους μὲν ἀδίκους αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττους δικαίους.	ATHENIAN Wait, then. Let's look at this as well. Presumably one man and one woman might have many sons who are brothers; and it would be no wonder if most of them turned out unjust and the fewer just.
	CLINIAS οὐ γὰρ οὖν.	CLINIAS No wonder at all.
	ATHENIAN καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη γε πρέπον ἐμοί τε καὶ ὑμῖν τοῦτο θηρεύειν, ὅτι νικώντων μὲν τῶν πονηρῶν ἥ τε οἰκία καὶ ἡ συγγένεια αὕτη πᾶσα ἥττων αὑτῆς λέγοιτ' ἄν, κρείττων δὲ [627d] ἡττωμένων· οὐ γὰρ εὐσχημοσύνης τε καὶ ἀσχημοσύνης ῥημάτων ἕνεκα τὰ νῦν σκοπούμεθα πρὸς τὸν τῶν πολλῶν λόγον, ἀλλ' ὀρθότητός τε καὶ ἁμαρτίας πέρι νόμων, ἥτις ποτ' ἐστὶν φύσει.	ATHENIAN And it wouldn't be fitting for you and me to chase after this point: that when the wicked win, the household and the whole family would be called inferior to itself, and superior [627d] when they're defeated. We're not examining now the propriety or impropriety of words, as ordinary people use them, but the correctness and error of laws—whatever it is by nature.
627d	CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις.	CLINIAS Very true, stranger.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	MEGILLUS καλῶς μὲν οὖν, ὥς γε ἐμοὶ συνδοκεῖν, τό γε τοσοῦτον, τὰ νῦν.	**MEGILLUS** Well said—so far, at least, I agree, for now.
	ATHENIAN ἴδωμεν δὴ καὶ τόδε· τούτοις τοῖς ἄρτι λεγομένοις ἀδελφοῖς γένοιτ' ἄν πού τις δικαστής;	**ATHENIAN** Let's look at this too. Presumably these brothers we just mentioned might have a judge?
	CLINIAS πάνυ γε.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN πότερος οὖν ἀμείνων, ὅστις τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσειεν [627e] αὐτῶν ὅσοι κακοί, τοὺς δὲ βελτίους ἄρχειν αὐτοὺς αὑτῶν προστάξειεν, ἢ ὅδε ὃς ἂν τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ἄρχειν, τοὺς χείρους δ' ἐάσας ζῆν ἄρχεσθαι ἑκόντας ποιήσειεν; τρίτον δέ που δικαστὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἴπωμεν, εἴ τις εἴη τοιοῦτος ὅστις παραλαβὼν συγγένειαν μίαν διαφερομένην, μήτε ἀπολέσειεν [628a] μηδένα, διαλλάξας δὲ εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον, νόμους αὐτοῖς θείς, πρὸς ἀλλήλους παραφυλάττειν δύναιτο ὥστε εἶναι φίλους.	**ATHENIAN** Which one would be better, then? One who put to death [627e] all the bad ones among them and appointed the better ones to rule themselves? Or one who had the good ones rule, but let the worse live and made them willing to be ruled? And we might name a third judge, still better with respect to virtue: if there were one who took over a single family at odds with itself, and put no one [628a] to death, but reconciled them for the future, laid down laws for them, and was able to watch over them so that they would be friends to one another.
628a	**CLINIAS** μακρῷ ἀμείνων γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος δικαστής τε καὶ νομοθέτης.	**CLINIAS** Such a judge and lawgiver would be far better.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν τοὐναντίον γε ἢ πρὸς πόλεμον ἂν βλέπων αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους διανομοθετοῖ.	**ATHENIAN** And yet in laying down their laws he would be looking to the opposite of war.
	CLINIAS τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθές.	**CLINIAS** That's true.
	ATHENIAN τί δ' ὁ τὴν πόλιν συναρμόττων; πρὸς πόλεμον αὐτῆς ἂν τὸν ἔξωθεν βλέπων τὸν βίον κοσμοῖ μᾶλλον, [628b] ἢ πρὸς πόλεμον τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ γιγνόμενον ἑκάστοτε, ἣ δὴ καλεῖται στάσις; ὃν μάλιστα μὲν ἅπας ἂν βούλοιτο μήτε γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἐν ἑαυτοῦ πόλει γενόμενόν τε ὡς τάχιστα ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** What about the man who brings a city into harmony? Would he order its life with his eye on external war rather [628b] than on the war that from time to time arises within it, the one called civil strife? That's the war everyone would most want never to happen in his own city, and, if it does happen, to be rid of as quickly as possible.
628b	**CLINIAS** δῆλον ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτον.	**CLINIAS** Clearly on the second.
	ATHENIAN πότερα δὲ ἀπολομένων αὖ τῶν ἑτέρων εἰρήνην τῆς στάσεως γενέσθαι, νικησάντων δὲ ποτέρων, δέξαιτ' ἄν τις, μᾶλλον ἢ φιλίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης ὑπὸ διαλλαγῶν γενομένης, οὕτω τοῖς ἔξωθεν πολεμίοις προσέχειν ἀνάγκην εἶναι τὸν [628c] νοῦν;	**ATHENIAN** Would anyone choose that peace should follow civil strife through the destruction of one side and the victory of the other, rather than that friendship and peace should come about through reconciliation, and the city then have to turn its [628c] attention to enemies outside?
628c	**CLINIAS** οὕτω πᾶς ἂν ἐθέλοι πρότερον ἢ 'κεῖνος περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γίγνεσθαι πόλιν.	**CLINIAS** Anyone would want it that way for his own city rather than the other way.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν καὶ νομοθέτης ὡσαύτως;	**ATHENIAN** And the lawgiver likewise?
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.

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ATHENIAN ἆρα οὖν οὐ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἕνεκα πάντα ἂν τὰ νόμιμα τιθείη πᾶς;

ATHENIAN So would anyone lay down all his rules for the sake of anything but the best?

CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὔ;

CLINIAS How could he?

ATHENIAN τό γε μὴν ἄριστον οὔτε ὁ πόλεμος οὔτε ἡ στάσις, ἀπευκτὸν δὲ τὸ δεηθῆναι τούτων, εἰρήνη δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα καὶ φιλοφροσύνη, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ νικᾶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὴν [628d] αὐτὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἦν τῶν ἀρίστων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων· ὅμοιον ὡς εἰ κάμνον σῶμα ἰατρικῆς καθάρσεως τυχὸν ἡγοῖτό τις ἄριστα πράττειν τότε, τῷ δὲ μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν δεηθέντι σώματι μηδὲ προσέχοι τὸν νοῦν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ πρὸς πόλεως εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ καὶ ἰδιώτου διανοούμενος οὕτω τις οὔτ' ἄν ποτε πολιτικὸς γένοιτο ὀρθῶς, πρὸς τὰ ἔξωθεν πολεμικὰ ἀποβλέπων μόνον καὶ πρῶτον, οὔτ' ἂν νομοθέτης ἀκριβής, εἰ μὴ χάριν εἰρήνης τὰ πολέμου νομοθετοῖ μᾶλλον [628e] ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἕνεκα τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης.

ATHENIAN Yet the best is neither war nor civil strife—to need these is something we pray against—but peace with one another together with goodwill. And even the city's victory over [628d] itself, it seems, turns out to be not among the best things but among the necessary ones. It's as if someone supposed that a sick body, when it gets medical purging, is at its best then, and paid no attention at all to a body that never needed such a thing. In the same way, anyone who thinks like this about the happiness of a city, or of an individual, would never be a true statesman, if he looks only, and first, to wars with outsiders; nor would he be a precise lawgiver unless he legislated for war for the sake of peace, rather [628e] than for peace for the sake of war.

628e **CLINIAS** φαίνεται μέν πως ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὦ ξένε, ὀρθῶς εἰρῆσθαι, θαυμάζω γε μὴν εἰ τά τε παρ' ἡμῖν νόμιμα καὶ ἔτι τὰ περὶ Λακεδαίμονα μὴ πᾶσαν τὴν σπουδὴν τούτων ἕνεκα πεποίηται.

CLINIAS This argument does seem somehow to be right, stranger. And yet I'd be surprised if our institutions, and the Spartan ones too, haven't put all their effort into war.

THE WHOLE OF VIRTUE

Against Tyrtaeus, the Athenian argues that a lawgiver must aim at all of virtue, not courage alone.

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629a **ATHENIAN** τάχ' ἂν ἴσως· δεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν σκληρῶς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς διαμάχεσθαι τὰ νῦν ἀλλ' ἠρέμα ἀνερωτᾶν, ὡς μάλιστα περὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων σπουδαζόντων. καί μοι τῷ λόγῳ συνακολουθήσατε. προστησώμεθα γοῦν Τύρταιον, τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον, τῶνδε δὲ πολίτην γενόμενον, ὃς δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπούδακεν εἰπὼν ὅτι— οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην [629b] οὔτ' εἴ τις πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων εἴη, φησίν, οὔτ' εἰ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένος, εἰπὼν σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, ὃς μὴ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄριστος γίγνοιτ' ἀεί. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκήκοάς που καὶ σὺ τὰ ποιήματα· ὅδε μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι διακορὴς αὐτῶν ἐστι.

ATHENIAN Perhaps so. But we mustn't do battle with them harshly now, but question them calmly, on the assumption that both we and they are very serious about these matters. Follow the argument with me. Let's bring forward Tyrtaeus, an Athenian by birth who became a citizen of our friends here, and who, more than anyone, was serious about these things. He says: "I would not mention, nor take account of, a man [629b] —not if he were the richest of men," he says, "nor if he had many goods"—and he lists nearly all of them—"if he did not always prove best in war." You've surely heard these poems too; our friend here, I imagine, has had his fill of them.[5]

629b **MEGILLUS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

MEGILLUS Certainly.

5 Tyrtaeus, a seventh-century BC poet whose martial elegies were sung by the Spartans; one tradition made him an Athenian.

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CLINIAS καὶ μὴν καὶ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε κομισθέντα ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος.

CLINIAS Yes, and they've come over to us too, brought from Sparta.

ATHENIAN ἴθι νυν ἀνερώμεθα κοινῇ τουτονὶ τὸν ποιητὴν οὑτωσί πως· "ὦ Τύρταιε, ποιητὰ θειότατε—δοκεῖς γὰρ δὴ 629c σοφὸς ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθός, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διαφέροντας διαφερόντως ἐγκεκωμίακας—ἤδη οὖν τυγχάνομεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὅδε καὶ Κλεινίας ὁ Κνώσιος οὑτοσὶ συμφερόμενοί σοι περὶ τούτου σφόδρα, ὡς δοκοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγομεν ἀνδρῶν ἢ μή, βουλόμεθα σαφῶς εἰδέναι. λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν· ἆρα εἶδη δύο πολέμου καθάπερ ἡμεῖς ἡγῇ καὶ σὺ σαφῶς; ἢ πῶς;" πρὸς ταῦτ' οἶμαι κἂν πολὺ φαυλότερος 629d εἴποι Τυρταίου τις τἀληθές, ὅτι δύο, τὸ μὲν ὃ καλοῦμεν ἅπαντες στάσιν, ὃς δὴ πάντων πολέμων χαλεπώτατος, ὡς ἔφαμεν ἡμεῖς νυνδή· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πολέμου θήσομεν οἶμαι γένος ἅπαντες ᾧ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός τε καὶ ἀλλοφύλους χρώμεθα διαφερόμενοι, πολὺ πρᾳότερον ἐκείνου.

ATHENIAN Come on, then, let's question this poet together, something like this: "Tyrtaeus, most inspired of poets—for you seem to us 629c wise and good, since you've praised exceptionally those who are exceptional in war—now, the three of us, I and this man and Clinias of Knossos here, happen to agree with you strongly on this, as we think. But we want to know clearly whether we're talking about the same men or not. So tell us: do you, like us, clearly hold that there are two kinds of war? Or how do you see it?" To this I think even someone much less able 629d than Tyrtaeus would give the true answer: that there are two. One is what we all call civil strife, which is the harshest of all wars, as we said just now. The other kind of war, I think, we'll all take to be the one we engage in when we quarrel with outsiders and foreigners, and it is much milder than the first.

629d CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN φέρε δή, ποτέρους, καὶ πρὸς πότερον ἐπαινῶν τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ὑπερεπῄνεσας, τοὺς δὲ ἔψεξας τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ἔοικας μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός· εἴρηκας γοῦν ὧδε ἐν τοῖς 629e ποιήμασιν, ὡς οὐδαμῶς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνεχόμενος, οἳ μὴ τολμήσωσιν μὲν ὁρᾶν φόνον αἱματόεντα, καὶ δηίων ὀρέγοιντ' ἐγγύθεν ἱστάμενοι. οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴποιμεν ἂν ἡμεῖς ὅτι "σὺ μὲν ἐπαινεῖς, ὡς ἔοικας, ὦ Τύρταιε, μάλιστα τοὺς πρὸς τὸν ὀθνεῖόν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν πόλεμον γιγνομένους ἐπιφανεῖς." φαίη ταῦτ' ἄν που καὶ ὁμολογοῖ;

ATHENIAN Come, then: which men, and with an eye to which war, did you praise so extravagantly, and which did you blame? It seems to be those in the war against outsiders. At any rate you've said this in your 629e poems, that you can't abide the sort of men who "dare not look upon bloody slaughter, and reach for the enemy, standing close." Then we'd go on to say: "Tyrtaeus, it seems that you praise most of all those who distinguish themselves in foreign war, against outsiders." I suppose he'd say yes and agree?

629e CLINIAS τί μήν;

CLINIAS Of course.

630a ATHENIAN ἡμεῖς δέ γε ἀγαθῶν ὄντων τούτων ἔτι φαμὲν ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ πολέμῳ γιγνομένους ἀρίστους διαφανῶς· ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρ' ἔχομεν, Θέογνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων, ὅς φησιν— πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ. τοῦτον δή φαμεν ἐν πολέμῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ ἀμείνονα ἐκείνου πάμπολυ γίγνεσθαι, σχεδὸν ὅσον ἀμείνων δικαιοσύνη καὶ 630b σωφροσύνη καὶ φρόνησις εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' ἀνδρείας, αὐτῆς μόνης ἀνδρείας. πιστὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑγιὴς ἐν στάσεσιν οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο ἄνευ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς· διαβάντες δ' εὖ καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐθέλοντες ἀποθνῄσκειν ἐν ᾧ πολέμῳ φράζει Τύρταιος

ATHENIAN But we say that, good as these men are, those who are plainly best in the greatest war are better still, and by a long way. We too have a poet as witness, Theognis, a citizen of Megara in Sicily, who says: "A trustworthy man, Cyrnus, is worth his weight in gold and silver in harsh civil discord." Such a man, we say, proves far better than the other in the harsher war—almost as much better as justice, 630b moderation and wisdom, joined together with courage, are better than courage by itself alone. For no one could ever be trustworthy and sound in civil strife without the whole of virtue. But plenty of mercenaries will "plant

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τῶν μισθοφόρων εἰσὶν πάμπολλοι, ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι γίγνονται θρασεῖς καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ἀφρονέστατοι σχεδὸν ἁπάντων, ἐκτὸς δή τινων εὖ μάλα ὀλίγων.

630b ποῖ δὴ τελευτᾷ νῦν ἡμῖν οὗτος ὁ λόγος, καὶ τί 630c φανερόν ποτε ποιῆσαι βουληθεὶς λέγει ταῦτα; δῆλον ὅτι τόδε, ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ ὁ τῇδε παρὰ Διὸς νομοθέτης, πᾶς τε οὗ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν μάλιστα βλέπων ἀεὶ θήσει τοὺς νόμους· ἔστι δέ, ὥς φησιν Θέογνις, αὕτη πιστότης ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, ἥν τις δικαιοσύνην ἂν τελέαν ὀνομάσειεν. ἣν δ' αὖ Τύρταιος ἐπῄνεσεν μάλιστα, καλὴ μὲν καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν κεκοσμημένη τῷ ποιητῇ, τετάρτη μέντοι ὅμως ἀριθμῷ τε καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ 630d τιμία εἶναι λέγοιτ' ἂν ὀρθότατα.

630d **CLINIAS** ὦ ξένε, τὸν νομοθέτην ἡμῶν ἀποβάλλομεν εἰς τοὺς πόρρω νομοθέτας.

ATHENIAN οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, ὦ ἄριστε, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, ὅταν οἰώμεθα πάντα τά τ' ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τὰ τῇδε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα βλέποντας Λυκοῦργόν τε καὶ Μίνω τίθεσθαι τὰ νόμιμα.

CLINIAS τὸ δὲ πῶς χρῆν ἡμᾶς λέγειν;

ATHENIAN ὥσπερ τό τε ἀληθὲς οἶμαι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπέρ γε 630e θείας διαλεγομένους λέγειν, οὐχ ὡς πρὸς ἀρετῆς τι μόριον, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ φαυλότατον, ἐτίθει βλέπων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, καὶ κατ' εἴδη ζητεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς νόμους οὐδ' ἅπερ οἱ τῶν νῦν εἴδη προτιθέμενοι ζητοῦσιν. οὗ γὰρ ἂν ἕκαστος ἐν χρείᾳ γίγνηται, τοῦτο ζητεῖ νῦν παραθέμενος, ὁ μὲν τὰ περὶ τῶν κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων, ὁ δὲ τῆς αἰκίας πέρι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλ' ἄττα μυρία τοιαῦτα· ἡμεῖς δέ φαμεν εἶναι τὸ περὶ 631a νόμους ζήτημα τῶν εὖ ζητούντων ὥσπερ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἠρξάμεθα.

631a καὶ σοῦ τὴν μὲν ἐπιχείρησιν τῆς ἐξηγήσεως περὶ τοὺς νόμους παντάπασιν ἄγαμαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἄρχεσθαι, λέγοντα ὡς ἐτίθει ταύτης ἕνεκα τοὺς νόμους, ὀρθόν· ὅτι δὲ πάντα εἰς μόριον ἀρετῆς, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ σμικρότατον, ἐπαναφέροντα ἔφησθ' αὐτὸν νομοθετεῖν, οὔτε ὀρθῶς ἔτι μοι κατεφάνης λέγων τόν τε ὕστερον νῦν λόγον τοῦτον

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their feet firm" and fight, willing to die, in the war Tyrtaeus speaks of; and most of them turn out reckless, unjust, violent and just about the most senseless of all people, apart from a very few.[6]

Where, then, does this argument of ours end up, and what 630c does it want to make clear in saying all this? Clearly this: that the lawgiver here, who came from Zeus, above all—and any lawgiver who is of even the slightest use—will always lay down his laws with his eye above all on nothing other than the greatest virtue. And this, as Theognis says, is trustworthiness in the face of dangers, which one might call complete justice. As for the virtue Tyrtaeus praised most, though it's a fine one, and fittingly adorned by the poet, it would still most correctly be called fourth, both in rank and in its claim 630d to honor.

CLINIAS Stranger, we're relegating our own lawgiver to the back ranks of lawgivers.

ATHENIAN Not him, my good friend, but ourselves—when we think that Lycurgus and Minos laid down all the institutions in Sparta and here with their eyes chiefly on war.[7]

CLINIAS Then how should we have put it?

ATHENIAN In the way that is true, I think, and right to say when discussing a legislation that is 630e divine: not that he legislated with his eye on a part of virtue, and the most trivial part at that, but on the whole of virtue; and that he sought out his laws according to their kinds—but not the kinds that people now set out when they search. Nowadays each person sets out and looks for whatever he happens to need: one the laws about inheritances and heiresses, another about assault, others countless other things of the sort. But we say that the inquiry 631a into laws, among those who inquire well, is the kind we've just begun.

And I entirely admire the way you set about explaining your laws. To begin from virtue, saying that he laid down the laws for its sake, is right. But when you said that he legislated by referring everything to a part of virtue, and the smallest part at that, you no longer seemed to me to be

6 Theognis, an elegiac poet of the sixth century BC, whose poems are addressed to a young man, Cyrnus; he is usually placed in Megara near Athens rather than its Sicilian colony.
7 Lycurgus, the legendary lawgiver of Sparta.

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πάντα εἴρηκα διὰ ταῦτα. πῇ δὴ οὖν σε ἔτ' ἂν ἐβουλόμην διελόμενον [631b] λέγειν αὐτός τε ἀκούειν; βούλει σοι φράζω;

631b **CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ATHENIAN "ὦ ξένε," ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν, "οἱ Κρητῶν νόμοι οὐκ εἰσὶν μάτην διαφερόντως ἐν πᾶσιν εὐδόκιμοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἔχουσιν γὰρ ὀρθῶς, τοὺς αὐτοῖς χρωμένους εὐδαίμονας ἀποτελοῦντες. πάντα γὰρ τἀγαθὰ πορίζουσιν. διπλᾶ δὲ ἀγαθά ἐστιν, τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα· ἤρτηται δ' ἐκ τῶν θείων θάτερα, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν δέχηταί τις τὰ μείζονα πόλις, [631c] κτᾶται καὶ τὰ ἐλάττονα, εἰ δὲ μή, στέρεται ἀμφοῖν.

631c ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐλάττονα ὧν ἡγεῖται μὲν ὑγίεια, κάλλος δὲ δεύτερον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἰσχὺς εἴς τε δρόμον καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πάσας κινήσεις τῷ σώματι, τέταρτον δὲ δὴ πλοῦτος οὐ τυφλὸς ἀλλ' ὀξὺ βλέπων, ἅνπερ ἅμ' ἕπηται φρονήσει· ὃ δὴ πρῶτον αὖ τῶν θείων ἡγεμονοῦν ἐστιν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ φρόνησις, δεύτερον δὲ μετὰ νοῦ σώφρων ψυχῆς ἕξις, ἐκ δὲ τούτων μετ' ἀνδρείας κραθέντων τρίτον ἂν εἴη δικαιοσύνη, τέταρτον δὲ [631d] ἀνδρεία. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐκείνων ἔμπροσθεν τέτακται φύσει, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τακτέον οὕτως.

631d μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς ἄλλας προστάξεις τοῖς πολίταις εἰς ταῦτα βλεπούσας αὐτοῖς εἶναι διακελευστέον, τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα εἰς τὰ θεῖα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν σύμπαντα βλέπειν· περί τε γάμους ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινουμένους, μετά τε ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς τῶν παίδων γεννήσεσιν καὶ τροφαῖς ὅσοι [631e] τε ἄρρενες καὶ ὅσαι θήλειαι, νέων τε ὄντων καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἰόντων μέχρι γήρως, τιμῶντα ὀρθῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ ἀτιμάζοντα," "ἐν πάσαις ταῖς τούτων ὁμιλίαις τάς τε λύπας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας συμπάντων [632a] τε ἐρώτων τὰς σπουδὰς ἐπεσκεμμένον καὶ παραπεφυλαχότα, ψέγειν τε ὀρθῶς καὶ ἐπαινεῖν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων· ἐν ὀργαῖς τε αὖ καὶ ἐν φόβοις, ὅσαι τε διὰ δυστυχίαν ταραχαὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίγνονται καὶ ὅσαι ἐν εὐτυχίαις τῶν τοιούτων ἀποφυγαί, ὅσα τε κατὰ νόσους ἢ κατὰ πολέμους ἢ πενίας ἢ τὰ τούτοις ἐναντία γιγνόμενα προσπίπτει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παθήματα, ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῆς ἑκάστων διαθέσεως διδακτέον [632b] καὶ ὁριστέον τό τε καλὸν καὶ μή.

632b μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάγκη τὸν νομοθέτην τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα φυλάττειν ὅντιν' ἂν γίγνηται

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speaking correctly; and that's why I've made this whole later speech. So how would I have wanted you to draw the distinctions [631b] and speak, and to hear them myself? Shall I tell you?

CLINIAS By all means.

ATHENIAN You should have said something like this. Stranger, it's not for nothing that the laws of the Cretans are exceptionally well regarded among all the Greeks. They are right, since they make those who use them happy, providing all good things. Goods are of two kinds, human and divine. The first kind depends on the divine; and if a city receives the greater goods, [631c] it gains the lesser too, but if not, it is deprived of both.

The lesser goods are led by health; beauty is second; third is strength, for running and for all the other movements of the body; and fourth is wealth—not blind wealth, but sharp-sighted, provided it follows wisdom. Wisdom, in turn, is first and leader among the divine goods; second, following on intelligence, is a moderate disposition of soul; from these, mixed with courage, would come justice, third; and fourth, [631d] courage. All these are by nature ranked ahead of the others, and the lawgiver too must rank them so.

Next he must direct the citizens that all his other instructions to them look to these; and that of these, the human look to the divine, and the divine all look to their leader, intelligence. As they join with one another in marriage, and after that in the begetting and rearing of children, [631e] male and female, both when they are young and as they go on toward old age, until they reach it, he must take care of them, bestowing honor and dishonor rightly. In all their dealings with one another he must examine and keep watch over their pains and pleasures and desires, and the intensity [632a] of all their passions, and use the laws themselves to blame and praise rightly. So too with anger and fear, and with all the disturbances that come upon souls through misfortune, and all the escapes from them in good fortune, and all the experiences that befall people in sickness or war or poverty, or their opposites: in all such things he must teach [632b] and define what is fine and what is not in each person's disposition.

After this the lawgiver must watch over the citizens' acquisitions and expenditures, in whatever

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	τρόπον, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους πᾶσιν τούτοις κοινωνίας καὶ διαλύσεις ἐκοῦσίν τε καὶ ἄκουσιν καθ' ὁποῖον ἂν ἕκαστον πράττωσιν τῶν τοιούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπισκοπεῖν, τό τε δίκαιον καὶ μὴ ἐν οἷς ἔστιν τε καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐλλείπει, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθέσιν τῶν νόμων τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν, τοῖς δὲ δυσπειθέσι δίκας τακτὰς 632c ἐπιτιθέναι, μέχριπερ ἂν πρὸς τέλος ἁπάσης πολιτείας ἐπεξελθών, ἴδῃ τῶν τελευτησάντων τίνα δεῖ τρόπον ἑκάστοις γίγνεσθαι τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τιμὰς ἄστινας αὐτοῖς ἀπονέμειν δεῖ·	way they happen, and oversee their partnerships with one another in all these matters, and the dissolution of partnerships, voluntary and involuntary—however each such dealing between them is conducted—seeing where justice is present in them and where it is lacking. To those who obey the laws he must assign honors, and on the disobedient he must impose fixed 632c penalties, until, having come to the end of the whole constitution, he sees how the burials of the dead should be conducted in each case and what honors must be assigned to them.
632c	κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ θεὶς τοὺς νόμους ἅπασιν τούτοις φύλακας ἐπιστήσει, τοὺς μὲν διὰ φρονήσεως, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀληθοῦς δόξης ἰόντας, ὅπως πάντα ταῦτα συνδήσας ὁ νοῦς ἑπόμενα σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἀποφήνῃ, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλούτῳ μηδὲ 632d φιλοτιμίᾳ." οὕτως, ὦ ξένοι, ἔγωγε ἤθελον ἂν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔτι νῦν βούλομαι διεξελθεῖν πῶς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς λεγομένοις νόμοις τοῖς τε τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, οὓς Μίνως τε καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐθέτην, ἔνεστίν τε πάντα ταῦτα, καὶ ὅπῃ τάξιν τινὰ εἰληφότα διάδηλά ἐστιν τῷ περὶ νόμων ἐμπείρῳ τέχνῃ εἴτε καί τισιν ἔθεσιν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἡμῖν οὐδαμῶς ἐστι καταφανῆ.	Having surveyed all this, the one who lays down the laws will set guardians over all of it, some who proceed through wisdom and some through true opinion, so that intelligence, binding it all together, may show it to be following moderation and justice, not wealth or 632d ambition. That, strangers, is how I would have wanted you—and still do want you now—to go through how all these things are contained in the laws said to be Zeus's and those of Pythian Apollo, which Minos and Lycurgus laid down; and how, having been given a certain order, they are clearly visible to someone experienced in laws, whether through expertise or through some kind of habituation, though to the rest of us they aren't apparent at all.
632d	**CLINIAS** πῶς οὖν, ὦ ξένε, λέγειν χρὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα;	**CLINIAS** Then how, stranger, should the discussion go from here?

COURAGE AGAINST PLEASURES

Spartan training hardens men against pain, but nothing in either code trains them to resist pleasure.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ χρῆναι διεξελθεῖν, 632e καθάπερ ἠρξάμεθα, τὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας πρῶτον ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἔπειτα ἕτερον καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον εἶδος τῆς ἀρετῆς διέξιμεν, ἐὰν βούλησθε· ὅπως δ' ἂν τὸ πρῶτον διεξέλθωμεν, πειρασώμεθα αὐτὸ παράδειγμα θέμενοι καὶ τἆλλ' οὕτω διαμυθολογοῦντες παραμύθια ποιήσασθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὕστερον δὲ ἀρετῆς πάσης ἅ γε νυνδὴ διήλθομεν ἐκεῖσε βλέποντα ἀποφανοῦμεν, ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ.	**ATHENIAN** It seems to me we should go through it again from the beginning, 632e as we began: first the practices that make for courage; then we'll go through another kind of virtue, and then another, if you like. And as we go through the first, let's try to make it a model, and by talking through the rest in the same way, make the talk a solace for the road. Afterward we'll show that everything we've just gone through looks to the whole of virtue, if the god is willing.
633a	**MEGILLUS** καλῶς λέγεις, καὶ πειρῶ πρῶτον κρίνειν τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἐπαινέτην τόνδε ἡμῖν.	**MEGILLUS** Well said. And try first to put this praiser of Zeus of ours to the test.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN πειράσομαι, καὶ σέ τε καὶ ἐμαυτόν· κοινὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος. λέγετε οὖν· τὰ συσσίτιά φαμεν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξηυρῆσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ;	**ATHENIAN** I'll try—you and myself too, since the argument is shared. So tell me: do we say that the common meals and the athletic training were devised by the lawgiver for war?
	MEGILLUS ναί.	**MEGILLUS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN καὶ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον; ἴσως γὰρ ἂν οὕτω χρείη διαριθμήσασθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εἴτε μερῶν εἴτε ἅττ' αὐτὰ καλεῖν χρεών ἐστι, δηλοῦντα μόνον ἃ λέγει.	**ATHENIAN** And what's third, or fourth? For perhaps one should enumerate in this way also with the parts of the rest of virtue—or whatever one ought to call them, provided one makes clear what one means.
633b	**MEGILLUS** τρίτον τοίνυν, ἔγωγ' εἴποιμ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁστισοῦν, τὴν θήραν ηὗρε.	**MEGILLUS** Third, then, I and any Spartan at all would say, he devised hunting.
	ATHENIAN τέταρτον δέ, ἢ πέμπτον εἰ δυναίμεθα, λέγειν πειρώμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** Let's try to say a fourth, and a fifth, if we can.
	MEGILLUS ἔτι τοίνυν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔγωγε πειρῴμην ἂν λέγειν, τὸ περὶ τὰς καρτερήσεις τῶν ἀλγηδόνων πολὺ παρ' ἡμῖν γιγνόμενον, ἔν τε ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ταῖς χερσὶ μάχαις καὶ ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς τισιν διὰ πολλῶν πληγῶν ἑκάστοτε γιγνομένων· ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρυπτεία τις ὀνομάζεται θαυμαστῶς πολύπονος [633c] πρὸς τὰς καρτερήσεις, χειμώνων τε ἀνυποδησίαι καὶ ἀστρωσίαι καὶ ἄνευ θεραπόντων αὐτοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακονήσεις νύκτωρ τε πλανωμένων διὰ πάσης τῆς χώρας καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν. ἔτι δὲ κἀν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις δειναὶ καρτερήσεις παρ' ἡμῖν γίγνονται τῇ τοῦ πνίγους ῥώμῃ διαμαχομένων, καὶ πάμπολλα ἕτερα, σχεδὸν ὅσα οὐκ ἂν παύσαιτό τις ἑκάστοτε διεξιών.	**MEGILLUS** Well, I'd try to name a fourth as well: the endurance of pain, which is much practiced among us, both in fistfights with one another and in certain raids for plunder, which always involve many blows. And there's also something called the krypteia, wonderfully laborious [633c] as training in endurance: going barefoot in winter and sleeping without bedding, looking after themselves without servants, and roaming the whole country by night and by day. Then again at the Gymnopaidiai we have terrible trials of endurance, as they contend with the force of the stifling heat; and a great many other things, almost more than one could ever finish describing.[8]
633c	**ATHENIAN** εὖ γε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιε ξένε, λέγεις. τὴν ἀνδρείαν δέ, φέρε, τί θῶμεν; πότερον ἁπλῶς οὕτως εἶναι πρὸς φόβους [633d] καὶ λύπας διαμάχην μόνον, ἢ καὶ πρὸς πόθους τε καὶ ἡδονὰς καί τινας δεινὰς θωπείας κολακικάς, αἳ καὶ τῶν σεμνῶν οἰομένων εἶναι τοὺς θυμοὺς ποιοῦσιν κηρίνους.	**ATHENIAN** Well said, Spartan stranger. But come, what are we to take courage to be? Simply a fight against fears [633d] and pains and nothing more? Or also against longings and pleasures and certain dangerous, fawning enticements, which turn to wax the spirits even of those who think themselves above such things?
633d	**MEGILLUS** οἶμαι μὲν οὕτω· πρὸς ταῦτα σύμπαντα.	**MEGILLUS** I think the latter: against all of them.
	ATHENIAN εἰ γοῦν μεμνήμεθα τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους, ἦττω τινὰ ὅδε καὶ πόλιν ἔλεγεν αὐτὴν αὑτῆς καὶ ἄνδρα. ἦ γάρ, ὦ ξένε Κνώσιε;	**ATHENIAN** Well, if we remember what was said earlier, our friend here spoke of a city, and a man, as inferior to itself. Didn't he, stranger from Knossos?

8 The krypteia ("secret service") sent young Spartans out alone into the countryside; the Gymnopaidiai was a summer festival of dancing and athletic display by naked youths.

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	CLINIAS καὶ πάνυ γε.	**CLINIAS** He certainly did.
633e	**ATHENIAN** νῦν οὖν πότερα λέγομεν τὸν τῶν λυπῶν ἥττω κακὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν;	**ATHENIAN** Now, then, do we call bad the man who is inferior to pains, or also the one who is inferior to pleasures?
	CLINIAS μᾶλλον, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, τὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν· καὶ πάντες που μᾶλλον λέγομεν τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν κρατούμενον τοῦτον τὸν ἐπονειδίστως ἥττονα ἑαυτοῦ πρότερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν λυπῶν.	**CLINIAS** More, it seems to me, the one inferior to pleasures. We all, I think, are more inclined to say that the man overcome by pleasures is shamefully "inferior to himself" than the one overcome by pains.
634a	**ATHENIAN** ὁ Διὸς οὖν δὴ καὶ ὁ Πυθικὸς νομοθέτης οὐ δήπου χωλὴν τὴν ἀνδρείαν νενομοθετήκατον, πρὸς τἀριστερὰ μόνον δυναμένην ἀντιβαίνειν, πρὸς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ κομψὰ καὶ θωπευτικὰ ἀδυνατοῦσαν; ἢ πρὸς ἀμφότερα;	**ATHENIAN** Surely, then, the lawgivers of Zeus and of Pythian Apollo haven't legislated a lame courage, able to resist only on the left, but powerless against the charming, flattering things on the right? Or against both?
	CLINIAS πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἔγωγε ἀξιῶ.	**CLINIAS** Against both, I'd say.
	ATHENIAN λέγωμεν τοίνυν πάλιν ἐπιτηδεύματα ποῖα ἔσθ' ὑμῖν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃ γεύοντα τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ οὐ φεύγοντα αὐτάς, καθάπερ τὰς λύπας οὐκ ἔφευγεν, ἀλλ' ἄγοντα εἰς μέσας, ἠνάγκαζε καὶ ἔπειθεν τιμαῖς ὥστε κρατεῖν [634b] αὐτῶν; ποῦ δὴ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ταὐτὸν περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς συντεταγμένον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις; λεγέσθω τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ καὶ ἀπεργάζεται ὑμῖν ὁμοίως πρός τε ἀλγηδόνας καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνδρείους, νικῶντάς τε ἃ δεῖ νικᾶν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἥττους πολεμίων τῶν ἐγγύτατα ἑαυτῶν καὶ χαλεπωτάτων.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's say again: what practices do you have in your two cities that give a taste of pleasures, and don't avoid them—just as they didn't avoid pains—but lead people into the thick of them, and by compulsion and by persuasion, through honors, make them master [634b] them? Where in your laws is this same arrangement made with respect to pleasures? Let it be said what it is that, among you, makes the same men courageous alike in the face of pains and of pleasures, defeating what they ought to defeat and never inferior to the enemies that are closest to them and most dangerous.
634b	**MEGILLUS** οὕτω μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ξένε, καθάπερ πρὸς τὰς ἀλγηδόνας εἶχον νόμους ἀντιτεταγμένους πολλοὺς εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἂν [634c] ἴσως εὐπορίην κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη καὶ διαφανῆ λέγων περὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν· κατὰ δὲ σμικρὰ ἴσως εὐπορίην ἄν.	**MEGILLUS** Well, stranger, though I had many laws to cite that are ranged against pains, I might not [634c] be so well supplied in the case of pleasures, if I had to speak of large and conspicuous categories; but in small matters I might perhaps be well supplied.
634c	**CLINIAS** οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔγωγε ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Κρήτην νόμοις ἔχοιμι ἐμφανὲς ὁμοίως ποιεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον.	**CLINIAS** Nor could I myself make any such thing equally evident in the laws of Crete.
	ATHENIAN ὦ ἄριστοι ξένων, καὶ οὐδέν γε θαυμαστόν. ἀλλ' ἂν ἄρα τις ἡμῶν περὶ τοὺς ἑκάστων οἴκοι νόμους ψέξῃ τι, βουλόμενος ἰδεῖν τό τε ἀληθὲς ἅμα καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον, μὴ χαλεπῶς ἀλλὰ πρᾴως ἀποδεχώμεθα ἀλλήλων.	**ATHENIAN** Best of strangers, that's no wonder at all. But if one of us finds fault with anything in the laws of the others' homelands, out of a wish to see what is true and at the same time what is best, let's take it from one another not harshly but gently.
	CLINIAS ὀρθῶς, ὦ ξένε Ἀθηναῖε, εἴρηκας, καὶ πειστέον.	**CLINIAS** You're right, Athenian stranger; we must do as you say.

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634d	**ATHENIAN** οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ὦ Κλεινία, τηλικοῖσδε ἀνδράσιν πρέποι τὸ τοιοῦτον.	**ATHENIAN** Yes, Clinias, for the other way would not become men of our age.
	CLINIAS οὐ γὰρ οὖν.	**CLINIAS** No, it wouldn't.
	ATHENIAN εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ὀρθῶς ἢ μή τις ἐπιτιμᾷ τῇ τε Λακωνικῇ καὶ τῇ Κρητικῇ πολιτείᾳ, λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη· τὰ δ' οὖν λεγόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἴσως ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἔχοιμ' ἂν ὑμῶν ἀμφοτέρων λέγειν. ὑμῖν μὲν γάρ, εἴπερ καὶ μετρίως κατεσκεύασταί τὰ τῶν νόμων, εἷς τῶν καλλίστων ἂν εἴη νόμων μὴ ζητεῖν τῶν νέων μηδένα ἐᾶν ποῖα καλῶς [634e] αὐτῶν ἢ μὴ καλῶς ἔχει, μιᾷ δὲ φωνῇ καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος πάντας συμφωνεῖν ὡς πάντα καλῶς κεῖται θέντων θεῶν, καὶ ἐάν τις ἄλλως λέγῃ, μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀκούοντας· γέρων δὲ εἴ τίς τι συννοεῖ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἄρχοντά τε καὶ πρὸς ἡλικιώτην μηδενὸς ἐναντίον νέου ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους.	**ATHENIAN** Whether someone is right or wrong in criticizing the Spartan and Cretan constitutions would be another question. But what most people say about them I might perhaps be better placed to report than either of you. With you, if your laws are even moderately well made, one of your finest laws would be the one that forbids any of the young to inquire which of the laws are good [634e] and which are not good, but requires all of them to agree with one voice, from one mouth, that all are well established, since gods established them; and if anyone says otherwise, they're not to put up with hearing it at all. And if an old man has some thought about anything among you, he's to make remarks of this kind to an official or someone of his own age, with no young person present.
634e	**CLINIAS** ὀρθότατά γε, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις, καὶ καθάπερ μάντις, [635a] ἀπὼν τῆς τότε διανοίας τοῦ τιθέντος αὐτά, νῦν ἐπιεικῶς μοι δοκεῖς ἐστοχάσθαι καὶ σφόδρα ἀληθῆ λέγειν.	**CLINIAS** Very true, stranger. Like a seer, [635a] though far from the thinking of the man who laid them down in those days, you seem to me to have made a fair guess at it now, and to be speaking very truly.
635a	**ATHENIAN** οὐκοῦν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν ἐρημία μὲν νέων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἕνεκα γήρως ἀφείμεθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου διαλεγόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων μόνοι πρὸς μόνους μηδὲν ἂν πλημμελεῖν;	**ATHENIAN** Well, now there are no young people here, and we ourselves have been exempted by the lawgiver because of our age. So we'd do nothing out of tune if we discussed these very things, just ourselves, among ourselves?
	CLINIAS ἔστι ταῦτα οὕτως, εἰς ἃ καὶ μηδέν γε ἀνῇς ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς νόμοις ἡμῶν· οὐ γὰρ τό γε γνῶναί τι τῶν μὴ καλῶν ἄτιμον, ἀλλὰ ἴασιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι [635b] τῷ μὴ φθόνῳ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀλλ' εὐνοίᾳ δεχομένῳ.	**CLINIAS** That's so. So don't hold back at all from criticizing our laws. There's no dishonor in recognizing something that isn't good; rather, it leads to a cure [635b] for anyone who takes what's said not with resentment but with goodwill.
635b	**ATHENIAN** καλῶς· οὐ μὴν ἐπιτιμῶν γε ἐρῶ τοῖς νόμοις πω, πρὶν βεβαίως εἰς δύναμιν διασκέψασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπορῶν. ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης μόνοις Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, ὧν ἡμεῖς πυνθανόμεθα, τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν καὶ παιδιῶν ἐπέταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ γεύεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν λυπῶν καὶ φόβων, ὅπερ ἄρτι διεληλύθαμεν, ἡγήσατο εἴ τις ἐκ παίδων [635c] φευξεῖται διὰ τέλους, ὁπόταν εἰς ἀναγκαίους ἔλθῃ πόνους καὶ φόβους καὶ λύπας, φευξεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ἐκείνοις γεγυμνασμένους καὶ δουλεύσειν αὐτοῖς.	**ATHENIAN** Good. But I shan't speak as someone criticizing your laws yet—not before I've examined them securely, as best I can—but rather as someone who is puzzled. Your lawgiver alone, of all the Greeks and non-Greeks we know of, ordered you to keep away from the greatest pleasures and amusements and not to taste them. But when it came to pains and fears, which we've just gone through, he thought that if someone avoided them all the way through from childhood, [635c] then when he came up against unavoidable toils and

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fears and pains, he would run from those who had been trained in them and become their slave.[9]

635c ταὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτ', οἶμαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἔδει διανοεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν νομοθέτην, λέγοντα αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἡμῖν ἐκ νέων εἰ ἄπειροι τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν οἱ πολῖται γενήσονται, καὶ ἀμελέτητοι γιγνόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καρτερεῖν καὶ μηδὲν τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν, ἕνεκα τῆς γλυκυθυμίας τῆς πρὸς τὰς [635d] ἡδονὰς ταὐτὸν πείσονται τοῖς ἡττωμένοις τῶν φόβων· δουλεύσουσι τρόπον ἕτερον καὶ ἔτ' αἰσχίω τοῖς γε δυναμένοις καρτερεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὰ περὶ τὰς ἡδονάς, ἀνθρώποις ἐνίοτε παντάπασι κακοῖς, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ μὲν δούλην τῇ δὲ ἐλευθέραν ἕξουσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιοι ἁπλῶς ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ ἐλευθέριοι ἔσονται προσαγορεύεσθαι. σκοπεῖτε οὖν εἴ τι τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ὑμῖν κατὰ τρόπον δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι.

This same lawgiver, I think, ought to have thought the same way about pleasures too, saying to himself: "If our citizens grow up from youth without experience of the greatest pleasures, and have no practice in holding firm amid pleasures and in not being forced to do anything shameful, then, because of the sweet feelings pleasures [635d] arouse, they'll suffer the same fate as those overcome by fears. They'll be enslaved in another way, and a still more shameful one, to those who can hold firm amid pleasures and who control what pleasures are made of—people who are sometimes thoroughly bad. Their souls will be partly slave and partly free, and they won't deserve to be called, without qualification, courageous and free." So consider whether any of what is being said now seems to you to be said properly.

635e **CLINIAS** δοκεῖ μὲν ἡμῖν γέ πως λεγομένου τοῦ λόγου· περὶ δὲ τηλικούτων εὐθὺς πεπιστευκέναι ῥᾳδίως μὴ νέων τε ᾖ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀνοήτων.

CLINIAS It does seem so to us, somehow, as the argument is being made. But to be persuaded straightaway and easily about matters of such importance might be more the mark of young and foolish people.

MODERATION AND DRINKING

Megillus praises the Spartan ban on drinking parties; the Athenian asks how such practices should be judged.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα διεξίοιμεν ὧν προυθέμεθα, ὦ Κλεινία τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιε ξένε—μετ' ἀνδρείαν γὰρ δὴ σωφροσύνης πέρι λέγωμεν—τὶ διαφέρον ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ ταῖς τῶν εἰκῇ πολιτευομένων ἀνευρήσομεν, [636a] ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον νυνδή;

ATHENIAN Well, suppose we went on to the next of the things we set out to discuss, Clinias and Spartan stranger—after courage, let's speak about moderation. What difference shall we find between these constitutions and those of people governed at random, [636a] as we did just now with regard to war?

636a **MEGILLUS** σχεδὸν οὐ ῥᾴδιον· ἀλλ' ἔοικεν γὰρ τά τε συσσίτια καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλῶς ηὑρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας.

MEGILLUS Hardly an easy thing. And yet the common meals and the athletic training seem to have been well devised for both.

ATHENIAN ἔοικεν δῆτα, ὦ ξένοι, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀναμφισβητήτως ὁμοίως ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ γίγνεσθαι· κινδυνεύει γάρ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, οὐ δυνατὸν εἶναι προστάξαι τι πρὸς ἓν σῶμα ἓν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἂν φανείη ταὐτὸν τοῦτο τὰ μὲν βλάπτον τὰ ἡμῶν σώματα, [636b] τὰ δὲ καὶ ὠφελοῦν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ

ATHENIAN It does seem hard, strangers, for things to do with constitutions to be beyond dispute in practice as well as in theory. It looks as though it's like with bodies: you can't prescribe a single regimen for a single body without its appearing to harm our bodies in some ways [636b] and

9 Greeks called all foreign peoples *barbaroi*; it is rendered "non-Greeks" throughout.

GREEK	ENGLISH
γυμνάσια ταῦτα καὶ τὰ συσσίτια πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα νῦν ὠφελεῖ τὰς πόλεις, πρὸς δὲ τὰς στάσεις χαλεπά—δηλοῦσιν δὲ Μιλησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θουρίων παῖδες—καὶ δὴ καὶ παλαιὸν νόμον δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, τὰς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἡδονὰς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων, διεφθαρκέναι.	to benefit them in others. So too these athletic exercises and common meals now benefit cities in many other ways, but they're dangerous where civil strife is concerned—as the young men of Miletus, Boeotia and Thurii show. And in particular, this practice seems to have corrupted an ancient custom, one in accord with nature, concerning sexual pleasures, a custom that holds not only for human beings but for animals too.
636b καὶ τούτων τὰς ὑμετέρας πόλεις πρώτας ἄν τις αἰτιῷτο καὶ [636c] ὅσαι τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα ἅπτονται τῶν γυμνασίων· καὶ εἴτε παίζοντα εἴτε σπουδάζοντα ἐννοεῖν δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐννοητέον ὅτι τῇ θηλείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀρρένων φύσει εἰς κοινωνίαν ἰούσῃ τῆς γεννήσεως ἡ περὶ ταῦτα ἡδονὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἀποδεδόσθαι δοκεῖ, ἀρρένων δὲ πρὸς ἄρρενας ἢ θηλειῶν πρὸς θηλείας παρὰ φύσιν καὶ τῶν πρώτων τὸ τόλμημ' εἶναι δι' ἀκράτειαν ἡδονῆς. πάντες δὲ δὴ Κρητῶν τὸν περὶ Γανυμήδη μῦθον [636d] κατηγοροῦμεν ὡς λογοποιησάντων τούτων· ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Διὸς αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμοι πεπιστευμένοι ἦσαν γεγονέναι, τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον προστεθηκέναι κατὰ τοῦ Διός, ἵνα ἑπόμενοι δὴ τῷ θεῷ καρπῶνται καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡδονήν.	And for this one might blame your cities first, and [636c] those others that are most devoted to athletic training. Whether one should consider such matters in play or in earnest, one must bear in mind that nature seems to have granted the pleasure involved in these things to the female and male natures when they unite to beget children; whereas that of males with males, or females with females, is contrary to nature, and those who first ventured on it did so from lack of control over pleasure. And we all accuse the Cretans of inventing the story of Ganymede: [636d] since their laws were believed to have come from Zeus, they added this story about Zeus, so that they could enjoy this pleasure too, following the god's example.[10]
636d τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μύθου χαιρέτω, νόμων δὲ πέρι διασκοπουμένων ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγου πᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ σκέψις περί τε τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας ἔν τε πόλεσιν καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις ἤθεσιν· δύο γὰρ αὗται πηγαὶ μεθεῖνται φύσει ῥεῖν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἀρυτόμενος ὅθεν τε [636e] δεῖ καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ὁπόσον εὐδαιμονεῖ, καὶ πόλις ὁμοίως καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ ζῷον ἅπαν, ὁ δ' ἀνεπιστημόνως ἅμα καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν καιρῶν τἀναντία ἂν ἐκείνῳ ζῴη.	Well, let's leave the story aside. But when people investigate laws, nearly the whole inquiry concerns pleasures and pains, both in cities and in the characters of individuals. These are two springs that nature has let flow. Whoever draws from the right one, [636e] at the right time and in the right amount, is happy—city, individual and every living creature alike; whoever draws without knowledge and at the wrong times will live the opposite kind of life.
636e **MEGILLUS** λέγεται μὲν ταῦτα, ὦ ξένε, καλῶς πως· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀφασία γ' ἡμᾶς λαμβάνει τί ποτε χρὴ λέγειν πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅμως δ' ἔμοιγε ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ τὸ τὰς ἡδονὰς φεύγειν διακελεύεσθαι τόν γε ἐν Λακεδαίμονι νομοθέτην, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν Κνωσῷ νόμων ὅδε, ἂν ἐθέλῃ, βοηθήσει.	**MEGILLUS** That's well said, somehow, stranger; yet we're at a loss what to say in reply. Still, it seems to me that the lawgiver in Sparta is right to order us to avoid pleasures. As for the laws in Knossos, our friend here will come to their defense, if he wishes.
τὰ δ' ἐν [637a] Σπάρτῃ κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων δοκεῖ μοι κεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἡδονάς· οὗ γὰρ μάλιστ' ἄνθρωποι καὶ μεγίσταις προσπίπτουσιν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ὕβρεσι καὶ ἀνοίᾳ πάσῃ, τοῦτ' ἐξέβαλεν ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συμπάσης, καὶ οὔτ' ἂν ἐπ' ἀγρῶν ἴδοις, οὔτ' ἐν ἄστεσιν ὅσων Σπαρτιάταις μέλει, συμπόσια οὐδ' ὁπόσα τούτοις	In [637a] Sparta, it seems to me, the laws about pleasures are the finest in the world. The thing that, more than anything, leads people into the greatest pleasures and excesses and every kind of folly, our law has banished from the whole country. Neither in the countryside nor in the towns that Spartans

10 Ganymede, a Trojan youth carried off by Zeus to be his cupbearer and beloved.

GREEK

συνεπόμενα πάσας ἡδονὰς κινεῖ κατὰ δύναμιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ἀπαντῶν κωμάζοντί τινι [637b] μετὰ μέθης οὐκ ἂν τὴν μεγίστην δίκην εὐθὺς ἐπιθείη, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν Διονύσια πρόφασιν ἔχοντ' αὐτὸν λύσαιτο, ὥσπερ ἐν ἁμάξαις εἶδόν ποτε παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ, καὶ ἐν Τάραντι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποίκοις πᾶσαν ἐθεασάμην τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύουσαν· παρ' ἡμῖν δ' οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον.

637b ΑΘΗΝΙΑΝ ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιε ξένε, ἐπαινετὰ μὲν πάντ' ἐστὶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅπου τινὲς ἔνεισιν καρτερήσεις, ὅπου δὲ ἀνεῖνται, [637c] βλακικώτερα· ταχὺ γάρ σου λάβοιτ' ἄν τις τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀμυνόμενος, δεικνὺς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἄνεσιν. ἅπασιν δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ ἐν Τάραντι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν δέ, μία ἀπόκρισις ἀπολύεσθαι δοκεῖ τοῦ μὴ κακῶς ἔχειν ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς· πᾶς γὰρ ἀποκρινόμενος ἐρεῖ θαυμάζοντι ξένῳ, τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀήθειαν ὁρῶντι, "μὴ θαύμαζε, ὦ ξένε· νόμος ἔσθ' ἡμῖν οὗτος, ἴσως δ' ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων [637d] ἕτερος." ἡμῖν δ' ἐστὶ νῦν, ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες, οὐ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν αὐτῶν κακίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς.

637d ἔτι γὰρ οὖν εἴπωμεν πλείω περὶ ἁπάσης μέθης· οὐ γὰρ σμικρόν ἐστιν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα οὐδὲ φαύλου διαγνῶναι νομοθέτου. λέγω δ' οὐκ οἴνου περὶ πόσεως τὸ παράπαν ἢ μή, μέθης δὲ αὐτῆς πέρι, πότερον ὥσπερ Σκύθαι χρῶνται καὶ Πέρσαι χρηστέον, καὶ ἔτι Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἴβηρες καὶ Θρᾷκες, πολεμικὰ [637e] σύμπαντα ὄντα ταῦτα γένη, ἢ καθάπερ ὑμεῖς· ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὅπερ λέγεις, τὸ παράπαν ἀπέχεσθε, Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θρᾷκες ἀκράτῳ παντάπασι χρώμενοι, γυναῖκές τε καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱματίων καταχεόμενοι, καλὸν καὶ εὔδαιμον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύειν νενομίκασι. Πέρσαι δὲ σφόδρα μὲν χρῶνται καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τρυφαῖς ἃς ὑμεῖς ἀποβάλλετε, ἐν τάξει δὲ μᾶλλον τούτων.

638a ΜΕΓΙΛΛΟΣ ὦ λῷστε, διώκομεν δέ γε ἡμεῖς πάντας τούτους, ὅταν ὅπλα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας λάβωμεν.

ΑΘΗΝΙΑΝ ὦ ἄριστε, μὴ λέγε ταῦτα· πολλαὶ γὰρ δὴ φυγαὶ καὶ διώξεις ἀτέκμαρτοι γεγόνασίν τε καὶ ἔσονται,

ENGLISH

control would you see drinking parties, or all the things that go with them and stir up every sort of pleasure as much as they can. There's no one who, if he met someone reveling drunkenly, [637b] wouldn't at once impose the heaviest punishment on him; and not even the excuse of the Dionysia would get him off—as I once saw among you, on the wagons; and at Tarentum, among our colonists, I watched the whole city drunk at the Dionysia. With us there's nothing of the kind.[11]

ATHENIAN Spartan stranger, all such things are praiseworthy where there's some endurance in them; but where they're relaxed, [637c] they're rather foolish. Someone from our side could quickly catch you out in return, pointing to the laxity of your women. To all such charges—in Tarentum, with us, and with you as well—there's one answer that seems to clear them of being bad and show them to be right. Anyone will answer a stranger who is astonished at seeing what is unfamiliar to him: "Don't be astonished, stranger: this is our law; perhaps yours about these same matters [637d] is different." But our discussion now, my friends, is not about the rest of mankind, but about the badness and virtue of the lawgivers themselves.

So let's say more about drunkenness in general; for it's no small practice, nor one for a poor lawgiver to judge. I'm not talking about drinking wine or not drinking it at all, but about drunkenness itself: should we treat it as the Scythians and Persians do, and the Carthaginians, Celts, Iberians and Thracians as well, [637e] all of them warlike peoples, or as you do? You, as you say, abstain altogether; whereas the Scythians and Thracians drink their wine completely unmixed, women and men alike, and pour it down their cloaks, and they believe this is a fine and happy practice to follow. The Persians indulge a great deal, both in this and in the other luxuries that you reject, but in a more orderly way than these others.[12]

638a **MEGILLUS** My good friend, we put all of them to flight whenever we take up arms.

ATHENIAN My excellent friend, don't say that. There have been many flights and pursuits whose

11 The Dionysia were festivals of Dionysus, god of wine; at Athens, revelers rode on wagons and hurled abuse at passers-by. Tarentum, in southern Italy, was a Spartan colony.
12 Greeks normally drank their wine mixed with water; drinking it unmixed was thought a mark of excess.

GREEK

διὸ φανερὸν ὅρον τοῦτον οὐκ ἄν ποτε λέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀμφισβητήσιμον, περὶ καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ μή, νίκην τε καὶ ἧτταν λέγοντες μάχης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ μείζους τὰς ἐλάττους πόλεις [638b] νικῶσιν μαχόμεναι καὶ καταδουλοῦνται, Συρακόσιοι μὲν Λοκρούς, οἳ δὴ δοκοῦσιν εὐνομώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον γεγονέναι, Κείους δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι· μυρία δὲ ἄλλα τοιαῦτ' ἂν εὕροιμεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἑκάστου ἐπιτηδεύματος πειρώμεθα λέγοντες πείθειν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, νίκας δὲ καὶ ἥττας ἐκτὸς λόγου τὰ νῦν θῶμεν, λέγωμεν δ' ὡς τὸ μὲν τοιόνδ' ἐστὶν καλόν, τὸ δὲ τοιόνδε οὐ καλόν. πρῶτον δ' ἀκούσατέ τί μου, περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὡς δεῖ τό τε χρηστὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ σκοπεῖν.

ENGLISH

causes can't be traced, and there will be more. So we'd never be stating a clear standard, but a disputable one, about which practices are good and which are not, if we cited victory and defeat in battle. After all, larger cities defeat smaller ones [638b] in battle and enslave them—the Syracusans did so to the Locrians, who seem to have been the best-governed people in that region, and the Athenians to the Ceans; and we could find countless other cases like these. Instead, let's try to persuade ourselves by discussing each practice on its own terms, and leave victories and defeats out of account for now, and say that this kind of thing is good and that kind is not. But first listen to me on how one should examine what is beneficial and what is not in these very matters.[13]

638c **MEGILLUS** πῶς οὖν δὴ λέγεις;

ATHENIAN δοκοῦσί μοι πάντες οἱ λόγῳ τι λαβόντες ἐπιτήδευμα, καὶ προθέμενοι ψέγειν αὐτὸ ἢ ἐπαινεῖν εὐθὺς ῥηθέν, οὐδαμῶς δρᾶν κατὰ τρόπον, ἀλλὰ ταὐτὸν ποιεῖν οἷον εἰ δή τις, ἐπαινέσαντός τινος πυροὺς βρῶμα ὡς ἀγαθόν, εὐθὺς ψέγοι, μὴ διαπυθόμενος αὐτοῦ μήτε τὴν ἐργασίαν μήτε τὴν προσφοράν, ὅντινα τρόπον καὶ οἵστισι καὶ μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὅπως ἔχοντα καὶ ὅπως προσφέρειν ἔχουσιν. νῦν δὴ ταὐτόν μοι [638d] δοκοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ποιεῖν· περὶ μέθης γὰρ ἀκούσαντες τοσοῦτον μόνον, εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν ψέγειν αὐτό, οἱ δ' ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ μάλα ἀτόπως. μάρτυσιν γὰρ καὶ ἐπαινέταις χρώμενοι ἐπαινοῦμεν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ οἱ μέν, ὅτι πολλοὺς παρεχόμεθα, ἀξιοῦμέν τι λέγειν κύριον, οἱ δέ, ὅτι τοὺς μὴ χρωμένους αὐτῷ ὁρῶμεν νικῶντας μαχομένους· ἀμφισβητεῖται δ' αὖ καὶ τοῦτο ἡμῖν.

MEGILLUS What do you mean?

ATHENIAN It seems to me that all those who take up some practice in discussion, and set out to blame it or praise it as soon as it's mentioned, go about it quite wrongly. It's as if, when someone praised wheat as a good food, someone else immediately blamed it, without finding out about its preparation or its serving: in what way, to whom, with what, in what condition, and how people serve it. That seems to me [638d] to be just what we're doing in our discussion now. Hearing only this much about drunkenness, some of us immediately blame it and others praise it, and quite absurdly. Each side praises by calling on witnesses and supporters: some of us think we're saying something decisive because we produce many of them, others because we see those who don't use it winning their battles. And this too is disputed between us.

638d εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ ἑκάστων [638e] οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων διέξιμεν, οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγε κατὰ νοῦν εἴη, τρόπον δὲ ἄλλον, ὃν ἐμοὶ φαίνεται δεῖν, ἐθέλω λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου, τῆς μέθης, πειρώμενος ἂν ἄρα δύνωμαι τὴν περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν τοιούτων ὀρθὴν μέθοδον ἡμῖν δηλοῦν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἔθνη περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμφισβητοῦντα ὑμῖν πόλεσι δυοῖν τῷ λόγῳ διαμάχοιτ' ἄν.

If we're going to go through each of the other customs in this way too, [638e] it wouldn't be to my liking. I want to speak about this very subject, drunkenness, in another way, the one I think is needed, and try to see whether I can show us the correct method for all such matters. For countless nations upon nations, disputing about them, would take up the argument against your two cities.

638e **MEGILLUS** καὶ μὴν εἴ τινα ἔχομεν ὀρθὴν σκέψιν τῶν τοιούτων, [639a] οὐκ ἀποκνητέον ἀκούειν.

MEGILLUS Well, if we have a correct way of examining such things, [639a] we mustn't shrink from hearing it.

13 Locri Epizephyrii in southern Italy, famed for its early lawgiver Zaleucus; Ceos, an island in the Aegean.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
639a	**ATHENIAN** σκεψώμεθα δή πη τῇδε. φέρε, εἴ τις αἰγῶν τροφήν, καὶ τὸ ζῷον αὐτὸ κτῆμα ὡς ἔστιν καλόν, ἐπαινοῖ, ἄλλος δέ τις ἑωρακὼς αἶγας χωρὶς νεμομένας αἰπόλου ἐν ἐργασίμοις χωρίοις δρώσας κακὰ διαψέγοι, καὶ πᾶν θρέμμα ἄναρχον ἢ μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων ἰδὼν οὕτω μέμφοιτο, τὸν τοῦ τοιούτου ψόγον ἡγούμεθα ὑγιὲς ἄν ποτε ψέξαι καὶ ὁτιοῦν;	**ATHENIAN** Then let's look at it somehow like this. Suppose someone praised the keeping of goats, and said the animal itself is a fine thing to own; and someone else, who had seen goats grazing without a goatherd and doing damage on cultivated land, found fault with the whole business, and likewise blamed every herd he'd seen without a keeper or with bad keepers. Would we think that such a person's blame would ever be sound about anything at all?
	MEGILLUS καὶ πῶς;	**MEGILLUS** How could it be?
	ATHENIAN χρηστὸς δὲ ἄρχων ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ἐν πλοίοις πότερον ἐὰν [639b] τὴν ναυτικὴν ἔχῃ ἐπιστήμην μόνον, ἄντ' οὖν ναυτιᾷ ἄντε μή, ἢ πῶς ἂν λέγοιμεν;	**ATHENIAN** Is a commander on board ship a good one if [639b] he has seafaring knowledge alone, whether he gets seasick or not? Or what would we say?
639b	**MEGILLUS** οὐδαμῶς, ἄν γε πρὸς τῇ τέχνῃ ἔχῃ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ὃ λέγεις.	**MEGILLUS** Not at all, not if on top of his skill he also has this affliction you mention.
	ATHENIAN τί δ' ἄρχων στρατοπέδων; ἆρ' ἐὰν τὴν πολεμικὴν ἔχῃ ἐπιστήμην, ἱκανὸς ἄρχειν, κἂν δειλὸς ὢν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑπὸ μέθης τοῦ φόβου ναυτιᾷ;	**ATHENIAN** What about the commander of an army? If he has military knowledge, is he fit to command, even if he's a coward and gets seasick in dangers, drunk with fear?
	MEGILLUS καὶ πῶς;	**MEGILLUS** How could he be?
	ATHENIAN ἂν δὲ αὖ μήτε ἔχῃ τὴν τέχνην δειλός τε ᾖ;	**ATHENIAN** And if he both lacks the skill and is a coward?
	MEGILLUS παντάπασίν τινα πονηρὸν λέγεις, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἄρχοντα ἀλλά τινων σφόδρα γυναικῶν.	**MEGILLUS** You're describing someone utterly worthless—a commander not of men at all, but of a pack of the feeblest women.
639c	**ATHENIAN** τί δ' ἐπαινέτην ἢ ψέκτην κοινωνίας ἡστινοσοῦν ᾗ πέφυκέν τε ἄρχων εἶναι μετ' ἐκείνου τε ὠφέλιμός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ μήτε ἑωρακὼς εἴη ποτ' ὀρθῶς αὐτὴν αὐτῇ κοινωνοῦσαν μετ' ἄρχοντος, ἀεὶ δὲ ἄναρχον ἢ μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων συνοῦσαν; οἰόμεθα δή ποτε τοὺς τοιούτους θεωροὺς τῶν τοιούτων κοινωνιῶν χρηστόν τι ψέξειν ἢ ἐπαινέσεσθαι;	**ATHENIAN** And what about someone who praises or blames any association whatever that naturally has a leader and, with him, is beneficial, when he has never seen it associating properly under its leader, but always either without a leader or with bad leaders? Do we suppose that observers of such associations, when they're like this, will ever blame or praise anything usefully?
	MEGILLUS πῶς δ' ἄν, μηδέποτέ γε ἰδόντας μηδὲ συγγενομένους [639d] ὀρθῶς γενομένῳ μηδενὶ τῶν τοιούτων κοινωνημάτων;	**MEGILLUS** How could they, when they've never seen or taken part in [639d] any such association conducted properly?
639d	**ATHENIAN** ἔχε δή· τῶν πολλῶν κοινωνιῶν συμπότας καὶ συμπόσια θεῖμεν ἂν μίαν τινὰ συνουσίαν εἶναι;	**ATHENIAN** Wait, then. Among the many kinds of association, would we count drinking companions and drinking parties as one kind of gathering?
	MEGILLUS καὶ σφόδρα γε.	**MEGILLUS** Very much so.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN ταύτην οὖν μῶν ὀρθῶς γιγνομένην ἤδη τις πώποτε ἐθεάσατο; καὶ σφῷν μὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι ῥᾴδιον ὡς οὐδεπώποτε τὸ παράπαν—οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριον ὑμῖν τοῦτο οὐδὲ νόμιμον—ἐγὼ δὲ ἐντετύχηκά τε πολλαῖς καὶ πολλαχοῦ, καὶ προσέτι πάσας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διηρώτηκα, καὶ σχεδὸν ὅλην 639e μὲν οὐδεμίαν ὀρθῶς γιγνομένην ἑώρακα οὐδὲ ἀκήκοα, μόρια δ' εἴ που σμικρὰ καὶ ὀλίγα, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ σύμπανθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν διημαρτημένα.	ATHENIAN Now has anyone ever yet seen one of these conducted properly? You two can easily answer that you've never seen one at all—it's not native to you, nor lawful. But I've come across many, in many places, and have moreover inquired about practically all of them; and I've hardly seen or heard of one conducted properly 639e as a whole —perhaps some small parts here and there, but most of them, practically in their entirety, gone wrong.
639e	CLINIAS πῶς δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις; εἰπὲ ἔτι σαφέστερον· ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὅπερ εἶπες, ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐδὲ ἐντυγχάνοντες 640a ἂν ἴσως εὐθύς γε γνοῖμεν τό τε ὀρθὸν καὶ μὴ γιγνόμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς.	CLINIAS How do you mean, stranger? Say it more clearly still. For we, as you said, through inexperience of such things, even if we came across 640a them, might perhaps not recognize straightaway what's being done properly in them and what isn't.
640a	ATHENIAN εἰκὸς λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ φράζοντος πειρῶ μανθάνειν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσαις τε συνόδοις, καὶ κοινωνίαις πράξεων ὡντινωνοῦν, ὡς ὀρθὸν πανταχοῦ ἑκάστοις ἄρχοντα εἶναι, μανθάνεις;	ATHENIAN That's reasonable. But try to learn as I explain. You understand that in all gatherings, and in partnerships for any activity whatever, it's right that each of them should everywhere have a leader?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	CLINIAS Of course.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν ἐλέγομεν νυνδὴ μαχομένων ὡς ἀνδρεῖον δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντ' εἶναι.	ATHENIAN And we said just now that the leader of fighting men must be courageous.
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὔ;	CLINIAS Of course.
	ATHENIAN ὁ μὴν ἀνδρεῖος τῶν δειλῶν ὑπὸ φόβων ἧττον τεθορύβηται.	ATHENIAN Now the courageous man is less thrown into confusion by fears than cowards are.
640b	CLINIAS καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως.	CLINIAS That's so as well.
	ATHENIAN εἰ δ' ἦν τις μηχανὴ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν δεδιότα μηδὲ θορυβούμενον ἐπιστῆσαι στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγόν, ἆρ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἂν παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπράττομεν;	ATHENIAN And if there were some way to put a general in charge of an army who was not afraid or confused at all, wouldn't we do it by every means?
	CLINIAS σφόδρα μὲν οὖν.	CLINIAS Very much so.
	ATHENIAN νῦν δέ γε οὐ στρατοπέδου περὶ λέγομεν ἄρξοντος ἐν ἀνδρῶν ὁμιλίαις ἐχθρῶν ἐχθροῖς μετὰ πολέμου, φίλων δ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ πρὸς φίλους κοινωνησόντων φιλοφροσύνης.	ATHENIAN But now we're not talking about a man who will lead an army in encounters of enemy with enemy in war, but about friends sharing goodwill with friends in peace.
	CLINIAS ὀρθῶς.	CLINIAS Right.
640c	ATHENIAN ἔστιν δέ γε ἡ τοιαύτη συνουσία, εἴπερ ἔσται μετὰ μέθης, οὐκ ἀθόρυβος. ἦ γάρ;	ATHENIAN And such a gathering, if it's going to involve drinking, isn't free of confusion, is it?
	CLINIAS πῶς γάρ; ἀλλ' οἶμαι πᾶν τοὐναντίον.	CLINIAS How could it be? Quite the opposite, I think.

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	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ τούτοις ἄρχοντος δεῖ;	**ATHENIAN** So in the first place these people need a leader too?
	CLINIAS τί μήν; ὡς οὐδενί γε πράγματι.	**CLINIAS** Of course—more than anything.
	ATHENIAN πότερον οὖν ἀθόρυβον, εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄρχοντα ἐκπορίζεσθαι δεῖ;	**ATHENIAN** Then must we provide them with a leader who is free of confusion, if that's possible?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν περί γε συνουσίας, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὸν φρόνιμον εἶναι δεῖ· γίγνεται γὰρ φύλαξ τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης [640d] φιλίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι πλείονος ἐπιμελητὴς ὅπως ἔσται διὰ τὴν τότε συνουσίαν.	**ATHENIAN** And where a gathering is concerned, it seems, he must be wise; for he becomes the guardian of the friendship [640d] that already exists among them, and also sees to it that it will grow greater through the gathering.
640d	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν νήφοντά τε καὶ σοφὸν ἄρχοντα μεθυόντων δεῖ καθιστάναι, καὶ μὴ τοὐναντίον; μεθυόντων γὰρ μεθύων καὶ νέος ἄρχων μὴ σοφός, εἰ μὴ κακὸν ἀπεργάσαιτό τι μέγα, πολλῇ χρῶτ' ἂν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.	**ATHENIAN** So we must appoint a sober and wise leader over drinkers, and not the opposite? A drunk and young leader of drunks, who isn't wise, would be very lucky if he didn't do some great harm.
	CLINIAS παμπόλλῃ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Extremely lucky.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν γιγνομένων ὡς δυνατὸν ὀρθότατα τούτων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν συνουσιῶν μέμφοιτό τις, ἐπικαλῶν [640e] αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι, τάχ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἴσως μέμφοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἁμαρτανόμενον ὡς οἷόν τε μάλιστα ἐπιτήδευμά τις ὁρῶν λοιδορεῖ, πρῶτον μὲν δῆλον ὡς ἀγνοεῖ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γιγνόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς, εἶθ' ὅτι πᾶν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ φανεῖται πονηρόν, δεσπότου τε καὶ ἄρχοντος νήφοντος χωρὶς πραττόμενον. ἢ οὐ συννοεῖς τοῦθ', ὅτι μεθύων κυβερνήτης καὶ πᾶς παντὸς ἄρχων [641a] ἀνατρέπει πάντα εἴτε πλοῖα εἴτε ἅρματα εἴτε στρατόπεδον, εἴθ' ὅτι ποτ' εἴη τὸ κυβερνώμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ;	**ATHENIAN** So if someone found fault with these gatherings when they're conducted in cities as properly as possible, attacking [640e] the thing itself, perhaps he might be right to find fault. But if someone reviles the practice after seeing it done as badly as it could possibly be, then first, clearly he doesn't know that this is being done improperly; and second, anything at all will look bad when it's done this way, without a sober master and leader. Or don't you realize that a drunken helmsman, and anyone in charge of anything, [641a] overturns everything—ships or chariots or an army, or whatever he's steering?
641a	**CLINIAS** παντάπασιν τοῦτό γε ἀληθὲς εἴρηκας, ὦ ξένε· τοὐπὶ τῷδε δ' ἡμῖν λέγε, τί ποτε, ἂν γίγνηται τοῦτο ὀρθὸν τὸ περὶ τὰς πόσεις νόμιμον, ἀγαθὸν ἂν δράσειεν ἡμᾶς; οἷον, ὃ νυνδὴ ἐλέγομεν, εἰ στράτευμα ὀρθῆς ἡγεμονίας τυγχάνοι, νίκη πολέμου τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἂν γίγνοιτο, οὐ σμικρὸν ἀγαθόν, καὶ [641b] τἆλλ' οὕτω· συμποσίου δὲ ὀρθῶς παιδαγωγηθέντος τί μέγα ἰδιώταις ἢ τῇ πόλει γίγνοιτ' ἄν;	**CLINIAS** That's entirely true, stranger. But tell us what comes next: if this custom of drinking were practiced properly, what good would it do us? Take what we were saying just now: if an army got proper leadership, victory in war would come to those who followed, and that's no small good; [641b] and so with the rest. But when a drinking party is properly supervised, what great benefit would come to individuals or to the city?
641b	**ATHENIAN** τί δέ; παιδὸς ἑνὸς ἢ καὶ χοροῦ παιδαγωγηθέντος κατὰ τρόπον ἑνός, τί μέγα τῇ πόλει φαῖμεν ἂν γίγνεσθαι; ἢ τοῦτο οὕτως ἐρωτηθέντες	**ATHENIAN** Well, when one child, or one chorus, is properly supervised, what great benefit would we say comes to the city? Or, asked that question,

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	εἴποιμεν ἂν ὡς ἑνὸς μὲν βραχύ τι τῇ πόλει γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὄφελος, εἰ δ' ὅλως ἐρωτᾷς παιδείαν τῶν παιδευθέντων τί μέγα τὴν πόλιν ὀνίνησιν, οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι παιδευθέντες μὲν εὖ γίγνοιντ' ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, γενόμενοι 641c δὲ τοιοῦτοι τά τε ἄλλα πράττοιεν καλῶς, ἔτι δὲ κἂν νικῷεν τοὺς πολεμίους μαχόμενοι. παιδεία μὲν οὖν φέρει καὶ νίκην, νίκη δ' ἐνίοτε ἀπαιδευσίαν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ὑβριστότεροι διὰ πολέμων νίκας γενόμενοι μυρίων ἄλλων κακῶν δι' ὕβριν ἐνεπλήσθησαν, καὶ παιδεία μὲν οὐδεπώποτε γέγονεν Καδμεία, νῖκαι δὲ ἀνθρώποις πολλαὶ δὴ τοιαῦται γεγόνασίν τε καὶ ἔσονται.	wouldn't we say that from one the city would get only a small benefit? But if you ask in general what great benefit the city gets from the education of those it educates, it isn't hard to say that, if they're well educated, they'd become good men, and being such 641c they'd do everything else well, and would even defeat their enemies in battle. So education brings victory too, while victory sometimes brings lack of education. For many who have grown more arrogant through victories in war have, through their arrogance, been filled with countless other evils. And education has never yet proved a Cadmean victory, whereas victories of that kind have often come to human beings, and will again.[14]
641c	**CLINIAS** δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλε, τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἴνοις κοινὴν 641d διατριβὴν ὡς εἰς παιδείας μεγάλην μοῖραν τείνουσαν λέγειν, ἂν ὀρθῶς γίγνηται.	**CLINIAS** You seem to us, my friend, to be saying that the shared pastime 641d over wine makes a large contribution to education, if it's done properly.
641d	**ATHENIAN** τί μήν;	**ATHENIAN** Certainly.
	CLINIAS ἔχοις ἂν οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὡς ἔστιν τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον ἀληθές;	**CLINIAS** Could you, then, go on to say how what you've just said is true?
	ATHENIAN τὸ μὲν ἀληθές, ὦ ξένε, διισχυρίζεσθαι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν, πολλῶν ἀμφισβητούντων, θεοῦ· εἰ δ' ὅπῃ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται δεῖ λέγειν, οὐδεὶς φθόνος, ἐπείπερ ὡρμήκαμέν γε τοὺς λόγους περὶ νόμων καὶ πολιτείας ποιεῖσθαι τὰ νῦν.	**ATHENIAN** To insist firmly that this is how things are, stranger, when many dispute it, is for a god to do. But if I have to say how it looks to me, I don't at all begrudge it, since we've set out to discuss laws and constitutions now.
	CLINIAS τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δὴ πειρώμεθα, τὸ σοὶ δοκοῦν περὶ τῶν 641e νῦν ἀμφισβητουμένων καταμαθεῖν.	**CLINIAS** That's just what we're trying to do: to learn your view about the matters 641e now in dispute.
641e	**ATHENIAN** ἀλλὰ χρὴ ποιεῖν οὕτως, ὑμᾶς τε ἐπὶ τὸ μαθεῖν καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δηλῶσαι πειρώμενον ἁμῶς γέ πως, συντεῖναι, τὸν λόγον. πρῶτον δέ μου ἀκούσατε τὸ τοιόνδε. τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντες ἡμῶν Ἕλληνες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ὡς φιλόλογός τέ ἐστι καὶ πολύλογος, Λακεδαίμονα δὲ καὶ Κρήτην, τὴν μὲν βραχύλογον, τὴν δὲ πολύνοιαν μᾶλλον ἢ πολυλογίαν ἀσκοῦσαν· 642a σκοπῶ δὴ μὴ δόξαν ὑμῖν παράσχωμαι περὶ σμικροῦ πολλὰ λέγειν, μέθης πέρι, σμικροῦ πράγματος, παμμήκη λόγον ἀνακαθαιρόμενος. τὸ δὲ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ διόρθωσις οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἄνευ μουσικῆς ὀρθότητός ποτε σαφὲς οὐδὲ ἱκανὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπολαβεῖν, μουσικὴ δὲ ἄνευ παιδείας τῆς πάσης οὐκ ἂν αὖ ποτε δύναιτο· ταῦτα δὲ παμπόλλων ἐστὶν λόγων.	**ATHENIAN** Then this is what we must do: you must try to learn and I to explain, somehow or other, and we must both strain at the argument together. But first listen to this. All the Greeks assume that our city is fond of talk and talks a great deal, while Sparta is brief in speech, and Crete cultivates much thought rather than much talk. 642a So I'm wary of giving you the impression that I'm saying a great deal about a small thing—drunkenness, a small matter—by laying out a very long argument to clear it up. But setting it right according to its nature could never be grasped clearly or adequately in argument without the correctness of music, and music could never be grasped without

14 A "Cadmean victory" was proverbial for one that ruins the victor (like the later "Pyrrhic victory").

GREEK

ENGLISH

642a ὁρᾶτε οὖν τί ποιῶμεν εἰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσαιμεν ἐν τῷ [642b] παρόντι, μετεκβαῖμεν δ' εἰς ἕτερόν τινα νόμων πέρι λόγον.

education as a whole; and these call for a great deal of talk.

So consider what we should do. What if we left these matters for [642b] now and moved on to some other discussion about laws?

642b **MEGILLUS** ὦ ξένε Ἀθηναῖε, οὐκ οἶσθ' ἴσως ὅτι τυγχάνει ἡμῶν ἡ ἑστία τῆς πόλεως οὖσα ὑμῶν πρόξενος. ἴσως μὲν οὖν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς παισίν, ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσωσιν ὅτι τινός εἰσιν πόλεως πρόξενοι, ταύτῃ τις εὔνοια ἐκ νέων εὐθὺς ἐνδύεται ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν προξένων τῇ πόλει, ὡς δευτέρᾳ οὔσῃ πατρίδι μετὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ πόλιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ἐγγέγονεν.

MEGILLUS Athenian stranger, perhaps you don't know that our family happens to be the proxenos of your city. And perhaps it's the same for all children: once they hear that they're proxenoi of some city, a goodwill toward that city sinks into each of us proxenoi straight from childhood, as though it were a second homeland after our own. And that's just what has happened to me now.[15]

ἀκούων γὰρ τῶν παίδων εὐθύς, [642c] εἴ τι μέμφοιντο ἢ καὶ ἐπαινοῖεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίους, ὡς "ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν, ὦ Μέγιλλε," ἔφασαν, "ἡμᾶς οὐ καλῶς ἢ καλῶς ἔρρεξε" — ταῦτα δὴ ἀκούων, καὶ μαχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ πρὸς τοὺς τὴν πόλιν εἰς ψόγον ἄγοντας, πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν ἔσχον, καί μοι νῦν ἥ τε φωνὴ προσφιλὴς ὑμῶν, τό τε ὑπὸ πολλῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφερόντως εἰσὶν τοιοῦτοι, δοκεῖ ἀληθέστατα λέγεσθαι· μόνοι γὰρ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης αὐτοφυῶς, θείᾳ μοίρᾳ [642d] ἀληθῶς καὶ οὔτι πλαστῶς εἰσιν ἀγαθοί. θαρρῶν δὴ ἐμοῦ γε ἕνεκα λέγοις ἂν τοσαῦτα ὁπόσα σοι φίλον.

For straight from childhood, [642c] whenever the Spartans found fault with the Athenians or praised them, I'd hear the other boys say, "Your city, Megillus, has done us a bad turn," or "a good one." Hearing this, and always fighting on your behalf against those who brought your city into disrepute, I came to feel every goodwill toward it. And now I find your accent dear to me, and what many people say—that those Athenians who are good are good in an exceptional way—seems to me to be said very truly. For they alone are good without compulsion, by their own nature, by divine dispensation, [642d] genuinely and not artificially. So as far as I'm concerned, you can speak with confidence and say as much as you like.

642d **CLINIAS** καὶ μήν, ὦ ξένε, καὶ τὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγον ἀκούσας τε καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος, θαρρῶν ὁπόσα βούλει λέγε. τῇδε γὰρ ἴσως ἀκήκοας ὡς Ἐπιμενίδης γέγονεν ἀνὴρ θεῖος, ὃς ἦν ἡμῖν οἰκεῖος, ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν δέκα ἔτεσιν πρότερον παρ' ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαν, θυσίας τε ἐθύσατό [642e] τινας ἃς ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ φοβουμένων τὸν Περσικὸν Ἀθηναίων στόλον, εἶπεν ὅτι δέκα μὲν ἐτῶν οὐχ ἥξουσιν, ὅταν δὲ ἔλθωσιν, ἀπαλλαγήσονται πράξαντες οὐδὲν ὧν ἤλπιζον, παθόντες τε ἢ δράσαντες πλείω κακά. τότ' οὖν ἐξενώθησαν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, καὶ εὔνοιαν ἐκ τόσου ἔγωγε ὑμῖν καὶ [643a] οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἔχουσιν γονῆς.

CLINIAS And for my part, stranger, once you've heard and taken in my story too, speak confidently and say as much as you wish. You may have heard that Epimenides, an inspired man, was born here; he was a relative of ours. Ten years before the Persian Wars, he came to you in accordance with the god's oracle and performed certain sacrifices [642e] that the god had ordained. And when the Athenians were afraid of the Persian expedition, he told them that the Persians would not come for ten years, and that when they did come, they would go away having achieved none of what they hoped, and having suffered more harm than they had done. At that time our ancestors became guest-friends of yours, and ever since then I and my [643a] family have felt goodwill toward you.[16]

15 A proxenos was a citizen who acted as the official friend and representative of another city's interests in his own city, often as a hereditary role.

WHAT EDUCATION IS

Education is defined as training from childhood in virtue, not in trades or money-making.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
643a	**ATHENIAN** τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑμέτερα ἀκούειν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἕτοιμ' ἂν εἴη· τὰ δ' ἐμὰ βούλεσθαι μὲν ἕτοιμα, δύνασθαι δὲ οὐ πάνυ ῥᾴδια, ὅμως δὲ πειρατέον. πρῶτον δὴ οὖν πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὁρισώμεθα παιδείαν τί ποτ' ἐστὶν καὶ τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης φαμὲν ἰτέον εἶναι τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγον ὑφ' ἡμῶν, μέχριπερ ἂν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀφίκηται.	**ATHENIAN** Well, then, you'd be ready to listen, it seems. As for me, I'm ready enough to want to, but being able to isn't at all easy. Still, I must try. First, then, for the sake of the argument, let's define what education is and what power it has. For we say that the argument we've now taken in hand must travel by way of education until it arrives at the god.[17]
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν δρῶμεν ταῦτα, εἴπερ σοί γε ἡδύ.	**CLINIAS** By all means let's do that, if it suits you.
643b	**ATHENIAN** λέγοντος τοίνυν ἐμοῦ τί ποτε χρὴ φάναι παιδείαν εἶναι, σκέψασθε ἂν ἀρέσκῃ τὸ λεχθέν.	**ATHENIAN** Then as I say what one ought to say education is, see whether you like what's said.
	CLINIAS λέγοις ἄν.	**CLINIAS** Go ahead.
	ATHENIAN λέγω δή, καί φημι τὸν ὁτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς μελετᾶν δεῖν, παίζοντά τε καὶ σπουδάζοντα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πράγματος ἑκάστοις προσήκουσιν. οἷον τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι γεωργὸν ἢ τινα οἰκοδόμον, τὸν μὲν οἰκοδομοῦντά τι τῶν παιδείων [643c] οἰκοδομημάτων παίζειν χρή, τὸν δ' αὖ γεωργοῦντα, καὶ ὄργανα ἑκατέρῳ σμικρά, τῶν ἀληθινῶν μιμήματα, παρασκευάζειν τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα προμεμαθηκέναι προμανθάνειν, οἷον τέκτονα μετρεῖν ἢ σταθμᾶσθαι καὶ πολεμικὸν ἱππεύειν παίζοντα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἄλλο ποιοῦντα, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι διὰ τῶν παιδιῶν ἐκεῖσε τρέπειν τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν παίδων, οἳ ἀφικομένους αὐτοὺς δεῖ τέλος ἔχειν.	**ATHENIAN** I say—and I claim—that anyone who is going to be good at anything at all must practice that very thing from childhood on, in play and in earnest, amid everything that belongs to it. For example, one who is going to be a good farmer, or a good builder, should play, the one at building some children's [643c] houses, the other at farming; and whoever is raising each of them should provide each with small tools, imitations of the real ones. In particular, they should learn beforehand whatever it's necessary to have learned beforehand—a carpenter, for instance, measuring or using the rule, a soldier riding a horse in play or doing something else of the sort. And through their games one should try to turn the children's pleasures and desires toward the place where they must arrive and find their goal.
643c	κεφάλαιον δὴ παιδείας [643d] λέγομεν τὴν ὀρθὴν τροφήν, ἣ τοῦ παίζοντος τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς ἔρωτα μάλιστα ἄξει τούτου ὃ δεήσει γενόμενον ἄνδρ' αὐτὸν τέλειον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀρετῆς· ὁρᾶτε οὖν εἰ μέχρι τούτου γε, ὅπερ εἶπον, ὑμῖν ἀρέσκει τὸ λεχθέν.	So the heart of education, we say, [643d] is correct upbringing, which will draw the soul of the child at play, as much as possible, into love of the thing in which he'll have to be accomplished, once he's become a man, in the excellence of that pursuit. So see whether, up to this point, as I said, you like what's been said.
643d	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN μὴ τοίνυν μηδ' ὃ λέγομεν εἶναι παιδείαν ἀόριστον γένηται. νῦν γὰρ ὀνειδίζοντες ἐπαινοῦντές θ'	**ATHENIAN** Then let's not leave what we're calling education undefined either. As things are, when we criticize or praise the upbringing of particular

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἑκάστων τὰς τροφάς, λέγομεν ὡς τὸν μὲν πεπαιδευμένον ἡμῶν ὄντα τινά, 643e τὸν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον ἐνίοτε εἵς τε καπηλείας καὶ ναυκληρίας καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων μάλα πεπαιδευμένων σφόδρα ἀνθρώπων· οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα ἡγουμένων, ὡς ἔοικ', εἶναι παιδείαν ὁ νῦν λόγος ἂν εἴη, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκ παίδων παιδείαν, ποιοῦσαν ἐπιθυμητήν τε καὶ ἐραστὴν τοῦ πολίτην γενέσθαι τέλεον, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπιστάμενον μετὰ δίκης.	people, we say that one of us is educated 643e and another uneducated—sometimes of people who are extremely well educated in shopkeeping and shipping and other such trades. But our present account, it seems, isn't the talk of people who think those things are education. It's about education in virtue from childhood, which makes a person desire and passionately love to become a complete citizen, one who knows how to rule and be ruled with justice.
643e	ταύτην 644a τὴν τροφὴν ἀφορισάμενος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, νῦν βούλοιτ' ἂν μόνην παιδείαν προσαγορεύειν, τὴν δὲ εἰς χρήματα τείνουσαν ἤ τινα πρὸς ἰσχύν, ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην τινὰ σοφίαν ἄνευ νοῦ καὶ δίκης, βάναυσόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ἀνελεύθερον καὶ οὐκ ἀξίαν τὸ παράπαν παιδείαν καλεῖσθαι. ἡμεῖς δὴ μηδὲν ὀνόματι διαφερώμεθ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ νυνδὴ λόγος ἡμῖν ὁμολογηθεὶς μενέτω, ὡς οἵ γε ὀρθῶς πεπαιδευμένοι σχεδὸν ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται, καὶ δεῖ δὴ τὴν παιδείαν 644b μηδαμοῦ ἀτιμάζειν, ὡς πρῶτον τῶν καλλίστων τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδράσιν παραγιγνόμενον· καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐξέρχεται, δυνατὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, τοῦτ' ἀεὶ δραστέον διὰ βίου παντὶ κατὰ δύναμιν.	It's 644a this upbringing, I think, that our account has marked off and would now call education, and nothing else; while the kind that aims at money, or at some sort of strength, or even at some other wisdom without intelligence and justice, it would call vulgar and illiberal and wholly unworthy of the name. So let's not quarrel among ourselves over a name. Let the account we agreed on just now stand: those who are rightly educated generally turn out good. And so one must never 644b hold education cheap, since it's the first of the finest things that come to the best of men; and if it ever goes off course but can be set right, this is what everyone must always do, all his life, as best he can.
644b	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς, καὶ συγχωροῦμεν ἃ λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Right, and we agree with what you say.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν πάλαι γε συνεχωρήσαμεν ὡς ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων τῶν δυναμένων ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, κακῶν δὲ τῶν μή.	**ATHENIAN** And long ago we agreed that those able to rule themselves are good, and those who aren't are bad.
	CLINIAS λέγεις ὀρθότατα.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
	ATHENIAN σαφέστερον ἔτι τοίνυν ἀναλάβωμεν τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὅτι 644c ποτὲ λέγομεν. καί μοι δι' εἰκόνος ἀποδέξασθε ἐάν πως δυνατὸς ὑμῖν γένωμαι δηλῶσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's take up again, more clearly, what exactly 644c we mean by this. And bear with me if I use an image, in case I can somehow make this sort of thing clear to you.
644c	**CLINIAS** λέγε μόνον.	**CLINIAS** Just say it.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἕνα μὲν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον αὐτὸν τιθῶμεν;	**ATHENIAN** Well, shall we suppose that each of us is one person?
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN δύο δὲ κεκτημένον ἐν αὑτῷ συμβούλω ἐναντίω τε καὶ ἄφρονε, ὧ προσαγορεύομεν ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην;	**ATHENIAN** But that each has within himself two counselors, opposed to each other and senseless, which we call pleasure and pain?

16 Epimenides, a Cretan seer said to have purified Athens; ancient sources usually date his visit to around 600 BC, well before the Persian invasion of 490 BC.
17 Presumably Dionysus, god of wine, since the argument is about drinking.

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS ἔστι ταῦτα.

CLINIAS That's so.

ATHENIAN πρὸς δὲ τούτοιν ἀμφοῖν αὖ δόξας μελλόντων, οἷν κοινὸν μὲν ὄνομα ἐλπίς, ἴδιον δέ, φόβος μὲν ἡ πρὸ λύπης [644d] ἐλπίς, θάρρος δὲ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου· ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις λογισμὸς ὅτι ποτ' αὐτῶν ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον, ὃς γενόμενος δόγμα πόλεως κοινὸν νόμος ἐπωνόμασται.

ATHENIAN And besides these two, opinions about what's to come, whose common name is expectation. In particular, fear is the expectation [644d] of pain, and confidence the expectation of its opposite. And over all of these is calculation about which of them is better or worse—and calculation, when it becomes the common decision of a city, has been named law.

644d **CLINIAS** μόγις μέν πως ἐφέπομαι, λέγε μὴν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἑπομένου.

CLINIAS I'm only just about following—but go on to what comes next as though I were.

MEGILLUS καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴν ταὐτὸν τοῦτο πάθος ἔνι.

MEGILLUS The same thing is happening to me too.

THE PUPPETS OF THE GODS

Each person is a puppet pulled by the cords of feeling; we must follow the golden cord of reason.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN περὶ δὴ τούτων διανοηθῶμεν οὑτωσί. θαῦμα μὲν ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἡγησώμεθα τῶν ζῴων θεῖον, εἴτε ὡς παίγνιον ἐκείνων εἴτε ὡς σπουδῇ τινι συνεστηκός· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό [644e] γε γιγνώσκομεν, τόδε δὲ ἴσμεν, ὅτι ταῦτα τὰ πάθη ἐν ἡμῖν οἷον νεῦρα ἢ σμήρινθοί τινες ἐνοῦσαι σπῶσίν τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἀνθέλκουσιν ἐναντίαι οὖσαι ἐπ' ἐναντίας πράξεις, οὗ δὴ διωρισμένη ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία κεῖται. μιᾷ γάρ φησιν ὁ λόγος δεῖν τῶν ἕλξεων συνεπόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ μηδαμῇ ἀπολειπόμενον ἐκείνης, ἀνθέλκειν τοῖς ἄλλοις νεύροις ἕκαστον, ταύτην [645a] δ' εἶναι τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀγωγὴν χρυσῆν καὶ ἱεράν, τῆς πόλεως κοινὸν νόμον ἐπικαλουμένην, ἄλλας δὲ σκληρὰς καὶ σιδηρᾶς, τὴν δὲ μαλακὴν ἅτε χρυσῆν οὖσαν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας παντοδαποῖς εἴδεσιν ὁμοίας.

ATHENIAN Let's think about these matters like this. Let's suppose that each of us living creatures is a puppet of the gods, whether put together as their plaything or for some serious purpose—that [644e] we don't know. But this we do know: these feelings in us are like tendons or cords that pull us, and, being opposed, drag against one another toward opposite actions; and that's where the line between virtue and vice lies. For our account says that each of us must always follow one of these pulls and never let go of it, pulling against the other tendons; and this [645a] is the golden and sacred leading-string of calculation, which is called the city's common law. The others are hard and made of iron, while this one is soft, since it's golden; and the others resemble all sorts of shapes.

645a δεῖν δὴ τῇ καλλίστῃ ἀγωγῇ τῇ τοῦ νόμου ἀεὶ συλλαμβάνειν· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ λογισμοῦ καλοῦ μὲν ὄντος, πρᾴου δὲ καὶ οὐ βιαίου, δεῖσθαι ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγωγήν, ὅπως ἂν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ χρυσοῦν γένος νικᾷ τὰ ἄλλα [645b] γένη. καὶ οὕτω δὴ περὶ θαυμάτων ὡς ὄντων ἡμῶν ὁ μῦθος ἀρετῆς σεσωμένος ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὸ κρείττω ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἧττω εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ φανερὸν ἂν γίγνοιτο μᾶλλον ὃ νοεῖ, καὶ ὅτι πόλιν καὶ ἰδιώτην, τὸν μὲν λόγον ἀληθῆ λαβόντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ περὶ τῶν ἕλξεων τούτων, τούτῳ ἑπόμενον δεῖ ζῆν, πόλιν δὲ ἢ παρὰ θεῶν τινος ἢ παρὰ τούτου τοῦ γνόντος ταῦτα λόγον παραλαβοῦσαν, νόμον θεμένην, αὐτῇ τε ὁμιλεῖν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν.

So one must always cooperate with the finest leading-string, the law's. For since calculation is fine, but gentle and not violent, its leading needs helpers, so that the golden kind within us may prevail over the other [645b] kinds. In this way our story of virtue, with us as puppets, would be kept safe; what it means to be "stronger than oneself" and "weaker than oneself" would somehow become clearer; and so would this: that the individual must take into himself the true account of these pulls and live by following it, while the city must receive an account either from one of the gods or

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		from the person who has come to know these things, make it law, and govern its dealings with itself and with other cities by it.
645b	οὕτω καὶ κακία δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ [645c] σαφέστερον ἡμῖν διηρθρωμένον ἂν εἴη· ἐναργεστέρου δ' αὐτοῦ γενομένου καὶ παιδεία καὶ τἆλλα ἐπιτηδεύματα ἴσως ἔσται μᾶλλον καταφανῆ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς οἴνοις διατριβῆς, ὃ δοξασθείη μὲν ἂν εἶναι φαύλου πέρι μῆκος πολὺ λόγων περιττὸν εἰρημένον, φανείη δὲ τάχ' ἂν ἴσως τοῦ μήκους γ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπάξιον.	In this way vice and virtue would be [645c] more clearly distinguished for us. And once that's more evident, education and the other practices will perhaps become clearer too—including the business of spending time over wine, which might be thought a trivial subject on which a lot of superfluous talk has been spent, but might well turn out not to be unworthy of the length of it.
645c	**CLINIAS** εὖ λέγεις, καὶ περαίνωμεν ὅτιπερ ἂν τῆς γε νῦν διατριβῆς ἄξιον γίγνηται.	**CLINIAS** Well said. Let's carry through whatever proves worthy of our present conversation.
645d	**ATHENIAN** λέγε δή· προσφέροντες τῷ θαύματι τούτῳ τὴν μέθην, ποῖόν τί ποτε αὐτὸ ἀπεργαζόμεθα;	**ATHENIAN** Tell me, then: when we give drink to this puppet, what sort of thing do we make of it?
	CLINIAS πρὸς τί δὲ σκοπούμενος αὐτὸ ἐπανερωτᾷς;	**CLINIAS** What do you have in view when you ask that?
	ATHENIAN οὐδέν πω πρὸς ὅτι, τοῦτο δὲ ὅλως κοινωνῆσαν τούτῳ ποῖόν τι συμπίπτει γίγνεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ σαφέστερον ὃ βούλομαι πειράσομαι φράζειν. ἐρωτῶ γὰρ τὸ τοιόνδε· ἆρα σφοδροτέρας τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας καὶ θυμοὺς καὶ ἔρωτας ἡ τῶν οἴνων πόσις ἐπιτείνει;	**ATHENIAN** Nothing in particular yet—just what sort of thing this one becomes, in general, when combined with that. I'll try to say still more clearly what I mean. I'm asking this: does drinking wine make pleasures and pains and angers and loves more intense?
	CLINIAS πολύ γε.	**CLINIAS** Much more.
645e	**ATHENIAN** τί δ' αὖ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ μνήμας καὶ δόξας καὶ φρονήσεις; πότερον ὡσαύτως σφοδροτέρας; ἢ πάμπαν ἀπολείπει ταῦτα αὐτόν, ἂν κατακορής τις τῇ μέθῃ γίγνηται;	**ATHENIAN** And what about perceptions and memories and opinions and wisdom? Do they become more intense in the same way? Or do they desert a man entirely, once he's had his fill of drink?
	CLINIAS ναί, πάμπαν ἀπολείπει.	**CLINIAS** Yes, they desert him entirely.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖται τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἕξιν τῇ τότε ὅτε νέος ἦν παῖς;	**ATHENIAN** Then he arrives at the same condition of soul as when he was a young child?
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἥκιστα δὴ τότ' ἂν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ γίγνοιτο ἐγκρατής.	**ATHENIAN** So at that point he'd have the least mastery over himself.
646a	**CLINIAS** ἥκιστα.	**CLINIAS** The least.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν πονηρότατος, φαμέν, ὁ τοιοῦτος;	**ATHENIAN** And such a man, we say, is at his very worst?
	CLINIAS πολύ γε.	**CLINIAS** By far.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN οὐ μόνον ἄρ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ γέρων δὶς παῖς γίγνοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μεθυσθείς.	**ATHENIAN** So it seems it's not only the old man who becomes a child twice over, but the drunk as well.
	CLINIAS ἄριστα εἶπες, ὦ ξένε.	**CLINIAS** Excellently put, stranger.
	ATHENIAN τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος ἔσθ' ὅστις λόγος ἐπιχειρήσει πείθειν ἡμᾶς ὡς χρὴ γεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ φεύγειν παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν;	**ATHENIAN** Then is there any argument that will try to persuade us that we should taste this practice, rather than flee it with all our might, as far as we can?
	CLINIAS ἔοικ' εἶναι· σὺ γοῦν φῂς καὶ ἕτοιμος ἦσθα νυνδὴ λέγειν.	**CLINIAS** It seems there is. You say so, at any rate, and you were ready to give it just now.
646b	**ATHENIAN** ἀληθῆ μέντοι μνημονεύεις· καὶ νῦν γ' εἶμ' ἕτοιμος, ἐπειδήπερ σφώ γε ἐθελήσειν προθύμως ἔφατον ἀκούειν.	**ATHENIAN** You remember correctly. And I'm ready now, since you both said you'd be eager to listen.
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀκουσόμεθα; κἂν εἰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τε καὶ ἀτόπου, εἰ δεῖ ἑκόντα ποτὲ ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἅπασαν φαυλότητα ἑαυτὸν ἐμβάλλειν.	**CLINIAS** Of course we'll listen—if for no other reason, then for the wonder and strangeness of it: that a human being should ever deliberately throw himself into every kind of degradation.
	ATHENIAN ψυχῆς λέγεις· ἦ γάρ;	**ATHENIAN** Of the soul, you mean, don't you?
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; σώματος, ὦ ἑταῖρε, εἰς πονηρίαν, λεπτότητά τε καὶ αἶσχος καὶ ἀδυναμίαν, θαυμάζοιμεν ἄν εἴ ποτέ τις 646c ἑκὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀφικνεῖται;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, my friend, what about the body's degradation—into thinness, ugliness and weakness? Would we be surprised if someone ever 646c came to such a state deliberately?
646c	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τί οὖν; τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἰατρεῖα αὐτοὺς βαδίζοντας ἐπὶ φαρμακοποσίᾳ ἀγνοεῖν οἰόμεθα ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἕξουσιν τοιοῦτον τὸ σῶμα, οἷον εἰ διὰ τέλους ἔχειν μέλλοιεν, ζῆν οὐκ ἂν δέξαιντο; ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ πόνους ἰόντας οὐκ ἴσμεν ὡς ἀσθενεῖς εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα γίγνονται;	**ATHENIAN** Well then: those who walk off to the doctor's to take medicine—do we suppose they don't know that a little later, and for many days, their bodies will be in a state that, if they were to stay that way for good, they'd refuse to go on living? Or don't we know that those who go off to the gymnasiums to exert themselves become weak for the moment?
	CLINIAS πάντα ταῦτα ἴσμεν.	**CLINIAS** We know all that.
	ATHENIAN καὶ ὅτι τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα ὠφελίας ἕνεκα ἑκόντες πορεύονται;	**ATHENIAN** And that they go willingly, for the sake of the benefit that follows?
646d	**CLINIAS** κάλλιστα.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν χρὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων πέρι διανοεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον;	**ATHENIAN** Then shouldn't we think about the other practices in the same way?
	CLINIAS πάνυ γε.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον ἄρα διατριβῆς ὡσαύτως διανοητέον, εἴπερ ἔνι τοῦτο ἐν τούτοις ὀρθῶς διανοηθῆναι.	**ATHENIAN** Then we must think about spending time over wine in the same way too, if it's possible to think of it rightly as one of them.
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN ἂν ἄρα τινὰ ἡμῖν ὠφελίαν ἔχουσα φαίνηται μηδὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐλάττω, τῇ γε ἀρχῇ τὴν σωμασκίαν νικᾷ τῷ τὴν μὲν μετ' ἀλγηδόνων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μή.	**ATHENIAN** So if it turns out to bring us some benefit no smaller than the body's training does, it at least beats physical exercise at the outset, in that the one involves pain and the other doesn't.
646e	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς λέγεις, θαυμάζοιμι δ' ἂν εἴ τι δυναίμεθα τοιοῦτον ἐν αὐτῷ καταμαθεῖν.	**CLINIAS** You're right—though I'd be surprised if we could discover anything of the kind in it.

WINE AS A TEST OF CHARACTER

Drinking under supervision tests and trains a citizen's shame and self-control cheaply and safely.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δὴ νῦν, ὡς ἔοιχ', ἡμῖν ἤδη πειρατέον φράζειν. καί μοι λέγε· δύο φόβων εἴδη σχεδὸν ἐναντία δυνάμεθα κατανοῆσαι;	**ATHENIAN** That, it seems, is exactly what we must now try to explain. Tell me: can we discern two kinds of fear that are nearly opposite?
	CLINIAS ποῖα δή;	**CLINIAS** What kinds?
	ATHENIAN τὰ τοιάδε· φοβούμεθα μέν που τὰ κακά, προσδοκῶντες γενήσεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** These: we fear evils, I suppose, when we expect them to happen.
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN φοβούμεθα δέ γε πολλάκις δόξαν, ἡγούμενοι δοξάζεσθαι κακοί, πράττοντες ἢ λέγοντές τι τῶν μὴ καλῶν· ὃν 647a δὴ καὶ καλοῦμεν τὸν φόβον ἡμεῖς γε, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ πάντες, αἰσχύνην.	**ATHENIAN** And we often fear opinion, thinking we'll be thought bad if we do or say something that isn't fine. And this fear 647a we call—we do, and I think everyone does—shame.
647a	**CLINIAS** τί δ' οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τούτους δὴ δύο ἔλεγον φόβους· ὧν ὁ ἕτερος ἐναντίος μὲν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φόβοις, ἐναντίος δ' ἐστὶ ταῖς πλείσταις καὶ μεγίσταις ἡδοναῖς.	**ATHENIAN** Those are the two fears I meant. The second of them is opposed to pains and to the other fears, and it's also opposed to the most numerous and greatest pleasures.
	CLINIAS ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ νομοθέτης, καὶ πᾶς οὗ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, τοῦτον τὸν φόβον ἐν τιμῇ μεγίστῃ σέβει, καὶ καλῶν αἰδῶ, τὸ τούτῳ θάρρος ἐναντίον ἀναίδειάν τε προσαγορεύει 647b καὶ μέγιστον κακὸν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ πᾶσι νενόμικεν;	**ATHENIAN** Then doesn't the lawgiver, and everyone who's worth anything at all, hold this fear in the highest honor? Doesn't he call it modesty, and give the confidence opposed to it the name of shamelessness, 647b and regard it as the greatest evil for everyone, in private and in public?
647b	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** You're right.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν τά τ' ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ὁ φόβος ἡμᾶς οὗτος σῴζει, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν ἓν πρὸς ἓν οὐδὲν οὕτως σφόδρα ἡμῖν ἀπεργάζεται; δύο γὰρ οὖν ἐστὸν τὰ τὴν νίκην ἀπεργαζόμενα, θάρρος μὲν πολεμίων, φίλων δὲ φόβος αἰσχύνης πέρι κακῆς.	**ATHENIAN** And doesn't this fear keep us safe in many other important ways—and, taken point for point, is there anything that secures victory and safety in war for us as effectively? For there are two things that produce victory: confidence toward the enemy, and fear of disgrace in the eyes of friends.
	CLINIAS ἔστι ταῦτα.	**CLINIAS** That's so.
	ATHENIAN ἄφοβον ἡμῶν ἄρα δεῖ γίγνεσθαι καὶ φοβερὸν [647c] ἕκαστον· ὧν δ' ἑκάτερον ἕνεκα, διῃρήμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** So each of us must become both fearless and fearful. [647c] And we've distinguished what each is for.
647c	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν ἄφοβόν γε ἕκαστον βουληθέντες ποιεῖν φόβων πολλῶν τινων, εἰς φόβον ἄγοντες αὐτὸν μετὰ νόμου, τοιοῦτον ἀπεργαζόμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** And when we want to make someone fearless in the face of many sorts of fear, we do it by leading him into fear, with the help of law.
	CLINIAS φαινόμεθα.	**CLINIAS** It seems so.
	ATHENIAN τί δ' ὅταν ἐπιχειρῶμέν τινα φοβερὸν ποιεῖν μετὰ δίκης; ἆρ' οὐκ ἀναισχυντίᾳ συμβάλλοντας αὐτὸν καὶ προσγυμνάζοντας νικᾶν δεῖ ποιεῖν διαμαχόμενον αὑτοῦ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς; ἢ τῇ μὲν δειλίᾳ τῇ ἐν αὑτῷ προσμαχόμενον καὶ [647d] νικῶντα αὐτὴν δεῖ τέλεον οὕτω γίγνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ἄπειρος δὲ δήπου καὶ ἀγύμναστος ὢν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων ὁστισοῦν οὐδ' ἂν ἥμισυς ἑαυτοῦ γένοιτο πρὸς ἀρετήν, σώφρων δὲ ἄρα τελέως ἔσται μὴ πολλαῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις προτρεπούσαις ἀναισχυντεῖν καὶ ἀδικεῖν διαμεμαχημένος καὶ νενικηκὼς μετὰ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καὶ τέχνης ἔν τε παιδιαῖς καὶ ἐν σπουδαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπαθὴς ὢν πάντων τῶν τοιούτων;	**ATHENIAN** And what about when we try to make someone fearful in the right way? Mustn't we make him win by pitting him against shamelessness and training him to fight against his own pleasures? Or is it that he must fight against the cowardice within him and [647d] conquer it in order to become complete in courage, and that anyone at all who's inexperienced and untrained in such contests wouldn't become even half of what he might be in virtue—and yet he'll be perfectly moderate without having fought through and conquered, by argument, action and skill, in play and in earnest, the many pleasures and desires that urge him toward shamelessness and wrongdoing, but simply by never having encountered any of them?
647d	**CLINIAS** οὔκουν τόν γ' εἰκότα λόγον ἂν ἔχοι.	**CLINIAS** That, at least, wouldn't be reasonable.
647e	**ATHENIAN** τί οὖν; φόβου φάρμακον ἔσθ' ὅστις θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε ὁπόσῳ πλέον ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις πίνειν αὐτοῦ, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν νομίζειν καθ' ἑκάστην πόσιν δυστυχῆ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ [648a] πάντα, καὶ τελευτῶντα εἰς πᾶν δέος ἰέναι τὸν ἀνδρειότατον ἀνθρώπων, ἐκκοιμηθέντα δὲ καὶ τοῦ πώματος ἀπαλλαγέντα πάλιν ἑκάστοτε τὸν αὐτὸν γίγνεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** Well then: is there some drug for fear that a god has given human beings, such that the more of it someone is willing to drink, the more unfortunate he believes himself to become with every drink, and the more he fears everything present and to come [648a] for himself, until at last the bravest of men is in utter terror—but when he's slept it off and is rid of the drink, he becomes his usual self again every time?
648a	**CLINIAS** καὶ τί τοιοῦτον φαῖμεν ἄν, ὦ ξένε, ἐν ἀνθρώποις γεγονέναι πῶμα;	**CLINIAS** And what drink like that could we say has ever existed among human beings, stranger?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN οὐδέν· εἰ δ' οὖν ἐγένετό ποθεν, ἔσθ' ὅτι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἦν ἂν νομοθέτῃ χρήσιμον; οἷον τὸ τοιόνδε περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλα εἴχομεν ἂν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι· φέρε, ὦ νομοθέτα, εἴτε Κρησὶν εἴθ' οἱστισινοῦν νομοθετεῖς, πρῶτον [648b] μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἆρ' ἂν δέξαιο βάσανον δυνατὸς εἶναι λαμβάνειν ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ δειλίας;	**ATHENIAN** None. But if one had turned up from somewhere, would it have been of any use to a lawgiver for courage? We could very well have talked to him about it, for example, like this. Come, lawgiver, whether you're legislating for Cretans or for anyone else: first of all, [648b] would you welcome being able to test your citizens for courage and cowardice?
648b	**CLINIAS** φαίη που πᾶς ἂν δῆλον ὅτι.	**CLINIAS** Anyone would say yes, clearly.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; μετ' ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἄνευ κινδύνων μεγάλων ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντίων;	**ATHENIAN** And would you want to do it safely and without great risks, or the opposite?
	CLINIAS καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῆς ἀσφαλείας συνομολογήσει πᾶς.	**CLINIAS** Everyone will agree to that too—safely.
	ATHENIAN χρῷο δ' ἂν εἰς τοὺς φόβους τούτους ἄγων καὶ ἐλέγχων ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν, ὥστε ἀναγκάζειν ἄφοβον γίγνεσθαι, [648c] παρακελευόμενος καὶ νουθετῶν καὶ τιμῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀτιμάζων, ὅστις σοι μὴ πείθοιτο εἶναι τοιοῦτος οἷον σὺ τάττοις ἐν πᾶσιν; καὶ γυμνασάμενον μὲν εὖ καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀζήμιον ἀπαλλάττοις ἄν, κακῶς δέ, ζημίαν ἐπιτιθείς; ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἂν χρῷο, μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐγκαλῶν τῷ πώματι;	**ATHENIAN** And would you use it by leading them into these fears and testing them while they're under their influence, so as to compel them to become fearless, [648c] encouraging, admonishing and honoring them—and dishonoring anyone who wouldn't obey you and be in every respect the sort of person you prescribed? And would you let the one who trained himself well and bravely go unpunished, but impose a penalty on the one who did badly? Or would you not use it at all, though you had nothing else against the drink?
648c	**CLINIAS** καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἂν χρῷτο, ὦ ξένε;	**CLINIAS** And how could he not use it, stranger?
	ATHENIAN γυμνασία γοῦν, ὦ φίλε, παρὰ τὰ νῦν θαυμαστὴ ῥᾳστώνης ἂν εἴη καθ' ἕνα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους καὶ καθ' ὁπόσους [648d] τις ἀεὶ βούλοιτο· καὶ εἴτε τις ἄρα μόνος ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενος, πρὶν εὖ σχεῖν ἡγούμενος ὁρᾶσθαι μὴ δεῖν, οὕτω πρὸς τοὺς φόβους γυμνάζοιτο, πῶμα μόνον ἀντὶ μυρίων πραγμάτων παρασκευαζόμενος, ὀρθῶς ἄν τι πράττοι, εἴτε τις ἑαυτῷ πιστεύων φύσει καὶ μελέτῃ καλῶς παρεσκευάσθαι, μηδὲν ὀκνοῖ μετὰ συμποτῶν πλειόνων γυμναζόμενος ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πώματος ἀναγκαίᾳ [648e] διαφορᾷ δύναμιν ὑπερθέων καὶ κρατῶν, ὥστε ὑπ' ἀσχημοσύνης μηδὲ ἓν σφάλλεσθαι μέγα μηδ' ἀλλοιοῦσθαι δι' ἀρετήν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην πόσιν ἀπαλλάττοιτο πρὶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι, τὴν πάντων ἧττων φοβούμενος ἀνθρώπων τοῦ πώματος.	**ATHENIAN** In any case, my friend, compared with what we have now, the training would be wonderfully easy, whether for one at a time, or a few, or as many at once [648d] as one liked. Suppose someone, putting shame first and thinking he oughtn't to be seen before he's in good shape, trained against his fears alone and in solitude, providing himself with nothing but drink instead of endless trouble: he'd be doing something right. Or suppose someone, trusting that he's well prepared by nature and practice, didn't hesitate to train in company with many fellow drinkers and to show off his power of outrunning and mastering the inevitable [648e] change the drink brings—so that, thanks to his virtue, he made not even one serious slip into unseemliness and wasn't altered—and left before reaching the last cup, fearing the defeat that drink inflicts on every man: he too would be doing something right.
648e		

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS ναί· σωφρονοῖ γὰρ ἄν, ὦ ξένε, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος οὕτω πράττων.	**CLINIAS** Yes—such a man, acting that way, would be moderate too, stranger.
649a	**ATHENIAN** πάλιν δὴ πρὸς τὸν νομοθέτην λέγωμεν τάδε· εἶεν, ὦ νομοθέτα, τοῦ μὲν δὴ φόβου σχεδὸν οὔτε θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτον φάρμακον οὔτε αὐτοὶ μεμηχανήμεθα— τοὺς γὰρ γόητας οὐκ ἐν θοίνῃ λέγω—τῆς δὲ ἀφοβίας καὶ τοῦ λίαν θαρρεῖν καὶ ἀκαίρως ἃ μὴ χρή, πότερον ἔστιν πῶμα, ἢ πῶς λέγομεν;	**ATHENIAN** Then let's speak to the lawgiver again, like this. Well, lawgiver, as for fear, no god has given human beings any such drug, you might say, nor have we devised one ourselves—for I don't count sorcerers among the guests at our feast. But for fearlessness, and for excessive and ill-timed confidence where one shouldn't have it, is there a drink, or what do we say?
	CLINIAS ἔστιν, φήσει που, τὸν οἶνον φράζων.	**CLINIAS** There is, he'll say, I suppose—meaning wine.
	ATHENIAN ἦ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἔχει τοῦτο τῷ νυνδὴ λεγομένῳ; πιόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ ποιεῖ πρῶτον ἵλεων εὐθὺς [649b] μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, καὶ ὁπόσῳ ἂν πλέον αὐτοῦ γεύηται, τοσούτῳ πλειόνων ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν πληροῦσθαι καὶ δυνάμεως εἰς δόξαν; καὶ τελευτῶν δὴ πάσης ὁ τοιοῦτος παρρησίας ὡς σοφὸς ὢν μεστοῦται καὶ ἐλευθερίας, πάσης δὲ ἀφοβίας, ὥστε εἰπεῖν τε ἀόκνως ὁτιοῦν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ πρᾶξαι; πᾶς ἡμῖν, οἶμαι, ταῦτ' ἂν συγχωροῖ.	**ATHENIAN** And doesn't this have the opposite effect to the one we described just now? First, as soon as a man drinks it, it makes him more cheerful [649b] than before, and the more of it he tastes, the more he's filled with good hopes and a sense of his own power. And in the end such a man becomes full of complete freedom of speech, as if he were wise, and of liberty, and of complete fearlessness, so that he'll say anything without hesitation, and do anything too. Everyone would grant us this, I think.
649b	**CLINIAS** τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἀναμνησθῶμεν δὴ τόδε, ὅτι δύ' ἔφαμεν ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς δεῖν θεραπεύεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα [649c] θαρρήσομεν, τὸ δὲ τοὐναντίον ὅτι μάλιστα φοβησόμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's recall this: we said there were two things in our souls that must be cultivated—one so that we may be as [649c] confident as possible, and the other, the opposite, so that we may be as fearful as possible.
649c	**CLINIAS** ἃ τῆς αἰδοῦς ἔλεγες, ὡς οἰόμεθα.	**CLINIAS** The ones you said belonged to modesty, we believe.
	ATHENIAN καλῶς μνημονεύετε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τήν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἀφοβίαν ἐν τοῖς φόβοις δεῖ καταμελετᾶσθαι, σκεπτέον ἆρα τὸ ἐναντίον ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις θεραπεύεσθαι δέον ἂν εἴη.	**ATHENIAN** You remember well. And since courage and fearlessness must be practiced amid fears, we must consider whether the opposite quality would need to be cultivated amid the opposite conditions.
	CLINIAS τό γ' οὖν εἰκός.	**CLINIAS** That's likely, at any rate.
	ATHENIAN ἃ παθόντες ἆρα πεφύκαμεν διαφερόντως θαρραλέοι τ' εἶναι καὶ θρασεῖς, ἐν τούτοις δέον ἄν, ὡς ἔοικ', εἴη τὸ μελετᾶν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶναι ἀναισχύντους τε καὶ θρασύτητος [649d] γέμοντας, φοβεροὺς δὲ εἰς τό τι τολμᾶν ἑκάστοτε λέγειν ἢ πάσχειν ἢ καὶ δρᾶν αἰσχρὸν ὁτιοῦν.	**ATHENIAN** So it seems that in the conditions that by nature make us especially confident and bold, we'd need to practice being as little shameless and as little full of boldness [649d] as possible, and being afraid ever to dare to say or suffer or do anything shameful at all.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
649d	**CLINIAS** ἔοικεν.	**CLINIAS** It seems so.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ταῦτά ἐστι πάντα ἐν οἷς ἐσμὲν τοιοῦτοι, θυμός, ἔρως, ὕβρις, ἀμαθία, φιλοκέρδεια, δειλία, καὶ ἔτι τοιάδε, πλοῦτος, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δι' ἡδονῆς αὖ μεθύσκοντα παράφρονας ποιεῖ; τούτων δὲ εὐτελῆ τε καὶ ἀσινεστέραν πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν πεῖραν, εἶτα εἰς τὸ μελετᾶν, πλὴν τῆς ἐν οἴνῳ βασάνου καὶ παιδιᾶς, τίνα [649e] ἔχομεν ἡδονὴν εἰπεῖν ἔμμετρον μᾶλλον, ἂν καὶ ὀπωστιοῦν μετ' εὐλαβείας γίγνηται; σκοπῶμεν γὰρ δή· δυσκόλου ψυχῆς καὶ ἀγρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἀδικίαι μυρίαι γίγνονται, πότερον ἰόντα εἰς τὰ συμβόλαια πεῖραν λαμβάνειν, κινδυνεύοντα περὶ [650a] αὐτῶν, σφαλερώτερον, ἢ συγγενόμενον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Διονύσου θεωρίας; ἢ πρὸς τἀφροδίσια ἡττημένης τινὸς ψυχῆς βάσανον λαμβάνειν, ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτοῦ θυγατέρας τε καὶ υἷῆς καὶ γυναῖκας, οὕτως, ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις κινδυνεύσαντες, ἦθος ψυχῆς θεάσασθαι;	**ATHENIAN** And aren't these all the things in which we're like that: anger, love, arrogance, ignorance, greed, cowardice, and also things like wealth, beauty, strength, and everything else that intoxicates us with pleasure and drives us out of our minds? For taking a test of these, first, and then for practicing, what cheaper and more harmless pleasure than testing and play over wine [649e] can we name, and what better suited—provided it's done with some care? Let's consider. Take a peevish and savage soul, the source of countless injustices: is it riskier to test it by entering into contracts with it, at our own peril [650a] in them, or by keeping its company at a festival of Dionysus? Or to test a soul overcome by sexual desire by entrusting to it our own daughters and sons and wives, and so to observe the character of a soul by risking what's dearest to us?
650a	καὶ μυρία δὴ λέγων οὐκ ἄν τίς ποτε ἀνύσειεν ὅσῳ διαφέρει τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὴν ἄλλως ἄνευ μισθοῦ ζημιώδους θεωρεῖν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸ περί [650b] γε τούτων οὔτ' ἂν Κρῆτας οὔτ' ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους οὐδένας οἰόμεθα ἀμφισβητῆσαι, μὴ οὐ πεῖράν τε ἀλλήλων ἐπιεικῆ ταύτην εἶναι, τό τε τῆς εὐτελείας καὶ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τάχους διαφέρειν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας βασάνους.	One could give countless examples and never finish showing how much better it is to observe in play, without costly penalty. And on this very point, [650b] at least, we don't think either the Cretans or anyone else would dispute that this is a reasonable way for people to test one another, and that it beats the other tests for cheapness, safety and speed.
650b	**CLINIAS** ἀληθὲς τοῦτό γε.	**CLINIAS** That's true, anyway.
	ATHENIAN τοῦτο μὲν ἄρ' ἂν τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἓν εἴη, τὸ γνῶναι τὰς φύσεις τε καὶ ἕξεις τῶν ψυχῶν, τῇ τέχνῃ ἐκείνῃ ἧς ἐστιν ταῦτα θεραπεύειν· ἔστιν δέ που, φαμέν, ὡς οἶμαι, πολιτικῆς. ἦ γάρ;	**ATHENIAN** So this would be one of the most useful things: to know the natures and dispositions of souls, for the art whose business it is to care for them. And that art, we say, I believe, is politics. Isn't it?
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.

Book II

Education, choral song and dance, and the uses of wine.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
652a	**ATHENIAN** τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς ἔοικε, σκεπτέον ἐκεῖνο περὶ αὐτῶν, πότερα τοῦτο μόνον ἀγαθὸν ἔχει, τὸ κατιδεῖν πῶς ἔχομεν τὰς φύσεις, ἢ καί τι μέγεθος ὠφελίας ἄξιον πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἔνεστ' ἐν τῇ κατ' ὀρθὸν χρείᾳ τῆς ἐν οἴνῳ συνουσίας. τί οὖν δὴ λέγομεν; ἔνεσθ', ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔοικεν βούλεσθαι σημαίνειν· ὅπῃ δὲ καὶ ὅπως, ἀκούωμεν προσέχοντες [652b] τὸν νοῦν, μή πῃ παραποδισθῶμεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.	**ATHENIAN** Next, it seems, we must consider this about it: whether its only good is this—seeing what our natures are like—or whether the right use of drinking together also holds some benefit of great size, worth serious attention. What do we say, then? It does hold one, as the argument seems to want to indicate. But where and how, let's hear, paying [652b] close attention, so that we don't somehow get tripped up by it.
652b	**CLINIAS** λέγ' οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Tell us, then.
	ATHENIAN ἀναμνησθῆναι τοίνυν ἔγωγε πάλιν ἐπιθυμῶ τί ποτε [653a] λέγομεν ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν ὀρθὴν παιδείαν. τούτου γάρ, ὥς γε ἐγὼ τοπάζω τὰ νῦν, ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τούτῳ καλῶς κατορθουμένῳ σωτηρία.	**ATHENIAN** Well, I want to recall again what [653a] we say right education is. For its preservation, as I now conjecture, lies in this practice, when it's properly conducted.
653a	**CLINIAS** μέγα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** That's a large claim.
	ATHENIAN λέγω τοίνυν τῶν παίδων παιδικὴν εἶναι πρώτην αἴσθησιν ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀρετὴ ψυχῇ καὶ κακία παραγίγνεται πρῶτον, ταῦτ' εἶναι, φρόνησιν δὲ καὶ ἀληθεῖς δόξας βεβαίους εὐτυχὲς ὅτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας παρεγένετο· τέλεος δ' οὖν ἔστ' ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐν [653b] τούτοις πάντα κεκτημένος ἀγαθά.	**ATHENIAN** Well, I say that the first childish perceptions of children are pleasure and pain, and that these are where virtue and vice first come to the soul. As for wisdom and firm true opinions, a man is fortunate if they come to him even by old age. In any case, a person is complete when he possesses these and all the goods [653b] they contain.
653b	παιδείαν δὴ λέγω τὴν παραγιγνομένην πρῶτον παισὶν ἀρετήν· ἡδονὴ δὴ καὶ φιλία καὶ λύπη καὶ μῖσος ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐγγίγνωνται μήπω δυναμένων λόγῳ λαμβάνειν, λαβόντων δὲ τὸν λόγον, συμφωνήσωσι τῷ λόγῳ ὀρθῶς εἰθίσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἐθῶν, αὕτη 'σθ' ἡ συμφωνία σύμπασα μὲν ἀρετή, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας τεθραμμένον αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς ὥστε [653c] μισεῖν μὲν ἃ χρὴ μισεῖν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους, στέργειν δὲ ἃ χρὴ στέργειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἀποτεμὼν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ παιδείαν προσαγορεύων, κατά γε τὴν ἐμὴν ὀρθῶς ἂν προσαγορεύοις.	By education, then, I mean the virtue that first comes to children. When pleasure and liking and pain and hatred arise rightly in their souls while they're not yet able to grasp reason, and when they do grasp reason these feelings agree with it that they have been rightly trained by the proper habits—this agreement as a whole is virtue. But the part of it that has been rightly brought up with regard to pleasures and pains, so that [653c] it hates what it should hate from the very beginning to the end and loves what it should love—if you were to mark this off in your account and call it education, you'd be naming it correctly, in my view at least.
653c	**CLINIAS** καὶ γάρ, ὦ ξένε, ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ πρότερον ὀρθῶς σοι παιδείας πέρι καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ.	

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		CLINIAS Yes, stranger: both what you said about education before and what you're saying now seem right to us.
	ATHENIAN καλῶς τοίνυν. τούτων γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὀρθῶς τεθραμμένων ἡδονῶν καὶ λυπῶν παιδειῶν οὐσῶν χαλᾶται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ διαφθείρεται κατὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, θεοὶ [653d] δὲ οἰκτίραντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίπονον πεφυκὸς γένος, ἀναπαύλας τε αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων ἐτάξαντο τὰς τῶν ἑορτῶν ἀμοιβὰς τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ μούσας Ἀπόλλωνά τε μουσηγέτην καὶ Διόνυσον συνεορταστὰς ἔδοσαν, ἵν' ἐπανορθῶνται, τάς τε τροφὰς γενομένας ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μετὰ θεῶν. ὁρᾶν ἃ χρὴ πότερον ἀληθὴς ἡμῖν κατὰ φύσιν ὁ λόγος ὑμνεῖται τὰ νῦν, ἢ πῶς. φησὶν δὲ τὸ νέον ἅπαν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐ δύνασθαι, [653e] κινεῖσθαι δὲ ἀεὶ ζητεῖν καὶ φθέγγεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἀλλόμενα καὶ σκιρτῶντα, οἷον ὀρχούμενα μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ προσπαίζοντα, τὰ δὲ φθεγγόμενα πάσας φωνάς.	**ATHENIAN** Good. Now these rightly trained pleasures and pains, which are education, slacken in human beings and are largely corrupted in the course of life. But the gods, [653d] pitying the human race, born to toil, ordained as rests from its labors the round of festivals in honor of the gods, and gave us the Muses, and Apollo their leader, and Dionysus as fellow celebrants, so that people might set their upbringing right again through the nurture they receive at festivals in the company of gods. We must see, then, whether the account now being sung to us is true to nature, or what. It says that practically every young creature is unable to keep its body or its voice still, [653e] but is always trying to move and cry out—some leaping and skipping, as if dancing with pleasure and playing, others uttering every sort of sound.
653e	τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ζῷα οὐκ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν τάξεων οὐδὲ ἀταξιῶν, οἷς δὴ ῥυθμὸς ὄνομα καὶ ἁρμονία· ἡμῖν δὲ οὓς [654a] εἴπομεν τοὺς θεοὺς συγχορευτὰς δεδόσθαι, τούτους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς δεδωκότας τὴν ἔνρυθμόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αἴσθησιν μεθ' ἡδονῆς, ᾗ δὴ κινεῖν τε ἡμᾶς καὶ χορηγεῖν ἡμῶν τούτους, ᾠδαῖς τε καὶ ὀρχήσεσιν ἀλλήλοις συνείροντας, χορούς τε ὠνομακέναι παρὰ τὸ τῆς χαρᾶς ἔμφυτον ὄνομα. πρῶτον δὴ τοῦτο ἀποδεξώμεθα; θῶμεν παιδείαν εἶναι πρώτην διὰ Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἢ πῶς;	Now other animals, it says, have no perception of order or disorder in their movements—which we call rhythm and harmony. But for us, the gods [654a] who we said were given as our fellow dancers are the same ones who have given us the perception of rhythm and harmony, together with pleasure. By it they move us and lead our choruses, linking us to one another in songs and dances; and they have named these choruses after the joy that is naturally in them. Shall we accept this first? Shall we lay it down that the first education comes through the Muses and Apollo, or what?[1]
654a	**CLINIAS** οὕτως.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος ἀχόρευτος ἡμῖν ἔσται, τὸν [654b] δὲ πεπαιδευμένον ἱκανῶς κεχορευκότα θετέον;	**ATHENIAN** Then for us the uneducated person will be the one untrained in choral performance, and [654b] we must count the educated person as the one adequately trained in it?
654b	**CLINIAS** τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησίς τε καὶ ᾠδὴ τὸ σύνολόν ἐστιν.	**ATHENIAN** And choral performance as a whole is dance and song.
	CLINIAS ἀναγκαῖον.	**CLINIAS** Necessarily.
	ATHENIAN ὁ καλῶς ἄρα πεπαιδευμένος ᾄδειν τε καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι δυνατὸς ἂν εἴη καλῶς.	**ATHENIAN** So the finely educated person would be able to sing and dance finely.

1 The Athenian derives *choros* (chorus) from *chara* (joy), a playful etymology.

GREEK	ENGLISH
CLINIAS ἔοικεν.	CLINIAS It seems so.
ATHENIAN ἴδωμεν δὴ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν αὖ λεγόμενον.	ATHENIAN Let's see, then, what it is we're now saying.
CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δή;	CLINIAS What's that?
ATHENIAN "καλῶς ᾄδει," φαμέν, "καὶ καλῶς ὀρχεῖται"· πότερον 654c "εἰ καὶ καλὰ ᾄδει καὶ καλὰ ὀρχεῖται" προσθῶμεν ἢ μή;	ATHENIAN "He sings finely," we say, "and dances finely." Should 654c we add "if he sings fine things and dances fine things," or not?
654c CLINIAS προσθῶμεν.	CLINIAS Let's add it.
ATHENIAN τί δ' ἂν τὰ καλά τε ἡγούμενος εἶναι καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ αἰσχρὰ οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρῆται; βέλτιον ὁ τοιοῦτος πεπαιδευμένος ἡμῖν ἔσται τὴν χορείαν τε καὶ μουσικὴν ἢ ὃς ἂν τῷ μὲν σώματι καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ διανοηθὲν εἶναι καλὸν ἱκανῶς ὑπηρετεῖν δυνηθῇ ἑκάστοτε, χαίρῃ δὲ μὴ τοῖς καλοῖς μηδὲ μισῇ τὰ μὴ καλά; ἢ 'κεῖνος ὃς ἂν τῇ μὲν φωνῇ καὶ 654d τῷ σώματι μὴ πάνυ δυνατὸς ᾖ κατορθοῦν, ἢ διανοεῖσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ κατορθοῖ, τὰ μὲν ἀσπαζόμενος, ὅσα καλά, τὰ δὲ δυσχεραίνων, ὁπόσα μὴ καλά;	ATHENIAN And what about someone who takes fine things to be fine and shameful things shameful, and treats them accordingly? Will such a person be better educated for us in choral performance and music than one who can adequately render with body and voice, on each occasion, what he conceives to be fine, but doesn't delight in fine things or hate what isn't fine? Or than the one who can't quite get it right with voice and 654d body, or in conception, but gets it right in pleasure and pain, welcoming whatever is fine and disliking whatever isn't?
654d CLINIAS πολὺ τὸ διαφέρον, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις τῆς παιδείας.	CLINIAS The difference in education you're describing is enormous, stranger.
ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν τὸ καλὸν ᾠδῆς τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως πέρι γιγνώσκομεν τρεῖς ὄντες, ἴσμεν καὶ τὸν πεπαιδευμένον τε καὶ ἀπαίδευτον ὀρθῶς· εἰ δὲ ἀγνοοῦμέν γε τοῦτο, οὐδ' εἴ τις παιδείας ἐστὶν φυλακὴ καὶ ὅπου διαγιγνώσκειν ἄν ποτε 654e δυναίμεθα. ἆρ' οὐχ οὕτως;	ATHENIAN Then if the three of us know what's fine in song and dance, we also know rightly who is educated and who is uneducated. But if we don't know this, we won't know whether there's any safeguard of education, or where we could ever 654e recognize it. Isn't that so?
654e CLINIAS οὕτω μὲν οὖν.	CLINIAS It is.
ATHENIAN ταῦτ' ἄρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν αὖ καθάπερ κυσὶν ἰχνευούσαις διερευνητέον, σχῆμά τε καλὸν καὶ μέλος καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ ὄρχησιν· εἰ δὲ ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς διαφυγόντα οἰχήσεται, μάταιος ὁ μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν περὶ παιδείας ὀρθῆς εἴθ' Ἑλληνικῆς εἴτε βαρβαρικῆς λόγος ἂν εἴη.	ATHENIAN So next we must track these things down like hounds on a scent: fine posture, melody, song and dance. If they slip away from us and escape, any further talk of ours about right education, Greek or non-Greek, will be pointless.
CLINIAS ναί.	CLINIAS Yes.

MUSIC THAT IMITATES VIRTUE

Fine postures and melodies are those of virtue; Egypt fixed its approved forms by law for millennia.

GREEK	ENGLISH
ATHENIAN εἶεν· τί δὲ δὴ τὸ καλὸν χρὴ φάναι σχῆμα ἢ μέλος εἶναί ποτε; φέρε, ἀνδρικῆς ψυχῆς ἐν πόνοις	ATHENIAN Very well. What should we say a fine posture or melody is? Come: when a brave soul

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐχομένης καὶ [655a] δειλῆς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἴσοις ἆρ' ὅμοια τά τε σχήματα καὶ τὰ φθέγματα συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι;	and [655a] a cowardly one are gripped by the same hardships, in equal measure, do their postures and utterances turn out alike?
655a	**CLINIAS** καὶ πῶς, ὅτε γε μηδὲ τὰ χρώματα;	**CLINIAS** How could they, when even their complexions don't?
	ATHENIAN καλῶς γε, ὦ ἑταῖρε. ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ μουσικῇ καὶ σχήματα μὲν καὶ μέλη ἔνεστιν, περὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ ἁρμονίαν οὔσης τῆς μουσικῆς, ὥστε εὔρυθμον μὲν καὶ εὐάρμοστον, εὔχρων δὲ μέλος ἢ σχῆμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπεικάσαντα, ὥσπερ οἱ χοροδιδάσκαλοι ἀπεικάζουσιν, ὀρθῶς φθέγγεσθαι· τὸ δὲ τοῦ δειλοῦ τε καὶ ἀνδρείου σχῆμα ἢ μέλος ἔστιν τε, καὶ [655b] ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύειν ἔχει τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρείων καλά, τὰ τῶν δειλῶν δὲ αἰσχρά. καὶ ἵνα δὴ μὴ μακρολογία πολλή τις γίγνηται περὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἅπαντα, ἁπλῶς ἔστω τὰ μὲν ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενα ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος, εἴτε αὐτῆς εἴτε τινὸς εἰκόνος, σύμπαντα σχήματά τε καὶ μέλη καλά, τὰ δὲ κακίας αὖ, τοὐναντίον ἅπαν.	**ATHENIAN** Well said, my friend. But in music there are postures and melodies, since music has to do with rhythm and harmony; so one can correctly call a melody or posture rhythmic or harmonious, but not, using the choirmasters' metaphor, well-colored. But there is a posture or melody of the coward and of the brave man, and [655b] it's correct to call those of the brave fine and those of cowards shameful. And so that we don't run into a long speech about all this, let's simply say that all postures and melodies that belong to virtue of soul or body—to virtue itself or to some image of it—are fine, and those belonging to vice are just the opposite.
655b	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς τε προκαλῇ καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχειν ἀποκεκρίσθω τὰ νῦν.	**CLINIAS** Your proposal is right; let that be our answer for now.
	ATHENIAN ἔτι δὴ τόδε· πότερον ἅπαντες πάσαις χορείαις [655c] ὁμοίως χαίρομεν, ἢ πολλοῦ δεῖ;	**ATHENIAN** Here's another point. Do we all enjoy all choral performances [655c] equally, or far from it?
655c	**CLINIAS** τοῦ παντὸς μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Very far from it.
	ATHENIAN τί ποτ' ἂν οὖν λέγομεν τὸ πεπλανηκὸς ἡμᾶς εἶναι; πότερον οὐ ταὐτά ἐστι καλὰ ἡμῖν πᾶσιν, ἢ τὰ μὲν αὐτά, ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ ταὐτὰ εἶναι; οὐ γάρ που ἐρεῖ γέ τις ὡς ποτε τὰ τῆς κακίας ἢ ἀρετῆς καλλίονα χορεύματα, οὐδ' ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν χαίρει τοῖς τῆς μοχθηρίας σχήμασιν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐναντίᾳ ταύτης Μούσῃ τινί· καίτοι λέγουσίν γε οἱ πλεῖστοι μουσικῆς [655d] ὀρθότητα εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πορίζουσαν δύναμιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἀνεκτὸν οὔτε ὅσιον τὸ παράπαν φθέγγεσθαι, τόδε δὲ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς πλανᾶν ἡμᾶς.	**ATHENIAN** Then what shall we say leads us astray? Is it that the same things aren't fine for all of us, or that they are the same but don't seem to be? For surely no one will say that the choral performances of vice are finer than those of virtue, or that he himself enjoys the postures of wickedness while other people enjoy a Muse opposed to it. And yet most people say that the correctness of music [655d] lies in its power to provide pleasure to souls. But that's intolerable, and quite impious even to say. Something else is more likely leading us astray.
655d	**CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What?
	ATHENIAN ἐπειδὴ μιμήματα τρόπων ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χορείας, ἐν πράξεσί τε παντοδαπαῖς γιγνόμενα καὶ τύχαις, καὶ ἤθεσι καὶ μιμήσεσι διεξιόντων ἑκάστων, οἷς μὲν ἂν πρὸς τρόπου τὰ ῥηθέντα ἢ μελῳδηθέντα ἢ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν χορευθέντα, ἢ [655e] κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ ἔθος ἢ κατ' ἀμφότερα, τούτους μὲν καὶ τούτοις χαίρειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ προσαγορεύειν καλὰ ἀναγκαῖον, οἷς δ'	**ATHENIAN** Choral performances are imitations of characters, set in actions and fortunes of every kind, with each performer going through them in character and imitation. So those to whom the words or songs or dancing, of whatever kind, are congenial, whether by [655e] nature or by habit or both, necessarily enjoy them, praise them and call

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἂν παρὰ φύσιν ἢ τρόπον ἤ τινα συνήθειαν, οὔτε χαίρειν δυνατὸν οὔτε ἐπαινεῖν αἰσχρά τε προσαγορεύειν.	them fine; while those to whom they run counter to nature or character or some habit can neither enjoy nor praise them, and call them shameful.
655e	οἷς δ' ἂν τὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὰ συμβαίνῃ, τὰ δὲ τῆς συνηθείας ἐναντία, ἢ τὰ μὲν τῆς συνηθείας ὀρθά, τὰ δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἐναντία, οὗτοι δὲ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς [656a] τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐναντίους προσαγορεύουσιν· ἡδέα γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστα εἶναί φασι, πονηρὰ δέ, καὶ ἐναντίον ἄλλων οὓς οἴονται φρονεῖν αἰσχύνονται μὲν κινεῖσθαι τῷ σώματι τὰ τοιαῦτα, αἰσχύνονται δὲ ᾄδειν ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι καλὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς, χαίρουσιν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς.	And when people's nature is right but their habits are the opposite, or their habits are right but their nature the opposite, they give praise contrary [656a] to their pleasures. They call each of these performances pleasant but base; and in front of others whom they think wise they're ashamed to move their bodies in such ways, and ashamed to sing such things as though earnestly declaring them fine, but in private they enjoy them.
656a	**CLINIAS** ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
	ATHENIAN μῶν οὖν τι βλάβην ἔσθ' ἥντινα φέρει τῷ χαίροντι πονηρίας ἢ σχήμασιν ἢ μέλεσιν, ἤ τιν' ὠφελίαν αὖ τοῖς πρὸς τἀναντία τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀποδεχομένοις;	**ATHENIAN** Then does the person who enjoys the postures or melodies of wickedness suffer any harm, or do those who take their pleasure in the opposite ones gain any benefit?
	CLINIAS εἰκός γε.	**CLINIAS** Probably.
656b	**ATHENIAN** πότερον εἰκὸς ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ταὐτὸν εἶναι ὅπερ ὅταν τις πονηροῖς ἥθεσιν συνὼν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων μὴ μισῇ, χαίρῃ δὲ ἀποδεχόμενος, ψέγῃ δὲ ὡς ἐν παιδιᾶς μοίρᾳ, ὀνειρώττων αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν; τότε ὁμοιοῦσθαι δήπου ἀνάγκη τὸν χαίροντα ὁποτέροις ἂν χαίρῃ, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αἰσχύνηται· καίτοι τοῦ τοιούτου τί μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν φαῖμεν ἂν ἡμῖν ἐκ πάσης ἀνάγκης γίγνεσθαι;	**ATHENIAN** Only probably? Isn't it necessarily the same as when someone keeps company with the base characters of bad people and doesn't hate them, but welcomes and enjoys them, and censures them only half in play, dimly aware, as in a dream, of his own wickedness? In that case, surely, whoever enjoys either kind must necessarily come to resemble what he enjoys, even if he's ashamed to praise it. And yet what greater good or evil could we say necessarily comes to us than that?
	CLINIAS δοκῶ μὲν οὐδέν.	**CLINIAS** None, I think.
656c	**ATHENIAN** ὅπου δὴ νόμοι καλῶς εἰσι κείμενοι ἢ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἔσονται τὴν περὶ τὰς μούσας παιδείαν τε καὶ παιδιάν, οἰόμεθα ἐξέσεσθαι τοῖς ποιητικοῖς, ὅτιπερ ἂν αὐτὸν τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει τέρπῃ ῥυθμοῦ ἢ μέλους ἢ ῥήματος ἐχόμενον, τοῦτο διδάσκοντα καὶ τοὺς τῶν εὐνόμων παῖδας καὶ νέους ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς, ὅτι ἂν τύχῃ ἀπεργάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ μοχθηρίαν;	**ATHENIAN** Then where laws are, or will in future be, well laid down concerning education and play in the arts of the Muses, do we suppose poets will be free to take whatever pleases the poet himself in composing—in rhythm or melody or words—and teach it to the children and young people of law-abiding citizens in the choruses, whatever it happens to produce, virtue or wickedness?
	CLINIAS οὔτοι δὴ τοῦτό γε λόγον ἔχει· πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** That certainly makes no sense. How could it?
656d	**ATHENIAN** νῦν δέ γε αὐτὸ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔξεστι δρᾶν, πλὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον.	**ATHENIAN** Yet as things are, it's allowed in practically every city—except in Egypt.
	CLINIAS ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ δὴ πῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον φῂς νενομοθετῆσθαι;	**CLINIAS** And how do you say such things have been regulated by law in Egypt?

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ATHENIAN θαῦμα καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. πάλαι γὰρ δή ποτε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐγνώσθη παρ' αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν τὰ νῦν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι καλὰ μὲν σχήματα, καλὰ δὲ μέλη δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι ταῖς συνηθείαις τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν νέους· ταξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα, ἅττα ἐστὶ καὶ ὁποῖ' ἄττα ἀπέφηναν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, [656e] καὶ παρὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐξῆν οὔτε ζωγράφοις, οὔτ' ἄλλοις ὅσοι σχήματα καὶ ὁποῖ' ἄττα ἀπεργάζονται, καινοτομεῖν οὐδ' ἐπινοεῖν ἄλλ' ἄττα ἢ τὰ πάτρια, οὐδὲ νῦν ἔξεστιν, οὔτε ἐν τούτοις οὔτε ἐν μουσικῇ συμπάσῃ. σκοπῶν δὲ εὑρήσεις αὐτόθι τὰ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμένα—οὐχ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν μυριοστὸν ἀλλ' ὄντως—τῶν νῦν δεδημιουργημένων [657a] οὔτε τι καλλίονα οὔτ' αἰσχίω, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα.

ATHENIAN It's a marvel even to hear. Long ago, it seems, they recognized this principle we're stating now: that the young in cities must make fine postures and fine melodies their habitual practice. They prescribed these, and displayed in their temples which they are and what they're like; [656e] and neither painters nor anyone else who makes postures or anything of the kind was allowed to innovate or to devise anything other than the traditional forms—nor are they now, either in these arts or in music as a whole. If you look, you'll find that things painted or carved there ten thousand years ago—and I don't mean "ten thousand" loosely, but literally—are [657a] neither finer nor uglier than what's made today, but are worked with the same art.

657a **CLINIAS** θαυμαστὸν λέγεις.

CLINIAS That's amazing.

ATHENIAN νομοθετικὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ πολιτικὸν ὑπερβαλλόντως. ἀλλ' ἕτερα φαῦλ' ἂν εὕροις αὐτόθι· τοῦτο δ' οὖν τὸ περὶ μουσικὴν ἀληθές τε καὶ ἄξιον ἐννοίας, ὅτι δυνατὸν ἄρ' ἦν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων νομοθετεῖσθαι βεβαίως θαρροῦντα μέλη τὰ τὴν ὀρθότητα φύσει παρεχόμενα. τοῦτο δὲ θεοῦ ἢ θείου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἂν εἴη, καθάπερ ἐκεῖ φασιν τὰ τὸν πολὺν τοῦτον [657b] σεσωμένα χρόνον μέλη τῆς Ἴσιδος ποιήματα γεγονέναι. ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἔλεγον, εἰ δύναιτό τις ἐλεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν τὴν ὀρθότητα, θαρροῦντα χρὴ εἰς νόμον ἄγειν καὶ τάξιν αὐτά· ὡς ἡ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης ζήτησις τοῦ καινῇ ζητεῖν ἀεὶ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι σχεδὸν οὐ μεγάλην τινὰ δύναμιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ διαφθεῖραι τὴν καθιερωθεῖσαν χορείαν ἐπικαλοῦσα ἀρχαιότητα. τὴν γοῦν ἐκεῖ οὐδαμῶς ἔοικε δυνατὴ γεγονέναι διαφθεῖραι, πᾶν δὲ τοὐναντίον.

ATHENIAN Say rather, supremely worthy of a lawgiver and a statesman. You'd find other things there that are poor. But this about music is true and worth pondering: that it was possible, after all, to legislate firmly about such things and confidently fix in law melodies that have a natural correctness. That would be the work of a god or some divine man—and in fact they say there that the melodies preserved for this long [657b] time are compositions of Isis. So, as I was saying, if someone could grasp their correctness in any way at all, he should confidently bring them under law and order. For the pursuit of pleasure and pain, always seeking to use new music, hasn't much power to corrupt choral performance once it's consecrated, by deriding it as old-fashioned. There, at any rate, it seems to have been quite unable to corrupt it—quite the opposite.[2]

657c **CLINIAS** φαίνεται οὕτως ἂν ταῦτα ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ τὰ νῦν λεχθέντων.

CLINIAS From what you've just said, that seems to be how things are.

ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν θαρροῦντες λέγομεν τὴν τῇ μουσικῇ καὶ τῇ παιδιᾷ μετὰ χορείας χρείαν ὀρθὴν εἶναι τοιῷδέ τινι τρόπῳ; χαίρομεν ὅταν οἰώμεθα εὖ πράττειν, καὶ ὁπόταν χαίρωμεν, οἰόμεθα εὖ πράττειν αὖ; μῶν οὐχ οὕτως;

ATHENIAN Then can we confidently say that the right use of music, and of play with choral performance, is something like this? We rejoice when we think we're doing well, and whenever we rejoice, we think in turn that we're doing well? Isn't that so?

CLINIAS οὕτω μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS It is.

2 Isis was an Egyptian goddess.

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ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν ἔν γε τῷ τοιούτῳ, χαίροντες, ἡσυχίαν οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄγειν.

ATHENIAN And in that state, rejoicing, we can't keep still.

CLINIAS ἔστι ταῦτα.

CLINIAS That's so.

657d ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐχ ἡμῶν οἱ μὲν νέοι αὐτοὶ χορεύειν ἕτοιμοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν ἐκείνους αὖ θεωροῦντες διάγειν ἡγούμεθα πρεπόντως, χαίροντες τῇ ἐκείνων παιδιᾷ τε καὶ ἑορτάσει, ἐπειδὴ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς ἐλαφρὸν ἐκλείπει νῦν, ὃ ποθοῦντες καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι τίθεμεν οὕτως ἀγῶνας τοῖς δυναμένοις ἡμᾶς ὅτι μάλιστ' εἰς τὴν νεότητα μνήμῃ ἐπεγείρειν;

ATHENIAN Now aren't our young people ready to dance themselves, while we older ones think it fitting to pass our time watching them, enjoying their play and festivity, now that our own nimbleness is leaving us? Missing it and cherishing it, we set up contests for those best able to reawaken us, through memory, to our youth.

CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα.

CLINIAS Very true.

ATHENIAN μῶν οὖν οἰόμεθα καὶ κομιδῇ μάτην τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον 657e λόγον περὶ τῶν ἑορταζόντων λέγειν τοὺς πολλούς, ὅτι τοῦτον δεῖ σοφώτατον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ κρίνειν νικᾶν, ὃς ἂν ἡμᾶς εὐφραίνεσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπεργάζηται; δεῖ γὰρ δή, ἐπείπερ ἀφείμεθά γε παίζειν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, τὸν πλείστους καὶ μάλιστα χαίρειν ποιοῦντα, τοῦτον μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαί τε, καὶ ὅπερ εἶπον νυνδή, τὰ νικητήρια φέρειν. 658a ἆρ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεταί τε τοῦτο καὶ πράττοιτ' ἄν, εἰ ταύτῃ γίγνοιτο;

ATHENIAN But, my good friend, let's not judge such a thing hastily. Let's divide it into its parts and look at it in some such way as this. Suppose someone set up a contest, just like that, without specifying whether it was athletic or musical or equestrian, but gathered everyone in the city and announced, offering prizes, that anyone who wished should come and compete in giving pleasure, 658b and nothing else; and that whoever delighted the spectators most, with no rules as to how, and did this better than anyone, and was judged the most pleasing of the competitors, should win. What do we think would come of this proclamation?

658a CLINIAS τάχ' ἄν.

CLINIAS Perhaps.

ATHENIAN ἀλλ', ὦ μακάριε, μὴ ταχὺ τὸ τοιοῦτον κρίνωμεν, ἀλλὰ διαιροῦντες αὐτὸ κατὰ μέρη σκοπώμεθα τοιῷδέ τινι τρόπῳ· τί ἄν, εἴ ποτέ τις οὕτως ἁπλῶς ἀγῶνα θείη ὁντινοῦν, μηδὲν ἀφορίσας μήτε γυμνικὸν μήτε μουσικὸν μήθ' ἱππικόν, ἀλλὰ πάντας συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει προείποι, θεὶς νικητήρια, τὸν βουλόμενον ἥκειν ἀγωνιούμενον ἡδονῆς πέρι 658b μόνον, ὃς δ' ἂν τέρψῃ τοὺς θεατὰς μάλιστα, μηδὲν ἐπιταττόμενος ᾧτινι τρόπῳ, νικήσῃ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ κριθῇ τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων ἥδιστος γεγονέναι—τί ποτ' ἂν ἡγούμεθα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προρρήσεως συμβαίνειν;

658b CLINIAS τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;

CLINIAS In what respect?

ATHENIAN εἰκός που τὸν μέν τινα ἐπιδεικνύναι, καθάπερ Ὅμηρος, ῥαψῳδίαν, ἄλλον δὲ κιθαρῳδίαν, τὸν δέ τινα τραγῳδίαν, τὸν δ' αὖ κωμῳδίαν, οὐ θαυμαστὸν δὲ εἴ τις καὶ 658c θαύματα ἐπιδεικνὺς μάλιστ' ἂν νικᾶν ἡγοῖτο· τούτων δὴ τοιούτων καὶ ἑτέρων ἀγωνιστῶν μυρίων ἐλθόντων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τίς ἂν νικῷ δικαίως;

ATHENIAN Probably one would present an epic recitation, as Homer did, another a song to the lyre, one a tragedy, another a comedy; and it wouldn't be surprising if someone 658c thought he'd have the best chance of winning with a puppet show. When these and countless other competit-

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		ors turned up, could we say who would rightly win?[3]
658c	CLINIAS ἄτοπον ἤρου· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀποκρίνοιτό σοι τοῦτο ὡς γνοὺς ἄν ποτε πρὶν ἀκοῦσαί τε, καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἑκάστων αὐτήκοος αὐτὸς γενέσθαι;	CLINIAS A strange question. Who could answer that as if he knew, before he'd heard them and listened to each of the contestants with his own ears?
	ATHENIAN τί οὖν δή; βούλεσθε ἐγὼ σφῷν τὴν ἄτοπον ἀπόκρισιν ταύτην ἀποκρίνωμαι;	ATHENIAN Well then, do you two want me to give you the strange answer?
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	CLINIAS Certainly.
	ATHENIAN εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τὰ πάνυ σμικρὰ κρίνοι παιδία, κρινοῦσιν τὸν τὰ θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύντα· ἦ γάρ;	ATHENIAN If the very small children were the judges, they'll pick the one presenting the puppet show, won't they?
658d	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	CLINIAS Of course.
	ATHENIAN ἐὰν δέ γ' οἱ μείζους παῖδες, τὸν τὰς κωμῳδίας· τραγῳδίαν δὲ αἵ τε πεπαιδευμέναι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ νέα μειράκια καὶ σχεδὸν ἴσως τὸ πλῆθος πάντων.	ATHENIAN And if the older children, the one with the comedies. Tragedy will be chosen by educated women, young men, and perhaps pretty much the majority of everyone.
	CLINIAS ἴσως δῆτα.	CLINIAS Perhaps so.
	ATHENIAN ῥαψῳδὸν δέ, καλῶς Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἤ τι τῶν Ἡσιοδείων διατιθέντα, τάχ' ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ἥδιστα ἀκούσαντες νικᾶν ἂν φαῖμεν πάμπολυ. τίς οὖν ὀρθῶς ἂν νενικηκὼς εἴη; τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦτο· ἦ γάρ;	ATHENIAN But a rhapsode giving a fine performance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, or something of Hesiod's—we old men would probably enjoy hearing him most and declare him the winner by a long way. So who would rightly be the winner? That's the next question, isn't it?
	CLINIAS ναί.	CLINIAS Yes.
658e	ATHENIAN δῆλον ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν φάναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἡλικιωτῶν κριθέντας ὀρθῶς ἂν νικᾶν. τὸ γὰρ ἔθος ἡμῖν τῶν νῦν δὴ πάμπολυ δοκεῖ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἁπάσαις καὶ πανταχοῦ βέλτιστον γίγνεσθαι.	ATHENIAN Clearly you and I have to say that those chosen by men of our age would rightly win. For our taste seems to us by far the best of any now found in cities anywhere.
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	CLINIAS Certainly.
	ATHENIAN συγχωρῶ δὴ τό γε τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐγὼ τοῖς πολλοῖς, δεῖν τὴν μουσικὴν ἡδονῇ κρίνεσθαι, μὴ μέντοι τῶν γε ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐκείνην εἶναι Μοῦσαν καλλίστην ἥτις τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ ἱκανῶς πεπαιδευμένους τέρπει, μάλιστα 659a δὲ ἥτις ἕνα τὸν ἀρετῇ τε καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντα· διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρετῆς φαμεν δεῖσθαι τοὺς τούτων κριτάς, ὅτι τῆς τε ἄλλης μετόχους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δεῖ φρονήσεως καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας.	ATHENIAN Then I too grant the many this much: music should be judged by pleasure—but not the pleasure of just anyone. Rather, the finest Muse is pretty much the one that delights the best and adequately educated, and above all 659a the one that delights the one man who excels in virtue and education. That's why we say the judges of these things need virtue: they must have a share of wisdom in general, and of courage in particular.

3 Epic poetry was performed by rhapsodes, professional reciters of Homer and other poets.

GREEK

659a οὔτε γὰρ παρὰ θεάτρου δεῖ τόν γε ἀληθῆ κριτὴν κρίνειν μανθάνοντα, καὶ ἐκπληττόμενον ὑπὸ θορύβου τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαιδευσίας, οὔτ' αὖ γιγνώσκοντα δι' ἀνανδρίαν καὶ δειλίαν ἐκ ταὐτοῦ στόματος οὗπερ τοὺς θεοὺς 659b ἐπεκαλέσατο μέλλων κρίνειν, ἐκ τούτου ψευδόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι ῥᾳθύμως τὴν κρίσιν· οὐ γὰρ μαθητὴς ἀλλὰ διδάσκαλος, ὥς γε τὸ δίκαιον, θεατῶν μᾶλλον ὁ κριτὴς καθίζει, καὶ ἐναντιωσόμενος τοῖς τὴν ἡδονὴν μὴ προσηκόντως μηδὲ ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδοῦσι θεαταῖς.

659b ἐξῆν γὰρ δὴ τῷ παλαιῷ τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῷ νόμῳ, οὐ καθάπερ ὁ Σικελικός τε καὶ Ἰταλικὸς νόμος νῦν, τῷ πλήθει τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιτρέπων καὶ τὸν νικῶντα διακρίνων χειροτονίαις, διέφθαρκε μὲν τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτούς 659c —πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν κριτῶν ἡδονὴν ποιοῦσιν οὖσαν φαύλην, ὥστε αὐτοὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ θεαταὶ παιδεύουσιν —διέφθαρκεν δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεάτρου τὰς ἡδονάς· δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ βελτίω τῶν αὑτῶν ἠθῶν ἀκούοντας βελτίω τὴν ἡδονὴν ἴσχειν, νῦν αὐτοῖς δρῶσιν πᾶν τοὐναντίον συμβαίνει. τί ποτ' οὖν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν αὖ διαπερανθέντα τῷ λόγῳ σημαίνειν βούλεται; σκοπεῖσθ' εἰ τόδε.

659c **CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον;

ATHENIAN δοκεῖ μοι τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ὁ λόγος εἰς ταὐτὸν 659d περιφερόμενος ἥκειν, ὡς ἄρα παιδεία μέν ἐσθ' ἡ παίδων ὁλκή τε καὶ ἀγωγὴ πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ὀρθὸν εἰρημένον, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις καὶ πρεσβυτάτοις δι' ἐμπειρίαν συνδεδογμένον ὡς ὄντως ὀρθός ἐστιν· ἵν' οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ παιδὸς μὴ ἐναντία χαίρειν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐθίζηται τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου πεπεισμένοις, ἀλλὰ συνέπηται χαίρουσά τε καὶ λυπουμένη τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις οἵσπερ ὁ 659e γέρων, τούτων ἕνεκα, ἃς ᾠδὰς καλοῦμεν, ὄντως μὲν ἐπῳδαὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὗται νῦν γεγονέναι, πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἣν λέγομεν συμφωνίαν ἐσπουδασμέναι, διὰ δὲ τὸ σπουδὴν μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχάς, παιδιαί τε καὶ ᾠδαὶ καλεῖσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι, καθάπερ τοῖς κάμνουσίν τε καὶ ἀσθενῶς ἴσχουσιν τὰ σώματα ἐν ἠδέσι τισὶν σιτίοις καὶ 660a πώμασι τὴν χρηστὴν πειρῶνται τροφὴν προσφέρειν οἷς μέλει τούτων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐν ἀηδέσιν, ἵνα τὴν μὲν ἀσπάζωνται, τὴν δὲ μισεῖν ὀρθῶς ἐθίζωνται.

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For the true judge mustn't judge by taking his lessons from the audience, cowed by the uproar of the crowd and his own lack of education; nor, when he knows better, should he lazily give a false verdict out of cowardice and lack of nerve, with the same mouth with which he called on the gods 659b before judging. For the judge takes his seat not as a pupil of the spectators but, rightly speaking, as their teacher, to oppose those who give the spectators pleasure in a way that is neither fitting nor right.

The old Greek law allowed this—unlike the Sicilian and Italian law of today, which, by handing the matter over to the mass of spectators and deciding the winner by show of hands, has corrupted the poets themselves 659c (for they compose to suit the judges' pleasure, which is base, so that the spectators end up educating themselves), and has also corrupted the pleasures of the audience. They ought always to be hearing about characters better than their own and so to get a better kind of pleasure, but as it is, by what they do, just the opposite happens. So what is the point of what our argument has now concluded? See if it's this.[4]

CLINIAS What?

ATHENIAN It seems to me that for the third or fourth time our argument has come round 659d to the same point: that education is the drawing and leading of children toward the principle declared right by the law and agreed, from experience, by the most reasonable and oldest to be truly right. So that the child's soul may not grow used to feeling pleasure and pain contrary to the law and to those the law has persuaded, but may follow along, pleased and pained by the same things as the 659e old man—for this reason what we call songs have now become, in truth, incantations for souls, earnestly designed to produce the harmony we're speaking of. But because the souls of the young can't bear earnestness, they're called play and songs and treated as such. It's just as with people who are ill and in poor bodily health: those who look after them try to give them wholesome nourishment in pleasant foods and 660a drinks, and harmful nourishment in unpleasant ones, so that

4 Sicily and southern Italy were home to many Greek cities.

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they'll welcome the one and rightly grow used to hating the other.[5]

660a ταὐτὸν δὴ καὶ τὸν ποιητικὸν ὁ ὀρθὸς νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ ἐπαινετοῖς πείσει τε, καὶ ἀναγκάσει μὴ πείθων, τὰ τῶν σωφρόνων τε καὶ ἀνδρείων καὶ πάντως ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔν τε ῥυθμοῖς σχήματα καὶ ἐν ἁρμονίαισιν μέλη ποιοῦντα ὀρθῶς ποιεῖν.

In the same way the right lawgiver will persuade the poet—and compel him, if he can't persuade him—to compose rightly in his fine and praiseworthy words, representing the postures of moderate, brave and wholly good men in his rhythms, and their melodies in his harmonies.

660b **CLINIAS** νῦν οὖν οὕτω δοκοῦσίν σοι, πρὸς Διός, ὦ ξένε, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καθ' ὅσον αἰσθάνομαι, πλὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἃ σὺ νῦν λέγεις οὐκ οἶδα πραττόμενα, καινὰ δὲ ἄττα ἀεὶ γιγνόμενα περί τε τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην μουσικὴν σύμπασαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμων μεταβαλλόμενα ἀλλ' ὑπό τινων ἀτάκτων ἡδονῶν, πολλοῦ δεουσῶν τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ κατὰ ταὐτά, ὡς [660c] σὺ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀφερμηνεύεις, ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε τῶν αὐτῶν.

CLINIAS Well, by Zeus, stranger, do you think that's how they compose now in other cities? As far as I can see, apart from us and the Spartans, I don't know of what you're describing being practiced anywhere. Instead there are always novelties in dancing and all the rest of music, changed not by laws but by some disorderly pleasures, which are very far from staying the same and constant, as [660c] you explain they do in Egypt—they're never the same.

660c **ATHENIAN** ἄριστά γ', ὦ Κλεινία. εἰ δ' ἔδοξά σοι ἃ σὺ λέγεις λέγειν ὡς νῦν γιγνόμενα, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ μὴ σαφῶς λέγων ἃ διανοοῦμαι τοῦτο ἐποίησα καὶ ἔπαθον· ἀλλ' ἃ βούλομαι γίγνεσθαι περὶ μουσικήν, τοιαῦτ' ἄττα εἶπον ἴσως ὥστε σοὶ δόξαι ταῦτα ἐμὲ λέγειν. λοιδορεῖν γὰρ πράγματα ἀνίατα καὶ πόρρω προβεβηκότα ἁμαρτίας οὐδαμῶς ἡδύ, [660d] ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐνίοτέ ἐστιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα συνδοκεῖ καὶ σοί, φέρε, φῂς παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖσδε μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν γίγνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα;

ATHENIAN Excellent, Clinias. If I seemed to you to be describing what you mention as what happens now, I wouldn't be surprised if that came of my not saying clearly what I mean. I was speaking of what I want to happen in music, and perhaps I put it in such a way that you thought I meant that. For railing against things that are incurable and have gone far astray is never pleasant, [660d] though it's sometimes necessary. But since you share this view, tell me: do you say such things happen among you and the Spartans here more than among the other Greeks?

660d **CLINIAS** τί μήν;

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN τί δ' εἰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις γίγνοιθ' οὕτω; πότερον αὐτὰ καλλιόνως οὕτως εἶναι φαῖμεν ἂν ἢ καθάπερ νῦν γίγνεται γιγνόμενα;

ATHENIAN And what if they happened that way among the others too? Would we say things would be better that way than as they happen now?

CLINIAS πολύ που τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ καθάπερ παρά τε τοῖσδε καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἔτι καθάπερ εἶπες σὺ νυνδὴ δεῖν εἶναι, γίγνοιτο.

CLINIAS Very much better, I should think, if they were done as they are among the Spartans and among us, and moreover as you said just now they ought to be.

THE JUST LIFE IS THE PLEASANTEST

The lawgiver should make poets and citizens teach that the just life is also the happiest and most pleasant.

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ATHENIAN φέρε δή, συνομολογησώμεθα τὰ νῦν. ἄλλο τι παρ' [660e] ὑμῖν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ καὶ μουσικῇ τὰ λεγόμενά

ATHENIAN Come, then, let's reach agreement on this for now. Among [660e] you, in all your education

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ἐστι τάδε; τοὺς ποιητὰς ἀναγκάζετε λέγειν ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὢν καὶ δίκαιος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακάριος, ἐάντε μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ἐάντε μικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενὴς ᾖ, καὶ ἐὰν πλουτῇ καὶ μή· ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα πλουτῇ μὲν Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα μᾶλλον, ᾖ δὲ ἄδικος, ἄθλιός τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνιαρῶς ζῇ.

660e καὶ "οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην," φησὶν ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς λέγει, "οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην," ὃς μὴ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πράττοι καὶ κτῷτο, καὶ δὴ [661a] "καὶ δηΐων" τοιοῦτος ὢν "ὀρέγοιτο ἐγγύθεν ἱστάμενος," ἄδικος δὲ ὢν μήτε τολμῷ "ὁρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα" μήτε νικῷ θέων "Θρηίκιον Βορέην," μήτε ἄλλο αὐτῷ μηδὲν τῶν λεγομένων ἀγαθῶν γίγνοιτο ποτε. τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμεν' ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται.

661a λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄριστον μὲν ὑγιαίνειν, δεύτερον δὲ κάλλος, τρίτον δὲ πλοῦτος, μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ ὀξὺ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ [661b] πάντα ὅσα ἔχεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων εὐαισθήτως ἔχειν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τυραννοῦντα ὅτι ἂν ἐπιθυμῇ, καὶ τὸ δὴ τέλος ἁπάσης μακαριότητος εἶναι τὸ πάντα ταῦτα κεκτημένον ἀθάνατον εἶναι γενόμενον ὅτι τάχιστα.

661b ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐγώ που τάδε λέγομεν, ὡς ταῦτά ἐστι σύμπαντα δικαίοις μὲν καὶ ὁσίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄριστα κτήματα, ἀδίκοις δὲ κάκιστα σύμπαντα, ἀρξάμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγιείας· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶν [661c] καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ζῆν μέγιστον μὲν κακὸν τὸν σύμπαντα χρόνον ἀθάνατον ὄντα καὶ κεκτημένον πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ πλὴν δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἁπάσης, ἔλαττον δέ, ἂν ὡς ὀλίγιστον ὁ τοιοῦτος χρόνον ἐπιζῴη. ταῦτα δὴ λέγειν, οἶμαι, τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ποιητάς, ἅπερ ἐγώ, πείσετε καὶ ἀναγκάσετε, καὶ ἔτι τούτοις ἑπομένους ῥυθμούς τε καὶ ἁρμονίας ἀποδιδόντας παιδεύειν οὕτω τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν. ἦ γάρ; ὁρᾶτε.

661c ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ λέγω [661d] σαφῶς τὰ μὲν κακὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις κακά, τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ὄντως ἀγαθά, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακά· ὅπερ οὖν ἠρόμην, ἆρα συμφωνοῦμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἢ πῶς;

661d **CLINIAS** τὰ μὲν ἔμοιγε φαινόμεθά πως, τὰ δ' οὐδαμῶς.

ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν ὑγίειάν τε κεκτημένον καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τυραννίδα διὰ τέλους—καὶ ἔτι προστίθημι ὑμῖν ἰσχὺν

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and music, isn't this what's said? You compel the poets to say that the good man, being moderate and just, is happy and blessed, whether he's big and strong or small and weak, rich or not; but if he's richer than Cinyras and Midas yet unjust, he's wretched and lives in misery.[6]

And your poet says, if he speaks rightly, "I would neither mention nor hold in any account a man" who did not do and possess all the so-called fine things with justice; and that such a man, [661a] if just, should "reach for the enemy, standing close," but if unjust, may he neither dare "to look on bloody slaughter," nor outrun "Thracian Boreas" in the race, nor ever have any other of the so-called goods. For what the many call goods aren't rightly so called.[7]

It's said that health is best, beauty second, and wealth third; and countless other goods are named: sharp sight and hearing, and [661b] keenness in all the senses; being a tyrant and doing whatever one desires; and, as the crowning end of all blessedness, possessing all these and becoming immortal as quickly as possible.

But you and I, I take it, say this: all these things are the best of possessions for just and holy men, but for the unjust they're all the worst, beginning with health. And seeing [661c] and hearing and perceiving, and simply living, are the greatest evil for someone who is immortal for all time and has all the so-called goods except justice and virtue as a whole, and a lesser evil the shorter the time such a man survives. This, I think, is what you'll persuade and compel your poets to say, as I do, and also to set rhythms and harmonies to it and educate our young that way. Isn't that so? Consider.

For I say [661d] plainly that the so-called evils are good for the unjust and bad for the just, and that the goods are truly good for the good but bad for the bad. So, as I asked: do you and I agree, or what?

CLINIAS In some respects we seem to, I think, but in others not at all.

ATHENIAN Take a man who has health and wealth and absolute power his whole life long—

5 A pun in the Greek: *ōidai* (songs) and *epōidai* (incantations, charms).
6 Cinyras, a legendary king of Cyprus, and Midas, king of Phrygia, were proverbial for their wealth.
7 The phrases adapt Tyrtaeus (see Book 1); Boreas is the north wind.

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	διαφέρουσαν [661e] καὶ ἀνδρείαν μετ' ἀθανασίας, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο αὐτῷ τῶν λεγομένων κακῶν εἶναι γιγνόμενον—ἀδικίαν δὲ καὶ ὕβριν ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῷ μόνον, τὸν οὕτω ζῶντα ἴσως ὑμᾶς οὐ πείθω μὴ οὐκ ἄρα εὐδαίμονα ἀλλ' ἄθλιον γίγνεσθαι σαφῶς;	and I'll add for you outstanding strength [661e] and courage, along with immortality, and none of the so-called evils ever befalling him—but who has injustice and arrogance within him, and only that. Perhaps I'm failing to persuade you that a man living like that is plainly not happy but wretched?
661e	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** That's very true.
	ATHENIAN εἶεν· τί οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεών; ἀνδρεῖος γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ καλὸς καὶ πλούσιος, καὶ [662a] ποιῶν ὅτιπερ ἐπιθυμοῖ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα, οὐχ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, εἴπερ ἄδικος εἴη καὶ ὑβριστής, ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰσχρῶς ἂν ζῆν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως ἂν συγχωρήσαιτε, τό γε αἰσχρῶς;	**ATHENIAN** Very well. What should we say next? A man who is brave and strong and handsome and rich, and [662a] does whatever he desires all his life—if he were unjust and arrogant, don't you think he'd necessarily live shamefully? Or would you perhaps grant this much, at least: shamefully?
662a	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; τὸ καὶ κακῶς;	**ATHENIAN** And what about badly, too?
	CLINIAS οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τοῦθ' ὁμοίως.	**CLINIAS** We wouldn't grant that so readily.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; τὸ καὶ ἀηδῶς καὶ μὴ συμφερόντως αὐτῷ;	**ATHENIAN** And what about unpleasantly, and to his own disadvantage?
	CLINIAS καὶ πῶς ἂν ταῦτά γ' ἔτι συγχωροῖμεν;	**CLINIAS** And how could we grant that as well?
662b	**ATHENIAN** ὅπως; εἰ θεὸς ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ φίλοι, δοίη τις συμφωνίαν, ὡς νῦν γε σχεδὸν ἁπᾴδομεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δὴ φαίνεται ταῦτα οὕτως ἀναγκαῖα, ὡς οὐδέ, ὦ φίλε Κλεινία, Κρήτη νῆσος σαφῶς· καὶ νομοθέτης ὢν ταύτῃ πειρῴμην ἂν τούς τε ποιητὰς ἀναγκάζειν φθέγγεσθαι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ζημίαν τε ὀλίγου μεγίστην ἐπιτιθείην ἄν, εἴ τις ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φθέγξαιτο ὡς εἰσίν τινες [662c] ἄνθρωποί ποτε πονηροὶ μέν, ἡδέως δὲ ζῶντες, ἢ λυσιτελοῦντα μὲν ἄλλα ἐστὶ καὶ κερδαλέα, δικαιότερα δὲ ἄλλα, καὶ πόλλ' ἄττ' ἂν παρὰ τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα ὑπό τε Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ δήπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, διάφορα πείθοιμ' ἂν τοὺς πολίτας μοι φθέγγεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** How? Only if some god, it seems, my friends, would grant us harmony, since at present we're practically singing out of tune with each other. To me, my dear Clinias, these things seem as necessarily true as Crete is plainly an island. And if I were a lawgiver, I'd try to compel the poets and everyone in the city to speak accordingly; and I'd impose very nearly the greatest penalty on anyone in the land who said that some [662c] people are wicked but live pleasantly, or that some things are profitable and lucrative while others are more just. And there are many other things, different from what the Cretans and Spartans, it seems, and doubtless the rest of mankind now say, that I'd persuade my citizens to say.
662c	φέρε γάρ, ὦ πρὸς Διός τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὦ ἄριστοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰ τοὺς νομοθετήσαντας ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐροίμεθα θεούς· [662d] "ἆρ' ὁ δικαιότατός ἐστιν βίος ἥδιστος, ἢ δύ' ἐστόν τινε βίω, οἷν ὁ μὲν ἥδιστος ὢν τυγχάνει, δικαιότατος δ' ἕτερος;" εἰ δὴ δύο φαῖεν, ἐροίμεθ' ἂν ἴσως αὐτοὺς πάλιν, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς ἐπανερωτῷμεν· "ποτέρους δὲ εὐδαιμονεστέρους χρὴ λέγειν, τοὺς τὸν δικαιότατον ἢ τοὺς τὸν ἥδιστον διαβιοῦντας βίον;" εἰ μὲν δὴ φαῖεν τοὺς τὸν ἥδιστον, ἄτοπος αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος ἂν γίγνοιτο.	For come, in the name of Zeus and Apollo, best of men: suppose we asked these very gods who gave you your laws, [662d] "Is the most just life the most pleasant, or are there two lives, one of which happens to be the most pleasant and the other the most just?" If they said two, we'd perhaps ask them again, if we were questioning them properly, "Which should we call happier: those who live the most just life, or those who live the most pleas-

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662d βούλομαι δέ μοι μὴ ἐπὶ θεῶν λέγεσθαι τὸ [662e] τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πατέρων καὶ νομοθετῶν μᾶλλον, καί μοι τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἠρωτημένα πατέρα τε καὶ νομοθέτην ἠρωτήσθω, ὁ δ' εἰπέτω ὡς ὁ ζῶν τὸν ἥδιστον βίον ἐστὶν μακαριώτατος· εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην· "ὦ πάτερ, οὐχ ὡς εὐδαιμονέστατά με ἐβούλου ζῆν; ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διακελευόμενος οὐδὲν ἐπαύου ζῆν με ὡς δικαιότατα." ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν ὁ τιθέμενος εἴτε νομοθέτης εἴτε καὶ πατὴρ ἄτοπος ἂν οἶμαι καὶ ἄπορος φαίνοιτο τοῦ συμφωνούντως ἑαυτῷ λέγειν· εἰ δ' αὖ τὸν δικαιότατον εὐδαιμονέστατον ἀποφαίνοιτο βίον εἶναι, ζητοῖ που πᾶς ἂν ὁ ἀκούων, οἶμαι, τί ποτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς [663a] κρεῖττον ἀγαθόν τε καὶ καλὸν ὁ νόμος ἐνὸν ἐπαινεῖ. τί γὰρ δὴ δικαίῳ χωριζόμενον ἡδονῆς ἀγαθὸν ἂν γίγνοιτο;

663a φέρε, κλέος τε καὶ ἔπαινος πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θεῶν ἆρ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν μὲν καὶ καλόν, ἀηδὲς δέ, δύσκλεια δὲ τἀναντία; ἥκιστα, ὦ φίλε νομοθέτα, φήσομεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε τινὰ ἀδικεῖν μήτε ὑπό τινος ἀδικεῖσθαι μῶν ἀηδὲς μέν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἢ καλόν, τὰ δ' ἕτερα ἡδέα μέν, αἰσχρὰ δὲ καὶ κακά;

CLINIAS καὶ πῶς;

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν μὴ χωρίζων λόγος ἡδύ τε καὶ δίκαιον [663b] καὶ ἀγαθόν τε καὶ καλὸν πιθανός γ', εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, πρὸς τό τινα ἐθέλειν ζῆν τὸν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον βίον, ὥστε νομοθέτῃ γε αἴσχιστος λόγων καὶ ἐναντιώτατος ὃς ἂν μὴ φῇ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἑκὼν ἐθέλοι πείθεσθαι πράττειν τοῦτο ὅτῳ μὴ τὸ χαίρειν τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι πλέον ἕπεται.

663b σκοτοδινιᾶν δὲ τὸ πόρρωθεν ὁρώμενον πᾶσίν τε ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ παρέχει, νομοθέτης εἰ μὴ δόξαν εἰς τοὐναντίον τούτου καταστήσει, τὸ σκότος [663c] ἀφελών, καὶ πείσει ἁμῶς γέ πως ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ λόγοις ὡς ἐσκιαγραφημένα τὰ δίκαιά ἐστι καὶ ἄδικα, τὰ μὲν ἄδικα τῷ τοῦ δικαίου ἐναντίως φαινόμενα, ἐκ μὲν ἀδίκου καὶ κακοῦ ἑαυτοῦ θεωρούμενα ἡδέα, τὰ δὲ δίκαια ἀηδέστατα, ἐκ δὲ δικαίου πάντα τἀναντία παντὶ πρὸς ἀμφότερα.

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ant?" If they said those who live the most pleasant, their answer would be absurd.[8]

But I'd rather not have such things said of gods, [662e] but of fathers and lawgivers instead. So let my earlier questions be put to a father and lawgiver, and let him say that the man who lives the most pleasant life is most blessed. Then I would say to him: "Father, didn't you want me to live as happily as possible? Yet you never stopped urging me to live as justly as possible." Put that way, I think, whoever laid it down, lawgiver or father, would seem absurd and at a loss to speak consistently with himself. But if instead he declared the most just life the happiest, everyone who heard him would ask, I think, what good and fine thing, [663a] better than pleasure, the law is praising as present in it. For what good could a just man have that is cut off from pleasure?

Come: is fame and praise from men and gods good and fine but unpleasant, and ill fame the opposite? Not in the least, dear lawgiver, we'll say. Or is neither wronging anyone nor being wronged by anyone unpleasant but good or fine, while the opposite is pleasant but shameful and bad?

CLINIAS How could it be?

ATHENIAN So the account that doesn't separate the pleasant from the just [663b] and the good and fine is persuasive, if nothing else, in getting someone to want to live the holy and just life; so that for a lawgiver the most shameful and hostile of all accounts is one that denies these things are so. For no one would willingly be persuaded to do something that doesn't bring him more enjoyment than pain.

Seeing things from a distance makes nearly everyone dizzy, and children most of all—unless the lawgiver removes the darkness [663c] and establishes the opposite opinion, and persuades people somehow, by habits and praise and arguments, that just and unjust things are like shadow-paintings. The unjust appear the opposite of the just: viewed from the standpoint of the unjust and bad man, they look pleasant and the just things most unpleasant, while viewed from the just man's standpoint everything looks the opposite, in every respect, on both sides.[9]

8 Cretans traced their laws to Zeus, and Spartans theirs to Apollo, through his oracle at Delphi.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
663c	**CLINIAS** φαίνεται.	**CLINIAS** It appears so.
	ATHENIAN τὴν δ' ἀλήθειαν τῆς κρίσεως ποτέραν κυριωτέραν εἶναι φῶμεν; πότερα τὴν τῆς χείρονος ψυχῆς ἢ τὴν τῆς βελτίονος;	**ATHENIAN** Which judgment shall we say has the more authoritative claim to truth: that of the worse soul or that of the better?
663d	**CLINIAS** ἀναγκαῖόν που τὴν τῆς ἀμείνονος.	**CLINIAS** That of the better, necessarily.
	ATHENIAN ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὸν ἄδικον βίον οὐ μόνον αἰσχίω καὶ μοχθηρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀηδέστερον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου τε εἶναι καὶ ὁσίου βίου.	**ATHENIAN** Then necessarily the unjust life is not only more shameful and more wretched than the just and holy life, but in truth more unpleasant as well.
	CLINIAS κινδυνεύει κατά γε τὸν νῦν λόγον, ὦ φίλοι.	**CLINIAS** It looks that way, at least by our present argument, my friends.
	ATHENIAN νομοθέτης δὲ οὖ τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν οὕτως ἔχον, ὡς καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ ᾔρηχ' ὁ λόγος ἔχειν, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐτόλμησεν ἂν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ψεύδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ἔστιν ὅτι τούτου ψεῦδος λυσιτελέστερον ἂν 663e ἐψεύσατό ποτε καὶ δυνάμενον μᾶλλον ποιεῖν μὴ βίᾳ ἀλλ' ἑκόντας πάντας πάντα τὰ δίκαια;	**ATHENIAN** But even if this weren't so, as the argument has now proved it is, could a lawgiver worth anything at all—if he ever dared to lie to the young for their good—have told a lie more profitable than this, 663e or more able to make everyone do everything just, not by force but willingly?
663e	**CLINIAS** καλὸν μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὦ ξένε, καὶ μόνιμον· ἔοικε μὴν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι πείθειν.	**CLINIAS** Truth is a fine thing, stranger, and lasting; but it doesn't seem easy to persuade people of it.
	ATHENIAN εἶεν· τὸ μὲν τοῦ Σιδωνίου μυθολόγημα ῥᾴδιον ἐγένετο πείθειν, οὕτως ἀπίθανον ὄν, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία;	**ATHENIAN** Well, the Sidonian's tale was easy to persuade people of, implausible as it was—and countless others.
	CLINIAS ποῖα;	**CLINIAS** Which?
	ATHENIAN τὸ σπαρέντων ποτὲ ὀδόντων ὁπλίτας ἐξ αὐτῶν φῦναι. καίτοι μέγα γ' ἐστὶ νομοθέτῃ παράδειγμα τοῦ 664a πείσειν ὅτι ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ τις πείθειν τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχάς, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸν δεῖ σκοποῦντα ἀνευρίσκειν ἢ τί πείσας μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσαιτο ἂν πόλιν, τούτου δὲ πέρι πᾶσαν μηχανὴν εὑρίσκειν ὅντινά ποτε τρόπον ἡ τοιαύτη συνοικία πᾶσα περὶ τούτων ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα φθέγγοιτ' ἀεὶ διὰ βίου παντὸς ἔν τε ᾠδαῖς καὶ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις. εἰ δ' οὖν ἄλλῃ πῃ δοκεῖ ἢ ταύτῃ, πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδεὶς φθόνος ἀμφισβητῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ.	**ATHENIAN** That once upon a time teeth were sown and armed men sprang up from them. And yet this is a great example for the lawgiver that 664a the souls of the young can be persuaded of anything one tries to persuade them of. So all he need do is look for and discover what belief would do a city the greatest good, and find every means to ensure that such a community, as a whole, says one and the same thing about these matters as far as possible, always, all life long, in songs and stories and arguments. But if you see things otherwise, there's nothing to stop you disputing the argument.[10]
664b	**CLINIAS** ἀλλ' οὔ μοι φαίνεται πρός γε ταῦτα δύνασθαι ἡμῶν ἀμφισβητῆσαί ποτ' ἂν οὐδέτερος.	**CLINIAS** No, I don't think either of us could dispute it.

9 Shadow-painting was a technique of shading that gave an illusion of depth, most convincing when viewed from a distance.
10 The Phoenician Cadmus of Sidon, legendary founder of Thebes, sowed a dragon's teeth, from which armed men sprang.

THE THREE CHORUSES

Children, young men and older men each form a chorus; the oldest sing for Dionysus, helped by wine.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐμὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν. φημὶ γὰρ ἅπαντας δεῖν ἐπᾴδειν τρεῖς ὄντας τοὺς χοροὺς ἔτι νέαις οὔσαις ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ ἁπαλαῖς τῶν παίδων, τά τε ἄλλα καλὰ λέγοντας πάντα ὅσα διεληλύθαμέν τε καὶ ἔτι διέλθοιμεν ἄν, τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν τοῦτο ἔστω· τὸν αὐτὸν ἥδιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ὑπὸ θεῶν βίον λέγεσθαι φάσκοντες, [664c] ἀληθέστατα ἐροῦμεν ἅμα, καὶ μᾶλλον πείσομεν οὓς δεῖ πείθειν ἢ ἐὰν ἄλλως πως φθεγγώμεθα λέγοντες.	ATHENIAN Then it would be my turn to say what comes next. I say that all three of our choruses must sing their charms over the souls of the children while they're still young and tender, saying all the other fine things we've gone through and may still go through; but let the sum of it be this: that the same life is declared by the gods to be both most pleasant and best. In saying this [664c] we'll be saying what is most true, and at the same time we'll persuade those we need to persuade better than if we put it any other way.
664c	CLINIAS συγχωρητέον ἃ λέγεις.	CLINIAS I have to grant what you say.
	ATHENIAN πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ὁ Μουσῶν χορὸς ὁ παιδικὸς ὀρθότατ' ἂν εἰσίοι πρῶτος τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τὸ μέσον ᾄσόμενος ἁπάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, τόν τε Παιᾶνα ἐπικαλούμενος μάρτυρα τῶν λεγομένων ἀληθείας πέρι καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἵλεων μετὰ πειθοῦς [664d] γίγνεσθαι ἐπευχόμενος. δεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἔτι τρίτους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη μέχρι τῶν ἑξήκοντα γεγονότας ᾄδειν· τοὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα—οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δυνατοὶ φέρειν ᾠδάς—μυθολόγους περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠθῶν διὰ θείας φήμης καταλελεῖφθαι.	ATHENIAN First, then, the Muses' chorus of children would most properly come on first, to sing these things publicly with all earnestness to the whole city. Second would come the chorus of those up to thirty years old, calling on Paean to witness the truth of what they say, and praying that he be gracious to the young and [664d] win them over. Then there must be a third group to sing as well, those over thirty up to sixty. Those past that age—since they can no longer carry a song—are left to tell stories about these same characters, by divine utterance.[11]
664d	CLINIAS λέγεις δέ, ὦ ξένε, τίνας τούτους τοὺς χοροὺς τοὺς τρίτους; οὐ γὰρ πάνυ συνίεμεν σαφῶς ὅτι ποτὲ βούλει φράζειν αὐτῶν πέρι.	CLINIAS And who are these third choruses you mean, stranger? We don't quite see clearly what you're trying to say about them.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν εἰσίν γε οὗτοι σχεδὸν ὧν χάριν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθησαν λόγων.	ATHENIAN Well, they're pretty much the ones for whose sake most of what we said earlier was said.
664e	CLINIAS οὔπω μεμαθήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι σαφέστερον πειρῶ φράζειν.	CLINIAS We still haven't understood. Try to explain it even more clearly.
	ATHENIAN εἴπομεν, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων, ὡς ἡ φύσις ἁπάντων τῶν νέων διάπυρος οὖσα ἡσυχίαν οὐχ οἵα τε ἄγειν οὔτε κατὰ τὸ σῶμα οὔτε κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν εἴη, φθέγγοιτο δ' ἀεὶ ἀτάκτως καὶ πηδῷ, τάξεως δ' αἴσθησιν τούτων ἀμφοτέρων, τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ζῴων οὐδὲν ἐφάπτοιτο, ἡ δὲ ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἔχοι μόνη τοῦτο· τῇ δὴ τῆς κινήσεως [665a] τάξει ῥυθμὸς ὄνομα εἴη, τῇ δὲ αὖ τῆς φωνῆς, τοῦ τε ὀξέος ἅμα καὶ βαρέος συγκεραννυμένων, ἁρμονία ὄνομα προσαγορεύοιτο,	ATHENIAN At the beginning of our discussion, if we remember, we said that the nature of all the young is fiery and can't keep still, either in body or in voice, but is always making disorderly noises and leaping about; and that no other animal has any sense of order in either of these, but human nature alone has it. Order in movement [665a] has the name rhythm, while order in the voice, where

11 Paean: the Healer, a title of Apollo, to whom paeans (hymns of thanksgiving and deliverance) were sung.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	χορεία δὲ τὸ συναμφότερον κληθείη. θεοὺς δὲ ἔφαμεν ἐλεοῦντας ἡμᾶς συγχορευτάς τε καὶ χορηγοὺς ἡμῖν δεδωκέναι τόν τε Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ μούσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίτον ἔφαμεν, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, Διόνυσον.	high and low are blended together, is called harmony, and the two together are called choral performance. And we said that the gods, taking pity on us, had given us Apollo and the Muses as our fellow dancers and chorus leaders—and a third as well, we said, if we remember: Dionysus.
665a	**CLINIAS** πῶς δ' οὐ μεμνήμεθα;	**CLINIAS** Of course we remember.
	ATHENIAN ὁ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν [665b] χορὸς εἴρηνται, τὸν δὲ τρίτον καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χορὸν ἀνάγκη τοῦ Διονύσου λέγεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** Well, the chorus of Apollo and the Muses [665b] has been discussed. The third and remaining chorus must be said to be the chorus of Dionysus.
665b	**CLINIAS** πῶς δή; λέγε· μάλα γὰρ ἄτοπος γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὥς γε ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσαντι Διονύσου πρεσβυτῶν χορός, εἰ ἄρα οἱ ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντήκοντα δὲ γεγονότες ἔτη μέχρι ἑξήκοντα αὐτῷ χορεύσουσιν.	**CLINIAS** How so? Explain. A chorus of old men for Dionysus would sound very strange, at least to someone hearing of it for the first time—if men over thirty, and even over fifty, up to sixty, are really going to dance for him.
	ATHENIAN ἀληθέστατα μέντοι λέγεις. λόγου δὴ δεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα οἶμαι, ὅπῃ τοῦτο εὔλογον οὕτω γιγνόμενον ἂν γίγνοιτο.	**ATHENIAN** That's very true. So an argument is needed on this point, I think, to show how this would be reasonable if it happened.
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν ἡμῖν τά γε ἔμπροσθεν ὁμολογεῖται;	**ATHENIAN** Well, do we agree about what came before?
665c	**CLINIAS** τοῦ πέρι;	**CLINIAS** About what?
	ATHENIAN τὸ δεῖν πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα, ἐλεύθερον καὶ δοῦλον, θῆλύν τε καὶ ἄρρενα, καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει ὅλην τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν αὑτῇ ἐπᾴδουσαν μὴ παύεσθαί ποτε ταῦτα ἃ διεληλύθαμεν, ἁμῶς γέ πως ἀεὶ μεταβαλλόμενα καὶ πάντως παρεχόμενα ποικιλίαν, ὥστε ἀπληστίαν εἶναί τινα τῶν ὕμνων τοῖς ᾄδουσιν καὶ ἡδονήν.	**ATHENIAN** That every man and child, free and slave, female and male—the whole city, singing to the whole city—must never stop chanting to itself the things we've gone through, like a charm, always varying them in one way or another and giving them every kind of diversity, so that the singers feel an insatiable appetite for the hymns and pleasure in them.
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῖτ' ἂν δεῖν ταῦτα οὕτω πράττεσθαι;	**CLINIAS** How could anyone not agree that this is how things should be done?
665d	**ATHENIAN** ποῦ δὴ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν τὸ ἄριστον τῆς πόλεως, ἡλικίαις τε καὶ ἅμα φρονήσεσιν πιθανώτατον ὂν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ᾄδον τὰ κάλλιστα μέγιστ' ἂν ἐξεργάζοιτο ἀγαθά; ἢ τοῦτο ἀνοήτως οὕτως ἀφήσομεν, ὃ κυριώτατον ἂν εἴη τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτων ᾠδῶν;	**ATHENIAN** Then where would this best part of our city, which by age and wisdom alike is the most persuasive group in it, accomplish the greatest good by singing the finest songs? Or shall we be so foolish as to leave out the group that would have the most authority over the finest and most beneficial songs?
	CLINIAS ἀλλὰ ἀδύνατον τὸ μεθιέναι, ὥς γε τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα.	**CLINIAS** No, leaving it out is impossible, given what we're now saying.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN πῶς οὖν πρέπον ἂν εἴη τοῦτο; ὁρᾶτε εἰ τῇδε.	**ATHENIAN** Then how could this be done fittingly? See if it would work like this.
	CLINIAS πῇ δή;	**CLINIAS** Like what?
	ATHENIAN πᾶς που γιγνόμενος πρεσβύτερος ὄκνου πρὸς τὰς [665e] ᾠδὰς μεστός, καὶ χαίρει τε ἧττον πράττων τοῦτο καὶ ἀνάγκης γιγνομένης αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ πρεσβύτερος καὶ σωφρονέστερος γίγνεται, τόσῳ μᾶλλον. ἆρ' οὐχ οὕτως;	**ATHENIAN** Everyone, surely, as he grows older, becomes full of reluctance about [665e] singing. He takes less pleasure in doing it, and if he's made to do it he'd feel more embarrassed—and the older and more moderate he becomes, the more so. Isn't that right?
665e	**CLINIAS** οὕτω μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** It is.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἐν θεάτρῳ γε καὶ παντοίοις ἀνθρώποις ᾄδειν ἑστὼς ὀρθὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον αἰσχύνοιτ' ἄν· καὶ ταῦτά γ' εἰ καθάπερ οἱ περὶ νίκης χοροὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι πεφωνασκηκότες ἰσχνοί τε καὶ ἄσιτοι ἀναγκάζοιντο ᾄδειν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, παντάπασίν που ἀηδῶς τε καὶ αἰσχυντηλῶς ᾄδοντες ἀπροθύμως ἂν τοῦτ' ἐργάζοιντο;	**ATHENIAN** Then he'd be even more embarrassed to stand up and sing in a theater in front of all kinds of people. And if men like this were forced to sing like the choruses that compete for victory, lean and hungry from voice training, wouldn't they do it with no enthusiasm, singing without pleasure and with a lot of embarrassment?
666a	**CLINIAS** ἀναγκαιότατα μέντοι λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** That follows absolutely.
	ATHENIAN πῶς οὖν αὐτοὺς παραμυθησόμεθα προθύμους εἶναι πρὸς τὰς ᾠδάς; ἆρ' οὐ νομοθετήσομεν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς παῖδας μέχρι ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὸ παράπαν οἴνου μὴ γεύεσθαι, διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐ χρὴ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχετεύειν εἴς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, πρὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους ἐγχειρεῖν πορεύεσθαι, τὴν ἐμμανῆ εὐλαβουμένους ἕξιν τῶν νέων· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἴνου μὲν δὴ γεύεσθαι τοῦ μετρίου μέχρι [666b] τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, μέθης δὲ καὶ πολυοινίας τὸ παράπαν τὸν νέον ἀπέχεσθαι· τετταράκοντα δὲ ἐπιβαίνοντα ἐτῶν, ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις εὐωχηθέντα, καλεῖν τούς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσον παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τελετὴν ἅμα καὶ παιδιάν, ἣν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπίκουρον τῆς τοῦ γήρως αὐστηρότητος ἐδωρήσατο τὸν οἶνον φάρμακον, ὥστε ἀνηβᾶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ δυσθυμίας λήθῃ γίγνεσθαι μαλακώτερον ἐκ [666c] σκληροτέρου τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος, καθάπερ εἰς πῦρ σίδηρον ἐντεθέντα γιγνόμενον, καὶ οὕτως εὐπλαστότερον εἶναι;	**ATHENIAN** How, then, shall we encourage them to be eager to sing? Won't we make a law, first, that children up to eighteen must not taste wine at all? We'll teach them that one mustn't channel fire onto fire, into both body and soul, before setting out to undertake one's labors, and so guard against the frenzied disposition of the young. After that, a young man may taste wine in moderation up to [666b] thirty, but must keep entirely away from drunkenness and heavy drinking. And when he reaches forty, after feasting at the common meals, he may call on the other gods, and in particular invite Dionysus to the rite and recreation of the older men, which the god gave to human beings, in the form of wine, as a remedy against the harshness of old age. By it we grow young again, and through forgetting our low spirits the character of the soul becomes softer instead of [666c] harder, as iron does when put into the fire, and so easier to mold. Isn't that so?
666c	πρῶτον μὲν δὴ διατεθεὶς οὕτως ἕκαστος ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοι προθυμότερόν γε, ἧττον αἰσχυνόμενος, οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς ἀλλὰ ἐν μετρίοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις ἀλλ' ἐν οἰκείοις, ᾄδειν τε καὶ ὃ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν ἐπᾴδειν;	First of all, wouldn't each man in that condition be more willing and less embarrassed to sing—not in front of many people but a moderate number, and not among strangers but among his own—and to chant the charms we've so often spoken of?
	CLINIAS καὶ πολύ γε.	**CLINIAS** Much more willing.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN εἰς μέν γε τὸ προάγειν τοίνυν αὐτοὺς μετέχειν ἡμῖν ᾠδῆς οὗτος ὁ τρόπος οὐκ ἂν παντάπασιν ἀσχήμων [666d] γίγνοιτο.	**ATHENIAN** As a way of leading them on to take part in our singing, then, this method would hardly be [666d] unseemly at all.
666d	**CLINIAS** οὐδαμῶς.	**CLINIAS** Not at all.
	ATHENIAN ποίαν δὲ ᾄσουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες φωνήν; ἢ μοῦσαν ἢ δῆλον ὅτι πρέπουσαν αὐτοῖς δεῖ γέ τινα;	**ATHENIAN** But what kind of song will the men sing? What music? Obviously it has to be one that suits them, doesn't it?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τίς ἂν οὖν πρέποι θείοις ἀνδράσιν; ἆρ' ἂν ἡ τῶν χορῶν;	**ATHENIAN** What would suit godlike men, then? Would the choral kind?
	CLINIAS ἡμεῖς γοῦν, ὦ ξένε, καὶ οἵδε οὐκ ἄλλην ἄν τινα δυναίμεθα ᾠδὴν ἢ ἣν ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐμάθομεν συνήθεις ᾄδειν γενόμενοι.	**CLINIAS** Well, stranger, Megillus here and I, at any rate, couldn't sing any other song than the one we learned in the choruses and got used to singing.
	ATHENIAN εἰκότως γε· ὄντως γὰρ οὐκ ἐπήβολοι γεγόνατε τῆς [666e] καλλίστης ᾠδῆς. στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἄστεσι κατῳκηκότων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀθρόους πώλους ἐν ἀγέλῃ νεμομένους φορβάδας τοὺς νέους κέκτησθε· λαβὼν δ' ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν αὑτοῦ, παρὰ τῶν συννόμων σπάσας σφόδρα ἀγριαίνοντα καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντα, ἱπποκόμον τε ἐπέστησεν ἰδίᾳ καὶ παιδεύει ψήχων τε καὶ ἡμερῶν, καὶ πάντα προσήκοντα ἀποδιδοὺς τῇ παιδοτροφίᾳ ὅθεν οὐ μόνον ἀγαθὸς [667a] ἂν στρατιώτης εἴη, πόλιν δὲ καὶ ἄστη δυνάμενος διοικεῖν, ὃν δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἴπομεν τῶν Τυρταίου πολεμικῶν εἶναι πολεμικώτερον, τέταρτον ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὴν ἀνδρείαν κτῆμα τιμῶντα ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ, ἰδιώταις τε καὶ συμπάσῃ πόλει.	**ATHENIAN** Naturally. The fact is, you've never gotten hold of the [666e] finest song. Your constitution is that of an army camp, not of people settled in cities. You keep your young men in a herd, like colts grazing together in a drove. Not one of you takes his own colt, drags it away from its herdmates—however wild and resentful it gets—sets a private groom over it, and educates it, grooming and taming it and giving it everything that belongs to the rearing of a child. That way it would become not only a good [667a] soldier but someone able to manage a city and towns—the man we said at the beginning is more of a warrior than Tyrtaeus' warriors, since always and everywhere, in private individuals and the whole city alike, he values courage as the fourth possession of virtue, not the first.
667a	**CLINIAS** οὐκ οἶδα ἡμῶν, ὦ ξένε, ὅπῃ πάλιν αὖ τοὺς νομοθέτας φαυλίζεις.	**CLINIAS** I don't know how it is, stranger, that you're belittling our lawgivers yet again.
	ATHENIAN οὐκ, ὠγαθέ, προσέχων τούτῳ τὸν νοῦν δρῶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ· ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος ὅπῃ φέρει, ταύτῃ πορευώμεθα, εἰ βούλεσθε. εἰ γὰρ ἔχομεν μοῦσαν τῆς τῶν χορῶν καλλίω καὶ [667b] τῆς ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς θεάτροις, πειρώμεθα ἀποδοῦναι τούτοις οὕς φαμεν ἐκείνην μὲν αἰσχύνεσθαι, ζητεῖν δέ, ἥτις καλλίστη, ταύτης κοινωνεῖν.	**ATHENIAN** If I'm doing that, my good friend, it isn't because I'm intent on it. Let's go wherever the argument carries us, if you're willing. If we have music finer than that of the choruses and [667b] of the public theaters, let's try to offer it to these men who, we say, are embarrassed by that kind but are looking for the finest kind to share in.
667b	**CLINIAS** πάνυ γε.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν δεῖ τόδε γε ὑπάρχειν ἅπασιν ὅσοις συμπαρέπεταί τις χάρις, ἢ τοῦτο αὐτὸ μόνον	**ATHENIAN** Well, first, mustn't this hold of everything that has some charm attached to it:

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αὐτοῦ τὸ σπουδαιότατον εἶναι, ἤ τινα ὀρθότητα, ἢ τὸ τρίτον ὠφελίαν; οἷον δὴ λέγω ἐδωδῇ μὲν καὶ πόσει καὶ συμπάσῃ τροφῇ παρέπεσθαι μὲν τὴν χάριν, ἣν ἡδονὴν ἂν προσείποιμεν· ἣν [667c] δὲ ὀρθότητά τε καὶ ὠφελίαν, ὅπερ ὑγιεινὸν τῶν προσφερομένων λέγομεν ἑκάστοτε, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ὀρθότατον.

667c **CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν καὶ τῇ μαθήσει παρακολουθεῖν μὲν τό γε τῆς χάριτος, τὴν ἡδονήν, τὴν δὲ ὀρθότητα καὶ τὴν ὠφελίαν καὶ τὸ εὖ καὶ τὸ καλῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἶναι τὴν ἀποτελοῦσαν.

CLINIAS ἔστιν οὕτως.

ATHENIAN τί δὲ τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐργασίᾳ ὅσαι τέχναι εἰκαστικαί; [667d] ἆρ' οὐκ, ἂν τοῦτο ἐξεργάζωνται, τὸ μὲν ἡδονὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι παρεπόμενον, ἐὰν γίγνηται, χάριν αὐτὸ δικαιότατον ἂν εἴη προσαγορεύειν;

667d **CLINIAS** ναί.

ATHENIAN τὴν δέ γε ὀρθότητά που τῶν τοιούτων ἡ ἰσότης ἄν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν, ἐξεργάζοιτο τοῦ τε τοσούτου καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου πρότερον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡδονή.

CLINIAS καλῶς.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἡδονῇ κρίνοιτ' ἂν μόνον ἐκεῖνο ὀρθῶς, ὃ μήτε τινὰ ὠφελίαν μήτε ἀλήθειαν μήτε ὁμοιότητα ἀπεργαζόμενον [667e] παρέχεται, μηδ' αὖ γε βλάβην, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τούτου μόνου ἕνεκα γίγνοιτο τοῦ συμπαρεπομένου τοῖς ἄλλοις, τῆς χάριτος, ἣν δὴ κάλλιστά τις ὀνομάσαι ἂν ἡδονήν, ὅταν μηδὲν αὐτῇ τούτων ἑπακολουθῇ;

667e **CLINIAS** ἀβλαβῆ λέγεις ἡδονὴν μόνον.

ATHENIAN ναί, καὶ παιδιάν γε εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην λέγω τότε, ὅταν μήτε τι βλάπτῃ μήτε ὠφελῇ σπουδῆς ἢ λόγου ἄξιον.

CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐ πᾶσαν μίμησιν φαῖμεν ἂν ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἥκιστα ἡδονῇ προσήκειν κρίνεσθαι καὶ δόξῃ μὴ [668a] ἀληθεῖ—καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶσαν ἰσότητα· οὐ γὰρ εἴ τῳ δοκεῖ ἢ μή τις χαίρει τῳ, τό γε ἴσον ἴσον οὐδὲ τὸ

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that its most important feature is either this charm alone, or some kind of correctness, or, third, benefit? I mean, for example, that eating and drinking and nourishment in general have charm attached to them, which we'd call pleasure. But [667c] as for their correctness and benefit, what we call the healthiness of what's served on each occasion is exactly that, and is what is most correct in them.

CLINIAS Absolutely.

ATHENIAN And learning, too, is accompanied by the element of charm, pleasure; but what produces its correctness and benefit, its goodness and fineness, is truth.

CLINIAS That's so.

ATHENIAN What about the arts of image-making, which produce likenesses? [667d] If they accomplish this, wouldn't it be most just to call the pleasure that arises in them as an accompaniment, if it does arise, charm?

CLINIAS Yes.

ATHENIAN But the correctness of such things would be produced, broadly speaking, by equality —in size and in quality—rather than by pleasure.

CLINIAS Well put.

ATHENIAN Then wouldn't the only thing correctly judged by pleasure be what produces neither any benefit nor truth nor likeness, [667e] nor again any harm, but comes about solely for the sake of what accompanies the others—the charm, which one could best call pleasure when none of these things follows along with it?

CLINIAS You mean harmless pleasure only.

ATHENIAN Yes, and I call this same thing play, too, when it does neither harm nor good worth taking seriously or talking about.

CLINIAS Very true.

ATHENIAN So wouldn't we say, on the basis of what we're saying now, that no imitation should be judged by pleasure or by untrue [668a] opinion—nor, of course, any equality either? For what is equal isn't equal, nor is what is proportionate pro-

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	σύμμετρον ἂν εἴη σύμμετρον ὅλως—ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀληθεῖ πάντων μάλιστα, ἥκιστα δὲ ὁτῳοῦν ἄλλῳ;	portionate at all, because someone thinks so or because someone enjoys it. It should be judged by truth above all, and by nothing else whatever.
668a	**CLINIAS** παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Absolutely.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν μουσικήν γε πᾶσάν φαμεν εἰκαστικήν τε εἶναι καὶ μιμητικήν;	**ATHENIAN** Now we say that all music is image-making and imitative, don't we?
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN ἥκιστ' ἄρα ὅταν τις μουσικὴν ἡδονῇ φῇ κρίνεσθαι, τοῦτον ἀποδεκτέον τὸν λόγον, καὶ ζητητέον ἥκιστα ταύτην 668b ὡς σπουδαίαν, εἴ τις ἄρα που καὶ γίγνοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἔχουσαν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῷ τοῦ καλοῦ μιμήματι.	**ATHENIAN** So when anyone says music is judged by pleasure, we should least of all accept his claim, and least of all should we seek out that kind 668b as serious music, if there ever is any such thing. We should seek the kind that has likeness to its model in imitating the beautiful.
668b	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
	ATHENIAN καὶ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς τὴν καλλίστην ᾠδήν τε ζητοῦσι καὶ μοῦσαν ζητητέον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἥτις ἡδεῖα ἀλλ' ἥτις ὀρθή· μιμήσεως γὰρ ἦν, ὥς φαμεν, ὀρθότης, εἰ τὸ μιμηθὲν ὅσον τε καὶ οἷον ἦν ἀποτελοῖτο.	**ATHENIAN** And so these men who are looking for the finest song and music must look, it seems, not for music that is pleasant but for music that is correct. For the correctness of imitation, as we say, lay in rendering the thing imitated as it was, in size and in quality.
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε πᾶς ἂν ὁμολογοῖ περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὅτι πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτήν ἐστιν ποιήματα μίμησίς τε 668c καὶ ἀπεικασία· καὶ τοῦτό γε μῶν οὐκ ἂν σύμπαντες ὁμολογοῖεν ποιηταί τε καὶ ἀκροαταὶ καὶ ὑποκριταί;	**ATHENIAN** And everyone would agree about music, at any rate, that all its compositions are imitation 668c and representation. Wouldn't all poets, audiences and actors agree on this?
668c	**CLINIAS** καὶ μάλα.	**CLINIAS** They certainly would.
	ATHENIAN δεῖ δὴ καθ' ἕκαστόν γε, ὡς ἔοικε, γιγνώσκειν τῶν ποιημάτων ὅτι ποτ' ἐστὶν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐν αὐτῷ μὴ ἁμαρτήσεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ γιγνώσκων τὴν οὐσίαν, τί ποτε βούλεται καὶ ὅτου ποτ' ἐστὶν εἰκὼν ὄντως, σχολῇ τήν γε ὀρθότητα τῆς βουλήσεως ἢ καὶ ἁμαρτίαν αὐτοῦ διαγνώσεται.	**ATHENIAN** Then it seems that anyone who isn't going to go wrong about each composition has to know what it is. For if he doesn't know its essence —what it means and what it is actually an image of —he'll hardly be able to tell whether its intention is correct or mistaken.
	CLINIAS σχολῇ· πῶς δ' οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Hardly. Of course not.
668d	**ATHENIAN** ὁ δὲ τὸ ὀρθῶς μὴ γιγνώσκων ἆρ' ἄν ποτε τό γε εὖ καὶ τὸ κακῶς δυνατὸς εἴη διαγνῶναι; λέγω δὲ οὐ πάνυ σαφῶς, ἀλλ' ὧδε σαφέστερον ἴσως ἂν λεχθείη.	**ATHENIAN** And would someone who doesn't know what is correct ever be able to tell what is good and what is bad? But I'm not putting this very clearly; maybe it can be put more clearly like this.
	CLINIAS πῶς;	**CLINIAS** How?
	ATHENIAN εἰσὶν δήπου κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἡμῖν ἀπεικασίαι μυρίαι.	**ATHENIAN** There are, of course, countless likenesses that address our sight.

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CLINIAS ναί.

CLINIAS Yes.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν εἴ τις καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγνοοῖ τῶν μεμιμημένων ὅτι ποτ᾽ ἐστὶν ἕκαστον τῶν σωμάτων; ἆρ᾽ ἄν ποτε τό γε ὀρθῶς αὐτῶν εἰργασμένον γνοίη; λέγω δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε, οἷον τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἑκάστων τῶν μερῶν 668e τὰς θέσεις εἰ ἔχει, ὅσοι τέ εἰσιν καὶ ὁποῖα παρ᾽ ὁποῖα αὐτῶν κείμενα τὴν προσήκουσαν τάξιν ἀπείληφεν—καὶ ἔτι δὴ χρώματά τε καὶ σχήματα—ἢ πάντα ταῦτα τεταραγμένως εἴργασται· μῶν δοκεῖ ταῦτ᾽ ἄν ποτε διαγνῶναί τις τὸ παράπαν ἀγνοῶν ὅτι ποτ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ μεμιμημένον ζῷον;

ATHENIAN Well then, what if someone, here too, didn't know what each of the imitated bodies is? Would he ever know whether it had been made correctly? I mean something like this: whether it has the right numbers of the body, and the positions of each of the parts, 668e how many there are and which lie next to which in their proper order—and also colors and shapes—or whether all these have been made in a muddle. Do you think anyone could ever tell these things if he had no idea at all what the creature imitated was?

668e **CLINIAS** καὶ πῶς;

CLINIAS How could he?

ATHENIAN τί δ᾽ εἰ γιγνώσκοιμεν ὅτι τὸ γεγραμμένον ἢ τὸ πεπλασμένον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὰ μέρη πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ 669a καὶ χρώματα ἅμα καὶ σχήματα ἀπείληφεν ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης; ἆρά γε ἀναγκαῖον ἤδη τῷ ταῦτα γνόντι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἑτοίμως γιγνώσκειν, εἴτε καλὸν εἴτε ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐλλιπὲς ἂν εἴη κάλλους;

ATHENIAN And what if we knew that the thing painted or sculpted was a human being, and that the art had given it all its own parts 669a and its colors and shapes as well? Is it then necessary that anyone who knows this will also be ready to know the other thing, whether it's beautiful, or in what respect it may fall short of beauty?

669a **CLINIAS** πάντες μεντἂν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὦ ξένε, τὰ καλὰ τῶν ζῴων ἐγιγνώσκομεν.

CLINIAS If so, stranger, practically all of us would know which living things are beautiful.

ATHENIAN ὀρθότατα λέγεις. ἆρ᾽ οὖν οὐ περὶ ἑκάστην εἰκόνα, καὶ ἐν γραφικῇ καὶ ἐν μουσικῇ καὶ πάντῃ, τὸν μέλλοντα ἔμφρονα κριτὴν ἔσεσθαι δεῖ ταῦτα τρία ἔχειν, ὅ τέ ἐστι 669b πρῶτον γιγνώσκειν, ἔπειτα ὡς ὀρθῶς, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς εὖ, τὸ τρίτον, εἴργασται τῶν εἰκόνων ἡτισοῦν ῥήμασί τε καὶ μέλεσι καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς;

ATHENIAN Quite right. Then with regard to every image—in painting, in music, everywhere—mustn't anyone who's going to be a sensible judge have these three things? He must know, first, 669b what it is; next, how correctly; and third, how well any given image has been made in words, melodies and rhythms.

669b **CLINIAS** ἔοικε γοῦν.

CLINIAS So it seems, at any rate.

ATHENIAN μὴ τοίνυν ἀπείπωμεν λέγοντες τὸ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ᾗ χαλεπόν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑμνεῖται περὶ αὐτὴν διαφερόντως ἢ τὰς ἄλλας εἰκόνας, εὐλαβείας δὴ δεῖται πλείστης πασῶν εἰκόνων. ἁμαρτών τε γάρ τις μέγιστ᾽ ἂν βλάπτοιτο, 669c ἥθη κακὰ φιλοφρονούμενος, χαλεπώτατόν τε αἰσθέσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ποιητὰς φαυλοτέρους εἶναι ποιητὰς αὐτῶν τῶν Μουσῶν.

ATHENIAN Then let's not give up on saying what's difficult about music. It is celebrated far more than other kinds of images, and so it needs the greatest caution of all. Someone who goes wrong here would be very greatly harmed, 669c since he'd be taking bad characters to his heart; and the error is very hard to detect, because our poets are worse poets than the Muses themselves.

669c οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖναί γε ἐξαμάρτοιέν ποτε τοσοῦτον ὥστε ῥήματα ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασαι τὸ χρῶμα γυναικῶν καὶ μέλος ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ μέλος ἐλευθέρων αὖ καὶ σχήματα συνθεῖσαι ῥυθμοὺς δούλων καὶ ἀνελευθέρων προσαρμόττειν, οὐδ᾽ αὖ ῥυθμοὺς καὶ σχῆμα ἐλευθέριον ὑποθεῖσαι μέλος ἢ λόγον ἐναντίον ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς

The Muses would never go so wrong as to compose words for men and then give them the coloring and melody of women; or to put together melody and postures for free men and then fit on the rhythms of slaves and unfree people; or again, after laying down rhythms and posture fit for free

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ῥυθμοῖς, ἔτι δὲ θηρίων φωνὰς [669d] καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὀργάνων καὶ πάντας ψόφους εἰς ταὐτὸν οὐκ ἄν ποτε συνθεῖεν, ὡς ἕν τι μιμούμεναι· ποιηταὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπινοι σφόδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπλέκοντες καὶ συγκυκῶντες ἀλόγως, γέλωτ' ἂν παρασκευάζοιεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσους φησὶν Ὀρφεὺς λαχεῖν ὥραν τῆς τέρψιος.

669d ταῦτά γε γὰρ ὁρῶσι πάντα κυκώμενα, καὶ ἔτι διασπῶσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ ῥυθμὸν μὲν καὶ σχήματα μέλους χωρίς, λόγους ψιλοὺς εἰς μέτρα [669e] τιθέντες, μέλος δ' αὖ καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἄνευ ῥημάτων, ψιλῇ κιθαρίσει τε καὶ αὐλήσει προσχρώμενοι, ἐν οἷς δὴ παγχάλεπον ἄνευ λόγου γιγνόμενον ῥυθμόν τε καὶ ἁρμονίαν γιγνώσκειν ὅτι τε βούλεται καὶ ὅτῳ ἔοικε τῶν ἀξιολόγων μιμημάτων· ἀλλὰ ὑπολαβεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτόν γε πολλῆς ἀγροικίας μεστὸν πᾶν, ὁπόσον τάχους τε καὶ ἁπταισίας καὶ φωνῆς θηριώδους σφόδρα φίλον ὥστ' αὐλήσει γε χρῆσθαι καὶ [670a] κιθαρίσει πλὴν ὅσον ὑπὸ ὄρχησίν τε καὶ ᾠδήν, ψιλῷ δ' ἑκατέρῳ πᾶσά τις ἀμουσία καὶ θαυματουργία γίγνοιτ' ἂν τῆς χρήσεως.

670a ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει ταύτῃ λόγον· ἡμεῖς δέ γε οὐχ ὅτι μὴ δεῖ ταῖς Μούσαις ἡμῶν προσχρῆσθαι τοὺς ἤδη τριακοντούτας καὶ τῶν πεντήκοντα πέραν γεγονότας σκοπούμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ποτὲ δεῖ. τόδε μὲν οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν δοκεῖ μοι σημαίνειν ἤδη, τῆς γε χορικῆς Μούσης ὅτι πεπαιδεῦσθαι [670b] δεῖ βέλτιον τοὺς πεντηκοντούτας ὅσοισπερ ἂν ᾄδειν προσήκῃ. τῶν γὰρ ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν εὐαισθήτως ἔχειν καὶ γιγνώσκειν· ἢ πῶς τις τὴν ὀρθότητα γνώσεται τῶν μελῶν, ᾧ προσῆκεν ἢ μὴ προσῆκεν τοῦ δωριστί, καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ ὃν ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτῷ προσῆψεν, ὀρθῶς ἢ μή;

670b **CLINIAS** δῆλον ὡς οὐδαμῶς.

ATHENIAN γελοῖος γὰρ ὅ γε πολὺς ὄχλος ἡγούμενος ἱκανῶς γιγνώσκειν τό τε εὐάρμοστον καὶ εὔρυθμον καὶ μή, ὅσοι προσᾴδειν αὐτῶν καὶ βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ γεγόνασι διηναγκασμένοι, [670c] ὅτι δὲ δρῶσιν ταῦτα ἀγνοοῦντες αὐτῶν ἕκαστα, οὐ συλλογίζονται. τὸ δέ που προσήκοντα μὲν ἔχον πᾶν μέλος ὀρθῶς ἔχει, μὴ προσήκοντα δὲ ἡμαρτημένως.

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men, to give them a melody or words at odds with those rhythms. Nor would they ever combine the cries of beasts [669d] and of humans and the sounds of instruments and every kind of noise into one, as if they were imitating a single thing. But human poets weave and jumble such things together senselessly, and they would make themselves a laughingstock to all those who, as Orpheus says, have received "the bloom of delight."[12]

For these people see all this being jumbled together. What's more, the poets tear rhythm and posture apart from melody, setting bare words into meter, [669e] and melody and rhythm apart from words, using unaccompanied lyre and pipe. In these it's extremely hard to tell what the rhythm and harmony, arising without words, are trying to say, and which worthwhile imitation they resemble. We must take it that everything of this kind is full of great crudeness—everything so fond of speed, faultless technique and animal noises that it uses the pipe and [670a] the lyre other than to accompany dance and song. Using either of them on its own is thoroughly unmusical showmanship.

That's the reasoning on these matters. But what we're considering isn't how our men, those already thirty and those past fifty, should not make use of the Muses, but how they should. From all this, I think, our argument already indicates that the fifty-year-olds, all who are suited to sing, must have an education [670b] better than choral music provides. For they must have a keen perception and knowledge of rhythms and harmonies. Otherwise how will anyone know the correctness of melodies—which ones the Dorian mode suits and which it doesn't—and whether the poet has fitted the right rhythm to it or not?[13]

CLINIAS Obviously he can't.

ATHENIAN The great mass of people are ridiculous in thinking they know well enough what is harmonious and rhythmical and what isn't—all those who have been drilled into singing along and marching in rhythm. [670c] They don't reckon with the fact that they do these things without understanding any of them. But every melody,

12 Orpheus: legendary singer and poet; poems circulating under his name were used in religious rites.
13 The Dorian mode: one of the Greek musical scales, associated with a steady, manly character.

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surely, is correct when it has what suits it and faulty when it doesn't.

670c **CLINIAS** ἀναγκαιότατα.

CLINIAS Necessarily.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν ὁ μηδ' ὅτι ποτ' ἔχει γιγνώσκων; ἆρα, ὅπερ εἴπομεν, ὡς ὀρθῶς γε αὐτὸ ἔχει, γνώσεταί ποτε ἐν ὁτῳοῦν;

ATHENIAN What about someone who doesn't even know what it has? Will he ever, as we said, know that it's correct, in any case whatever?

CLINIAS καὶ τίς μηχανή;

CLINIAS How could he?

ATHENIAN τοῦτ' οὖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνευρίσκομεν αὖ τὰ νῦν, ὅτι τοῖς ᾠδοῖς ἡμῖν, οὓς νῦν παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ ἑκόντας τινὰ [670d] τρόπον ἀναγκάζομεν ᾄδειν, μέχρι γε τοσούτου πεπαιδεῦσθαι σχεδὸν ἀναγκαῖον, μέχρι τοῦ δυνατὸν εἶναι συνακολουθεῖν ἕκαστον ταῖς τε βάσεσιν τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ ταῖς χορδαῖς ταῖς τῶν μελῶν, ἵνα καθορῶντες τάς τε ἁρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς, ἐκλέγεσθαί τε τὰ προσήκοντα οἷοί τ' ὦσιν ἃ τοῖς τηλικούτοις τε καὶ τοιούτοις ᾄδειν πρέπον, καὶ οὕτως ᾄδωσιν, καὶ ᾄδοντες αὐτοί τε ἡδονὰς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀσινεῖς ἥδωνται καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις [670e] ἡγεμόνες ἠθῶν χρηστῶν ἀσπασμοῦ προσήκοντος γίγνωνται· μέχρι δὲ τοσούτου παιδευθέντες ἀκριβεστέραν ἂν παιδείαν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος φερούσης εἶεν μετακεχειρισμένοι καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτούς.

ATHENIAN So it seems that we're now discovering, once again, that our singers—the ones we're now calling on and in a way [670d] compelling to sing of their own accord—must be educated at least this far: each of them must be able to follow the steps of the rhythms and the notes of the melodies. That way, seeing clearly into harmonies and rhythms, they can pick out the ones that are fitting for men of their age and character to sing, and sing them that way; and in singing, they themselves enjoy harmless pleasures in the moment, and become leaders for the younger ones [670e] in welcoming good characters as they should. Educated this far, they would have acquired an education more exact than the one that reaches the general public, and even than that of the poets themselves.

670e τὸ γὰρ τρίτον οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη ποιητῇ γιγνώσκειν, εἴτε καλὸν εἴτε μὴ καλὸν τὸ μίμημα, τὸ δὲ ἁρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ σχεδὸν ἀνάγκη, τοῖς δὲ πάντα τὰ τρία τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ δευτέρου, ἢ [671a] μηδέποτε ἱκανὸν ἐπῳδὸν γίγνεσθαι νέοις πρὸς ἀρετήν. καὶ ὅπερ ὁ λόγος ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐβουλήθη, τὴν τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου χορῷ βοήθειαν ἐπιδεῖξαι καλῶς λεγομένην, εἰς δύναμιν εἴρηκεν· σκοπώμεθα δὴ εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτω γέγονεν. θορυβώδης μέν που ὁ σύλλογος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης προϊούσης τῆς πόσεως ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ συμβαίνει γιγνόμενος, ὅπερ ὑπεθέμεθα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι γίγνεσθαι περὶ τῶν νῦν [671b] λεγομένων.

For the poet has no need to know the third thing—whether the imitation is beautiful or not—though he more or less has to know about harmony and rhythm. But these men must know all three, in order to choose what is finest and what is second finest; [671a] otherwise they'll never be adequate enchanters of the young toward virtue. And what our argument set out to do at the start—to show that its defense of the chorus of Dionysus was a good one—it has now done as well as it could. Let's consider whether that's so. A gathering of this kind, surely, inevitably becomes more and more boisterous as the drinking goes on—which, we assumed at the start, is bound to happen with the gatherings we're now [671b] discussing.

671b **CLINIAS** ἀνάγκη.

CLINIAS It is bound to.

ATHENIAN πᾶς δέ γε αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ κουφότερος αἴρεται καὶ γέγηθέν τε καὶ παρρησίας ἐμπίμπλαται καὶ ἀνηκουστίας ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τῶν πέλας, ἄρχων δ' ἱκανὸς ἀξιοῖ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεγονέναι.

ATHENIAN Everyone is lifted up, lighter than his usual self; he's cheerful, full of outspokenness and, in that state, deaf to those around him, and he thinks himself fit to rule both himself and everyone else.

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CLINIAS τί μήν;

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἔφαμεν, ὅταν γίγνηται ταῦτα, καθάπερ τινὰ σίδηρον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πινόντων διαπύρους γιγνομένας μαλθακωτέρας γίγνεσθαι καὶ νεωτέρας, ὥστε εὐαγώγους 671c συμβαίνειν τῷ δυναμένῳ τε καὶ ἐπισταμένῳ παιδεύειν τε καὶ πλάττειν, καθάπερ ὅτ' ἦσαν νέαι; τοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὸν πλάστην τὸν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τότε, τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην, οὗ νόμους εἶναι δεῖ συμποτικούς, δυναμένους τὸν εὔελπιν καὶ θαρραλέον ἐκεῖνον γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀναισχυντότερον τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα τάξιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος σιγῆς καὶ λόγου καὶ πόσεως καὶ μούσης ὑπομένειν, ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν πάντα τούτοις τἀναντία, καὶ εἰσιόντι τῷ μὴ καλῷ θάρρει 671d τὸν κάλλιστον διαμαχόμενον φόβον εἰσπέμπειν οἵους τ' εἶναι μετὰ δίκης, ὃν αἰδῶ τε καὶ αἰσχύνην θεῖον φόβον ὠνομάκαμεν;

ATHENIAN Didn't we say that when this happens the drinkers' souls, like iron, grow fiery and become softer and younger, and so easy to lead 671c for someone who is able and knows how to educate and mold them, just as when they were young? And that this molder is the same as then, the good lawgiver? He must have laws for drinking parties—laws able to take the man who grows hopeful and bold and more shameless than he should, and who won't put up with order or with taking his turn at silence and speech, drinking and music, and make him willing to do the opposite of all this; laws able to send in against the ugly boldness as it enters 671d the finest fear, fighting on the side of justice—the divine fear we've named modesty and shame.

671d **CLINIAS** ἔστιν ταῦτα.

CLINIAS That's so.

ATHENIAN τούτων δέ γε τῶν νόμων εἶναι νομοφύλακας καὶ συνδημιουργοὺς αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀθορύβους καὶ νήφοντας τῶν μὴ νηφόντων στρατηγούς, ὧν δὴ χωρὶς μέθῃ διαμάχεσθαι δεινότερον ἢ πολεμίοις εἶναι μὴ μετὰ ἀρχόντων ἀθορύβων, καὶ τὸν αὖ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι τούτοις καὶ τοῖς 671e ἡγεμόσιν τοῖς τοῦ Διονύσου, τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονόσιν, ἴσην καὶ μείζω τὴν αἰσχύνην φέρειν ἢ τὸν τοῖς τοῦ Ἄρεως ἀπειθοῦντα ἄρχουσιν.

ATHENIAN And the guardians of these laws, working with them, should be the calm and sober, as generals of those who aren't sober. Without them, battling drunkenness is more dangerous than battling enemies without calm commanders. And anyone who can't bring himself to obey them and 671e Dionysus' commanders—the men over sixty—should bear as much disgrace as a man who disobeys the commanders of Ares, or more.

671e **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς.

CLINIAS Right.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν εἴ γε εἴη τοιαύτη μὲν μέθη, τοιαύτη δὲ παιδιά, μῶν οὐκ ὠφεληθέντες ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι συμπόται καὶ μᾶλλον φίλοι ἢ πρότερον ἀπαλλάττοιντο ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' οὐχ 672a ὥσπερ τὰ νῦν ἐχθροί, κατὰ νόμους δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν συνουσίαν συγγενόμενοι καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντες, ὁπότε ἀφηγοῖντο οἱ νήφοντες τοῖς μὴ νήφουσιν;

ATHENIAN So if drunkenness were like this, and play like this, wouldn't such drinking companions benefit, and part from one another better friends than before, and not 672a enemies, as they do now? For they would have spent the whole gathering in accordance with laws, and followed wherever the sober led those who aren't.

672a **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς, εἴ γε δὴ εἴη τοιαύτη οἵαν νῦν λέγεις.

CLINIAS Right, if it really were as you're describing it now.

THE GIFT OF DIONYSUS

Wine is a remedy given for modesty and health; the Athenian ends with strict limits on drinking.

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ATHENIAN μὴ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνό γ' ἔτι τῆς τοῦ Διονύσου δωρεᾶς ψέγωμεν ἁπλῶς, ὡς ἔστιν κακὴ καὶ εἰς πόλιν οὐκ ἀξία παραδέχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πλείω τις ἂν ἐπεξέλθοι

ATHENIAN Then let's no longer condemn that gift of Dionysus outright, as bad and not fit to be admitted into a city. In fact one could go on to say

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λέγων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ὃ δωρεῖται λέγειν μὲν ὄκνος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ κακῶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸ ὑπολαβεῖν [672b] καὶ γνῶναι λεχθέν.

672b **CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον δή;

ATHENIAN λόγος τις ἅμα καὶ φήμη ὑπορρεῖ πως ὡς ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρυᾶς Ἥρας διεφορήθη τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν γνώμην, διὸ τάς τε βακχείας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μανικὴν ἐμβάλλει χορείαν τιμωρούμενος· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐπὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δεδώρηται. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ἡγουμένοις εἶναι λέγειν περὶ θεῶν ἀφίημι λέγειν, τὸ δὲ τοσόνδε [672c] οἶδα, ὅτι πᾶν ζῷον, ὅσον αὐτῷ προσήκει νοῦν ἔχειν τελεωθέντι, τοῦτον καὶ τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ἔχον ποτὲ φύεται· ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ μήπω κέκτηται τὴν οἰκείαν φρόνησιν, πᾶν μαίνεταί τε καὶ βοᾷ ἀτάκτως, καὶ ὅταν ἀκταινώσῃ ἑαυτὸ τάχιστα, ἀτάκτως αὖ πηδᾷ. ἀναμνησθῶμεν δὲ ὅτι μουσικῆς τε καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἔφαμεν ἀρχὰς ταύτας εἶναι.

672c **CLINIAS** μεμνήμεθα· τί δ' οὔ;

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅτι τὴν ῥυθμοῦ τε καὶ ἁρμονίας αἴσθησιν [672d] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡμῖν ἐνδεδωκέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἔφαμεν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ μούσας καὶ Διόνυσον θεῶν αἰτίους γεγονέναι;

672d **CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ATHENIAN καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν οἶνόν γε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ τῶν ἄλλων λόγος, ἵνα μανῶμεν, φησὶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεδόσθαι· ὁ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενος ὑφ' ἡμῶν φάρμακον ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον φησὶν αἰδοῦς μὲν ψυχῆς κτήσεως ἕνεκα δεδόσθαι, σώματος δὲ ὑγιείας τε καὶ ἰσχύος.

CLINIAS κάλλιστα, ὦ ξένε, τὸν λόγον ἀπεμνημόνευκας.

672e **ATHENIAN** καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς χορείας ἡμίσεα διαπεπεράνθω· τὰ δ' ἡμίσεα, ὅπως ἂν ἔτι δοκῇ, περανοῦμεν ἢ καὶ ἐάσομεν.

CLINIAS ποῖα δὴ λέγεις, καὶ πῶς ἑκάτερα διαιρῶν;

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even more for it. The greatest good it confers, for instance, one hesitates to tell the general public, because people take it the wrong way [672b] and misunderstand it when they hear it.

672b **CLINIAS** What's that?

ATHENIAN There's a story, a kind of rumor, that trickles around somehow: that this god was robbed of his wits by his stepmother Hera, and that's why he sends Bacchic frenzies and all manic dancing on us, in revenge—and why he gave us wine, for this very purpose. I leave such things to be said by those who think it safe to say them about gods. But this much [672c] I know: no animal is ever born possessing the intelligence, or the amount of it, that it's meant to have when fully grown. During the time when it doesn't yet have its proper wisdom, every animal raves and cries out without any order, and as soon as it can get itself up, it leaps about without order again. And let's recall that we said these were the origins of music and gymnastics.[14]

672c **CLINIAS** We remember, of course.

ATHENIAN And also that we said this origin had given us humans the perception of rhythm and harmony, [672d] and that of the gods Apollo, the Muses and Dionysus were responsible for it?

672d **CLINIAS** Of course.

ATHENIAN And what's more, it seems, the other people's story says that wine was given to punish humankind, to drive us mad. But the one we're telling now says, on the contrary, that it's a remedy given so that the soul may acquire modesty, and the body health and strength.

CLINIAS You've recalled the argument beautifully, stranger.

672e **ATHENIAN** Let's consider half of choral performance completed, then. The other half we'll complete, or else leave aside, as we see fit.

CLINIAS What halves do you mean, and how are you dividing them?

ATHENIAN Choral performance as a whole, surely, was for us the whole of education. And one

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	ATHENIAN ὅλη μέν που χορεία ὅλη παίδευσις ἦν ἡμῖν, τούτου δ' αὖ τὸ μὲν ῥυθμοί τε καὶ ἁρμονίαι, τὸ κατὰ τὴν φωνήν.	part of it is rhythms and harmonies, the part belonging to the voice.
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN τὸ δέ γε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κίνησιν ῥυθμὸν μὲν κοινὸν τῇ τῆς φωνῆς εἶχε κινήσει, σχῆμα δὲ ἴδιον. 673a ἐκεῖ δὲ μέλος ἡ τῆς φωνῆς κίνησις.	**ATHENIAN** And the part belonging to the movement of the body had rhythm in common with the movement of the voice, but posture as its own. 673a In the other part, the movement of the voice was melody.
673a	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
	ATHENIAN τὰ μὲν τοίνυν τῆς φωνῆς μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν παιδείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅντινα τρόπον ὠνομάσαμεν μουσικήν.	**ATHENIAN** Now the part belonging to the voice, which reaches as far as the soul in education toward virtue, we somehow came to name music.
	CLINIAS ὀρθῶς μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Quite rightly.
	ATHENIAN τὰ δέ γε τοῦ σώματος, ἃ παιζόντων ὄρχησιν εἴπομεν, ἐὰν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀρετῆς ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις γίγνηται, τὴν ἔντεχνον ἀγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ γυμναστικὴν προσείπωμεν.	**ATHENIAN** And the part belonging to the body, which we called the dancing of creatures at play: when such movement extends to the virtue of the body, let's call the skilled training of the body toward that end gymnastics.
	CLINIAS ὀρθότατα.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
673b	**ATHENIAN** τὸ δὲ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὃ νυνδὴ σχεδὸν ἥμισυ διεληλυθέναι τῆς χορείας εἴπομεν καὶ διαπεπεράνθαι, καὶ νῦν οὕτως εἰρήσθω· τὸ δ' ἥμισυ λέγωμεν, ἢ πῶς καὶ πῇ ποιητέον;	**ATHENIAN** As for music, which we said just now was roughly half of choral performance, gone through and completed, let that stand as said for now. Shall we discuss the other half? Or how and in what way should we proceed?
	CLINIAS ὦ ἄριστε, Κρησὶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις διαλεγόμενος, μουσικῆς πέρι διελθόντων ἡμῶν, ἐλλειπόντων δὲ γυμναστικῆς, τί ποτε οἴει σοι πότερον ἡμῶν ἀποκρινεῖσθαι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐρώτησιν;	**CLINIAS** My excellent friend, you're talking with Cretans and Spartans. We've gone through music and have left gymnastics out. What answer do you suppose either of us will give you to that question?
	ATHENIAN ἀποκεκρίσθαι ἔγωγ' ἄν σε φαίην σχεδὸν ταῦτ' 673c ἐρόμενον σαφῶς, καὶ μανθάνω ὡς ἐρώτησις οὖσα αὕτη τὰ νῦν ἀπόκρισίς τέ ἐστιν, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ ἔτι πρόσταξις διαπεράνασθαι τὰ περὶ γυμναστικῆς.	**ATHENIAN** I'd say that by asking that you've pretty much given 673c a clear answer. I understand that this question of yours is at the moment an answer, as I said, and an order besides to complete the subject of gymnastics.
673c	**CLINIAS** ἄρισθ' ὑπέλαβές τε καὶ οὕτω δὴ ποίει.	**CLINIAS** You've understood perfectly. So go ahead.
	ATHENIAN ποιητέον· οὐδὲ γὰρ πάνυ χαλεπόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὑμῖν γε ἀμφοτέροις γνώριμα. πολὺ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ πλέον ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῃ μετέχετε.	**ATHENIAN** I must. And it isn't very hard to talk about things you both know well; you have far more experience of this art than of the other.

14 Dionysus was the son of Zeus by the mortal Semele, so Zeus's wife Hera was his stepmother and persecutor.

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CLINIAS σχεδὸν ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

CLINIAS That's about right.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν αὖ ταύτης ἀρχὴ μὲν τῆς παιδιᾶς τὸ κατὰ 673d φύσιν πηδᾶν εἰθίσθαι πᾶν ζῷον, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον, ὡς ἔφαμεν, αἴσθησιν λαβὸν τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ ἐγέννησέν τε ὄρχησιν καὶ ἔτεκεν, τοῦ δὲ μέλους ὑπομιμνήσκοντος καὶ ἐγείροντος τὸν ῥυθμόν, κοινωθέντ' ἀλλήλοις χορείαν καὶ παιδιὰν ἐτεκέτην.

ATHENIAN Well, the origin of this kind of play, too, is that every animal is by nature 673d given to leaping about. The human animal, as we said, got a sense of rhythm and gave birth to dance; and since melody reminded and awakened rhythm, the two joined together and gave birth to choral performance and play.

673d **CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα.

CLINIAS Very true.

ATHENIAN καὶ τὸ μέν, φαμέν, ἤδη διεληλύθαμεν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πειρασόμεθα ἐφεξῆς διελθεῖν.

ATHENIAN One part of it, we say, we've already gone through; the other we'll try to go through next.

CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῇ τῆς μέθης χρείᾳ τὸν κολοφῶνα 673e πρῶτον ἐπιθῶμεν, εἰ καὶ σφῷν συνδοκεῖ.

ATHENIAN But first let's put the finishing touch 673e on the use of drunkenness, if you both agree.

673e **CLINIAS** ποῖον δὴ καὶ τίνα λέγεις;

CLINIAS What finishing touch? What do you mean?

ATHENIAN εἰ μέν τις πόλις ὡς οὔσης σπουδῆς τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τῷ νῦν εἰρημένῳ χρήσεται μετὰ νόμων καὶ τάξεως, ὡς τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἕνεκα μελέτῃ χρωμένη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν μὴ ἀφέξεται ὡσαύτως καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, τοῦ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἕνεκα μηχανωμένη, τοῦτον μὲν τὸν τρόπον ἅπασι τούτοις χρηστέον·

ATHENIAN If a city is going to treat the practice we've just described as a serious matter and pursue it with laws and order, using it as training for the sake of moderation, and in the same way and on the same principle won't keep away from the other pleasures either, but will devise means of mastering them, then it should make use of all of them in this way.

εἰ δ' ὡς παιδιᾷ τε, καὶ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὅταν βούληται καὶ μεθ' ὧν ἂν 674a βούληται πίνειν μετ' ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὠντινωνοῦν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἂν τιθείμην ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς δεῖ ποτε μέθῃ χρῆσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων χρείας προσθείμην ἂν τῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νόμῳ, μηδέποτε μηδένα ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γεύεσθαι τούτου τοῦ πώματος, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίαις συγγίγνεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἅπαντα, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν μήτε δούλην μήτε δοῦλον γεύεσθαι μηδέποτε, μηδὲ ἄρχοντας τοῦτον τὸν 674b ἐνιαυτὸν ὃν ἂν ἄρχωσιν, μηδ' αὖ κυβερνήτας μηδὲ δικαστὰς ἐνεργοὺς ὄντας οἴνου γεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν, μηδ' ὅστις βουλευσόμενος εἰς βουλὴν ἀξίαν τινὰ λόγου συνέρχεται, μηδέ γε μεθ' ἡμέραν μηδένα τὸ παράπαν εἰ μὴ σωμασκίας ἢ νόσων ἕνεκα, μηδ' αὖ νύκτωρ ὅταν ἐπινοῇ τις παῖδας ποιεῖσθαι ἀνὴρ ἢ καὶ γυνή.

But if it treats it as play, and anyone who likes may drink whenever he likes and with whomever he 674a likes, along with any other pursuits whatever, then I wouldn't cast my vote for this city or this man ever making use of drunkenness. I'd go even further than the Cretan and Spartan practice and support the law of the Carthaginians: that no one on campaign should ever taste this drink, but should keep to water for that whole period; that in the city no slave, male or female, should ever taste it; nor officials in the 674b year of their office; nor should ship captains or judges on duty taste wine at all, nor anyone who is going to a council to deliberate on anything of importance; nor anyone at all during the day, except for the sake of training or illness; nor again at night, when a man or woman intends to conceive children.

674b καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πάμπολλα ἄν τις λέγοι ἐν οἷς τοῖς νοῦν τε καὶ νόμον ἔχουσιν ὀρθὸν οὐ ποτέος 674c οἶνος· ὥστε κατὰ τὸν

And one could mention a great many other occasions on which people with sense and a right law

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	λόγον τοῦτον οὐδ' ἀμπελώνων ἂν πολλῶν δέοι οὐδ' ἧτινι πόλει, τακτὰ δὲ τά τ' ἄλλ' ἂν εἴη γεωργήματα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δίαιτα, καὶ δὴ τά γε περὶ οἶνον σχεδὸν ἁπάντων ἐμμετρότατα καὶ ὀλίγιστα γίγνοιτ' ἄν. οὗτος, ὦ ξένοι, ἡμῖν, εἰ συνδοκεῖ, κολοφὼν ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ οἴνου λόγῳ ῥηθέντι εἰρήσθω.	shouldn't drink 674c wine. So by this reasoning no city would need many vineyards either. The other crops would be regulated, and the whole way of life, and wine in particular would come to be about the most limited and smallest of them all. This, strangers, if you agree, let us call the finishing touch to our discussion of wine.
674c	**CLINIAS** καλῶς, καὶ συνδοκεῖ.	**CLINIAS** Well said, and we agree.

Book III

The origins of government: Troy, Sparta, Persia and Athens.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
676a	**ATHENIAN** ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δὴ ταύτῃ· πολιτείας δὲ ἀρχὴν τίνα ποτὲ φῶμεν γεγονέναι; μῶν οὐκ ἐνθένδε τις ἂν αὐτὴν ῥᾷστά τε καὶ κάλλιστα κατίδοι;	**ATHENIAN** So much, then, for that. But what are we to say was the origin of a constitution? Wouldn't this be the vantage point from which one could see it most easily and best?
	CLINIAS πόθεν;	**CLINIAS** Which?
	ATHENIAN ὅθενπερ καὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ἀρετὴν μεταβαίνουσαν ἅμα καὶ κακίαν ἑκάστοτε θεατέον.	**ATHENIAN** The one from which we should always view the progress of cities, too, as they move toward virtue and vice alike.
	CLINIAS λέγεις δὲ πόθεν;	**CLINIAS** And which is that?
	ATHENIAN οἶμαι μὲν ἀπὸ χρόνου μήκους τε καὶ ἀπειρίας καὶ [676b] τῶν μεταβολῶν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ.	**ATHENIAN** I think it's the vast length of time, stretching without limit, [676b] and the changes that happen within it.
676b	**CLINIAS** πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN φέρε, ἀφ' οὗ πόλεις τ' εἰσὶν καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολιτευόμενοι, δοκεῖς ἄν ποτε κατανοῆσαι χρόνου πλῆθος ὅσον γέγονεν;	**ATHENIAN** Tell me: since there have been cities and people living as citizens, do you think you could ever work out how great a span of time has passed?
	CLINIAS οὔκουν ῥᾴδιόν γε οὐδαμῶς.	**CLINIAS** No, certainly not easily.
	ATHENIAN τὸ δέ γε ὡς ἄπλετόν τι καὶ ἀμήχανον ἂν εἴη;	**ATHENIAN** But it would be something immense and incalculable?
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν τοῦτό γε.	**CLINIAS** Very much so.
	ATHENIAN μῶν οὖν οὐ μυρίαι μὲν ἐπὶ μυρίαις ἡμῖν γεγόνασι πόλεις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦ πλήθους [676c] λόγον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐφθαρμέναι; πεπολιτευμέναι δ' αὖ πάσας πολιτείας πολλάκις ἑκασταχοῦ; καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐξ ἐλαττόνων μείζους, τοτὲ δ' ἐκ μειζόνων ἐλάττους, καὶ χείρους ἐκ βελτιόνων γεγόνασι καὶ βελτίους ἐκ χειρόνων;	**ATHENIAN** Then haven't tens of thousands upon tens of thousands of cities come into being in this time, and by the same reckoning [676c] no fewer been destroyed? And haven't they, many times and everywhere, lived under every kind of constitution? Sometimes growing larger from smaller, sometimes smaller from larger, and becoming worse from better and better from worse?
676c	**CLINIAS** ἀναγκαῖον.	**CLINIAS** Necessarily.
	ATHENIAN ταύτης δὴ πέρι λάβωμεν, εἰ δυναίμεθα, τῆς μεταβολῆς τὴν αἰτίαν· τάχα γὰρ ἂν ἴσως δείξειεν ἡμῖν τὴν πρώτην τῶν πολιτειῶν γένεσιν καὶ μετάβασιν.	**ATHENIAN** Let's try, then, if we can, to grasp the cause of this change. Perhaps it would show us the first origin of constitutions and how they change.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS εὖ λέγεις, καὶ προθυμεῖσθαι δεῖ, σὲ μὲν ὃ διανοῇ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαινόμενον, ἡμᾶς δὲ συνεπομένους.	**CLINIAS** Well said. We must set about it eagerly—you by explaining what you think about them, and we by following along.

AFTER THE FLOOD

Survivors of a great flood live simply in the hills; households grow into villages and the first laws.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
677a	**ATHENIAN** ἆρ' οὖν ὑμῖν οἱ παλαιοὶ λόγοι ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν τινὰ δοκοῦσιν;	**ATHENIAN** Well, do you think the ancient stories contain some truth?
	CLINIAS ποῖοι δή;	**CLINIAS** Which ones?
	ATHENIAN τὸ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰς γεγονέναι κατακλυσμοῖς τε καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἐν οἷς βραχύ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεσθαι γένος.	**ATHENIAN** That there have been many destructions of humankind, by floods and diseases and many other things, in which only a small remnant of the human race survived.
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν πιθανὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον πᾶν παντί.	**CLINIAS** Everyone finds all that quite believable.
	ATHENIAN φέρε δή, νοήσωμεν μίαν τῶν πολλῶν ταύτην τὴν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ ποτε γενομένην.	**ATHENIAN** Come, then, let's consider one of these many: the one that once happened through the flood.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῆς διανοηθέντες;	**CLINIAS** And what should we think about it?
677b	**ATHENIAN** ὡς οἱ τότε περιφυγόντες τὴν φθορὰν σχεδὸν ὄρειοί τινες ἂν εἶεν νομῆς, ἐν κορυφαῖς που σμικρὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασεσωμένα γένους.	**ATHENIAN** That those who escaped the destruction then would have been, more or less, hill shepherds—small embers of the human race kept alive on mountaintops somewhere.
	CLINIAS δῆλον.	**CLINIAS** Clearly.
	ATHENIAN καὶ δὴ τοὺς τοιούτους γε ἀνάγκη που τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείρους εἶναι τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους μηχανῶν εἵς τε πλεονεξίας καὶ φιλονικίας καὶ ὁπόσ' ἄλλα κακουργήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπινοοῦσιν.	**ATHENIAN** And such people, surely, must have been inexperienced in the arts generally, and especially in the devices that city people use against one another to get the better of each other and win their rivalries, and in all the other mischief they think up against one another.
	CLINIAS εἰκὸς γοῦν.	**CLINIAS** Likely enough.
677c	**ATHENIAN** θῶμεν δὴ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις πόλεις καὶ πρὸς θαλάττῃ κατοικούσας ἄρδην ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ διαφθείρεσθαι;	**ATHENIAN** Shall we assume, then, that the cities on the plains and by the sea were utterly destroyed at that time?
	CLINIAS θῶμεν.	**CLINIAS** Let's assume it.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ὄργανά τε πάντα ἀπόλλυσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι τέχνης ἦν ἐχόμενον σπουδαίως ηὑρημένον ἢ πολιτικῆς ἢ καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἑτέρας, πάντα ἔρρειν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ φήσομεν; πῶς γὰρ ἄν, ὦ ἄριστε, εἴ γε	**ATHENIAN** Then shall we say that all tools were lost, and that whatever worthwhile discoveries there had been in any art—political art or any other kind of wisdom—all of them perished at that time? After all, my excellent friend, if things had

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἔμενεν τάδε οὕτω τὸν πάντα χρόνον ὡς νῦν διακεκόσμηται, καινὸν ἀνηυρίσκετό ποτε καὶ ὁτιοῦν;	stayed for all time just as they're arranged now, how would anything new ever have been discovered?
677d	**CLINIAS** τοῦτο ὅτι μὲν μυριάκις μύρια ἔτη διελάνθανεν ἄρα τοὺς τότε, χίλια δὲ ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἢ δὶς τοσαῦτα ἔτη, τὰ μὲν Δαιδάλῳ καταφανῆ γέγονεν, τὰ δὲ Ὀρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Παλαμήδει, τὰ δὲ περὶ μουσικὴν Μαρσύᾳ καὶ Ὀλύμπῳ, περὶ λύραν δὲ Ἀμφίονι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἄλλοις πάμπολλα, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν χθὲς καὶ πρῴην γεγονότα.	**CLINIAS** The point is that all this apparently escaped the people of those times for tens of thousands of years, and it's only a thousand years, or twice that, since some of it came to light through Daedalus, some through Orpheus, some through Palamedes, musical arts through Marsyas and Olympus, the lyre through Amphion, and a great many other things through others. It all happened, you might say, just yesterday or the day before.[1]
	ATHENIAN ἄριστ', ὦ Κλεινία, τὸν φίλον ὅτι παρέλιπες, τὸν ἀτεχνῶς χθὲς γενόμενον.	**ATHENIAN** It's very nice, Clinias, that you've left out your friend, the one who was born quite literally yesterday.
	CLINIAS μῶν φράζεις Ἐπιμενίδην;	**CLINIAS** You don't mean Epimenides?
677e	**ATHENIAN** ναί, τοῦτον· πολὺ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπερεπήδησε τῷ μηχανήματι τοὺς σύμπαντας, ὦ φίλε, ὃ λόγῳ μὲν Ἡσίοδος ἐμαντεύετο πάλαι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ἐκεῖνος ἀπετέλεσεν, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατε.	**ATHENIAN** Yes, him. With his invention, my friend, he leapt far beyond all the others among you. Hesiod foretold it in words long ago, but he brought it about in deed, as you Cretans say.[2]
	CLINIAS φαμὲν γὰρ οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Yes, we do say so.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν οὕτω δὴ λέγωμεν ἔχειν τότε, ὅτ' ἐγένετο ἡ φθορά, τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράγματα, μυρίαν μέν τινα φοβερὰν ἐρημίαν, γῆς δ' ἀφθόνου πλῆθος πάμπολυ, ζῴων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρρόντων, βουκόλι' ἄττα, καὶ εἴ τί που αἰγῶν περιλειφθὲν ἐτύγχανεν γένος, σπάνια καὶ ταῦτα 678a νέμουσιν εἶναι ζῆν τότε κατ' ἀρχάς;	**ATHENIAN** Then shall we say that when the destruction happened, human affairs were in this state: there was a vast and fearful emptiness and an enormous quantity of land for the taking; the other animals had perished, and a few herds of cattle, and any stock of goats that happened to survive somewhere—these too few, at first, 678a for herdsmen to live on at that time?
678a	**CLINIAS** τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN πόλεως δὲ καὶ πολιτείας πέρι καὶ νομοθεσίας, ὧν νῦν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν παρέστηκεν, ἆρ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οἰόμεθα καὶ μνήμην εἶναι τὸ παράπαν;	**ATHENIAN** And as for a city, a constitution and legislation, which our discussion has now reached, do we suppose there was any memory of them at all, so to speak?
	CLINIAS οὐδαμῶς.	**CLINIAS** None whatever.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν διακειμένων οὕτω τὰ νῦν γέγονεν ἡμῖν σύμπαντα, πόλεις τε καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ τέχναι καὶ νόμοι, καὶ πολλὴ μὲν πονηρία, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἀρετή;	**ATHENIAN** So from those people in that condition came everything we have now—cities and constitutions, arts and laws, and a great deal of wickedness, but a great deal of virtue too?

1 Legendary inventors: Daedalus the master craftsman, Palamedes (credited with writing, numbers and board games), Marsyas and Olympus (music for the pipes), Amphion (the lyre).
2 Epimenides was said to have made a hunger-suppressing food from mallow and asphodel, plants Hesiod praises in *Works and Days*.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
678b	**ATHENIAN** ἆρ' οἰόμεθα, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τοὺς τότε, ἀπείρους ὄντας πολλῶν μὲν καλῶν τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἄστη, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, τελέους πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ πρὸς κακίαν γεγονέναι;	**ATHENIAN** My remarkable friend, do we suppose that the people of that time, inexperienced in many of the fine things found in cities, and many of the opposite things too, had become perfect in either virtue or vice?
	CLINIAS καλῶς εἶπες, καὶ μανθάνομεν ὃ λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Well put; we understand what you mean.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν προϊόντος μὲν τοῦ χρόνου, πληθύοντος δ' ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους, εἰς πάντα τὰ νῦν καθεστηκότα προελήλυθεν πάντα;	**ATHENIAN** Then as time went on and our race multiplied, everything advanced to the whole present state of things?
	CLINIAS ὀρθότατα.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
	ATHENIAN οὐκ ἐξαίφνης γε, ὡς εἰκός, κατὰ σμικρὸν δὲ ἐν παμπόλλῳ τινὶ χρόνῳ.	**ATHENIAN** Not suddenly, it seems likely, but little by little over a very long time.
678c	**CLINIAS** καὶ μάλα πρέπει τοῦθ' οὕτως.	**CLINIAS** That certainly makes sense.
	ATHENIAN ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὑψηλῶν εἰς τὰ πεδία καταβαίνειν, οἶμαι, πᾶσιν φόβος ἔναυλος ἐγεγόνει.	**ATHENIAN** For I think the fear of coming down from the heights into the plains was still ringing in all their ears.
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὐχ ἅσμενοι μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἑώρων δι' ὀλιγότητα ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, πορεῖα δέ, ὥστ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλους τότε πορεύεσθαι κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, σὺν ταῖς τέχναις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντα σχεδὸν ἀπωλώλει; συμμίσγειν οὖν ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι σφόδρα δυνατόν· σίδηρος γὰρ 678d καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ μεταλλεῖα συγκεχυμένα ἠφάνιστο, ὥστε ἀπορία πᾶσα ἦν τοῦ ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, δρυοτομίας τε εἶχον σπάνιν. εἰ γάρ πού τι καὶ περιγεγονὸς ἦν ὄργανον ἐν ὄρεσι, ταῦτα μὲν ταχὺ κατατριβέντα ἠφάνιστο, ἄλλα δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλεν γενήσεσθαι, πρὶν πάλιν ἡ τῶν μεταλλέων ἀφίκοιτο εἰς ἀνθρώπους τέχνη.	**ATHENIAN** Wouldn't they have been glad to see one another, because there were so few of them around at that time? But the means of getting to one another, by land or by sea, had pretty much all perished along with the arts. So they weren't able, I think, to mix with one another very much. For iron 678d and bronze and all the metals had been buried in the upheaval and had disappeared, so that there was no way at all to extract and refine them, and they had little means of cutting timber. Even if some tool had survived in the mountains somewhere, it soon wore out and disappeared, and no others would be made until the art of mining came to humankind again.
678d	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** How could they be?
	ATHENIAN γενεαῖς δὴ πόσαις ὕστερον οἰόμεθα τοῦθ' οὕτως γεγονέναι;	**ATHENIAN** How many generations later do we suppose this happened?
678e	**CLINIAS** δῆλον ὅτι παμπόλλαις τισίν.	**CLINIAS** Obviously a great many.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν καὶ τέχναι, ὅσαιπερ σιδήρου δέονται καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων, τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ ἔτι πλείονα ἠφανισμέναι ἂν εἶεν ἐν τῷ τότε;	**ATHENIAN** And the arts that need iron and bronze and all such things would have disappeared during that same period, or even longer?

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS τί μήν;

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN καὶ τοίνυν στάσις ἅμα καὶ πόλεμος ἀπωλώλει κατὰ τὸν τότε χρόνον πολλαχῇ.

ATHENIAN What's more, faction and war had largely disappeared at that time, for several reasons.

CLINIAS πῶς;

CLINIAS How?

ATHENIAN πρῶτον μὲν ἠγάπων καὶ ἐφιλοφρονοῦντο ἀλλήλους δι' ἐρημίαν, ἔπειτα οὐ περιμάχητος ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ τροφή. 679a νομῆς γὰρ οὐκ ἦν σπάνις, εἰ μή τισιν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἴσως, ᾗ δὴ τὸ πλεῖστον διέζων ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ· γάλακτος γὰρ καὶ κρεῶν οὐδαμῶς ἐνδεεῖς ἦσαν, ἔτι δὲ θηρεύοντες οὐ φαύλην οὐδ' ὀλίγην τροφὴν παρείχοντο. καὶ μὴν ἀμπεχόνης γε καὶ στρωμνῆς καὶ οἰκήσεων καὶ σκευῶν ἐμπύρων τε καὶ ἀπύρων ηὐπόρουν· αἱ πλαστικαὶ γὰρ καὶ ὅσαι πλεκτικαὶ τῶν τεχνῶν οὐδὲ ἓν προσδέονται σιδήρου, ταῦτα δὲ 679b πάντα τούτῳ τὼ τέχνα θεὸς ἔδωκε πορίζειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἵν' ὁπότε εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν ἔλθοιεν, ἔχοι βλάστην καὶ ἐπίδοσιν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος.

ATHENIAN First, their isolation made them fond of one another and friendly; and second, food was nothing to fight over. 679a There was no shortage of pasture, except perhaps for some at the beginning, and it was mostly on their flocks that they lived at that time. They weren't short of milk and meat at all, and by hunting they got themselves food that was neither poor nor scanty. And they were well supplied with clothing, bedding, houses and vessels, both those that go on the fire and those that don't. For the arts of molding and weaving need no iron whatever, 679b and a god gave these two arts to provide all these things for human beings, so that whenever they fell into such want, the human race might have a means of sprouting and growing again.

679b πένητες μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον σφόδρα οὐκ ἦσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ πενίας ἀναγκαζόμενοι διάφοροι ἑαυτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο· πλούσιοι δ' οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐγένοντο ἄχρυσοί τε καὶ ἀνάργυροι ὄντες, ὃ τότε ἐν ἐκείνοις παρῆν. ᾗ δ' ἄν ποτε συνοικίᾳ μήτε πλοῦτος συνοικῇ μήτε πενία, σχεδὸν ἐν ταύτῃ γενναιότατα ἤθη γίγνοιτ' ἄν· οὔτε 679c γὰρ ὕβρις οὔτ' ἀδικία, ζῆλοί τε αὖ καὶ φθόνοι οὐκ ἐγγίγνονται. ἀγαθοὶ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτά τε ἦσαν καὶ διὰ τὴν λεγομένην εὐήθειαν· ἃ γὰρ ἤκουον καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρά, εὐήθεις ὄντες ἡγοῦντο ἀληθέστατα λέγεσθαι καὶ ἐπείθοντο. ψεῦδος γὰρ ὑπονοεῖν οὐδεὶς ἠπίστατο διὰ σοφίαν, ὥσπερ τὰ νῦν, ἀλλὰ περὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ νομίζοντες ἔζων κατὰ ταῦτα· διόπερ ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι παντάπασιν οἵους αὐτοὺς ἡμεῖς ἄρτι διεληλύθαμεν.

So because of this they weren't very poor, nor did poverty force them into quarrels with one another. But they could never have become rich either, since they had no gold or silver, which was their condition at that time. And in a community where neither wealth nor poverty lives, the noblest characters, more or less, will arise; 679c for neither arrogance nor injustice, nor rivalries and envy, arise there. So they were good for these reasons, and because of their so-called simplicity. Whatever they heard called fine or shameful, they were simple enough to think was said with complete truth, and they believed it. No one had the wisdom, as people now do, to suspect a lie; they held what was said about gods and human beings to be true, and lived by it. That's why they were in every way the sort of people we've just described.

679d CLINIAS ἐμοὶ γοῦν δὴ καὶ τῷδε οὕτως ταῦτα συνδοκεῖ.

CLINIAS Megillus and I, at any rate, agree that this is so.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν εἴπωμεν ὅτι γενεαὶ διαβιοῦσαι πολλαὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῶν πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων καὶ τῶν νῦν ἀτεχνότεροι μὲν καὶ ἀμαθέστεροι πρός τε τὰς ἄλλας μέλλουσιν εἶναι τέχνας καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικάς, ὅσαι τε πεζαὶ καὶ ὅσαι κατὰ θάλατταν γίγνονται τὰ νῦν, καὶ ὅσαι δὴ κατὰ πόλιν μόνον αὐτοῦ,

ATHENIAN Then shall we say that many generations, living this way, would be less skilled and less learned than those who lived before the flood, and those of today, both in the other arts and in the arts of war—those practiced nowadays on land

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	δίκαι καὶ στάσεις λεγόμεναι, λόγοις [679e] ἔργοις τε μεμηχανημέναι πάσας μηχανὰς εἰς τὸ κακουργεῖν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀδικεῖν, εὐηθέστεροι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρειότεροι καὶ ἅμα σωφρονέστεροι καὶ σύμπαντα δικαιότεροι; τὸ δὲ τούτων αἴτιον ἤδη διεληλύθαμεν.	and at sea, and those practiced within a city alone, called lawsuits and factions, where every device, in word [679e] and deed, has been contrived for harming and wronging one another—but more simple, more courageous, and also more moderate and more just in every way? And we've already gone through the reason for this.
679e	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** You're right.
	ATHENIAN λελέχθω δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις συνεπόμενα ἔτι πάντα εἰρήσθω τοῦδ' ἕνεκα, ἵνα νοήσωμεν τοῖς τότε [680a] νόμων τίς ποτ' ἦν χρεία καὶ τίς ἦν νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς.	**ATHENIAN** Let this be said, then, and let everything that follows from it be stated too, for this purpose: so that we can understand what need the people of that time [680a] could have had for laws, and who their lawgiver was.
680a	**CLINIAS** καὶ καλῶς γε εἴρηκας.	**CLINIAS** And that's well said.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὔτ' ἐδέοντο νομοθετῶν οὔτε πω ἐφίλει κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους γίγνεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον; οὐδὲ γὰρ γράμματα ἔστι πω τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς περιόδου γεγονόσιν, ἀλλ' ἔθεσι καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις πατρίοις νόμοις ἑπόμενοι ζῶσιν.	**ATHENIAN** Is it true that they didn't need lawgivers, and that such a thing wasn't yet usual in those times? For people born in this part of the cycle don't yet have writing; they live by following customs and what are called ancestral laws.
	CLINIAS εἰκὸς γοῦν.	**CLINIAS** Likely enough.
	ATHENIAN πολιτείας δέ γε ἤδη καὶ τρόπος ἐστίν τις οὗτος.	**ATHENIAN** But this is already a kind of constitution.
	CLINIAS τίς;	**CLINIAS** What kind?
680b	**ATHENIAN** δοκοῦσί μοι πάντες τὴν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολιτείαν δυναστείαν καλεῖν, ἣ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρους ἐστίν· λέγει δ' αὐτήν που καὶ Ὅμηρος γεγονέναι περὶ τὴν τῶν Κυκλώπων οἴκησιν, εἰπὼν— τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες, ἀλλ' οἵ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος [680c] παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.	**ATHENIAN** I think everyone calls the constitution of that time a chieftainship, and it still exists in many places even now, among both Greeks and non-Greeks. Homer, I think, says it was found where the Cyclopes lived, when he says: "They have no assemblies for counsel, no ordinances; they dwell on the peaks of lofty mountains in hollow caves, and each lays down the law [680c] for his children and wives, and they pay no heed to one another."[3]
680c	**CLINIAS** ἔοικέν γε ὁ ποιητὴς ὑμῖν οὗτος γεγονέναι χαρίεις. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοῦ διεληλύθαμεν μάλ' ἀστεῖα, οὐ μὴν πολλά γε· οὐ γὰρ σφόδρα χρώμεθα οἱ Κρῆτες τοῖς ξενικοῖς ποιήμασιν.	**CLINIAS** This poet of yours seems to have been a charming one. We've also gone through other things of his, very elegant ones—though not many, since we Cretans don't make much use of foreign poetry.
	MEGILLUS ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ χρώμεθα μέν, καὶ ἔοικέν γε κρατεῖν τῶν τοιούτων ποιητῶν, οὐ μέντοι Λακωνικόν γε ἀλλά τινα [680d] μᾶλλον Ἰωνικὸν βίον διεξέρχεται	**MEGILLUS** We, on the other hand, do make use of it, and he seems to be the best of such poets—though the life he describes every time is not

3 Homer, *Odyssey* 9.112–115.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἑκάστοτε. νῦν μὴν εὖ τῷ σῷ λόγῳ ἔοικε μαρτυρεῖν, τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγριότητα διὰ μυθολογίας ἐπανενεγκών.	Spartan but [680d] rather Ionian. But now he does seem to bear good witness to your argument, when he uses myth to trace their ancient condition back to savagery.
680d	**ATHENIAN** ναί· συμμαρτυρεῖ γάρ, καὶ λάβωμέν γε αὐτὸν μηνυτὴν ὅτι τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι γίγνονταί ποτε.	**ATHENIAN** Yes, he bears witness to it with us. Let's take him as evidence that constitutions of this sort do sometimes arise.
	CLINIAS καλῶς.	**CLINIAS** Good.
	ATHENIAN μῶν οὖν οὐκ ἐκ τούτων τῶν κατὰ μίαν οἴκησιν καὶ κατὰ γένος διεσπαρμένων ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς φθοραῖς, [680e] ἐν αἷς τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἄρχει διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς γεγονέναι, οἷς ἑπόμενοι καθάπερ ὄρνιθες ἀγέλην μίαν ποιήσουσι, πατρονομούμενοι καὶ βασιλείαν πασῶν δικαιοτάτην βασιλευόμενοι;	**ATHENIAN** Don't they arise from these people, scattered in single households and by families because of the want that followed the destructions? [680e] Among them the eldest rules, because authority for them has come down from father and mother. Following them, like birds, they will form a single flock, governed by their fathers and ruled by the most just of all kingships.
680e	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά γε εἰς τὸ κοινὸν μείζους ποιοῦντες πόλεις πλείους συνέρχονται, καὶ ἐπὶ γεωργίας τὰς ἐν ταῖς [681a] ὑπωρείαις τρέπονται πρώτας, περιβόλους τε αἱμασιώδεις τινὰς τειχῶν ἐρύματα τῶν θηρίων ἕνεκα ποιοῦνται, μίαν οἰκίαν αὖ κοινὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἀποτελοῦντες.	**ATHENIAN** After this, more of them come together in common and make larger cities. They turn first to farming, in the [681a] foothills, and build enclosures like dry-stone walls as defenses against wild beasts, making a single large common household in turn.
681a	**CLINIAS** τὸ γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦθ' οὕτως γίγνεσθαι.	**CLINIAS** That's likely how it happened, at any rate.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; τόδε ἆρα οὐκ εἰκός;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, isn't this likely too?
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What?
	ATHENIAN τῶν οἰκήσεων τούτων μειζόνων αὐξανομένων ἐκ τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ πρώτων, ἑκάστην τῶν σμικρῶν παρεῖναι κατὰ γένος ἔχουσαν τόν τε πρεσβύτατον ἄρχοντα καὶ αὐτῆς [681b] ἔθη ἄττα ἴδια διὰ τὸ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων οἰκεῖν, ἕτερα ἀφ' ἑτέρων ὄντων τῶν γεννητόρων τε καὶ θρεψάντων, ἃ εἰθίσθησαν περὶ θεούς τε καὶ ἑαυτούς, κοσμιωτέρων μὲν κοσμιώτερα καὶ ἀνδρικῶν ἀνδρικώτερα, καὶ κατὰ τρόπον οὕτως ἑκάστους τὰς αὑτῶν ἂν αἱρέσεις εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτυπουμένους καὶ παίδων παῖδας, ὃ λέγομεν, ἥκειν ἔχοντας ἰδίους νόμους εἰς τὴν μείζονα συνοικίαν.	**ATHENIAN** As these settlements grew larger from the smaller, original ones, each of the small ones would be there, family by family, with its eldest as ruler and [681b] with certain customs of its own, because they had lived apart from one another. These customs would differ according to the different parents and those who reared them, and would be what they had grown used to regarding the gods and themselves: more orderly among the descendants of the more orderly, braver among those of the braver. And so each group, naturally, would stamp its own preferences on its children and its children's children, and, as we're saying, they would come into the larger community with their own laws.
681b	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
681c	**ATHENIAN** καὶ μὴν τούς γε αὑτῶν νόμους ἀρέσκειν ἑκάστοις ἀναγκαῖόν που, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὑστέρους.	**ATHENIAN** And each group, surely, must have liked its own laws, and the others' less.
	CLINIAS οὕτως.	**CLINIAS** That's so.
	ATHENIAN ἀρχῇ δὴ νομοθεσίας οἷον ἐμβάντες ἐλάθομεν, ὡς ἔοικεν.	**ATHENIAN** So it seems we've stepped, without noticing, into the beginning of legislation.
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Quite so.
	ATHENIAN τὸ γοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς συνελθόντας τούτους κοινούς τινας ἑαυτῶν, οἳ δὴ τὰ πάντων ἰδόντες νόμιμα, τά σφισιν ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῶν μάλιστα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἀγαγοῦσι τοὺς δήμους οἷον 681d βασιλεῦσι φανερὰ δείξαντες ἑλέσθαι τε δόντες, αὐτοὶ μὲν νομοθέται κληθήσονται, τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας καταστήσαντες, ἀριστοκρατίαν τινὰ ἐκ τῶν δυναστειῶν ποιήσαντες ἢ καί τινα βασιλείαν, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας οἰκήσουσιν.	**ATHENIAN** At any rate, after this the people who had come together must choose some of their number to act for them all. These would look over the customs of all the groups, pick out those they liked best, and present them for the common good to the leaders who had led the peoples—the 681d kings, as it were—setting them out plainly and giving them the choice. They themselves will be called lawgivers; and once they've appointed the rulers, making some kind of aristocracy out of the chieftainships, or even a kingship, they will live under this altered constitution.
681d	**CLINIAS** ἐφεξῆς γοῦν ἂν οὕτω τε καὶ ταύτῃ γίγνοιτο.	**CLINIAS** That would come next, at any rate, and would happen in this way.
	ATHENIAN τρίτον τοίνυν εἴπωμεν ἔτι πολιτείας σχῆμα γιγνόμενον, ἐν ᾧ δὴ πάντα εἴδη καὶ παθήματα πολιτειῶν καὶ ἅμα πόλεων συμπίπτει γίγνεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** Now let's go on to describe a third form of constitution that arises, one in which all the kinds and conditions of constitutions, and of cities too, turn out to be combined.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δὴ τοῦτο;	**CLINIAS** What is that?
681e	**ATHENIAN** ὃ μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπεσημήνατο, λέγων τὸ τρίτον οὕτω γεγονέναι. " κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην" γάρ πού φησιν, ἐπεὶ οὔπω Ἴλιος ἱρὴ ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾤκουν πολυπιδάκου Ἴδης. 682a λέγει γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ἃ περὶ τῶν Κυκλώπων εἴρηκεν, κατὰ θεόν πως εἰρημένα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν· θεῖον γὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐνθεαστικὸν ὂν γένος ὑμνῳδοῦν, πολλῶν τῶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν γιγνομένων σύν τισιν Χάρισιν καὶ Μούσαις ἐφάπτεται ἑκάστοτε.	**ATHENIAN** The one Homer, too, pointed to after the second, when he said the third came about like this. He says, I think: "He founded Dardania, since holy Ilium was not yet built upon the plain, a city of mortal men, but they still dwelt on the foothills of Ida, rich in springs." 682a He speaks these verses, and the ones about the Cyclopes, in a way that is somehow in keeping with the gods and with nature. For the race of poets is divine and inspired when it sings its hymns, and each time, with the help of certain Graces and Muses, it lays hold of many things that really happened.[4]
682a	**CLINIAS** καὶ μάλα.	**CLINIAS** Very much so.

4 Homer, *Iliad* 20.216–218, on Dardanus, ancestor of the Trojan kings, whose town preceded Troy (Ilium).

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN εἰς δὴ τὸ πρόσθεν προέλθωμεν ἔτι τοῦ νῦν ἐπελθόντος ἡμῖν μύθου· τάχα γὰρ ἂν σημήνειέ τι τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ βουλήσεως. οὐκοῦν χρή;	**ATHENIAN** Then let's go still further into the story that has come to us now; perhaps it may give some indication of what we're after. Shouldn't we?
682b	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN κατῳκίσθη δή, φαμέν, ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν εἰς μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν πεδίον Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ οὐχ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἔχοντα ποταμοὺς πολλοὺς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἴδης ὡρμημένους.	**ATHENIAN** Ilium was founded, we say, when people moved down from the heights into a large and beautiful plain, on a hill that wasn't high and had many rivers rushing down from Ida above.
	CLINIAS φασὶ γοῦν.	**CLINIAS** So they say, at any rate.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς τισι χρόνοις τοῖς μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τοῦτο οἰόμεθα γεγονέναι;	**ATHENIAN** And don't we suppose this happened a long time after the flood?
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς;	**CLINIAS** Of course it was a long time.
	ATHENIAN δεινὴ γοῦν ἔοικεν αὐτοῖς λήθη τότε παρεῖναι τῆς 682c νῦν λεγομένης φθορᾶς, ὅθ' οὕτως ὑπὸ ποταμοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ῥέοντας πόλιν ὑπέθεσαν, πιστεύσαντες οὐ σφόδρα ὑψηλοῖς τισιν λόφοις.	**ATHENIAN** At any rate they seem to have been terribly forgetful at that time of the 682c destruction we're now talking about, since they placed their city like that, beneath many rivers flowing down from the heights, putting their trust in hills that weren't very high.
682c	**CLINIAS** δῆλον οὖν ὡς παντάπασί τινα μακρὸν ἀπεῖχον χρόνον τοῦ τοιούτου πάθους.	**CLINIAS** So clearly they were separated from that kind of disaster by a very long time.
	ATHENIAN καὶ ἄλλαι γε οἶμαι πόλεις τότε κατῴκουν ἤδη πολλαί, πληθυόντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.	**ATHENIAN** And many other cities, I think, had already been founded by then, as humanity multiplied.
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN αἵ γέ που καὶ ἐπεστρατεύσαντο αὐτῇ, καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ ἴσως, ἀφόβως ἤδη πάντων χρωμένων τῇ θαλάττῃ.	**ATHENIAN** And they, surely, also marched against Ilium—by sea too, perhaps, since by then everyone was using the sea without fear.
682d	**CLINIAS** φαίνεται.	**CLINIAS** Evidently.
	ATHENIAN δέκα δ' ἔτη που μείναντες Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν.	**ATHENIAN** And the Achaeans stayed for about ten years and then sacked Troy.[5]
	CLINIAS καὶ μάλα.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὄντι δεκέτει, ὃν τὸ Ἴλιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἑκάστων οἴκοι κακὰ πολλὰ συνέβαινεν γιγνόμενα περὶ τὰς στάσεις τῶν νέων, οἳ καὶ ἀφικομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις τε καὶ οἰκίας οὐ καλῶς οὐδ' ἐν δίκῃ ὑπεδέξαντο, 682e ἀλλ' ὥστε θανάτους τε καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ φυγὰς γενέσθαι παμπόλλας· οἳ πάλιν	**ATHENIAN** During this time, the ten years that Ilium was under siege, things went very badly at home for each of the besiegers, with the young men rising up in factions. When the soldiers came back to their own cities and homes, these young men didn't receive them well or justly, 682e and the result was a great many deaths, murders and ex-

5 Achaeans: Homer's name for the Greeks who besieged Troy.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐκπεσόντες κατῆλθον μεταβαλόντες ὄνομα, Δωριῆς ἀντ' Ἀχαιῶν κληθέντες διὰ τὸ τὸν συλλέξαντα εἶναι τὰς τότε φυγὰς Δωριᾶ. καὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε ἤδη πάνθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τἀντεῦθεν μυθολογεῖτέ τε καὶ διαπεραίνετε.	iles. The exiles returned again under a changed name: they were called Dorians instead of Achaeans, because the man who gathered the exiles of that time was Dorieus. And everything from this point on you Spartans tell in your stories and relate in full.
682e	**MEGILLUS** τί μήν;	**MEGILLUS** Certainly.

THE DORIAN LEAGUE

Argos, Messene and Sparta are founded as allies under sworn kings; the Athenian asks why the league failed.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN ὅθεν δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐξετραπόμεθα περὶ νόμων διαλεγόμενοι, περιπεσόντες μουσικῇ τε καὶ ταῖς μέθαις, νῦν ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀφίγμεθα ὥσπερ κατὰ θεόν, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν οἷον λαβὴν ἀποδίδωσιν· ἥκει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα [683a] κατοίκισιν αὐτήν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ὀρθῶς ἔφατε κατοικεῖσθαι καὶ Κρήτην ὡς ἀδελφοῖς νόμοις. νῦν οὖν δὴ τοσόνδε πλεονεκτοῦμεν τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ λόγου, διὰ πολιτειῶν τινων καὶ κατοικισμῶν διεξελθόντες· ἐθεασάμεθα πρώτην τε καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην πόλιν, ἀλλήλων, ὡς οἰόμεθα, ταῖς κατοικίσεσιν ἐχομένας ἐν χρόνου τινὸς μήκεσιν ἁπλέτοις, νῦν δὲ δὴ τετάρτη τις ἡμῖν αὕτη πόλις, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, ἔθνος ἥκει κατοικιζόμενόν τέ ποτε καὶ νῦν κατῳκισμένον.	**ATHENIAN** So we've come back again, as if by divine guidance, to the very point where, at the start of our conversation about laws, we turned aside and stumbled into music and drinking; and the argument is offering us, so to speak, a handhold. For it has arrived at the settlement of Sparta [683a] itself, which you said was rightly established, like Crete's, with sister laws. So this much we gain from our argument's wandering, having gone through various constitutions and settlements: we've observed a first, a second and a third city, following one another, as we think, in their founding across vast stretches of time; and now this fourth city—or nation, if you like—has come before us, one that was being founded once and has now been founded.
683b	ἐξ ὧν ἁπάντων εἴ τι συνεῖναι δυνάμεθα τί τε καλῶς ἢ μὴ κατῳκίσθη, καὶ ποῖοι νόμοι σῴζουσιν αὐτῶν τὰ σῳζόμενα καὶ ποῖοι φθείρουσι τὰ φθειρόμενα, καὶ ἀντὶ ποίων ποῖα μετατεθέντα εὐδαίμονα πόλιν ἀπεργάζοιτ' ἄν, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία, ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν οἷον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν λεκτέον, εἰ μή τι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν λόγοις.	From all of this, Megillus and Clinias, perhaps we can understand what was well founded and what wasn't, which laws preserve what is preserved in them and which destroy what is destroyed, and what changes, of which laws for which, would produce a happy city. If so, we must discuss these things again, as if from the beginning—unless we have some complaint against what's been said.
	MEGILLUS εἰ γοῦν, ὦ ξένε, τις ἡμῖν ὑπόσχοιτο θεὸς ὡς, ἐὰν [683c] ἐπιχειρήσωμεν τὸ δεύτερον τῇ τῆς νομοθεσίας σκέψει, τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων λόγων οὐ χείρους οὐδ' ἐλάττους ἀκουσόμεθα, μακρὰν ἂν ἔλθοιμι ἔγωγε, καί μοι βραχεῖ' ἂν δόξειεν ἡ νῦν παροῦσα ἡμέρα γίγνεσθαι. καίτοι σχεδόν γ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ θερινῶν εἰς τὰ χειμερινὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τρεπομένου.	**MEGILLUS** Well, stranger, if some god promised us that if [683c] we made a second attempt at examining legislation, we would hear an argument no worse and no shorter than the one we've just heard, I for one would go a long way, and today would seem short to me—and yet it is just about the day when the god turns from summer toward winter.[6]
683c	**ATHENIAN** χρὴ δὴ ταῦτα, ὡς ἔοικεν, σκοπεῖν.	

6 The summer solstice, the longest day of the year, when the sun god turns back.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN Then it seems we must examine these matters.

MEGILLUS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

MEGILLUS Certainly.

ATHENIAN γενώμεθα δὴ ταῖς διανοίαις ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, ὅτε Λακεδαίμων μὲν καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Μεσσήνη καὶ τὰ μετὰ 683d τούτων ὑποχείρια τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ἱκανῶς ἐγεγόνει· τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς γε λέγεται τὸ τοῦ μύθου, τριχῇ τὸ στράτευμα διανείμαντας, τρεῖς πόλεις κατοικίζειν, Ἄργος, Μεσσήνην, Λακεδαίμονα.

ATHENIAN Let's put ourselves, in thought, back in that time when Sparta and Argos and Messene and their 683d dependencies had come firmly under the control of your ancestors, Megillus. What they decided next, as the story goes, was to divide their army into three and found three cities: Argos, Messene and Sparta.

683d **MEGILLUS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

MEGILLUS Certainly.

ATHENIAN καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἄργους Τήμενος ἐγίγνετο, Μεσσήνης δὲ Κρεσφόντης, Λακεδαίμονος δὲ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης.

ATHENIAN And Temenus became king of Argos, Cresphontes of Messene, and Procles and Eurysthenes of Sparta.[7]

MEGILLUS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

MEGILLUS Of course.

ATHENIAN καὶ πάντες δὴ τούτοις ὤμοσαν οἱ τότε βοηθήσειν, 683e ἐάν τις τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν διαφθείρῃ.

ATHENIAN And everyone at that time swore to come to their aid 683e if anyone tried to destroy their kingship.

683e **MEGILLUS** τί μήν;

MEGILLUS Certainly.

ATHENIAN βασιλεία δὲ καταλύεται, ὦ πρὸς Διός, ἢ καί τις ἀρχὴ πώποτε κατελύθη, μὴ ὑπό τινων ἄλλων ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν; ἢ νυνδὴ μέν, ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν τούτοις περιτυχόντες τοῖς λόγοις, οὕτω ταῦτ' ἐτίθεμεν, νῦν δ' ἐπιλελήσμεθα;

ATHENIAN But when a kingship is overthrown—in the name of Zeus—or when any rule has ever been overthrown, is it by anyone but the rulers themselves? Or did we lay this down just now, when we came across these arguments a little while ago, only to forget it?

MEGILLUS καὶ πῶς;

MEGILLUS How could we have?

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν νῦν δὴ μᾶλλον βεβαιωσόμεθα τὸ τοιοῦτον· περιτυχόντες γὰρ ἔργοις γενομένοις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐληλύθαμεν, ὥστε οὐ περὶ κενόν τι ζητήσομεν 684a τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ γεγονός τε καὶ ἔχον ἀλήθειαν. γέγονεν δὴ τάδε· βασιλεῖαι τρεῖς βασιλευομέναις πόλεσιν τριτταῖς ὤμοσαν ἀλλήλαις ἑκάτεραι, κατὰ νόμους οὓς ἔθεντο τοῦ τε ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι κοινούς, οἱ μὲν μὴ βιαιοτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιήσεσθαι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ γένους, οἱ δέ, ταῦτα ἐμπεδούντων τῶν ἀρχόντων, μήτε αὐτοὶ τὰς βασιλείας ποτὲ καταλύσειν μήτ' ἐπιτρέψειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν 684b ἑτέροις, βοηθήσειν δὲ βασιλῆς τε βασιλεῦσιν ἀδικουμένοις καὶ δήμοις, καὶ δῆμοι δήμοις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀδικουμένοις. ἆρ' οὐχ οὕτως;

ATHENIAN Then now we'll confirm this point more firmly. For having come upon events that actually happened, it seems, we've arrived at the same argument, so that we won't be examining it 684a in the abstract, but in connection with something that happened and has truth to it. What happened was this. Three kingships and the three cities they ruled swore oaths to each other, according to the laws they had laid down to govern both ruling and being ruled. The kings swore not to make their rule harsher as time went on and the line continued; the others swore that, as long as the rulers kept to this, they would never themselves overthrow the kingships nor allow 684b oth-

7 The Heraclids, descendants of Heracles, were said to have led the Dorians into the Peloponnese and divided Argos, Messene and Sparta among themselves; Procles and Eurysthenes were the ancestors of Sparta's two royal houses.

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		ers to attempt it; and that kings would come to the aid of kings who were wronged, and of peoples, and peoples to the aid of peoples who were wronged, and of kings. Isn't that so?
684b	**MEGILLUS** οὕτω μὲν οὖν.	**MEGILLUS** It is.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν τό γε μέγιστον ταῖς καταστάσεσιν τῶν πολιτειῶν ὑπῆρχεν ταῖς ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ πόλεσι νομοθετουμέναις, εἴτε οἱ βασιλῆς ἐνομοθέτουν εἴτ' ἄλλοι τινές;	**ATHENIAN** Then in establishing the constitutions laid down in the three cities, the greatest advantage was theirs—whether it was the kings who legislated or others?
	MEGILLUS ποῖον;	**MEGILLUS** What advantage?
	ATHENIAN τὸ βοηθούς γε εἶναι τὰς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν μίαν ἀεὶ πόλιν, τὴν τοῖς τεθεῖσιν νόμοις ἀπειθοῦσαν.	**ATHENIAN** That there would always be two cities to come to the rescue against the one that disobeyed the laws laid down.
	MEGILLUS δῆλον.	**MEGILLUS** Clearly.
684c	**ATHENIAN** καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε οἱ πολλοὶ προστάττουσιν τοῖς νομοθέταις, ὅπως τοιούτους θήσουσιν τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἑκόντες οἱ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ πλήθη δέξονται, καθάπερ ἂν εἴ τις γυμνασταῖς ἢ ἰατροῖς προστάττοι μεθ' ἡδονῆς θεραπεύειν τε καὶ ἰᾶσθαι τὰ θεραπευόμενα σώματα.	**ATHENIAN** And yet most people demand this of lawgivers: that they lay down laws of a kind that the peoples and the masses will accept willingly—as if someone were to demand of trainers or doctors that they treat and cure the bodies in their care pleasantly.
	MEGILLUS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**MEGILLUS** Absolutely.
	ATHENIAN τὸ δέ γ' ἐστὶν ἀγαπητὸν πολλάκις εἰ καί τις μετὰ λύπης μὴ μεγάλης δύναιτο εὐεκτικά τε καὶ ὑγιῆ σώματα ἀπεργάζεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** But often one should be content if one can produce fit and healthy bodies even with pain that isn't too great.
	MEGILLUS τί μήν;	**MEGILLUS** Certainly.
684d	**ATHENIAN** καὶ τόδε γε ἔτι τοῖς τότε ὑπῆρχεν οὐ σμικρὸν εἰς ῥᾳστώνην τῆς θέσεως τῶν νόμων.	**ATHENIAN** The people of that time had another advantage, too, and no small one, that made laying down laws easier.
	MEGILLUS τὸ ποῖον;	**MEGILLUS** What was that?
	ATHENIAN οὐκ ἦν τοῖς νομοθέταις ἡ μεγίστη τῶν μέμψεων, ἰσότητα αὐτοῖς τινα κατασκευάζουσιν τῆς οὐσίας, ἥπερ ἐν ἄλλαις νομοθετουμέναις πόλεσι πολλαῖς γίγνεται, ἐάν τις ζητῇ γῆς τε κτῆσιν κινεῖν καὶ χρεῶν διάλυσιν, ὁρῶν ὡς οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἄνευ τούτων γενέσθαι ποτὲ τὸ ἴσον ἱκανῶς· ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντι δὴ νομοθέτῃ κινεῖν τῶν τοιούτων τι πᾶς ἀπαντᾷ [684e] λέγων μὴ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα, καὶ ἐπαρᾶται γῆς τε ἀναδασμοὺς εἰσηγούμενον καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, ὥστ' εἰς ἀπορίαν καθίστασθαι πάντ' ἄνδρα. τοῖς δὲ δὴ Δωριεῦσι καὶ τοῦθ' οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν καλῶς καὶ ἀνεμεσήτως, γῆν τε ἀναμφισβητήτως διανέμεσθαι, καὶ χρέα μεγάλα καὶ παλαιὰ οὐκ ἦν.	**ATHENIAN** Their lawgivers didn't face the greatest of reproaches when they were establishing some equality of property among them. That reproach arises in many other cities when laws are being made, if someone tries to disturb land ownership and cancel debts, seeing that without these steps equality could never be adequately achieved. When a lawgiver tries to disturb anything of this sort, everyone confronts him, [684e] telling him not to disturb what must not be disturbed, and curses him for proposing redistributions of land and cancellations of debts, so that anyone who tries is left helpless. But the Dorians

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		had this advantage too, a fine one that roused no resentment: they could divide the land without dispute, and there were no large, long-standing debts.
684e	MEGILLUS ἀληθῆ.	MEGILLUS True.
	ATHENIAN πῇ δή ποτε οὖν, ὦ ἄριστοι, κακῶς οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησεν ἡ κατοίκισίς τε καὶ νομοθεσία;	ATHENIAN Then how on earth, my excellent friends, did their settlement and legislation turn out so badly?
685a	MEGILLUS πῶς δὴ καὶ τί μεμφόμενος αὐτῶν λέγεις;	MEGILLUS What do you mean? What fault do you find with them?
	ATHENIAN ὅτι τριῶν γενομένων τῶν οἰκήσεων τὰ δύο αὐτῶν μέρη ταχὺ τήν τε πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους διέφθειρεν, τὸ δὲ ἓν μόνον ἔμεινεν, τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως.	ATHENIAN That of the three settlements that came into being, two quickly ruined their constitution and laws, and only one survived: your city's.
	MEGILLUS οὐ πάνυ ῥᾴδιον ἐρωτᾷς.	MEGILLUS That's not an easy question you're asking.
	ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ μὴν δεῖ γε ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ἐν τῷ νῦν σκοποῦντας καὶ ἐξετάζοντας, περὶ νόμων παίζοντας παιδιὰν πρεσβυτικὴν σώφρονα, διελθεῖν τὴν ὁδὸν ἀλύπως, ὡς ἔφαμεν ἡνίκα [685b] ἠρχόμεθα πορεύεσθαι.	ATHENIAN And yet this is exactly what we need to look into and examine now, playing at laws the sober game that suits old men, so that we get through our journey painlessly, as we said when [685b] we set out.
685b	MEGILLUS τί μήν; καὶ ποιητέον γε ὡς λέγεις.	MEGILLUS Of course. And we should do as you say.
	ATHENIAN τίν' οὖν ἂν σκέψιν καλλίω ποιησαίμεθα περὶ νόμων ἢ τούτων οἳ ταύτας διακεκοσμήκασιν; ἢ πόλεων περὶ τίνων εὐδοκιμωτέρων τε καὶ μειζόνων κατοικίσεων σκοποίμεθ' ἄν;	ATHENIAN Well then, what finer inquiry into laws could we make than one into the laws that ordered these cities? Or what cities could we study with more celebrated or greater foundings?
	MEGILLUS οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἀντὶ τούτων ἑτέρας λέγειν.	MEGILLUS It isn't easy to name others in their place.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν διενοοῦντό γε οἱ τότε τὴν κατασκευὴν ταύτην οὐ Πελοποννήσῳ μόνον ἔσεσθαι βοηθὸν [685c] ἱκανήν, σχεδὸν δῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν πᾶσιν, εἴ τις τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῖ, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ τὸ Ἴλιον οἰκοῦντες τότε, πιστεύοντες τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων δυνάμει τῇ περὶ Νῖνον γενομένῃ, θρασυνόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἤγειραν τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν. ἦν γὰρ ἔτι τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης σχῆμα τὸ σῳζόμενον οὐ σμικρόν· καθάπερ νῦν τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα φοβούμεθα ἡμεῖς, καὶ τότε ἐκείνην τὴν συσταθεῖσαν σύνταξιν ἐδέδισαν οἱ τότε. μέγα γὰρ ἔγκλημα πρὸς αὐτοὺς [685d] ἡ τῆς Τροίας ἅλωσις τὸ δεύτερον ἐγεγόνει· τῆς ἀρχῆς γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἦν μόριον.	

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ATHENIAN Now it's fairly clear that the men of that time meant this arrangement to be an adequate defense not for the Peloponnese alone [685c] but for all the Greeks, if any non-Greeks should wrong them—as the people living around Ilium had done back then, when, relying on the power of the Assyrians that had grown up around Ninus, they boldly provoked the war against Troy. For what survived of the form of that empire was still no small thing: just as we now fear the Great King, so people then dreaded that combined power. The capture of Troy the second time [685d] had been a great grievance against the Greeks, since Troy was part of the Assyrian empire.[8]

685d πρὸς δὴ ταῦτ' ἦν πάντα ἡ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ τότε διανεμηθεῖσα εἰς τρεῖς πόλεις κατασκευὴ μία ὑπὸ βασιλέων ἀδελφῶν, παίδων Ἡρακλέους, καλῶς, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἀνηυρημένη καὶ κατακεκοσμημένη καὶ διαφερόντως τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἀφικομένης. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τῶν Πελοπιδῶν ἀμείνους ἡγοῦντο ἀρχόντων ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, ἔπειτ' αὖ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτο [685e] τοῦ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀφικομένου διαφέρειν πρὸς ἀρετήν· νενικηκέναι γὰρ τούτους, ἡττᾶσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἐκείνους, Ἀχαιοὺς ὄντας ὑπὸ Δωριῶν. ἆρ' οὐχ οὕτως οἰόμεθα καί τινι διανοίᾳ ταύτῃ κατασκευάζεσθαι τοὺς τότε;

Against all this stood the single arrangement of the army of that time, divided among three cities under kings who were brothers, descendants of Heracles. It was well devised and well ordered, as people thought, and far superior to the one that had gone to Troy. First, they believed that in the Heraclids they had better commanders than the Pelopids; and then again, that this army [685e] surpassed in virtue the one that went to Troy, since these men had won and the others had been beaten by them—Achaeans by Dorians. Isn't this how we imagine the men of that time arranged things, and with some such intention?[9]

685e **MEGILLUS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

MEGILLUS Certainly.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ βεβαίως οἴεσθαι ταῦθ' ἕξειν εἰκὸς [686a] αὐτοὺς καὶ χρόνον τιν' ἂν πολὺν μένειν, ἅτε κεκοινωνηκότας μὲν πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ἀλλήλοις, ὑπὸ γένους δὲ ἑνὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἀδελφῶν ὄντων διακεκοσμῆσθαι, πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἔτι καὶ πολλοῖς μάντεσι κεχρημένους εἶναι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Δελφικῷ Ἀπόλλωνι;

ATHENIAN And isn't it likely they also thought it would be secure [686a] and would last a long time? They had shared many toils and dangers with one another; they were being organized by a single family, since the kings were brothers; and besides, they had consulted many seers, including the Delphic Apollo.

686a **MEGILLUS** πῶς δ' οὐκ εἰκός;

MEGILLUS How could it not be likely?

ATHENIAN ταῦτα δὴ τὰ μεγάλα οὕτως προσδοκώμενα διέπτατο, ὡς ἔοικε, τότε ταχύ, πλὴν ὅπερ εἴπομεν νυνδὴ σμικροῦ [686b] μέρους τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον τόπον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ πρὸς τὰ δύο μέρη πολεμοῦν οὐ πώποτε πέπαυται μέχρι τὰ νῦν· ἐπεὶ γενομένη γε ἡ τότε διάνοια καὶ συμφωνήσασα εἰς ἕν, ἀνυπόστατον ἄν τινα δύναμιν ἔσχε κατὰ πόλεμον.

ATHENIAN Yet these great expectations flew apart quickly back then, it seems—all except, as we said just now, the small [686b] part in your region; and that part has never stopped fighting the other two, right down to the present. Yet if the original plan had come about and united into one, it would have had irresistible power in war.

8 Ninus was the legendary founder of the Assyrian empire and of Nineveh. Troy had been sacked once before, by Heracles, so the Greek capture in the Trojan War was the second.

9 The Pelopids, descendants of Pelops, included Agamemnon and Menelaus, who led the Achaeans to Troy.

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686b	**MEGILLUS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**MEGILLUS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN πῶς οὖν καὶ πῇ διώλετο; ἆρ' οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπισκοπεῖν τηλικοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον σύστημα ἥτις ποτὲ τύχη διέφθειρε;	**ATHENIAN** So how did it perish, and in what way? Isn't it worth examining what fortune it was that destroyed so great and so remarkable an alliance?
	MEGILLUS σχολῇ γὰρ οὖν δή τις ἂν ἄλλο σκοπῶν, ἢ νόμους [686c] ἢ πολιτείας ἄλλας θεάσαιτο σῳζούσας καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα ἢ καὶ τοὐναντίον διαφθειρούσας τὸ παράπαν, εἰ ἀμελήσειε τούτων.	**MEGILLUS** Yes—look anywhere else, and you'd hardly find laws [686c] or constitutions that preserve great and fine things, or on the contrary ruin them altogether, if you neglected these.
686c	**ATHENIAN** τοῦτο μὲν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐτυχῶς πως ἐμβεβήκαμέν γε εἴς τινα σκέψιν ἱκανήν.	**ATHENIAN** Then it seems we've had the good luck to stumble into an inquiry worth making.
	MEGILLUS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**MEGILLUS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, λελήθαμεν ἄνθρωποι πάντες, καὶ τὰ νῦν δὴ ἡμεῖς, οἰόμενοι μὲν ἑκάστοτέ τι καλὸν ὁρᾶν πρᾶγμα γενόμενον καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἂν ἐργασάμενον, εἴ τις ἄρα [686d] ἠπιστήθη καλῶς αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι κατά τινα τρόπον, τὸ δὲ νῦν γε ἡμεῖς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ οὔτ' ὀρθῶς διανοοίμεθα οὔτε κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντες πάντα, περὶ ὧν ἂν οὕτω διανοηθῶσιν;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, my remarkable friend, haven't we all failed to notice something—all of us human beings, and we ourselves just now? Every time we see some fine thing arise, we think it would have achieved marvels if only [686d] someone had known how to use it well in some way. And perhaps our thinking about this very point isn't correct or in accordance with nature—nor is everyone else's about everything else they think of in this way.
686d	**MEGILLUS** λέγεις δὲ δὴ τί, καὶ περὶ τίνος σοι φῶμεν μάλιστ' εἰρῆσθαι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον;	**MEGILLUS** What do you mean? What should we say this remark of yours is chiefly about?
	ATHENIAN ὠγαθέ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ νυνδὴ κατεγέλασα. ἀποβλέψας γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν στόλον οὗ πέρι διαλεγόμεθα, ἔδοξέ μοι πάγκαλός τε εἶναι καὶ θαυμαστὸν κτῆμα παραπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅπερ εἶπον, εἴ τις ἄρα αὐτῷ τότε [686e] καλῶς ἐχρήσατο.	**ATHENIAN** My good man, I was laughing at myself just now. When I looked at this expedition we're discussing, it struck me as a splendid thing, a marvelous possession to fall into the Greeks' hands, as I said—if only someone had [686e] used it well back then.
686e	**MEGILLUS** οὐκοῦν εὖ καὶ ἐχόντως νοῦν σύ τε πάντα εἶπες καὶ ἐπῃνέσαμεν ἡμεῖς;	**MEGILLUS** Well, didn't you say all that well and sensibly, and didn't we approve?
	ATHENIAN ἴσως· ἐννοῶ γε μὴν ὡς πᾶς, ὃς ἂν ἴδῃ τι μέγα καὶ δύναμιν ἔχον πολλὴν καὶ ῥώμην, εὐθὺς ἔπαθε τοῦτο, ὡς εἴπερ ἐπίσταιτο ὁ κεκτημένος αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι τοιούτῳ τε ὄντι καὶ τηλικούτῳ, θαυμάστ' ἂν καὶ πολλὰ κατεργασάμενος εὐδαιμονοῖ.	**ATHENIAN** Perhaps. But it occurs to me that anyone who sees something great, with a great deal of power and strength, immediately reacts this way: if its owner knew how to use a thing of such a kind and such a size, he'd accomplish many marvels and be happy.
687a	**MEGILLUS** οὐκοῦν ὀρθὸν καὶ τοῦτο; ἢ πῶς λέγεις;	**MEGILLUS** Well, isn't that right too? Or what do you say?
	ATHENIAN σκόπει δὴ ποῖ βλέπων ὁ τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦτον περὶ ἑκάστου τιθέμενος ὀρθῶς λέγει· πρῶτον δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου, πῶς, εἰ κατὰ τρόπον	**ATHENIAN** Consider, then, what someone who bestows this praise on each thing is looking at, if he's to speak correctly. Start with the present case.

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	ἠπιστήθησαν τάξαι τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ τότε διακοσμοῦντες, τοῦ καιροῦ πως ἂν ἔτυχον; ἆρ' οὐκ εἰ συνέστησάν τε ἀσφαλῶς αὐτὸ διέσῳζόν τε εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ὥστε αὐτούς τε ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ ἄλλων ἄρχοντας ὧν βουληθεῖεν, καὶ ὅλως ἐν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι [687b] καὶ Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις πράττειν ὅτι ἐπιθυμοῖεν αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἔκγονοι; μῶν οὐ τούτων χάριν ἐπαινοῖεν ἄν;	If the men who organized the army back then had known how to arrange it properly, how would they have hit the mark? Wouldn't it be by establishing it securely and preserving it for all time, so that they would be free themselves, rule over whomever they wished, and in general among all mankind, [687b] Greek and non-Greek, do whatever they and their descendants desired? Isn't this why they'd praise it?
687b	**MEGILLUS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**MEGILLUS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν καὶ ὃς ἂν ἰδὼν πλοῦτον μέγαν ἢ τιμὰς διαφερούσας γένους, ἢ καὶ ὁτιοῦν τῶν τοιούτων, εἴπῃ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα, πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπων εἶπεν, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ γενησόμενα ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμῇ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ὅσα ἀξιώτατα λόγου;	**ATHENIAN** And anyone who sees great wealth, or exceptional family honors, or anything of that kind, and says the same things—isn't he saying it with this in view: that through it he'll get everything he desires, or most things, and the ones most worth mentioning?
	MEGILLUS ἔοικε γοῦν.	**MEGILLUS** So it seems.
687c	**ATHENIAN** φέρε δή, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ κοινὸν ἐπιθύμημα ἕν τι τὸ νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου δηλούμενον, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ λόγος;	**ATHENIAN** Come then: is there one desire common to all human beings, the one our argument is now bringing to light, as the argument itself claims?
	MEGILLUS τὸ ποῖον;	**MEGILLUS** What's that?
	ATHENIAN τὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐπίταξιν τὰ γιγνόμενα γίγνεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντα, εἰ δὲ μή, τά γε ἀνθρώπινα.	**ATHENIAN** That whatever happens should happen as one's own soul commands—everything, ideally, or failing that, at least human affairs.
	MEGILLUS τί μήν;	**MEGILLUS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἐπείπερ βουλόμεθα πάντες τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀεί, παῖδές τε ὄντες καὶ ἄνδρες πρεσβῦται, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ εὐχοίμεθ' ἂν ἀναγκαίως διὰ τέλους;	**ATHENIAN** Then since we all want this always, as children and as old men, wouldn't we necessarily also pray for this very thing our whole lives?
	MEGILLUS πῶς δ' οὔ;	**MEGILLUS** How could we not?
687d	**ATHENIAN** καὶ μὴν τοῖς γε φίλοις που συνευχοίμεθ' ἂν ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἑαυτοῖσιν.	**ATHENIAN** And surely we'd join our friends in praying for what they pray for themselves.
	MEGILLUS τί μήν;	**MEGILLUS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN φίλος μὲν υἱὸς πατρί, παῖς ὢν ἀνδρί.	**ATHENIAN** A son is dear to his father—a boy to a man.
	MEGILLUS πῶς δ' οὔ;	**MEGILLUS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν ὧν γ' ὁ παῖς εὔχεται ἑαυτῷ γίγνεσθαι, πολλὰ ὁ πατὴρ ἀπεύξαιτ' ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς μηδαμῶς κατὰ τὰς τοῦ υἱέος εὐχὰς γίγνεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** And yet many of the things the boy prays to get, the father would pray the gods never to grant as the son prays.

GREEK

ENGLISH

MEGILLUS ὅταν ἀνόητος ὢν καὶ ἔτι νέος εὔχηται, λέγεις;

MEGILLUS You mean when he prays while he's still young and foolish?

ATHENIAN καὶ ὅταν γε ὁ πατὴρ ὢν γέρων ἢ καὶ σφόδρα νεανίας, [687e] μηδὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων γιγνώσκων, εὔχηται μάλα προθύμως ἐν παθήμασιν ἀδελφοῖς ὧν τοῖς γενομένοις Θησεῖ πρὸς τὸν δυστυχῶς τελευτήσαντα Ἱππόλυτον, ὁ δὲ παῖς γιγνώσκῃ, τότε, δοκεῖς, παῖς πατρὶ συνεύξεται;

ATHENIAN Yes, and also when the father, whether old or a very hotheaded youth, [687e] knows nothing of what's fine and just, and prays with great fervor in a state like the one Theseus was in against Hippolytus, who met his unhappy end—while the son does know. Then, do you think, will the son join his father in his prayer?[10]

687e **MEGILLUS** μανθάνω ὃ λέγεις. λέγειν γάρ μοι δοκεῖς ὡς οὐ τοῦτο εὐκτέον οὐδὲ ἐπεικτέον, ἕπεσθαι πάντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βουλήσει, τὴν βούλησιν δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φρονήσει· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἕνα ἡμῶν ἕκαστον καὶ εὔχεσθαι δεῖν καὶ σπεύδειν, ὅπως νοῦν ἕξει.

MEGILLUS I understand what you mean. You seem to be saying that one shouldn't pray or strive for everything to follow one's own wish, but rather for one's wish to follow one's own wisdom; and that this is what a city and each of us should pray and work for: to have intelligence.

688a **ATHENIAN** ναί, καὶ δὴ καὶ πολιτικόν γε ἄνδρα νομοθέτην ὡς ἀεὶ δεῖ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέποντα τιθέναι τὰς τάξεις τῶν νόμων, αὐτός τε ἐμνήσθην καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαναμιμνήσκω, κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰ μεμνήμεθα τὰ λεχθέντα, ὅτι τὸ μὲν σφῷν ἦν παρακέλευμα ὡς χρεὼν εἴη τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην πάντα πολέμου χάριν τὰ νόμιμα τιθέναι, τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ἔλεγον ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς μίαν ἀρετὴν οὐσῶν τεττάρων κελεύοι τίθεσθαι τοὺς νόμους, [688b] δέοι δὲ δὴ πρὸς πᾶσαν μὲν βλέπειν, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πρώτην τὴν τῆς συμπάσης ἡγεμόνα ἀρετῆς, φρόνησις δ' εἴη τοῦτο καὶ νοῦς καὶ δόξα μετ' ἔρωτός τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τούτοις ἑπομένης.

ATHENIAN Yes. And in particular, that a statesman and lawgiver should always keep this in view when setting down the ordinances of his laws—I've just remembered it myself, and I remind you both, if we remember what was said at the start. Your advice was that the good lawgiver should enact all his laws for the sake of war; I said this meant laying down laws with a view to one virtue out of four, [688b] whereas one should look to the whole of virtue, and above all to the first, the leader of all virtue—which is wisdom and intelligence and opinion, with love and desire following them.

688b ἥκει δὴ πάλιν ὁ λόγος εἰς ταὐτόν, καὶ ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ νῦν λέγω πάλιν ἅπερ τότε, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, ὡς παίζων, εἰ δ', ὡς σπουδάζων, ὅτι δή φημι εὐχῇ χρῆσθαι σφαλερὸν εἶναι νοῦν μὴ κεκτημένον, ἀλλὰ τἀναντία ταῖς βουλήσεσίν [688c] οἱ γίγνεσθαι. σπουδάζοντα δ' εἴ με τιθέναι βούλεσθε, τίθετε· πάνυ γὰρ οὖν προσδοκῶ νῦν ὑμᾶς εὑρήσειν, τῷ λόγῳ ἑπομένους ὃν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθε προυθέμεθα, τῆς τῶν βασιλέων τε φθορᾶς καὶ ὅλου τοῦ διανοήματος οὐ δειλίαν οὖσαν τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδ' ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἠπίσταντο ἄρχοντές τε καὶ οὓς προσῆκεν ἄρχεσθαι, τῇ λοιπῇ δὲ πάσῃ κακίᾳ διεφθαρμένα, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν [688d] ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἀμαθίᾳ.

So the argument has come back to the same point, and I, the speaker, now say again what I said then—as a joke if you like, or in earnest if you like: I say that prayer is a dangerous thing for someone who lacks intelligence, since what happens to him is the opposite of what he wishes. [688c] If you'd like to take me as being in earnest, do; for I fully expect that you'll now find, if you follow the argument we set out a little while ago, that the cause of the ruin of the kings and of their whole plan wasn't cowardice, or the fact that the rulers, and those it was their place to rule, didn't understand warfare. They were ruined by all the rest of vice, and above all by ignorance about the greatest [688d] of human affairs.

688d ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς οὕτω γέγονε περὶ τὰ τότε, καὶ νῦν, εἴ που, γίγνεται, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον οὐκ ἄλλως

That this is how things happened back then, and happen now wherever they do, and will turn out

10 Believing a false charge against his son Hippolytus, Theseus cursed him, and the god Poseidon answered the curse by killing him.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	συμβήσεται, ἐὰν βούλησθε, πειράσομαι ἰὼν κατὰ τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον ἀνευρίσκειν τε καὶ ὑμῖν δηλοῦν κατὰ δύναμιν ὡς οὗσιν φίλοις.	no differently in the future—if you're willing, I'll try, as I go through the argument in order, to discover it and show it to you as best I can, since you're my friends.
	CLINIAS λόγῳ μὲν τοίνυν σε, ὦ ξένε, ἐπαινεῖν ἐπαχθέστερον, ἔργῳ δὲ σφόδρα ἐπαινεσόμεθα· προθύμως γὰρ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἑπακολουθήσομεν, ἐν οἷς ὅ γε ἐλεύθερος ἐπαινῶν καὶ μὴ μάλιστ' ἐστὶν καταφανής.	**CLINIAS** To praise you in words, stranger, would be rather tiresome, but we'll praise you vigorously in deed: we'll follow what you say eagerly. That's where a free man shows most clearly whether he approves or not.
688e	**MEGILLUS** ἄριστ', ὦ Κλεινία, καὶ ποιῶμεν ἃ λέγεις.	**MEGILLUS** Excellent, Clinias. Let's do as you say.
	CLINIAS ἔσται ταῦτα, ἐὰν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ. λέγε μόνον.	**CLINIAS** So we shall, god willing. Just speak.

THE GREATEST IGNORANCE

The worst ignorance is loving what one judges bad; it, not cowardice, ruined the Dorian kings.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN φαμὲν δή νυν, καθ' ὁδὸν ἰόντες τὴν λοιπὴν τοῦ λόγου, τὴν μεγίστην ἀμαθίαν τότε ἐκείνην τὴν δύναμιν ἀπολέσαι καὶ νῦν ταὐτὸν τοῦτο πεφυκέναι ποιεῖν, ὥστε τόν γε νομοθέτην, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, πειρατέον ταῖς πόλεσιν φρόνησιν μὲν ὅσην δυνατὸν ἐμποιεῖν, τὴν δ' ἄνοιαν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξαιρεῖν.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's say, as we go on down the road of our argument, that it was the greatest ignorance that destroyed that power back then, and that it naturally does the same thing now. So the lawgiver, if this is so, must try to instill as much wisdom as possible in cities, and remove folly as far as he can.
	CLINIAS δῆλον.	**CLINIAS** Clearly.
689a	**ATHENIAN** τίς οὖν ἡ μεγίστη δικαίως ἂν λέγοιτο ἀμαθία; σκοπεῖτε εἰ συνδόξει καὶ σφῷν λεγόμενον· ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὴν τοιάνδε τίθεμαι.	**ATHENIAN** So what could rightly be called the greatest ignorance? See whether you two agree with what I say. I set it down as this sort.
	CLINIAS ποίαν;	**CLINIAS** What sort?
	ATHENIAN τὴν ὅταν τῷ τι δόξαν καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι μὴ φιλῇ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ μισῇ, τὸ δὲ πονηρὸν καὶ ἄδικον δοκοῦν εἶναι φιλῇ τε καὶ ἀσπάζηται. ταύτην τὴν διαφωνίαν λύπης τε καὶ ἡδονῆς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ λόγον δόξαν ἀμαθίαν φημὶ εἶναι τὴν ἐσχάτην, μεγίστην δέ, ὅτι τοῦ πλήθους ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς· 689b τὸ γὰρ λυπούμενον καὶ ἡδόμενον αὐτῆς ὅπερ δῆμός τε καὶ πλῆθος πόλεώς ἐστιν.	**ATHENIAN** When someone thinks something is fine or good, and yet doesn't love it but hates it, while he loves and embraces what he thinks is bad and unjust. This discord between pain and pleasure on the one hand and reasoned judgment on the other I call the utmost ignorance—and the greatest, because it belongs to the mass of the soul; 689b for the part of the soul that feels pain and pleasure is what the common people and the masses are in a city.
689b	ὅταν οὖν ἐπιστήμαις ἢ δόξαις ἢ λόγῳ ἐναντιῶται, τοῖς φύσει ἀρχικοῖς, ἡ ψυχή, τοῦτο ἄνοιαν προσαγορεύω, πόλεώς τε, ὅταν ἄρχουσιν καὶ νόμοις μὴ πείθηται τὸ πλῆθος, ταὐτόν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, ὁπόταν καλοὶ ἐν ψυχῇ λόγοι ἐνόντες μηδὲν ποιῶσιν πλέον ἀλλὰ δὴ τούτοις πᾶν τοὐναντίον, ταύτας πάσας ἀμαθίας τὰς πλημμελεστάτας 689c ἔγωγ' ἂν θείην πόλεώς τε καὶ ἑνὸς	So when the soul opposes knowledge or opinion or reason, its natural rulers, I call this folly. The same goes for a city, when the masses don't obey the rulers and the laws; and for an individual too, when fine reasoning present in his soul achieves nothing, and in fact the very opposite. All these I

GREEK

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ἑκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς τῶν δημιουργῶν, εἰ ἄρα μου καταμανθάνετε, ὦ ξένοι, ὃ λέγω.

would count as the most discordant forms of ignorance, [689c] both of a city and of each individual citizen—not the ignorance of craftsmen—if you follow what I mean, strangers.

689c **CLINIAS** μανθάνομέν τε, ὦ φίλε, καὶ συγχωροῦμεν ἃ λέγεις.

CLINIAS We follow, my friend, and we agree with what you say.

ATHENIAN τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν οὕτω κείσθω δεδογμένον καὶ λεγόμενον, ὡς τοῖς ταῦτ' ἀμαθαίνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιτρεπτέον ἀρχῆς ἐχόμενον καὶ ὡς ἀμαθέσιν ὀνειδιστέον, ἂν καὶ πάνυ λογιστικοί τε ὦσι καὶ πάντα τὰ κομψὰ καὶ ὅσα [689d] πρὸς τάχος τῆς ψυχῆς πεφυκότα διαπεπονημένοι ἅπαντα, τοὺς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔχοντας τούτων ὡς σοφούς τε προσρητέον, ἂν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεῖν ἐπίστωνται, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς δοτέον ὡς ἔμφροσιν. πῶς γὰρ ἄν, ὦ φίλοι, ἄνευ συμφωνίας γένοιτ' ἂν φρονήσεως καὶ τὸ σμικρότατον εἶδος; οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν συμφωνιῶν μεγίστη δικαιότατ' ἂν λέγοιτο σοφία, ἧς ὁ μὲν κατὰ λόγον ζῶν μέτοχος, ὁ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενος οἰκοφθόρος καὶ περὶ πόλιν οὐδαμῇ σωτὴρ ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον ἀμαθαίνων εἰς ταῦτα [689e] ἑκάστοτε φανεῖται.

ATHENIAN Then let this be laid down as decided and declared: citizens who are ignorant in this way must be entrusted with nothing that involves ruling, and must be reproached as ignorant, even if they're very good at calculation and have worked hard at all the refinements and everything [689d] that naturally makes for quickness of mind. Those in the opposite condition must be called wise, even if, as the saying goes, they know neither their letters nor how to swim, and they must be given the offices as the sensible ones. For how, my friends, without concord could even the smallest form of wisdom come about? It can't. The finest and greatest of concords would most justly be called the greatest wisdom. The man who lives according to reason shares in it, while the one who lacks it will turn out, every time, to be a wrecker of his household and no savior of his city, but quite the opposite, ignorant [689e] in these matters.

689e ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, καθάπερ εἴπομεν ἄρτι, λελεγμένα τεθήτω ταύτῃ.

So let these things be set down as stated, as we just said.

CLINIAS κείσθω γὰρ οὖν.

CLINIAS Yes, let them stand.

CLAIMS TO RULE

Seven claims to rule are listed, and the kings of Argos and Messene are shown to have overreached.

GREEK

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ATHENIAN ἄρχοντας δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀρχομένους ἀναγκαῖον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν εἶναί που.

ATHENIAN Now in cities, I suppose, there must be rulers and ruled.

CLINIAS τί μήν;

CLINIAS Of course.

690a **ATHENIAN** εἶεν· ἀξιώματα δὲ δὴ τοῦ τε ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ποῖά ἐστι καὶ πόσα, ἔν τε πόλεσιν μεγάλαις καὶ σμικραῖς ἔν τε οἰκίαις ὡσαύτως; ἆρ' οὐχὶ ἓν μὲν τό τε πατρὸς καὶ μητρός; καὶ ὅλως γονέας ἐκγόνων ἄρχειν ἀξίωμα ὀρθὸν πανταχοῦ ἂν εἴη;

ATHENIAN Very well. What claims to rule and to be ruled are there, and how many, in cities large and small, and likewise in households? Isn't one the claim of father and mother? And in general, wouldn't it be a proper claim everywhere, that parents rule their offspring?

CLINIAS καὶ μάλα.

CLINIAS Certainly.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN τούτῳ δέ γε ἑπόμενον γενναίους ἀγεννῶν ἄρχειν· καὶ τρίτον ἔτι τούτοις συνέπεται τὸ πρεσβυτέρους μὲν ἄρχειν δεῖν, νεωτέρους δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** Following on from this, that the well-born rule the low-born. And a third comes next: that the older should rule and the younger be ruled.
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
690b	**ATHENIAN** τέταρτον δ' αὖ δούλους μὲν ἄρχεσθαι, δεσπότας δὲ ἄρχειν.	**ATHENIAN** A fourth, again, that slaves be ruled and masters rule.
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN πέμπτον γε οἶμαι τὸ κρείττονα μὲν ἄρχειν, τὸν ἥττω δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** A fifth, I think, that the stronger rule and the weaker be ruled.
	CLINIAS μάλα γε ἀναγκαῖον ἀρχὴν εἴρηκας.	**CLINIAS** That's a kind of rule there's no escaping.
	ATHENIAN καὶ πλείστην γε ἐν σύμπασιν τοῖς ζῴοις οὖσαν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἔφη ποτὲ Πίνδαρος. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀξίωμα ἕκτον ἂν γίγνοιτο, ἕπεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἀνεπιστήμονα κελεῦον, τὸν δὲ φρονοῦντα ἡγεῖσθαί τε καὶ 690c ἄρχειν. καίτοι τοῦτό γε, ὦ Πίνδαρε σοφώτατε, σχεδὸν οὐκ ἂν παρὰ φύσιν ἔγωγε φαίην γίγνεσθαι, κατὰ φύσιν δέ, τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἑκόντων ἀρχὴν ἀλλ' οὐ βίαιον πεφυκυῖαν.	**ATHENIAN** Yes, and the most widespread among all living things, and according to nature, as Pindar of Thebes once said. But the greatest claim, it seems, would be the sixth, which bids the ignorant follow and the wise lead 690c and rule. And yet this, most wise Pindar, I'd hardly call contrary to nature. It's according to nature: the rule of law over willing subjects, not by force.[11]
690c	**CLINIAS** ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
	ATHENIAN θεοφιλῆ δέ γε καὶ εὐτυχῆ τινα λέγοντες ἑβδόμην ἀρχήν, εἰς κλῆρόν τινα προάγομεν, καὶ λαχόντα μὲν ἄρχειν, δυσκληροῦντα δὲ ἀπιόντα ἄρχεσθαι τὸ δικαιότατον εἶναί φαμεν.	**ATHENIAN** And a seventh kind of rule, which we call dear to the gods and fortunate, we assign by some sort of lottery: we say it's most just for the one who draws the lot to rule, and for the one who loses to go off and be ruled.
	CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
690d	**ATHENIAN** "ὁρᾷς δή," φαῖμεν ἄν, "ὦ νομοθέτα," πρός τινα παίζοντες τῶν ἐπὶ νόμων θέσιν ἰόντων ῥᾳδίως, "ὅσα ἐστὶ πρὸς ἄρχοντας ἀξιώματα, καὶ ὅτι πεφυκότα πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐναντίως; νῦν γὰρ δὴ στάσεων πηγήν τινα ἀνηυρήκαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἣν δεῖ σε θεραπεύειν. πρῶτον δὲ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀνάσκεψαι πῶς τε καὶ τί παρὰ ταῦτα ἁμαρτόντες οἱ περί τε Ἄργος καὶ Μεσσήνην βασιλῆς αὐτοὺς ἅμα καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύναμιν, 690e οὖσαν θαυμαστὴν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, διέφθειραν. ἆρ' οὐκ ἀγνοήσαντες τὸν Ἡσίοδον ὀρθότατα λέγοντα ὡς τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς πολλάκις ἐστὶ πλέον; ὁπόταν ᾖ τὸ μὲν ὅλον λαμβάνειν ζημιῶδες, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ μέτριον, τότε τὸ μέτριον τοῦ ἀμέτρου πλέον ἡγήσατο, ἄμεινον ὂν χείρονος."	**ATHENIAN** "You see, lawgiver," we might say, teasing one of those who take up lawmaking lightly, "how many claims to rule there are, and that they are naturally at odds with one another? We've now found a source of civil strife, and you must treat it. But first join us in considering how the kings of Argos and Messene went wrong against these claims, and in what way, so that they destroyed both themselves and the power of the Greeks, 690e marvelous as it was at that time. Wasn't it by not knowing Hesiod's very true saying that the half is often more than the whole? When taking the whole is harmful and the half is moderate, then

11 Pindar wrote of law as "king of all," which "makes the utmost violence just"; the Athenian reads him as endorsing the rule of the stronger.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		the moderate, he held, is more than the immoderate, since the better is more than the worse."[12]
690e	CLINIAS ὀρθότατά γε.	CLINIAS Quite right.
	ATHENIAN πότερον οὖν οἰόμεθα περὶ βασιλέας τοῦτ' ἐγγιγνόμενον ἑκάστοτε διαφθείρειν πρότερον, ἢ ἐν τοῖσιν δήμοις;	ATHENIAN Then do we think this condition tends to arise and do its damage first among kings, or among peoples?
691a	CLINIAS τὸ μὲν εἰκὸς καὶ τὸ πολύ, βασιλέων τοῦτ' εἶναι νόσημα ὑπερηφάνως ζώντων διὰ τρυφάς.	CLINIAS Probably, and usually, it's a disease of kings, who live arrogantly because of luxury.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν δῆλον ὡς πρῶτον τοῦτο οἱ τότε βασιλῆς ἔσχον, τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν τῶν τεθέντων νόμων, καὶ ὃ λόγῳ τε καὶ ὅρκῳ ἐπῄνεσαν, οὐ συνεφώνησαν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἡ διαφωνία, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαμεν, οὖσα ἀμαθία μεγίστη, δοκοῦσα δὲ σοφία, πάντ' ἐκεῖνα διὰ πλημμέλειαν καὶ ἀμουσίαν τὴν πικρὰν διέφθειρεν;	ATHENIAN So isn't it clear that the kings of that time were the first to catch it: they wanted more than the established laws allowed, and they weren't in harmony with what they had approved in word and on oath? And this discord, which, as we say, is the greatest ignorance though it seems to be wisdom, destroyed all of that through its false notes and bitter lack of harmony.
	CLINIAS ἔοικε γοῦν.	CLINIAS So it seems.

WHY SPARTA SURVIVED

Sparta's double kingship, elders and ephors held power in due measure, so its constitution lasted.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
691b	ATHENIAN εἶεν· τί δὴ τὸν νομοθέτην ἔδει τότε τιθέντα εὐλαβηθῆναι τούτου περὶ τοῦ πάθους τῆς γενέσεως; ἆρ' ὦ πρὸς θεῶν νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν σοφὸν γνῶναι τοῦτο οὐδ' εἰπεῖν χαλεπόν, εἰ δὲ προϊδεῖν ἦν τότε, σοφώτερος ἂν ἦν ἡμῶν ὁ προϊδών;	ATHENIAN Very well. What should the lawgiver of that time have guarded against when he legislated, where this affliction was concerned? Heavens, isn't it true that now it takes no wisdom to see this, and it isn't hard to say—but if one could have foreseen it then, whoever did would have been wiser than we are?
	MEGILLUS τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;	MEGILLUS What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN εἰς τὸ γεγονὸς παρ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ἔστιν νῦν γε κατιδόντα γνῶναι, καὶ γνόντα εἰπεῖν ῥᾴδιον, ὃ τότε ἔδει γίγνεσθαι.	ATHENIAN By looking at what has happened among you, Megillus, one can now see, and having seen, easily say, what should have happened then.
	MEGILLUS σαφέστερον ἔτι λέγε.	MEGILLUS Say it still more clearly.
	ATHENIAN τὸ τοίνυν σαφέστατον ἂν εἴη τὸ τοιόνδε.	ATHENIAN Well, the clearest way to put it would be this.
	MEGILLUS τὸ ποῖον;	MEGILLUS What?
691c	ATHENIAN ἐάν τις μείζονα διδῷ τοῖς ἐλάττοσι δύναμιν παρεὶς τὸ μέτριον, πλοίοις τε ἱστία καὶ σώμασιν τροφὴν καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀρχάς, ἀνατρέπεταί που πάντα, καὶ	ATHENIAN If you give too much power to something too small for it, neglecting due measure—sails to ships, food to bodies, offices to souls—

12 Hesiod, *Works and Days* 40: "Fools, who don't know how much more the half is than the whole."

GREEK

ἐξυβρίζοντα τὰ μὲν εἰς νόσους θεῖ, τὰ δ' εἰς ἔκγονον ὕβρεως ἀδικίαν. τί οὖν δή ποτε λέγομεν; ἆρά γε τὸ τοιόνδε, ὡς οὐκ ἔστ', ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες, θνητῆς ψυχῆς φύσις ἥτις ποτὲ δυνήσεται τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχὴν φέρειν νέα καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος, [691d] ὥστε μὴ τῆς μεγίστης νόσου ἀνοίας πληρωθεῖσα αὐτῆς τὴν διάνοιαν, μῖσος ἔχειν πρὸς τῶν ἐγγύτατα φίλων, ὃ γενόμενον ταχὺ διέφθειρεν αὐτὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἠφάνισεν αὐτῆς; τοῦτ' οὖν εὐλαβηθῆναι γνόντας τὸ μέτριον μεγάλων νομοθετῶν. ὡς οὖν δὴ τότε γενόμενον, νῦν ἔστιν μετριώτατα τοπάσαι· τὸ δ' ἔοικεν εἶναι—

ENGLISH

everything is overturned. Running riot, some run into disease, others into injustice, the offspring of insolence. What are we saying, then? Surely something like this: that there is no mortal soul, my friends, whose nature will ever be able, while young and unaccountable, to bear the greatest power among human beings [691d] without its mind filling up with the greatest disease, folly, and without incurring the hatred of its nearest friends. And when that happens it quickly destroys the soul and wipes out all its power. To guard against this by recognizing due measure is the task of great lawgivers. Now as for what happened then, we can make a very reasonable guess, and it seems to have been—

691d **MEGILLUS** τὸ ποῖον;

ATHENIAN θεὸς εἶναι κηδόμενος ὑμῶν τις, ὃς τὰ μέλλοντα προορῶν, δίδυμον ὑμῖν φυτεύσας τὴν τῶν βασιλέων γένεσιν [691e] ἐκ μονογενοῦς, εἰς τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον συνέστειλε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔτι φύσις τις ἀνθρωπίνη μεμειγμένη θείᾳ τινὶ δυνάμει, κατιδοῦσα ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν φλεγμαίνουσαν ἔτι, μείγνυσιν τὴν [692a] κατὰ γῆρας σώφρονα δύναμιν τῇ κατὰ γένος αὐθάδει ῥώμῃ, τὴν τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι γερόντων ἰσόψηφον εἰς τὰ μέγιστα τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ποιήσασα δυνάμει. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σωτὴρ ὑμῖν ἔτι σπαργῶσαν καὶ θυμουμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρῶν, οἷον ψάλιον ἐνέβαλεν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἐγγὺς τῆς κληρωτῆς ἀγαγὼν δυνάμεως· καὶ κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἡ βασιλεία παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἔδει σύμμεικτος γενομένη καὶ μέτρον ἔχουσα, σωθεῖσα αὐτὴ σωτηρίας τοῖς ἄλλοις γέγονεν [692b] αἰτία.

MEGILLUS What?

ATHENIAN That some god was looking after you. Foreseeing the future, he made your line of kings twins [691e] out of a single one, and so drew it closer to due measure. And after this some human nature mixed with a divine power, seeing that your rule was still feverish, blended [692a] the moderate power of old age with the headstrong strength of birth, by giving the twenty-eight elders an equal vote with the power of the kings in the most important matters. And your third savior, seeing your rule still swelling and spirited, put the power of the ephors on it like a bridle, bringing it close to power assigned by lot. By this reckoning the kingship among you, blended from the right elements and possessing due measure, was preserved itself and became the [692b] cause of preservation for the rest.[13]

692b ἐπεὶ ἐπί γε Τημένῳ καὶ Κρεσφόντῃ καὶ τοῖς τότε νομοθέταις, οἵτινες ἄρα ἦσαν νομοθετοῦντες, οὐδ' ἡ Ἀριστοδήμου μερὶς ἐσώθη ποτ' ἄν—οὐ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἦσαν νομοθεσίας ἔμπειροι· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ᾠήθησαν ὅρκοις μετριάσαι ψυχὴν νέαν, λαβοῦσαν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἧς δυνατὸν ἦν τυραννίδα γενέσθαι—νῦν δ' ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξεν οἵαν ἔδει καὶ δεῖ δὴ τὴν μενοῦσαν μάλιστα ἀρχὴν γίγνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ παρ' [692c] ἡμῶν γιγνώσκεσθαι ταῦτα, ὅπερ εἶπον ἔμπροσθεν, νῦν μὲν γενόμενον οὐδὲν σοφόν—ἐκ γὰρ παραδείγματος ὁρᾶν γεγονότος οὐδὲν χαλεπόν—εἰ δ' ἦν τις προορῶν τότε ταῦτα καὶ δυνάμενος μετριάσαι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ μίαν ἐκ τριῶν ποιῆσαι, τά τε νοηθέντα ἂν καλὰ τότε πάντα ἀπέσωσε καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὁ Περσικὸς ἐπὶ τὴν

For if it had been up to Temenus and Cresphontes and the lawgivers of that time, whoever they actually were, not even Aristodemus' share would ever have survived—they weren't experienced enough in legislation. Otherwise they'd hardly have thought they could moderate a young soul with oaths once it had taken power from which a tyranny could arise. As it is, the god has shown what sort of rule there had to be, and must be, if it is to last as long as possible. For us [692c] to recognize these things now, as I said before, takes no wisdom—it's not hard to see from an example that

13 Sparta had two royal houses. The "human nature" is usually taken to be Lycurgus, credited with the council of twenty-eight elders, and the "third savior" King Theopompus, credited with the ephors, five magistrates chosen each year.

GREEK

Ἑλλάδα οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς στόλος ἂν ὥρμησε, καταφρονήσας ὡς ὄντων ἡμῶν βραχέος ἀξίων.

ENGLISH

has already happened. But if someone back then had foreseen these things and been able to moderate the offices and make one out of the three, he would have preserved all the fine things conceived at that time, and neither the Persian expedition nor any other would ever have set out against Greece, holding us in contempt as people of little account.[14]

692c **CLINIAS** ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

CLINIAS What you say is true.

692d **ATHENIAN** αἰσχρῶς γοῦν ἠμύναντο αὐτούς, ὦ Κλεινία. τὸ δ' αἰσχρὸν λέγω οὐχ ὡς οὐ νικῶντές γε οἱ τότε καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καλὰς νενικήκασι μάχας· ἀλλὰ ὅ φημι αἰσχρὸν τότ' εἶναι, τόδε λέγω, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκείνων τῶν πόλεων τριῶν οὐσῶν μίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀμῦναι, τὼ δὲ δύο κακῶς οὕτως εἶναι διεφθαρμένα, ὥστε ἡ μὲν καὶ Λακεδαίμονα διεκώλυεν ἐπαμύνειν αὐτῇ, πολεμοῦσα αὐτῇ κατὰ κράτος, ἡ δ' αὖ πρωτεύουσα ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις τοῖς 692e περὶ τὴν διανομήν, ἡ περὶ τὸ Ἄργος, παρακαλουμένη ἀμύνειν τὸν βάρβαρον οὔθ' ὑπήκουσεν οὔτ' ἤμυνεν.

ATHENIAN At any rate they defended themselves shamefully, Clinias. By "shamefully" I don't mean that the men of that time didn't win, and win fine battles on land and at sea. What I call shameful then is this: first, that of those three cities only one defended Greece, while the other two were so badly corrupted that one of them even kept Sparta from coming to Greece's defense by making war on it with all its might, while the other—the city around Argos, which held first place in the old days 692e of the division—when called on to help fight off the invader, neither listened nor helped.

692e πολλὰ δὲ λέγων ἄν τις τὰ τότε γενόμενα περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδαμῶς εὐσχήμονα ἂν κατηγοροῖ· οὐδ' αὖ ἀμύνασθαι τήν γε Ἑλλάδα λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν λέγοι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κοινῇ διανόημα 693a ἤμυνεν τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν δουλείαν, σχεδὸν ἂν ἤδη πάντ' ἦν μεμειγμένα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένη ἐν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ βάρβαρα ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ ἐν βαρβάροις, καθάπερ ὧν Πέρσαι τυραννοῦσι τὰ νῦν διαπεφορημένα καὶ συμπεφορημένα κακῶς ἐσπαρμένα κατοικεῖται.

One could say a great deal about what happened then in that war, and it would all be charges against Greece that do it no credit. Nor would one be right to say that Greece defended itself. If the common resolve of the Athenians and the Spartans 693a hadn't fought off the slavery that was coming, practically all the Greek peoples would by now be mixed up with one another, non-Greek among Greek and Greek among non-Greek, just as the peoples the Persians now rule live dispersed and jumbled together, wretchedly scattered.

693a ταῦτ', ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, ἔχομεν ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς τε πάλαι πολιτικοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ νομοθέταις καὶ τοῖς νῦν, ἵνα τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ἀναζητοῦντες, 693b ἀνευρίσκωμεν τί παρὰ ταῦτα ἔδει πράττειν ἄλλο· οἷον δὴ καὶ τὸ παρὸν εἴπομεν, ὡς ἄρα οὐ δεῖ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς οὐδ' αὖ ἀμείκτους νομοθετεῖν, διανοηθέντας τὸ τοιόνδε, ὅτι πόλιν ἐλευθέραν τε εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ἔμφρονα καὶ ἑαυτῇ φίλην, καὶ τὸν νομοθετοῦντα πρὸς ταῦτα βλέποντα δεῖ νομοθετεῖν.

This, Clinias and Megillus, is what we can find fault with in the so-called statesmen and lawgivers of old, and in those of today, so that by looking for the causes 693b we may discover what else should have been done instead. For instance, we've just said that one should not legislate for great offices, or unmixed ones, bearing in mind this: a city must be free and wise and a friend to itself, and the lawgiver must legislate with these things in view.

693b μὴ θαυμάσωμεν δὲ εἰ πολλάκις ἤδη προθέμενοι ἄττα, εἰρήκαμεν ὅτι πρὸς ταῦτα δεῖ νομοθετεῖν βλέποντα τὸν νομοθέτην, 693c τὰ δὲ προτεθέντα οὐ ταὐτὰ ἡμῖν φαίνεται ἑκάστοτε· ἀλλὰ ἀναλογίζεσθαι χρή, ὅταν πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν φῶμεν δεῖν βλέπειν, ἢ πρὸς φρόνησιν ἢ

And let's not be surprised if we've often before now proposed certain aims and said the lawgiver must legislate with these in view, 693c and yet the aims proposed don't look the same to us each time. Rather, we should reason it out: when we say one

14 Aristodemus, the third Heraclid brother, received Sparta; Procles and Eurysthenes were his sons.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	φιλίαν, ὡς ἔσθ' οὗτος ὁ σκοπὸς οὐχ ἕτερος ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτός, καὶ ἄλλα δὴ πολλὰ ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα ἂν γίγνηται ῥήματα μὴ διαταραττέτω.	must aim at moderation, or at wisdom, or at friendship, this target is not different but the same. And if many other expressions of this kind come up, don't let them confuse us.
693c	**CLINIAS** πειρασόμεθα ποιεῖν οὕτως ἐπανιόντες τοὺς λόγους· καὶ νῦν δὴ τὸ περὶ τῆς φιλίας τε καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ἐλευθερίας, πρὸς ὅτι βουλόμενος ἔμελλες λέγειν δεῖν στοχάζεσθαι [693d] τὸν νομοθέτην, λέγε.	**CLINIAS** We'll try to do that when we go back over the arguments. For now, tell us about friendship and wisdom and freedom—what you were going to say the lawgiver [693d] should aim at.

TWO MOTHER CONSTITUTIONS

Monarchy and democracy are the two sources of constitutions; Persia shows the decline of monarchy.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
693d	**ATHENIAN** ἄκουσον δή νυν. εἰσὶν πολιτειῶν οἷον μητέρες δύο τινές, ἐξ ὧν τὰς ἄλλας γεγονέναι λέγων ἄν τις ὀρθῶς λέγοι, καὶ τὴν μὲν προσαγορεύειν μοναρχίαν ὀρθόν, τὴν δ' αὖ δημοκρατίαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν τὸ Περσῶν γένος ἄκρον ἔχειν, τῆς δὲ ἡμᾶς· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι σχεδὸν ἅπασαι, καθάπερ εἶπον, ἐκ τούτων εἰσὶ διαπεποικιλμέναι. δεῖ δὴ οὖν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μεταλαβεῖν ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν, εἴπερ ἐλευθερία τ' ἔσται καὶ [693e] φιλία μετὰ φρονήσεως· ὃ δὴ βούλεται ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος προστάττειν, λέγων ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε τούτων πόλις ἄμοιρος γενομένη πολιτευθῆναι δύναιτ' ἂν καλῶς.	**ATHENIAN** Listen, then. There are, as it were, two mothers of constitutions, from which one could rightly say the others have come. One is rightly called monarchy, the other democracy: the Persian race holds the extreme of the first, and we hold the extreme of the second. Nearly all the others, as I said, are variations woven from these. Now it's essential and necessary to have a share of both, if there is to be freedom and [693e] friendship together with wisdom. That's what our argument means to prescribe, when it says that a city with no share of these could never be well governed.
693e	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** How could it?
	ATHENIAN ἡ μὲν τοίνυν τὸ μοναρχικόν, ἡ δὲ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἀγαπήσασα μειζόνως ἢ ἔδει μόνον, οὐδετέρα τὰ μέτρια κέκτηται τούτων, αἱ δὲ ὑμέτεραι, ἥ τε Λακωνικὴ καὶ Κρητική, μᾶλλον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Πέρσαι τὸ μὲν πάλαι οὕτω [694a] πως, τὸ νῦν δὲ ἧττον. τὰ δ' αἴτια διέλθωμεν· ἦ γάρ;	**ATHENIAN** Well, the one embraced monarchy and the other freedom more than it should, and exclusively, so neither has these in due measure. Yours, the Spartan and the Cretan, do better. The Athenians and the Persians were once more or less that way, [694a] but less so now. Let's go through the causes—shall we?
694a	**CLINIAS** πάντως, εἴ γέ που μέλλομεν ὃ προυθέμεθα περαίνειν.	**CLINIAS** By all means, if we mean to finish what we set out to do.
	ATHENIAN ἀκούωμεν δή. Πέρσαι γάρ, ὅτε μὲν τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον δουλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἦγον ἐπὶ Κύρου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλων πολλῶν δεσπόται. ἐλευθερίας γὰρ ἄρχοντες μεταδιδόντες ἀρχομένοις καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἴσον ἄγοντες, μᾶλλον φίλοι τε ἦσαν στρατιῶται στρατηγοῖς [694b] καὶ προθύμους αὑτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις παρείχοντο· καὶ εἴ τις αὖ φρόνιμος ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ βουλεύειν δυνατός, οὐ φθονεροῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος, διδόντος δὲ παρρησίαν καὶ τιμῶντος τοὺς εἴς τι δυναμένους συμβουλεύειν, κοινὴν τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ	**ATHENIAN** Let's hear it, then. When the Persians under Cyrus kept more to the mean between slavery and freedom, first they became free themselves, and then masters of many others. For when the rulers gave the ruled a share of freedom and brought them toward equality, soldiers were friendlier to their generals [694b] and offered themselves eagerly in danger. And again, if there was a wise man among them who was able to give counsel, since the king wasn't jealous but allowed free speech and honored those who could advise on

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	μέσον παρείχετο δύναμιν, καὶ πάντα δὴ τότε ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς δι' ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ νοῦ κοινωνίαν.	anything, he offered his power of thought for the common good. So everything advanced for them at that time through freedom, friendship, and a sharing of intelligence.
694b	CLINIAS ἔοικέν γέ πως τὰ λεγόμενα οὕτω γεγονέναι.	CLINIAS It does seem that what you describe happened more or less like that.
694c	ATHENIAN πῇ δὴ οὖν ποτε ἀπώλετο ἐπὶ Καμβύσου καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Δαρείου σχεδὸν ἐσώθη; βούλεσθε οἷον μαντείᾳ διανοηθέντες χρώμεθα;	ATHENIAN How then was it lost under Cambyses, and nearly recovered again under Darius? Would you like us to use a sort of divination as we think it through?
	CLINIAS φέρει γοῦν ἡμῖν σκέψιν τοῦτο ἐφ' ὅπερ ὡρμήκαμεν.	CLINIAS At least it brings us to the inquiry we've set out on.
	ATHENIAN μαντεύομαι δὴ νῦν περί γε Κύρου, τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' αὐτὸν στρατηγόν τε ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλόπολιν, παιδείας δὲ ὀρθῆς οὐχ ἥφθαι τὸ παράπαν, οἰκονομίᾳ τε οὐδὲν τὸν νοῦν προσεσχηκέναι.	ATHENIAN Then here is my divination about Cyrus: in other respects he was a good general and loved his country, but he never touched correct education at all, and paid no attention whatever to the management of his household.
	CLINIAS πῶς δὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον φῶμεν;	CLINIAS How are we to take that?
694d	ATHENIAN ἔοικεν ἐκ νέου στρατεύεσθαι διὰ βίου, ταῖς γυναιξὶν παραδοὺς τοὺς παῖδας τρέφειν. αἱ δὲ ὡς εὐδαίμονας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν παίδων εὐθὺς καὶ μακαρίους ἤδη γεγονότας καὶ ἐπιδεεῖς ὄντας τούτων οὐδενὸς ἔτρεφον· κωλύουσαι δὲ ὡς οὖσιν ἱκανῶς εὐδαίμοσιν μήτε αὐτοῖς ἐναντιοῦσθαι μηδένα εἰς μηδέν, ἐπαινεῖν τε ἀναγκάζουσαι πάντας τὸ λεγόμενον ἢ πραττόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἔθρεψαν τοιούτους τινάς.	ATHENIAN It seems he was on campaign from his youth all his life, and handed his children over to the women to raise. They raised them as though they were already happy and blessed from childhood, lacking nothing. They prevented anyone from opposing them in anything, since they were happy enough already, and forced everyone to praise whatever they said or did; and so they raised them to be what you'd expect.
	CLINIAS καλήν, ὡς ἔοικας, τροφὴν εἴρηκας.	CLINIAS A fine upbringing you've described, it seems!
694e	ATHENIAN γυναικείαν μὲν οὖν βασιλίδων γυναικῶν νεωστὶ γεγονυιῶν πλουσίων, καὶ ἐν ἀνδρῶν ἐρημίᾳ, διὰ τὸ μὴ σχολάζειν ὑπὸ πολέμων καὶ πολλῶν κινδύνων, τοὺς παῖδας τρεφουσῶν.	ATHENIAN A women's upbringing, rather: royal women who had recently become rich, raising the children without men around, since the men had no leisure because of wars and many dangers.
	CLINIAS ἔχει γὰρ λόγον.	CLINIAS That makes sense.
	ATHENIAN ὁ δὲ πατήρ γε αὐτοῖς αὖ ποίμνια μὲν καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἀγέλας ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν πολλὰς ἐκτᾶτο, 695a αὐτοὺς δὲ οἷς ταῦτα παραδώσειν ἔμελλεν ἠγνόει τὴν πατρῴαν οὐ παιδευομένους τέχνην, οὖσαν Περσικήν—ποιμένων ὄντων Περσῶν, τραχείας χώρας ἐκγόνων—σκληρὰν καὶ ἱκανὴν ποιμένας ἀπεργάζεσθαι μάλα ἰσχυροὺς καὶ δυναμένους θυραυλεῖν καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ εἰ στρατεύεσθαι δέοι στρατεύεσθαι· διεφθαρμένην δὲ παιδείαν ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης	ATHENIAN Their father, for his part, was acquiring flocks and herds for them, and many herds of men and of much else besides, 695a but he didn't realize that the ones he was going to hand all this to were not being trained in their ancestral art. That art was Persian—the Persians being shepherds, children of a rugged land—and it was a hard one, able to make shepherds very tough, able to sleep in the open and stay awake and go on cam-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	εὐδαιμονίας τὴν Μηδικὴν περιεῖδεν ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τε καὶ εὐνούχων παιδευθέντας [695b] αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑεῖς, ὅθεν ἐγένοντο οἵους ἦν αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς γενέσθαι, τροφῇ ἀνεπιπλήκτῳ τραφέντας.	paign if need be. Instead he let his sons be educated by women and eunuchs [695b] in the Median education, corrupted by so-called happiness; and so they became what you'd expect them to become, raised in an upbringing that never rebuked them.
695b	παραλαβόντες δ' οὖν οἱ παῖδες τελευτήσαντος Κύρου τρυφῆς μεστοὶ καὶ ἀνεπιπληξίας, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἕτερον ἄτερος ἀπέκτεινε τῷ ἴσῳ ἀγανακτῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸς μαινόμενος ὑπὸ μέθης τε καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπώλεσεν ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου τότε εὐνούχου, καταφρονήσαντος τῆς Καμβύσου μωρίας.	So when Cyrus died, his sons took over, full of luxury and indiscipline. First one killed the other, resenting that he had an equal share. After that he himself, maddened by drink and lack of education, lost the empire to the Medes and to the man then called the eunuch, who despised Cambyses' folly.[15]
695c	CLINIAS λέγεται δὴ ταῦτά γε, καὶ ἔοικεν σχεδὸν οὕτω πως γεγονέναι.	CLINIAS That's what they say, at least, and it seems to have happened roughly like that.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν καὶ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ Δαρείου καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ λέγεταί που.	ATHENIAN And, as the story goes, the empire came back to the Persians through Darius and the Seven.[16]
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	CLINIAS Of course.
	ATHENIAN θεωρῶμεν δὴ συνεπόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. Δαρεῖος γὰρ βασιλέως οὐκ ἦν ὑός, παιδείᾳ τε οὐ διατρυφώσῃ τεθραμμένος, ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ἕβδομος, διείλετο ἑπτὰ μέρη τεμόμενος, ὧν καὶ νῦν ἔτι σμικρὰ ὀνείρατα λέλειπται, καὶ νόμους ἠξίου θέμενος οἰκεῖν ἰσότητα [695d] κοινήν τινα εἰσφέρων, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κύρου δασμόν, ὃν ὑπέσχετο Πέρσαις, εἰς τὸν νόμον ἐνέδει, φιλίαν πορίζων καὶ κοινωνίαν πᾶσιν Πέρσαις, χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς τὸν Περσῶν δῆμον προσαγόμενος· τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ τὰ στρατεύματα μετ' εὐνοίας προσεκτήσατο χώρας οὐκ ἐλάττους ὧν κατέλιπε Κῦρος.	ATHENIAN Let's watch, then, as we follow the story. Darius was not a king's son, and had not been brought up in a pampering education. When he came to power, taking it as one of the seven, he divided the empire into seven parts, of which some faint dream-traces remain even now. He saw fit to govern by laying down laws, introducing a kind of common [695d] equality, and he made the tribute Cyrus had promised the Persians part of the law, creating friendship and community among all Persians and winning over the Persian people with money and gifts. As a result his armies, loyal to him, won lands no smaller than those Cyrus had left.
695d	μετὰ δὲ Δαρεῖον ὁ τῇ βασιλικῇ καὶ τρυφώσῃ πάλιν παιδευθεὶς παιδείᾳ Ξέρξης— "ὦ Δαρεῖε," εἰπεῖν ἐστιν δικαιότατον ἴσως, "ὃς τὸ Κύρου κακὸν οὐκ [695e] ἔμαθες, ἐθρέψω δὲ Ξέρξην ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἤθεσιν ἐν οἷσπερ Κῦρος Καμβύσην" —ὁ δέ, ἅτε τῶν αὐτῶν παιδειῶν γενόμενος ἔκγονος, παραπλήσια ἀπετέλεσεν τοῖς Καμβύσου παθήμασιν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἔκ γε τοσούτου βασιλεὺς ἐν Πέρσαις οὐδείς πω μέγας ἐγγέγονεν ἀληθῶς, πλήν γε ὀνόματι. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐ τύχης, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, ἀλλ' ὁ κακὸς βίος ὃν οἱ τῶν [696a] διαφερόντως πλουσίων καὶ	After Darius came Xerxes, educated once again in the royal, pampering education—"Darius," one might most justly say, "you didn't [695e] learn from Cyrus' mistake, and you raised Xerxes in the same habits in which Cyrus raised Cambyses"—and Xerxes, as the product of the same education, came to grief much as Cambyses did. And practically ever since then, no king among the Persians has been truly great, except in name. The cause, as I see it, isn't fortune, but the bad life that the sons of the

15 Cambyses had his brother killed; while he was away in Egypt the throne was seized by a Magus, a Median priest, posing as the dead brother. Plato calls him "the eunuch."
16 Darius was one of seven Persian nobles who overthrew the usurper in 522 BC.

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	τυράννων παῖδες τὰ πολλὰ ζῶσιν· οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε γένηται παῖς καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ γέρων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς διαφέρων πρὸς ἀρετήν. ἃ δή, φαμέν, τῷ νομοθέτῃ σκεπτέον, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι.	[696a] extremely rich and of tyrants mostly lead: never will a boy or a man or an old man excel in virtue who has come out of that upbringing. This, we say, is what the lawgiver must consider, and what we must consider at present.
696a	δίκαιον μήν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτό γε τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν ἀποδιδόναι, ὅτι πενίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ ἰδιωτείᾳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ διαφέρουσαν οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν τιμὴν καὶ τροφὴν νέμετε, ἃς μὴ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς [696b] ὑμῖν θεῖον παρὰ θεοῦ διεμαντεύσατό τινος. οὐ γὰρ δὴ δεῖ κατὰ πόλιν γε εἶναι τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερεχούσας, ὅτι τίς ἐστιν πλούτῳ διαφέρων, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὅτι ταχὺς ἢ καλὸς ἢ ἰσχυρὸς ἄνευ τινὸς ἀρετῆς, οὐδ' ἀρετῆς ἧς ἂν σωφροσύνη ἀπῇ.	It's only fair, my Spartan friends, to give your city credit for this: you assign no distinctive honor or upbringing for poverty or wealth, for private status or kingship, beyond what your [696b] divine oracle at the beginning proclaimed from some god. For honors in a city ought not to be outstanding because someone excels in wealth—any more than because he's swift or handsome or strong without some virtue, or even has a virtue from which moderation is missing.
696b	**MEGILLUS** πῶς τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις;	**MEGILLUS** What do you mean, stranger?
	ATHENIAN ἀνδρεία που μόριον ἀρετῆς ἕν;	**ATHENIAN** Courage is surely one part of virtue?
	MEGILLUS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**MEGILLUS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN δίκασον τοίνυν αὐτὸς τὸν λόγον ἀκούσας εἴ σοι δέξαι' ἂν σύνοικον ἢ γείτονα εἶναί τινα σφόδρα μὲν ἀνδρεῖον, μὴ σώφρονα δὲ ἀλλ' ἀκόλαστον.	**ATHENIAN** Then, having heard the argument, judge for yourself: would you accept as a housemate or neighbor someone very courageous, but not moderate—undisciplined instead?
696c	**MEGILLUS** εὐφήμει.	**MEGILLUS** Heaven forbid!
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; τεχνικὸν μὲν καὶ περὶ ταῦτα σοφόν, ἄδικον δέ;	**ATHENIAN** What about someone skilled, and wise in his field, but unjust?
	MEGILLUS οὐδαμῶς.	**MEGILLUS** Certainly not.
	ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε δίκαιον οὐ φύεται χωρὶς τοῦ σωφρονεῖν.	**ATHENIAN** But surely justice doesn't grow apart from moderation.
	MEGILLUS πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**MEGILLUS** How could it?
	ATHENIAN οὐδὲ μὴν ὅν γε σοφὸν ἡμεῖς νυνδὴ προυθέμεθα, τὸν τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας κεκτημένον συμφώνους τοῖς ὀρθοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἑπομένας.	**ATHENIAN** Nor does the man we put forward just now as wise, the one whose pleasures and pains agree with right reasoning and follow it.
	MEGILLUS οὐ γὰρ οὖν.	**MEGILLUS** No indeed.
	ATHENIAN ἔτι δὴ καὶ τόδε ἐπισκεψώμεθα τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν [696d] τιμήσεων ἕνεκα, ποῖαί τε ὀρθαὶ καὶ μὴ γίγνονται ἑκάστοτε.	**ATHENIAN** Let's consider this further point too, about the honors given in cities, [696d] which ones are correct in each case and which aren't.
696d	**MEGILLUS** τὸ ποῖον;	**MEGILLUS** What point?
	ATHENIAN σωφροσύνη ἄνευ πάσης τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἐν ψυχῇ τινι μεμονωμένη τίμιον ἢ ἄτιμον γίγνοιτ' ἂν κατὰ δίκην;	**ATHENIAN** Would moderation on its own in a soul, cut off from all the rest of virtue, justly be honored or dishonored?

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	MEGILLUS οὐκ ἔχω ὅπως εἴπω.	**MEGILLUS** I don't know how to answer.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν εἴρηκάς γε μετρίως· εἰπὼν γὰρ δὴ ὧν ἠρόμην ὁποτερονοῦν, παρὰ μέλος ἔμοιγ' ἂν δοκεῖς φθέγξασθαι.	**ATHENIAN** And that was a moderate answer. If you had given either of the alternatives I asked about, I think you would have struck a false note.
	MEGILLUS καλῶς τοίνυν γεγονὸς ἂν εἴη.	**MEGILLUS** Then it's turned out well.
	ATHENIAN εἶεν· τὸ μὲν δὴ πρόσθημα ὧν τιμαί τε καὶ ἀτιμίαι [696e] οὐ λόγου, ἀλλά τινος μᾶλλον ἀλόγου σιγῆς, ἄξιον ἂν εἴη.	**ATHENIAN** Very well. Something that's merely an addition to what receives honor or dishonor [696e] would deserve not speech but rather a kind of wordless silence.
696e	**MEGILLUS** σωφροσύνην μοι φαίνῃ λέγειν.	**MEGILLUS** You seem to me to mean moderation.
	ATHENIAN ναί. τὸ δέ γε τῶν ἄλλων πλεῖστα ἡμᾶς ὠφελοῦν μετὰ τῆς προσθήκης μάλιστ' ἂν τιμώμενον ὀρθότατα τιμῷτο, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον δευτέρως· καὶ οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον τὰς ἐφεξῆς τιμὰς λαγχάνον ἕκαστον ὀρθῶς ἂν λαγχάνοι.	**ATHENIAN** Yes. And of the others, the one that benefits us most, together with this addition, would be most correctly honored if honored most, and the second second; and so each one, receiving its honors in the order that follows, would receive them rightly.
697a	**MEGILLUS** ἔχει ταύτῃ.	**MEGILLUS** That's so.
	ATHENIAN τί οὖν; οὐ νομοθέτου καὶ ταῦτα αὖ φήσομεν εἶναι διανέμειν;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, shan't we say that distributing these, too, is the lawgiver's business?
	MEGILLUS καὶ μάλα.	**MEGILLUS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN βούλει δὴ τὰ μὲν ἅπαντα καὶ ἐφ' ἕκαστον ἔργον καὶ κατὰ σμικρὰ ἐκείνῳ δῶμεν νεῖμαι, τὸ δὲ τριχῇ διελεῖν, ἐπειδὴ νόμων ἐσμὲν καὶ αὐτοί πως ἐπιθυμηταί, πειραθῶμεν, διατεμεῖν χωρὶς τά τε μέγιστα καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα;	**ATHENIAN** Then shall we leave it to him to distribute everything, down to each activity and in detail, while we, since we too are in a way enthusiasts for laws, try to divide things three ways and separate out the most important, the second, and the third?
	MEGILLUS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**MEGILLUS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN λέγομεν τοίνυν ὅτι πόλιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὴν μέλλουσαν [697b] σῴζεσθαί τε καὶ εὐδαιμονήσειν εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τιμάς τε καὶ ἀτιμίας διανέμειν ὀρθῶς. ἔστιν δὲ ὀρθῶς ἄρα τιμιώτατα μὲν καὶ πρῶτα τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγαθὰ κεῖσθαι, σωφροσύνης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῇ, δεύτερα δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, καὶ τρίτα τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ χρήματα λεγόμενα· τούτων δὲ ἂν ἐκτός τις βαίνῃ νομοθέτης ἢ πόλις, εἰς τιμὰς ἢ χρήματα προάγουσα [697c] ἤ τι τῶν ὑστέρων εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τιμαῖς τάττουσα, οὔθ' ὅσιον οὔτε πολιτικὸν ἂν δρῴη πρᾶγμα. εἰρήσθω ταῦτα ἢ πῶς ἡμῖν;	**ATHENIAN** We say, then, it seems, that a city that is to [697b] survive and be happy, as far as is humanly possible, must necessarily distribute honors and dishonors correctly. And the correct way is to set as most honorable and first the goods of the soul, provided it has moderation; second, the fine and good things of the body; and third, the things said to concern property and money. If any lawgiver or city steps outside this order, either promoting money to honor [697c] or ranking any of the lower things above in honor, it will be doing something neither pious nor statesmanlike. Shall we say this, or what?
697c	**MEGILLUS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω σαφῶς.	**MEGILLUS** Yes, let it be said plainly.

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ATHENIAN ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐποίησεν εἰπεῖν ἡ Περσῶν πέρι διάσκεψις τῆς πολιτείας· ἀνευρίσκομεν δὲ ἐπὶ ἔτι χείρους αὐτοὺς γεγονότας, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν φαμέν, ὅτι τὸ ἐλεύθερον λίαν ἀφελόμενοι τοῦ δήμου, τὸ δεσποτικὸν δ' ἐπαγαγόντες μᾶλλον τοῦ προσήκοντος, τὸ φίλον ἀπώλεσαν [697d] καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

ATHENIAN It was our examination of the Persian constitution that made us say this at greater length. We find that they became still worse, and the cause, we say, is that by taking too much freedom away from the people and introducing more despotism than was fitting, they destroyed friendship [697d] and community in the city.

697d τούτου δὲ φθαρέντος, οὔθ' ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων βουλὴ ὑπὲρ ἀρχομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου βουλεύεται, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς, ἄν τι καὶ σμικρὸν πλέον ἑκάστοτε ἡγῶνται ἔσεσθαί σφισιν, ἀναστάτους μὲν πόλεις, ἀνάστατα δὲ ἔθνη φίλια πυρὶ καταφθείραντες, ἐχθρῶς τε καὶ ἀνηλεήτως μισοῦντες μισοῦνται· ὅταν τε εἰς χρείαν τοῦ μάχεσθαι περὶ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς δήμους ἀφικνῶνται, οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς αὖ μετὰ προθυμίας τοῦ ἐθέλειν κινδυνεύειν καὶ [697e] μάχεσθαι ἀνευρίσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ κεκτημένοι μυριάδας ἀπεράντους λογισμῷ, ἀχρήστους εἰς πόλεμον πάσας κέκτηνται, καὶ καθάπερ ἐνδεεῖς ἀνθρώπων μισθούμενοι, ὑπὸ μισθωτῶν καὶ ὀθνείων ἀνθρώπων ἡγοῦνταί ποτε σωθήσεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ [698a] τούτοις ἀμαθαίνειν ἀναγκάζονται, λέγοντες ἔργοις ὅτι λῆρος πρὸς χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρόν ἐστιν ἑκάστοτε τὰ λεγόμενα τίμια καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλιν.

Once that is destroyed, the rulers no longer plan on behalf of the ruled and the people, but for the sake of their own rule. If they think there'll be even a little more in it for them each time, they overturn cities, overturn friendly nations, and destroy them by fire, so that they hate cruelly and pitilessly and are hated in return. And when they come to need the people to fight on their behalf, they find no community in them, no eagerness to be willing to take risks and [697e] fight. They possess countless tens of thousands, but possess them all useless for war; and as if they were short of men, they hire them, and think they'll be saved someday by hired soldiers and foreigners. On top of [698a] this, they're forced into ignorance, proclaiming by their actions that the things a city calls honorable and fine are always trash compared with gold and silver.

698a **MEGILLUS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

MEGILLUS Certainly.

ATHENIAN τὰ μὲν δὴ περί γε Περσῶν, ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὰ νῦν διοικεῖται διὰ τὴν σφόδρα δουλείαν τε καὶ δεσποτείαν, τέλος ἐχέτω.

ATHENIAN So let this be the end of the subject of the Persians—how they're badly governed nowadays because of excessive slavery and despotism.

MEGILLUS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

MEGILLUS Certainly.

ATHENS AND THE PERSIAN WARS

Reverence for law united Athens against Persia, but freedom later grew into license, starting with music.

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ATHENIAN τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀττικῆς αὖ πολιτείας τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὡσαύτως ἡμᾶς διεξελθεῖν χρεών, ὡς ἡ παντελὴς καὶ [698b] ἀπὸ πασῶν ἀρχῶν ἐλευθερία τῆς μέτρον ἐχούσης ἀρχῆς ὑφ' ἑτέρων οὐ σμικρῷ χείρων· ἡμῖν γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ὅτε ἡ Περσῶν ἐπίθεσις τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἴσως δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦσιν, ἐγίγνετο, πολιτεία τε ἦν παλαιὰ καὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων ἀρχαί τινες τεττάρων, καὶ δεσπότις ἐνῆν τις αἰδώς, δι' ἣν δουλεύοντες τοῖς τότε νόμοις ζῆν ἠθέλομεν. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὴ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ στόλου κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν γενόμενον, φόβον ἄπορον ἐμβαλόν,

ATHENIAN Next we must go through the Attic constitution in the same way, and show how complete [698b] freedom from all rule is not a little worse than rule by others that has due measure. At the time when the Persians attacked the Greeks—and perhaps almost everyone living in Europe—we had an ancient constitution, with certain offices based on four property classes. A certain reverence was our mistress, and because of it we were willing to live as slaves to the laws of that time. On

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δουλείαν 698c ἔτι μείζονα ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις δουλεῦσαι, καὶ διὰ πάντα ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συνέπεσε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σφόδρα φιλία.

698c σχεδὸν γὰρ δέκα ἔτεσιν πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας ἀφίκετο Δᾶτις Περσικὸν στόλον ἄγων, πέμψαντος Δαρείου διαρρήδην ἐπί τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἐρετριᾶς, ἐξανδραποδισάμενον ἀγαγεῖν, θάνατον αὐτῷ προειπὼν μὴ πράξαντι ταῦτα. καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τοὺς μὲν Ἐρετριᾶς ἔν τινι 698d βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παντάπασιν κατὰ κράτος τε εἶλεν μυριάσι συχναῖς, καί τινα λόγον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀφῆκεν φοβερόν, ὡς οὐδεὶς Ἐρετριῶν αὐτὸν ἀποπεφευγὼς εἴη· συνάψαντες γὰρ ἄρα τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιεν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Δάτιδος.

698d ὁ δὴ λόγος, εἴτ' ἀληθὴς εἴτε καὶ ὅπῃ ἀφίκετο, τούς τε ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐξέπληττεν, καὶ πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς 698e πανταχόσε βοηθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν πλήν γε Λακεδαιμονίων· οὗτοι δὲ ὑπό τε τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην ὄντος τότε πολέμου καὶ εἰ δή τι διεκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτούς—οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν λεγόμενον— ὕστεροι δ' οὖν ἀφίκοντο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης γενομένης μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παρασκευαί τε μεγάλαι λεγόμεναι καὶ ἀπειλαὶ ἐφοίτων μυρίαι παρὰ βασιλέως. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, Δαρεῖος μὲν τεθνάναι ἐλέχθη, νέος δὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁ ὑὸς αὐτοῦ παρειληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδαμῶς 699a ἀφίστασθαι τῆς ὁρμῆς.

699a οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶν τοῦτο ᾠοντο ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζεσθαι διὰ τὸ Μαραθῶνι γενόμενον, καὶ ἀκούοντες Ἄθων τε διορυττόμενον καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ζευγνύμενον καὶ τὸ τῶν νεῶν πλῆθος, ἡγήσαντο οὔτε κατὰ γῆν σφίσιν εἶναι σωτηρίαν οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν· οὔτε γὰρ βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς οὐδένα—μεμνημένοι ὡς οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἦλθον καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἐρέτριαν διεπράξαντο, σφίσι γε οὐδεὶς τότε ἐβοήθησεν οὐδ' ἐκινδύνευσεν συμμαχόμενος· ταὐτὸν 699b δὴ προσεδόκων καὶ τότε γενήσεσθαι τό γε κατὰ γῆν—καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δ' αὖ πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν ἑώρων σωτηρίας, νεῶν χιλίων καὶ ἔτι πλεόνων ἐπιφερομένων.

699b μίαν δὴ σωτηρίαν συνενόουν, λεπτὴν μὲν καὶ ἄπορον, μόνην δ' οὖν, βλέψαντες πρὸς τὸ πρότερον γενόμενον, ὡς

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top of this, the size of the expedition by land and sea struck us with helpless fear 698c and made us still greater slaves to our rulers and our laws; and because of all this a strong friendship with one another came over us.[17]

About ten years before the sea battle at Salamis, Datis arrived leading a Persian expedition. Darius had sent him expressly against the Athenians and the Eretrians, to enslave them and bring them back, and had warned him he would die if he failed. And Datis, in 698d a short time, with many tens of thousands, took the Eretrians completely by force, and sent a frightening report to our city that no Eretrian had escaped him: Datis's soldiers, it said, had joined hands and swept the whole of Eretria like a net.[18]

Whether the report was true or however it came about, it terrified the other Greeks and especially the Athenians. They sent envoys 698e everywhere, but no one was willing to help them except the Spartans; and they, because of the war against Messene then going on, and whatever else may have held them back—we don't know of any account of it—arrived a day too late for the battle at Marathon. After this came reports of great preparations and countless threats from the King. As time went on, word came that Darius had died, and that his son, young and violent, had inherited the empire and was in no way 699a giving up the attempt.

The Athenians thought this whole preparation was aimed at them because of what had happened at Marathon. And when they heard that Athos was being dug through and the Hellespont bridged, and of the number of ships, they concluded there was no safety for them by land or by sea. No one would help them, they thought, remembering that when the Persians came before and did what they did at Eretria, no one had helped them then or risked fighting alongside them; they expected 699b the same thing to happen this time, at least on land. And at sea, too, they saw no possible way to survive, with a thousand ships and more bearing down on them.[19]

They could think of only one hope of safety, slight and desperate, but the only one. Looking back to

17 The four property classes, traditionally ascribed to Solon, determined which Athenians could hold which offices.
18 Datis's expedition of 490 BC destroyed Eretria on Euboea and was then defeated at Marathon; the battle of Salamis was in 480 BC.

GREEK

ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ τότε ἐφαίνετο γενέσθαι τὸ νικῆσαι μαχομένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὀχούμενοι ταύτης ηὕρισκον καταφυγὴν αὐτοῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς μόνους [699c] εἶναι καὶ τοὺς θεούς.

699c ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοῖς πάντα φιλίαν ἀλλήλων ἐνεποίει, ὁ φόβος ὁ τότε παρὼν ὅ τε ἐκ τῶν νόμων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γεγονώς, ὃν δουλεύοντες τοῖς πρόσθεν νόμοις ἐκέκτηντο, ἣν αἰδῶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἴπομεν, ᾗ καὶ δουλεύειν ἔφαμεν δεῖν τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι, ἧς ὁ δειλὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἄφοβος· ὃν εἰ τότε μὴ δέος ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε συνελθὼν ἠμύνατο, οὐδ' ἤμυνεν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ τάφοις καὶ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκείοις τε ἅμα καὶ φίλοις, [699d] ὥσπερ τότ' ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σμικρὰ ἂν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡμῶν ἕκαστος σκεδασθεὶς ἄλλος ἄλλοσε διεσπάρη.

699d **MEGILLUS** καὶ μάλα, ὦ ξένε, ὀρθῶς τε εἴρηκας καὶ σαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ πατρίδι πρεπόντως.

ATHENIAN ἔστι ταῦτα, ὦ Μέγιλλε· πρὸς γὰρ σὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ γενόμενα, κοινωνὸν τῇ τῶν πατέρων γεγονότα φύσει, δίκαιον λέγειν. ἐπισκόπει μὴν καὶ σὺ καὶ Κλεινίας εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν νομοθεσίαν προσήκοντα λέγομεν· οὐ γὰρ μύθων [699e] ἕνεκα διεξέρχομαι, οὗ λέγω δ' ἕνεκα. ὁρᾶτε γάρ· ἐπειδή τινα τρόπον ταὐτὸν ἡμῖν συμβεβήκει πάθος ὅπερ Πέρσαις, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν δουλείαν ἄγουσιν τὸν δῆμον, ἡμῖν δ' αὖ τοὐναντίον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐλευθερίαν προτρέπουσι τὰ πλήθη, πῶς δὴ καὶ τί λέγωμεν τοὐντεῦθεν, οἱ προγεγονότες ἡμῖν ἔμπροσθεν λόγοι τρόπον τινὰ καλῶς εἰσιν εἰρημένοι.

700a **MEGILLUS** λέγεις εὖ· πειρῶ δ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ἡμῖν σημῆναι τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον.

ATHENIAN ἔσται ταῦτα. οὐκ ἦν, ὦ φίλοι, ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων ὁ δῆμός τινων κύριος, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ ἑκὼν ἐδούλευε τοῖς νόμοις.

MEGILLUS ποίοις δὴ λέγεις;

ATHENIAN τοῖς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν πρῶτον τὴν τότε, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέλθωμεν τὴν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου λίαν ἐπίδοσιν βίου. διῃρημένη γὰρ δὴ τότε ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ μουσικὴ κατὰ εἴδη τε [700b] ἑαυτῆς ἄττα καὶ σχήματα, καί τι ἦν εἶδος ᾠδῆς

ENGLISH

what had happened before, when victory in battle had likewise seemed to come out of a desperate situation, and riding on this hope, they found that their refuge lay in themselves alone [699c] and in the gods.

All this produced friendship among them: the fear then present, and the fear that came from the old laws, which they had acquired by being slaves to the laws of the past. This is what we have often called reverence in our earlier arguments, and we said that those who are to be good must be its slaves; the coward is free of it and fearless. If fear hadn't seized the coward then, he would never have joined the others to fight back, or defended temples and tombs and fatherland and his other kin and friends as well, [699d] as they did defend them then. Instead, each of us would then have been scattered in small groups, dispersed in every direction.

MEGILLUS What you've said is quite right, stranger, and worthy of yourself and your country.

ATHENIAN So it is, Megillus. And it's right to speak to you of what happened at that time, since you share by nature in what your forefathers did. But you and Clinias should consider whether what we're saying has any bearing on legislation. I'm not going through this for the sake of stories, [699e] but for the sake of what I'm talking about. You see, in a way the same thing had happened to us as to the Persians: they led their people into total slavery, while we, on the contrary, drove the masses toward total freedom. So how and what we should say from here on, the arguments we've already had have in a way prepared well.

MEGILLUS Well said. But try to make what you're saying clearer still for us.

ATHENIAN I will. Under the old laws, my friends, our people were not master of anything; in a sense they were willing slaves to the laws.

MEGILLUS What laws do you mean?

ATHENIAN First, the laws concerning music as it was then, so that we can trace from the beginning the excessive growth of the free life. Our music was divided at that time into certain kinds [700b] and

19 Xerxes had a canal cut through the Athos peninsula and a bridge of boats built across the Hellespont for his invasion of 480 BC.

GREEK

εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεούς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο· καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἐναντίον ἦν ᾠδῆς ἕτερον εἶδος—θρήνους δέ τις ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐκάλεσεν—καὶ παίωνες ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο, Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος. νόμους τε αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοὔνομα ἐκάλουν, ᾠδὴν ὥς τινα ἑτέραν· ἐπέλεγον δὲ κιθαρῳδικούς.

700b τούτων δὴ διατεταγμένων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, οὐκ ἐξῆν ἄλλο [700c] εἰς ἄλλο καταχρῆσθαι μέλους εἶδος· τὸ δὲ κῦρος τούτων γνῶναί τε καὶ ἅμα γνόντα δικάσαι, ζημιοῦν τε αὖ τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον, οὐ σῦριγξ ἦν οὐδέ τινες ἄμουσοι βοαὶ πλήθους, καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, οὐδ' αὖ κρότοι ἐπαίνους ἀποδιδόντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν γεγονόσι περὶ παίδευσιν δεδογμένον ἀκούειν ἦν αὐτοῖς μετὰ σιγῆς διὰ τέλους, παισὶ δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ τῷ πλείστῳ ὄχλῳ ῥάβδου κοσμούσης ἡ νουθέτησις ἐγίγνετο.

700d ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω τεταγμένως ἤθελεν ἄρχεσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ μὴ τολμᾶν κρίνειν διὰ θορύβου· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, ἄρχοντες μὲν τῆς ἀμούσου παρανομίας ποιηταὶ ἐγίγνοντο φύσει μὲν ποιητικοί, ἀγνώμονες δὲ περὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Μούσης καὶ τὸ νόμιμον, βακχεύοντες καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος κατεχόμενοι ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, κεραννύντες δὲ θρήνους τε ὕμνοις καὶ παίωνας διθυράμβοις, καὶ αὐλῳδίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρῳδίαις μιμούμενοι, καὶ πάντα εἰς πάντα συνάγοντες, [700e] μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ' ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι ὡς ὀρθότητα μὲν οὐκ ἔχοι οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν μουσική, ἡδονῇ δὲ τῇ τοῦ χαίροντος, εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις, κρίνοιτο ὀρθότατα.

700e τοιαῦτα δὴ ποιοῦντες ποιήματα, λόγους τε ἐπιλέγοντες τοιούτους, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τόλμαν ὡς ἱκανοῖς οὖσιν κρίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ τὰ [701a] θέατρα ἐξ ἀφώνων φωνήεντ' ἐγένοντο, ὡς ἐπαΐοντα ἐν μούσαις τό τε καλὸν καὶ μή, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀριστοκρατίας ἐν αὐτῇ θεατροκρατία τις πονηρὰ γέγονεν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ δημοκρατία ἐν αὐτῇ τις μόνον ἐγένετο ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἂν πάνυ γε δεινὸν ἦν τὸ γεγονός· νῦν δὲ ἦρξε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐκ μουσικῆς ἡ πάντων εἰς πάντα σοφίας δόξα καὶ παρανομία, συνεφέσπετο δὲ ἐλευθερία. ἄφοβοι γὰρ ἐγίγνοντο ὡς εἰδότες, ἡ δὲ ἄδεια ἀναισχυντίαν ἐνέτεκεν· τὸ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ βελτίονος [701b]

ENGLISH

forms of its own. One kind of song was prayers to the gods, called hymns. Opposite to this was another kind of song—laments would be the best name for them. Paeans were another kind, and another, the birth of Dionysus, I think, was called the dithyramb. And they called another by this very name, *nomoi*, as though it were a different kind of song; they added the word "citharodic."[20]

With these and some others fixed, it wasn't permitted to use one kind of melody for [700c] another. The authority to know these rules, and having known them to judge, and in turn to penalize anyone who disobeyed, was not the pipe or the unmusical shouts of a crowd, as it is now, nor applause handing out praise. Those who had been educated had made it their rule to listen in silence right to the end, while children, their attendants, and the general crowd were kept in order by a warning from the rod.

So in these matters the mass of citizens was willing to be ruled in an orderly way, and didn't dare to judge by making an uproar. But later, as time went on, poets became leaders of unmusical lawlessness. They had natural poetic talent, but they were ignorant of what is just and lawful in the Muse's art. In a Bacchic frenzy, possessed by pleasure more than they should be, they mixed laments with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs, imitated pipe-songs on the lyre, and jumbled everything together with everything. [700e] Unwittingly, in their folly, they told lies about music, claiming that music has no correctness of any kind, but is most correctly judged by the pleasure of whoever enjoys it, whether he is a better man or a worse.

By making such works and adding such arguments to them, they instilled in the many lawlessness in music, and the audacity to think themselves competent judges. As a result [701a] the theaters went from silent to vocal, as though they knew what is fine in the arts of the Muses and what isn't; and in place of an aristocracy in music, a kind of wretched theatrocracy arose. If only a democracy of free men had arisen in it, what happened wouldn't have been so terrible. As it is, for us, the belief that everyone is wise about everything, and lawlessness, began from music, and freedom fol-

20 *Nomoi,* the Greek word for "laws," also named a traditional type of solo song performed to the kithara, a large lyre; the Athenian plays on the double sense.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	δόξαν μὴ φοβεῖσθαι διὰ θράσος, τοῦτ' αὐτό ἐστιν σχεδὸν ἡ πονηρὰ ἀναισχυντία, διὰ δή τινος ἐλευθερίας λίαν ἀποτετολμημένης.	lowed along. People became fearless, as though they knew, and this lack of fear bred shamelessness. For to be too bold to fear the opinion of one's betters [701b] —that's more or less what wicked shamelessness is, produced by a freedom that has become far too daring.
701b	**MEGILLUS** ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	**MEGILLUS** Very true.
	ATHENIAN ἐφεξῆς δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡ τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλειν τοῖς ἄρχουσι δουλεύειν γίγνοιτ' ἄν, καὶ ἑπομένη ταύτῃ φεύγειν πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς καὶ πρεσβυτέρων δουλείαν καὶ νουθέτησιν, καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τέλους οὖσιν νόμων ζητεῖν μὴ ὑπηκόοις εἶναι, [701c] πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἤδη τῷ τέλει ὅρκων καὶ πίστεων καὶ τὸ παράπαν θεῶν μὴ φροντίζειν, τὴν λεγομένην παλαιὰν Τιτανικὴν φύσιν ἐπιδεικνῦσι καὶ μιμουμένοις, ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν ἐκεῖνα ἀφικομένους, χαλεπὸν αἰῶνα διάγοντας μὴ λῆξαί ποτε κακῶν. τίνος δὴ καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν αὖ χάριν ἐλέχθη; δεῖν φαίνεται ἔμοιγε οἷόνπερ ἵππον τὸν λόγον ἑκάστοτε ἀναλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ καθάπερ ἀχάλινον κεκτημένον τὸ στόμα, βίᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου [701d] φερόμενον, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἀπό τινος ὄνου πεσεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπανερωτᾶν τὸ νυνδὴ λεχθέν, τὸ τίνος δὴ χάριν ἕνεκα ταῦτα ἐλέχθη;	**ATHENIAN** Next after this freedom would come the unwillingness to be slaves to the rulers; and following this, escaping the rule and admonition of father and mother and elders; and near the end, seeking not to be subject to laws; [701c] and at the very end, paying no heed to oaths and pledges or to the gods at all. They display and imitate the so-called ancient nature of the Titans, arriving back at that same condition, and they live a hard life, never free from evils. Now why, once again, have we said all this? It seems to me that each time we must rein in the argument like a horse, and not let it get the bit in its teeth and be carried off by force [701d] and, as the proverb says, fall off a donkey. We must ask again what we asked just now: for the sake of what have these things been said?[21]
701d	**MEGILLUS** καλῶς.	**MEGILLUS** Good.
	ATHENIAN ταῦτα τοίνυν εἴρηται ἐκείνων ἕνεκα.	**ATHENIAN** Well, they were said for the sake of those points.
	MEGILLUS τίνων;	**MEGILLUS** Which?
	ATHENIAN ἐλέξαμεν ὡς τὸν νομοθέτην δεῖ τριῶν στοχαζόμενον νομοθετεῖν, ὅπως ἡ νομοθετουμένη πόλις ἐλευθέρα τε ἔσται καὶ φίλη ἑαυτῇ καὶ νοῦν ἕξει. ταῦτ' ἦν· ἦ γάρ;	**ATHENIAN** We said that the lawgiver must legislate aiming at three things: that the city he legislates for be free, a friend to itself, and possess intelligence. That was it, wasn't it?
	MEGILLUS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**MEGILLUS** Certainly.
701e	**ATHENIAN** τούτων ἕνεκα δὴ πολιτείας τήν τε δεσποτικωτάτην προελόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερικωτάτην, ἐπισκοποῦμεν νυνὶ ποτέρα τούτων ὀρθῶς πολιτεύεται· λαβόντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἑκατέρας μετριότητά τινα, τῶν μὲν τοῦ δεσπόζειν, τῶν δὲ τοῦ ἐλευθεριάσαι, κατείδομεν ὅτι τότε διαφερόντως ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγένετο εὐπραγία, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ἀγαγόντων ἑκατέρων, τῶν μὲν δουλείας, τῶν δὲ τοὐναντίου, οὐ συνήνεγκεν οὔτε τοῖς οὔτε τοῖς.	**ATHENIAN** It's for the sake of these that we chose the most despotic constitution and the freest, and are now examining which of them is correctly governed. When we took a certain moderation in each—in the one, of despotism, in the other, of freedom—we saw that they did exceptionally well at that time; but when each carried it to the extreme, the one of slavery and the other of its opposite, it did neither of them any good.

21 The Titans rebelled against the Olympian gods and were cast down into Tartarus. "Falling off a donkey" was a proverb for coming to grief through carelessness.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
702a	**MEGILLUS** ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	**MEGILLUS** Very true.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν αὐτῶν γ' ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ Δωρικὸν ἐθεασάμεθα κατοικιζόμενον στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς τοῦ Δαρδάνου ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ κατοίκισιν, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους δὴ τοὺς περιλιπεῖς γενομένους τῆς φθορᾶς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν τούτων γενομένους ἡμῖν λόγους περί τε μουσικῆς καὶ μέθης καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔτι πρότερα. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα εἴρηται τοῦ κατιδεῖν ἕνεκα πῶς ποτ' ἂν πόλις ἄριστα οἰκοίη, καὶ ἰδίᾳ [702b] πῶς ἄν τις βέλτιστα τὸν αὑτοῦ βίον διαγάγοι· εἰ δὲ δή τι πεποιήκαμεν προὔργου, τίς ποτ' ἂν ἔλεγχος γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς λεχθείς, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία;	**ATHENIAN** And it was for their sake, too, that we looked at the Dorian army's settlement, the settlement in the foothills of Dardanus and the one by the sea, and the first people, the survivors of the destruction—and, before that, our earlier discussions of music and drinking, and what came earlier still. All of this has been said in order to see how a city might best be run, and how in private [702b] a person might best live his life. But if we've achieved anything useful, what test could we set ourselves to prove it, Megillus and Clinias?[22]

A COLONY FOR CRETE

Clinias reveals he is helping found a new colony, and the three agree to design its laws in words.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
702b	**CLINIAS** ἐγώ τινα, ὦ ξένε, μοι δοκῶ κατανοεῖν. ἔοικεν κατὰ τύχην τινὰ ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν λόγων τούτων πάντων ὧν διεξήλθομεν γεγονέναι· σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰς χρείαν αὐτῶν ἔγωγ' ἐλήλυθα τὰ νῦν, καὶ κατά τινα αὖ καιρὸν σύ τε παραγέγονας ἅμα καὶ [702c] Μέγιλλος ὅδε. οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι σφὼ τὸ νῦν ἐμοὶ συμβαῖνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς οἰωνόν τινα ποιοῦμαι. ἡ γὰρ πλείστη τῆς Κρήτης ἐπιχειρεῖ τινα ἀποικίαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ προστάττει τοῖς Κνωσίοις ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοῦ πράγματος, ἡ δὲ τῶν Κνωσίων πόλις ἐμοί τε καὶ ἄλλοις ἐννέα· ἅμα δὲ καὶ νόμους τῶν τε αὐτόθι, εἴ τινες ἡμᾶς ἀρέσκουσιν, τίθεσθαι κελεύει, καὶ εἴ τινες ἑτέρωθεν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζομένους τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῶν, ἂν βελτίους φαίνωνται.	**CLINIAS** I think I see one, stranger. It seems that it was by some stroke of luck that we went through all these arguments. For I've come to need them just now, and you've turned up at just the right moment, and [702c] Megillus here too. I won't hide from you two what's happening to me; in fact I take it as a kind of omen. Most of Crete is undertaking to found a colony, and has charged the Knossians with managing the matter, and the city of Knossos has handed it to me and nine others. It also tells us to lay down laws, choosing any of the local ones that please us, and any from elsewhere, paying no attention to their being foreign, if they seem better.
702c	νῦν οὖν ἐμοί τε καὶ [702d] ὑμῖν ταύτην δῶμεν χάριν· ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκλέξαντες, τῷ λόγῳ συστησώμεθα πόλιν, οἷον ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατοικίζοντες, καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἡμῖν οὗ ζητοῦμεν ἐπίσκεψις γενήσεται, ἅμα δὲ ἐγὼ τάχ' ἂν χρησαίμην εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πόλιν ταύτῃ τῇ συστάσει.	So now let's do this favor for me and [702d] for you. Selecting from what's been said, let's construct a city in words, as if we were founding it from the beginning. That way we'll get an examination of what we're looking for, and I may perhaps use this construction for the city that is to be.
702d	**ATHENIAN** οὐ πόλεμόν γε ἐπαγγέλλεις, ὦ Κλεινία· ἀλλ' εἰ μή τι Μεγίλλῳ πρόσαντες, τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γε ἡγοῦ σοι πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ὑπάρχειν εἰς δύναμιν.	**ATHENIAN** It's no war you're proclaiming, Clinias! Unless Megillus has some objection, you may count on me for everything you have in mind, as far as I'm able.
	CLINIAS εὖ λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Good.
	MEGILLUS καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ.	**MEGILLUS** And on me too.

22 These are the stages of the historical survey earlier in Book 3: the survivors of the great flood, Dardania on the slopes of Mount Ida, Troy on the plain, and the Dorian settlement of the Peloponnese.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
702e	**CLINIAS** κάλλιστ᾽ εἰρήκατον. ἀτὰρ πειρώμεθα λόγῳ πρῶτον κατοικίζειν τὴν πόλιν.	**CLINIAS** Excellently said, both of you. So let’s try first to found the city in words.

Book IV

The site of Magnesia; law as the rule of reason; the preambles.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
704a	**ATHENIAN** φέρε δή, τίνα δεῖ διανοηθῆναί ποτε τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι; λέγω δὲ οὔτι τοὔνομα αὐτῆς ἐρωτῶν ὅτι ποτ' ἔστι τὰ νῦν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ὅτι δεήσει καλεῖν αὐτήν— τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ ὁ κατοικισμὸς αὐτῆς ἤ τις τόπος, ἢ ποταμοῦ τινος ἢ κρήνης ἢ θεῶν ἐπωνυμία τῶν ἐν τῷ [704b] τόπῳ, προσθείη τὴν αὐτῶν φήμην καινῇ γενομένῃ τῇ πόλει— τόδε δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ὃ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον ἐπερωτῶ, πότερον ἐπιθαλαττίδιος ἔσται τις ἢ χερσαία.	**ATHENIAN** Come then, what should we think the city will be like? I'm not asking what its name is now, or what it will have to be called in the future —that might perhaps come from its founding, or from some place, a river or a spring or the gods of the [704b] place, lending their name to the newly founded city. What I'm more concerned to ask about it is this: will it be by the sea or inland?
704b	**CLINIAS** σχεδόν, ὦ ξένε, ἀπέχει θαλάττης γε ἡ πόλις, ἧς πέρι τὰ νυνδὴ λεχθέντα ἡμῖν, εἵς τινας ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους.	**CLINIAS** The city we were just speaking of, stranger, is about eighty stades from the sea.[1]
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; λιμένες ἆρ' εἰσὶν κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς, ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀλίμενος;	**ATHENIAN** Well? Are there harbors along that part of the coast, or has it no harbors at all?
	CLINIAS εὐλίμενος μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ γε ὡς δυνατόν ἐστιν μάλιστα, ὦ ξένε.	**CLINIAS** On the contrary, stranger, it's as well supplied with harbors there as it could possibly be.
704c	**ATHENIAN** παπαί, οἷον λέγεις. τί δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν ἡ χώρα; πότερα πάμφορος ἢ καί τινων ἐπιδεής;	**ATHENIAN** Oh dear, what a thing to say! And what about the country around it? Does it produce everything, or does it lack some things?
	CLINIAS σχεδὸν οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεής.	**CLINIAS** It lacks almost nothing.
	ATHENIAN γείτων δὲ αὐτῆς πόλις ἆρ' ἔσται τις πλησίον;	**ATHENIAN** And will there be a neighboring city close by?
	CLINIAS οὐ πάνυ, διὸ καὶ κατοικίζεται· παλαιὰ γάρ τις ἐξοίκησις ἐν τῷ τόπῳ γενομένη τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἔρημον ἀπείργασται χρόνον ἀμήχανον ὅσον.	**CLINIAS** Not really—that's why it's being settled. An emigration from the place long ago left this country deserted for longer than anyone can say.
	ATHENIAN τί δὲ πεδίων τε καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ ὕλης; πῶς μέρος ἑκάστων ἡμῖν εἴληχεν;	**ATHENIAN** And what about plains, mountains, and forest? How much of each has fallen to our lot?
	CLINIAS προσέοικε τῇ τῆς ἄλλης Κρήτης φύσει ὅλῃ.	**CLINIAS** It resembles the rest of Crete in its whole character.
704d	**ATHENIAN** τραχυτέραν αὐτὴν ἢ πεδιεινοτέραν ἂν λέγοις.	**ATHENIAN** You'd call it more rugged than flat, then.

1 A stade was about 600 feet, so eighty stades is roughly nine miles.

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CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN οὐ τοίνυν ἀνίατός γε ἂν εἴη πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθαλαττία τε ἔμελλεν εἶναι καὶ εὐλίμενος καὶ μὴ πάμφορος ἀλλ' ἐπιδεὴς πολλῶν, μεγάλου τινὸς ἔδει σωτῆρός τε αὐτῇ καὶ νομοθετῶν θείων τινῶν, εἰ μὴ πολλά τε ἔμελλεν ἤθη καὶ ποικίλα καὶ φαῦλα ἕξειν τοιαύτη φύσει γενομένη· νῦν δὲ παραμύθιον ἔχει τὸ τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίων. ἐγγύτερον μέντοι τοῦ δέοντος κεῖται τῆς θαλάττης, [705a] σχεδὸν ὅσον εὐλιμενωτέραν αὐτὴν φῆς εἶναι, ὅμως δὲ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ τοῦτο. πρόσοικος γὰρ θάλαττα χώρᾳ τὸ μὲν παρ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἡδύ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἁλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ χρηματισμοῦ διὰ καπηλείας ἐμπιμπλᾶσα αὐτήν, ἤθη παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσα, αὐτήν τε πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἄπιστον καὶ ἄφιλον ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὡσαύτως.

ATHENIAN Then it wouldn't be incurable as regards acquiring virtue. If it were going to be on the coast, with good harbors, and not producing everything but short of many things, it would need some great savior and divine lawgivers if it weren't to have many varied and base characters, being naturally placed like that. As it is, the eighty stades offer some consolation. It does lie nearer the sea than it should, [705a] all the more since you say it's so well supplied with harbors; still, even this is something to be glad of. For the sea's presence next to a country is pleasant enough from day to day, but in truth it is a very salty and bitter neighbor. It fills the country with commerce and moneymaking through retail trade, breeds shifty and untrustworthy characters in souls, and makes the city untrustworthy and unfriendly both to itself and likewise to the rest of mankind.

705a παραμύθιον δὲ δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πάμφορος εἶναι κέκτηται, [705b] τραχεῖα δὲ οὖσα δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν πολύφορός τε εἴη καὶ πάμφορος ἅμα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχουσα, πολλὴν ἐξαγωγὴν ἂν παρεχομένη, νομίσματος ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ πάλιν ἀντεμπίμπλαιτ' ἄν, οὗ μεῖζον κακὸν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πόλει ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἓν οὐδὲν ἂν γίγνοιτο εἰς γενναίων καὶ δικαίων ἠθῶν κτῆσιν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις.

Against this it has a consolation, too, in producing everything; [705b] and being rugged, it clearly couldn't both produce abundantly and produce everything at once. If it had that, and offered a great deal for export, it would in return be filled up with silver and gold coin—and practically no single thing could be a greater evil for a city with regard to acquiring noble and just characters, as we said in our earlier arguments, if we remember.

705b **CLINIAS** ἀλλὰ μεμνήμεθα, καὶ συγχωροῦμεν τότε λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὀρθῶς καὶ τὰ νῦν.

CLINIAS Oh, we remember, and we agree that we were right then, and that we're right now.

THE LAND AND THE SEA

The colony's site, timber and harbors are assessed; naval power is said to corrupt a city.

GREEK

ENGLISH

705c **ATHENIAN** τί δὲ δή; ναυπηγησίμης ὕλης ὁ τόπος ἡμῖν τῆς χώρας πῶς ἔχει;

ATHENIAN Well, then: how is this region of ours off for timber for shipbuilding?

CLINIAS οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τις ἐλάτη λόγου ἀξία οὔτ' αὖ πεύκη, κυπάριττός τε οὐ πολλή· πίτυν τ' αὖ καὶ πλάτανον ὀλίγην ἂν εὕροι τις, οἷς δὴ πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἐντὸς τῶν πλοίων μέρη ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς ναυπηγοῖς χρῆσθαι ἑκάστοτε.

CLINIAS There's no fir worth mentioning, and no pine either, and not much cypress. You'd find only a little stone pine and plane, which shipwrights always have to use for the inner parts of their ships.

ATHENIAN καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν κακῶς ἔχοι τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς φύσεως.

ATHENIAN That's another feature of the country's nature that wouldn't be a bad thing.

CLINIAS τί δή;

CLINIAS Why?

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ATHENIAN μιμήσεις πονηρὰς μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ [705d] ῥᾳδίως δύνασθαί τινα πόλιν ἀγαθόν.

ATHENIAN It's good for a city not to be able [705d] easily to copy its enemies in their bad ways.

705d CLINIAS εἰς δὴ τί τῶν εἰρημένων βλέψας εἶπες ὃ λέγεις;

CLINIAS What in our earlier discussion did you have in view when you said that?

ATHENIAN ὦ δαιμόνιε, φύλαττέ με εἰς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰρημένον ἀποβλέπων, τὸ περὶ τῶν Κρητικῶν νόμων ὡς πρὸς ἕν τι βλέποιεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐλεγέτην αὐτὸ εἶναι σφὼ τὸ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπον ὡς ὅτι μὲν εἰς ἀρετήν ποι βλέποι τὰ τοιαῦτα νόμιμα κείμενα, καλῶς ἔχοι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι πρὸς μέρος ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς πᾶσαν σχεδόν, οὐ [705e] πάνυ συνεχώρουν· νῦν οὖν ὑμεῖς μοι τῆς παρούσης νομοθεσίας ἀντιφυλάξατε ἑπόμενοι, ἐὰν ἄρα τι μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τεῖνον ἢ πρὸς ἀρετῆς μόριον νομοθετῶ.

ATHENIAN My dear friend, keep an eye on me by looking back to what was said at the beginning about the Cretan laws aiming at a single thing. You two said that this was war in particular; and I took you up and said that insofar as such established customs aimed at virtue, that was fine, but that they aimed at a part of it and not at the whole, I didn't [705e] quite agree. So now it's your turn to follow along and keep watch over the legislation we're drafting, in case I lay down any law that doesn't tend toward virtue, or toward some part of virtue.

705e τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ τίθεσθαι τὸν νόμον ὀρθῶς ὑποτίθεμαι μόνον, ὃς ἂν δίκην [706a] τοξότου ἑκάστοτε στοχάζηται τούτου ὅτῳ ἂν συνεχῶς τούτων ἀεὶ καλόν τι συνέπηται μόνῳ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα σύμπαντα παραλείπῃ, ἐάντε τις πλοῦτος ἐάντε ἄρα τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ὂν τυγχάνῃ ἄνευ τῶν προειρημένων.

For the only law I take to be correctly laid down is one that, like [706a] an archer, always aims at whatever alone is constantly attended by something fine, and passes over everything else, whether it be wealth or anything else of that kind that happens to be present without the things we mentioned before.

706a τὴν δὲ δὴ μίμησιν ἔλεγον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν κακὴν τοιάνδε γίγνεσθαι, ὅταν οἰκῇ μέν τις πρὸς θαλάττῃ, λυπῆται δ' ὑπὸ πολεμίων, οἷον—φράσω γὰρ οὔτι μνησικακεῖν βουλόμενος ὑμῖν—Μίνως γὰρ δή ποτε τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν Ἀττικὴν [706b] παρεστήσατο εἰς χαλεπήν τινα φορὰν δασμοῦ, δύναμιν πολλὴν κατὰ θάλατταν κεκτημένος, οἱ δ' οὔτε πω πλοῖα ἐκέκτηντο, καθάπερ νῦν, πολεμικά, οὔτ' αὖ τὴν χώραν πλήρη ναυπηγησίμων ξύλων ὥστ' εὐμαρῶς ναυτικὴν παρασχέσθαι δύναμιν· οὔκουν οἷοί τ' ἐγένοντο διὰ μιμήσεως ναυτικῆς αὐτοὶ ναῦται γενόμενοι εὐθὺς τότε τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι.

As for the bad imitation of enemies I spoke of, this is how it happens: when people live by the sea and are harassed by enemies. For example—and I'll say this with no wish to rake up old grievances against you—Minos once forced the inhabitants of Attica [706b] to pay a harsh tribute, since he had acquired great power at sea. They didn't yet have warships, as they do now, nor was their land full of shipbuilding timber, so that they could easily provide a naval force. So they weren't able to become sailors themselves right away by imitating their enemies' seafaring and so fend them off then and there.[2]

706b ἔτι γὰρ ἂν πλεονάκις ἑπτὰ ἀπολέσαι παῖδας αὐτοῖς [706c] συνήνεγκεν, πρὶν ἀντὶ πεζῶν ὁπλιτῶν μονίμων ναυτικοὺς γενομένους ἐθισθῆναι, πυκνὰ ἀποπηδῶντας, δρομικῶς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ταχὺ πάλιν ἀποχωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν μὴ τολμῶντας ἀποθνῄσκειν μένοντας ἐπιφερομένων πολεμίων, ἀλλ' εἰκυίας αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι προφάσεις καὶ σφόδρα ἑτοίμας ὅπλα τε ἀπολλῦσιν καὶ φεύγουσι δή τινας οὐκ αἰσχράς, ὥς φασιν, φυγάς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκ ναυτικῆς ὁπλιτείας ῥήματα φιλεῖ

Yet it would have been better for them to lose seven children many times over [706c] than to turn from steady hoplites fighting on foot into seamen and get used to leaping ashore again and again and then running quickly back to their ships; to think they were doing nothing shameful when they didn't dare to stand their ground and die as the enemy charged; and to have plausible and very ready excuses whenever they throw away their

2 Athens was said to have sent Minos seven youths and seven maidens as tribute, to be fed to the Minotaur.

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συμβαίνειν, οὐκ ἄξια ἐπαίνων πολλάκις [706d] μυρίων, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον· ἔθη γὰρ πονηρὰ οὐδέποτε ἐθίζειν δεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν βέλτιστον μέρος. ἦν δέ που τοῦτό γε καὶ παρ' Ὁμήρου λαβεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἦν τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐ καλόν.

706d Ὀδυσσεὺς γὰρ αὐτῷ λοιδορεῖ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τότε ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων κατεχομένων τῇ μάχῃ, κελεύοντα τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθέλκειν, ὁ δὲ χαλεπαίνει τε αὐτῷ καὶ λέγει— [706e] ὃς κέλεαι πολέμοιο συνεσταότος καὶ ἀυτῆς νῆας ἐυσέλμους ἅλαδ' ἔλκειν, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται ἐελδομένοισί περ ἔμπης, ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ἐπιρρέπῃ· οὐ γὰρ Ἀχαιοί σχήσουσιν πολέμου νηῶν ἅλαδ' ἑλκομενάων, ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης· [707a] ἔνθα κε σὴ βουλὴ δηλήσεται, οἳ' ἀγορεύεις. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγίγνωσκε καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι κακὸν ἐν θαλάττῃ τριήρεις ὁπλίταις παρεστῶσαι μαχομένοις· καὶ λέοντες ἂν ἐλάφους ἐθισθεῖεν φεύγειν τοιούτοις ἔθεσι χρώμενοι.

707a πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱ διὰ τὰ ναυτικὰ πόλεων δυνάμεις ἅμα σωτηρίᾳ τιμὰς οὐ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀποδιδόασιν· διὰ κυβερνητικῆς γὰρ καὶ πεντηκονταρχίας καὶ ἐρετικῆς, καὶ [707b] παντοδαπῶν καὶ οὐ πάνυ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων γιγνομένης, τὰς τιμὰς ἑκάστοις οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδόναι τις. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἔτι πολιτεία γίγνοιτο ὀρθὴ τούτου στερομένη;

707b **CLINIAS** σχεδὸν ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ μήν, ὦ ξένε, τήν γε περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένην ἡμεῖς γε οἱ Κρῆτες τὴν Ἑλλάδα φαμὲν σῶσαι.

ATHENIAN καὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων [707c] λέγουσι ταῦτα. ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ φίλε, ἐγώ τε καὶ ὅδε, Μέγιλλος, φαμὲν τὴν πεζὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένην καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, τὴν μὲν ἄρξαι τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὴν δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ τὰς μὲν βελτίους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιῆσαι, τὰς δὲ οὐ βελτίους, ἵν' οὕτως λέγωμεν περὶ τῶν τότε συσσωσασῶν ἡμᾶς μαχῶν· πρὸς γὰρ τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιόν σοι προσθήσω κατὰ θάλατταν μάχην.

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weapons and take to certain kinds of flight that are "not shameful," as they say. These are the expressions that tend to come from hoplites serving at sea, and they hardly deserve praise over and over, [706d] ten thousand times; quite the reverse. For one should never train anyone in bad habits, least of all the best part of the citizen body. One could have learned from Homer, too, that this sort of practice was not a fine one.

In his poem Odysseus rebukes Agamemnon when the Achaeans were hard pressed in battle by the Trojans and Agamemnon was ordering the ships to be hauled down to the sea. Odysseus is angry with him and says: [706e] "You, who bid us, while war and the battle cry close round us, haul our well-benched ships into the sea, so that still more the Trojans may win what they pray for, eager though they already are, and sheer ruin may sink down upon us. For the Achaeans will not hold out in the fighting if the ships are hauled to the sea; they will glance behind them and draw back from the battle. [707a] Then your counsel would bring us harm, such as you propose." So he too recognized that triremes standing by at sea are a bad thing for hoplites in battle. Even lions, with habits like these, would learn to run away from deer.

Besides, cities whose power rests on their navies award honors, along with their safety, to what is not the finest element of their fighting forces. Since safety comes through the skills of helmsmen, petty officers and oarsmen, [707b] and through people of every sort and not very worthy ones, no one could award honors to each correctly. And yet how could a constitution still be a correct one if it were deprived of that?

CLINIAS Next to impossible. But surely, stranger, we Cretans, at any rate, say that the sea battle the Greeks fought against the non-Greeks at Salamis saved Greece.

ATHENIAN Yes, and most Greeks and non-Greeks [707c] say so too. But we, my friend—Megillus here and I—say that it was the land battle fought at Marathon and the one at Plataea: the first began the Greeks' salvation, and the second completed it. These battles made the Greeks better, while the others did not make them better—if I may speak that way about the battles that joined in saving us

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back then. For to the one at Salamis I'll add, for your sake, the sea battle at Artemisium.[3]

707d ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀποβλέποντες νῦν πρὸς πολιτείας ἀρετήν, καὶ χώρας φύσιν σκοπούμεθα καὶ νόμων τάξιν, οὐ τὸ σῴζεσθαί τε καὶ εἶναι μόνον ἀνθρώποις τιμιώτατον ἡγούμενοι, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοί, τὸ δ' ὡς βελτίστους γίγνεσθαί τε καὶ εἶναι τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἂν ὦσιν· εἴρηται δ' ἡμῖν οἶμαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν.

But the point is that we are now looking to the virtue of a constitution when we examine the nature of the land and the arrangement of the laws. We don't believe, as most people do, that merely surviving and existing is the most valuable thing for human beings, but rather becoming as good as possible and remaining so for as long as they exist. We've said this too earlier, I think.

CLINIAS τί μήν;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN τοῦτο τοίνυν σκοπώμεθα μόνον, εἰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἐρχόμεθα βελτίστην οὖσαν πόλεσι κατοικίσεων πέρι καὶ νομοθεσιῶν.

ATHENIAN So let's consider just this one thing: whether we are keeping to the same path, the one that is best for cities when it comes to settlements and legislation.

CLINIAS καὶ πολύ γε.

CLINIAS Very much so.

707e **ATHENIAN** λέγε δὴ τοίνυν τὸ τούτοις ἑξῆς· τίς ὁ κατοικιζόμενος ὑμῖν λεὼς ἔσται; πότερον ἐξ ἁπάσης Κρήτης ὁ ἐθέλων, ὡς ὄχλου τινὸς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἑκάσταις γεγενημένου πλείονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τροφήν; οὐ γάρ που τὸν βουλόμενόν γε Ἑλλήνων συνάγετε. καίτοι τινὰς ὑμῖν ἔκ τε Ἄργους ὁρῶ καὶ Αἰγίνης καὶ ἄλλοθεν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς [708a] τὴν χώραν κατῳκισμένους. τὸ δὲ δὴ παρὸν ἡμῖν λέγε πόθεν ἔσεσθαι φῂς στρατόπεδον τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ νῦν;

ATHENIAN Then tell me what comes next. Who are the people you'll be settling? Anyone from all of Crete who wishes, on the grounds that a crowd has grown up in each of the cities too large for the land to feed? For I don't suppose you're gathering any Greek who wants to come. And yet I do see people from Argos, Aegina and other parts of Greece settled in [708a] your country. So tell us about the present case: where do you say your host of citizens will come from now?

708a **CLINIAS** ἔκ τε Κρήτης συμπάσης ἔοικεν γενήσεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἑλλήνων μάλιστά μοι φαίνονται τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου προσδέξασθαι συνοίκους. καὶ γὰρ ὃ νῦν δὴ λέγεις, ἀληθὲς φράζεις, ὡς ἐξ Ἄργους εἰσίν, καὶ τό γε μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦν τὰ νῦν ἐνθάδε γένος, τὸ Γορτυνικόν· ἐκ Γόρτυνος γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀπῳκηκὸς ταύτης τῆς Πελοποννησιακῆς.

CLINIAS It looks as though they'll come from all over Crete; and of the other Greeks, I think they'd be most willing to take in people from the Peloponnese as fellow settlers. What you said just now is true, that there are people here from Argos; and so is the clan now most highly esteemed here, the Gortynian, for it happens to have come as colonists from Gortyn, the one in the Peloponnese.[4]

708b **ATHENIAN** οὐ τοίνυν εὔκολος ὁμοίως γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὁ κατοικισμὸς ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὅταν μὴ τὸν τῶν ἐσμῶν γίγνηται τρόπον, ἓν γένος ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἰὸν χώρας οἰκίζηται, φίλον παρὰ φίλων, στενοχωρίᾳ τινὶ πολιορκηθὲν γῆς ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις τοιούτοις παθήμασιν ἀναγκασθέν. ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ στάσεσιν βιαζόμενον ἀναγκάζοιτ' ἂν ἑτέρωσε ἀποξενοῦσθαι πόλεώς τι μόριον· ἤδη δέ ποτε καὶ συνάπασα πόλις τινῶν ἔφυγεν, ἄρδην κρείττονι

ATHENIAN Then settlement wouldn't be equally easy for cities when it doesn't happen the way bees swarm: a single people setting out from a single land and settling, friends parting from friends, when hard pressed by shortage of land or driven by other misfortunes of that kind. Sometimes, too, part of a city may be forced by civil strife to emigrate elsewhere; and once in a while a whole city has gone into exile, utterly over-

3 Plataea (479 BC) was the final land victory over the Persians; Artemisium (480 BC) was a sea battle fought just before Salamis.
4 Gortyn was one of the chief cities of Crete; there was also a Gortys in Arcadia, in the Peloponnese, from which it claimed descent.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	κρατηθεῖσα πολέμῳ. ταῦτ' οὖν πάντ' ἐστὶ [708c] τῇ μὲν ῥᾴω κατοικίζεσθαί τε καὶ νομοθετεῖσθαι, τῇ δὲ χαλεπώτερα.	powered by a stronger force in war. All these cases are in some ways [708c] easier to settle and legislate for, and in others harder.
708c	τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕν τι εἶναι γένος ὁμόφωνον καὶ ὁμόνομον ἔχει τινὰ φιλίαν, κοινωνὸν ἱερῶν ὂν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων, νόμους δ' ἑτέρους καὶ πολιτείας ἄλλας τῶν οἴκοθεν οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἀνέχεται, τὸ δ' ἐνίοτε πονηρίᾳ νόμων ἐστασιακὸς καὶ διὰ συνήθειαν ζητοῦν ἔτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἤθεσιν δι' ἃ καὶ πρότερον ἐφθάρη, χαλεπὸν τῷ κατοικίζοντι [708d] καὶ νομοθετοῦντι καὶ δυσπειθὲς γίγνεται· τὸ δ' αὖ παντοδαπὸν ἐς ταὐτὸν συνερρυηκὸς γένος ὑπακοῦσαι μέν τινων νόμων καινῶν τάχα ἂν ἐθελήσειε μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ συμπνεῦσαι, καὶ καθάπερ ἵππων ζεῦγος καθ' ἕνα εἰς ταὐτόν, τὸ λεγόμενον, συμφυσῆσαι, χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ παγχάλεπον. ἀλλ' ὄντως ἐστὶν νομοθεσία καὶ πόλεων οἰκισμοὶ πάντων τελεώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀνδρῶν.	A people that is one, with one language and one set of laws, has a certain friendliness, since it shares its sacred rites and everything of that kind; but it doesn't readily put up with laws and constitutions different from those at home. Again, a people that has sometimes fallen into civil strife because of bad laws, and that out of habit still seeks to follow the same customs that ruined it before, is hard to handle for the man settling it [708d] and legislating for it, and hard to persuade. On the other hand, a mixed people that has flowed together from all over might perhaps be more willing to obey some new laws; but to get them to breathe as one—to pull together, as the saying goes, like a team of horses—takes a long time and is extremely hard. In truth, legislation and the founding of cities are the most consummate of all tasks where men's virtue is concerned.
708d	**CLINIAS** εἰκός· ὅπῃ δ' αὖ βλέπων τοῦτ' εἴρηκας, φράζ' ἔτι σαφέστερον.	**CLINIAS** Probably. But tell me still more clearly what you have in view in saying that.
708e	**ATHENIAN** ὠγαθέ, ἔοικα περὶ νομοθετῶν ἐπανιὼν καὶ σκοπῶν ἅμα ἐρεῖν τι καὶ φαῦλον· ἀλλ' ἐὰν πρὸς καιρόν τινα λέγωμεν, πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲν γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἔτι. καίτοι τί ποτε δυσχεραίνω; σχεδὸν γάρ τοι πάντα οὕτως ἔοικ' ἔχειν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.	**ATHENIAN** My good friend, as I go back over lawgivers and examine them, I'm likely to say something disparaging as well. But if we say it to good purpose, there'll be no harm in it. And yet why am I making a fuss? Pretty much all human affairs seem to be like this.
	CLINIAS τοῦ δὴ πέρι λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What are you talking about?
709a	**ATHENIAN** ἔμελλον λέγειν ὡς οὐδείς ποτε ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν νομοθετεῖ, τύχαι δὲ καὶ συμφοραὶ παντοῖαι πίπτουσαι παντοίως νομοθετοῦσι τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν. ἢ γὰρ πόλεμός τις βιασάμενος ἀνέτρεψε πολιτείας καὶ μετέβαλε νόμους, ἢ πενίας χαλεπῆς ἀπορία· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ νόσοι ἀναγκάζουσι καινοτομεῖν, λοιμῶν τε ἐμπιπτόντων, καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐνιαυτῶν πολλῶν πολλάκις ἀκαιρίαι. ταῦτα δὴ πάντα προϊδών τις ᾄξειεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅπερ ἐγὼ νυνδή, τὸ θνητὸν [709b] μὲν μηδένα νομοθετεῖν μηδέν, τύχας δ' εἶναι σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα· τὸ δ' ἔστιν περί τε ναυτιλίαν καὶ κυβερνητικὴν καὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ στρατηγικὴν πάντα ταῦτ' εἰπόντα δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁμοίως αὖ καὶ τόδε ἔστιν λέγοντα εὖ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις.	**ATHENIAN** I was about to say that no human being ever legislates anything: chances and accidents of every kind, befalling us in every kind of way, make all our laws for us. Either some war violently overturns constitutions and changes laws, or the distress of harsh poverty does. Diseases, too, often force innovations, when plagues strike, and so do bad seasons that last many years at a time. Foreseeing all this, one might leap to say what I just said: that no mortal [709b] legislates anything, and that nearly all human affairs are a matter of chance. It's possible to say all this about navigation, piloting, medicine and generalship and seem to be speaking well; but it's equally possible to speak well in saying this other thing about these same matters.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
709b	**CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What's that?
	ATHENIAN ὡς θεὸς μὲν πάντα, καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρός, τἀνθρώπινα διακυβερνῶσι σύμπαντα. ἡμερώτερον μὴν τρίτον [709c] συγχωρῆσαι τούτοις δεῖν ἕπεσθαι τέχνην· καιρῷ γὰρ χειμῶνος συλλαβέσθαι κυβερνητικὴν ἢ μή, μέγα πλεονέκτημα ἔγωγ' ἂν θείην. ἢ πῶς;	**ATHENIAN** That god governs everything, and with god chance and opportunity steer all human affairs. But it's a milder view [709c] to grant that a third thing must accompany these: skill. For in the crisis of a storm, whether or not one has the pilot's skill to help—I'd count that a great advantage. Or how would you put it?
709c	**CLINIAS** οὕτως.	**CLINIAS** Just so.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡσαύτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ἔχοι λόγον, καὶ δὴ καὶ νομοθεσίᾳ ταὐτὸν τοῦτο δοτέον· τῶν ἄλλων συμπιπτόντων, ὅσα δεῖ χώρᾳ συντυχεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι ποτὲ εὐδαιμόνως οἰκήσειν, τὸν νομοθέτην ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον τῇ τοιαύτῃ παραπεσεῖν ἑκάστοτε πόλει δεῖν.	**ATHENIAN** And the same account would hold for the other cases, too; and in particular the same must be granted to legislation. When all the other things coincide that a country needs to have fall its way, if it is ever to be settled happily, such a city must each time happen upon a lawgiver who holds to the truth.
	CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
709d	**ATHENIAN** οὐκοῦν ὅ γε πρὸς ἕκαστόν τι τῶν εἰρημένων ἔχων τὴν τέχνην κἂν εὔξασθαί που δύναιτο ὀρθῶς, τί παρὸν αὐτῷ διὰ τύχης, τῆς τέχνης ἂν μόνον ἐπιδέοι;	**ATHENIAN** Now wouldn't someone who has the skill for each of the things we've mentioned be able to pray correctly for the thing which, if chance supplied it, would leave him needing nothing but his skill?
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN οἵ τε ἄλλοι γε δὴ πάντες οἱ νυνδὴ ῥηθέντες, κελευόμενοι τὴν αὑτῶν εὐχὴν εἰπεῖν, εἴποιεν ἄν. ἦ γάρ;	**ATHENIAN** And all the others we just mentioned, if they were told to state their prayer, would state it. Isn't that so?
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN ταὐτὸν δὴ καὶ νομοθέτης οἶμαι δράσειεν.	**ATHENIAN** And a lawgiver, I think, would do the same.
	CLINIAS ἔγωγ' οἶμαι.	**CLINIAS** I think so.

THE YOUNG TYRANT

A good constitution comes most quickly when a lawgiver meets a young, moderate tyrant willing to reform.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN "φέρε δή, νομοθέτα," πρὸς αὐτὸν φῶμεν, "τί σοι [709e] καὶ πῶς πόλιν ἔχουσαν δῶμεν, ὃ λαβὼν ἕξεις ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτὸς τὴν πόλιν ἱκανῶς διοικῆσαι;"	**ATHENIAN** "Come then, lawgiver," let's say to him, "what shall we give you, [709e] and a city in what condition, so that once you have it you'll be able to manage the city adequately yourself from then on?"
709e	**CLINIAS** τί μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀρθῶς ἔστιν ἄρα;	**CLINIAS** What's the right answer to that, then?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN τοῦ νομοθέτου φράζομεν τοῦτο, ἦ γάρ;	**ATHENIAN** It's the lawgiver's answer we're stating, isn't it?
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN τόδε· "τυραννουμένην μοι δότε τὴν πόλιν," φήσει· "τύραννος δ' ἔστω νέος καὶ μνήμων καὶ εὐμαθὴς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς φύσει· ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐλέγομεν δεῖν ἕπεσθαι σύμπασιν τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρεσι, καὶ νῦν τῇ [710a] τυραννουμένῃ ψυχῇ τοῦτο συνεπέσθω, ἐὰν μέλλῃ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων ὄφελος εἶναί τι."	**ATHENIAN** This: "Give me the city under a tyrant," he'll say, "and let the tyrant be young, with a good memory, quick to learn, brave and high-minded by nature. And the thing we said earlier must accompany all the parts of virtue—let that accompany [710a] the tyrant's soul now too, if his other qualities are to be of any use."
710a	**CLINIAS** σωφροσύνην μοι δοκεῖ φράζειν, ὦ Μέγιλλε, δεῖν εἶναι τὴν συνεπομένην ὁ ξένος. ἦ γάρ;	**CLINIAS** I think the stranger means, Megillus, that the quality accompanying these must be moderation. Isn't that right?
	ATHENIAN τὴν δημώδη γε, ὦ Κλεινία, καὶ οὐχ ἥν τις σεμνύνων ἂν λέγοι, φρόνησιν προσαναγκάζων εἶναι τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ εὐθὺς παισὶν καὶ θηρίοις, τοῖς μὲν ἀκρατῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς, σύμφυτον ἐπανθεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ἐγκρατῶς· ὃ [710b] καὶ μονούμενον ἔφαμεν τῶν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἄξιον εἶναι λόγου. ἔχετε γὰρ ὃ λέγω που.	**ATHENIAN** The ordinary kind, Clinias, not the kind people speak of solemnly when they insist that being moderate is wisdom, but the kind that blossoms naturally, right from the start, in children and animals, making some unrestrained where pleasures are concerned and others restrained. [710b] When it stands alone, we said, it isn't worth mentioning among the many things called good. You know what I mean, I'm sure.
710b	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ταύτην τοίνυν ἡμῖν ὁ τύραννος τὴν φύσιν ἐχέτω πρὸς ἐκείναις ταῖς φύσεσιν, εἰ μέλλει πόλις ὡς δυνατόν ἐστι τάχιστα καὶ ἄριστα σχήσειν πολιτείαν ἣν λαβοῦσα εὐδαιμονέστατα διάξει. θάττων γὰρ ταύτης καὶ ἀμείνων πολιτείας διάθεσις οὔτ' ἔστιν οὔτ' ἄν ποτε γένοιτο.	**ATHENIAN** Well then, let our tyrant have this nature in addition to those others, if the city is to acquire, as quickly and as well as possible, the constitution under which it will live most happily. For there neither is nor could ever be a quicker or better way of establishing a constitution than this.
710c	**CLINIAS** πῶς δὴ καὶ τίνι λόγῳ τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, λέγων ἄν τις ὀρθῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν πείθοι;	**CLINIAS** And how, stranger, and by what argument, could someone who says this convince himself that he's right?
	ATHENIAN ῥᾴδιόν που τοῦτό γε νοεῖν ἐστ', ὦ Κλεινία, κατὰ φύσιν ὡς ἔστι τοῦθ' οὕτω.	**ATHENIAN** It's easy enough to see, Clinias, that this is how things naturally are.
	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις; εἰ τύραννος γένοιτο, φῄς, νέος, σώφρων, εὐμαθής, μνήμων, ἀνδρεῖος, μεγαλοπρεπής;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean? If there were a tyrant, you say, who was young, moderate, quick to learn, with a good memory, brave and high-minded?
	ATHENIAN εὐτυχής, πρόσθες, μὴ κατ' ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ νομοθέτην ἄξιον ἐπαίνου, καί τινα τύχην εἰς [710d] ταὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου, πάντα σχεδὸν ἀπείργασται τῷ θεῷ, ἅπερ ὅταν βουληθῇ διαφερόντως εὖ πρᾶξαί τινα πόλιν. δεύτερον δέ,	**ATHENIAN** Add "fortunate"—not in any other respect, but in this: that in his time a lawgiver worthy of praise should appear, and some stroke of luck bring the two [710d] together. When that happens, god has done nearly everything he does

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐάν ποτέ τινες δύο ἄρχοντες γίγνωνται τοιοῦτοι, τρίτον δ' αὖ καὶ κατὰ λόγον ὡσαύτως χαλεπώτερον ὅσῳ πλείους, ὅσῳ δ' ἐναντίον, ἐναντίως.	when he wants some city to fare exceptionally well. Second best is if two such rulers should ever arise; third, likewise, and harder in proportion as there are more of them; and the reverse in proportion as there are fewer.
710d	**CLINIAS** ἐκ τυραννίδος ἀρίστην φῂς γενέσθαι πόλιν ἄν, ὡς φαίνῃ, μετὰ νομοθέτου γε ἄκρου καὶ τυράννου κοσμίου, καὶ ῥᾷστά τε καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν μεταβαλεῖν εἰς τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, [710e] δεύτερον δὲ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας—ἢ πῶς λέγεις;—καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκ δημοκρατίας.	**CLINIAS** You're saying, it seems, that the best city would arise from a tyranny, with a supreme lawgiver and a well-behaved tyrant, and that the change to it would come most easily and quickly from such a starting point; [710e] second, from an oligarchy—or what do you mean?—and third, from a democracy.
710e	**ATHENIAN** οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τυραννίδος μὲν πρῶτον, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκ βασιλικῆς πολιτείας, τρίτον δὲ ἔκ τινος δημοκρατίας. τὸ δὲ τέταρτον, ὀλιγαρχία, τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου γένεσιν χαλεπώτατα δύναιτ' ἂν προσδέξασθαι· πλεῖστοι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δυνάσται γίγνονται. λέγομεν δὴ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι τότε, ὅταν ἀληθὴς μὲν νομοθέτης γένηται φύσει, κοινὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τις συμβῇ ῥώμη πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον δυναμένους· [711a] οὗ δ' ἂν τοῦτο ἀριθμῷ μὲν βραχύτατον, ἰσχυρότατον δέ, καθάπερ ἐν τυραννίδι, γένηται, ταύτῃ καὶ τότε τάχος καὶ ῥᾳστώνη τῆς μεταβολῆς γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ.	**ATHENIAN** Not at all. First from a tyranny, second from a monarchy, third from some kind of democracy. Fourth, oligarchy would have the hardest time admitting the birth of such a city, since it has the largest number of men in power. What we're saying is that this happens when a true lawgiver arises by nature and comes to share some power with those who have the greatest power in the city. [711a] Wherever that power is smallest in number but strongest, as in a tyranny, there and then the change tends to come most quickly and easily.
711a	**CLINIAS** πῶς; οὐ γὰρ μανθάνομεν.	**CLINIAS** How so? We don't follow.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν εἴρηταί γ' ἡμῖν οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλ' οἶμαι πολλάκις· ὑμεῖς δὲ τάχα οὐδὲ τεθέασθε τυραννουμένην πόλιν.	**ATHENIAN** And yet we've said it not once but many times, I think. But perhaps you two have never even seen a city under a tyrant.
	CLINIAS οὐδέ γε ἐπιθυμητὴς ἔγωγ' εἰμὶ τοῦ θεάματος.	**CLINIAS** No, and I have no desire to see the spectacle, either.
711b	**ATHENIAN** καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γ' ἂν ἴδοις ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ νυνδὴ λεγόμενον.	**ATHENIAN** And yet in it you'd see just what we're talking about now.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What's that?
	ATHENIAN οὐδὲν δεῖ πόνων οὐδέ τινος παμπόλλου χρόνου τῷ τυράννῳ μεταβαλεῖν βουληθέντι πόλεως ἦθη, πορεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν δεῖ πρῶτον ταύτῃ, ὅπηπερ ἂν ἐθελήσῃ, ἐάντε πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύματα, προτρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, ἐάντε ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον, αὐτὸν πρῶτον πάντα ὑπογράφοντα τῷ πράττειν, [711c] τὰ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ τιμῶντα, τὰ δ' αὖ πρὸς ψόγον ἄγοντα, καὶ τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον ἀτιμάζοντα καθ' ἑκάστας τῶν πράξεων.	**ATHENIAN** A tyrant who wants to change a city's customs needs no toil and no very long time. He must first take the road himself in whatever direction he wants to urge the citizens, whether toward the practices of virtue or the opposite, sketching out the whole pattern by his own conduct, [711c] praising and honoring some things and censuring others, and disgracing anyone who disobeys, in every sphere of action.
711c	**CLINIAS** καὶ πῶς οἰόμεθα ταχὺ συνακολουθήσειν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας τῷ τὴν τοιαύτην πειθὼ καὶ ἅμα βίαν εἰληφότι;	**CLINIAS** And how, do we suppose, will the other citizens come to follow quickly the man who has

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		acquired this kind of persuasion, and force along with it?
	ATHENIAN μηδεὶς ἡμᾶς πειθέτω, ὦ φίλοι, ἄλλῃ θᾶττον καὶ ῥᾷον μεταβάλλειν ἄν ποτε πόλιν τοὺς νόμους ἢ τῇ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἡγεμονίᾳ, μηδὲ νῦν γε ἄλλῃ γίγνεσθαι μηδ' αὖθίς ποτε γενήσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἡμῖν οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν [711d] ἀδύνατον οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἂν γενόμενον· ἀλλὰ τόδ' ἐστὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὀλίγον δὴ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, ὅταν δὲ συμβῇ, μυρία καὶ πάντ' ἐν πόλει ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζεται, ἐν ᾗ ποτ' ἂν ἐγγένηται.	ATHENIAN Let no one persuade us, my friends, that a city could ever change its laws more quickly and easily by any other route than the leadership of those in power, or that it happens any other way now or ever will in the future. That, you see, is not [711d] the impossible part for us, or even something hard to bring about. What is hard to bring about is something else, and it has happened only rarely in the long course of time; but when it does occur, it produces countless blessings of every kind in the city where it arises.
711d	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;	CLINIAS What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN ὅταν ἔρως θεῖος τῶν σωφρόνων τε καὶ δικαίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐγγένηται μεγάλαις τισὶν δυναστείαις, ἢ κατὰ μοναρχίαν δυναστευούσαις ἢ κατὰ πλούτων ὑπεροχὰς διαφερούσαις [711e] ἢ γενῶν, ἢ τὴν Νέστορος ἐάν ποτέ τις ἐπανενέγκῃ φύσιν, ὃν τῇ τοῦ λέγειν ῥώμῃ φασὶ πάντων διενεγκόντα ἀνθρώπων πλέον ἔτι τῷ σωφρονεῖν διαφέρειν. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐπὶ μὲν Τροίας, ὥς φασι, γέγονεν, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδαμῶς, εἰ δ' οὖν γέγονεν ἢ καὶ γενήσεται τοιοῦτος ἢ νῦν ἡμῶν ἔστιν τις, μακαρίως μὲν αὐτὸς ζῇ, μακάριοι δὲ οἱ συνήκοοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος στόματος ἰόντων λόγων.	ATHENIAN When a divine love of moderate and just practices arises in people of great power, whether they hold power as monarchs or stand out through superior wealth [711e] or birth; or if someone should ever bring back the nature of Nestor, who, they say, surpassed all men in the power of speech but surpassed them still more in moderation. That was in the time of Troy, so they say, but in ours not at all. Still, if there has been such a person, or will be, or is one among us now, he himself lives a blessed life, and blessed are those who hear the words that come from that moderate mouth.[5]
711e	ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ συμπάσης δυνάμεως ὁ αὐτὸς πέρι λόγος, ὡς ὅταν εἰς [712a] ταὐτὸν τῷ φρονεῖν τε καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἡ μεγίστη δύναμις ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ συμπέσῃ, τότε πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ νόμων τῶν τοιούτων φύεται γένεσις, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ μή ποτε γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καθαπερεὶ μῦθός τις λεχθεὶς κεχρησμῳδήσθω, καὶ ἐπιδεδείχθω τῇ μὲν χαλεπὸν ὂν τὸ πόλιν εὔνομον γίγνεσθαι, τῇ δ', εἴπερ γένοιτο ὃ λέγομεν, πάντων τάχιστόν τε καὶ ῥᾷστον μακρῷ.	The same account holds for power of every kind: when [712a] the greatest power in a human being coincides with wisdom and moderation, then the best constitution and laws of the same kind come to birth, but otherwise they never will. So let this be taken as an oracle spoken in the form of a myth, and let it stand proved that in one way it is hard for a city to get good laws, but in another way, if what we describe should happen, it is by far the quickest and easiest thing of all.
712a	CLINIAS πῶς;	CLINIAS How so?
712b	ATHENIAN πειρώμεθα προσαρμόττοντες τῇ πόλει σοι, καθάπερ παῖδες πρεσβῦται, πλάττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς νόμους.	ATHENIAN Let's try to mold the laws in words, fitting them to your city, like old men playing at being children.
	CLINIAS ἴωμεν δὴ καὶ μὴ μέλλωμεν ἔτι.	CLINIAS Let's go ahead, then, and not delay any longer.

5 Nestor, the aged king of Pylos in Homer's *Iliad*, famous for his eloquent counsel.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN θεὸν δὴ πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως κατασκευὴν ἐπικαλώμεθα· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσειέν τε, καὶ ἀκούσας ἵλεως εὐμενής τε ἡμῖν ἔλθοι συνδιακοσμήσων τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους.

ATHENIAN Then let us call on god to help us set up the city. May he hear us, and, hearing, come gracious and kindly to help us set in order both the city and its laws.

CLINIAS ἔλθοι γὰρ οὖν.

CLINIAS Yes, may he come.

THE RULE OF GOD AND OF LAW

Under Cronus spirits ruled mankind; the city should imitate that rule by obeying law as intelligence.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ τίνα δή ποτε πολιτείαν ἔχομεν ἐν νῷ τῇ [712c] πόλει προστάττειν;

ATHENIAN Well then, what constitution do we have in mind to prescribe for the [712c] city?

712c **CLINIAS** οἷον δὴ τί λέγεις βουληθείς; φράζ' ἔτι σαφέστερον. οἷον δημοκρατίαν τινὰ ἢ ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ ἀριστοκρατίαν ἢ βασιλικήν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τυραννίδα γέ που λέγοις ἄν, ὥς γ' ἡμεῖς ἂν οἰηθεῖμεν.

CLINIAS What exactly do you mean by that? Say it still more clearly. A democracy, for instance, or an oligarchy or an aristocracy or a monarchy? Surely you wouldn't mean a tyranny—at least, we wouldn't think so.

ATHENIAN φέρε δὴ τοίνυν, πότερος ὑμῶν ἀποκρίνασθαι πρότερος ἂν ἐθέλοι, τὴν οἴκοι πολιτείαν εἰπὼν τίς τούτων ἐστίν;

ATHENIAN Come then, which of you would like to answer first, by saying which of these is the constitution back home?

MEGILLUS μῶν οὖν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐμὲ δικαιότερον εἰπεῖν πρότερον;

MEGILLUS Wouldn't it be fairer for me, as the older, to speak first?

712d **CLINIAS** ἴσως.

CLINIAS Perhaps.

MEGILLUS καὶ μὴν συννοῶν γε, ὦ ξένε, τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πολιτείαν οὐκ ἔχω σοι φράζειν οὕτως ἥντινα προσαγορεύειν αὐτὴν δεῖ. καὶ γὰρ τυραννίδι δοκεῖ μοι προσεοικέναι—τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐφόρων θαυμαστὸν ὡς τυραννικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ γέγονε —καί τις ἐνίοτέ μοι φαίνεται πασῶν τῶν πόλεων δημοκρατουμένη μάλιστ' ἐοικέναι. τὸ δ' αὖ μὴ φάναι ἀριστοκρατίαν [712e] αὐτὴν εἶναι παντάπασιν ἄτοπον· καὶ μὲν δὴ βασιλεία γε διὰ βίου τ' ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη πασῶν καὶ πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λεγομένη. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω νῦν ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐρωτηθείς, ὄντως, ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐκ ἔχω διορισάμενος εἰπεῖν τίς τούτων ἐστὶν τῶν πολιτειῶν.

MEGILLUS Well, stranger, when I think about the constitution in Sparta, I can't tell you offhand what it ought to be called. It seems to me to resemble a tyranny—the power of the ephors in it has become amazingly tyrannical—and yet sometimes it seems to me, of all cities, the most like a democracy. Then again, to deny that it's an aristocracy [712e] would be utterly absurd. And there's a kingship in it, too, held for life, the oldest of all kingships, as all mankind and we ourselves say. So being asked suddenly like this, I really can't, as I said, define it and tell you which of these constitutions it is.

712e **CLINIAS** ταὐτόν σοι πάθος, ὦ Μέγιλλε, καταφαίνομαι πεπονθέναι· πάνυ γὰρ ἀπορῶ τὴν ἐν Κνωσῷ πολιτείαν τούτων τινὰ διισχυριζόμενος εἰπεῖν.

CLINIAS I find I'm in the same position as you, Megillus. I'm quite at a loss to state with confidence that the constitution in Knossos is any one of these.

ATHENIAN ὄντως γάρ, ὦ ἄριστοι, πολιτειῶν μετέχετε· ἃς δὲ ὠνομάκαμεν νῦν, οὐκ εἰσὶν πολιτεῖαι, πόλεων δὲ οἰκήσεις [713a] δεσποζομένων τε καὶ δουλευουσῶν μέρεσιν ἑαυτῶν τισι, τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου δὲ ἑκάστη προσαγορεύεται κράτος. χρῆν δ' εἴπερ του τοιούτου τὴν πόλιν ἔδει

ATHENIAN That's because you really do take part in constitutions, my excellent friends. The ones we just named aren't constitutions but arrangements for cities [713a] in which some parts are mas-

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	ἐπονομάζεσθαι, τὸ τοῦ ἀληθῶς τῶν τὸν νοῦν ἐχόντων δεσπόζοντος θεοῦ ὄνομα λέγεσθαι.	ters and others slaves, and each is named after the power of the master. But if a city had to be named after anything like that, it should have been called by the name of the god who is the true master of those who have intelligence.
713a	**CLINIAS** τίς δ' ὁ θεός;	**CLINIAS** And who is that god?
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν μύθῳ σμικρά γ' ἔτι προσχρηστέον, εἰ μέλλομεν ἐμμελῶς πως δηλῶσαι τὸ νῦν ἐρωτώμενον;	**ATHENIAN** Must we, then, make use of a little more myth, if we're to explain in a fitting way what you're now asking?
	CLINIAS οὐκοῦν χρὴ ταύτῃ δρᾶν;	**CLINIAS** Shouldn't we do that, then?
	ATHENIAN πάνυ μὲν οὖν. τῶν γὰρ δὴ πόλεων ὧν ἔμπροσθε [713b] τὰς συνοικήσεις διήλθομεν, ἔτι προτέρα τούτων πάμπολυ λέγεταί τις ἀρχή τε καὶ οἴκησις γεγονέναι ἐπὶ Κρόνου μάλ' εὐδαίμων, ἧς μίμημα ἔχουσά ἐστιν ἥτις τῶν νῦν ἄριστα οἰκεῖται.	**ATHENIAN** Certainly. Long before the cities whose [713b] foundations we went through earlier, there was, it is said, a government and a settlement in the time of Cronus that was very happy; and whichever city is best governed today is an imitation of it.[6]
713b	**CLINIAS** σφόδρ' ἄν, ὡς ἔοικ', εἴη περὶ αὐτῆς δέον ἀκούειν.	**CLINIAS** Then it seems we very much need to hear about it.
	ATHENIAN ἐμοὶ γοῦν φαίνεται· διὸ καὶ παρήγαγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῖς λόγοις.	**ATHENIAN** So it seems to me, at any rate; that's why I brought it into the discussion.
	CLINIAS ὀρθότατά γε δρῶν· καὶ τόν γε ἑξῆς περαίνων ἂν [713c] μῦθον, εἴπερ προσήκων ἐστίν, μάλ' ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιοίης.	**CLINIAS** You were quite right to. And you'd do very well to finish [713c] the story that follows, if it's relevant.
713c	**ATHENIAN** δραστέον ὡς λέγετε. φήμην τοίνυν παραδεδέγμεθα τῆς τῶν τότε μακαρίας ζωῆς ὡς ἄφθονά τε καὶ αὐτόματα πάντ' εἶχεν. ἡ δὲ τούτων αἰτία λέγεται τοιάδε τις. γιγνώσκων ὁ Κρόνος ἄρα, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεία φύσις οὐδεμία ἱκανὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διοικοῦσα αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα, μὴ οὐχ ὕβρεώς τε καὶ ἀδικίας μεστοῦσθαι, ταῦτ' οὖν διανοούμενος ἐφίστη τότε βασιλέας τε καὶ [713d] ἄρχοντας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπους ἀλλὰ γένους θειοτέρου τε καὶ ἀμείνονος, δαίμονας, οἷον νῦν ἡμεῖς δρῶμεν τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ ὅσων ἥμεροί εἰσιν ἀγέλαι· οὐ βοῦς βοῶν οὐδὲ αἶγας αἰγῶν ἄρχοντας ποιοῦμεν αὐτοῖσί τινας, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν, ἄμεινον ἐκείνων γένος.	**ATHENIAN** I must do as you say. Well, we have received a tradition about the blessed life of the people of that time: they had everything in abundance and of its own accord. The cause of this is said to be something like the following. Cronus knew, as we have explained, that no human nature is capable of managing all human affairs with absolute power without becoming filled with insolence and injustice. With this in mind, he set over our cities as kings and [713d] rulers not human beings but beings of a more divine and better race: spirits. It's just what we do now with our flocks and with all herds of tame animals. We don't make oxen rulers over oxen or goats over goats; we ourselves, a better race than they, are their masters.
713d	ταὐτὸν δὴ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἄρα καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὤν, τὸ γένος ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐφίστη τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, ὃ διὰ πολλῆς μὲν αὐτοῖς ῥᾳστώνης, [713e] πολλῆς δ' ἡμῖν, ἐπιμελούμενον	In the same way the god, being a friend to humankind, set over us the better race of spirits. They took care of us, with great ease to themselves [713e]

6 Cronus, father of Zeus, whose reign was remembered as a golden age.

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ENGLISH

ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰδῶ καὶ εὐνομίαν καὶ ἀφθονίαν δίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαίμονα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπηργάζετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ἀληθείᾳ χρώμενος, ὡς ὅσων ἂν πόλεων μὴ θεὸς ἀλλά τις ἄρχῃ θνητός, οὐκ ἔστιν κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάφυξις· ἀλλὰ μιμεῖσθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴεται πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἡμῖν ἀθανασίας ἔνεστι, τούτῳ πειθομένους δημοσίᾳ [714a] καὶ ἰδίᾳ τάς τ' οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖν, τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ἐπονομάζοντας νόμον.

and to us, providing peace, respect, good laws and justice without stint, and made the races of mankind free from civil strife and happy. And this account, which holds to the truth, says even now that for cities ruled not by a god but by some mortal, there is no respite from evils and toils. It thinks we should imitate by every means the life said to have existed under Cronus, and that, obeying whatever of immortality there is in us, we should manage our households and cities, in public [714a] and in private, giving the name "law" to the distribution made by intelligence.[7]

714a εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπος εἷς ἢ ὀλιγαρχία τις, ἢ καὶ δημοκρατία ψυχὴν ἔχουσα ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ὀρεγομένην καὶ πληροῦσθαι τούτων δεομένην, στέγουσαν δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἀνηνύτῳ καὶ ἀπλήστῳ κακῷ νοσήματι συνεχομένην, ἄρξει δὴ πόλεως ἤ τινος ἰδιώτου καταπατήσας ὁ τοιοῦτος τοὺς νόμους, ὃ νυνδὴ ἐλέγομεν, οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρίας μηχανή. σκοπεῖν δὴ δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἡμᾶς, [714b] ὦ Κλεινία, πότερον αὐτῷ πεισόμεθα ἢ πῶς δράσομεν.

But if a single person, or an oligarchy, or even a democracy, has a soul that reaches for pleasures and appetites and needs to be filled with them, yet holds nothing in, gripped by an endless and insatiable evil disease—if such a one rules a city or an individual, trampling on the laws, then, as we were saying just now, there is no means of salvation. So we must examine this account, [714b] Clinias, and decide whether we will obey it or what we will do.

714b **CLINIAS** ἀνάγκη δήπου πείθεσθαι.

CLINIAS We must obey it, surely.

ATHENIAN ἐννοεῖς οὖν ὅτι νόμων εἴδη τινές φασιν εἶναι τοσαῦτα ὅσαπερ πολιτειῶν, πολιτειῶν δὲ ἄρτι διεληλύθαμεν ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοί; μὴ δὴ φαύλου πέρι νομίσῃς εἶναι τὴν νῦν ἀμφισβήτησιν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον οἷ χρὴ βλέπειν, πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀμφισβητούμενον ἐλήλυθεν. οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὔτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν [714c] ὅλην βλέπειν δεῖν φασι τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' ἥτις ἂν καθεστηκυῖα ᾖ πολιτεία, ταύτῃ ἰδεῖν τὸ συμφέρον, ὅπως ἄρξει τε ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ καταλυθήσεται, καὶ τὸν φύσει ὅρον τοῦ δικαίου λέγεσθαι κάλλισθ' οὕτω.

ATHENIAN Do you realize, then, that some people say there are as many kinds of laws as there are of constitutions? And we've just gone through how many constitutions most people say there are. Don't think that the present dispute is about something trivial; it's about the most important thing. For the question of what justice and injustice should look to has come back to us to be disputed. These people say that the laws should look neither to war nor to virtue [714c] as a whole, but to the interest of whatever constitution is established, how it may rule forever and never be overthrown; and that the natural definition of justice is best stated this way.

714c **CLINIAS** πῶς;

CLINIAS How?

ATHENIAN ὅτι τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον ἐστίν.

ATHENIAN That it is the interest of the stronger.

CLINIAS λέγ' ἔτι σαφέστερον.

CLINIAS Put it more clearly still.

ATHENIAN ὧδε. τίθεται δήπου, φασίν, τοὺς νόμους ἐν τῇ πόλει ἑκάστοτε τὸ κρατοῦν. ἦ γάρ;

ATHENIAN Like this. It is surely, they say, whatever is dominant in a city at any given time that lays down its laws. Isn't that so?

7 A play on words: *nomos* (law) and *nou dianomē* (distribution by intelligence).

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	CLINIAS ἀληθῆ λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** True.
714d	**ATHENIAN** ἆρ' οὖν οἴει, φασίν, ποτὲ δῆμον νικήσαντα, ἢ τινα πολιτείαν ἄλλην, ἢ καὶ τύραννον, θήσεσθαι ἑκόντα πρὸς ἄλλο τι πρῶτον νόμους ἢ τὸ συμφέρον ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μένειν;	**ATHENIAN** "Do you suppose, then," they say, "that a people that has won power, or any other constitution, or a tyrant, would ever of its own accord lay down laws with any other primary aim than its own interest in keeping its rule?"
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** How could it?
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν καὶ ὃς ἂν ταῦτα τὰ τεθέντα παραβαίνῃ, κολάσει ὁ θέμενος ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, δίκαια εἶναι ταῦτ' ἐπονομάζων;	**ATHENIAN** "And whoever breaks these laws once they're laid down, the one who laid them down will punish as a wrongdoer, calling the laws just?"
	CLINIAS ἔοικε γοῦν.	**CLINIAS** It seems so, at any rate.
	ATHENIAN ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἀεὶ καὶ οὕτω καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν ἔχοι.	**ATHENIAN** "Then this is how justice would always stand: this way, and on these terms."
	CLINIAS φησὶ γοῦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος.	**CLINIAS** That's what this account says, at any rate.
	ATHENIAN ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο ἓν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀξιωμάτων [714e] ἀρχῆς πέρι.	**ATHENIAN** Yes, for this is one of those claims [714e] about ruling.
714e	**CLINIAS** ποίων δή;	**CLINIAS** Which ones?
	ATHENIAN τῶν ἃ τότε ἐπεσκοποῦμεν, τίνας τίνων ἄρχειν δεῖ. καὶ ἐφάνη δὴ γονέας μὲν ἐκγόνων, νεωτέρων δὲ πρεσβυτέρους, γενναίους δὲ ἀγεννῶν, καὶ σύχν' ἄττα ἦν ἄλλ', εἰ μεμνήμεθα, καὶ ἐμπόδια ἕτερα ἑτέροισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἓν ἦν [715a] αὐτῶν τοῦτο, καὶ ἔφαμέν που κατὰ φύσιν τὸν Πίνδαρον ἄγειν δικαιοῦντα τὸ βιαιότατον, ὡς φάναι.	**ATHENIAN** The ones we examined back then: who should rule whom. It appeared that parents should rule their offspring, the older the younger, the well-born the low-born, and there were a good many others, if we remember, some of them standing in the way of others. And one of [715a] them was this very one; and we said, I think, that Pindar "leads it according to nature, making the utmost violence just," as he put it.
715a	**CLINIAS** ναί, ταῦτ' ἦν ἃ τότε ἐλέχθη.	**CLINIAS** Yes, that's what was said then.
	ATHENIAN σκόπει δὴ ποτέροις τισὶν ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἐστιν παραδοτέα. γέγονεν γὰρ δὴ μυριάκις ἤδη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔν τισι πόλεσιν.	**ATHENIAN** Consider, then, to which sort of people our city should be handed over. For this sort of thing has happened countless times in some cities.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What sort of thing?
	ATHENIAN ἀρχῶν περιμαχήτων γενομένων, οἱ νικήσαντες τά τε πράγματα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ἐσφετέρισαν σφόδρα, ὥστε ἀρχῆς μηδ' ὁτιοῦν μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ἡττηθεῖσιν, μήτε αὐτοῖς μήτε ἐκγόνοις, παραφυλάττοντες δὲ ἀλλήλους ζῶσιν, [715b] ὅπως μή ποτέ τις εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀφικόμενος ἐπαναστῇ μεμνημένος τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γεγονότων κακῶν. ταύτας δήπου φαμὲν ἡμεῖς νῦν οὔτ' εἶναι πολιτείας, οὔτ' ὀρθοὺς νόμους ὅσοι μὴ	**ATHENIAN** When offices have been fought over, the winners take over the city's affairs so completely that they give no share of office whatever to the losers, neither to them nor to their descendants, and they live watching each other, [715b] lest anyone should ever come to office and rise up, remembering the wrongs done before. These, we now say, are not constitutions, and laws are not

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	συμπάσης τῆς πόλεως ἕνεκα τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐτέθησαν· οἱ δ' ἕνεκά τινων, στασιώτας ἀλλ' οὐ πολίτας τούτους φαμέν, καὶ τὰ τούτων δίκαια ἃ φασιν εἶναι, μάτην εἰρῆσθαι.	correct unless they were laid down for the common good of the whole city. Where laws are laid down for the sake of some, we call those people partisans, not citizens, and what they call justice is an empty word.
715b	λέγεται δὲ τοῦδ' ἕνεκα ταῦθ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἡμεῖς τῇ σῇ πόλει ἀρχὰς οὔθ' ὅτι πλούσιός ἐστίν τις δώσομεν, οὔθ' ὅτι τῶν [715c] τοιούτων ἄλλο οὐδὲν κεκτημένος, ἰσχὺν ἢ μέγεθος ἤ τι γένος· ὃς δ' ἂν τοῖς τεθεῖσι νόμοις εὐπειθέστατός τε ᾖ καὶ νικᾷ ταύτην τὴν νίκην ἐν τῇ πόλει, τούτῳ φαμὲν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν δοτέον εἶναι τὴν μεγίστην τῷ πρώτῳ, καὶ δευτέραν τῷ τὰ δεύτερα κρατοῦντι, καὶ κατὰ λόγον οὕτω τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τὰ μετὰ ταῦθ' ἕκαστα ἀποδοτέον εἶναι. τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας λεγομένους νῦν ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις ἐκάλεσα [715d] οὔτι καινοτομίας ὀνομάτων ἕνεκα, ἀλλ' ἡγοῦμαι παντὸς μᾶλλον εἶναι παρὰ τοῦτο σωτηρίαν τε πόλει καὶ τοὐναντίον.	We say this because we are not going to give offices in your city to anyone because he is rich, or because he [715c] possesses any other such thing, such as strength or size or birth. Whoever is most obedient to the established laws and wins that victory in the city—to him, we say, must be given the highest service of the gods, to the winner of first place; the second to the one who comes second in that contest; and so on in proportion, each of the subsequent offices to those who come next. Those now called rulers I've called servants of the laws, [715d] not for the sake of coining new names, but because I believe that this more than anything determines a city's salvation or the opposite.
715d	ἐν ᾗ μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἀρχόμενος ᾖ καὶ ἄκυρος νόμος, φθορὰν ὁρῶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἑτοίμην οὖσαν· ἐν ᾗ δὲ ἂν δεσπότης τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες δοῦλοι τοῦ νόμου, σωτηρίαν καὶ πάντα ὅσα θεοὶ πόλεσιν ἔδοσαν ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καθορῶ.	For where the law is ruled over and lacks authority, I see ruin ready at hand for such a city; but where the law is master of the rulers and the rulers are slaves of the law, I see salvation there, and all the good things the gods have given to cities.
	CLINIAS ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ ξένε· καθ' ἡλικίαν γὰρ ὀξὺ βλέπεις.	**CLINIAS** Yes, by Zeus, stranger; you see sharply, as befits your age.
	ATHENIAN νέος μὲν γὰρ ὢν πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμβλύτατα [715e] αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ ὁρᾷ, γέρων δὲ ὀξύτατα.	**ATHENIAN** Yes: every human being, when young, sees such things more dimly [715e] than he ever will, and when old, most sharply.
715e	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα.	**CLINIAS** Very true.

THE ADDRESS TO THE SETTLERS

The settlers are told to follow the god, honor gods, ancestors and parents, and live moderately.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN τί δὴ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα; ἆρ' οὐχ ἥκοντας μὲν καὶ παρόντας θῶμεν τοὺς ἐποίκους, τὸν δ' ἑξῆς αὐτοῖς διαπεραντέον ἂν εἴη λόγον;	**ATHENIAN** What comes next, then? Shouldn't we suppose that the settlers have arrived and are here before us, and go through the rest of what we have to say to them?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN "ἄνδρες" τοίνυν φῶμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, "ὁ μὲν δὴ θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχήν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ [716a] μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων ἔχων, εὐθείᾳ περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος· τῷ δὲ ἀεὶ συνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου	**ATHENIAN** Then let us say this to them. Men, the god who, as the ancient saying has it, holds the beginning, the end and [716a] the middle of all things that are, travels a straight path to his goal as he

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τιμωρός, ἧς ὁ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλων ἐχόμενος συνέπεται ταπεινὸς καὶ κεκοσμημένος, ὁ δέ τις ἐξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἢ χρήμασιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἢ τιμαῖς, ἢ καὶ σώματος εὐμορφίᾳ ἅμα νεότητι καὶ ἀνοίᾳ φλέγεται τὴν ψυχὴν μεθ' ὕβρεως, ὡς οὔτε ἄρχοντος οὔτε τινὸς ἡγεμόνος δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις ἱκανὸς ὢν ἡγεῖσθαι, [716b] καταλείπεται ἔρημος θεοῦ, καταλειφθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἔτι ἄλλους τοιούτους προσλαβὼν σκιρτᾷ ταράττων πάντα ἅμα, καὶ πολλοῖς τισιν ἔδοξεν εἶναί τις, μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑποσχὼν τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτὴν τῇ δίκῃ ἑαυτόν τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ πόλιν ἅρδην ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν.

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goes round according to nature. And Justice always follows him, avenger of those who fall short of the divine law. Whoever means to be happy holds fast to her and follows, humble and orderly. But someone who is carried away by boastfulness, or puffed up by wealth or honors, or by good looks along with youth and folly, burns in his soul with insolence, as if he needed neither ruler nor any guide, but was capable of guiding others too. [716b] Such a man is left abandoned by god; and once abandoned, he takes up others like himself and leaps about, throwing everything into confusion at once. To many people he seems to be somebody. But before long he pays Justice a penalty that is not to be scorned, and brings himself, his household and his city to utter ruin.[8]

716b πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω διατεταγμένα τί χρὴ δρᾶν ἢ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ τί μὴ τὸν ἔμφρονα;"

In view of this ordering of things, then, what should the sensible person do or think, and what not?

CLINIAS δῆλον δὴ τοῦτό γε· ὡς τῶν συνακολουθησόντων ἐσόμενον τῷ θεῷ δεῖ διανοηθῆναι πάντα ἄνδρα.

CLINIAS This much is clear: every man must resolve to be one of those who will follow the god.

716c ATHENIAN "τίς οὖν δὴ πρᾶξις φίλη καὶ ἀκόλουθος θεῷ; μία, καὶ ἕνα λόγον ἔχουσα ἀρχαῖον, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμοιον ὄντι μετρίῳ φίλον ἂν εἴη, τὰ δ' ἄμετρα οὔτε ἀλλήλοις οὔτε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις. ὁ δὴ θεὸς ἡμῖν πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἂν εἴη μάλιστα, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἤ πού τις, ὥς φασιν, ἄνθρωπος· τὸν οὖν τῷ τοιούτῳ προσφιλῆ γενησόμενον, εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον γίγνεσθαι, [716d] καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν λόγον ὁ μὲν σώφρων ἡμῶν θεῷ φίλος, ὅμοιος γάρ, ὁ δὲ μὴ σώφρων ἀνόμοιός τε καὶ διάφορος καὶ ὁ ἄδικος, καὶ τὰ ἄλλ' οὕτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχει.

ATHENIAN What conduct, then, is dear to god and follows him? There is one kind, expressed in one ancient saying: like is dear to like, when it has measure, while things without measure are dear neither to each other nor to things with measure. For us, god would be the measure of all things in the highest degree, far more than any human being, as some say. So whoever is to become dear to such a being must become as much like him as he possibly can; [716d] and by this account the moderate person among us is dear to god, since he is like him, while the person who is not moderate is unlike him and at odds with him, and so is the unjust person; and the same principle holds for the rest.[9]

716d νοήσωμεν δὴ τούτοις ἑπόμενον εἶναι τὸν τοιόνδε λόγον, ἁπάντων κάλλιστον καὶ ἀληθέστατον οἶμαι λόγων, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ θύειν καὶ προσομιλεῖν ἀεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀναθήμασιν καὶ συμπάσῃ θεραπείᾳ θεῶν κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον καὶ ἀνυσιμώτατον πρὸς τὸν εὐδαίμονα [716e] βίον καὶ δὴ καὶ διαφερόντως πρέπον, τῷ δὲ κακῷ τούτων τἀναντία πέφυκεν." "ἀκάθαρτος γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ὅ γε κακός, καθαρὸς δὲ ὁ ἐναντίος, παρὰ δὲ μιαροῦ δῶρα οὔτε [717a] ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε θεὸν ἔστιν ποτὲ τό γε ὀρθὸν

Let us note that from this follows another principle, the finest and truest of all principles, I think: that for the good person, to sacrifice and commune with the gods constantly through prayers, offerings and every kind of worship is the finest, best and most effective thing for a happy [716e] life, and exceptionally fitting as well; while for the bad person the opposite is naturally true. For the bad

8 The "ancient saying" is usually taken to be an Orphic verse: "Zeus is the beginning, Zeus the middle, and from Zeus all things are made."

9 Protagoras, the fifth-century BC sophist, had said that "man is the measure of all things."

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	δέχεσθαι· μάτην οὖν περὶ θεοὺς ὁ πολύς ἐστι πόνος τοῖς ἀνοσίοις, τοῖσιν δὲ ὁσίοις ἐγκαιρότατος ἅπασιν. σκοπὸς μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν οὗτος οὗ δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι· βέλη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἷον ἡ τοῖς βέλεσιν ἔφεσις τὰ ποῖ' ἂν λεγόμενα ὀρθότατα φέροιτ' ἄν;	person is impure in soul, and his opposite is pure; and it is never right [717a] for a good man or a god to accept gifts from a polluted person. So all the great effort the unholy spend on the gods is wasted, while for the holy it is most rewarding of all. This, then, is the target we must aim at. But what are its arrows, so to speak, and how should they be launched? What could we name that would fly most truly to it?
717a	πρῶτον μέν, φαμέν, τιμὰς τὰς μετ' Ὀλυμπίους τε καὶ τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντας θεοὺς τοῖς χθονίοις ἄν τις θεοῖς ἄρτια καὶ δεύτερα καὶ ἀριστερὰ νέμων ὀρθότατα τοῦ τῆς [717b] εὐσεβείας σκοποῦ τυγχάνοι, τὰ δὲ τούτων ἄνωθεν τὰ περιττὰ καὶ ἀντίφωνα, τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ῥηθεῖσιν νυνδή. μετὰ θεοὺς δὲ τούσδε καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν ὅ γε ἔμφρων ὀργιάζοιτ' ἄν, ἥρωσιν δὲ μετὰ τούτους.	First, we say, one would hit the target of piety most truly if, after the honors due to the Olympians and the gods who hold the city, one assigned to the gods of the underworld the even numbers, second place, and the left, [717b] and the things above these—the odd numbers and their counterparts—to the gods just mentioned. After these gods, the sensible person will also worship the spirits, and after them the heroes.[10]
717b	ἐπακολουθοῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἱδρύματα ἴδια πατρῴων θεῶν κατὰ νόμον ὀργιαζόμενα, γονέων δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμαὶ ζώντων· ὡς θέμις ὀφείλοντα ἀποτίνειν τὰ πρῶτά τε καὶ μέγιστα ὀφειλήματα, χρεῶν πάντων πρεσβύτατα, νομίζειν δέ, ἃ κέκτηται καὶ ἔχει, πάντα εἶναι τῶν [717c] γεννησάντων καὶ θρεψαμένων πρὸς τὸ παρέχειν αὐτὰ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκείνοις κατὰ δύναμιν πᾶσαν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας, δεύτερα τὰ τοῦ σώματος, τρίτα τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀποτίνοντα δανείσματα ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ ὑπερπονούντων ὠδῖνας παλαιὰς ἐπὶ νέοις δανεισθείσας, ἀποδιδόντα δὲ παλαιοῖς ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ σφόδρα κεχρημένοις.	Next should come private shrines of ancestral gods, worshiped according to law; and after these, honors for parents while they live. It is right to pay the first and greatest debts, the oldest of all obligations, and to consider that everything one owns and has belongs to those [717c] who gave one birth and raised one, and so to put it at their service with all one's power: first one's property, second what belongs to the body, third what belongs to the soul. So one repays the loans of care, and of the labor pains they suffered for their young long ago, and gives them back to the old in their old age, when they are in great need.
717c	παρὰ δὲ πάντα τὸν βίον ἔχειν τε καὶ ἐσχηκέναι χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γονέας εὐφημίαν [717d] διαφερόντως, διότι κούφων καὶ πτηνῶν λόγων βαρυτάτη ζημία—πᾶσι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος τοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐτάχθη Δίκης Νέμεσις ἄγγελος—θυμουμένοις τε οὖν ὑπείκειν δεῖ καὶ ἀποπιμπλᾶσι τὸν θυμόν, ἐάντ' ἐν λόγοις ἐάντ' ἐν ἔργοις δρῶσιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, συγγιγνώσκοντα, ὡς εἰκότως μάλιστα πατὴρ ὑεῖ δοξάζων ἀδικεῖσθαι θυμοῖτ' ἂν διαφερόντως. τελευτησάντων δὲ γονέων ταφὴ μὲν ἡ σωφρονεστάτη καλλίστη, μήτε ὑπεραίροντα τῶν εἰθισμένων ὄγκων μήτ' ἐλλείποντα [717e] ὧν οἱ προπάτορες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γεννητὰς ἐτίθεσαν, τάς τε αὖ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν ἤδη τέλος ἐχόντων ὡσαύτως ἐπιμελείας τὰς κόσμον φερούσας ἀποδιδόναι· " "τῷ δὲ μὴ [718a] παραλείπειν μνήμην ἐνδελεχῆ παρεχόμενον, τούτῳ μάλιστ' ἀεὶ πρεσβεύειν, δαπάνης τε	Throughout one's whole life one must have, and have had, especially respectful speech toward one's parents, [717d] because light and winged words bring the heaviest penalty: Nemesis, messenger of Justice, has been appointed to watch over all such matters. So one must give way to parents when they are angry and let them vent their anger, whether they do it in words or in deeds, and forgive them, recognizing that a father who thinks he is wronged by his son would naturally be especially angry. When parents die, the most modest burial is the finest: one that neither exceeds the customary pomp nor falls short [717e] of what our forefathers gave their own parents. Likewise one should pay the yearly attentions to those who have

10 Greek ritual associated odd numbers and the right hand with the heavenly gods, and even numbers and the left with the gods of the underworld.

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τῆς διδομένης ὑπὸ τύχης τὸ μέτριον τοῖς κεκμηκόσιν νέμοντα.

reached their end, the rites that bring them honor. And one should honor them above all by not [718a] neglecting to keep their memory constantly alive, and by spending on the dead a moderate share of whatever means fortune grants.[11]

718a ταῦτ' ἂν ποιοῦντες καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῶντες ἑκάστοτε ἕκαστοι τὴν ἀξίαν ἂν παρὰ θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι κρείττονες ἡμῶν κομιζοίμεθα, ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς διάγοντες τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου." ἃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκγόνους καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πολίτας, ὅσα τε ξενικὰ πρὸς θεῶν θεραπεύματα καὶ ὁμιλίας συμπάντων τούτων ἀποτελοῦντα [718b] τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον φαιδρυνάμενον κατὰ νόμον κοσμεῖν δεῖ, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἡ διέξοδος, τὰ μὲν πείθουσα, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπείκοντα πειθοῖ τῶν ἠθῶν βίᾳ καὶ δίκῃ κολάζουσα, τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν συμβουληθέντων θεῶν μακαρίαν τε καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἀποτελεῖ· ἃ δὲ χρὴ μὲν αὖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν νομοθέτην ὅστις ἅπερ ἐγὼ διανοεῖται, ἐν δὲ σχήματι νόμου ἀναρμοστεῖ λεγόμενα, τούτων πέρι δοκεῖ μοι δεῖγμα προενεγκόντα [718c] αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκείνοις οἷς νομοθετήσει, τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα εἰς δύναμιν διεξελθόντα, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄρχεσθαι τῆς θέσεως τῶν νόμων.

If we do these things and live by them, each of us, always, we would receive what we deserve from the gods and from those greater than us, and would spend most of our lives in good hope. As for what one owes to offspring, relatives, friends and fellow citizens, and the services to strangers that the gods enjoin, and the dealings with all of these by which one should brighten [718b] one's own life and adorn it as the law requires—the detailed account of the laws themselves, persuading in some cases and, where characters don't yield to persuasion, punishing with force and justice, will with the gods' consent make our city blessed and happy. But there are things that a lawgiver who thinks as I do must say, and needs to say, which are out of tune when spoken in the form of law. On these matters, I think, he should offer a sample [718c] to himself and to those for whom he will legislate, go through all the rest as far as he can, and after that begin laying down the laws.

718c ἔστιν δὲ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν τίνι μάλιστα σχήματι κείμενα; οὐ πάνυ ῥᾴδιον ἐν ἑνὶ περιλαβόντα εἰπεῖν αὐτὰ οἷόν τινι τύπῳ, ἀλλ' οὑτωσί τινα τρόπον λάβωμεν, ἄν τι δυνώμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν βεβαιώσασθαι.

But in what form can such things best be set out? It isn't very easy to take them in and state them in a single mold, as it were. But let's approach it in something like this way, and see whether we can establish anything firm about them.

CLINIAS λέγε τὸ ποῖον.

CLINIAS Tell us what way.

ATHENIAN βουλοίμην ἂν αὐτοὺς ὡς εὐπειθεστάτους πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι πειράσεται τοῦτο ὁ νομοθέτης ἐν ἁπάσῃ ποιεῖν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ.

ATHENIAN I would want them to be as readily persuaded toward virtue as possible; and clearly the lawgiver will try to achieve this throughout his legislation.

718d CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN τὰ τοίνυν δὴ λεχθέντα ἔδοξέν τί μοι προὔργου δρᾶν εἰς τὸ περὶ ὧν ἂν παραινῇ, μὴ παντάπασιν ὠμῆς ψυχῆς λαβόμενα, ἡμερώτερόν τε ἂν ἀκούειν καὶ εὐμενέστερον· ὥστε εἰ καὶ μὴ μέγα τι, σμικρὸν δέ, τὸν ἀκούοντα ὅπερ φησὶν εὐμενέστερον γιγνόμενον εὐμαθέστερον ἀπεργάσεται, πᾶν ἀγαπητόν. οὐ γὰρ πολλή τις εὐπέτεια οὐδὲ ἀφθονία τῶν προθυμουμένων ὡς ἀρίστων ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ὡς τάχιστα [718e] γίγνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον οἱ πολλοὶ σοφὸν ἀποφαίνουσι λέγοντα ὡς ἡ μὲν

ATHENIAN Well, it seemed to me that what we've said would help make people hear what he urges more gently and kindly, as long as it doesn't take hold of an utterly savage soul. So if it makes the listener even a little more well disposed—if not much—and so readier to learn, as it aims to, we should be glad of it. For there's no great ease or abundance of people eager to become as good as possible as quickly as possible. [718e] Most people re-

11 Nemesis, goddess of retribution, who punished arrogance and wrongdoing.

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ἐπὶ τὴν κακότητα ὁδὸς λεία καὶ ἀνιδιτὶ παρέχει πορεύεσθαι, μάλα βραχεῖα οὖσα, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς, φησίν, ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν ἀθάνατοι, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτήν, [719a] καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι, ῥηιδίη δὴ 'πειτα φέρειν, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

719a **CLINIAS** καὶ καλῶς γ' ἔοικεν λέγοντι.

ATHENIAN πάνυ μὲν οὖν. ὁ δὲ προάγων λόγος ὅ γέ μοι ἀπείργασται, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ θεῖναι.

CLINIAS τίθει δή.

ATHENIAN λέγωμεν δὴ τῷ νομοθέτῃ διαλεγόμενοι τόδε· "εἰπὲ [719b] ἡμῖν, ὦ νομοθέτα· εἴπερ ὅτι χρὴ πράττειν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν εἰδείης, ἆρα οὐ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἂν εἴποις;"

719b **CLINIAS** ἀναγκαῖον.

ATHENIAN "σμικρῷ μὲν δὴ πρόσθεν ἆρα οὐκ ἠκούσαμέν σου λέγοντος ὡς τὸν νομοθέτην οὐ δεῖ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ποιεῖν ὃ ἂν αὐτοῖς ᾖ φίλον; οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδεῖεν τί ποτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς νόμοις ἂν λέγοντες βλάπτοιεν τὴν πόλιν."

CLINIAS ἀληθῆ μέντοι λέγεις.

ATHENIAN ὑπὲρ δὴ τῶν ποιητῶν εἰ τάδε λέγοιμεν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἆρ' ἂν τὰ λεχθέντα εἴη μέτρια;

CLINIAS ποῖα;

719c **ATHENIAN** τάδε· "παλαιὸς μῦθος, ὦ νομοθέτα, ὑπό τε αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ λεγόμενός ἐστιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν συνδεδογμένος, ὅτι ποιητής, ὁπόταν ἐν τῷ τρίποδι τῆς Μούσης καθίζηται, τότε οὐκ ἔμφρων ἐστίν, οἷον δὲ κρήνη τις τὸ ἐπιὸν ῥεῖν ἑτοίμως ἐᾷ, καὶ τῆς τέχνης οὔσης μιμήσεως ἀναγκάζεται, ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοις ἀνθρώπους ποιῶν διατιθεμένους, ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτῷ πολλάκις, οἶδεν δὲ οὔτ' εἰ ταῦτα [719d] οὔτ' εἰ θάτερα ἀληθῆ τῶν λεγομένων. τῷ δὲ νομοθέτῃ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, δύο περὶ ἑνός, ἀλλὰ ἕνα περὶ ἑνὸς ἀεὶ δεῖ λόγον ἀποφαίνεσθαι. σκέψαι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ νυνδὴ λεχθέντων.

719d οὔσης γὰρ ταφῆς τῆς μὲν ὑπερβεβλημένης, τῆς δὲ ἐλλειπούσης, τῆς δὲ μετρίας, τὴν μίαν ἑλόμενος σύ, τὴν μέσην, ταύτην προστάττεις καὶ ἐπῄνεσας ἁπλῶς· ἐγὼ δέ,

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gard Hesiod as wise for saying that the road to badness is smooth and can be traveled without sweat, being very short; but "before virtue," he says, "the immortal gods have set sweat, and long and steep is the path to it, [719a] and rough at first; but when you reach the top, then it is easy to bear, hard though it is."

CLINIAS And he seems to put it well.

ATHENIAN Certainly. But I want to lay before you the effect that the preceding argument has had on me.

CLINIAS Go ahead.

ATHENIAN Let's address the lawgiver and say this: "Tell [719b] us, lawgiver: if you knew what we should do and say, isn't it clear that you would tell us?"

CLINIAS Necessarily.

ATHENIAN "Now a little while ago didn't we hear you say that the lawgiver must not let the poets compose whatever they like? For they wouldn't know whether they might say something contrary to the laws and harm the city."

CLINIAS That's certainly true.

ATHENIAN Well, if we said the following to him on the poets' behalf, would it be reasonable?

CLINIAS What?

ATHENIAN Something like this. There is an ancient story, lawgiver, which we poets are forever telling and which everyone else agrees with: that whenever a poet sits on the tripod of the Muse, he is not in his right mind, but like a fountain lets whatever comes to him flow out freely. And since his art is imitation, he is forced, when he portrays people at odds with one another, often to contradict himself, and he doesn't know whether this or [719d] that of the things he says is true. But the lawgiver cannot do this in his law, saying two things about one matter; he must always declare one account about one matter. Consider it from what you yourself said just now.

There are three kinds of burial: the excessive, the deficient and the moderate. You chose one of them, the middle one, and you prescribed it and

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εἰ μὲν γυνή μοι διαφέρουσα εἴη πλούτῳ καὶ θάπτειν αὐτὴν διακελεύοιτο ἐν τῷ ποιήματι, τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα [719e] ἂν τάφον ἐπαινοίην, φειδωλὸς δ' αὖ τις καὶ πένης ἀνὴρ τὸν καταδεᾶ, μέτρον δὲ οὐσίας κεκτημένος καὶ μέτριος αὐτὸς ὢν τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ἐπαινέσαι. σοὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω ῥητέον ὡς νῦν εἶπες μέτριον εἰπών, ἀλλὰ τί τὸ μέτριον καὶ ὁπόσον ῥητέον, ἢ τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον μήπω σοι διανοοῦ γίγνεσθαι νόμον".

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praised it without qualification. But if I had in my poem a woman of exceptional wealth who gave orders for her burial, I would praise the extravagant [719e] tomb, while a stingy or poor man would praise the meager one, and a man of moderate means, moderate himself, would praise the same one you did. But you shouldn't speak as you did just now, saying "moderate"; you must say what the moderate is and how much, or else not think that such a statement of yours is becoming law yet.

719e **CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

CLINIAS Very true.

TWO KINDS OF DOCTOR

Like a free doctor who explains, a lawgiver should persuade as well as command.

GREEK

ATHENIAN πότερον οὖν ἡμῖν ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοῖς νόμοις μηδὲν τοιοῦτον προαγορεύῃ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ φράζῃ τε, καὶ ἐπαπειλήσας τὴν ζημίαν, ἐπ' [720a] ἄλλον τρέπηται νόμον, παραμυθίας δὲ καὶ πειθοῦς τοῖς νομοθετουμένοις μηδὲ ἓν προσδιδῷ; καθάπερ ἰατρὸς δέ τις, ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δ' ἐκείνως ἡμᾶς εἴωθεν ἑκάστοτε θεραπεύειν— ἀναμιμνῃσκώμεθα δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἑκάτερον, ἵνα τοῦ νομοθέτου δεώμεθα, καθάπερ ἰατροῦ δέοιντο ἂν παῖδες τὸν πρᾳότατον αὐτὸν θεραπεύειν τρόπον ἑαυτούς. οἷον δὴ τί λέγομεν; εἰσὶν πού τινες ἰατροί, φαμέν, καί τινες ὑπηρέται τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἰατροὺς δὲ καλοῦμεν δήπου καὶ τούτους.

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ATHENIAN So should the person put in charge of our laws make no such preliminary statement at the beginning of the laws, but say straight off what must be done and what must not, add the threat of a penalty, and turn [720a] to another law, without adding a single word of encouragement or persuasion for those he is legislating for? It's like doctors: one usually treats us this way, another that way. Let's recall the two methods, so that we can make our request of the lawgiver, just as children might ask a doctor to treat them in the gentlest way. What do I mean? There are doctors, we say, and there are doctors' assistants, whom we also call doctors, of course.

720b **CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN ἐάντε γε ἐλεύθεροι ὦσιν ἐάντε δοῦλοι, κατ' ἐπίταξιν δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τὴν τέχνην κτῶνται, κατὰ φύσιν δὲ μή, καθάπερ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι αὐτοί τε μεμαθήκασιν οὕτω τούς τε αὐτῶν διδάσκουσι παῖδας. θείης ἂν ταῦτα δύο γένη τῶν καλουμένων ἰατρῶν;

ATHENIAN Whether they are free or slaves, they acquire the art by following their masters' orders, by watching and by experience, not by the natural method, the way free doctors have learned it themselves and teach it to their own children. Would you say these are two kinds of so-called doctors?

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν καὶ συννοεῖς ὅτι, δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων [720c] ὄντων τῶν καμνόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, τοὺς μὲν δούλους σχεδόν τι οἱ δοῦλοι τὰ πολλὰ ἰατρεύουσιν περιτρέχοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰατρείοις περιμένοντες, καὶ οὔτε τινὰ λόγον ἑκάστου πέρι νοσήματος ἑκάστου τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων ἰατρῶν δίδωσιν οὐδ' ἀποδέχεται, προστάξας δ' αὐτῷ τὰ

ATHENIAN And do you also realize that, since the sick in cities are both slaves and [720c] free, the slaves are mostly treated by slaves, who run around or wait in the dispensaries? None of these doctors gives or accepts any account of each ailment of each servant; he prescribes what seems right from experience, as if he had exact know-

GREEK

δόξαντα ἐξ ἐμπειρίας, ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἰδώς, καθάπερ τύραννος αὐθαδῶς, οἴχεται ἀποπηδήσας πρὸς ἄλλον κάμνοντα οἰκέτην, καὶ ῥᾳστώνην οὕτω τῷ δεσπότῃ παρασκευάζει τῶν καμνόντων [720d] τῆς ἐπιμελείας· ὁ δὲ ἐλεύθερος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων νοσήματα θεραπεύει τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ κάμνοντι κοινούμενος αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, ἅμα μὲν αὐτὸς μανθάνει τι παρὰ τῶν νοσούντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἷός τέ ἐστιν, διδάσκει τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα αὐτόν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπέταξεν πρὶν ἄν πῃ συμπείσῃ, τότε δὲ μετὰ πειθοῦς ἡμερούμενον ἀεὶ [720e] παρασκευάζων τὸν κάμνοντα, εἰς τὴν ὑγίειαν ἄγων, ἀποτελεῖν πειρᾶται;

720e πότερον οὕτως ἢ ἐκείνως ἰατρός τε ἰώμενος ἀμείνων καὶ γυμναστὴς γυμνάζων· διχῇ τὴν μίαν ἀποτελῶν δύναμιν, ἢ μοναχῇ καὶ κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ἀγριώτερον ἀπεργαζόμενος;

CLINIAS πολύ που διαφέρον, ὦ ξένε, τὸ διπλῇ.

ATHENIAN βούλει δὴ καὶ θεασώμεθα τὸ διπλοῦν τοῦτο καὶ ἁπλοῦν ἐν ταῖς νομοθεσίαις αὐταῖς γιγνόμενον;

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὐ βούλομαι;

ATHENIAN φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίν' ἄρα πρῶτον νόμον θεῖτ' ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης; ἆρ' οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τὴν περὶ γενέσεως ἀρχὴν [721a] πρώτην πόλεων πέρι κατακοσμήσει ταῖς τάξεσιν;

721a CLINIAS τί μήν;

ATHENIAN ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῶν γενέσεων πάσαις πόλεσιν ἆρ' οὐχ ἡ τῶν γάμων σύμμειξις καὶ κοινωνία;

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ATHENIAN γαμικοὶ δὴ νόμοι πρῶτοι κινδυνεύουσιν τιθέμενοι καλῶς ἂν τίθεσθαι πρὸς ὀρθότητα πάσῃ πόλει.

CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

ATHENIAN λέγωμεν δὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἁπλοῦν, ἔχοι δ' ἄν πως ἴσως ὧδε— [721b]

γαμεῖν δέ, ἐπειδὰν ἐτῶν ᾖ τις τριάκοντα, μέχρι ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, εἰ δὲ μή, ζημιοῦσθαι χρήμασίν τε καὶ

ENGLISH

ledge, with the self-assurance of a tyrant, and off he rushes to another sick servant; and in this way he relieves the master of the trouble of caring for his sick. [720d] But the free doctor mostly treats and examines the diseases of free people. He investigates them from the beginning and according to nature, and he talks things over with the patient himself and with his friends. At the same time as he learns something from the sick, he also teaches the patient himself as far as he can. He gives no prescription until he has somehow won the patient over; then, keeping him calm by persuasion each time, [720e] he tries to succeed in leading him back to health.

Which is the better doctor in healing, or trainer in training: the one who works this way or that? One who achieves a single effect by two means, or one who uses only one, the worse and harsher of the two?

CLINIAS The twofold way is far superior, stranger.

ATHENIAN Would you like us to look at this twofold method, and the single one, as they appear in legislation itself?

CLINIAS Of course I would.

ATHENIAN Come then, in the gods' name: what law would the lawgiver lay down first? Wouldn't he follow nature and set in order by his regulations the starting point of generation [721a] first, where cities are concerned?

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN And isn't the starting point of generation in all cities the union and partnership of marriage?

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN Then it looks as though the marriage laws, if laid down first, would be well laid down for getting any city right.

CLINIAS Absolutely.

ATHENIAN Let's first state the simple version. It might go something like this— [721b]

A man shall marry when he is thirty years old, and before he is thirty-five. If he does not, he shall be punished with a fine and with loss of status: a

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀτιμίᾳ, χρήμασι μὲν τόσοις καὶ τόσοις, τῇ καὶ τῇ δὲ ἀτιμίᾳ.	fine of such and such an amount, and loss of status of such and such a kind.
	ὁ μὲν ἁπλοῦς ἔστω τις τοιοῦτος περὶ γάμων, ὁ δὲ διπλοῦς ὅδε—	Let the simple law about marriage be something like that. The double one is as follows—
721b	γαμεῖν δέ, ἐπειδὰν ἐτῶν ᾖ τις τριάκοντα, μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, διανοηθέντα ὡς ἔστιν ᾗ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος φύσει τινὶ μετείληφεν ἀθανασίας, οὗ καὶ πέφυκεν ἐπιθυμίαν [721c] ἴσχειν πᾶς πᾶσαν· τὸ γὰρ γενέσθαι κλεινὸν καὶ μὴ ἀνώνυμον κεῖσθαι τετελευτηκότα τοῦ τοιούτου ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία. γένος οὖν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν τι συμφυὲς τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου, ὃ διὰ τέλους αὐτῷ συνέπεται καὶ συνέψεται, τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἀθάνατον ὄν, τῷ παῖδας παίδων καταλειπόμενον, ταὐτὸν καὶ ἓν ὂν ἀεί, γενέσει τῆς ἀθανασίας μετειληφέναι· τούτου δὴ ἀποστερεῖν ἑκόντα ἑαυτὸν οὐδέποτε ὅσιον, ἐκ προνοίας δὲ ἀποστερεῖ ὃς ἂν παίδων καὶ γυναικὸς ἀμελῇ.	A man shall marry when he is thirty years old, and before he is thirty-five, bearing in mind that there is a way in which the human race by nature shares in immortality, which every person is naturally moved [721c] to desire in every way. For the desire to become famous and not to lie nameless after death is a desire for this. The human race is by nature bound up with the whole of time, which it accompanies and will accompany to the end; and it is immortal in this way: by leaving behind children's children, remaining the same and one forever, it shares in immortality through generation. To deprive oneself of this willingly is never holy; and anyone who neglects to have a wife and children deprives himself of it deliberately.
721c	πειθόμενος [721d] μὲν οὖν τῷ νόμῳ ἀζήμιος ἀπαλλάττοιτο ἄν, μὴ πειθόμενος δὲ αὖ, μηδὲ γαμῶν ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονὼς καὶ πέντε, ζημιούσθω μὲν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τόσῳ καὶ τόσῳ, ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ τὴν μοναυλίαν οἱ κέρδος καὶ ῥᾳστώνην φέρειν, καὶ μὴ μετεχέτω δὲ τιμῶν ὧν ἂν οἱ νεώτεροι ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους αὐτῶν τιμῶσιν ἑκάστοτε.	If he obeys [721d] the law, he may go free without penalty; but if he does not obey, and is still unmarried at thirty-five, let him pay a fine of such and such an amount every year, so that he won't think that living alone brings him profit and ease; and let him have no share in the honors that the young in the city pay on each occasion to their elders.
721d	τοῦτον δὴ παρ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν νόμον ἀκούσαντα ἔξεστιν περὶ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου διανοηθῆναι, πότερον αὐτοὺς διπλοῦς οὕτω [721e] δεῖ γίγνεσθαι τῷ μήκει τὸ σμικρότατον, διὰ τὸ πείθειν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀπειλεῖν, ἢ τῷ ἀπειλεῖν μόνον χρωμένους ἁπλοῦς γίγνεσθαι τοῖς μήκεσιν.	Hearing this law beside the other, one can consider, about each law, whether they should be double like this, [721e] twice as long at the least, because they combine persuasion with threat, or whether they should use threat alone and be single in length.
721e	**MEGILLUS** πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ τρόπου, ὦ ξένε, τὸ τὰ βραχύτερα ἀεὶ προτιμᾶν· τούτων μὴν τῶν γραμμάτων εἴ τις κριτὴν ἐμὲ κελεύοι γίγνεσθαι πότερα βουλοίμην ἂν ἐν τῇ πόλει μοι γεγραμμένα τεθῆναι, τὰ μακρότερ' ἂν ἑλοίμην, [722a] καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ παντὸς νόμου κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ παράδειγμα, εἰ γίγνοιτο ἑκάτερα, ταὐτὸν τοῦτ' ἂν αἱροίμην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά που καὶ Κλεινίᾳ τῷδ' ἀρέσκειν δεῖ τὰ νῦν νομοθετούμενα· τούτου γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡ νῦν τοῖς τοιούτοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι διανοουμένη.	**MEGILLUS** The Spartan way, stranger, is always to prefer the shorter. But if someone told me to judge which of these texts I'd want written down and enacted in my city, I'd choose the longer one; [722a] and indeed, for every law on this model, if both versions were available, I'd make the same choice. But of course our friend Clinias here must also approve of what we are now legislating, since it's his city that now intends to use such laws.
722a	**CLINIAS** καλῶς γ', ὦ Μέγιλλε, εἶπες.	**CLINIAS** Well said, Megillus.

LAWS NEED PREAMBLES

The Athenian proposes that every law open with a persuasive preamble before its command.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ πολλῶν ἢ ὀλίγων γραμμάτων ποιήσασθαι τὸν λόγον λίαν εὔηθες—τὰ γὰρ οἶμαι βέλτιστα, [722b] ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ βραχύτατα οὐδὲ τὰ μήκη τιμητέον—τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς νυνδὴ νόμοις ῥηθεῖσιν οὐ διπλῷ θάτερα τῶν ἑτέρων διάφορα μόνον εἰς ἀρετὴν τῆς χρείας, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐρρήθη νυνδή, τὸ τῶν διττῶν ἰατρῶν γένος ὀρθότατα παρετέθη. πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔοικε διανοηθῆναι πώποτε τῶν νομοθετῶν, ὡς ἐξὸν δυοῖν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς νομοθεσίας, πειθοῖ καὶ βίᾳ, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε ἐπὶ τὸν ἄπειρον παιδείας ὄχλον, τῷ ἑτέρῳ χρῶνται [722c] μόνον· οὐ γὰρ πειθοῖ κεραννύντες τὴν μάχην νομοθετοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκράτῳ μόνον τῇ βίᾳ. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ μακάριοι, καὶ τρίτον ἔτι περὶ τοὺς νόμους ὁρῶ γίγνεσθαι δέον, οὐδαμῇ τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενον.	**ATHENIAN** To make our discussion about many or few letters would be very foolish. It's the best, I think, [722b] not the shortest or the longest, that we should value. As for the laws we just stated, one is not merely twice as good as the other in usefulness; rather, as was said just now, the comparison with the two kinds of doctors was very apt. But no lawgiver ever seems to have thought of this: though they can use two means in legislating, persuasion and force, as far as that is possible with the uneducated crowd, they use only one of them. [722c] They don't temper the battle with persuasion when they legislate, but use nothing but undiluted force. And I, my dear friends, see a third thing still that ought to be done with laws, which is nowhere done at present.
722c	**CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν νυνδὴ διειλέγμεθα ἡμεῖς κατὰ θεόν τινα γεγονός. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅσου περὶ τῶν νόμων ἤργμεθα λέγειν, ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ μεσημβρία τε γέγονε καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ παγκάλῃ ἀναπαύλῃ τινὶ γεγόναμεν, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ νόμων διαλεγόμενοι, [722d] νόμους δὲ ἄρτι μοι δοκοῦμεν λέγειν ἄρχεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἔμπροσθεν ἦν πάντα ἡμῖν προοίμια νόμων. τί δὲ ταῦτ' εἴρηκα; τόδε εἰπεῖν βουληθείς, ὅτι λόγων πάντων καὶ ὅσων φωνὴ κεκοινώνηκεν προοίμιά τέ ἐστιν καὶ σχεδὸν οἷόν τινες ἀνακινήσεις, ἔχουσαί τινα ἔντεχνον ἐπιχείρησιν χρήσιμον πρὸς τὸ μέλλον περαίνεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** Something that has come, by some god's guidance, out of the very conversation we've just had. From the time we began to talk about laws, dawn has turned to noon, and we have come to this lovely resting place, discussing nothing but laws. [722d] Yet it seems to me we have only just begun to state laws, and everything before was preambles to laws. Why have I said this? Because I want to say that all speech, and everything the voice takes part in, has preambles and something like warm-ups, which contain a kind of skilled attempt useful for what is to be accomplished.[12]
722d	καὶ δή που κιθαρῳδικῆς ᾠδῆς λεγομένων νόμων καὶ πάσης μούσης προοίμια θαυμαστῶς [722e] ἐσπουδασμένα πρόκειται· τῶν δὲ ὄντως νόμων ὄντων, οὓς δὴ πολιτικοὺς εἶναί φαμεν, οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτ' εἶπέ τι προοίμιον οὔτε συνθέτης γενόμενος ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ φῶς, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος φύσει. ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ νῦν διατριβὴ γεγονυῖα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, σημαίνει ὡς ὄντος, οἵ τέ γε δὴ διπλοῖ ἔδοξαν νυνδή μοι λεχθέντες νόμοι οὐκ εἶναι ἁπλῶς οὕτω πως διπλοῖ, ἀλλὰ δύο μέν τινε, νόμος τε καὶ προοίμιον τοῦ νόμου· ὃ δὴ τυραννικὸν ἐπίταγμα ἀπεικασθὲν ἐρρήθη τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῖς [723a] τῶν ἰατρῶν οὓς εἴπομεν ἀνελευθέρους, τοῦτ' εἶναι νόμος ἄκρατος, τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ῥηθέν, πειστικὸν λεχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦδε, ὄντως μὲν	And indeed, for songs sung to the lyre, the ones called *nomoi*, and for music of every kind, preambles composed with wonderful [722e] care are set in front. But for the laws that really are laws, which we call political, no one has ever spoken a preamble, or composed one and brought it to light, as if there were no such thing by nature. But our present conversation indicates, I think, that there is. And the laws I stated just now, which seemed to me to be double, are not simply double in that sense; they are two things: a law and a preamble to the law. What we likened to a tyrant's command, the orders [723a] of the doctors we called

12 A *prooimion* is a prelude or preamble; Plato's idea is that laws should persuade before they compel.

GREEK

ENGLISH

εἶναι πειστικόν, προοιμίου μὴν τοῦ περὶ λόγους δύναμιν ἔχειν.

unfree, is the law undiluted; and what was said before it, which our friend here called persuasive, is indeed persuasive, but has the function of a preamble to a speech.

723a ἵνα γὰρ εὐμενῶς, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν εὐμαθέστερον, τὴν ἐπίταξιν, ὃ δή ἐστιν ὁ νόμος, δέξηται ᾧ τὸν νόμον ὁ νομοθέτης λέγει, τούτου χάριν εἰρῆσθαί μοι κατεφάνη πᾶς ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὃν πείθων εἶπεν ὁ λέγων· διὸ δὴ κατά 723b γε τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον τοῦτ' αὐτό, προοίμιον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγος ἂν ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύοιτο εἶναι τοῦ νόμου. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰπών, τί τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄν μοι βουληθείην εἰρῆσθαι; τόδε, ὡς τὸν νομοθέτην πρὸ πάντων τε ἀεὶ τῶν νόμων χρεών ἐστιν μὴ ἀμοίρους αὐτοὺς προοιμίων ποιεῖν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, ᾗ διοίσουσιν ἑαυτῶν ὅσον νυνδὴ τὼ λεχθέντε διηνεγκάτην.

For it became clear to me that this whole speech, which the speaker made in order to persuade, was made for this purpose: that the person to whom the lawgiver addresses the law should accept the command—that is, the law—in a kindly frame of mind, and through that kindliness be readier to learn. So, 723b in my view at least, it would rightly be called a preamble, not the text of the law. Having said this, what would I like to say next? This: that the lawgiver must never leave his laws without preambles, whether all of them together or each one singly; in this way they will be better than they otherwise would be, by as much as the two just stated differed.

723b **CLINIAS** τό γ' ἐμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως νομοθετεῖν διακελεύοιτο ἡμῖν τὸν τούτων ἐπιστήμονα.

CLINIAS For my part, I wouldn't tell anyone who knows about these matters to legislate for us any other way.

723c **ATHENIAN** καλῶς μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ Κλεινία, δοκεῖς μοι τό γε τοσοῦτον λέγειν, ὅτι πᾶσίν γε νόμοις ἔστιν προοίμια καὶ ὅτι πάσης ἀρχόμενον νομοθεσίας χρὴ προτιθέναι παντὸς τοῦ λόγου τὸ πεφυκὸς προοίμιον ἑκάστοις—οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν ῥηθησόμενον, οὐδ' ὀλίγον διαφέρον ἢ σαφῶς ἢ μὴ σαφῶς αὐτὰ μνημονεύεσθαι—τὸ μέντοι μεγάλων πέρι λεγομένων νόμων καὶ σμικρῶν εἰ ὁμοίως προοιμιάζεσθαι προστάττοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς λέγοιμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ᾄσματος 723d οὐδὲ λόγου παντὸς δεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον δρᾶν—καίτοι πέφυκέν γε εἶναι πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χρηστέον ἅπασιν—αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ τε ῥήτορι καὶ τῷ μελῳδῷ καὶ νομοθέτῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἑκάστοτε ἐπιτρεπτέον.

ATHENIAN Well, Clinias, I think you're right about this much: that all laws have preambles, and that when one begins any legislation one should put before each whole discourse the preamble that naturally belongs to it—for what is to be said next is no small matter, and it makes no small difference whether it is remembered clearly or not. But if we ordered that laws called great and small alike should all have preambles, we would not be right. Not every song 723d or speech needs this—although it naturally belongs to all, it shouldn't be used for all—but it should be left to the orator, the singer and the lawgiver in each case.

723d **CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν. ἀλλὰ δὴ μηκέτ', ὦ ξένε, διατριβὴν πλείω τῆς μελλήσεως ποιώμεθα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπανέλθωμεν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀρχώμεθα, εἴ σοι φίλον, ὧν οὐχ ὡς προοιμιαζόμενος εἶπες τότε. πάλιν οὖν, οἷόν 723e φασιν οἱ παίζοντες, ἀμεινόνων ἐξ ἀρχῆς δευτέρων ἐπαναπολήσωμεν, ὡς προοίμιον ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν τυχόντα λόγον περαίνοντες, καθάπερ ἄρτι· λάβωμεν δ' αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ὁμολογοῦντες προοιμιάζεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ θεῶν τιμῆς προγόνων τε θεραπείας, καὶ τὰ νυνδὴ λεχθέντα ἱκανά· τὰ δ' ἑξῆς πειρώμεθα λέγειν, μέχριπερ ἄν σοι πᾶν τὸ προοίμιον ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι δοκῇ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς διέξει λέγων.

CLINIAS I think what you say is very true. But let's not spend any more time in delay, stranger. Let's go back to our subject and begin, if you don't mind, from what you said back then without treating it as a preamble. So let's go back over it from the start—"second throws are better," 723e as people say when they play games—completing a preamble this time, and not just any discourse, as we did a moment ago. Let's make a start on it, agreeing that it is a preamble. What was said just now about honoring the gods and caring for ancestors is enough; let's try to state what comes next, until you think the whole preamble has been ad-

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		equately stated. After that you'll go through the laws themselves.
724a	**ATHENIAN** οὐκοῦν περὶ θεῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοὺς καὶ γονέων ζώντων τε πέρι καὶ τελευτησάντων τότε ἱκανῶς προοιμιασάμεθα, ὡς νῦν λέγομεν· τὸ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενον ἔτι τοῦ τοιούτου φαίνῃ μοι σὺ διακελεύεσθαι τὰ νῦν οἷον πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἐπανάγειν.	**ATHENIAN** Then about the gods and those that come after the gods, and about parents, living and dead, we gave an adequate preamble back then, as we now say. And now you seem to be urging me to bring to light, as it were, what remains of this kind.
	CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Absolutely.
	ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ μὴν μετά γε τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς χρὴ τὰ περὶ τὰς αὑτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας σπουδῆς [724b] τε πέρι καὶ ἀνέσεως ἴσχειν, προσῆκόν τ' ἐστὶ καὶ κοινότατον ἀναπεμπαζομένους τόν τε λέγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας παιδείας γίγνεσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπηβόλους· ταῦτ' οὖν ἡμῖν αὐτὰ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ὄντως ἐστὶν ῥητέα τε καὶ ἀκουστέα.	**ATHENIAN** Well, after such matters, how people should conduct themselves with regard to their own souls, bodies and property—what they should take seriously [724b] and where they should ease off—is a fitting subject, and one that concerns everyone, for speaker and listeners alike to think through, so as to gain as much education as they can. This, then, truly is what we must say and hear next.
724b	**CLINIAS** ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.

Book V

Honouring the soul; the size of the city and its land.

GREEK

ENGLISH

726a **ATHENIAN** ἀκούοι δὴ πᾶς ὅσπερ νυνδὴ τὰ περὶ θεῶν τε ἤκουε καὶ τῶν φίλων προπατόρων· πάντων γὰρ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων μετὰ θεοὺς ψυχὴ θειότατον, οἰκειότατον ὄν. τὰ δ' αὑτοῦ διττὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ πᾶσιν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κρείττω καὶ ἀμείνω δεσπόζοντα, τὰ δὲ ἥττω καὶ χείρω δοῦλα· τῶν οὖν αὐτοῦ τὰ δεσπόζοντα ἀεὶ προτιμητέον τῶν δουλευόντων. οὕτω δὴ τὴν αὑτοῦ ψυχὴν [727a] μετὰ θεοὺς ὄντας δεσπότας καὶ τοὺς τούτοις ἑπομένους τιμᾶν δεῖν λέγων δευτέραν, ὀρθῶς παρακελεύομαι. τιμᾷ δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς ὀρθῶς, δοκεῖ δέ· θεῖον γὰρ ἀγαθόν που τιμή, τῶν δὲ κακῶν οὐδὲν τίμιον, ὁ δ' ἡγούμενος ἤ τισι λόγοις ἢ δώροις αὐτὴν αὔξειν ἤ τισιν ὑπείξεσιν, μηδὲν βελτίω δὲ ἐκ χείρονος αὐτὴν ἀπεργαζόμενος, τιμᾶν μὲν δοκεῖ, δρᾷ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδαμῶς.

ATHENIAN Then let everyone who just now heard what was said about the gods and our dear forefathers listen. Of all a person's possessions, after the gods, the soul is the most divine, since it is most truly his own. Everything a person has is of two kinds. The stronger and better are masters; the weaker and worse are slaves. So among one's own things, the masters must always be honored above the slaves. And so, when I say that one must honor one's own soul second, [727a] after the gods, who are our masters, and those who follow them, I'm giving the right instruction. Yet hardly any of us honors it rightly, though we think we do. For honor is surely a divine good, and nothing bad is honorable; and whoever thinks he is exalting his soul with words or gifts or indulgences, without making it any better than it was, seems to honor it but doesn't do so at all.

727a αὐτίκα παῖς εὐθὺς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος πᾶς ἡγεῖται πάντα ἱκανὸς εἶναι γιγνώσκειν, [727b] καὶ τιμᾶν οἴεται ἐπαινῶν τὴν αὑτοῦ ψυχήν, καὶ προθυμούμενος ἐπιτρέπει πράττειν ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ, τὸ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενόν ἐστιν ὡς δρῶν ταῦτα βλάπτει καὶ οὐ τιμᾷ· δεῖ δέ, ὥς φαμεν, μετά γε θεοὺς δευτέραν. οὐδέ γε ὅταν ἄνθρωπος τῶν αὑτοῦ ἑκάστοτε ἁμαρτημάτων μὴ ἑαυτὸν αἴτιον ἡγῆται καὶ τῶν πλείστων κακῶν καὶ μεγίστων, ἀλλὰ ἄλλους, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀεὶ ἀναίτιον ἐξαιρῇ, τιμῶν τὴν αὑτοῦ ψυχήν, ὡς δὴ δοκεῖ, ὁ δὲ [727c] πολλοῦ δεῖ δρᾶν τοῦτο· βλάπτει γάρ. οὐδ' ὁπόταν ἡδοναῖς παρὰ λόγον τὸν τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ ἔπαινον χαρίζηται, τότε οὐδαμῶς τιμᾷ, ἀτιμάζει δὲ κακῶν καὶ μεταμελείας ἐμπιμπλὰς αὐτήν.

For instance, every human being, right from childhood, thinks himself capable of knowing everything, [727b] and believes he honors his soul by praising it, and eagerly lets it do whatever it likes. What we're saying now is that by doing this he harms it and doesn't honor it—and he ought, as we say, to honor it second after the gods. Nor does a man honor his soul when he never holds himself responsible for his own errors, or for most of his troubles and the greatest of them, but blames others and always exempts himself as blameless. He thinks he's honoring his soul, but [727c] he's very far from doing so: he's harming it. Nor, when he gratifies it with pleasures against the lawgiver's advice and approval, does he honor it in the least; he dishonors it, filling it with evils and regret.

727c οὐδέ γε ὁπόταν αὖ τἀναντία τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους πόνους καὶ φόβους καὶ ἀλγηδόνας καὶ λύπας μὴ διαπονῇ καρτερῶν ἀλλὰ ὑπείκῃ, τότε οὐ τιμᾷ ὑπείκων· ἄτιμον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπεργάζεται δρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα. οὐδ' ὁπόταν [727d] ἡγῆται τὸ ζῆν πάντως ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τιμᾷ, ἀτιμάζει δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τότε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν Ἅιδου πράγματα

Nor again, in the opposite case, when he doesn't persevere through the labors, fears, pains and griefs that are commended, but gives in—then, by giving in, he doesn't honor it; by doing all such things he makes it a thing without honor. Nor, when [727d] he thinks that living is good at any price,

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πάντα κακὰ ἡγουμένης τῆς ψυχῆς εἶναι, ὑπείκει καὶ οὐκ ἀντιτείνει διδάσκων τε καὶ ἐλέγχων ὡς οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδ' εἰ τἀναντία πέφυκεν μέγιστα εἶναι πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἐκεῖ. οὐδὲ μὴν πρὸ ἀρετῆς ὁπόταν αὖ προτιμᾷ τις κάλλος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐχ ἕτερον ἢ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντως καὶ πάντως ἀτιμία.

727d ψυχῆς γὰρ σῶμα ἐντιμότερον οὗτος ὁ λόγος φησὶν εἶναι, [727e] ψευδόμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ γηγενὲς Ὀλυμπίων ἐντιμότερον, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς ἄλλως δοξάζων ἀγνοεῖ ὡς θαυμαστοῦ τούτου κτήματος ἀμελεῖ. οὐδέ γε ὁπόταν χρήματά τις ἐρᾷ κτᾶσθαι [728a] μὴ καλῶς, ἢ μὴ δυσχερῶς φέρῃ κτώμενος, δώροις ἄρα τιμᾷ τότε τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχήν—παντὸς μὲν οὖν λείπει—τὸ γὰρ αὐτῆς τίμιον ἅμα καὶ καλὸν ἀποδίδοται σμικροῦ χρυσίου· πᾶς γὰρ ὅ τ' ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀντάξιος. ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν συλλήβδην, ὃς ἅπερ ἂν νομοθέτης αἰσχρὰ εἶναι καὶ κακὰ διαριθμούμενος τάττῃ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλά, τῶν μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι μὴ ἐθέλῃ πάσῃ μηχανῇ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιτηδεύειν σύμπασαν κατὰ δύναμιν, οὐκ οἶδεν ἐν [728b] τούτοις πᾶσιν πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψυχὴν θειότατον ὂν ἀτιμότατα καὶ κακοσχημονέστατα διατιθείς.

728b τὴν γὰρ λεγομένην δίκην τῆς κακουργίας τὴν μεγίστην οὐδεὶς ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν λογίζεται, ἔστιν δ' ἡ μεγίστη τὸ ὁμοιοῦσθαι τοῖς οὖσιν κακοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁμοιούμενον δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς φεύγειν ἄνδρας καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀποσχίζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ προσκολλᾶσθαι διώκοντα κατὰ τὰς συνουσίας· προσπεφυκότα δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν [728c] καὶ πάσχειν ἃ πεφύκασιν ἀλλήλους οἱ τοιοῦτοι ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν. τοῦτο οὖν δὴ τὸ πάθος δίκη μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν—καλὸν γὰρ τό γε δίκαιον καὶ ἡ δίκη—τιμωρία δέ, ἀδικίας ἀκόλουθος πάθη, ἧς ὅ τε τυχὼν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνων ἄθλιος, ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἰατρευόμενος, ὁ δέ, ἵνα ἕτεροι πολλοὶ σῴζωνται, ἀπολλύμενος. τιμὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν, τοῖς μὲν ἀμείνοσιν ἕπεσθαι, τὰ δὲ χείρονα, γενέσθαι δὲ βελτίω δυνατά, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὡς ἄριστα ἀποτελεῖν.

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does he honor it; then too he dishonors it. For when the soul believes that everything in Hades is bad, he gives in to it instead of resisting—instead of teaching it and proving to it that it doesn't even know whether, on the contrary, the things concerning the gods there may by nature be the greatest of all goods for us. Nor again, when someone prefers beauty to virtue—that is nothing other than the real and utter dishonoring of the soul.

For this view says that the body is more to be honored than the soul, [727e] and it lies: nothing born of earth is more honorable than the things of Olympus, and whoever thinks otherwise about the soul doesn't know what a marvelous possession he's neglecting. Nor, when someone longs to acquire money [728a] dishonorably, or isn't troubled at acquiring it that way, does he then honor his soul with gifts—far from it. He sells what is precious and fine in it for a little gold; but all the gold on earth and under the earth is not worth as much as virtue. To put it in a word: whoever is unwilling to keep away by every means from the things the lawgiver lists and ranks as shameful and bad, and to practice with all his might the things he ranks, on the contrary, as good and fine—such a person, whoever he is, doesn't realize that in [728b] all this he is treating his soul, the most divine thing he has, in the most dishonorable and degrading way.

For hardly anyone takes into account what is called the greatest "penalty" for wrongdoing. The greatest is to become like men who are bad, and, in becoming like them, to shun good men and good conversation and cut oneself off from them, while clinging to the bad and seeking out their company. And whoever has grown into such people must [728c] do and suffer what such people naturally do and say to one another. Now this experience isn't a just penalty at all—for what is just, and justice, are fine things—but retribution, the suffering that follows on injustice. Whoever meets with it and whoever escapes it are both wretched: the one because he isn't cured, the other because he is destroyed so that many others may be saved. For us, honor, to put it generally, is to follow what is better, and, where what is worse can become better, to make it as good as possible.

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	ψυχῆς οὖν ἀνθρώπῳ κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστιν εὐφυέστερον εἰς	So a human being has no possession better suited
728d	τὸ φυγεῖν μὲν τὸ κακόν, ἰχνεῦσαι δὲ καὶ ἑλεῖν τὸ	by nature than the soul 728d for fleeing what is bad
	πάντων ἄριστον, καὶ ἑλόντα αὖ κοινῇ συνοικεῖν τὸν	and for tracking down and seizing what is best of
	ἐπίλοιπον βίον· διὸ δεύτερον ἐτάχθη τιμῇ, τὸ δὲ τρίτον—	all, and, having seized it, for living with it in part-
	πᾶς ἂν τοῦτό γε νοήσειεν—τὴν τοῦ σώματος εἶναι κατὰ	nership for the rest of his life. That's why it was
	φύσιν τιμήν· τὰς δ' αὖ τιμὰς δεῖ σκοπεῖν, καὶ τούτων τίνες	ranked second in honor. The third—anyone could
	ἀληθεῖς καὶ ὅσαι κίβδηλοι, τοῦτο δὲ νομοθέτου.	see this—is the honor due by nature to the body.
		But here again one must examine the honors,
		which of them are true and which counterfeit; and
		that is the lawgiver's business.
728d	μηνύειν δή μοι φαίνεται τάσδε καὶ τοιάσδε τινὰς αὐτὰς	He seems to me to indicate that they are these, or
	εἶναι, τίμιον εἶναι σῶμα οὐ τὸ καλὸν οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὸν οὐδὲ	something like them: the body to be honored isn't
	τάχος ἔχον οὐδὲ μέγα, οὐδέ 728e γε τὸ ὑγιεινόν—καίτοι	the beautiful one, or the strong, or the swift, or the
	πολλοῖς ἂν τοῦτό γε δοκοῖ—καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ τούτων γ'	tall, nor 728e even the healthy—though many would
	ἐναντία, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἁπάσης ταύτης τῆς ἕξεως	think so—nor, for that matter, their opposites.
	ἐφαπτόμενα σωφρονέστατα ἅμα τε ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι	Rather, bodies that keep to the mean between all
	μακρῷ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ χαύνους τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ θρασείας ποιεῖ,	these conditions are by far the most moderate and
	τὰ δὲ ταπεινάς τε καὶ ἀνελευθέρους. ὡς δ' αὕτως ἡ τῶν	at the same time the safest. For the one extreme
	χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων κτῆσις, καὶ τιμήσεως κατὰ τὸν	makes souls puffed up and reckless, the other
	αὐτὸν ῥυθμὸν ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ὑπέρογκα γὰρ ἑκάστων 729a	makes them abject and servile. The same goes for
	τούτων ἔχθρας καὶ στάσεις ἀπεργάζεται ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ	the possession of money and property, and their
	ἰδίᾳ, τὰ δ' ἐλλείποντα δουλείας ὡς τὸ πολύ.	value follows the same pattern. Excess in each 729a
		of these breeds hostility and faction in cities and
		in private life; deficiency, for the most part, breeds
		servitude.
729a	μὴ δή τις φιλοχρημονείτω παίδων γ' ἕνεκα, ἵνα ὅτι	So let no one be a lover of money for his children's
	πλουσιωτάτους καταλίπῃ· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνοις οὔτε αὖ τῇ	sake, in order to leave them as rich as possible.
	πόλει ἄμεινον. ἡ γὰρ τῶν νέων ἀκολάκευτος οὐσία, τῶν	That's better neither for them nor for the city. For
	δ' ἀναγκαίων μὴ ἐνδεής, αὕτη πασῶν μουσικωτάτη τε καὶ	the young, the best estate—and the most harmoni-
	ἀρίστη· συμφωνοῦσα γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ συναρμόττουσα εἰς	ous of all—is one that attracts no flatterers yet
	ἅπαντα ἄλυπον τὸν 729b βίον ἀπεργάζεται. παισὶν δὲ αἰδῶ	doesn't lack necessities. Being in tune and in har-
	χρὴ πολλήν, οὐ χρυσὸν καταλείπειν. οἰόμεθα δὲ	mony with us in every way, it makes our 729b life
	ἐπιπλήττοντες τοῖς νέοις ἀναισχυντοῦσιν τοῦτο	free from pain. What we should leave our children
	καταλείψειν· τὸ δ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νῦν παρακελεύματος	is a great sense of shame, not gold. We think we'll
	τοῖς νέοις γιγνόμενον, ὃ παρακελεύονται λέγοντες ὡς δεῖ	leave them this by rebuking the young when they
	πάντα αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸν νέον.	behave shamelessly. But it doesn't come from the
		advice people give the young nowadays, when
		they tell them that a young man must feel shame
		before everyone.
729b	ὁ δὲ ἔμφρων νομοθέτης τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἂν μᾶλλον	A sensible lawgiver would rather urge the old to
	παρακελεύοιτο αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς νέους, καὶ πάντων	feel shame before the young, and above all to take
	μάλιστα εὐλαβεῖσθαι μή ποτέ τις αὐτὸν ἴδῃ τῶν νέων ἢ	care that none of the young ever sees or overhears
	καὶ ἐπακούσῃ δρῶντα ἢ 729c λέγοντά τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, ὡς	one of them doing or 729c saying anything shame-
	ὅπου ἀναισχυντοῦσι γέροντες, ἀνάγκη καὶ νέους ἐνταῦθα	ful. For where the old are shameless, the young
	εἶναι ἀναιδεστάτους· παιδεία γὰρ νέων διαφέρουσά ἐστιν	there too are bound to be utterly without shame.
	ἅμα καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τὸ νουθετεῖν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ ἂν ἄλλον	The best education of the young, and of the old
	νουθετῶν εἴποι τις, φαίνεσθαι ταῦτα αὐτὸν δρῶντα διὰ	themselves, isn't admonition; it's being seen, all
	βίου. συγγένειαν δὲ καὶ ὁμογνίων θεῶν κοινωνίαν πᾶσαν	one's life, to do the very things one would tell
	ταὐτοῦ φύσιν αἵματος ἔχουσαν τιμῶν τις καὶ σεβόμενος,	someone else when admonishing him. Whoever

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εὔνους ἂν γενεθλίους θεοὺς εἰς παίδων αὐτοῦ σποράν ἴσχοι κατὰ λόγον.

729c καὶ μὴν τό γε φίλων καὶ ἑταίρων [729d] πρὸς τὰς ἐν βίῳ ὁμιλίας εὐμενεῖς ἄν τις κτῷτο, μείζους μὲν καὶ σεμνοτέρας τὰς ἐκείνων ὑπηρεσίας εἰς αὑτὸν ἡγούμενος ἢ ᾽κεῖνοι, ἐλάττους δ᾽ αὖ τὰς αὐτοῦ διανοούμενος εἰς τοὺς φίλους χάριτας αὐτῶν τῶν φίλων τε καὶ ἑταίρων. εἰς μὴν πόλιν καὶ πολίτας μακρῷ ἄριστος ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ ᾽Ολυμπίασιν καὶ ἁπάντων ἀγώνων πολεμικῶν τε καὶ εἰρηνικῶν νικᾶν δέξαιτ᾽ ἂν δόξῃ ὑπηρεσίας τῶν οἴκοι νόμων, ὡς [729e] ὑπηρετηκὼς πάντων κάλλιστ᾽ ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ βίῳ. πρὸς δ᾽ αὖ τοὺς ξένους διανοητέον ὡς ἁγιώτατα συμβόλαια ὄντα· σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ξένων καὶ εἰς τοὺς ξένους ἁμαρτήματα παρὰ τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀνηρτημένα τιμωρὸν μᾶλλον.

729e ἔρημος γὰρ ὢν ὁ ξένος ἑταίρων τε καὶ συγγενῶν ἐλεεινότερος ἀνθρώποις καὶ θεοῖς· ὁ δυνάμενος οὖν τιμωρεῖν μᾶλλον βοηθεῖ προθυμότερον, δύναται [730a] δὲ διαφερόντως ὁ ξένιος ἑκάστων δαίμων καὶ θεὸς τῷ ξενίῳ συνεπόμενοι Διί. πολλῆς οὖν εὐλαβείας, ᾧ καὶ σμικρὸν προμηθείας ἔνι, μηδὲν ἁμάρτημα περὶ ξένους ἁμαρτόντα ἐν τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ πορευθῆναι. ξενικῶν δ᾽ αὖ καὶ ἐπιχωρίων ἁμαρτημάτων τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας μέγιστον γίγνεται ἁμάρτημα ἑκάστοις· μεθ᾽ οὗ γὰρ ἱκετεύσας μάρτυρος ὁ ἱκέτης θεοῦ ἔτυχεν ὁμολογιῶν, φύλαξ διαφέρων οὗτος τοῦ παθόντος γίγνεται, ὥστ᾽ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἀτιμώρητος πάθοι ὁ τυχὼν ὢν ἔπαθε. [730b]

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honors and reveres his kin, and the whole fellowship of the family gods that shares the same blood, would reasonably find the gods of birth well disposed toward the begetting of his own children.

Again, a man will find friends and companions [729d] kindly in his dealings with them through life if he counts their services to him greater and more valuable than they themselves do, and thinks his own favors to his friends smaller than his friends and companions think them. As for city and fellow citizens, by far the best man is the one who would choose, over victory at Olympia and in all contests of war and peace, to win a reputation for service to his country's laws, as [729e] the man who, of all men, has served them best throughout his life. Toward foreigners, one should regard agreements with them as most sacred. For nearly all offenses by and against foreigners, compared with those among citizens, are more closely bound up with an avenging god.

For the foreigner, cut off from companions and kin, is more to be pitied by men and gods. So whoever is able to avenge him comes more eagerly to his aid; and the one especially able [730a] is each foreigner's guardian spirit and god, who follow in the train of Zeus, god of strangers. So whoever has even a little foresight will take great care to reach the end of his life without having committed any offense against foreigners. Among offenses against foreigners and natives alike, the gravest for anyone is the one against suppliants. For the god whom the suppliant called on as witness when he obtained his pledge becomes the special guardian of the one who suffers, so that he will never suffer without his wrongs being avenged. [730b] 1

CHARACTER AND THE PLEASANT LIFE

The Athenian praises truthfulness, generosity and gentleness, and argues that the virtuous life is also the most pleasant.

GREEK

730b **ATHENIAN** τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ γονέας τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, περὶ πόλιν τε καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγένειαν, ξενικά τε καὶ ἐπιχώρια, διεληλύθαμεν σχεδὸν ὁμιλήματα, τὸ δὲ ποῖός τις ὢν αὐτὸς ἂν κάλλιστα διαγάγοι τὸν βίον, ἑπόμενον τούτῳ διεξελθεῖν· ὅσα μὴ νόμος, ἀλλ᾽ ἔπαινος παιδεύων καὶ ψόγος ἑκάστους εὐηνίους μᾶλλον καὶ

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN We've now pretty much gone through our dealings with parents, with oneself and one's own, with the city, friends and kin, foreigners and natives. Next comes going through what sort of person one should be to live one's life most finely —not what law prescribes, but what praise and

1 A suppliant sought protection by formally appealing to someone, often at an altar or hearth; to harm one was a grave offense against the gods.

GREEK

εὐμενεῖς τοῖς τεθήσεσθαι μέλλουσιν νόμοις ἀπεργάζεται, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν [730c] ῥητέον. ἀλήθεια δὴ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς ἡγεῖται, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώποις· ἧς ὁ γενήσεσθαι μέλλων μακάριός τε καὶ εὐδαίμων ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μέτοχος εἶη, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον ἀληθὴς ὢν διαβιοῖ. πιστὸς γάρ· ὁ δὲ ἄπιστος ᾧ φίλον ψεῦδος ἑκούσιον, ὅτῳ δὲ ἀκούσιον, ἄνους. ὧν οὐδέτερον ζηλωτόν.

ENGLISH

blame, by educating each person, make him more tractable and well disposed toward the laws that are about to be laid down. That is what we must discuss [730c] next. Truth leads the way among all goods for gods, and among all goods for men. Whoever means to be blessed and happy should share in it right from the beginning, so that he may live as long as possible as a truthful man. For such a man can be trusted. Untrustworthy is the man who loves a willing lie; and the man who loves an unwilling one is a fool. Neither is to be envied.

730c ἄφιλος γὰρ δὴ πᾶς ὅ γε ἄπιστος καὶ ἀμαθής, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος γνωσθείς, εἰς τὸ χαλεπὸν γῆρας ἐρημίαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν κατεσκευάσατο ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ βίου, ὥστε ζώντων [730d] καὶ μὴ ἑταίρων καὶ παίδων σχεδὸν ὁμοίως ὀρφανὸν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν βίον. τίμιος μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν πλέον ἢ διπλασίας τιμῆς ἄξιος ἐκείνου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἑνός, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἑτέρων, μηνύων τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀδικίαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ συγκολάζων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὁ μέγας ἀνὴρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὗτος ἀναγορευέσθω νικηφόρος ἀρετῆ.

For everyone who is untrustworthy and ignorant is friendless; and as time goes on and he is found out, he has prepared complete isolation for himself in harsh old age at the end of his life, so that, whether his companions and children are living [730d] or not, his life is almost equally orphaned. Now the man who does no wrong deserves honor; but the man who doesn't even allow wrongdoers to do wrong deserves more than twice the honor. The first counts for one man, the second for many others, since he reports the wrongdoing of others to the magistrates. And the one who also helps the magistrates punish, as far as he can—he is the great and complete man in a city; let him be proclaimed the winner of the prize for virtue.

730e τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον ἔπαινον καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης χρὴ λέγειν καὶ περὶ φρονήσεως, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγαθά τις κέκτηται δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν μεταδιδόντα ὡς ἀκρότατον χρὴ τιμᾶν, τὸν δ' αὖ μὴ δυνάμενον, ἐθέλοντα δέ, ἐᾶν δεύτερον, τὸν δὲ φθονοῦντα καὶ ἑκόντα μηδενὶ κοινωνὸν διὰ φιλίας γιγνόμενον ἀγαθῶν [731a] τινων αὐτὸν μὲν ψέγειν, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα μηδὲν μᾶλλον διὰ τὸν κεκτημένον ἀτιμάζειν, ἀλλὰ κτᾶσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν. φιλονικείτω δὲ ἡμῖν πᾶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀφθόνως.

The same praise must be given for moderation and for wisdom, and for any other goods a person possesses that he can not only keep for himself but also share with others. The one who shares should be honored as the highest; the one who can't but would like to, let him rank second; and the one who begrudges them and won't willingly let anyone share in any goods [731a] through friendship—him we must blame, but without valuing the possession itself any the less because of its owner; rather, one must acquire it as far as one can. Let every one of us compete for virtue, without envy.

731a ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτος τὰς πόλεις αὔξει, ἁμιλλώμενος μὲν αὐτός, τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ οὐ κολούων διαβολαῖς· ὁ δὲ φθονερός, τῇ τῶν ἄλλων διαβολῇ δεῖν οἰόμενος ὑπερέχειν, αὐτός τε ἧττον συντείνει πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὴν ἀληθῆ, τούς τε ἀνθαμιλλωμένους εἰς ἀθυμίαν καθίστησι τῷ ἀδίκως ψέγεσθαι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα [731b] ἀγύμναστον τὴν πόλιν ὅλην εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἀρετῆς ποιῶν, σμικροτέραν αὐτὴν πρὸς εὐδοξίαν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέρος ἀπεργάζεται. θυμοειδῆ μὲν δὴ χρὴ πάντα ἄνδρα εἶναι, πρᾷον δὲ ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα. τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπὰ καὶ δυσίατα ἢ καὶ τὸ

For such a man makes cities grow: he competes himself, but doesn't cut others down with slander. The envious man, thinking he must get ahead by slandering others, makes less effort himself toward true virtue, and drives his rivals to despair by blaming them unjustly. In this way [731b] he leaves the whole city untrained for competition in virtue and, for his part, diminishes its good name. Every man should be spirited, but also as gentle as possible. For there's no escaping other people's

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	παράπαν ἀνίατα ἀδικήματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως ἐκφυγεῖν ἢ μαχόμενον καὶ ἀμυνόμενον νικῶντα καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀνιέναι κολάζοντα, τοῦτο δὲ ἄνευ θυμοῦ γενναίου ψυχὴ πᾶσα [731c] ἀδύνατος δρᾶν.	wrongs that are harsh and hard to cure, or even wholly incurable, except by fighting and defending oneself, winning, and punishing without any relenting; and no soul [731c] can do this without noble spirit.
731c	τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν ὅσοι ἀδικοῦσιν μέν, ἰατὰ δέ, γιγνώσκειν χρὴ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἄδικος οὐχ ἑκὼν ἄδικος· τῶν γὰρ μεγίστων κακῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἑκὼν κεκτῇτο ἄν ποτε, πολὺ δὲ ἥκιστα ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τιμιωτάτοις. ψυχὴ δ', ὡς εἴπομεν, ἀληθείᾳ γέ ἐστιν πᾶσιν τιμιώτατον· ἐν οὖν τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ τὸ μέγιστον κακὸν οὐδεὶς ἑκὼν μή ποτε λάβῃ καὶ ζῇ διὰ βίου κεκτημένος αὐτό. ἀλλὰ ἐλεεινὸς μὲν πάντως ὅ γε ἄδικος καὶ ὁ τὰ κακὰ ἔχων, ἐλεεῖν [731d] δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰάσιμα ἔχοντα ἐγχωρεῖ καὶ ἀνείργοντα τὸν θυμὸν πραΰνειν καὶ μὴ ἀκραχολοῦντα γυναικείως πικραινόμενον διατελεῖν, τῷ δ' ἀκράτως καὶ ἀπαραμυθήτως πλημμελεῖ καὶ κακῷ ἐφιέναι δεῖ τὴν ὀργήν· διὸ δὴ θυμοειδῆ πρέπειν καὶ πρᾷόν φαμεν ἑκάστοτε εἶναι δεῖν τὸν ἀγαθόν.	But as for those who do wrong but are curable, one must first recognize that no unjust man is unjust willingly. For no one would ever willingly acquire any of the greatest evils anywhere, least of all in what is most precious to him. And the soul, as we've said, is in truth what is most precious to everyone. So no one would willingly take the greatest evil into what is most precious and live his whole life possessing it. The unjust man, then, and the man who has these evils, is altogether to be pitied. It's permissible [731d] to pity the one whose ills are curable, to restrain one's spirit and soften it, and not to go on raging bitterly like a woman. But against the man who does wrong without restraint and beyond all correction, bad through and through, one must let one's anger loose. That's why we say the good man must be spirited and gentle as each occasion requires.
731d	πάντων δὲ μέγιστον κακῶν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔμφυτον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐστιν, οὗ πᾶς αὐτῷ συγγνώμην ἔχων [731e] ἀποφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν μηχανᾶται· τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὃ λέγουσιν ὡς φίλος αὐτῷ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φύσει τέ ἐστιν καὶ ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ δεῖν εἶναι τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ γε πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων διὰ τὴν σφόδρα ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν αἴτιον ἑκάστῳ γίγνεται ἑκάστοτε. τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ φιλῶν, ὥστε τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ κακῶς [732a] κρίνει, τὸ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀεὶ τιμᾶν δεῖν ἡγούμενος· οὔτε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν οὔτε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ χρὴ τόν γε μέγαν ἄνδρα ἐσόμενον στέργειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια, ἐάντε παρ' αὐτῷ ἐάντε παρ' ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον πραττόμενα τυγχάνῃ.	But the greatest of all evils for most people is one inborn in their souls, which everyone excuses in himself [731e] and so contrives no escape from it. It's what people mean when they say that every human being is by nature his own friend, and that it's right he should be. But in truth, excessive love of oneself is the cause of every error for each person on every occasion. For the lover is blind about what he loves, so that he judges badly about what is just, good and fine, [732a] believing he must always honor what is his own above what is true. But a man who is to be great must cherish neither himself nor what is his, but what is just, whether it happens to be done by himself or rather by someone else.
732a	ἐκ ταὐτοῦ δὲ ἁμαρτήματος τούτου καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖν σοφίαν εἶναι γέγονε πᾶσιν· ὅθεν οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδέν, οἰόμεθα τὰ πάντα εἰδέναι, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντες δὲ [732b] ἄλλοις ἃ μὴ ἐπιστάμεθα πράττειν, ἀναγκαζόμεθα ἁμαρτάνειν αὐτοὶ πράττοντες. διὸ πάντα ἄνθρωπον χρὴ φεύγειν τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν αὑτόν, τὸν δ' ἑαυτοῦ βελτίω διώκειν ἀεί, μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ πρόσθεν ποιούμενον.	From this same error comes everyone's belief that his own ignorance is wisdom. So, though we know next to nothing, we think we know everything; and since we don't [732b] let others do what we don't understand, we're bound to go wrong doing it ourselves. So every human being must shun excessive love of himself and always pursue someone better than himself, without letting any shame stand in the way.
732b		

GREEK

ἃ δὲ σμικρότερα μὲν τούτων καὶ λεγόμενα πολλάκις ἐστίν, χρήσιμα δὲ τούτων οὐχ ἧττον, χρὴ λέγειν ἑαυτὸν ἀναμιμνήσκοντα· ὥσπερ γάρ τινος ἀπορρέοντος ἀεὶ δεῖ τοὐναντίον ἐπιρρεῖν, ἀνάμνησις δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιρροὴ φρονήσεως ἀπολειπούσης. [732c] διὸ δὴ γελώτων τε εἴργεσθαι χρὴ τῶν ἐξαισίων καὶ δακρύων, παραγγέλλειν δὲ παντὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα, καὶ ὅλην περιχάρειαν πᾶσαν ἀποκρυπτόμενον καὶ περιωδυνίαν εὐσχημονεῖν πειρᾶσθαι, κατά τε εὐπραγίας ἱσταμένου τοῦ δαίμονος ἑκάστου, καὶ κατὰ τύχας οἷον πρὸς ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀνάντη δαιμόνων ἀνθισταμένων τισὶν πράξεσιν, ἐλπίζειν δ' ἀεὶ τοῖς γε ἀγαθοῖσι τὸν θεὸν ἃ δωρεῖται πόνων μὲν ἐπιπιπτόντων [732d] ἀντὶ μειζόνων ἐλάττους ποιήσειν τῶν τ' αὖ νῦν παρόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολάς, περὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἀεὶ πάντ' αὐτοῖς παραγενήσεσθαι μετ' ἀγαθῆς τύχης.

ENGLISH

There are other precepts, smaller than these and often repeated, but no less useful, which one should say to remind oneself. For just as, when something is always flowing away, something must flow back in to replace it, so recollection is the inflow of wisdom that is ebbing away. [732c] That's why one must refrain from excessive laughter and tears, and every man must urge every other to do the same; and, hiding all excess of joy and grief, try to behave with composure, both when each man's guardian spirit brings him success, and when, as fortune turns, the spirits set themselves against some of his undertakings like a steep, high hill. One must always hope that, for good men, the god, through the gifts he gives, will make the troubles that befall them [732d] smaller instead of greater, and change present circumstances for the better; and that with good things, the reverse will hold: they will always come to them, with good fortune.

732d ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἕκαστον χρὴ ζῆν καὶ ταῖς ὑπομνήσεσι πάντων τῶν τοιούτων, μηδὲν φειδόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ κατά τε παιδιὰς καὶ σπουδὰς ἀναμιμνῄσκοντα ἕτερόν τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν σαφῶς.

These are the hopes each of us must live by, and these the reminders of all such things—sparing no effort, but always, in play and in earnest, reminding others and himself clearly.

νῦν οὖν δὴ περὶ μὲν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οἷα χρὴ ἐπιτηδεύειν, [732e] καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἑκάστου, ποῖόν τινα χρεὼν εἶναι, λέλεκται σχεδὸν ὅσα θεῖά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα νῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ εἴρηται, δεῖ δέ· ἀνθρώποις γὰρ διαλεγόμεθα ἀλλ' οὐ θεοῖς. ἔστιν δὴ φύσει ἀνθρώπειον μάλιστα ἡδοναὶ καὶ λῦπαι καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη τὸ θνητὸν πᾶν ζῷον ἀτεχνῶς οἷον ἐξηρτῆσθαί τε καὶ ἐκκρεμάμενον εἶναι σπουδαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις· δεῖ δὴ τὸν κάλλιστον βίον ἐπαινεῖν, μὴ μόνον ὅτι τῷ [733a] σχήματι κρατεῖ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς, ἄν τις ἐθέλῃ γεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ νέος ὢν φυγὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται, κρατεῖ καὶ τούτῳ ὃ πάντες ζητοῦμεν, τῷ χαίρειν πλείω, ἐλάττω δὲ λυπεῖσθαι παρὰ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα. ὡς δὲ ἔσται τοῦτο σαφές, ἂν γεύηταί τις ὀρθῶς, ἑτοίμως καὶ σφόδρα φανήσεται.

So now, concerning the practices one should pursue [732e] and the sort of person each should be, we've said pretty much all that is divine. What is human we haven't yet said, but we must; for we're talking with human beings, not gods. What is most human by nature is pleasures, pains and desires. Every mortal creature is quite literally strung up on these and dangles from them, in its most earnest concerns. So one must praise the finest life not only because [733a] its form wins it the highest reputation, but also because, if one is willing to taste it and not flee from it while young, it wins in what we all seek: more enjoyment and less pain over the whole of life. That this will be so will appear readily and clearly if one tastes it properly.

733a ἡ δὲ ὀρθότης τίς; τοῦτο ἤδη παρὰ τοῦ λόγου χρὴ λαμβάνοντα σκοπεῖν· εἴτε οὕτως ἡμῖν κατὰ φύσιν πέφυκεν εἴτε ἄλλως παρὰ φύσιν, βίον χρὴ παρὰ βίον ἡδίω καὶ λυπηρότερον ὧδε σκοπεῖν. ἡδονὴν βουλόμεθα ἡμῖν εἶναι, [733b] λύπην δὲ οὔθ' αἱρούμεθα οὔτε βουλόμεθα, τὸ δὲ μηδέτερον ἀντὶ μὲν ἡδονῆς οὐ βουλόμεθα, λύπης δὲ ἀλλάττεσθαι βουλόμεθα· λύπην δ' ἐλάττω μετὰ μείζονος ἡδονῆς βουλόμεθα, ἡδονὴν δ' ἐλάττω μετὰ μείζονος λύπης οὐ βουλόμεθα, ἴσα δὲ ἀντὶ ἴσων ἑκάτερα τούτων οὐχ ὡς βουλόμεθα ἔχοιμεν ἂν διασαφεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα

And what is tasting it properly? That we must now take from the argument and examine. Whether this is how we are by nature or not, we must compare life with life, the more pleasant with the more painful, in this way. We want pleasure for ourselves; [733b] pain we neither choose nor want; the neutral state we don't want in place of pleasure, but we do want it in exchange for pain. We want less pain with more pleasure, but we don't

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἐστὶν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ σφοδρότησιν ἰσότησίν τε, καὶ ὅσα ἐναντία ἐστὶν πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς βούλησιν, διαφέροντά τε καὶ μηδὲν 733c διαφέροντα πρὸς αἵρεσιν ἑκάστων.

want less pleasure with more pain; and where each is equal to the other, we couldn't clearly say that we want it. All these, as regards what we want, are a matter of number, magnitude, intensity and equality, and of the opposites of all these, which make a difference—or 733c no difference—to our choice of each.

733c οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης διακεκοσμημένων, ἐν ᾧ μὲν βίῳ ἔνεστι πολλὰ ἑκάτερα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ σφοδρά, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν, βουλόμεθα, ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία, οὐ βουλόμεθα· καὶ αὖ ἐν ᾧ ὀλίγα ἑκάτερα καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ ἠρεμαῖα, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ τὰ λυπηρά, οὐ βουλόμεθα, ἐν ᾧ δὲ τἀναντία, βουλόμεθα. ἐν ᾧ δ' αὖ βίῳ ἰσορροπεῖ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι· τὸν ἰσόρροπον βίον ὡς τῶν μὲν ὑπερβαλλόντων 733d τῷ φίλῳ ἡμῖν βουλόμεθα, τῶν δ' αὖ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ βουλόμεθα. πάντας δὴ δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι τοὺς βίους ἡμῶν ὡς ἐν τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένοι πεφύκασιν, καὶ δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι ποίους φύσει βουλόμεθα· εἰ δέ τι παρὰ ταῦτα ἄρα φαμὲν βούλεσθαι, διά τινα ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὄντων βίων αὐτὰ λέγομεν.

Since these things are necessarily arranged in this way, a life that contains many of both, great and intense, but in which the pleasures exceed—that we want; one in which the opposite holds, we don't want. Again, a life with few of each, small and mild, in which the pains exceed, we don't want; one in which the opposite holds, we want. As for the life in which they balance, we should think of it as we did before: we want the balanced life insofar as it exceeds 733d in what we like, and don't want it insofar as it exceeds in what we dislike. We must think of all our lives as naturally bound up within these, and we must consider which kinds we want by nature. If we say we want anything besides these, we say it out of some ignorance and inexperience of the lives there actually are.

733d τίνες δὴ καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶ βίοι, ὧν πέρι δεῖ προελόμενον τὸ βούλητόν τε καὶ ἑκούσιον ἀβούλητόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον 733e ἰδόντα εἰς νόμον ἑαυτῷ ταξάμενον, τὸ φίλον ἅμα καὶ ἡδὺ καὶ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον ἑλόμενον, ζῆν ὡς οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπον μακαριώτατα; λέγωμεν δὴ σώφρονα βίον ἕνα εἶναι καὶ φρόνιμον ἕνα καὶ ἕνα τὸν ἀνδρεῖον, καὶ τὸν ὑγιεινὸν βίον ἕνα ταξώμεθα· καὶ τούτοις οὖσιν τέτταρσιν ἐναντίους ἄλλους τέτταρας, ἄφρονα, δειλόν, ἀκόλαστον, νοσώδη.

What, then, and how many are the lives among which one must choose? One must set what is wanted and voluntary apart from what is unwanted and involuntary, and, 733e keeping that in view, make it a law for oneself, choosing what is at once agreeable and pleasant, best and finest, so as to live as happily as a human being can. Let us say that one is the moderate life, one the wise life, one the courageous, and let's count the healthy life as one more. Opposite these four are four others: the foolish, the cowardly, the dissolute and the diseased.

733e σώφρονα μὲν οὖν βίον ὁ γιγνώσκων θήσει πρᾳον ἐπὶ πάντα, 734a καὶ ἠρεμαίας μὲν λύπας, ἠρεμαίας δὲ ἡδονάς, μαλακὰς δὲ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἔρωτας οὐκ ἐμμανεῖς παρεχόμενον, ἀκόλαστον δέ, ὀξὺν ἐπὶ πάντα, καὶ σφοδρὰς μὲν λύπας, σφοδρὰς δὲ ἡδονάς, συντόνους δὲ καὶ οἰστρώδεις ἐπιθυμίας τε καὶ ἔρωτας ὡς οἷόν τε ἐμμανεστάτους παρεχόμενον, ὑπερβαλλούσας δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ σώφρονι βίῳ τὰς ἡδονὰς τῶν ἀχθηδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκολάστῳ τὰς λύπας τῶν ἡδονῶν μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει καὶ πυκνότησιν.

Anyone who knows will set down the moderate life as gentle in every respect, 734a offering mild pains, mild pleasures, soft desires and loves that are not frenzied; and the dissolute life as violent in every respect, offering intense pains, intense pleasures, and desires and loves that are strained, stinging, and as frenzied as can be. In the moderate life the pleasures exceed the discomforts; in the dissolute life the pains exceed the pleasures, in magnitude, number and frequency.

734a ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ἡδίων ἡμῖν τῶν βίων, ὁ δὲ 734b λυπηρότερος ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβαίνει κατὰ φύσιν γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τόν γε βουλόμενον ἡδέως ζῆν οὐκέτι παρείκει ἑκόντα γε

So it necessarily follows, by nature, that the one life is more pleasant for us and the other 734b more painful; and whoever wants to live pleasantly can

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ἀκολάστως ζῆν, ἀλλ' ἤδη δῆλον ὡς, εἰ τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον ὀρθόν, πᾶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄκων ἐστὶν ἀκόλαστος· ἢ γὰρ δι' ἀμαθίαν ἢ δι' ἀκράτειαν ἢ δι' ἀμφότερα, τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἐνδεὴς ὢν ζῇ ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος ὄχλος. ταὐτὰ δὲ περὶ νοσώδους τε καὶ ὑγιεινοῦ βίου διανοητέον, ὡς ἔχουσι μὲν ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας, ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ ἡδοναὶ μὲν λύπας ἐν ὑγιείᾳ, [734c] λῦπαι δὲ ἡδονὰς ἐν νόσοις. ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ βούλησις τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν βίων οὐχ ἵνα τὸ λυπηρὸν ὑπερβάλλῃ· ὅπου δ' ὑπερβάλλεται, τοῦτον τὸν βίον ἡδίω κεκρίκαμεν.

no longer be one who willingly lives dissolutely. It's clear by now that, if what we're saying is right, everyone who is dissolute is necessarily so against his will. For it's through ignorance or lack of self-control, or both, that the whole human multitude lives lacking in moderation. The same must be thought about the diseased and the healthy life: both have pleasures and pains, but in health the pleasures exceed the pains, [734c] and in sickness the pains exceed the pleasures. Our aim in choosing among lives isn't that the painful should exceed; the life in which it is exceeded is the one we've judged more pleasant.

734c ὁ δὴ σώφρων τοῦ ἀκολάστου καὶ ὁ φρόνιμος τοῦ ἄφρονος, φαῖμεν ἄν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀνδρείας τοῦ τῆς δειλίας ἐλάττονα καὶ σμικρότερα καὶ μανότερα ἔχων ἀμφότερα, τῇ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἑκάτερος ἑκάτερον ὑπερβάλλων, τῇ τῆς λύπης ἐκείνων ὑπερβαλλόντων [734d] αὐτούς, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεῖος τὸν δειλόν, ὁ δὲ φρόνιμος τὸν ἄφρονα νικῶσιν, ὥστε ἡδίους εἶναι τοὺς βίους τῶν βίων, σώφρονα καὶ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ὑγιεινὸν δειλοῦ καὶ ἄφρονος καὶ ἀκολάστου καὶ νοσώδους, καὶ συλλήβδην τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενον κατὰ σῶμα ἢ καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν τοῦ τῆς μοχθηρίας ἐχομένου βίου ἡδίω τε εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερέχειν ἐκ περιττοῦ κάλλει καὶ ὀρθότητι καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ εὐδοξίᾳ, ὥστε [734e] τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὸν ζῆν εὐδαιμονέστερον ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοῦ ἐναντίου τῷ παντὶ καὶ ὅλῳ.

The moderate man compared with the dissolute, then, and the wise with the foolish, we would say, and the man of courage with the man of cowardice, has fewer, smaller and rarer experiences of both kinds; each outdoes his opposite in pleasures, while in pains the others outdo [734d] them. So the courageous man beats the coward, and the wise man the fool, so that these lives are more pleasant than those: the moderate, courageous, wise and healthy more pleasant than the cowardly, foolish, dissolute and diseased. In short, the life that holds to virtue of body or of soul is more pleasant than the life that holds to wickedness, and surpasses it by far in other respects too—in beauty, rightness, virtue and good reputation—so that [734e] it makes the one who has it live more happily than the opposite life, completely and in every way.

PURGING THE CITY AND FIXING ITS SIZE

The lawgiver screens out bad settlers and fixes the citizens at 5,040 households.

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734e **ATHENIAN** καὶ τὸ μὲν προοίμιον τῶν νόμων ἐνταυθοῖ λεχθὲν τῶν λόγων τέλος ἐχέτω, μετὰ δὲ τὸ προοίμιον ἀναγκαῖόν που νόμον ἕπεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τό γε ἀληθὲς νόμους πολιτείας ὑπογράφειν. καθάπερ οὖν δή τινα συνυφὴν ἢ καὶ πλέγμ' ἄλλ' ὁτιοῦν, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν τήν τε ἐφυφὴν καὶ τὸν στήμονα ἀπεργάζεσθαι, διαφέρειν δ' ἀναγκαῖον τὸ τῶν στημόνων πρὸς ἀρετὴν γένος—ἰσχυρόν τε γὰρ καί τινα [735a] βεβαιότητα ἐν τοῖς τρόποις εἰληφός, τὸ δὲ μαλακώτερον καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ τινὶ δικαίᾳ χρώμενον—ὅθεν δὴ τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρξοντας δεῖ διακρίνεσθαί τινα τρόπον ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς σμικρᾷ παιδείᾳ βασανισθέντας ἑκάστοτε κατὰ λόγον. ἐστὸν γὰρ δὴ δύο πολιτείας εἴδη, τὸ

ATHENIAN Let the preamble to the laws, spoken up to this point, bring this part of our discussion to an end. After the preamble, surely, the law must follow—or rather, to be truthful, an outline of the laws of the constitution. With a woven fabric, or any other kind of plaiting, one can't make the weft and the warp from the same material; the warp must be of better quality, being strong and having acquired a certain [735a] firmness of character, while the weft is softer and shows a fitting pliancy. In the same way one must somehow distinguish those who are to hold office in cities from those tested only by a lesser education, in each case as reason

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μὲν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις ἑκάστοις, τὸ δὲ νόμοι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀποδοθέντες.

735a τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτων ἁπάντων δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι τὰ τοιάδε. [735b] πᾶσαν ἀγέλην ποιμὴν καὶ βουκόλος τροφεύς τε ἵππων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα παραλαβών, οὐκ ἄλλως μή ποτε ἐπιχειρήσει θεραπεύειν ἢ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἑκάστῃ προσήκοντα καθαρμὸν καθαρεῖ τῇ συνοικήσει, διαλέξας δὲ τά τε ὑγιῆ καὶ τὰ μὴ καὶ τὰ γενναῖα καὶ ἀγεννῆ, τὰ μὲν ἀποπέμψει πρὸς ἄλλας τινὰς ἀγέλας, τὰ δὲ θεραπεύσει, διανοούμενος ὡς μάταιος ἂν ὁ πόνος εἴη καὶ ἀνήνυτος περί τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχάς, ἃς φύσις [735c] καὶ πονηρὰ τροφὴ διεφθαρκυῖα προσαπόλλυσιν τὸ τῶν ὑγιῶν καὶ ἀκηράτων ἠθῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων γένος ἐν ἑκάστοις τῶν κτημάτων, ἄν τις τὰ ὑπάρχοντα μὴ διακαθαίρηται.

735c τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἐλάττων τε σπουδὴ καὶ παραδείγματος ἕνεκα μόνον ἄξια παραθέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπουδῆς τῆς μεγίστης τῷ τε νομοθέτῃ διερευνᾶσθαι καὶ φράζειν τὸ προσῆκον ἑκάστοις καθαρμοῦ τε πέρι καὶ συμπασῶν [735d] τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων. αὐτίκα γὰρ τὸ περὶ καθαρμοὺς πόλεως ὧδ' ἔχον ἂν εἴη· πολλῶν οὐσῶν τῶν διακαθάρσεων αἱ μὲν ῥᾴους εἰσίν, αἱ δὲ χαλεπώτεραι, καὶ τὰς μὲν τύραννος μὲν ὢν καὶ νομοθέτης ὁ αὐτός, ὅσαι χαλεπαί τ' εἰσὶν καὶ ἄρισται, δύναιτ' ἂν καθῆραι, νομοθέτης δὲ ἄνευ τυραννίδος καθιστὰς πολιτείαν καινὴν καὶ νόμους, εἰ καὶ τὸν πρᾳότατον τῶν καθαρμῶν καθήρειεν, ἀγαπώντως ἂν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον δράσειεν.

735d ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν ἄριστος ἀλγεινός, καθάπερ ὅσα τῶν [735e] φαρμάκων τοιουτότροπα, ὁ τῇ δίκῃ μετὰ τιμωρίας εἰς τὸ κολάζειν ἄγων, θάνατον ἢ φυγὴν τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τὸ τέλος ἐπιτιθείς· τοὺς γὰρ μέγιστα ἐξημαρτηκότας, ἀνιάτους δὲ ὄντας, μεγίστην δὲ οὖσαν βλάβην πόλεως, ἀπαλλάττειν εἴωθεν. ὁ δὲ πρᾳότερός ἐστι τῶν καθαρμῶν ὁ τοιόσδε ἡμῖν· ὅσοι διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίαν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐχόντων μὴ ἔχοντες ἑτοίμους αὑτοὺς ἐνδείκνυνται παρεσκευακότες [736a] ἕπεσθαι, τούτοις ὡς νοσήματι πόλεως ἐμπεφυκότι, δι' εὐφημίας ἀπαλλαγήν, ὄνομα ἀποικίαν τιθέμενος, εὐμενῶς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξεπέμψατο.

736a παντὶ μὲν οὖν νομοθετοῦντι τοῦτο ἁμῶς γέ πως κατ' ἀρχὰς δραστέον, ἡμῖν μὴν ἔτι τούτων ἀκοπώτερα τὰ περὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ συμβεβηκότα νῦν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποικίαν οὔτ' ἐκλογήν τινα καθάρσεως δεῖ μηχανᾶσθαι πρὸς τὸ παρόν, οἷον δέ τινων συρρεόντων ἐκ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν πηγῶν [736b]

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requires. For there are two parts of a constitution: one is the appointment of individuals to offices, the other the laws given to those offices.

But before all this, one must consider the following. [735b] A shepherd or cowherd, a horse breeder or anyone else of that kind, on taking over any herd, will never try to care for it until he has first given each community the purification suited to it. He will sort out the healthy and the unhealthy, the well-bred and the ill-bred, send the latter off to other herds, and look after the former, reckoning that his labor would be vain and endless on bodies and souls that nature [735c] and bad rearing have ruined, and that then ruin as well the healthy and sound stock, in character and in body, of every herd, if one doesn't purge the stock one has.

With other animals the matter is less serious, and worth bringing into our discussion only as an example; but with human beings it is of the greatest importance for the lawgiver to investigate and explain what is fitting for each, both in purification and in all [735d] the other measures. For instance, the purification of a city would go like this. There are many kinds of purge, some easier, some harder. The ones that are hard and best could be carried out by someone who was tyrant and lawgiver in one; but a lawgiver without a tyranny, establishing a new constitution and laws, would be content if he could carry out even the gentlest of purifications.

The best is painful, like all [735e] medicines of that sort. It brings punishment through justice combined with retribution, with death or exile as the final penalty; and it usually rids the city of those who have committed the greatest offenses and are incurable, and so do the city the greatest harm. The gentler kind of purification, for us, is this. When people who lack resources, for want of food, show themselves ready to follow their leaders against the property of those who have it, [736a] the lawgiver treats them as a disease that has grown up in the city, gives their removal the gentle name of "colony," and sends them off as kindly as he can.

Every lawgiver must do something like this at the start. But for us, the situation here is now even less troublesome. We don't need to devise a colony or any selective purge for the present. Instead, it's as if many streams were flowing together into one

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	τὰ δὲ χειμάρρων εἰς μίαν λίμνην, ἀναγκαῖον προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν φυλάττειν ὅπως ὅτι καθαρώτατον ἔσται τὸ συρρέον ὕδωρ, τὰ μὲν ἐξαντλοῦντας, τὰ δ' ἀποχετεύοντας καὶ παρατρέποντας. πόνος δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, καὶ κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐν πάσῃ κατασκευῇ πολιτικῇ.	lake, some from springs [736b] and some from mountain torrents: we must pay attention and take care that the water flowing in is as pure as possible, pumping some of it out, and draining or diverting the rest. There's labor and risk, it seems, in founding any political order.
736b	τὰ δ' ἐπείπερ λόγῳ γ' ἐστὶν τὰ νῦν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔργῳ πραττόμενα, πεπεράνθω τε ἡμῖν ἡ συλλογὴ καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἡ καθαρότης αὐτῆς ἔστω συμβεβηκυῖα· τοὺς γὰρ κακοὺς [736c] τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων εἰς τὴν νῦν πόλιν ὡς πολιτευσομένους συνιέναι πειθοῖ πάσῃ καὶ ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ διαβασανίσαντες, διακωλύσωμεν ἀφικνεῖσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς εἰς δύναμιν εὐμενεῖς ἵλεώ τε προσαγώμεθα.	But since what we're doing now is in words and not in deed, let us suppose our gathering complete and its purity just as we'd like. As for the bad [736c] among those who try to come together into our new city to become citizens, we'll test them thoroughly by every kind of persuasion over a sufficient time and prevent them from arriving; and the good we'll welcome as kindly and graciously as we can.
736c	τόδε δὲ μὴ λανθανέτω γιγνόμενον ἡμᾶς εὐτύχημα, ὅτι καθάπερ εἴπομεν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποικίαν εὐτυχεῖν, ὡς γῆς καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς καὶ νομῆς πέρι δεινὴν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἔριν ἐξέφυγεν, ἣν νομοθετεῖσθαι ἀναγκασθείσῃ [736d] πόλει τῶν ἀρχαίων οὔτε ἐᾶν οἷόν τε ἀκίνητον οὔτ' αὖ κινεῖν δυνατόν ἐστί τινα τρόπον, εὐχὴ δὲ μόνον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν λείπεται, καὶ σμικρὰ μετάβασις εὐλαβὴς ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ σμικρὸν μεταβιβάζουσιν, ἥδε· τῶν κινούντων ἀεὶ κεκτημένων μὲν αὐτῶν γῆν ἄφθονον ὑπάρχειν, κεκτημένων δὲ καὶ ὀφειλέτας αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἐθελόντων τε τούτων πῃ τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις [736e] δι' ἐπιείκειαν κοινωνεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἀφιέντας, τὰ δὲ νεμομένους, ἁμῇ γέ πῃ τῆς μετριότητος ἐχομένους καὶ πενίαν ἡγουμένους εἶναι μὴ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλάττω ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν ἀπληστίαν πλείω.	And let's not overlook a piece of good fortune that is ours. As we said of the colony of the Heraclids, it was lucky to have escaped the terrible and dangerous strife over land, cancellation of debts and redistribution—strife which, in a [736d] city forced to legislate on these matters, makes it impossible to leave the old arrangements undisturbed, and just as impossible to disturb them in any way. All that's left is a prayer, so to speak, and a small, cautious transition, carried out little by little over a long time. It is this: among those who make the changes there must always be some who themselves own plenty of land and have many debtors, and who are willing somehow to share with those in need [736e] out of fairness, forgiving some debts and distributing some land, holding somehow to moderation and believing that poverty isn't a decrease in one's property but an increase in one's greed.
736e	σωτηρίας τε γὰρ ἀρχὴ μεγίστη πόλεως αὕτη γίγνεται, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης οἷον κρηπῖδος μονίμου ἐποικοδομεῖν δυνατὸν ὅντινα ἂν ὕστερον ἐποικοδομῇ τις κόσμον πολιτικὸν προσήκοντα τῇ τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει· ταύτης δὲ σαθρᾶς οὔσης τῆς [737a] μεταβάσεως, οὐκ εὔπορος ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα πολιτικὴ πρᾶξις οὐδεμιᾷ γίγνοιτ' ἂν πόλει. ἦν ἡμεῖς μέν, ὥς φαμεν, ἐκφεύγομεν· ὅμως δὲ εἰρῆσθαί γε ὀρθότερον, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐξεφεύγομεν, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν ἐποιούμεθα αὐτῆς τὴν φυγήν. εἰρήσθω δή νυν ὅτι διὰ τοῦ μὴ φιλοχρηματεῖν μετὰ δίκης, ἄλλη δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτ' εὐρεῖα οὔτε στενὴ τῆς τοιαύτης μηχανῆς διαφυγή· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἷον ἔρμα πόλεως ἡμῖν κείσθω τὰ νῦν.	For this is the most important starting point for a city's safety, and on it, as on a firm foundation, one can later build whatever political order suits such an arrangement. But if this [737a] transition is unsound, no city's political business afterwards would go smoothly. We, as we say, are escaping this. Still, it's more correct to state, even if we weren't escaping it, how we would have made our escape. Let it be said, then, that it is by not being greedy for money, and by justice; there is no other way out of such a predicament, broad or narrow. And let this be laid down for now as a kind of ballast for our city.
737a		

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀνεγκλήτους [737b] γὰρ δεῖ τὰς οὐσίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατασκευάζεσθαι ἁμῶς γέ πως, ἢ μὴ προϊέναι πρότερον εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἑκόντα εἶναι τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς οἷς ᾗ παλαιὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ὅσοις νοῦ καὶ σμικρὸν μετῇ· οἷς δέ, ὡς ἡμῖν νῦν, θεὸς ἔδωκε καινήν τε πόλιν οἰκίζειν καὶ μή τινας ἔχθρας εἶναί πω πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τούτους ἔχθρας αὐτοῖς αἰτίους γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν διανομὴν τῆς γῆς τε καὶ οἰκήσεων οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος ἂν εἴη μετὰ κάκης πάσης ἀμαθία. [737c]	Free of grievances against one another: [737b] that is how people must somehow arrange their properties; or else those who have old grievances against one another, if they have even a little sense, must not willingly go any further with the rest of the arrangements. But for those to whom a god has granted, as he has to us now, to found a new city where there are as yet no enmities among them—for them to become the cause of enmity among themselves through the distribution of land and houses would be an ignorance beyond anything human, joined with every kind of wickedness. [737c]
737c	τίς οὖν δὴ τρόπος ἂν εἴη τῆς ὀρθῆς διανομῆς; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν αὐτῶν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δεῖ τάξασθαι, πόσον εἶναι χρεών· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν διανομὴν τῶν πολιτῶν, καθ' ὁπόσα μέρη πλήθει καὶ ὀπηλίκα διαιρετέον αὐτούς, ἀνομολογητέον· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῦτα τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις ὅτι μάλιστα ἴσας ἐπινεμητέον. ὄγκος δὴ πλήθους ἱκανὸς οὐκ ἄλλως ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἂν λεχθεὶς ἢ πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν [737d] πλησιοχώρων πόλεις· γῇ μὲν ὁπόση πόσους σώφρονας ὄντας ἱκανὴ τρέφειν, πλείονος δὲ οὐδὲν προσδεῖ, πλήθους δέ, ὁπόσοι τοὺς προσχώρους ἀδικοῦντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι δυνατοὶ καὶ γείτοσιν ἑαυτῶν ἀδικουμένοις βοηθῆσαι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπόρως δύναιντ' ἄν.	So what would be the method of a correct distribution? First, one must settle the size of the population itself, how large it ought to be. After that, we must agree on the division of the citizens: into how many parts, and of what size, they must be divided. Among these we must distribute the land and the houses as equally as possible. An adequate size of population couldn't be rightly stated except by reference to the land and to the [737d] neighboring cities. The land must be as large as will support so many people living moderately, and no more is needed; the population must be as large as can defend itself against neighbors who wrong it, and help its own neighbors when they are wronged, not wholly without resources.
737d	ταῦτα δέ, ἰδόντες τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς γείτονας, ὁριούμεθα ἔργῳ καὶ λόγοις· νῦν δὲ σχήματος ἕνεκα καὶ ὑπογραφῆς, ἵνα περαίνηται, πρὸς τὴν νομοθεσίαν ὁ λόγος ἴτω. [737e]	We'll define these things in deed and in word when we've seen the territory and the neighbors. For now, for the sake of an outline and a sketch, so that it can be completed, let our discussion proceed to the legislation. [737e]
737e	πεντάκις μὲν χίλιοι ἕστωσαν καὶ τετταράκοντα, ἀριθμοῦ τινος ἕνεκα προσήκοντος, γεωμόροι τε καὶ ἀμυνοῦντες τῇ νομῇ· γῆ δὲ καὶ οἰκήσεις ὡσαύτως τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη διανεμηθήτων, γενόμενα ἀνὴρ καὶ κλῆρος συννομή. δύο μὲν δὴ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ τὸ πρῶτον νεμηθήτω, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρία τὸν αὐτόν· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ τέτταρα καὶ πέντε καὶ μέχρι τῶν δέκα ἐφεξῆς. δεῖ δὴ περὶ ἀριθμῶν τό γε τοσοῦτον πάντα [738a] ἄνδρα νομοθετοῦντα νενοηκέναι, τίς ἀριθμὸς καὶ ποῖος πάσαις πόλεσιν χρησιμώτατος ἂν εἴη. λέγωμεν δὴ τὸν πλείστας καὶ ἐφεξῆς μάλιστα διανομὰς ἐν αὑτῷ κεκτημένον.	Let there be five thousand and forty landholders who will defend their allotments—a number chosen for its suitability. Let the land and the houses likewise be divided into the same number of parts, man and allotment forming a pair. First let the whole number be divided by two, then by three; for it is naturally divisible by four and five as well, and so on in sequence up to ten. Every [738a] man who legislates must understand at least this much about numbers: what number, and of what kind, would be most useful for every city. Let's say it's the one that contains the most divisors, and especially the most consecutive ones.
738a	ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς εἰς πάντα πάσας τομὰς εἴληχεν· ὁ δὲ τῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίων εἴς τε πόλεμον καὶ ὅσα κατ' εἰρήνην πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ	Number as a whole admits every division for every purpose. But the number 5,040 can be divided, for war and for all the contracts and associ-

GREEK

κοινωνήματα, εἰσφορῶν τε πέρι καὶ διανομῶν, οὐ πλείους μιᾶς δεουσῶν ἑξήκοντα δύναιτ' ἂν τέμνεσθαι τομῶν, συνεχεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ μιᾶς [738b] μέχρι τῶν δέκα.

738b ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν δεῖ βεβαίως λαβεῖν, οἷς ἂν ὁ νόμος προστάττῃ λαμβάνειν· ἔχει γὰρ οὖν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ ταύτῃ, δεῖ δὲ αὐτὰ ῥηθῆναι τῶνδε ἕνεκα κατοικίζοντι πόλιν. οὔτ' ἂν καινὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τις ποιῇ οὔτ' ἂν παλαιὰν διεφθαρμένην ἐπισκευάζηται, περὶ θεῶν γε καὶ ἱερῶν, ἅττα τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἑκάστοις ἱδρῦσθαι δεῖ καὶ ὧντινων ἐπονομάζεσθαι θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρήσει κινεῖν νοῦν ἔχων [738c] ὅσα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἢ Δωδώνης ἢ παρ' Ἄμμωνος ἤ τινες ἔπεισαν παλαιοὶ λόγοι ὁπῃδή τινας πείσαντες, φασμάτων γενομένων ἢ ἐπιπνοίας λεχθείσης θεῶν, πείσαντες δὲ θυσίας τελεταῖς συμμείκτους κατεστήσαντο εἴτε αὐτόθεν ἐπιχωρίους εἴτ' οὖν Τυρρηνικὰς εἴτε Κυπρίας εἴτε ἄλλοθεν ὁθενοῦν, καθιέρωσαν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις φήμας τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ναούς, τεμένη τε τούτων ἑκάστοις ἐτεμένισαν·

738c τούτων [738d] νομοθέτῃ τὸ σμικρότατον ἁπάντων οὐδὲν κινητέον, τοῖς δὲ μέρεσιν ἑκάστοις θεὸν ἢ δαίμονα ἢ καί τινα ἥρωα ἀποδοτέον, ἐν δὲ τῇ τῆς γῆς διανομῇ πρώτοις ἐξαίρετα τεμένη τε καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀποδοτέον, ὅπως ἂν σύλλογοι ἑκάστων τῶν μερῶν κατὰ χρόνους γιγνόμενοι τοὺς προσταχθέντας εἴς τε τὰς χρείας ἑκάστας εὐμάρειαν παρασκευάζωσι καὶ φιλοφρονῶνταί τε ἀλλήλους μετὰ θυσιῶν καὶ οἰκειῶνται [738e] καὶ γνωρίζωσιν, οὗ μεῖζον οὐδὲν πόλει ἀγαθὸν ἢ γνωρίμους αὐτοὺς αὑτοῖς εἶναι.

738e ὅπου γὰρ μὴ φῶς ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν ἀλλήλων ἐν τοῖς τρόποις ἀλλὰ σκότος, οὔτ' ἂν τιμῆς τῆς ἀξίας οὔτ' ἀρχῶν οὔτε δίκης ποτέ τις ἂν τῆς προσηκούσης ὀρθῶς τυγχάνοι· δεῖ δὴ πάντα ἄνδρα ἓν πρὸς ἓν τοῦτο σπεύδειν ἐν πάσαις πόλεσιν, ὅπως μήτε αὐτὸς κίβδηλός ποτε φανεῖται ὁτῳοῦν, ἁπλοῦς δὲ καὶ ἀληθὴς ἀεί, μήτε ἄλλος τοιοῦτος ὢν αὐτὸν διαπατήσει. [739a]

ENGLISH

ations of peacetime, for levies and distributions, by no more than fifty-nine divisors, and consecutively from one [738b] to ten.[2]

These facts must be grasped securely, at leisure, by those whom the law instructs to grasp them; for they are so and not otherwise. But they need to be stated to anyone founding a city for the following reason. Whether someone is creating a new city from the beginning or restoring an old one that has decayed, when it comes to gods and temples—which temples must be established in the city for each group, and after which gods or spirits they should be named—no one with sense will try to disturb [738c] what has been established by Delphi or Dodona or Ammon, or by ancient stories that persuaded people somehow or other, through apparitions or reported inspiration from gods. Persuaded by these, people established sacrifices combined with rites, whether native to the place or Etruscan or Cypriot or from anywhere else; and by such stories they consecrated oracles, statues, altars and shrines, and marked out sacred precincts for each of them.[3]

Of all these, [738d] the lawgiver must not disturb even the smallest thing. He must assign to each of the divisions a god or spirit, or else a hero, and in distributing the land he must give these first choice of sacred precincts and all that goes with them, so that when the members of each division assemble at the appointed times, they may have ready means for their various needs, and may be friendly with one another over the sacrifices, become intimate, [738e] and get to know one another. There is no greater good for a city than that its people should be known to one another.

For where people's characters are in darkness to one another rather than in light, no one will ever rightly obtain the honor he deserves, or office, or the justice due to him. So every man in every city must strive for this one thing above all: never to appear counterfeit to anyone, but always to be simple and true, and never to be deceived by anyone else who is counterfeit. [739a]

2 5,040 is 1 × 2 × 3 × 4 × 5 × 6 × 7, which is why every number from 1 to 10 divides it evenly.
3 The three most revered oracles known to the Greeks: Apollo's at Delphi, Zeus's at Dodona in northwestern Greece, and Zeus Ammon's in the Libyan desert.

THE SECOND-BEST CITY

The best city holds everything in common; the second-best fixes allotments and bans gold, silver and lending.

GREEK

739a **ATHENIAN** ἡ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο φορά, καθάπερ πεττῶν ἀφ' ἱεροῦ, τῆς τῶν νόμων κατασκευῆς, ἀήθης οὖσα, τάχ' ἂν θαυμάσαι τὸν ἀκούοντα τὸ πρῶτον ποιήσειεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀναλογιζομένῳ καὶ πειρωμένῳ φανεῖται δευτέρως ἂν πόλις οἰκεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον. τάχα δ' οὐκ ἄν τις προσδέξαιτο αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ σύνηθες νομοθέτῃ μὴ τυραννοῦντι· τὸ δ' ἔστιν ὀρθότατον εἰπεῖν μὲν τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην, 739b δοῦναι δὲ εἰπόντα αἵρεσιν ἑκάστῳ τῷ τῆς συνοικήσεως κυρίῳ. ποιῶμεν δὴ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ τὰ νῦν ἡμεῖς, εἰπόντες ἀρετῇ πρώτην πολιτείαν καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην· τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν Κλεινίᾳ τε ἀποδιδῶμεν τὰ νῦν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀεί ποτε ἐθελήσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκλογὴν ἐλθὼν κατὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον ἀπονείμασθαι τὸ φίλον αὑτῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος.

ATHENIAN The next move in establishing the laws, like moving a piece off the "sacred line" in draughts, is unusual and might well surprise the listener at first. But on reflection and trial it will become clear that a city would be organized as second-best compared with the best. Perhaps someone might not accept it, because it's unfamiliar in a lawgiver who isn't a tyrant. But the most correct course is to describe the best constitution, the second and the third, 739b and, having described them, to give the choice to whoever is in charge of the settlement. So let's proceed on this principle now, describing the first constitution in virtue, the second and the third; and let's give the choice to Clinias now, and to anyone else who might ever wish to come to the choice of such things and, according to his own character, take for himself what he values in his own country.[4]

739b πρώτη μὲν τοίνυν πόλις τέ ἐστιν καὶ πολιτεία καὶ νόμοι 739c ἄριστοι, ὅπου τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον ἂν γίγνηται κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὅτι μάλιστα· λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὄντως ἐστὶ κοινὰ τὰ φίλων. τοῦτ' οὖν εἴτε που νῦν ἔστιν εἴτ' ἔσται ποτέ— κοινὰς μὲν γυναῖκας, κοινοὺς δὲ εἶναι παῖδας, κοινὰ δὲ χρήματα σύμπαντα—καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸ λεγόμενον ἴδιον πανταχόθεν ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἅπαν ἐξῄρηται, μεμηχάνηται δ' εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὰ φύσει ἴδια κοινὰ ἁμῇ γέ πῃ γεγονέναι, οἷον ὄμματα καὶ ὦτα καὶ χεῖρας κοινὰ μὲν ὁρᾶν δοκεῖν καὶ 739d ἀκούειν καὶ πράττειν, ἐπαινεῖν τ' αὖ καὶ ψέγειν καθ' ἓν ὅτι μάλιστα σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χαίροντας καὶ λυπουμένους, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν οἵτινες νόμοι μίαν ὅτι μάλιστα πόλιν ἀπεργάζονται, τούτων ὑπερβολῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐδείς ποτε ὅρον ἄλλον θέμενος ὀρθότερον οὐδὲ βελτίω θήσεται.

The first city, then, with the best constitution and laws, 739c is where the old saying holds as fully as possible throughout the whole city. The saying is that friends really do have all things in common. Whether this exists anywhere now or ever will—wives in common, children in common, all property in common—where by every means what is called "private" has been utterly rooted out of life everywhere, and it has been contrived as far as possible that even what is private by nature has somehow become common—eyes and ears and hands, so that they seem to see and 739d hear and act in common—and all praise and blame as one, as far as possible, taking pleasure and pain in the same things; in short, whatever laws make the city as unified as possible: no one will ever set up any other standard of supreme virtue that is more correct or better than these.

739d ἡ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη πόλις, εἴτε που θεοὶ ἢ παῖδες θεῶν αὐτὴν οἰκοῦσι πλείους ἑνός, οὕτω διαζῶντες εὐφραινόμενοι κατοικοῦσι· 739e διὸ δὴ παράδειγμά γε πολιτείας οὐκ ἄλλῃ χρὴ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐχομένους ταύτης τὴν ὅτι μάλιστα τοιαύτην ζητεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν. ἣν δὲ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, εἴη τε ἂν γενομένη πως

As for such a city—whether gods or children of gods, more than one, live in it—those who dwell there spend their lives in joy. 739e That is why one must not look elsewhere for a model of a constitution, but hold fast to this one and seek, as far as possible, the one most like it. The one we have

4 In a Greek board game one line of the board was called "sacred," and moving a piece off it was a last resort; the phrase became proverbial for a bold, decisive step.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἀθανασίας ἐγγύτατα καὶ ἡ μία δευτέρως· τρίτην δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐὰν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, διαπερανούμεθα. νῦν δ' οὖν ταύτην τίνα λέγομεν καὶ πῶς γενομένην ἂν τοιαύτην;

now undertaken would, if it came into being, be nearest to immortality, and would rank second. The third we will work out afterwards, if the god is willing. For now, then, what is this constitution, and how would it come to be such?

739e νειμάσθων μὲν δὴ πρῶτον γῆν τε καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ μὴ 740a κοινῇ γεωργούντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ τὴν νῦν γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ παίδευσιν εἴρηται· νεμέσθων δ' οὖν τοιᾷδε διανοίᾳ πως, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸν λαχόντα τὴν λῆξιν ταύτην νομίζειν μὲν κοινὴν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως συμπάσης, πατρίδος δὲ οὔσης τῆς χώρας θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν δεῖ μειζόνως ἢ μητέρα παῖδας, τῷ καὶ δέσποιναν θεὸν αὐτὴν οὖσαν θνητῶν ὄντων γεγονέναι, ταὐτὰ δ' ἔχειν διανοήματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς 740b ἐγχωρίους θεούς τε ἅμα καὶ δαίμονας. ὅπως δ' ἂν ταῦτα εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον οὕτως ἔχοντα ὑπάρχῃ, τάδε προσδιανοητέον, ὅσαι εἰσὶ τὰ νῦν ἡμῖν ἑστίαι διανεμηθεῖσαι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ταύτας δεῖν ἀεὶ τοσαύτας εἶναι καὶ μήτε τι πλείους γίγνεσθαι μήτε τί ποτε ἐλάττους.

First, let them divide up the land and the houses, and not farm 740a in common, since such a thing is beyond people of the present birth, upbringing and education. But let them divide them with some such thought as this: that the one who receives an allotment must regard it as the common property of the whole city, and, since the land is his fatherland, he must care for it even more than children care for their mother, since it is a goddess and has become the mistress of mortal beings; and he must think the same way about 740b the local gods and spirits too. And to ensure that these things stay this way for all time, one must further consider this: the number of hearths now distributed must always remain the same, never becoming any more or any fewer.

740b ὧδ' οὖν ἂν τὸ τοιοῦτον βεβαίως γίγνοιτο περὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν· ὁ λαχὼν τὸν κλῆρον καταλειπέτω ἀεὶ ταύτης τῆς οἰκήσεως ἕνα μόνον κληρονόμον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων, ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ μάλιστα ᾖ φίλον, διάδοχον 740c καὶ θεραπευτὴν θεῶν καὶ γένους καὶ πόλεως τῶν τε ζώντων καὶ ὅσους ἂν ἤδη τέλος εἰς τὸν τότε χρόνον ἔχῃ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παῖδας, οἷς ἂν πλείους ἑνὸς γίγνωνται, θηλείας τε ἐκδόσθαι κατὰ νόμον τὸν ἐπιταχθησόμενον, ἄρρενάς τε, οἷς ἂν τῆς γενέσεως ἐλλείπῃ τῶν πολιτῶν, τούτοις ὑεῖς διανέμειν, κατὰ χάριν μὲν μάλιστα, ἐὰν δέ τισιν ἐλλείπωσιν χάριτες, ἢ πλείους ἐπίγονοι γίγνωνται θήλεις ἤ τινες ἄρρενες ἑκάστων, ἢ καὶ τοὐναντίον ὅταν ἐλάττους ὦσιν, παίδων ἀφορίας γενομένης, 740d πάντων τούτων ἀρχὴν ἣν ἂν θώμεθα μεγίστην καὶ τιμιωτάτην, αὕτη σκεψαμένη τί χρὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς περιγενομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἐλλείπουσι, ποριζέτω μηχανὴν ὅτι μάλιστα ὅπως αἱ πεντακισχίλιαι καὶ τετταράκοντα οἰκήσεις ἀεὶ μόνον ἔσονται.

This could be firmly secured throughout the city in the following way. Whoever has received an allotment must always leave just one of his own children as heir to this household—whichever he likes best—as his successor 740c and as the one who tends the gods of the family and of the city, both the living and those who by then have reached their end. As for the other children, where someone has more than one, the girls must be given in marriage according to the law that will be laid down; the boys must be distributed as sons to those citizens who have no offspring, preferably by goodwill. But if goodwill runs short in some cases, or if there are too many offspring, female or male, in some households, or on the contrary too few, when there has been infertility— 740d in all these cases the office we establish as the greatest and most honored must consider how to deal with the surplus or the shortage and find a way, as far as possible, to keep the households always at 5,040 and no more.

740d μηχαναὶ δ' εἰσὶν πολλαί· καὶ γὰρ ἐπισχέσεις γενέσεως οἷς ἂν εὕρους ᾖ γένεσις, καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐπιμέλειαι καὶ σπουδαὶ πλήθους γεννημάτων εἰσὶν τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀτιμίαις καὶ νουθετήσεσι πρεσβυτῶν περὶ νέους διὰ λόγων 740e νουθετητικῶν ἁπαντῶσαι αἳ δύνανται ποιεῖν ὃ λέγομεν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τό γε τέλος, ἂν πᾶσα ἀπορία περὶ τὴν ἀνίσωσιν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα οἴκων γίγνηται,

There are many ways. Where births come too easily, there are ways of restraining them; and, on the other hand, there are ways of encouraging and promoting births, through honors and disgrace and admonition from the old to the young in 740e words of warning, which can bring about what

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐπίχυσις δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσα ἡμῖν πολιτῶν διὰ φιλοφροσύνην τὴν τῶν συνοικούντων ἀλλήλοις συμβαίνῃ καὶ ἀπορῶμεν, τὸ παλαιόν που ὑπάρχει μηχάνημα, ὃ πολλάκις εἴπομεν, ἐκπομπὴ ἀποικιῶν, φίλη γιγνομένη παρὰ φίλων, ὧν ἂν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι δοκῇ.	we're describing. And finally, if every resource fails in keeping the 5,040 households level, and we find ourselves with an overflow of citizens because of the affection of those who live together, and we're at a loss, there is still that old device we've often mentioned: sending out colonies, as friends from friends, of those who seem suitable.
740e	ἐάν τ' αὖ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐπέλθῃ ποτὲ κῦμα [741a] κατακλυσμὸν φέρον νόσων, ἢ πολέμων φθορά, ἐλάττους δὲ πολὺ τοῦ τεταγμένου ἀριθμοῦ δι' ὀρφανίας γένωνται, ἑκόντας μὲν οὐ δεῖ πολίτας παρεμβάλλειν νόθῃ παιδείᾳ πεπαιδευμένους, ἀνάγκην δὲ οὐδὲ θεὸς εἶναι λέγεται δυνατὸς βιάζεσθαι.	If, on the other hand, a wave [741a] should come bringing a flood of diseases, or the ruin of wars, and they become far fewer than the fixed number through bereavement, we must not willingly bring in citizens raised in a counterfeit education; but necessity, they say, not even a god can overpower.
741a	ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον λόγον ἡμῖν φῶμεν παραινεῖν λέγοντα· ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἄριστοι, τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἰσότητα καὶ τὸ ταὐτὸν καὶ ὁμολογούμενον τιμῶντες κατὰ φύσιν μὴ ἀνίετε κατά τε ἀριθμὸν καὶ πᾶσαν δύναμιν [741b] τὴν τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν πραγμάτων· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τὸν ἀριθμὸν μὲν πρῶτον διὰ βίου παντὸς φυλάξατε τὸν εἰρημένον, εἶτα τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὕψος τε καὶ μέγεθος, ὃ τὸ πρῶτον ἐνείμασθε μέτριον ὄν, μὴ ἀτιμάσητε τῷ τε ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ πωλεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους—οὔτε γὰρ ὁ νείμας κλῆρος ὢν θεὸς ὑμῖν σύμμαχος οὔτε ὁ νομοθέτης —νῦν γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον τῷ ἀπειθοῦντι νόμος προστάττει, προειπὼν ἐπὶ τούτοις κληροῦσθαι [741c] τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἢ μὴ κληροῦσθαι, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν τῆς γῆς ἱερᾶς οὔσης τῶν πάντων θεῶν, εἶτα ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερειῶν εὐχὰς ποιησομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις θύμασι καὶ δευτέροις καὶ μέχρι τριῶν, τὸν πριάμενον ἢ ἀποδόμενον ὧν ἔλαχεν οἰκοπέδων ἢ γηπέδων τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις πρέποντα πάσχειν πάθη·	Let's say, then, that the argument we're now giving offers this advice: "Best of men, honor likeness and equality and sameness and agreement, as nature bids, and don't give them up, whether in number or in any capacity [741b] for fine and good things. And now, first, keep the number we've stated all your lives; then, the height and size of your property, which you first received in due measure—don't dishonor it by buying and selling among yourselves. For neither the lot that assigned it to you, which is a god, will be your ally, nor will the lawgiver." For now, for the first time, the law gives an order to the disobedient: it announces that on these terms one may take an allotment [741c] or not take one. First, the land is sacred to all the gods; then, priests and priestesses will pray at the first sacrifices, the second, and up to the third, that whoever buys or sells the house or land he received in the lottery should suffer the fitting penalties.
741c	γράψαντες δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς θήσουσι κυπαριττίνας μνήμας εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον καταγεγραμμένας, πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἔτι φυλακτήρια τούτων, ὅπως ἂν γίγνηται, [741d] καταστήσουσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἥτις ἂν ὀξύτατον ὁρᾶν δοκῇ, ἵνα αἱ παρὰ ταῦτα ἑκάστοτε παραγωγαὶ γιγνόμεναι μὴ λανθάνωσιν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ κολάζωσι τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα ἅμα νόμῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ.	They will write this down and place in the temples records inscribed on cypress wood for future times. In addition, they will set up safeguards to ensure it happens, [741d] entrusting them to whichever office seems to have the sharpest eyes, so that any evasions of these rules on any occasion won't escape them, and they can punish the disobedient under both the law and the god.
741d	ὅσον γὰρ δὴ τὸ νῦν ἐπιταττόμενον ἀγαθὸν ὂν τυγχάνει πάσαις ταῖς πειθομέναις πόλεσι, τὴν ἑπομένην κατασκευὴν προσλαβόν, κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν παροιμίαν οὐδεὶς εἴσεταί ποτε κακὸς ὤν, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρός τε καὶ ἐπιεικὴς ἕθεσι [741e] γενόμενος· χρηματισμὸς γὰρ οὔτ' ἔνεστιν σφόδρα ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ κατασκευῇ, συνέπεταί τε αὐτῇ μηδὲ δεῖν μηδ' ἐξεῖναι χρηματίζεσθαι τῶν	For how great a good this ordinance is for all cities that obey it, once it has the arrangements that go with it, no one who is bad will ever know, as the old proverb has it, but only one who has become experienced and decent in his habits. [741e] For in such an arrangement there isn't much money-making. It follows that no one needs to, or is al-

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ἀνελευθέρων χρηματισμῶν μηδενὶ μηδένα, καθ' ὅσον ἐπονείδιστος λεγομένη βαναυσία ἦθος ἀποτρέπει ἐλεύθερον, μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν ἀξιοῦν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων συλλέγειν χρήματα.

741e πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἔτι νόμος ἕπεται πᾶσι τούτοις, μηδ' 742a ἐξεῖναι χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον κεκτῆσθαι μηδένα μηδενὶ ἰδιώτῃ, νόμισμα δὲ ἕνεκα ἀλλαγῆς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν, ἣν δημιουργοῖς τε ἀλλάττεσθαι σχεδὸν ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ πᾶσιν ὁπόσων χρεία τῶν τοιούτων μισθοὺς μισθωτοῖς, δούλοις καὶ ἐποίκοις, ἀποτίνειν. ὧν ἕνεκά φαμεν τὸ νόμισμα κτητέον αὐτοῖς μὲν ἔντιμον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀδόκιμον· κοινὸν δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα ἕνεκά τε στρατειῶν καὶ ἀποδημιῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἷον πρεσβειῶν ἢ καί 742b τινος ἀναγκαίας ἄλλης τῇ πόλει κηρυκείας, ἐκπέμπειν τινὰ ἂν δέῃ, τούτων χάριν ἀνάγκη ἑκάστοτε κεκτῆσθαι τῇ πόλει νόμισμα Ἑλληνικόν.

742b ἰδιώτῃ δὲ ἂν ἄρα ποτὲ ἀνάγκη τις γίγνηται ἀποδημεῖν, παρέμενος μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποδημείτω, νόμισμα δὲ ἄν ποθεν ἔχων ξενικὸν οἴκαδε ἀφίκηται περιγενόμενον, τῇ πόλει αὐτὸ καταβαλλέτω πρὸς λόγον ἀπολαμβάνων τὸ ἐπιχώριον· ἰδιούμενος δὲ ἄν τις φαίνηται, δημόσιόν τε γιγνέσθω καὶ ὁ συνειδὼς καὶ μὴ φράζων ἀρᾷ καὶ ὀνείδει μετὰ τοῦ ἀγαγόντος ἔνοχος ἔστω, καὶ ζημίᾳ 742c πρὸς τούτοις μὴ ἐλάττονι τοῦ ξενικοῦ κομισθέντος νομίσματος.

742c γαμοῦντα δὲ καὶ ἐκδιδόντα μήτ' οὖν διδόναι μήτε δέχεσθαι προῖκα τὸ παράπαν μηδ' ἡντινοῦν, μηδὲ νόμισμα παρακατατίθεσθαι ὅτῳ μή τις πιστεύει, μηδὲ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκῳ, ὡς ἐξὸν μὴ ἀποδιδόναι τὸ παράπαν τῷ δανεισαμένῳ μήτε τόκον μήτε κεφάλαιον· ταῦτα δ' ὅτι βέλτιστ' ἐστὶν πόλει ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐπιτηδεύειν, ὧδε ἄν τις σκοπῶν ὀρθῶς 742d ἂν αὐτὰ διακρίνοι, ἐπαναφέρων εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀεὶ καὶ τὴν βούλησιν.

742d ἔστιν δὴ τοῦ νοῦν ἔχοντος πολιτικοῦ βούλησις, φαμέν, οὐχ ἥνπερ ἂν οἱ πολλοὶ φαῖεν, δεῖν βούλεσθαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην ὡς μεγίστην τε εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ᾗ νοῶν εὖ νομοθετοῖ, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πλουσίαν, κεκτημένην δ' αὖ χρύσεια καὶ ἀργύρεια, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἄρχουσαν ὅτι πλείστων· προσθεῖεν δ' ἂν καὶ ὡς ἀρίστην δεῖν βούλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ ὡς εὐδαιμονεστάτην 742e τόν γε ὀρθῶς νομοθετοῦντα. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δυνατά ἐστιν γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δ' οὐ δυνατά· τὰ μὲν οὖν δυνατὰ βούλοιτ' ἂν ὁ διακοσμῶν, τὰ δὲ μὴ

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lowed to, make money by any illiberal occupation, since the menial work people call degrading warps a free character; nor should anyone think it fitting at all to collect money from such sources.

In addition to all this there follows a law that no 742a private individual may possess gold or silver, only coinage for daily exchange—which it's almost necessary for craftsmen to deal in—and for paying wages to all who need such things: hired workers, slaves and resident foreigners. For these purposes we say they must have a currency that is valued among themselves but worthless to other people. As for a common Greek currency, for military expeditions and travel abroad to other peoples—embassies, for instance, or 742b any other necessary mission for the city, if someone has to be sent—for these purposes the city must always possess Greek currency.

If a private individual ever has to travel abroad, let him go with the permission of the magistrates. And if he comes home with foreign money left over, let him hand it over to the city, receiving the local equivalent in exchange. If anyone is found keeping it for himself, let it be confiscated; and anyone who knows about it and doesn't report it shall be liable to curse and reproach, along with the one who brought it in, and to a fine 742c as well, no less than the amount of foreign money brought in.

A man marrying or giving a daughter in marriage must neither give nor receive any dowry at all. No one may deposit money with anyone he doesn't trust, or lend at interest, since the borrower shall be free not to repay either interest or principal. That these are the best practices for a city to pursue, one could rightly 742d judge by considering them in this way, always referring them back to the starting point and the aim.

The aim of a sensible statesman, we say, is not what most people would say it is. They'd say the good lawgiver must want the city for which he is wisely legislating to be as large and as rich as possible, possessing gold and silver mines, and ruling as many people as possible by land and sea. They might add that he must want the city to be as good and as happy as possible, 742e if he legislates rightly. Some of these things can come about, others cannot. The one who orders the city will want

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δυνατὰ οὔτ' ἂν βούλοιτο ματαίας βουλήσεις οὔτ' ἂν ἐπιχειροῖ.

742e σχεδὸν μὲν γὰρ εὐδαίμονας ἅμα καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι—τοῦτο μὲν οὖν βούλοιτ' ἄν—πλουσίους δ' αὖ σφόδρα καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀδύνατον, οὕς γε δὴ πλουσίους οἱ πολλοὶ καταλέγουσι· λέγουσιν δὲ τοὺς κεκτημένους ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλείστου νομίσματος ἄξια κτήματα, ἃ καὶ κακός τις κεκτῇτ' 743a ἄν. εἰ δ' ἔστιν τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε αὐτοῖς ποτε συγχωροίην τὸν πλούσιον εὐδαίμονα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ γίγνεσθαι μὴ καὶ ἀγαθὸν ὄντα· ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὄντα διαφόρως καὶ πλούσιον εἶναι διαφερόντως ἀδύνατον. "τί δή;" φαίη τις ἂν ἴσως.

743a ὅτι, φαῖμεν ἄν, ἥ τε ἐκ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου κτῆσις πλέον ἢ διπλασία ἐστὶν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου μόνον, τά τε ἀναλώματα μήτε καλῶς μήτε αἰσχρῶς ἐθέλοντα ἀναλίσκεσθαι τῶν καλῶν καὶ εἰς καλὰ ἐθελόντων δαπανᾶσθαι διπλασίῳ 743b ἐλάττονα· οὔκουν ποτὲ ἂν τῶν ἐκ διπλασίων μὲν κτημάτων, ἡμίσεων δὲ ἀναλωμάτων ὁ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων πράττων γένοιτ' ἂν πλουσιώτερος. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς τούτων, ὁ δὲ οὐ κακὸς ὅταν ᾖ φειδωλός, τοτὲ δέ ποτε καὶ πάγκακος, ἀγαθὸς δέ, ὅπερ εἴρηται τὰ νῦν, οὐδέποτε.

743b ὁ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως λαμβάνων καὶ μήτε δικαίως μήτε ἀδίκως ἀναλίσκων πλούσιος, ὅταν καὶ φειδωλὸς ᾖ, ὁ δὲ πάγκακος, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὢν ἄσωτος, μάλα πένης· ὁ δὲ ἀναλίσκων τε 743c εἰς τὰ καλὰ καὶ κτώμενος ἐκ τῶν δικαίων μόνον οὔτ' ἂν διαφέρων πλούτῳ ῥᾳδίως ἄν ποτε γένοιτο οὐδ' αὖ σφόδρα πένης. ὥστε ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ὀρθός, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ παμπλούσιοι ἀγαθοί· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀγαθοί, οὐδὲ εὐδαίμονες.

743c ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ τῶν νόμων ὑπόθεσις ἐνταῦθα ἔβλεπεν, ὅπως ὡς εὐδαιμονέστατοι ἔσονται καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλοις φίλοι· εἶεν δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε πολῖται φίλοι, ὅπου πολλαὶ μὲν δίκαι 743d ἐν ἀλλήλοις εἶεν, πολλαὶ δὲ ἀδικίαι, ἀλλ' ὅπου ὡς ὅτι σμικρόταται καὶ ὀλίγισται. λέγομεν δὴ μήτε χρυσὸν δεῖν μήτε ἄργυρον ἐν τῇ πόλει, μήτε αὖ χρηματισμὸν πολὺν διὰ βαναυσίας καὶ τόκων μηδὲ βοσκημάτων αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλ' ὅσα γεωργία δίδωσι καὶ φέρει, καὶ τούτων ὁπόσα μὴ χρηματιζόμενον ἀναγκάσειεν ἀμελεῖν ὧν ἕνεκα πέφυκε τὰ χρήματα· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα, ἃ χωρὶς γυμναστικῆς καὶ 743e τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο ἄξια λόγου.

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what is possible; what is impossible he won't want—that would be a vain wish—nor will he attempt it.

For it's more or less necessary that people become happy and good at the same time—this, then, he would want—but that they be both very rich and good is impossible, at least rich in the sense most people mean. By "rich" they mean those few people who own possessions worth a great deal of money—which even a bad man could 743a own. If that's so, I would never agree with them that the rich man is truly happy unless he is also good; and to be exceptionally good and exceptionally rich at once is impossible. "Why?" someone might ask.

Because, we'd say, acquisition from both just and unjust sources is more than double acquisition from just sources alone; and the expenses of one who won't spend either honorably or shamefully are half 743b as large as those of good people who are willing to spend on fine things. So the one who does the opposite could never become richer than the one with double the income and half the expenses. Of these two, one is good; the other is not bad when he's thrifty, though sometimes he's thoroughly bad—but good, as we've just said, never.

For the man who takes both justly and unjustly and spends neither justly nor unjustly is rich, provided he's also thrifty; the thoroughly bad man, being for the most part a spendthrift, is quite poor. But the man who spends 743c on fine things and acquires from just sources only would not easily become outstandingly rich, nor, again, very poor. So our argument is right: the very rich are not good; and if they're not good, they're not happy either.

The basis of our laws looked to this: that the citizens should be as happy as possible and as friendly as possible to one another. But citizens will never be friends where there are many lawsuits 743d among them and many wrongs, but only where these are as few and as slight as possible. We say, then, that there must be neither gold nor silver in the city, nor much money-making through menial trades and lending at interest or shameful kinds of stock-rearing, but only what farming gives and yields, and only as much of that as won't force a man, by making money, to neglect the things for whose sake money exists. These are

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the soul and the body, which without gymnastics and [743e] the rest of education would never become worth anything.

743e διὸ δὴ χρημάτων ἐπιμέλειαν οὐχ ἅπαξ εἰρήκαμεν ὡς χρὴ τελευταῖον τιμᾶν· ὄντων γὰρ τριῶν τῶν ἁπάντων περὶ ἃ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος σπουδάζει, τελευταῖον καὶ τρίτον ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ὀρθῶς σπουδαζομένη σπουδή, σώματος δὲ πέρι μέση, πρώτη δὲ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς. καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἣν διεξερχόμεθα πολιτείαν, εἰ μὲν τὰς τιμὰς οὕτω τάττεται, ὀρθῶς νενομοθέτηται· εἰ δέ τις τῶν προσταττομένων αὐτόθι νόμων [744a] σωφροσύνης ἔμπροσθεν ὑγίειαν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανεῖται ποιῶν τιμίαν, ἢ πλοῦτον ὑγιείας καὶ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀναφανεῖται τιθέμενος. τοῦτ' οὖν δὴ πολλάκις ἐπισημαίνεσθαι χρὴ τὸν νομοθέτην—τί τε βούλομαι; καὶ εἴ μοι συμβαίνει τοῦτο ἢ καὶ ἀποτυγχάνω τοῦ σκοποῦ;—καὶ οὕτω τάχ' ἂν ἴσως ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας αὐτός τε ἐκβαίνοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαλλάττοι, κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον οὐδ' ἂν ἕνα ποτέ.

That's why we've said more than once that the care of money must be honored last. Of the three things in all that every person is concerned with, concern for money, rightly pursued, comes last and third; concern for the body is in the middle; and concern for the soul comes first. So the constitution we're now describing, if it ranks honors this way, has been rightly legislated. But if any of the laws prescribed in it [744a] turns out to make health more honored in the city than moderation, or wealth more than health and moderation, it will be shown to be wrongly laid down. So the lawgiver must often ask himself: "What do I want? And am I achieving it, or missing the mark?" In this way, perhaps, he might come through the work of legislation himself and see others through it as well—but in no other way at all.

PROPERTY CLASSES AND THE TWELVE TRIBES

Citizens are ranked in four property classes, and city and land are divided into twelve parts.

GREEK

ENGLISH

744a **ATHENIAN** ὁ δὴ λαχὼν κεκτήσθω, φαμέν, τὸν κλῆρον ἐπὶ τούτοις [744b] οἷς εἰρήκαμεν. ἦν μὲν δὴ καλὸν καὶ τἆλλα ἴσα πάντ' ἔχοντα ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ὁ μέν τις πλείω κεκτημένος ἀφίξεται χρήματα, ὁ δ' ἐλάττονα, δεῖ δὴ πολλῶν ἕνεκα, τῶν τε κατὰ πόλιν καιρῶν ἰσότητος ἕνεκα, τιμήματα ἄνισα γενέσθαι, ἵνα ἀρχαί τε καὶ εἰσφοραὶ καὶ διανομαί, τὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἑκάστοις τιμὴν μὴ κατ' ἀρετὴν μόνον τήν τε προγόνων καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ, [744c] μηδὲ κατὰ σωμάτων ἰσχῦς καὶ εὐμορφίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πλούτου χρῆσιν καὶ πενίαν, τὰς τιμάς τε καὶ ἀρχὰς ὡς ἰσαίτατα τῷ ἀνίσῳ συμμέτρῳ δὲ ἀπολαμβάνοντες μὴ διαφέρωνται.

ATHENIAN Let the one who receives an allotment hold it, we say, on the terms [744b] we've stated. It would be fine if everyone came to the colony equal in everything else as well. But since that's impossible, and one man will arrive with more property and another with less, there must, for many reasons, and especially for the sake of equal opportunities in the city, be unequal property classes. That way offices, levies and distributions can be assigned by the value of each person's worth—not only by his own virtue and his ancestors', [744c] nor by strength and good looks of body, but also by his use of wealth and by his poverty—and people, receiving honors and offices as equally as possible by a standard that is unequal but proportionate, will not quarrel.

744c τούτων χάριν τέτταρα μεγέθει τῆς οὐσίας τιμήματα ποιεῖσθαι χρεών, πρώτους καὶ δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους καὶ τετάρτους, ἤ τισιν ἄλλοις προσαγορευομένους ὀνόμασιν, ὅταν τε μένωσιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τιμήματι καὶ ὅταν πλουσιώτεροι ἐκ πενήτων καὶ ἐκ πλουσίων πένητες γιγνόμενοι [744d] μεταβαίνωσιν εἰς τὸ προσῆκον ἕκαστοι ἑαυτοῖσιν τίμημα.

For these reasons there must be four property classes by size of estate: first, second, third and fourth—or called by some other names—both when people stay in the same class and when, becoming richer from poor or poor from rich, [744d] they each move into the class that suits them.

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744d	τόδε δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις αὖ νόμου σχῆμα ἔγωγε ἂν τιθείην ὡς ἑπόμενον. δεῖ γὰρ ἐν πόλει που, φαμέν, τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου νοσήματος οὐ μεθεξούσῃ, ὃ διάστασιν ἢ στάσιν ὀρθότερον ἂν εἴη κεκλῆσθαι, μήτε πενίαν τὴν χαλεπὴν ἐνεῖναι παρά τισιν τῶν πολιτῶν μήτε αὖ πλοῦτον, ὡς ἀμφοτέρων τικτόντων ταῦτα ἀμφότερα· νῦν οὖν ὅρον δεῖ τούτων ἑκατέρου τὸν νομοθέτην φράζειν. ἔστω δὴ πενίας μὲν ὅρος ἡ τοῦ [744e] κλήρου τιμή, ὃν δεῖ μένειν καὶ ὃν ἄρχων οὐδεὶς οὐδενί ποτε περιόψεται ἐλάττω γιγνόμενον, τῶν τε ἄλλων κατὰ ταὐτὰ οὐδεὶς ὅστις φιλότιμος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ.	Following on this, I would lay down the following form of law. In a city, we say, that is to have no share in the greatest of diseases—which would more correctly be called disintegration than faction—there must be neither harsh poverty among any of the citizens nor, again, wealth, since both breed both these evils. So the lawgiver must now declare a limit for each. Let the limit of poverty be the value of the [744e] allotment, which must remain intact and which no magistrate will ever allow to become smaller for anyone, nor will anyone else who seeks honor for virtue.
744e	μέτρον δὲ αὐτὸν θέμενος ὁ νομοθέτης διπλάσιον ἐάσει τούτου κτᾶσθαι καὶ τριπλάσιον καὶ μέχρι τετραπλασίου· πλείονα δ' ἄν τις κτᾶται τούτων, εὑρὼν ἢ δοθέντων ποθὲν ἢ χρηματισάμενος, ἤ τινι τύχῃ [745a] τοιαύτῃ κτησάμενος ἄλλῃ τὰ περιγιγνόμενα τοῦ μέτρου, τῇ πόλει ἂν αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσιν θεοῖς ἀπονέμων εὐδόκιμός τε καὶ ἀζήμιος ἂν εἴη· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ, φανεῖ μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσιν, ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν ἄλλο τοσοῦτον μέρος ἀποτείσει τῆς αὐτοῦ κτήσεως, τὰ δ' ἡμίσεα τῶν θεῶν. ἡ δὲ κτῆσις χωρὶς τοῦ κλήρου πάντων πᾶσα ἐν τῷ φανερῷ γεγράφθω παρὰ φύλαξιν ἄρχουσιν, οἷς ἂν ὁ νόμος προστάξῃ, ὅπως ἂν αἱ δίκαι [745b] περὶ πάντων, ὅσαι εἰς χρήματα, ῥᾴδιαί τε ὦσι καὶ σφόδρα σαφεῖς.	Having set this as the measure, the lawgiver will allow a man to acquire twice, three times, and up to four times this amount. If anyone acquires more than this—by finding it, or by gift, or by money-making, or by some other such stroke of luck [745a] acquiring what exceeds the measure—if he hands over the surplus to the city and to the gods who hold the city, he will be well regarded and free from penalty. But if anyone disobeys this law, anyone who wishes may inform against him and receive half; the man convicted shall pay a further sum equal to the excess out of his own property, and the other half shall go to the gods. Let all of everyone's possessions apart from the allotment be recorded publicly with the guardian officials designated by law, so that lawsuits [745b] about everything involving money may be easy and very clear.
745b	τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἱδρῦσθαι δεῖ τῆς χώρας ὅτι μάλιστα ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα πόλει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἔχοντα τόπον ἐκλεξάμενον, ἃ νοῆσαί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν χαλεπόν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μέρη δώδεκα διελέσθαι, θέμενον Ἑστίας πρῶτον καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἀκρόπολιν ὀνομάζοντα, κύκλον περιβάλλοντα, ἀφ' [745c] οὗ τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τέμνειν τήν τε πόλιν αὐτὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. ἴσα δὲ δεῖ γίγνεσθαι τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῷ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθῆς γῆς εἶναι σμικρά, τὰ δὲ χείρονος μείζω.	Next, the city must first be founded as nearly as possible at the center of the territory, choosing a site that has all the other advantages a city needs—which are not hard to see or to state. After that, the country must be divided into twelve parts. First a sanctuary should be set apart for Hestia, Zeus and Athena, called the acropolis, and a wall put around it; from [745c] this the twelve parts should be cut, both of the city itself and of the whole territory. The twelve parts must be made equal by making those of good land small and those of poorer land larger.
745c	κλήρους δὲ διελεῖν τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τούτων τε αὖ δίχα τεμεῖν ἕκαστον καὶ συγκληρῶσαι δύο τμήματα, τοῦ τε ἐγγὺς καὶ τοῦ πόρρω μετέχοντα ἑκάτερον· τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει μέρος τῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἐσχάτοις εἷς κλῆρος, καὶ τὸ [745d] δεύτερον ἀπὸ πόλεως τῷ ἀπ' ἐσχάτων δευτέρῳ, καὶ τἆλλα οὕτως πάντα. μηχανᾶσθαι	Five thousand and forty lots should be marked off, and each of these cut in two, and two portions paired to make a lot, so that each lot has a share of land both near and far: the portion next to the city makes one lot with the portion at the frontier, the [745d] second from the city with the second from the

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δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δίχα τμήμασι τὸ νυνδὴ λεγόμενον φαυλότητός τε καὶ ἀρετῆς χώρας, ἐπανισουμένους τῷ πλήθει τε καὶ ὀλιγότητι τῆς διανομῆς. νείμασθαι δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας δώδεκα μέρη, τὴν τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας εἰς ἴσα ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ δώδεκα μέρη συνταξάμενον, ἀπογραφῆς πάντων γενομένης· καὶ δὴ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δώδεκα θεοῖς δώδεκα κλήρους θέντας, ἐπονομάσαι καὶ καθιερῶσαι [745e] τὸ λαχὸν μέρος ἑκάστῳ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ φυλὴν αὐτὴν ἐπονομάσαι.

745e τέμνειν δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ δώδεκα τῆς πόλεως τμήματα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν διένεμον· καὶ δύο νέμεσθαι ἕκαστον οἰκήσεις, τήν τε ἐγγὺς τοῦ μέσου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐσχάτων. καὶ τὴν μὲν κατοίκισιν οὕτω τέλος ἔχειν.

ἐννοεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς τὸ τοιόνδε ἐστὶν χρεὼν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, ὡς τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα πάντα οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἰς τοιούτους καιροὺς συμπέσοι, ὥστε συμβῆναι κατὰ λόγον οὕτω σύμπαντα [746a] γενόμενα, ἄνδρας τε οἳ μὴ δυσχεραν οῦσι τὴν τοιαύτην συνοικίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπομενοῦσιν χρήματά τε ἔχοντες τακτὰ καὶ μέτρια διὰ βίου παντὸς καὶ παίδων γενέσεις ἃς εἰρήκαμεν ἑκάστοις, καὶ χρυσοῦ στερόμενοι καὶ ἑτέρων ὧν δῆλος ὁ νομοθέτης προστάξων ἐστὶν ἐκ τούτων τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων, ἔτι δὲ χώρας τε καὶ ἄστεος, ὡς εἴρηκεν, μεσότητάς τε καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ οἰκήσεις πάντῃ, σχεδὸν οἷον ὀνείρατα λέγων, ἢ πλάττων καθάπερ ἐκ κηροῦ τινα πόλιν καὶ πολίτας. ἔχει [746b] δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ κακῶς τινα τρόπον εἰρημένα, χρὴ δ' ἐπαναλαμβάνειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τοιάδε.

746b πάλιν ἄρα ἡμῖν ὁ νομοθετῶν φράζει τόδε· "ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις, ὦ φίλοι, μηδ' αὐτὸν δοκεῖτέ με λελη θέναι τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον ὡς ἀληθῆ διεξέρχεταί τινα τρόπον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστοις τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι δικαιότατον οἶμαι τόδε εἶναι, τὸν τὸ παράδειγμα δεικνύντα, οἷον δεῖ τὸ ἐπιχειρούμενον γίγνεσθαι, μηδὲν ἀπολείπειν τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ἀληθεστάτων, ᾧ δὲ [746c] ἀδύνατόν τι συμβαίνει τούτων γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸ ἐκκλίνειν καὶ μὴ πράττειν, ὅτι δὲ τούτου τῶν λοιπῶν ἐγγύτατά ἐστιν καὶ συγγενέστατον ἔφυ τῶν προσηκόντων πράττειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ διαμηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως ἂν γίγνηται, τὸν νομοθέτην δ' ἐᾶσαι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ βουλήσει, γενομένου δὲ τούτου, τότ' ἤδη κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνου σκοπεῖν ὅτι τε συμφέρει τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τί πρόσαντες εἴρηται τῆς νομοθεσίας· τὸ γὰρ ὁμολογούμενον αὐτὸ αὑτῷ δεῖ

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frontier, and so on for all the rest. In these halves too they must use the device just mentioned regarding poor and good land, evening things out by making the portions allotted larger or smaller. The men must also be divided into twelve parts, with the rest of their property arranged into twelve parts as nearly equal as possible, after a register of everything has been made. And then they should assign the twelve lots to twelve gods, name and consecrate [745e] the part that falls to each god after that god, and call it a tribe.

The twelve sections of the city must also be divided in the same way as the rest of the territory was, and each man should be allotted two houses, one near the center and one near the edge. And with that the settlement is complete.

But there's something we must by all means keep in mind: that everything just said will never meet with such favorable conditions that it all turns out exactly according to plan— [746a] men who won't object to living together on such terms, but will put up with having fixed and moderate property all their lives, and with the number of children we've prescribed for each, and with being deprived of gold and of the other things the lawgiver, to judge from what's been said, is clearly going to forbid; and then, too, a countryside and a town with a center, as he's described them, and dwellings in a circle all around. It's almost as if he were telling dreams, or modeling a city and its citizens out of wax. [746b] In a way, all this hasn't been badly said, but the lawgiver needs to go back over points like the following for himself.

So our lawgiver tells us this in turn: "My friends, in these discussions don't imagine that I myself have failed to notice what's just been said—that in a way it's true. But in every project for the future, I think the fairest course is this: the one who presents the model of what the undertaking ought to become should leave out nothing of what is finest and truest; and where [746c] any of these turns out to be impossible, he should steer clear of that very thing and not attempt it, but whatever of the remaining options comes nearest to it and is most closely akin among the things it would be fitting to do, he should contrive to bring about. One should let the lawgiver complete his design, and once that's done, then consider together with him

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	που πανταχῇ [746d] ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ τὸν τοῦ φαυλοτάτου δημιουργὸν ἄξιον ἐσόμενον λόγου.”	which of his proposals are advantageous and what in the legislation is too steep. For surely even the craftsman of the humblest thing, if he’s going to be worth anything, must make his work consistent with itself [746d] throughout.”
746d	νῦν δὴ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ προθυμητέον ἰδεῖν μετὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς τῶν δώδεκα μερῶν διανομῆς, τὸ τίνα τρόπον δῆλον δὴ τὰ δώδεκα μέρη, τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πλείστας ἔχοντα διανομάς, καὶ τὰ τούτοις συνεπόμενα καὶ ἐκ τούτων γεννώμενα, μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντά τε καὶ πεντακισχιλίων—ὅθεν φρατρίας καὶ δήμους καὶ κώμας, καὶ πρός γε τὰς πολεμικὰς τάξεις τε [746e] καὶ ἀγωγάς, καὶ ἔτι νομίσματα καὶ μέτρα ξηρά τε καὶ ὑγρὰ καὶ σταθμά—πάντα ταῦτα ἔμμετρά τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις σύμφωνα δεῖ τόν γε νόμον τάττειν.	Now then, having settled on the division into twelve parts, we must eagerly look into this very question: how the twelve parts—which clearly admit the greatest number of subdivisions within them—and the numbers that go with them and are generated from them, down to the five thousand and forty, are to be used. It’s from these that the law must arrange phratries, demes and villages, and also military companies and [746e] marching columns, and further coinage, dry and liquid measures, and weights—all of these in due measure and in harmony with one another.[5]
746e	πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνα φοβητέα, δείσαντα τὴν δόξασαν ἂν γίγνεσθαι σμικρολογίαν, ἄν τις προστάττῃ πάντα ὁπόσ’ ἂν σκεύη κτῶνται, μηδὲν ἄμετρον αὐτῶν ἐᾶν εἶναι, καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ νομίσαντα [747a] πρὸς πάντα εἶναι χρησίμους τὰς τῶν ἀριθμῶν διανομὰς καὶ ποικίλσεις, ὅσα τε αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ποικίλλονται καὶ ὅσα ἐν μήκεσι καὶ ἐν βάθεσι ποικίλματα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν φθόγγοις καὶ κινήσεσι ταῖς τε κατὰ τὴν εὐθυπορίαν τῆς ἄνω καὶ κάτω φορᾶς καὶ τῆς κύκλῳ περιφορᾶς· πρὸς γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα δεῖ βλέψαντα τόν γε νομοθέτην προστάττειν τοῖς πολίταις πᾶσιν εἰς δύναμιν τούτων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς συντάξεως.	Besides this, the lawgiver shouldn’t be put off by fear of seeming petty if he prescribes that whatever equipment people own, none of it should be left without a standard measure. He should hold it as a general principle that [747a] the divisions and variations of numbers are useful for everything—both the variations they undergo among themselves and those in lengths and depths, and in sounds too, and in motions, whether in a straight line up and down or in rotation around a circle. With all this in view, the lawgiver must direct all the citizens, as far as they can, not to fall away from this system.
747b	πρός τε γὰρ οἰκονομίαν καὶ πρὸς πολιτείαν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τέχνας πάσας ἓν οὐδὲν οὕτω δύναμιν ἔχει παίδειον μάθημα μεγάλην, ὡς ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς διατριβή· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι τὸν νυστάζοντα καὶ ἀμαθῆ φύσει ἐγείρει καὶ εὐμαθῆ καὶ μνήμονα καὶ ἀγχίνουν ἀπεργάζεται, παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐπιδιδόντα θείᾳ τέχνῃ.	For no single subject a child can learn has such great power, in household management, in politics and in all the arts, as the study of numbers. Best of all, it wakes up someone who is drowsy and slow by nature and makes him quick to learn, retentive and sharp, so that by a divine art he advances beyond his own nature.
	ταῦτα δὴ πάντα, ἐὰν μὲν ἄλλοις νόμοις τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀφαιρῆταί τις τὴν ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν ἐκ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν μελλόντων αὐτὰ [747c] ἱκανῶς τε καὶ ὀνησίμως κτήσεσθαι, καλὰ τὰ παιδεύματα καὶ προσήκοντα γίγνοιτ’ ἄν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν καλουμένην ἄν τις πανουργίαν ἀντὶ σοφίας ἀπεργασάμενος λάθοι, καθάπερ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Φοίνικας καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἀπειργασμένα γένη νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ κτημάτων ἀνελευθερίας, εἴτε τις νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς φαῦλος ἂν γενόμενος ἐξηργάσατο τὰ	All these studies will prove fine and fitting, provided that by other laws and practices one removes meanness of spirit and love of money from the souls of those who are to acquire them [747c] adequately and to their benefit. If not, one may unwittingly produce what is called cunning instead of wisdom. We can now see that this is what has happened to the Egyptians and the Phoenicians and many other peoples, through the meanness of

5 Phratries (“brotherhoods”) and demes were the traditional kinship groups and local districts of a Greek city.

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τοιαῦτα εἴτε χαλεπὴ τύχη [747d] προσπεσοῦσα εἴτε καὶ φύσις ἄλλη τις τοιαύτη.	spirit in their other practices and possessions—whether some bad lawgiver of theirs brought it about, or some harsh fortune [747d] befell them, or some natural cause of that kind.
747d καὶ γάρ, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία, μηδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς λανθανέτω περὶ τόπων ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄλλοι τινὲς διαφέροντες ἄλλων τόπων πρὸς τὸ γεννᾶν ἀνθρώπους ἀμείνους καὶ χείρους, οἷς οὐκ ἐναντία νομοθετητέον· οἱ μέν γέ που διὰ πνεύματα παντοῖα καὶ δι' εἰλήσεις ἀλλόκοτοί τέ εἰσιν καὶ ἐναίσιοι αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ δι' ὕδατα, οἱ δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τροφήν, ἀναδιδοῦσαν [747e] οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἀμείνω καὶ χείρω, ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς οὐχ ἧττον δυναμένην πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμποιεῖν, τούτων δ' αὖ πάντων μέγιστον διαφέροιεν ἂν τόποι χώρας ἐν οἷς θεία τις ἐπίπνοια καὶ δαιμόνων λήξεις εἶεν, τοὺς ἀεὶ κατοικιζομένους ἵλεῳ δεχόμενοι καὶ τοὐναντίον.	And there's another thing about places, Megillus and Clinias, that we mustn't overlook: some places differ from others in producing better or worse people, and we mustn't legislate in defiance of them. Some places are ill-omened and some favorable because of all sorts of winds and the heat of the sun, others because of their waters, and others again because of the very food the earth yields, which [747e] not only affects bodies for better or worse but is just as able to produce all such effects in souls. And most different of all would be those parts of a country where there is some divine inspiration and which are the allotted domains of spirits, who receive those who settle there from time to time graciously, or the opposite.
747e οἷς ὅ γε νοῦν ἔχων νομοθέτης, ἐπισκεψάμενος ὡς ἄνθρωπον οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν σκοπεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὕτω πειρῷτ' ἂν τιθέναι τοὺς νόμους. ὃ δὴ καὶ σοὶ ποιητέον, ὦ Κλεινία· πρῶτον τρεπτέον ἐπὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέλλοντί γε κατοικίζειν χώραν.	A lawgiver with any sense will look into these things as far as a human being can, and try to frame his laws accordingly. You must do this too, Clinias: since you're about to settle a country, these are the matters you must turn to first.
CLINIAS ἀλλ', ὦ ξένε Ἀθηναῖε, λέγεις τε παγκάλως ἐμοί τε οὕτως ποιητέον.	CLINIAS Well, Athenian stranger, you put it splendidly, and that's what I must do.

Book VI

The officials of the city; marriage and common meals.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
751a	**ATHENIAN** ἀλλὰ μὴν μετά γε πάντα τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα σχεδὸν ἂν ἀρχῶν εἶέν σοι καταστάσεις τῇ πόλει.	**ATHENIAN** Well now, after all that's been said, the next thing for you would be to establish offices for the city.
	CLINIAS ἔχει γὰρ οὖν οὕτω.	**CLINIAS** Yes, that's so.
	ATHENIAN δύο εἴδη ταῦτα περὶ πολιτείας κόσμον γιγνόμενα τυγχάνει, πρῶτον μὲν καταστάσεις ἀρχῶν τε καὶ ἀρξόντων, ὅσας τε αὐτὰς εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τρόπον ὄντινα καθισταμένας· ἔπειτα οὕτω δὴ τοὺς νόμους ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἑκάσταις ἀποδοτέον, [751b] οὑστινάς τε αὖ καὶ ὅσους καὶ οἵους προσῆκον ἂν ἑκάσταις εἶη. σμικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχόντες πρὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως, εἴπωμεν προσήκοντά τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτῆς ῥηθῆναι.	**ATHENIAN** The ordering of a constitution has two parts. First, the establishment of offices and office-holders: how many offices there should be and how they are to be filled. Then, after that, the laws must be assigned to each office— [751b] which laws suit each, and how many, and of what kind. But let's pause a little before the election and say something that ought to be said about it.
751b	**CLINIAS** τίνα δὴ τοῦτον;	**CLINIAS** What's that?
	ATHENIAN τόνδε. παντί που δῆλον τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὅτι μεγάλου τῆς νομοθεσίας ὄντος ἔργου, τοῦ πόλιν εὖ παρεσκευασμένην ἀρχὰς ἀνεπιτηδείους ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς εὖ κειμένοις νόμοις, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν πλέον εὖ τεθέντων, οὐδ' ὅτι γέλως ἂν πάμπολυς [751c] συμβαίνοι, σχεδὸν δὲ βλάβαι καὶ λῶβαι πολὺ μέγισται ταῖς πόλεσι γίγνοιντ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν.	**ATHENIAN** This. It's surely obvious to everyone that legislation is a great task, and that if a well-equipped city puts unsuitable officials in charge of well-framed laws, then not only will the laws do no good for being well framed, and not only will the result be highly ridiculous, [751c] but those very laws will probably bring the greatest harm and ruin to cities.
751c	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τοῦτο τοίνυν νοήσωμέν σοι περὶ τῆς νῦν, ὦ φίλε, πολιτείας τε καὶ πόλεως συμβαῖνον. ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν δυνάμεις βάσανον ἱκανὴν αὐτούς τε καὶ γένος ἑκάστων ἐκ παίδων μέχρι τῆς αἱρέσεως εἶναι δεδωκότας, ἔπειτα αὖ τοὺς μέλλοντας αἱρήσεσθαι τεθράφθαι τε ἐν ἤθεσι νόμων εὖ πεπαιδευμένους [751d] πρὸς τὸ δυσχεραίνοντάς τε καὶ ἀποδεχομένους ὀρθῶς κρίνειν καὶ ἀποκρίνειν δυνατοὺς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἀξίους ἑκατέρων· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ νεωστὶ συνεληλυθότες ὄντες τε ἀλλήλων ἀγνῶτες, ἔτι δ' ἀπαίδευτοι, πῶς ἄν ποτε δύναιντο ἀμέμπτως τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι;	**ATHENIAN** Then let's consider, my friend, how this applies to your present constitution and city. You see that, first, those who are to come rightly into the powers of office must, both themselves and their families, have been adequately tested from childhood until the time of their election; and further that those who are to elect them must have been raised in law-abiding habits and well educated, [751d] so as to be able to judge rightly, approving and disapproving, and to select or reject those who deserve either. But how could people who have only just come together, who don't know one another and are still uneducated, ever choose their officials without fault?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
751d	**CLINIAS** σχεδὸν οὐκ ἄν ποτε.	**CLINIAS** Hardly ever.
	ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀγῶνα προφάσεις φασὶν οὐ πάνυ δέχεσθαι· καὶ δὴ καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ ποιητέον, ἐπείπερ 751e σὺ μὲν δὴ τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστης τῷ Κρητῶν ἔθνει προθύμως κατοικιεῖν δέκατος αὐτός, ὡς φῄς, τὰ νῦν, ἐγὼ δ' αὖ σοὶ 752a συλλήψεσθαι κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν μυθολογίαν. οὔκουν δήπου λέγων γε ἂν μῦθον ἀκέφαλον ἐκὼν καταλίποιμι· πλανώμενος γὰρ ἂν ἁπάντῃ τοιοῦτος ὢν ἄμορφος φαίνοιτο.	**ATHENIAN** But a contest, as they say, doesn't really admit excuses. And that's what you and I must now face, since 751e you, as you say, have eagerly undertaken to the Cretan people to found the city, as one of ten, and I in turn have undertaken to 752a help you with the story we're now telling. Now that I'm telling a story, I certainly wouldn't willingly leave it without a head: wandering about everywhere like that, it would look shapeless.
752a	**CLINIAS** ἄριστ' εἴρηκας, ὦ ξένε.	**CLINIAS** That's very well said, stranger.
	ATHENIAN οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ δράσω κατὰ δύναμιν οὕτω.	**ATHENIAN** And not only said: I'll act on it too, as far as I can.
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν ποιῶμεν ἥπερ καὶ λέγομεν.	**CLINIAS** By all means, let's do as we say.
	ATHENIAN ἔσται ταῦτ', ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ γήρως ἐπικρατῶμεν τό γε τοσοῦτον.	**ATHENIAN** So we shall, god willing, if we can get the better of old age to that extent at least.
752b	**CLINIAS** ἀλλ' εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν.	**CLINIAS** Well, it's likely the god is willing.
	ATHENIAN εἰκὸς γὰρ οὖν. ἑπόμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ λάβωμεν καὶ τόδε.	**ATHENIAN** Likely indeed. Following his lead, then, let's take up this point as well.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** Which one?
	ATHENIAN ὡς ἀνδρείως καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένως ἐν τῷ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἔσται κατωκισμένη.	**ATHENIAN** How boldly and riskily our city will have been founded at this point.
	CLINIAS περὶ τί βλέπων καὶ ποῖ μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἴρηκας τὰ νῦν;	**CLINIAS** What do you have in view, and what especially made you say that just now?
	ATHENIAN ὡς εὐκόλως καὶ ἀφόβως ἀπείροις ἀνδράσι νομοθετοῦμεν, ὅπως δέξονταί ποτε τοὺς νῦν τεθέντας νόμους. δῆλον δὲ τό γε τοσοῦτον, ὦ Κλεινία, παντὶ σχεδὸν καὶ τῷ 752c μὴ πάνυ σοφῷ, τὸ μὴ ῥᾳδίως γε αὐτοὺς μηδένας προσδέξεσθαι κατ' ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μείναιμέν πως τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἕως οἱ γευσάμενοι παῖδες τῶν νόμων καὶ συντραφέντες ἱκανῶς συνήθεις τε αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τῇ πόλει πάσῃ κοινωνήσειαν· γενομένου γε μὴν οὗ λέγομεν, εἴπερ τινὶ τρόπῳ καὶ μηχανῇ γίγνοιτο ὀρθῶς, πολλὴν ἔγωγε ἀσφάλειαν οἶμαι καὶ μετὰ τὸν τότε παρόντα χρόνον ἂν γενέσθαι τοῦ μεῖναι τὴν παιδαγωγηθεῖσαν οὕτω πόλιν.	**ATHENIAN** How lightly and fearlessly we're legislating for inexperienced men, hoping they'll someday accept the laws we're now laying down. This much at least, Clinias, is obvious to almost anyone, even someone 752c not especially wise: that at first none of them will readily accept any laws. But suppose we could somehow wait long enough for the children who have had a taste of the laws, grown up with them and become thoroughly used to them to take part, along with the whole city, in the elections of officials. If what we're describing did happen—if by some means or device it happened rightly—I think there would be great security that the city trained this way would last, even after that time.
752d	**CLINIAS** ἔχει γοῦν λόγον.	**CLINIAS** That's reasonable, anyway.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN ἴδωμεν τοίνυν πρὸς τοῦτο εἴ πῃ τινα πόρον ἱκανὸν πορίζοιμεν ἂν κατὰ τάδε. φημὶ γάρ, ὦ Κλεινία, Κνωσίους χρῆναι τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόντως Κρητῶν μὴ μόνον ἀφοσιώσασθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας ἣν νῦν κατοικίζετε, συντόνως δ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς εἰς δύναμιν ὅπως ἂν ἱστῶσιν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ἄριστα. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας [752e] καὶ βραχύτερον ἔργον, νομοφύλακας δ' ἡμῖν πρώτους αἱρεῖσθαι ἀναγκαιότατον ἁπάσῃ σπουδῇ.

ATHENIAN Then let's see whether we can find some adequate way toward this along the following lines. I say, Clinias, that the Knossians, more than the other Cretans, must not merely discharge a formal duty toward the land you're now settling, but take earnest care that the first officials are established as securely and as well as possible. With the others [752e] the task is lighter, but it is absolutely essential that we choose the guardians of the laws first, with all possible care.

752e CLINIAS τίνα οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πόρον καὶ λόγον ἀνευρίσκομεν;

CLINIAS Then what way and what plan do we find for this?

ATHENIAN τόνδε. φημί, ὦ παῖδες Κρητῶν, χρῆναι Κνωσίους, διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν τῶν πολλῶν πόλεων, κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς τὴν συνοίκησιν ταύτην ἐξ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων αἱρεῖσθαι τριάκοντα μὲν καὶ ἑπτὰ τοὺς πάντας, ἐννέα δὲ καὶ δέκα ἐκ τῶν ἐποικησάντων, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους [753a] ἐξ αὐτῆς Κνωσοῦ· τούτους δ' οἱ Κνώσιοι τῇ πόλει σοι δόντων, καὶ αὐτόν σε πολίτην εἶναι ταύτης τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ ἕνα τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα, πείσαντες ἢ τῇ μετρίᾳ δυνάμει βιασάμενοι.

ATHENIAN This. I say, sons of Crete, that because Knossos is the eldest of your many cities, the Knossians should join with those who have come to this settlement in choosing, from themselves and from the settlers, thirty-seven in all—nineteen from the settlers and the rest [753a] from Knossos itself. The Knossians should give these to your city, and make you yourself a citizen of this colony and one of the eighteen, whether by persuading you or by applying a moderate degree of force.

753a CLINIAS τί δῆτα οὐ καὶ σύ τε καὶ ὁ Μέγιλλος, ὦ ξένε, ἐκοινωνησάτην ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας;

CLINIAS Then why don't you and Megillus share in our constitution too, stranger?

ATHENIAN μέγα μέν, ὦ Κλεινία, φρονοῦσιν αἱ Ἀθῆναι, μέγα δὲ καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη, καὶ μακρὰν ἀποικοῦσιν ἑκάτεραι· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ πάντα ἐμμελῶς ἔχει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκισταῖς κατὰ [753b] ταὐτά, ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ σοῦ νῦν λεγόμενα. ὡς μὲν οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπιεικέστατα ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν, εἰρήσθω, προελθόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ μεινάσης τῆς πολιτείας, αἵρεσις αὐτῶν ἔστω τοιάδε τις· πάντες μὲν κοινωνούντων τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεως ὁπόσοιπερ ἂν ὅπλα ἱππικὰ ἢ πεζικὰ τιθῶνται καὶ πολέμου κεκοινωνήκωσιν ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν τῆς ἡλικίας δυνάμεσιν· ποιεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐν [753c] ἱερῷ ὅπερ ἂν ἡ πόλις ἡγῆται τιμιώτατον, φέρειν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ βωμὸν ἕκαστον εἰς πινάκιον γράψαντα τοὔνομα πατρόθεν καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου ὁπόθεν ἂν δημοτεύηται, παρεγγράφειν δὲ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ταὐτὰ οὕτως ὄνομα.

ATHENIAN Athens thinks highly of herself, Clinias, and so does Sparta, and both are a long way off. But for you it's fitting in every way, and for the other founders just [753b] as it is for you, as we're now proposing. So much, then, for how things might be arranged most reasonably under our present circumstances. But when time has passed and the constitution has lasted, let the election of these officials be something like this. All who bear arms as cavalry or infantry, and who have taken part in war at the ages when they were fit for it, should share in electing the officials. The election should be held in [753c] whatever temple the city regards as most honored. Each voter should bring to the god's altar a tablet on which he has written his candidate's name, with his father's name, his tribe, and the deme he is registered in, and he should add his own name alongside in the same way.

753c τῷ βουλομένῳ δ' ἐξέστω τῶν πινακίων ὅτιπερ ἂν φαίνηται μὴ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἀνελόντα εἰς ἀγορὰν θεῖναι μὴ ἔλαττον τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν. τὰ δὲ τῶν

Anyone who likes may take down any tablet whose entry he doesn't find satisfactory and display it in the marketplace for at least thirty days.

GREEK

πινακίων κριθέντα ἐν πρώτοις μέχρι τριακοσίων δεῖξαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἰδεῖν [753d] πάσῃ τῇ πόλει, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὡσαύτως ἐκ τούτων φέρειν πάλιν ὃν ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται, τοὺς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐξ αὐτῶν προκριθέντας ἑκατὸν δεῖξαι πάλιν ἅπασιν. τὸ δὲ τρίτον φερέτω μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἑκατὸν ὁ βουληθεὶς ὃν ἂν βούληται, διὰ τομίων πορευόμενος· ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα, οἷς ἂν πλεῖσται γένωνται ψῆφοι, κρίναντες ἀποφηνάντων ἄρχοντας.

753d τίνες οὖν, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, πάντα ἡμῖν ταῦτ' ἐν [753e] τῇ πόλει καταστήσουσι τῶν ἀρχῶν τε πέρι καὶ δοκιμασιῶν αὐτῶν; ἆρα ἐννοοῦμεν ὡς ταῖς πρῶτον οὕτω καταζευγνυμέναις πόλεσιν ἀνάγκη μὲν εἶναί τινας, οἵτινες δὲ εἶεν ἂν πρὸς πασῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν γεγονότες, οὐκ ἔστιν; δεῖ μὴν ἁμῶς γέ πως, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ φαύλους ἀλλ' ὅτι μάλιστα ἄκρους. ἀρχὴ γὰρ λέγεται μὲν ἥμισυ παντὸς ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις ἔργου, καὶ τό γε καλῶς ἄρξασθαι πάντες ἐγκωμιάζομεν ἑκάστοτε· τὸ δ' ἔστιν τε, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, πλέον ἢ τὸ [754a] ἥμισυ, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸ καλῶς γενόμενον ἐγκεκωμίακεν ἱκανῶς.

754a **CLINIAS** ὀρθότατα λέγεις.

ATHENIAN μὴ τοίνυν γιγνώσκοντές γε παρῶμεν αὐτὸ ἄρρητον, μηδὲν διασαφήσαντες ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τίνα ἔσται τρόπον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς εὐπορῶ πλήν γε ἑνὸς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀναγκαίου καὶ συμφέροντος λόγου.

CLINIAS τίνος δή;

ATHENIAN φημὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἰκίζειν μέλλομεν, οἷον πατέρα καὶ μητέρα οὐκ εἶναι πλὴν τὴν κατοικίζουσαν αὐτὴν [754b] πόλιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πολλαὶ τῶν κατοικισθεισῶν διάφοροι ταῖς κατοικισάσαις πολλάκις ἔνιαι γεγόνασίν τε καὶ ἔσονται. νῦν μὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καθάπερ παῖς, εἰ καί ποτε μέλλει διάφορος εἶναι τοῖς γεννήσασιν, ἔν γε τῇ παρούσῃ παιδίας ἀπορίᾳ στέργει τε καὶ στέργεται ὑπὸ τῶν γεννησάντων, καὶ φεύγων ἀεὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἀναγκαίους μόνους εὑρίσκει συμμάχους· ἃ δὴ νῦν φημὶ Κνωσίοις διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν [754c] πρὸς τὴν νέαν πόλιν καὶ τῇ νέᾳ πρὸς Κνωσὸν ὑπάρχειν ἑτοίμως γεγονότα.

754c λέγω δή, καθάπερ εἶπον νυνδή, —δὶς γὰρ τό γε καλὸν ῥηθὲν οὐδὲν βλάπτει—Κνωσίους δεῖν ἐπιμεληθῆναι

ENGLISH

The officials should display the tablets judged to be in the first rank, up to three hundred, for [753d] the whole city to see, and the city should likewise vote again from among these, each for whomever he wishes; and the hundred preferred in this second round should again be displayed to all. In the third round, anyone who wishes should vote for whomever he wishes from the hundred, walking between the cut pieces of sacrificial victims; and they should examine the thirty-seven who get the most votes and declare them officials.[1]

Who then, Clinias and Megillus, will establish all this for us in [753e] the city, concerning the offices and the scrutiny of officials? Do we realize that cities newly yoked together like this must have some such people, and yet there can't be any who were in place before all the offices? Still, there must be some, somehow—and not ordinary people, but the very best possible. For as the proverb says, the beginning is half of every task, and we all praise a good beginning every time; but in fact, as it seems to me, it's more than [754a] half, and no one has ever praised a good beginning enough.[2]

CLINIAS Quite right.

ATHENIAN Then since we recognize it, let's not pass it over unspoken, without making clear to ourselves how it's to be done. Now I'm at a loss for anything to say, except for one argument that is necessary and useful in the present case.

CLINIAS What is it?

ATHENIAN I say that this city we're about to found has no father or mother except the city that founds it, [754b] though I'm well aware that many colonies have often been, and will be, at odds with their founders. But for now it's like a child: even if he is going to be at odds with his parents someday, while he's still helpless in childhood he loves them and is loved by them, and he always runs back to his family and finds them his only allies. This, I say, is the relation now ready made between the Knossians and the new city, because of their care [754c] for it, and between the new city and Knossos.

So I say, as I said just now—there's no harm in saying a fine thing twice—that the Knossians must

1 Walking between the severed parts of sacrificial animals was a form of solemn oath.

GREEK	ENGLISH
πάντων τούτων κοινῇ, προσελομένους τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀφικομένων, τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ ἀρίστους εἰς δύναμιν ἑλομένους, μὴ ἔλαττον ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν· καὶ αὐτῶν Κνωσίων ἔστωσαν ἑκατὸν ἕτεροι. τούτους δὲ ἐλθόντας φημὶ δεῖν εἰς τὴν καινὴν πόλιν συνεπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως αἵ τε ἀρχαὶ [754d] καταστῶσιν κατὰ νόμους, καταστᾶσαί τε δοκιμασθῶσι· γενομένων δὲ τούτων, τὴν μὲν Κνωσὸν τοὺς Κνωσίους οἰκεῖν, τὴν δὲ νέαν πόλιν αὐτὴν αὑτὴν πειρᾶσθαι σῴζειν τε καὶ εὐτυχεῖν.	take joint charge of all this, taking as partners some of those who have come to the colony, choosing the oldest and best of them they can, no fewer than a hundred men; and let there be another hundred from the Knossians themselves. These, I say, should go to the new city and help see that the offices [754d] are established according to law, and that once established they undergo scrutiny. When that's done, the Knossians should go back to living in Knossos, and the new city should try to preserve itself and prosper on its own.

GUARDIANS OF THE LAWS, GENERALS AND THE COUNCIL

The first officials are elected, and the Athenian explains the two kinds of equality.

GREEK	ENGLISH
754d **ATHENIAN** οἱ δὲ δὴ γενόμενοι τῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα σύμπαντα χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἡμῖν ᾑρήσθωσαν· πρῶτον μὲν φύλακες ἔστωσαν τῶν νόμων, ἔπειτα τῶν γραμμάτων ὧν ἂν ἕκαστος ἀπογράψῃ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὸ πλῆθος τῆς αὑτῶν οὐσίας, πλὴν ὁ μὲν μέγιστον τίμημα [754e] ἔχων τεττάρων μνῶν, ὁ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον τριῶν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος δυοῖν μναῖν, μνᾶς δὲ ὁ τέταρτος. ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον φαίνηταί τι παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα κεκτημένος, δημόσιον μὲν ἔστω τὸ τοιοῦτον ἅπαν, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ δίκην ὑπεχέτω τῷ βουλομένῳ μετιέναι μὴ καλὴν μηδ' εὐώνυμον ἀλλ' αἰσχράν, ἐὰν ἁλίσκηται διὰ τὸ κέρδος τῶν νόμων καταφρονῶν.	**ATHENIAN** Those who become the thirty-seven, now and for all time to come, are to be elected for the following purposes. First, they are to be guardians of the laws; next, guardians of the records in which each citizen registers with the officials the amount of his property—apart from four minas for the man with the highest [754e] property rating, three for the second, two minas for the third, and one mina for the fourth. If anyone is found to possess anything beyond what's registered, all of it is to be confiscated by the state, and in addition he is to be liable to prosecution by anyone who wishes —a prosecution that is neither honorable nor of good name, but shameful, if he's convicted of despising the laws for the sake of gain.[3]
754e αἰσχροκερδείας οὖν αὐτὸν γραψάμενος ὁ βουληθεὶς ἐπεξίτω τῇ δίκῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν· ἐὰν δ' ὁ φεύγων ὄφλῃ, [755a] τῶν κοινῶν κτημάτων μὴ μετεχέτω, διανομὴ δὲ ὅταν τῇ πόλει γίγνηταί τις, ἄμοιρος ἔστω πλήν γε τοῦ κλήρου, γεγράφθω δὲ ὠφληκώς, ἕως ἂν ζῇ, ὅπου πᾶς ὁ βουλόμενος αὐτὰ ἀναγνώσεται. μὴ πλέον δὲ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν νομοφύλαξ ἀρχέτω, φερέσθω δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ πεντήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν· ἑξηκοντούτης δὲ ἐνεχθεὶς δέκα μόνον ἀρχέτω ἔτη, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὅπως ἄν τις πλέον [755b] ὑπερβὰς ἑβδομήκοντα ζῇ, μηκέτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὴν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ὡς ἄρξων διανοηθήτω.	So whoever wishes should indict him for shameful profiteering and pursue the case before the guardians of the laws themselves. If the defendant is convicted, [755a] he is to have no share in common property, and whenever there's a distribution in the city he is to get no portion except his lot; and he is to be recorded as convicted, for as long as he lives, where anyone who wishes can read it. A guardian of the laws should hold office for no more than twenty years, and should be at least fifty years old when elected to the office. If elected at sixty, he should serve only ten years; and by the same reasoning, if anyone lives on [755b] beyond seventy, he should no longer think of holding so important an office among these officials.

2 Scrutiny (dokimasia) was the formal vetting of an official's qualifications before he took office.
3 A mina was a sum of money equal to a hundred drachmas.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
755b	τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ταῦτα εἰρήσθω προστάγματα τρία, προϊόντων δὲ εἰς τοὔμπροσθε τῶν νόμων ἕκαστος προστάξει τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὧντινων αὐτοὺς δεῖ πρὸς τοῖς νῦν εἰρημένοις προσεπιμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δ' ἐξῆς ἄλλων ἀρχῶν αἱρέσεως πέρι λέγοιμεν ἄν. δεῖ γὰρ δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα στρατηγοὺς αἱρεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτοις εἰς τὸν πόλεμον [755c] οἷόν τινας ὑπηρεσίας ἱππάρχους καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν φυλῶν κοσμητὰς τῶν τάξεων, οἷς πρέπον ἂν εἴη τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοὔνομα μάλιστα, οἷον καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ταξιάρχους αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάζουσι. τούτων δὴ στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οἱ νομοφύλακες προβαλλέσθων, αἱρείσθων δ' ἐκ τῶν προβληθέντων πάντες οἱ τοῦ πολέμου κοινωνοὶ γενόμενοί τε ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἑκάστοτε.	Let these, then, be the three provisions stated about the guardians of the laws. As the laws proceed, each one will assign these men whatever further duties they must attend to besides those now mentioned. Now we may speak next about the election of other officials. Next we must elect generals, and for them, for war, [755c] certain assistants, as it were: cavalry commanders, cavalry squadron commanders, and marshals of the ranks of the infantry tribes—for whom the name most people give them, taxiarchs, "rank commanders," would be the most fitting. Of these, the guardians of the laws should nominate the generals from among the citizens of this city itself, and from the nominees the election should be made by all who take part in war, whether they have been of military age or are at the time.
755c	ἐὰν δέ τις ἄρα δοκῇ τινι τῶν μὴ προβεβλημένων ἀμείνων [755d] εἶναι τῶν προβληθέντων τινός, ἐπονομάσας ἀνθ' ὅτου ὄντινα προβάλλεται, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὀμνὺς ἀντιπροβαλλέσθω τὸν ἕτερον· ὁπότερος δ' ἂν δόξῃ διαχειροτονούμενος, εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐγκρινέσθω. τρεῖς δέ, οἷς ἂν ἡ πλείστη χειροτονία γίγνηται, τούτους εἶναι στρατηγούς τε καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, δοκιμασθέντων καθάπερ οἱ νομοφύλακες· ταξιάρχους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προβάλλεσθαι μὲν τοὺς αἱρεθέντας στρατηγοὺς [755e] δώδεκα, ἑκάστῃ φυλῇ ταξίαρχον, τὴν δ' ἀντιπροβολὴν εἶναι, καθάπερ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ταξιαρχῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχειροτονίαν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν.	If anyone thinks that someone not nominated is better [755d] than one of the nominees, he should name the nominee he wants to replace and the man he proposes instead, and put forward this rival candidate under oath. Whichever of the two wins on a show of hands should be admitted to the election. The three who get the most votes on a show of hands are to be generals and overseers of military affairs, after passing scrutiny like the guardians of the laws. The generals who have been elected should nominate [755e] twelve taxiarchs, or infantry commanders, for themselves, one for each tribe; and the counter-nomination, the show of hands and the decision should work for the infantry commanders just as they did for the generals.
755e	τὸν δὲ σύλλογον τοῦτον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, πρὶν πρυτάνεις τε καὶ βουλὴν ἠρῆσθαι, τοὺς νομοφύλακας συλλέξαντας εἰς χωρίον ὡς ἱερώτατόν τε καὶ ἱκανώτατον καθίσαι, χωρὶς μὲν τοὺς ὁπλίτας, χωρὶς δὲ τοὺς ἱππέας, τρίτον δ' ἐφεξῆς τούτοις πᾶν ὅσον ἐμπολέμιον· χειροτονούντων δὲ στρατηγοὺς μὲν καὶ ἱππάρχους πάντες, ταξιάρχους δὲ οἱ [756a] τὴν ἀσπίδα τιθέμενοι, φυλάρχους δὲ αὖ τούτοις πᾶν τὸ ἱππικὸν αἱρείσθω, ψιλῶν δὲ ἢ τοξοτῶν ἤ τινος ἄλλου τῶν ἐμπολεμίων ἡγεμόνας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἑαυτοῖς καθιστάντων. ἱππάρχων δὴ κατάστασις ἂν ἡμῖν ἔτι λοιπὴ γίγνοιτο.	

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	For the present, before the prytanes and the council have been elected, the guardians of the laws should convene this assembly in a place as sacred and as suitable as possible, seating the hoplites in one group, the cavalry in another, and, third after these, all the rest of the fighting force. All should vote by show of hands for the generals and cavalry commanders, but the infantry commanders should be elected by 756a those who carry the shield, and the cavalry squadron commanders by the whole cavalry; while the leaders of the light-armed troops, the archers or any other part of the fighting force, the generals should appoint for themselves. That leaves us still to appoint the cavalry commanders.[4]
756a τούτους οὖν προβαλλέσθων μὲν οἵπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς προυβάλλοντο, τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἀντιπροβολὴν τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἡ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο, 756b χειροτονείτω δὲ τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον ὁρώντων τῶν πεζῶν, δύο δὲ οἷς ἂν πλείστη χειροτονία γίγνηται, τούτους ἡγεμόνας εἶναι πάντων τῶν ἱππευόντων. τὰς δὲ ἀμφισβητήσεις τῶν χειροτονιῶν μέχρι δυοῖν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἐὰν ἀμφισβητῇ τις, διαψηφίζεσθαι τούτους οἵσπερ τῆς χειροτονίας μέτρον ἑκάστοις ἕκαστον ἦν.	These should be nominated by the same men who nominated the generals, and their election and counter-nomination should work just as the generals' did. 756b The cavalry should vote for them by show of hands with the infantry looking on, and the two who get the most votes should be the leaders of all the horsemen. Disputes over a show of hands may be raised up to twice; if anyone disputes it a third time, those whose job it was in each case to count the show of hands should decide by ballot.
756b βουλὴν δὲ εἶναι μὲν τριάκοντα δωδεκάδας—ἑξήκοντα δὲ καὶ τριακόσιοι γίγνοιντο ἂν πρέποντες ταῖς διανομαῖς—μέρη 756c δὲ διανείμαντας τέτταρα κατὰ ἐνενήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτων, ἐξ ἑκάστου τῶν τιμημάτων φέρειν ἐνενήκοντα βουλευτάς. πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων ἅπαντας φέρειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἢ ζημιοῦσθαι τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον τῇ δοξάσῃ ζημίᾳ· ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐνεχθῶσι, τούτους μὲν κατασημήνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ φέρειν ἐκ τῶν δευτέρων τιμημάτων κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθάπερ τῇ πρόσθεν, τρίτῃ δ' ἐκ τῶν τρίτων τιμημάτων φέρειν μὲν τὸν βουλόμενον, ἐπάναγκες δὲ εἶναι τοῖς τῶν 756d τριῶν τιμημάτων, τὸ δὲ τέταρτόν τε καὶ σμικρότατον ἐλεύθερον ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς ζημίας, ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν μὴ βούληται φέρειν.	The council should consist of thirty dozen—three hundred and sixty would suit the subdivisions—756c divided into four parts of ninety, so that ninety councillors are elected from each property class. First, everyone must vote for candidates from the highest property class, under compulsion, or else whoever disobeys should pay the fine that has been decided. When they've been voted for, their names should be recorded. The next day they should vote for candidates from the second property class in the same way as the day before. On the third day, anyone who wishes may vote for candidates from the third property class, but it should be compulsory for members of the 756d first three classes, while the fourth and lowest class is to be exempted from the fine if any of its members don't wish to vote.
756d τετάρτῃ δὲ φέρειν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου καὶ σμικροτάτου τιμήματος ἅπαντας, ἀζήμιον δ' εἶναι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου καὶ τρίτου τιμήματος, ἐὰν ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ βούληται· τὸν δ' ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ πρώτου μὴ φέροντα ζημιοῦσθαι, τὸν μὲν	On the fourth day, everyone should vote for candidates from the fourth and lowest property class, but a member of the fourth or third class should

4 The prytanes, a rotating section of the council serving as its standing committee, are described below.

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[756e] ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου τριπλασίᾳ τῆς πρώτης ζημίας, τὸν δ' ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τετραπλασίᾳ. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ κατασημανθέντα ὀνόματα ἐξενεγκεῖν μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἰδεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις, φέρειν δ' ἐκ τούτων αὖ πάντα ἄνδρα ἢ ζημιοῦσθαι τῇ πρώτῃ ζημίᾳ· ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐκλέξαντας ἀφ' ἑκάστων τῶν τιμημάτων, τοὺς ἡμίσεις τούτων ἀποκληρώσαντας δοκιμάσαι, τούτους δ' εἶναι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευτάς.

go unpunished if he doesn't wish to vote, while a member of the second or first class who doesn't vote should be fined—one [756e] from the second class three times the first fine, and one from the first class four times. On the fifth day the officials should bring out the recorded names for all the citizens to see, and every man should again vote from among these, or pay the first fine. They should select one hundred and eighty from each of the property classes, choose half of these by lot, and put them through scrutiny; these are to be the councillors for the year.

756e ἡ μὲν αἵρεσις οὕτω γιγνομένη μέσον ἂν ἔχοι μοναρχικῆς καὶ δημοκρατικῆς πολιτείας, ἧς ἀεὶ δεῖ μεσεύειν τὴν πολιτείαν· [757a] δοῦλοι γὰρ ἂν καὶ δεσπόται οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιντο φίλοι, οὐδὲ ἐν ἴσαις τιμαῖς διαγορευόμενοι φαῦλοι καὶ σπουδαῖοι—τοῖς γὰρ ἀνίσοις τὰ ἴσα ἄνισα γίγνοιτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τοῦ μέτρου—διὰ γὰρ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα στάσεων αἱ πολιτεῖαι πληροῦνται. παλαιὸς γὰρ λόγος ἀληθὴς ὤν, ὡς ἰσότης φιλότητα ἀπεργάζεται, μάλα μὲν ὀρθῶς εἴρηται καὶ ἐμμελῶς· ἥτις δ' ἐστί ποτε ἰσότης ἡ τοῦτο αὐτὸ δυναμένη, διὰ τὸ μὴ [757b] σφόδρα σαφὴς εἶναι σφόδρα ἡμᾶς διαταράττει.

An election held this way would strike a mean between a monarchic and a democratic constitution, and a constitution should always keep to that middle. [757a] For slaves and masters could never become friends, nor could worthless and serious people who were proclaimed to have equal honors—since for unequal people equal things become unequal, unless they hit the right measure—and it's because of both of these that constitutions fill up with civil strife. The old saying that equality produces friendship is true, and very rightly and aptly put. But just what kind of equality has this power [757b] is not very clear, and that throws us into great confusion.

757b δυοῖν γὰρ ἰσοτήτοιν οὔσαιν, ὁμωνύμοιν μέν, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς πολλὰ σχεδὸν ἐναντίαιν, τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν εἰς τὰς τιμὰς πᾶσα πόλις ἱκανὴ παραγαγεῖν καὶ πᾶς νομοθέτης, τὴν μέτρῳ ἴσην καὶ σταθμῷ καὶ ἀριθμῷ, κλήρῳ ἀπευθύνων εἰς τὰς διανομὰς αὐτήν· τὴν δὲ ἀληθεστάτην καὶ ἀρίστην ἰσότητα οὐκέτι ῥᾴδιον παντὶ ἰδεῖν. Διὸς γὰρ δὴ κρίσις ἐστί, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ σμικρὰ μὲν ἐπαρκεῖ, πᾶν δὲ ὅσον ἂν ἐπαρκέσῃ πόλεσιν ἢ [757c] καὶ ἰδιώταις, πάντ' ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζεται· τῷ μὲν γὰρ μείζονι πλείω, τῷ δ' ἐλάττονι σμικρότερα νέμει, μέτρια διδοῦσα πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν ἑκατέρῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τιμὰς μείζοσι μὲν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀεὶ μείζους, τοῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔχουσιν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ παιδείας τὸ πρέπον ἑκατέροις ἀπονέμει κατὰ λόγον.

For there are two equalities, which share a name but in practice are nearly opposite in many ways. The first any city and any lawgiver is capable of introducing into the distribution of honors: equality by measure, weight and number, which they regulate in their distributions by lot. But the truest and best equality is no longer easy for everyone to see. It is the judgment of Zeus; it always helps human beings only a little, but wherever it does help cities or [757c] individuals, it makes everything good. For it gives more to the greater and less to the lesser, giving each his due measure according to his nature; and in particular it always awards greater honors to those greater in virtue, and to those who are the opposite in virtue and education what fits each, in proportion.

757c ἔστιν γὰρ δήπου καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἡμῖν ἀεὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον· οὗ καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς ὀρεγομένους δεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἰσότητα, ὦ Κλεινία, ἀποβλέποντας, τὴν νῦν [757d] φυομένην κατοικίζειν πόλιν. ἄλλην τε ἄν ποτέ τις οἰκίζῃ, πρὸς ταὐτὸν τοῦτο σκοπούμενον χρεὼν νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ὀλίγους τυράννους ἢ πρὸς ἕνα ἢ καὶ κράτος δήμου τι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δίκαιον ἀεί, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ

For surely this is what political justice always is for us too. It's this we must reach for now, Clinias, keeping our eyes on this equality, as we found the city that's now [757d] springing up. And if anyone ever founds another, he must legislate with this same aim in view—not with a few tyrants in view,

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τὸ νυνδὴ λεχθέν, τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἴσον ἀνίσοις ἑκάστοτε δοθέν· ἀναγκαῖόν γε μὴν καὶ τούτοις παρωνυμίοισί ποτε προσχρήσασθαι πόλιν ἅπασαν, εἰ μέλλει στάσεων ἑαυτῇ μὴ προσκοινωνήσειν κατά 757e τι μέρος—τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ σύγγνωμον τοῦ τελέου καὶ ἀκριβοῦς παρὰ δίκην τὴν ὀρθήν ἐστιν παρατεθραυμένον, ὅταν γίγνηται—διὸ τῷ τοῦ κλήρου ἴσῳ ἀνάγκη προσχρήσασθαι δυσκολίας τῶν πολλῶν ἕνεκα, θεὸν καὶ ἀγαθὴν τύχην καὶ τότε ἐν εὐχαῖς ἐπικαλουμένους ἀπορθοῦν αὐτοὺς τὸν κλῆρον πρὸς τὸ δικαιότατον.

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or one, or some rule of the people, but always justice. And that's what we just said: the natural equality given in each case to unequals. Still, every city must sometimes use these words in a looser sense as well, if it's not to involve itself in civil strife in 757e some part—for fairness and leniency, whenever they occur, are a breach of what is perfect and exact, departing from strict justice. That's why it's necessary also to use the equality of the lot, because of the discontent of the many, and even then to call on god and good fortune in prayers to steer the lot toward what is most just.

757e οὕτω δὴ χρηστέον ἀναγκαίως 758a μὲν τοῖν ἰσοτήτοιν ἀμφοῖν, ὡς δ' ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπ' ὀλιγίστοις τῇ ἑτέρᾳ, τῇ τῆς τύχης δεομένῃ.

So we must of necessity use both equalities, 758a but the second, the one that depends on luck, as rarely as possible.

758a ταῦτα οὕτως διὰ ταῦτα, ὦ φίλοι, ἀναγκαῖον τὴν μέλλουσαν σῴζεσθαι δρᾶν πόλιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ναῦς τε ἐν θαλάττῃ πλέουσα φυλακῆς ἡμέρας δεῖται καὶ νυκτὸς ἀεί, πόλις τε ὡσαύτως ἐν κλύδωνι τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων διαγομένη καὶ παντοδαπαῖσιν ἐπιβουλαῖς οἰκεῖ κινδυνεύουσα ἁλίσκεσθαι, δεῖ δὴ δι' ἡμέρας τε εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἐκ νυκτὸς συνάπτειν πρὸς 758b ἡμέραν ἄρχοντας ἄρχουσιν, φρουροῦντάς τε φρουροῦσιν διαδεχομένους ἀεὶ καὶ παραδιδόντας μηδέποτε λήγειν.

This, my friends, is what a city that's to be preserved must do, and these are the reasons. A ship sailing at sea needs watch kept day and night continually; in the same way a city, living amid the heavy seas of other cities, dwells in danger of being captured by all kinds of plots. So officials must link up with officials from day into night and from night 758b into day, and guards must take over from guards and hand over to guards, never stopping.

758b πλῆθος δὲ οὐ δυνατὸν ὀξέως οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν τούτων πράττειν, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου ἐᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὑτῶν ἰδίοισι μένοντας εὐθημονεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὰς αὑτῶν οἰκήσεις, τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον μέρος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δώδεκα μῆνας νείμαντας, ἓν ἐφ' ἑνὶ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς 758c φύλακας ἰόντι τέ τινί ποθεν ἄλλοθεν εἴτε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἑτοίμως ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἄντε ἀγγέλλειν βούληταί τις ἐάντ' αὖ πυνθάνεσθαί τι τῶν ὧν προσήκει πόλει πρὸς πόλεις ἄλλας ἀποκρίνεσθαί τε, καὶ ἐρωτήσασαν ἑτέρας, ἀποδέξασθαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστοτε νεωτερισμῶν ἕνεκα παντοδαπῶν εἰωθότων ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι, ὅπως 758d ἂν μάλιστα μὲν μὴ γίγνωνται, γενομένων δέ, ὅτι τάχιστα αἰσθομένης τῆς πόλεως ἰαθῇ τὸ γενόμενον· δι' ἃ συλλογῶν τε ἀεὶ δεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ προκαθήμενον τῆς πόλεως κύριον καὶ διαλύσεων, τῶν τε κατὰ νόμους τῶν τε ἐξαίφνης προσπιπτουσῶν τῇ πόλει.

A large body can never do any of this quickly. Most of the councillors must be left most of the time to stay on their own private affairs and look after their own households, while a twelfth part of them is assigned to each of the twelve months, one after another, to serve as 758c guards. Then anyone coming from anywhere else, or from within the city itself, can readily find them, whether he wants to bring news or to inquire about any of the matters in which a city must answer other cities and, when it has asked them questions, receive their answers. And especially because of the upheavals of every kind that tend to keep occurring in a city, they are there so that 758d ideally these don't happen, and if they do, the city perceives them as quickly as possible and the trouble is remedied. For these reasons this presiding body of the city must always have authority over convening and dissolving assemblies, both those held according to law and those that come upon the city suddenly.

758d ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντα τὸ δωδέκατον ἂν μέρος τῆς βουλῆς εἴη τὸ διακοσμοῦν, τὰ ἕνδεκα ἀναπαυόμενον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μέρη· κοινῇ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν δεῖ τὰς

All this, then, would be managed by the twelfth part of the council, which rests for the other eleven parts of the year. But this section of the council

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φυλακὰς ταύτας φυλάττειν κατὰ πόλιν τοῦτο τὸ μόριον τῆς βουλῆς ἀεί.	must always keep these watches in the city in common with the other officials.

PRIESTS AND COUNTRY WARDENS

Priests, interpreters and treasurers are appointed, and young country wardens patrol and improve the territory.

GREEK	ENGLISH
ATHENIAN καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πόλιν οὕτως ἔχοντα μετρίως ἂν εἴη [758e] διατεταγμένα· τῆς δὲ ἄλλης χώρας πάσης τίς ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τίς τάξις; ἆρα οὐχ ἡνίκα πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις, σύμπασα δὲ ἡ χώρα κατὰ δώδεκα μέρη διανενέμηται, τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ὁδῶν καὶ οἰκήσεων καὶ οἰκοδομιῶν καὶ λιμένων καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ κρηνῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τεμενῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων, ἐπιμελητὰς δεῖ τινας ἀποδεδειγμένους εἶναι;	**ATHENIAN** And affairs in the city would be reasonably well [758e] arranged this way. But what care and what arrangement should there be for all the rest of the territory? Now that the whole city and the entire territory have been divided into twelve parts, mustn't there be overseers appointed for the city's own streets, houses, buildings, harbors, marketplace and fountains, and also for its sacred precincts, temples and all such things?
758e **CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
759a **ATHENIAN** λέγωμεν δὴ τοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς νεωκόρους τε καὶ ἱερέας καὶ ἱερείας δεῖν γίγνεσθαι· ὁδῶν δὲ καὶ οἰκοδομιῶν καὶ κόσμου τοῦ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀνθρώπων τε, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶσιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων, ἐν αὐτῷ τε τῷ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλῳ καὶ προαστείῳ ὅπως ἂν τὰ προσήκοντα πόλεσιν γίγνηται, ἑλέσθαι δεῖ τρία μὲν ἀρχόντων εἴδη, περὶ μὲν τὸ νυνδὴ λεχθὲν ἀστυνόμους ἐπονομάζοντα, τὸ δὲ περὶ ἀγορᾶς κόσμον ἀγορανόμους. ἱερῶν δὲ ἱερέας, οἷς μέν εἰσιν πάτριαι [759b] ἱερωσύναι καὶ αἷς, μὴ κινεῖν· εἰ δέ, οἷον τὸ πρῶτον κατοικιζομένοις εἰκὸς γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ μηδενὶ ἥ τισιν ὀλίγοις, οἷς μὴ καθεστήκοι καταστατέον ἱερέας τε καὶ ἱερείας νεωκόρους γίγνεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's say that the temples must have temple wardens, priests and priestesses. And for the streets and buildings and their proper order, and for people, so they don't do wrong, and for animals too, to make sure that both within the city wall and in the suburbs things go as they should in cities, three kinds of officials must be elected: those concerned with what was just mentioned we'll call city wardens, and those concerned with order in the marketplace, market wardens. As for priests of the temples, where men or women hold hereditary [759b] priesthoods, they should not be disturbed. But if—as is likely to happen in such matters when people are first settling—there are none, or only a few, then where they've not been established, priests and priestesses must be appointed to be temple wardens for the gods.
759b τούτων δὴ πάντων τὰ μὲν αἱρετὰ χρή, τὰ δὲ κληρωτὰ ἐν ταῖς καταστάσεσι γίγνεσθαι, μειγνύντας πρὸς φιλίαν ἀλλήλοις δῆμον καὶ μὴ δῆμον ἐν ἑκάστῃ χώρᾳ καὶ πόλει, ὅπως ἂν μάλιστα ὁμονοῶν εἴη. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἱερέων, τῷ θεῷ ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτῷ τὸ κεχαρισμένον [759c] γίγνεσθαι, κληροῦν οὕτω τῇ θείᾳ τύχῃ ἀποδιδόντα, δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὸν ἀεὶ λαγχάνοντα πρῶτον μὲν ὁλόκληρον καὶ γνήσιον, ἔπειτα ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐκ καθαρευουσῶν οἰκήσεων, φόνου δὲ ἁγνὸν καὶ πάντων τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰ θεῖα ἁμαρτανομένων αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα κατὰ ταὐτὰ βεβιωκότας. ἐκ Δελφῶν δὲ χρὴ νόμους περὶ τὰ θεῖα πάντα κομισαμένους καὶ καταστήσαντας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξηγητάς, [759d] τούτοις χρῆσθαι.	Of all these offices, some must be filled by election and some by lot, mixing the common people and those who are not, for the sake of friendship, in each district and in the city, so that they may be of one mind as much as possible. As for the priests, one should leave it to the god himself that what pleases him [759c] be done, and appoint them by lot, entrusting the matter to divine fortune. But whoever wins the lot must in each case pass scrutiny: first, that he is sound in body and legitimate; then that he comes as far as possible from households free of pollution, and that he himself, and his father and mother likewise, have lived pure of bloodshed and of all such offenses against the gods.

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		They should bring from Delphi laws on all religious matters and appoint interpreters of them, 759d and use these.[5]
759d	κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ εἶναι καὶ μὴ μακρότερον τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἑκάστην, ἔτη δὲ μὴ ἔλαττον ἑξήκοντα ἡμῖν εἴη γεγονὼς ὁ μέλλων καθ' ἱεροὺς νόμους περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἱκανῶς ἁγιστεύσειν· ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερειῶν ἔστω τὰ νόμιμα. τοὺς δὲ ἐξηγητὰς τρὶς φερέτωσαν μὲν αἱ τέτταρες φυλαὶ τέτταρας, ἕκαστον ἐξ αὐτῶν, τρεῖς δέ, οἷς ἂν πλείστη γένηται ψῆφος, δοκιμάσαντας, ἐννέα πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνελεῖν ἐξ ἑκάστης τριάδος ἕνα· τὴν δὲ δοκιμασίαν αὐτῶν 759e καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἡλικίαν εἶναι καθάπερ τῶν ἱερέων. οὗτοι δὲ ἔστων ἐξηγηταὶ διὰ βίου· τὸν δέ γε λιπόντα προαιρείσθωσαν αἱ τέτταρες φυλαὶ ὅθεν ἂν ἐκλίπῃ.	Each priesthood should last a year and no longer, and the man who is to perform the rites properly, according to sacred law, should be at least sixty years old; the same rules should apply to priestesses. As for the interpreters, the tribes should vote three times, in groups of four, each group putting forward four candidates, one from each tribe; the three in each group who get the most votes should be scrutinized, and the nine sent to Delphi for the oracle to choose one from each set of three. Their scrutiny 759e and age requirement should be the same as for priests. These are to be interpreters for life; and when one dies, the four tribes from which the vacancy comes should elect a replacement.
759e	ταμίας δὲ δὴ τῶν τε ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἑκάστοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμενῶν καὶ καρπῶν τούτων καὶ μισθώσεων κυρίους αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν 760a ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἱερά, δύο δ' εἰς τὰ σμικρότερα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐμμελέστατα ἕνα· τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν τούτων καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἡ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὖ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα γιγνέσθω.	Treasurers with authority over the sacred funds of each temple, and over the sacred precincts, their produce and their leases, should be elected 760a from the highest property classes: three for the largest temples, two for the smaller ones, and one for the most modest. Their election and scrutiny should be conducted as that of the generals was. So much, then, for arrangements concerning sacred things.
760a	ἀφρούρητον δὲ δὴ μηδὲν εἰς δύναμιν ἔστω. πόλεως μὲν οὖν αἱ φρουραὶ πέρι ταύτῃ γιγνέσθωσαν, στρατηγῶν ἐπιμελουμένων καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ ἱππάρχων καὶ φυλάρχων καὶ 760b πρυτάνεων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀστυνόμων καὶ ἀγορανόμων, ὁπόταν αἱρεθέντες ἡμῖν καταστῶσίν τινες ἱκανῶς· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην χώραν φυλάττειν πᾶσαν κατὰ τάδε. δώδεκα μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ χώρα πᾶσα εἰς δύναμιν ἴσα μόρια νενέμηται, φυλὴ δὲ μία τῷ μορίῳ ἑκάστῳ ἐπικληρωθεῖσα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν παρεχέτω πέντε οἷον ἀγρονόμους τε καὶ φρουράρχους, τούτοις δ' ἔστω καταλέξασθαι τῆς αὐτῶν φυλῆς ἑκάστῳ δώδεκα τῶν πέντε 760c ἐκ τῶν νέων, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότας, μὴ πλεῖον δὲ ἢ τριάκοντα. τούτοις δὲ διακληρωθήτω τὰ μόρια τῆς χώρας κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστα ἑκάστοις, ὅπως ἂν πάσης τῆς χώρας ἔμπειροί τε καὶ ἐπιστήμονες γίγνωνται πάντες.	As far as possible, nothing should be left unguarded. The guarding of the city should be managed in the way described, under the care of the generals, infantry commanders, cavalry commanders, cavalry squadron commanders and 760b prytanes, and also the city wardens and market wardens, once we have elected and properly installed them. The rest of the territory should be guarded as follows. The whole territory, as we said, has been divided into twelve parts, as equal as possible. The tribe allotted to each part should provide five men each year to serve as country wardens and garrison commanders, and each of the five may choose twelve 760c young men from his own tribe, no younger than twenty-five and no older than thirty. The parts of the territory should be allotted to these groups, a different one each month, so that all of them become experienced in and knowledgeable about the whole country.

5 The interpreters (exēgētai) advised on sacred law and ritual; Delphi was the seat of Apollo's oracle.

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760c	δύο δ' ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν γίγνεσθαι φρουροῖς τε καὶ ἄρχουσιν. ὅπως δ' ἂν τὸ πρῶτον λάχωσιν τὰ μέρη, τοὺς τῆς χώρας τόπους, μεταλλάττοντας ἀεὶ τὸν ἑξῆς τόπον [760d] ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς φρουράρχους ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κύκλῳ· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ γιγνέσθω τὸ πρὸς ἕω. περιελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστοι τῶν φρουρῶν μὴ μόνον ἔμπειροι τῆς χώρας γίγνωνται κατὰ μίαν ὥραν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ ἅμα καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἑκάστης περὶ ἕκαστον τὸν τόπον τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς πλεῖστοι καταμάθωσιν, οἱ τότε ἡγούμενοι πάλιν ἀφηγείσθωσαν εἰς τὸν εὐώνυμον [760e] ἀεὶ μεταβάλλοντες τόπον, ἕως ἂν τὸ δεύτερον διεξέλθωσιν ἔτος· τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἄλλους ἀγρονόμους αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ φρουράρχους τοὺς πέντε τῶν δώδεκα ἐπιμελητάς.	Guards and commanders should hold their office and do their guard duty for two years. However the parts, the districts of the country, are first allotted, the garrison commanders should lead them every month to the next district in turn, [760d] moving around to the right—and let "to the right" mean toward the east. When the year has come round, in the second year—so that as many of the guards as possible may become acquainted with the country not just in one season of the year, but may also learn, besides the land itself, what happens in each district in each season—those then in command should lead them back again to the left, [760e] moving on each time, until they've completed the second year. In the third year, other country wardens and garrison commanders should be elected, the five overseers of the twelve.
760e	ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς διατριβαῖς τῷ τόπῳ ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι τοιάνδε τινά· πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως εὐερκὴς ἡ χώρα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι μάλιστα ἔσται, ταφρεύοντάς τε ὅσα ἂν τούτου δέῃ καὶ ἀποσκάπτοντας καὶ ἐνοικοδομήμασιν εἰς δύναμιν εἴργοντας τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ὁτιοῦν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ κτήματα κακουργεῖν, χρωμένους δ' ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις τοῖς ἐν [761a] τῷ τόπῳ ἑκάστῳ πρὸς ταῦτα, δι' ἐκείνων ποιοῦντας, ἐκείνοις ἐπιστατοῦντας, τῶν οἰκείων ἔργων αὐτῶν ἀργίας ὅτι μάλιστα ἐκλεγομένους.	During their stay in each district, their duties should be something like this. First, to make the country as well defended against enemies as possible, digging ditches wherever needed, cutting trenches, and building fortifications to keep out, as far as they can, anyone who tries to harm the land and property in any way. For this work they should use the draft animals and the household slaves [761a] in each district, doing it through them and supervising them, and choosing as far as possible times when they are free from their own work.
761a	δύσβατα δὲ δὴ πάντα ποιεῖν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὅτι μάλιστα εὔβατα, ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ ὑποζυγίοις καὶ βοσκήμασιν, ὁδῶν τε ἐπιμελουμένους ὅπως ὡς ἡμερώταται ἕκασται γίγνωνται, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ὑδάτων, ἵνα τὴν χώραν μὴ κακουργῇ, μᾶλλον δ' ὠφελῇ ῥέοντα ἐκ [761b] τῶν ὑψηλῶν εἰς τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι νάπας ὅσαι κοῖλαι, τὰς ἐκροὰς αὐτῶν εἴργοντας οἰκοδομήμασί τε καὶ ταφρεύμασιν, ὅπως ἂν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ὕδατα καταδεχόμεναι καὶ πίνουσαι, τοῖς ὑποκάτωθεν ἀγροῖς τε καὶ τόποις πᾶσιν νάματα καὶ κρήνας ποιοῦσαι, καὶ τοὺς αὐχμηροτάτους τόπους πολυύδρους τε καὶ εὐύδρους ἀπεργάζωνται· τά τε πηγαῖα ὕδατα, ἐάντε τὶς ποταμὸς ἐάντε καὶ κρήνη ᾖ, κοσμοῦντες φυτεύμασί [761c] τε καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν εὐπρεπέστερα, καὶ συνάγοντες μεταλλείαις νάματα, πάντα ἄφθονα ποιῶσιν, ὑδρείαις τε καθ' ἑκάστας τὰς ὥρας, εἴ τί που ἄλσος ἢ τέμενος περὶ ταῦτα ἀφειμένον ᾖ, τὰ ῥεύματα ἀφιέντες εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, κοσμῶσι.	They should make everything as hard to cross as possible for enemies, and as easy as possible for friends—for people, draft animals and livestock alike: looking after the roads, so that each is as smooth as can be, and after the rain that Zeus sends, so that it doesn't harm the land but rather benefits it as it flows [761b] down from the heights into the hollow glens among the mountains. They should check its outflows with walls and ditches, so that the glens, receiving and drinking in the rain from Zeus, may create streams and springs for all the fields and places below, and make even the driest places well supplied with good water. Spring waters, whether a river or a fountain, they should adorn with plantings [761c] and buildings to make them more beautiful, and by gathering streams together through dug channels they should make them all abundant; and if there's a grove or a precinct dedicated nearby, they should beautify it by channeling the streams into the very

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temples of the gods, to water them in every season.

761c πανταχῇ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γυμνάσια χρὴ κατασκευάζειν τοὺς νέους αὑτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς γέρουσι γεροντικὰ λουτρὰ θερμὰ παρέχοντας, ὕλην παρατιθέντας αὖην 761d καὶ ξηρὰν ἄφθονον, ἐπ᾽ ὀνήσει καμνόντων τε νόσοις καὶ πόνοις τετρυμένα γεωργικοῖς σώματα δεχομένους εὐμενῶς, ἰατροῦ δέξιν μὴ πάνυ σοφοῦ βελτίονα συχνῷ.

Everywhere in such places the young men should build gymnasiums for themselves, and for the old men provide warm baths suited to their age, laying in an abundant supply of dry 761d and seasoned wood, for the benefit of those who are ill and those whose bodies are worn out by farm labor, receiving them kindly—a much better welcome than that of a not very skillful doctor.

761d ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα κόσμος τε καὶ ὠφελία τοῖς τόποις γίγνοιτ᾽ ἂν μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐδαμῇ ἀχαρίτου· σπουδὴ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἥδε ἔστω. τοὺς ἑξήκοντα ἑκάστους τὸν αὑτῶν τόπον φυλάττειν, μὴ μόνον πολεμίων ἕνεκα ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φίλων φασκόντων εἶναι· γειτόνων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν 761e ἢν ἄλλος ἄλλον ἀδικῇ, δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος, δικάζοντας τῷ ἀδικεῖσθαι φάσκοντι, τὰ μὲν σμικρὰ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πέντε ἄρχοντας, τὰ δὲ μείζονα μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα τοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα δικάζειν μέχρι τριῶν μνῶν, ὅσα ἂν ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ ἐπικαλῇ.

All these and similar things would be both an ornament and a benefit to these places, together with a recreation that's far from unpleasant. But the serious part of their work should be this. Each group of sixty should guard its own district, not only against enemies but also against those who claim to be friends. And if among neighbors or other citizens 761e one wrongs another, slave or free, they should judge for the one who claims to be wronged: the five officers themselves in small cases, and in larger ones the seventeen, the five together with the twelve, up to three minas, whatever the charge one brings against another.

761e δικαστὴν δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα ἀνυπεύθυνον οὐδένα δικάζειν καὶ ἄρχειν δεῖ πλὴν τῶν τὸ τέλος ἐπιτιθέντων οἷον βασιλέων· καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀγρονόμους τούτους, ἐὰν ὑβρίζωσί τι περὶ τοὺς ὧν ἐπιμελοῦνται, προστάξεις τε προστάττοντες ἀνίσους, 762a καὶ ἐπιχειροῦντες λαμβάνειν τε καὶ φέρειν τῶν ἐν ταῖς γεωργίαις μὴ πείσαντες, καὶ ἐὰν δέχωνταί τι κολακείας ἕνεκα διδόντων, ἢ καὶ δίκας ἀδίκως διανέμωσι, ταῖς μὲν θωπείαις ὑπείκοντες ὀνείδη φερέσθωσαν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ πόλει, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων ὅτι ἂν ἀδικῶσι τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, τῶν μέχρι μνᾶς ἐν τοῖς κωμήταις καὶ γείτοσιν ὑπεχέτωσαν ἑκόντες δίκας, τῶν δὲ μειζόνων ἑκάστοτε ἀδικημάτων ἢ καὶ 762b τῶν ἐλαττόνων, ἐὰν μὴ ᾽θέλωσιν ὑπέχειν, πιστεύοντες τῷ μεθίστασθαι κατὰ μῆνας εἰς ἕτερον ἀεὶ τόπον φεύγοντες ἀποφευξεῖσθαι, τούτων πέρι λαγχάνειν μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς δίκαις τὸν ἀδικούμενον, ἐὰν δ᾽ ἕλῃ, τὴν διπλασίαν πραττέσθω τὸν ὑποφεύγοντα καὶ μὴ ἐθελήσαντα ὑποσχεῖν ἑκόντα τιμωρίαν.

No judge or official should judge or hold office without being answerable at an audit, except those who have the final say, as kings do. In particular these country wardens, if they commit any outrage against those in their care—giving unfair orders, 762a or trying to take and carry off any farm produce without consent—or if they accept gifts offered to flatter them, or hand down unjust judgments: for yielding to blandishments, let them be disgraced throughout the city; for other wrongs they do to people in their district, in cases up to a mina, let them submit voluntarily to trial before the villagers and neighbors; and for greater wrongs in each case, or even 762b lesser ones, if they refuse to submit, trusting that they'll escape because they move to a different district every month, the wronged party should bring suit in the public courts, and if he wins, he should exact double from the one who evaded him and refused to submit voluntarily to punishment.

762b διαιτάσθων δὲ οἵ τε ἄρχοντες οἵ τ᾽ ἀγρονόμοι τὰ δύο ἔτη τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον· πρῶτον μὲν δὴ καθ᾽ ἑκάστους 762c τοὺς τόπους εἶναι συσσίτια, ἐν οἷς κοινῇ τὴν δίαιταν ποιητέον ἅπασιν· ὁ δὲ ἀποσυσσιτήσας κἂν ἡντιναοῦν ἡμέραν, ἢ νύκτα ἀποκοιμηθείς, μὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων

The officers and country wardens should live during their two years in some such way as this. First, in 762c each district there should be common meals, at which all must take their meals together. Anyone who misses the common meal on any day

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	ταξάντων ἢ πάσης τινὸς ἀνάγκης ἐπιπεσούσης, ἐὰν ἀποφήνωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πέντε, καὶ γράψαντες θῶσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καταλελυκότα τὴν φρουράν, ὀνείδη τε ἐχέτω τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς προδιδοὺς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέρος, κολαζέσθω τε πληγαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ συντυγχάνοντος καὶ [762d] ἐθέλοντος κολάζειν ἀτιμωρήτως.	at all, or sleeps away for a night, without the officers' orders or some absolute necessity, if the five report him and post his name in the marketplace as having deserted his post, should bear the reproach of betraying his part in the constitution, and may be punished with blows by anyone who meets him and [762d] wishes to punish him, with impunity.
762d	τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ἐάν τίς τι δρᾷ τοιοῦτον αὐτός, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μὲν τοῦ τοιούτου πάντας τοὺς ἑξήκοντα χρεών, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενός τε καὶ πυθόμενος μὴ ἐπεξιὼν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνεχέσθω νόμοις καὶ πλείονι τῶν νέων ζημιούσθω· περὶ τὰς τῶν νέων ἀρχὰς ἠτιμάσθω πάσας. τούτων δὲ οἱ νομοφύλακες ἐπίσκοποι ἀκριβεῖς ἔστωσαν, ὅπως ἢ μὴ γίγνηται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ γιγνόμενα [762e] τῆς ἀξίας δίκης τυγχάνῃ. δεῖ δὴ πάντ' ἄνδρα διανοεῖσθαι περὶ ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ὡς ὁ μὴ δουλεύσας οὐδ' ἂν δεσπότης γένοιτο ἄξιος ἐπαίνου, καὶ καλλωπίζεσθαι χρὴ τῷ καλῶς δουλεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καλῶς ἄρξαι, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς νόμοις, ὡς ταύτην τοῖς θεοῖς οὖσαν δουλείαν, ἔπειτ' ἀεὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τε καὶ ἐντίμως βεβιωκόσι τοὺς νέους.	If any of the officers himself does something like this, all sixty must see to it; and anyone who notices or learns of it and doesn't prosecute should be liable under the same laws and be punished more severely than the young men, and be barred from all offices over the young. The guardians of the laws should keep a strict watch over these matters, so that such things either don't happen at all or, if they do, [762e] meet with the punishment they deserve. Every man must bear in mind, about all people, that one who hasn't served will never become a master worthy of praise, and that one should take more pride in serving well than in ruling well: first in serving the laws, since that is serving the gods, and then, for the young, in always serving their elders and those who have lived honorable lives.
762e	μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτης δεῖ τῆς ταπεινῆς καὶ ἀπόρου γεγευμένον εἶναι τὰ δύο ἔτη ταῦτα τὸν τῶν ἀγρονόμων γεγονότα. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ δὴ καταλεγῶσιν οἱ δώδεκα, συνελθόντες μετὰ τῶν πέντε, βουλευέσθωσαν ὡς [763a] οἷόνπερ οἰκέται οὐχ ἕξουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄλλους οἰκέτας τε καὶ δούλους, οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων γεωργῶν τε καὶ κωμητῶν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια χρήσονται ὑπηρετήματα διακόνοις, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅσα εἰς τὰ δημόσια· τὰ δ' ἄλλα αὐτοὶ δι' αὑτῶν διανοηθήτωσαν ὡς βιωσόμενοι διακονοῦντές τε καὶ διακονούμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν διεξερευνώμενοι θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις φυλακῆς τε [763b] καὶ γνωρίσεως ἕνεκα πάντων ἀεὶ τῶν τόπων.	Next, whoever has been one of the country wardens must have tasted a humble and frugal daily life during these two years. When the twelve have been chosen, they should meet with the five and resolve that, [763a] being like servants themselves, they won't have other servants and slaves of their own, and won't use the attendants of the other farmers and villagers for their private needs, but only for public tasks. For the rest, they should make up their minds to live by their own efforts, serving and being served by themselves; and in addition to explore the whole country, summer and winter, under arms, to guard and [763b] get to know every district.
763b	κινδυνεύει γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον μάθημα εἶναι δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπίστασθαι πάντας τὴν αὑτῶν χώραν· οὗ δὴ χάριν κυνηγέσια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην θήραν οὐχ ἧττον ἐπιτηδεύειν δεῖ τὸν ἡβῶντα ἢ τῆς ἄλλης ἡδονῆς ἅμα καὶ ὠφελίας τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γιγνομένης πᾶσιν. τούτους οὖν, αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, εἴτε τις κρυπτοὺς εἴτε ἀγρονόμους εἴθ' ὅτι καλῶν χαίρει, [763c] τοῦτο προσαγορεύων, προθύμως πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς δύναμιν ἐπιτηδευέτω, ὅσοι μέλλουσι τὴν αὑτῶν πόλιν ἱκανῶς σῴζειν.	For it may well be that no study is more important than for everyone to know his own country precisely. It's for this reason, no less than for the pleasure and benefit such activities bring to everyone, that a young man should pursue hunting with hounds and other kinds of hunting. So these men and their practice—whether one calls them "secret ones," or country wardens, or whatever name one likes to [763c] give them—every man who means to

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keep his city adequately safe should take up eagerly, as far as he can.[6]

CITY WARDENS, EDUCATION AND THE COURTS

Market and city wardens, officials for music and gymnastics, the director of education, and the courts.

GREEK ENGLISH

763c **ATHENIAN** τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεως ἀγορανόμων πέρι καὶ ἀστυνόμων πέρι ἦν ἡμῖν ἑπόμενον. ἔποιντο δ' ἂν ἀγρονόμοις γε ἀστυνόμοι τρεῖς ἑξήκοντα οὖσιν, τριχῇ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς πόλεως διαλαβόντες, μιμούμενοι ἐκείνους τῶν τε ὁδῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀεὶ τεταμένων καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν, 763d ἵνα κατὰ νόμους γίγνωνται πᾶσαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὁπόσ' ἂν αὐτοῖς πέμπωσι καὶ παραδιδῶσιν οἱ φρουροῦντες τεθεραπευμένα, ὅπως εἰς τὰς κρήνας ἱκανὰ καὶ καθαρὰ πορευόμενα, κοσμῇ τε ἅμα καὶ ὠφελῇ τὴν πόλιν.

ATHENIAN Next in order came the election of officials for the market and the city: market wardens and city wardens. Following the country wardens, who number sixty, there should be three city wardens, dividing the twelve parts of the city among them in three, on the model of the others. They should look after the streets in the town and the highways that run into the city from the countryside, and the buildings, 763d so that all are built according to the laws; and also the waters that the guards send down and hand over to them in good condition, so that these reach the fountains plentiful and pure, and both beautify and benefit the city.

763d δεῖ δὴ καὶ τούτους δυνατούς τε εἶναι καὶ σχολάζοντας τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· διὸ προβαλλέσθω μὲν πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων ἀστυνόμον ὃν ἂν βούληται, διαχειροτονηθέντων 763e δὲ καὶ ἀφικομένων εἰς ἓξ οἷς ἂν πλεῖσται γίγνωνται, τοὺς τρεῖς ἀποκληρωσάντων οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελές, δοκιμασθέντες δὲ ἀρχόντων κατὰ τοὺς τεθέντας αὐτοῖς νόμους.

These men too must be capable and have leisure to look after public affairs. So every man should nominate from the highest property class whomever he wishes as city warden; and after a show of hands, when those with the most votes 763e have been narrowed down to six, those whose duty it is should choose three of them by lot, and once they've passed scrutiny they should hold office according to the laws laid down for them.

763e ἀγορανόμους δ' ἑξῆς τούτοις αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ πρώτων τιμημάτων πέντε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἀστυνόμων· δέκα ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χειροτονηθέντας τοὺς πέντε ἀποκληρῶσαι, καὶ δοκιμασθέντας αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποφῆναι. χειροτονείτω δὲ πᾶς πάντα· 764a ὁ δὲ μὴ 'θέλων, ἐὰν εἰσαγγελθῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ζημιούσθω πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς πρὸς τῷ κακὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν. ἴτω δ' εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸν κοινὸν σύλλογον ὁ βουλόμενος, ἐπάναγκες δ' ἔστω τῷ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ πρώτων τιμημάτων, δέκα δραχμαῖς ζημιουμένῳ ἐὰν μὴ παρὼν ἐξετάζηται τοῖς συλλόγοις· τρίτῳ δὲ τιμήματι καὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ μὴ ἐπάναγκες, ἀλλὰ ἀζήμιος ἀφείσθω, ἐὰν μή τι παραγγείλωσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες 764b πᾶσιν ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης συνιέναι.

Next, five market wardens should be elected from the second and first property classes, and in other respects their election should be like that of the city wardens: ten are chosen from the rest by show of hands, the five are chosen from these by lot, and after scrutiny they are declared officials. Everyone should vote for every office; 764a anyone who refuses, if he is reported to the officials, should be fined fifty drachmas, besides being thought a bad man. Anyone who wishes may attend the assembly and the common gathering, but it should be compulsory for members of the second and first property classes, with a fine of ten drachmas if at the check of the meetings one is found absent. For the third and fourth classes it shouldn't be compulsory; they should be let off

6 The "secret ones" (kryptoi) evoke the Spartan krypteia, in which young men lived hidden in the countryside.

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764b τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἀγορανόμους τὸν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κόσμον διαταχθέντα ὑπὸ νόμων φυλάττειν, καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ᾽ ἀγοράν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικῇ μηδείς, τὸν ἀδικοῦντα δὲ κολάζειν, πληγαῖς μὲν καὶ δεσμοῖς δοῦλον καὶ ξένον, ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐπιχώριος ὢν τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκοσμῇ, μέχρι μὲν ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν νομίσματος αὐτοὺς εἶναι κυρίους διαδικάζοντας, μέχρι δὲ διπλασίου [764c] τούτου κοινῇ μετὰ ἀστυνόμων ζημιοῦν δικάζοντας τῷ ἀδικοῦντι. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀστυνόμοις ἔστω ζημιώματά τε καὶ κολάσεις ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῇ, μέχρι μὲν μνᾶς αὐτοὺς ζημιοῦντας, τὴν διπλασίαν δὲ μετὰ ἀγορανόμων.

without a fine, unless the officials for some urgent reason order [764b] everyone to attend.

The market wardens should maintain the order of the marketplace as the laws prescribe it, and look after the temples and fountains in the marketplace, so that no one does any wrong; and they should punish wrongdoers—a slave or a foreigner with blows and fetters. But if a native citizen misbehaves in these matters, they should have authority to decide the case themselves up to a hundred drachmas, and up to double [764c] that amount they should impose a fine on the wrongdoer after judging the case jointly with the city wardens. The city wardens should have the same fines and punishments within their own jurisdiction, fining up to a mina on their own, and double that together with the market wardens.

764c μουσικῆς δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἄρχοντας καθίστασθαι πρέπον ἂν εἴη, διττοὺς ἑκατέρων, τοὺς μὲν παιδείας αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, τοὺς δὲ ἀγωνιστικῆς. παιδείας μὲν βούλεται λέγειν ὁ νόμος γυμνασίων καὶ διδασκαλείων ἐπιμελητὰς [764d] κόσμου καὶ παιδεύσεως ἅμα καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμελείας τῶν φοιτήσεών τε πέρι καὶ οἰκήσεων ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν κορῶν, ἀγωνίας δέ, ἔν τε τοῖς γυμνικοῖς καὶ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἀθλοθέτας ἀθληταῖς, διττοὺς αὖ τούτους, περὶ μουσικὴν μὲν ἑτέρους, περὶ ἀγωνίαν δ᾽ ἄλλους. ἀγωνιστικῆς μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἵππων τοὺς αὐτούς, μουσικῆς δὲ ἑτέρους μὲν τοὺς περὶ μονῳδίαν τε καὶ μιμητικήν, οἷον [764e] ῥαψῳδῶν καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἀθλοθέτας ἑτέρους πρέπον ἂν εἴη γίγνεσθαι, τῶν δὲ περὶ χορῳδίαν ἄλλους.

Next it would be fitting to appoint officials for music and gymnastics, two kinds for each: one for education in them, the other for competition. By officials for education, the law means supervisors of the gymnasiums and schools, [764d] responsible for their order and teaching and also for overseeing attendance and the lodging of boys and girls; by officials for competition, stewards who award prizes to competitors in athletic and musical contests—again of two kinds, some for music and others for athletics. For athletic competitions of men and horses the same stewards should serve; but for music it would be fitting to have one set of stewards for solo performance and imitation—for [764e] rhapsodes, singers to the lyre, pipers and all such—and another for choral song.

764e πρῶτον δὴ περὶ τὴν τῶν χορῶν παιδιὰν παίδων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ θηλειῶν κορῶν ἐν ὀρχήσεσι καὶ τῇ τάξει τῇ ἁπάσῃ γιγνομένῃ μουσικῇ τοὺς ἄρχοντας αἱρεῖσθαί που χρεών· ἱκανὸς δὲ εἷς ἄρχων αὐτοῖς, [765a] μὴ ἔλαττον τετταράκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν. ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ περὶ μονῳδίαν εἷς, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν, εἰσαγωγεύς τε εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἁμιλλωμένοις τὴν διάκρισιν ἱκανῶς ἀποδιδούς. τὸν δὴ χορῶν ἄρχοντα καὶ διαθετῆρα αἱρεῖσθαι χρὴ τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον. ὅσοι μὲν φιλοφρόνως ἐσχήκασι περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ἴτωσαν, ἐπιζήμιοι ἐὰν μὴ ἴωσιν—τούτου δὲ οἱ νομοφύλακες κριταί—τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις, ἐὰν μὴ βούλωνται, μηδὲν ἐπάναγκες ἔστω.

First, then, officials should surely be chosen for the play of choruses of boys, men and girls, in dances and in the whole ordered form of music. One official is enough for them, [765a] at least forty years old. One is enough for solo performance too, at least thirty, to introduce the competitors and give an adequate judgment among the rivals. The official and director of the choruses should be chosen in some such way as this. All who have been keen on such things should attend the meeting, and be fined if they don't—the guardians of the laws are to decide this—but for everyone else attendance should not be compulsory if they don't wish to come.

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καὶ [765b] τὴν προβολὴν δὴ τὸν αἱρούμενον ἐκ τῶν ἐμπείρων ποιητέον, ἔν τε τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ κατηγόρημα ἓν τοῦτ' ἔστω καὶ ἀπηγόρημα, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἄπειρος ὁ λαχών, τῶν δ' ὡς ἔμπειρος· ὃς δ' ἂν εἷς ἐκ προχειροτονηθέντων δέκα λάχῃ, δοκιμασθείς, τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν χορῶν ἀρχέτω κατὰ νόμον. κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ταύτῃ ὁ λαχὼν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον τῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς κρίσιν μονῳδιῶν τε καὶ συναυλιῶν ἀρχέτω, εἰς [765c] τοὺς κριτὰς ἀποδιδοὺς ὁ λαχὼν τὴν κρίσιν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρεὼν ἀγωνίας ἀθλοθέτας αἱρεῖσθαι τῆς περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῶν τρίτων τε καὶ ἔτι τῶν δευτέρων τιμημάτων· εἰς δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἔστω μὲν ἐπάναγκες τοῖς τρισὶν καὶ πορεύεσθαι τιμήμασι, τὸ σμικρότατον δὲ ἀζήμιον ἀφείσθω.

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And [765b] the voter must make his nomination from among the experienced, and at the scrutiny there should be this one ground for objection and defense: on one side, that the man chosen by lot is inexperienced; on the other, that he is experienced. Whichever one of the ten preselected by show of hands is chosen by lot should, after passing scrutiny, direct the choruses for the year according to law. In the same way and on the same terms, the one chosen by lot should direct for that year the solo performances and pipe ensembles that come to competition, [765c] handing over the decision to the judges. After this, stewards should be chosen for the athletic contests of horses and men from the third and also the second property classes; attendance at this election should be compulsory for the three classes, while the lowest should be let off without penalty.

765c τρεῖς δ' ἔστωσαν οἱ λαχόντες, τῶν προχειροτονηθέντων μὲν εἴκοσι, λαχόντων δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἴκοσι τριῶν, οὓς ἂν καὶ ψῆφος ἡ τῶν δοκιμαζόντων δοκιμάσῃ· ἐὰν [765d] δέ τις ἀποδοκιμασθῇ καθ' ἡντιναοῦν ἀρχῆς λῆξιν καὶ κρίσιν, ἄλλους ἀνθαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν ὡσαύτως αὐτῶν πέρι ποιεῖσθαι.

Three should be chosen by lot: twenty are preselected by show of hands, and three of the twenty chosen by lot, provided the vote of those conducting the scrutiny approves them. If [765d] anyone is rejected at scrutiny in the allotment and judgment for any office whatsoever, others should be chosen in his place in the same way, and their scrutiny conducted likewise.

765d λοιπὸς δὲ ἄρχων περὶ τὰ προειρημένα ἡμῖν ὁ τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελητὴς πάσης θηλειῶν τε καὶ ἀρρένων. εἷς μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ τούτων ἄρξων ἔστω κατὰ νόμους, ἐτῶν μὲν γεγονὼς μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ πεντήκοντα, παίδων δὲ γνησίων πατήρ, μάλιστα μὲν υἱέων καὶ θυγατέρων, εἰ δὲ μή, θάτερα· διανοηθήτω [765e] δὲ αὐτός τε ὁ προκριθεὶς καὶ ὁ προκρίνων ὡς οὖσαν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀκροτάτων ἀρχῶν πολὺ μεγίστην.

There remains, among the offices we've described, the director of all education of girls and boys. Let one man hold this office too, according to the laws, at least fifty years old and father of legitimate children—preferably of sons and daughters, or if not, of one or the other. Both [765e] the man selected and those who select him should consider this office to be by far the most important of the highest offices in the city.

765e παντὸς γὰρ δὴ φυτοῦ ἡ πρώτη βλάστη καλῶς ὁρμηθεῖσα, πρὸς ἀρετὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κυριωτάτη τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τὸ πρόσφορον, τῶν τε ἄλλων φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ζῴων ἡμέρων [766a] καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἀνθρώπων· ἄνθρωπος δέ, ὥς φαμεν, ἥμερον, ὅμως μὴν παιδείας μὲν ὀρθῆς τυχὸν καὶ φύσεως εὐτυχοῦς, θειότατον ἡμερώτατόν τε ζῷον γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ, μὴ ἱκανῶς δὲ ἢ μὴ καλῶς τραφὲν ἀγριώτατον, ὁπόσα φύει γῆ. ὧν ἕνεκα οὐ δεύτερον οὐδὲ πάρεργον δεῖ τὴν παίδων τροφὴν τὸν νομοθέτην ἐᾶν γίγνεσθαι, πρῶτον δὲ ἄρξασθαι χρεὼν τὸν μέλλοντα αὐτῶν ἐπιμελήσεσθαι καλῶς αἱρεθῆναι, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὃς ἂν ἄριστος εἰς πάντα ᾖ, τοῦτον κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι [766b] μάλιστα αὐτοῖς καθιστάντα προστάττειν ἐπιμελητήν.

For with every growing thing, the first shoot, if it gets off to a good start, has the greatest power to bring it to the completion suited to the excellence of its nature—whether plants, or animals tame [766a] and wild, or human beings. The human being, we say, is a tame creature; and yet when it meets with right education and a fortunate nature, it tends to become the most divine and gentlest of creatures, but when not adequately or not well brought up, the wildest of all that the earth produces. That's why the lawgiver must not let the upbringing of children be a secondary matter or a sideline. He must begin by seeing that whoever is to take

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		charge of them is well chosen, appointing as their director the man who is best in every respect among those in the city, as far as [766b] he possibly can.
766b	αἱ πᾶσαι τοίνυν ἀρχαὶ πλὴν βουλῆς καὶ πρυτάνεων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐλθοῦσαι φερόντων ψῆφον κρύβδην, τῶν νομοφυλάκων ὅντιν' ἂν ἕκαστος ἡγῆται κάλλιστ' ἂν τῶν περὶ παιδείαν ἄρξαι γενομένων· ᾧ δ' ἂν πλεῖσται ψῆφοι συμβῶσιν, δοκιμασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων τῶν ἑλομένων, πλὴν νομοφυλάκων, ἀρχέτω ἔτη πέντε, ἕκτῳ δὲ κατὰ [766c] ταὐτὰ ἄλλον ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν αἱρεῖσθαι.	So all the officials except the council and the prytanes should go to the temple of Apollo and cast a secret ballot, each for whichever of the guardians of the laws he thinks would best supervise education. The one who gets the most votes, after passing scrutiny by the other officials who elected him, excluding the guardians of the laws, should hold office for five years; in the sixth year [766c] another should be elected to this office in the same way.
766c	ἐὰν δέ τις δημοσίαν ἀρχὴν ἄρχων ἀποθάνῃ πρὶν ἐξήκειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν πλεῖον ἢ τριάκοντα ἐπιδεομένην ἡμερῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλον καθιστάναι οἷς ἦν τοῦτο προσηκόντως μέλον. καὶ ἐὰν ὀρφανῶν ἐπίτροπος τελευτήσῃ τις, οἱ προσήκοντες καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντες πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων ἄλλον καθιστάντων [766d] ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν, ἢ ζημιούσθων ἕκαστος δραχμῇ τῆς ἡμέρας, μέχριπερ ἂν τοῖς παισὶν καταστήσωσι τὸν ἐπίτροπον.	If anyone holding a public office dies with more than thirty days of his term still to run, those whose proper concern it was should appoint another to the office in the same way. And if a guardian of orphans dies, the relatives on the father's and mother's side who are resident in the country, as far as cousins' children, should appoint another [766d] within ten days, or each of them should be fined a drachma a day until they appoint a guardian for the children.
766d	πᾶσα δὲ δήπου πόλις ἄπολις ἂν γίγνοιτο, ἐν ᾗ δικαστήρια μὴ καθεστῶτα εἴη κατὰ τρόπον· ἄφωνος δ' αὖ δικαστὴς ἡμῖν καὶ μὴ πλείω τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἐν ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι φθεγγόμενος, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς διαίταις, οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἱκανὸς γένοιτο περὶ τὴν τῶν δικαίων κρίσιν· ὧν ἕνεκα οὔτε πολλοὺς ὄντας ῥᾴδιον εὖ δικάζειν οὔτε ὀλίγους φαύλους. σαφὲς δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ [766e] ἀμφισβητούμενον χρεὼν γίγνεσθαι παρ' ἑκατέρων, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἅμα καὶ τὸ βραδὺ τό τε πολλάκις ἀνακρίνειν πρὸς τὸ φανερὰν γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν σύμφορον.	Surely any city would be no city at all if its courts were not properly established. And a judge who is mute, or who says no more in the preliminary hearings than the litigants do, as happens in arbitrations, would never be adequate to decide what is just. That's why it isn't easy for judges to judge well when they are many, or when they are few and of poor quality. What is in dispute must always be made [766e] clear by each side, and time, slowness and repeated questioning all help to bring the dispute into the open.
766e	ὧν ἕνεκα πρῶτον μὲν εἰς γείτονας ἰέναι χρὴ τοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ συνειδότας ὅτι μάλιστα [767a] τὰς ἀμφισβητουμένας πράξεις, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ ἐν τούτοις τις ἱκανὴν κρίσιν λαμβάνῃ, πρὸς ἄλλο δικαστήριον ἴτω· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ἂν τὰ δύο δικαστήρια μὴ δύνηται διαλλάξαι, τέλος ἐπιθέτω τῇ δίκῃ.	So first of all, people bringing charges against each other should go to their neighbors, to their friends, and to those who know most about [767a] the matters in dispute. If someone doesn't get an adequate decision from them, let him go to another court. And the third court, if the two courts can't settle the matter, is to put an end to the case.
767a	τρόπον δή τινα καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων αἱ καταστάσεις ἀρχόντων εἰσὶν αἱρέσεις· πάντα μὲν γὰρ ἄρχοντα ἀναγκαῖον καὶ δικαστὴν εἶναί τινων, δικαστὴς δὲ οὐκ ἄρχων καί τινα τρόπον ἄρχων οὐ πάνυ φαῦλος γίγνεται τὴν τόθ' ἡμέραν ᾗπερ ἂν κρίνων τὴν δίκην ἀποτελῇ.	In a way, setting up courts is also a matter of choosing officials. Every official must also be a judge of certain matters, and a judge, though not an official, becomes in a way an official, and not an insignificant one, on the day he completes a

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θέντες δὴ καὶ τοὺς [767b] δικαστὰς ὡς ἄρχοντας, λέγωμεν τίνες ἂν εἶεν πρέποντες καὶ τίνων ἄρα δικασταὶ καὶ πόσοι ἐφ' ἕκαστον. κυριώτατον μὲν τοίνυν ἔστω δικαστήριον ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἀποφήνωσιν ἕκαστοι, κοινῇ τινας ἑλόμενοι· δύο δὴ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔστω κριτήρια, τὸ μὲν ὅταν τίς τινα ἰδιώτην ἰδιώτης, ἐπαιτιώμενος ἀδικεῖν αὐτόν, ἄγων εἰς δίκην βούληται διακριθῆναι, τὸ δ' ὁπόταν τὸ δημόσιον ὑπό τινος τῶν πολιτῶν ἠγῆταί [767c] τις ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ βουληθῇ τῷ κοινῷ βοηθεῖν, λεκτέον ὁποῖοί τ' εἰσὶν καὶ τίνες οἱ κριταί.

767c πρῶτον δὴ δικαστήριον ἡμῖν γιγνέσθω κοινὸν ἅπασι τοῖς τὸ τρίτον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἰδιώταις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, γενόμενον τῇδέ πῃ. πάσας δὴ τὰς ἀρχάς, ὁπόσαι τε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ὁπόσαι πλείω χρόνον ἄρχουσιν, ἐπειδὰν μέλλῃ νέος ἐνιαυτὸς μετὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς τῷ ἐπιόντι μηνὶ γίγνεσθαι, ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας τῇ πρόσθεν πάντας χρὴ τοὺς ἄρχοντας συνελθεῖν εἰς ἓν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν [767d] θεὸν ὀμόσαντας οἷον ἀπάρξασθαι πάσης ἀρχῆς ἕνα δικαστήν, ὃς ἂν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἑκάστῃ ἄριστός τε εἶναι δόξῃ καὶ ἄριστ' ἂν καὶ ὁσιώτατα τὰς δίκας τοῖς πολίταις αὐτῷ τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν φαίνηται διακρίνειν.

767d τούτων δὲ αἱρεθέντων γίγνεσθαι μὲν δοκιμασίαν ἐν τοῖς ἑλομένοις αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποδοκιμασθῇ τις, ἕτερον ἀνθαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ ταὐτά, τοὺς δὲ δοκιμασθέντας δικάζειν μὲν τοῖς τἆλλα δικαστήρια φυγοῦσι, τὴν δὲ ψῆφον φανερὰν φέρειν· ἐπηκόους δ' εἶναι καὶ θεατὰς [767e] τούτων τῶν δικῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὲν βουλευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἑλομένους αὐτούς, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπαιτιᾶταί τινα ἑκόντα ἀδίκως κρῖναι τὴν δίκην, εἰς τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἰὼν κατηγορείτω· ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην ὑπεχέτω μὲν τοῦ βλάβους τῷ βλαφθέντι τὸ ἥμισυ τίνειν, ἐὰν δὲ μείζονος ἄξιος εἶναι δόξῃ ζημίας, προστιμᾶν τοὺς κρίναντας τὴν δίκην ὅτι χρὴ πρὸς τούτῳ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ ἀποτίνειν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ τῷ τὴν δίκην δικασαμένῳ.

767e περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἐγκλημάτων ἀναγκαῖον [768a] πρῶτον μὲν τῷ πλήθει μεταδιδόναι τῆς κρίσεως—οἱ γὰρ ἀδικούμενοι πάντες εἰσίν, ὁπόταν τις τὴν πόλιν ἀδικῇ, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐν δίκῃ φέροιεν ἄμοιροι γιγνόμενοι τῶν

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case by deciding it. So, treating the [767b] judges as officials too, let's say who would be suitable, what they should judge, and how many should sit on each case. The most authoritative court, then, is to be the one the parties appoint for themselves, choosing certain people jointly. There are to be two other tribunals: one for when a private person accuses another private person of wronging him and wants to bring him to trial for a decision; the other for when someone believes the public [767c] is being wronged by one of the citizens and wants to come to the aid of the community. We have to say what sort of judges these are, and who they are.

First, let us have a court common to all private persons who are disputing with each other for the third time. It will be set up roughly like this. All the officials, both those who hold office for a year and those who hold it longer, when the new year is about to begin in the month after the summer solstice, must all come together on the day before it in a single temple. There, having sworn by the [767d] god, they are to offer up one judge from each board of officials, as a kind of first fruits: the one in each board who seems best, and who seems likely to decide his fellow citizens' cases best and most piously in the coming year.

When these have been chosen, they are to undergo scrutiny before the very people who chose them. If one of them is rejected, another is to be chosen in his place in the same way. Those who pass scrutiny are to judge the cases of those who have appealed from the other courts, and they are to cast their votes openly. Members of the council and the other officials who chose them are required to attend these [767e] trials as listeners and spectators; of everyone else, anyone who wishes may attend. If someone accuses a judge of deliberately deciding a case unjustly, let him go to the guardians of the laws and bring his charge there. A judge convicted in such a case must pay the injured party half the damage; and if he seems to deserve a heavier penalty, those who judged the case are to assess what further he must suffer, or pay to the public treasury and to the one who brought the suit.

As for charges of offenses against the public, it is necessary [768a] first of all to give the people a share in the judgment. When someone wrongs the city, it is everyone who is wronged, and they would

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τοιούτων διακρίσεων—ἀλλ' ἀρχήν τε εἶναι χρὴ τῆς τοιαύτης δίκης καὶ τελευτὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιδομένην, τὴν δὲ βάσανον ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀρχαῖς τρισίν, ἃς ἂν ὅ τε φεύγων καὶ ὁ διώκων συνομολογῆτον· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνησθον κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ὁμολογίας αὐτοί, τὴν βουλὴν ἐπικρίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν [768b] ἑκατέρου. δεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων δικῶν κοινωνεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν ἅπαντας· ὁ γὰρ ἀκοινώνητος ὢν ἐξουσίας τοῦ συνδικάζειν ἡγεῖται τὸ παράπαν τῆς πόλεως οὐ μέτοχος εἶναι.

768b διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς ἀναγκαῖον δικαστήριά τε γίγνεσθαι καὶ κλήρῳ δικαστὰς ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἀδιαφθόρους ταῖς δεήσεσι δικάζειν, τὸ δὲ τέλος κρίνειν πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον, ὅ φαμεν εἷς γε ἀνθρωπίνην δύναμιν ὡς οἷόν τε ἀδιαφθορώτατα παρεσκευάσθαι τοῖς μὴ [768c] δυναμένοις μήτε ἐν τοῖς γείτοσι μήτε ἐν τοῖς φυλετικοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

768c νῦν δὴ περὶ μὲν δικαστήρια ἡμῖν—ἃ δή φαμεν οὔθ' ὡς ἀρχὰς οὔτε ὡς μὴ ῥᾴδιον εἰπόντα ἀναμφισβητήτως εἰρηκέναι—περὶ μὲν ταῦτα οἷον περιγραφή τις ἔξωθεν περιεγεγραμμένη τὰ μὲν εἴρηκεν, τὰ δ' ἀπολείπει σχεδόν· πρὸς γὰρ τέλει νομοθεσίας ἡ δικῶν ἀκριβὴς νόμων θέσις ἅμα καὶ διαίρεσις ὀρθότατα γίγνοιτ' ἂν μακρῷ. ταύταις μὲν οὖν [768d] εἰρήσθω πρὸς τῷ τέλει περιμένειν ἡμᾶς, αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καταστάσεις σχεδὸν τὴν πλείστην εἰλήφασιν νομοθεσίαν· τὸ δὲ ὅλον καὶ ἀκριβὲς περὶ ἑνός τε καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ πόλιν καὶ πολιτικὴν πᾶσαν διοικήσεων οὐκ ἔστιν γενέσθαι σαφές, πρὶν ἂν ἡ διέξοδος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τά τε δεύτερα καὶ τὰ μέσα καὶ πάντα μέρη τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀπολαβοῦσα πρὸς τέλος ἀφίκηται.

768d νῦν μὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μέχρι τῆς τῶν [768e] ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεως γενομένης τελευτὴ μὲν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὕτη γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἱκανή, νόμων δὲ θέσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ ἀναβολῶν ἅμα καὶ ὄκνων οὐδὲν ἔτι δεομένη.

768e **CLINIAS** πάντως μοι κατὰ νοῦν, ὦ ξένε, τὰ ἔμπροσθεν εἰρηκώς, τὴν ἀρχὴν νῦν τελευτῇ προσάψας περὶ τῶν τε εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκείνων εἴρηκας φιλίως.

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rightly resent being left without a part in such decisions. The beginning and the end of such a trial should be handed over to the people, but the examination should take place before three of the highest offices, whichever ones the defendant and the prosecutor agree on together. If they can't reach an agreement themselves, the council is to decide between the choices [768b] of each. Everyone should also share, as far as possible, in private cases. For someone who has no share in the power of judging along with others thinks he has no part in the city at all.

For this reason there must also be courts for each tribe, with judges chosen by lot on the spot, who will judge uncorrupted by pleading. The final decision in all such cases belongs to the court which, we say, has been made as incorruptible as is humanly possible, for those who cannot [768c] settle their disputes either before their neighbors or in the tribal courts.

So much for the courts, then. Whether to call them offices or not isn't easy to say without being disputed. On these, our sketch, like an outline drawn around the outside, has said some things and more or less left others out. For the precise laying down of the laws on lawsuits, and their classification, would come by far most correctly at the end of our legislation. So let's say that these [768d] are to wait for us at the end. The establishment of the other offices, though, has taken up most of the legislation. But a complete and precise account of any one thing, and of everything in the city and in political administration as a whole, can't become clear until our exposition, from its beginning, has taken in its secondary and middle parts and all its parts, and arrived at its end.

For now, at any rate, having got as far as the [768e] election of officials, this would be a sufficient end to what came before; and it is a beginning for the laying down of laws that no longer needs any delay or hesitation.

CLINIAS I liked everything you said before very much, stranger. And now that you've joined the beginning to the end, of what has been said and of what is still to be said, you've put it even more agreeably than before.

KEEPING THE LAWS UP TO DATE

Like a painting, the laws need successors to correct them; the Athenian addresses the guardians of the laws.

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769a	**ATHENIAN** καλῶς τοίνυν ἂν ἡμῖν ἡ πρεσβυτῶν ἔμφρων παιδιὰ μέχρι δεῦρ' εἴη τὰ νῦν διαπεπαισμένη.	**ATHENIAN** Then our sensible old men's game would have been nicely played up to this point.
	CLINIAS καλὴν τὴν σπουδὴν ἔοικας δηλοῦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν.	**CLINIAS** What you seem to be describing is a fine and serious business for grown men.
	ATHENIAN εἰκός γε· τόδε δ' ἐννοήσωμεν εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ καθάπερ ἐμοί.	**ATHENIAN** Naturally. But let's consider whether this seems to you as it does to me.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δὴ καὶ περὶ τίνων;	**CLINIAS** What is it, and about what?
	ATHENIAN οἶσθ' ὅτι καθάπερ ζωγράφων οὐδὲν πέρας ἔχειν ἡ πραγματεία δοκεῖ περὶ ἑκάστων τῶν ζῴων, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ χραίνειν ἢ ἀποχραίνειν, ἢ ὁτιδήποτε καλοῦσι τὸ τοιοῦτον οἱ [769b] ζωγράφων παῖδες, οὐκ ἄν ποτε δοκεῖ παύσασθαι κοσμοῦσα, ὥστε ἐπίδοσιν μηκέτ' ἔχειν εἰς τὸ καλλίω τε καὶ φανερώτερα γίγνεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα.	**ATHENIAN** You know how painters' work on each of their figures never seems to have an end. Whether it's adding color or softening it, or whatever painters call that sort of thing, it seems it would never stop embellishing, [769b] and there would never come a point where the painting had no more room to become more beautiful and more vivid.
769b	**CLINIAS** σχεδὸν ἐννοῶ ἀκούων καὶ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἃ λέγεις, ἐπεὶ ἐντριβής γε οὐδαμῶς γέγονα τῇ τοιαύτῃ τέχνῃ.	**CLINIAS** I roughly follow what you're saying as I hear it, though I've had no practice at all in that kind of craft.
	ATHENIAN καὶ οὐδέν γε ἐβλάβης. χρησώμεθά γε μὴν τῷ νῦν παρατυχόντι περὶ αὐτῆς ἡμῖν λόγῳ τὸ τοιόνδε, ὡς εἴ ποτέ [769c] τις ἐπινοήσειε γράψαι τε ὡς κάλλιστον ζῷον καὶ τοῦτ' αὖ μηδέποτε ἐπὶ φαυλότερον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἴσχειν τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἀεὶ χρόνου, συννοεῖς ὅτι θνητὸς ὤν, εἰ μή τινα καταλείψει διάδοχον τοῦ ἐπανορθοῦν τε, ἐάν τι σφάλληται τὸ ζῷον ὑπὸ χρόνων, καὶ τὸ παραλειφθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην οἷός τε εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔσται φαιδρύνων ποιεῖν ἐπιδιδόναι, σμικρόν τινα χρόνον αὐτῷ πόνος παραμενεῖ πάμπολυς;	**ATHENIAN** And you're none the worse for it. Still, let's use the point that has just come up about it for something like this. Suppose someone [769c] set out to paint the most beautiful figure possible, and meant it never to get worse but always better as time went on. You realize that, being mortal, unless he leaves behind a successor able to restore the figure if it is damaged by time in any way, and to improve it by touching up whatever his own weakness in the craft left undone, his enormous labor will stay with him only a short time?
769c	**CLINIAS** ἀληθῆ.	**CLINIAS** True.
769d	**ATHENIAN** τί οὖν; ἆρ' οὐ τοιοῦτον δοκεῖ σοι τὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλημ' εἶναι; πρῶτον μὲν γράψαι τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν κατὰ δύναμιν ἱκανῶς· ἔπειτα προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν δοξάντων ἔργῳ πειρώμενον, ἆρ' οἴει τινὰ οὕτως ἄφρονα γεγονέναι νομοθέτην, ὥστ' ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι πάμπολλα ἀνάγκη παραλείπεσθαι τοιαῦτα, ἃ δεῖ τινα συνεπόμενον ἐπανορθοῦν, ἵνα μηδαμῇ χείρων, βελτίων δὲ ἡ πολιτεία [769e] καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἀεὶ γίγνηται περὶ τὴν ᾠκισμένην αὐτῷ πόλιν;	**ATHENIAN** Well then? Don't you think the lawgiver's aim is like that? First, to write his laws as precisely as he can. Then, as time goes on and he puts his decisions to the test in practice—do you think any lawgiver has ever been so foolish as not to know that a great many such things are bound to be left out, which someone following after him must set right, so that the constitution [769e] and the order of the city he has founded never become worse in any way, but always better?

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769e	**CLINIAS** εἰκός—πῶς γὰρ οὔ; —βούλεσθαι πάντα ὀντινοῦν τὸ τοιοῦτον.	**CLINIAS** It's natural—how could it not be?—for everyone to want something like that.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν εἴ τίς τινα μηχανὴν ἔχοι πρὸς τοῦτο, ἔργῳ καὶ λόγοις τίνα τρόπον διδάξειεν ἂν ἕτερον εἴτε μείζονα εἴτε ἐλάττω περὶ τοῦτ' ἔχειν ἔννοιαν, ὅπως χρὴ φυλάττειν καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν νόμους, οὐκ ἄν ποτε λέγων ἀπείποι τὸ τοιοῦτον πρὶν ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθεῖν;	**ATHENIAN** So if someone had a way of doing this—of teaching another person, in deed and word, to understand more or less of how laws are to be preserved and corrected—he would never give up explaining it before he had reached the end?
770a	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** How could he?
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι ποιητέον ἐμοὶ καὶ σφῷν τοῦτο;	**ATHENIAN** Then shouldn't you two and I do this right now?
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** Do what, exactly?
	ATHENIAN ἐπειδὴ νομοθετεῖν μὲν μέλλομεν, ᾕρηνται δὲ ἡμῖν νομοφύλακες, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου, οἱ δ' ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς νέοι, ἅμα μέν, ὥς φαμεν, δεῖ νομοθετεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἅμα δὲ πειρᾶσθαι ποιεῖν καὶ τούτους αὐτοὺς νομοθέτας τε καὶ νομοφύλακας εἰς τὸ δυνατόν.	**ATHENIAN** We are about to legislate, and we have chosen our guardians of the laws; we are at the sunset of life, and they are young compared with us. So, as we say, we must legislate ourselves, and at the same time try to make these very men lawgivers as well as guardians of the laws, as far as possible.
770b	**CLINIAS** τί μήν; εἴπερ οἷοί τέ γ' ἐσμὲν ἱκανῶς.	**CLINIAS** Certainly—if we're really up to it.
	ATHENIAN ἀλλ' οὖν πειρατέα γε καὶ προθυμητέα.	**ATHENIAN** Well, we have to try, anyway, and try hard.
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN λέγωμεν δὴ πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ φίλοι σωτῆρες νόμων, ἡμεῖς περὶ ἑκάστων ὧν τίθεμεν τοὺς νόμους πάμπολλα παραλείψομεν—ἀνάγκη γάρ—οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅσα γε μὴ σμικρὰ καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἰς δύναμιν οὐκ ἀνήσομεν ἀπεριήγητον καθάπερ τινὶ περιγραφῇ· τοῦτο δὲ δεήσει συμπληροῦν ὑμᾶς τὸ περιηγηθέν. 770c ὅποι δὲ βλέποντες δράσετε τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀκούειν χρή. Μέγιλλος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ Κλεινίας εἰρήκαμέν τε αὐτὰ ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ὀλιγάκις, ὁμολογοῦμέν τε λέγεσθαι καλῶς· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἡμῖν βουλόμεθα συγγνώμονάς τε ἅμα καὶ μαθητὰς γίγνεσθαι, βλέποντας πρὸς ταῦτα εἰς ἅπερ ἡμεῖς συνεχωρήσαμεν ἀλλήλοις τὸν νομοφύλακά τε καὶ νομοθέτην δεῖν βλέπειν.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's say to them: Dear friends, saviors of the laws, in each of the areas where we lay down laws we shall leave out a great deal—we can't help it. All the same, we'll do our best not to leave whatever is important, and the whole, without a sketch, as though in an outline. It will be your job to fill in this outline. 770c You need to hear what to look to when you do this. Megillus and I and Clinias have said these things to one another more than once, and we agree that they are well said. We want you to be both sympathetic to us and our students, looking to the things that we have agreed with each other the guardian of the laws and the lawgiver must look to.
770c	ἦν δὲ ἡ συγχώρησις ἓν ἔχουσα κεφάλαιον, ὅπως 770d ποτὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνοιτ' ἄν, τὴν ἀνθρώπῳ προσήκουσαν ἀρετὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχων ἔκ τινος ἐπιτηδεύματος ἢ τινος ἤθους ἢ ποιᾶς κτήσεως ἢ ἐπιθυμίας ἢ δόξης ἢ μαθημάτων ποτέ τινων, εἴτε ἄρρην τις τῶν συνοικούντων οὖσα ἡ φύσις εἴτε θήλεια, νέων ἢ γερόντων, ὅπως εἰς ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ὃ λέγομεν τεταμένη σπουδὴ πᾶσα ἔσται διὰ παντὸς	Our agreement had one main point: how 770d a man might become good, possessing the virtue of soul that belongs to a human being—whether through some practice, or some habit, or some kind of possession, or desire, or opinion, or some learning at some point—and whether the nature of those living together is male or female, young or

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	τοῦ βίου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὁπόσα ἐμπόδια τούτοις μηδὲν προτιμῶν φανεῖται [770e] μηδ' ὁστισοῦν, τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ πόλεως, ἐὰν ἀνάστατον ἀνάγκη φαίνηται γίγνεσθαι πρὶν ἐθέλειν δούλειον ὑπομείνασα ζυγὸν ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ χειρόνων, ἢ λείπειν φυγῇ τὴν πόλιν· ὡς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄρ' ἔσθ' ὑπομενετέον πάσχοντας πρὶν ἀλλάξασθαι πολιτείαν ἢ χείρους ἀνθρώπους πέφυκε ποιεῖν.	old. All their effort must be directed to this very thing we are speaking of, throughout their whole life, and no one must be seen to value above it anything else that stands in its way, [770e] not a single thing—not even, in the end, the city, if it seems necessary for it to be laid waste rather than willingly accept the yoke of slavery and be ruled by worse men, or else for them to leave the city in exile. All such things must be endured and suffered, it seems, rather than exchange our constitution for one that naturally makes human beings worse.
770e	ταῦτα ἡμεῖς τε ἔμπροσθεν συνωμολογησάμεθα, καὶ νῦν ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν εἰς ταῦτα ἑκάτερα βλέποντες ἐπαινεῖτε καὶ [771a] ψέγετε τοὺς νόμους ὅσοι μὴ ταῦτα δυνατοί, τοὺς δὲ δυνατοὺς ἀσπάζεσθέ τε καὶ φιλοφρόνως δεχόμενοι ζῆτε ἐν αὐτοῖς· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα τείνοντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν λεγομένων χαίρειν χρὴ προσαγορεύειν.	That is what we agreed earlier. So now, you, looking to both of these points, praise and [771a] blame our laws: blame those that can't achieve this, but welcome those that can, receive them kindly and live in them. As for other practices, which aim at other so-called goods, you must bid them farewell.
771a	ἀρχὴ δὲ ἔστω τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν νόμων ἥδε τις, ἀφ' ἱερῶν ἠργμένη. τὸν ἀριθμὸν γὰρ δὴ δεῖ πρῶτον ἀναλαβεῖν ἡμᾶς τὸν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα, ὅσας εἶχέν [771b] τε καὶ ἔχει τομὰς προσφόρους ὅ τε ὅλος ἅμα καὶ ὁ κατὰ φυλάς, ὃ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἔθεμεν δωδεκατημόριον, ἓν καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰκοσάκις ὀρθότατα φύν. ἔχει δὲ διανομὰς δώδεκα μὲν ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἡμῖν, δώδεκα δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς φυλῆς· ἑκάστην δὴ τὴν μοῖραν διανοεῖσθαι χρεὼν ὡς οὖσαν ἱεράν, θεοῦ δῶρον, ἐπομένην τοῖς μησὶν καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς περιόδῳ.	Let this, then, be the beginning of our laws from here on, starting with sacred matters. We must first take up again the number five thousand and forty, and all the convenient divisions it had [771b] and still has, both as a whole and in the number for each tribe, which we set as a twelfth of the whole: twenty-one times twenty, a number that comes out exactly right. Our whole number has twelve divisions, and the tribal number has twelve as well. Each portion must be thought of as sacred, a gift of god, corresponding to the months and to the revolution of the universe.
771b	διὸ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἄγει μὲν τὸ σύμφυτον ἱεροῦν αὐτάς, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων ἴσως ὀρθότερον ἐνείμαντό τε καὶ εὐτυχέστερον ἐθείωσαν τὴν [771c] διανομήν· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὖν νῦν φαμεν ὀρθότατα προῃρῆσθαι τὸν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα ἀριθμόν, ὃς πάσας τὰς διανομὰς ἔχει μέχρι τῶν δώδεκα ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρξάμενος πλὴν ἑνδεκάδος—αὕτη δ' ἔχει σμικρότατον ἴαμα· ἐπὶ θάτερα γὰρ ὑγιὴς γίγνεται δυοῖν ἑστίαιν ἀπονεμηθείσαιν —ὡς δ' ἐστὶν ταῦτα ἀληθῶς ὄντα, κατὰ σχολὴν οὐκ ἂν πολὺς ἐπιδείξειεν μῦθος.	That's why an innate impulse leads every city to make them sacred, although some have probably made their divisions more correctly than others, and consecrated the [771c] division more fortunately. We, at any rate, say that the number 5,040 has been chosen most correctly. It has all the divisors from one up to twelve except eleven—and even that has a very small remedy: it comes out whole the other way, if two households are set aside. To show that this is really so would not take a long story, when there is time.[7]
771c	πιστεύσαντες δὴ τὰ νῦν τῇ παρούσῃ φήμῃ [771d] καὶ λόγῳ, νείμωμέν τε ταύτην, καὶ ἑκάστῃ μοίρᾳ θεὸν ἢ θεῶν παῖδα ἐπιφημίσαντες, βωμούς τε καὶ τὰ τούτοις προσήκοντα ἀποδόντες, θυσιῶν πέρι συνόδους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ποιώμεθα δύο τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα μὲν τῇ τῆς φυλῆς διανομῇ, δώδεκα δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πόλεως διαμερισμῷ, θεῶν μὲν δὴ	So, trusting for now in this report [771d] and argument, let's divide up the city on this basis. Assigning to each portion a god or a child of gods, and giving them altars and all that goes with them, let's hold assemblies for sacrifice at them twice a

7 5,040 − 2 = 5,038, which is 11 × 458.

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πρῶτον χάριτος ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν περὶ θεούς, δεύτερον δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἰκειότητός τε πέρι καὶ γνωρίσεως ἀλλήλων, ὡς φαῖμεν ἄν, καὶ [771e] ὁμιλίας ἕνεκα πάσης. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν γάμων κοινωνίαν καὶ σύμμειξιν ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐξαιρεῖν παρ' ὧν τέ τις ἄγεται καὶ ἃ καὶ οἷς ἐκδίδωσι, περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενον ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ μὴ σφάλλεσθαι μηδαμῶς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

771e τῆς οὖν τοιαύτης σπουδῆς ἕνεκα χρὴ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς ποιεῖσθαι χορεύοντάς τε καὶ χορευούσας [772a] κόρους καὶ κόρας, καὶ ἅμα δὴ θεωροῦντάς τε καὶ θεωρουμένους μετὰ λόγου τε καὶ ἡλικίας τινὸς ἐχούσης εἰκυίας προφάσεις, γυμνοὺς καὶ γυμνὰς μέχριπερ αἰδοῦς σώφρονος ἑκάστων. τούτων δ' ἐπιμελητὰς πάντων καὶ κοσμητὰς τοὺς τῶν χορῶν ἄρχοντας γίγνεσθαι καὶ νομοθέτας μετὰ τῶν νομοφυλάκων, ὅσον ἂν ἡμεῖς ἐκλείπωμεν τάττοντες· ἀναγκαῖον δέ, ὅπερ εἴπομεν, περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ὅσα σμικρὰ [772b] καὶ πολλὰ νομοθέτην μὲν ἐκλείπειν, τοὺς δ' ἐμπείρους ἀεὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γιγνομένους αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας μανθάνοντας, τάττεσθαι καὶ ἐπανορθουμένους κινεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ἕως ἂν ὅρος ἱκανὸς δόξῃ τῶν τοιούτων νομίμων καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων γεγονέναι.

772b χρόνος μὲν οὖν μέτριος ἅμα καὶ ἱκανὸς γίγνοιτ' ἂν τῆς ἐμπειρίας δεκαετηρὶς θυσιῶν τε καὶ χορειῶν, ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἕκαστα ταχθείς, ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ τάξαντος νομοθέτου [772c] κοινῇ, τέλος δὲ σχόντος, αὐτὰς ἑκάστας τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς τοὺς νομοφύλακας εἰσφερούσας τὸ παραλειπόμενον τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, μέχριπερ ἂν τέλος ἔχειν ἕκαστον δόξῃ τοῦ καλῶς ἐξειργάσθαι, τότε δὲ ἀκίνητα θεμένους, ἤδη χρῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νόμων οὓς ἔταξε κατ' ἀρχὰς ὁ θεὶς αὐτοῖς νομοθέτης· ὧν πέρι κινεῖν μὲν ἑκόντας μηδέποτε μηδέν, εἰ δέ τις ἀνάγκη δόξειέ ποτε καταλαβεῖν, πάσας μὲν [772d] τὰς ἀρχὰς χρὴ συμβούλους, πάντα δὲ τὸν δῆμον καὶ πάσας θεῶν μαντείας ἐπελθόντας, ἐὰν συμφωνῶσι πάντες, οὕτω κινεῖν, ἄλλως δὲ μηδέποτε μηδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸν κωλύοντα ἀεὶ κατὰ νόμον κρατεῖν.

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month—twelve for the division of the tribe and twelve for the division of the city itself. The first purpose is to show gratitude to the gods and honor the things of the gods; the second, as we might put it, is our own familiarity and acquaintance with one another, and [771e] every kind of social contact. For with a view to partnership and union in marriage, it's essential to remove ignorance about the family one is taking a wife from, and about the one being given in marriage and those she is given to, making it one's top priority, as far as possible, never to make a mistake of any kind in such matters.

For the sake of this serious purpose, then, there should also be recreations in which young men and young women [772a] dance together, seeing each other and being seen, with reason and at an age that offers suitable occasions, unclothed, both young men and young women, as far as a sensible modesty in each allows. The overseers and organizers of all this are to be the officials in charge of the choruses, and together with the guardians of the laws they are to be the lawgivers for whatever we leave unregulated. It is inevitable, as we said, that in all such matters, small [772b] and numerous as they are, the lawgiver will leave things out, and that those who gain experience in them year after year, learning from practice, will make arrangements and correct and change them each year, until the regulation of such customs and practices seems to have been adequately settled.

A reasonable and adequate period for gaining this experience would be ten years of sacrifices and choral performances, arranged for all of them together and for each in detail. While the lawgiver who arranged them is alive, the officials are to act [772c] jointly with him. When he has died, each board of officials should bring before the guardians of the laws whatever has been left out in its own area and correct it, until each thing seems to have been completely and well worked out. Then they are to make these arrangements unchangeable, and from then on use them along with the other laws that the lawgiver who laid them down for them established at the beginning. They must never willingly change anything in these. But if they ever think some necessity has arisen, they must consult all [772d] the officials, the whole people, and all the oracles of the gods, and if all agree, then make

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		the change; but never otherwise, in any way at all. Rather, the one who opposes the change must always prevail according to law.

THE MARRIAGE LAWS

Citizens must marry by thirty-five, choosing partners for the city's good rather than their own pleasure.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
772d	**ATHENIAN** ὁπότε τις οὖν καὶ ὁπηνίκα τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι γεγονότων ἔτη, σκοπῶν καὶ σκοπούμενος ὑπ' ἄλλων, κατὰ νοῦν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρέποντα εἰς παίδων κοινωνίαν καὶ γένεσιν ἐξηυρηκέναι [772e] πιστεύει, γαμείτω μὲν πᾶς ἐντὸς τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, τὸ δὲ πρέπον καὶ τὸ ἁρμόττον ὡς χρὴ ζητεῖν, πρῶτον ἐπακουσάτω· δεῖ γάρ, ὥς φησιν Κλεινίας, ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νόμου προοίμιον οἰκεῖον ἑκάστῳ προτιθέναι.	**ATHENIAN** So whenever someone who has reached the age of twenty-five, observing others and being observed by them, believes he has found someone to his liking and suitable for sharing in the begetting of children, [772e] let him marry —everyone is to marry by the age of thirty-five. But first let him hear how he ought to look for what is fitting and suitable. For, as Clinias says, we must set a preamble of its own in front of each law.
772e	**CLINIAS** κάλλιστα, ὦ ξένε, διεμνημόνευσας, ἔλαβές τε τοῦ λόγου καιρὸν καὶ μάλ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντ' εἶναι σύμμετρον.	**CLINIAS** You remembered that very well, stranger, and you've seized an opportune moment in the discussion, one that strikes me as quite fitting.
	ATHENIAN εὖ λέγεις. ὦ παῖ, τοίνυν φῶμεν ἀγαθῶν πατέρων [773a] φύντι, τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς ἔμφροσιν εὐδόξους γάμους χρὴ γαμεῖν, οἵ σοι παραινοῖεν ἂν μὴ φεύγειν τὸν τῶν πενήτων μηδὲ τὸν τῶν πλουσίων διώκειν διαφερόντως γάμον, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τἆλλα ἰσάζῃ, τὸν ὑποδεέστερον ἀεὶ τιμῶντα εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν συνιέναι. τῇ τε γὰρ πόλει σύμφορον ἂν εἴη ταύτῃ ταῖς τε συνιούσαις ἑστίαις· τὸ γὰρ ὁμαλὸν καὶ σύμμετρον ἀκράτου μυρίον διαφέρει πρὸς ἀρετήν. κοσμίων τε πατέρων χρὴ [773b] προθυμεῖσθαι γίγνεσθαι κηδεστὴν τὸν αὑτῷ συνειδότα ἰταμώτερον ἅμα καὶ θᾶττον τοῦ δέοντος πρὸς πάσας τὰς πράξεις φερόμενον· τὸν δ' ἐναντίως πεφυκότα ἐπὶ τἀναντία χρὴ κηδεύματα πορεύεσθαι. καὶ κατὰ παντὸς εἷς ἔστω μῦθος γάμου· τὸν γὰρ τῇ πόλει δεῖ συμφέροντα μνηστεύειν γάμον ἕκαστον, οὐ τὸν ἥδιστον αὑτῷ.	**ATHENIAN** Good. Let's say, then: My boy, since you were born of good parents, [773a] you must make a marriage that sensible people think well of. They would advise you neither to avoid marrying into a poor family nor to pursue a rich one above all, but, if other things are equal, always to prefer the less well-off one and join yourself to it. That would be good both for the city and for the households being joined, since what is balanced and well proportioned is infinitely superior, when it comes to virtue, to what is unmixed. A man who knows himself to be rather [773b] headstrong, and quicker than he should be in everything he does, should be eager to become the son-in-law of orderly parents; while someone of the opposite nature should seek the opposite kind of in-laws. And let there be one rule for every marriage: each man must seek the marriage that benefits the city, not the one that is most pleasant for himself.
773b	φέρεται δέ πως πᾶς ἀεὶ κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς τὸν ὁμοιότατον αὑτῷ, ὅθεν ἀνώμαλος ἡ [773c] πόλις ὅλη γίγνεται χρήμασίν τε καὶ τρόπων ἤθεσιν· ἐξ ὧν ἃ μὴ βουλόμεθα συμβαίνειν ἡμῖν, καὶ μάλιστα συμβαίνει ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι. ταῦτα δὴ διὰ λόγου μὲν νόμῳ προστάττειν, μὴ γαμεῖν πλούσιον πλουσίου, μηδὲ πολλὰ δυνάμενον πράττειν ἄλλου τοιούτου, θάττους δὲ ἤθεσι πρὸς βραδυτέρους καὶ βραδυτέρους πρὸς θάττους ἀναγκάζειν τῇ τῶν γάμων	By nature everyone is always somehow drawn toward whoever is most like himself, and as a result the [773c] whole city becomes uneven in wealth and in character. From this come the results we don't want for ourselves, and which do happen in most cities. Now to prescribe these things expressly in a law—that a rich man must not marry into a rich family, nor a man of great power into another

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	κοινωνίᾳ πορεύεσθαι, πρὸς τῷ γελοῖα εἶναι θυμὸν ἂν ἐγείραι πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ ῥᾴδιον ἐννοεῖν ὅτι πόλιν εἶναι [773d] δεῖ δίκην κρατῆρος κεκραμένην, οὗ μαινόμενος μὲν οἶνος ἐγκεχυμένος ζεῖ, κολαζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νήφοντος ἑτέρου θεοῦ καλὴν κοινωνίαν λαβὼν ἀγαθὸν πῶμα καὶ μέτριον ἀπεργάζεται.	such family, and to compel those of quicker character to join with slower ones, and the slower with the quicker, in the partnership of marriage—would not only be ridiculous but would make many people angry. For it isn't easy to see that a city must be [773d] mixed like a mixing bowl, where the wine that is poured in seethes madly, but once it is chastened by another, sober god, it forms a fine partnership and makes a good and moderate drink.[8]
773d	τοῦτ' οὖν γιγνόμενον ἐν τῇ τῶν παίδων μείξει διορᾶν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν δυνατὸς οὐδείς· τούτων δὴ χάριν ἐᾶν μὲν νόμῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπᾴδοντα δὲ πείθειν πειρᾶσθαι τὴν τῶν παίδων ὁμαλότητα αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν γάμων [773e] ἰσότητος ἀπλήστου χρημάτων οὔσης περὶ πλείονος ἕκαστον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ δι' ὀνείδους ἀποτρέπειν τὸν περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἐσπουδακότα, ἀλλὰ μὴ γραπτῷ νόμῳ βιαζόμενον.	Hardly anyone, so to speak, can see that this happens in the mixing of children. For these reasons it is necessary to leave such matters out of the law, and instead try to persuade people, as if by a charm, that each should value evenness in their own children more highly than equality of fortune in marriage, [773e] which is an insatiable greed for money; and to turn away, by reproach, anyone who has set his heart on money in marriage, rather than force him with a written law.
773e	περὶ γάμων δὴ ταῦτ' ἔστω παραμύθια λεγόμενα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθε τούτων ῥηθέντα, ὡς χρὴ τῆς ἀειγενοῦς φύσεως ἀντέχεσθαι τῷ παῖδας παίδων καταλείποντα ἀεὶ τῷ [774a] θεῷ ὑπηρέτας ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ παραδιδόναι. πάντα οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω τις ἂν εἴποι περὶ γάμων, ὡς χρὴ γαμεῖν, προοιμιαζόμενος ὀρθῶς· ἂν δ' ἄρα τις μὴ πείθηται ἑκών, ἀλλότριον δὲ αὑτὸν καὶ ἀκοινώνητον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχῃ καὶ ἄγαμος ὢν γένηται πεντεκαιτριακοντούτης, ζημιούσθω κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον, ὁ μέγιστον μὲν τίμημα κεκτημένος ἑκατὸν δραχμαῖς, ὁ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἑβδομήκοντα, τρίτον δὲ ἑξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ τὸ τέταρτον τριάκοντα. τοῦτο δ' ἔστω τῆς Ἥρας [774b] ἱερόν.	Let these, then, be the words of encouragement about marriage, together with what was said earlier: that one should hold on to everlasting nature by leaving behind children's children, always handing on servants to [774a] the god in one's place. All this and more one could say about marriage, and why one should marry, in a proper preamble. But if someone won't obey willingly, and keeps himself apart, taking no part in the city, and is still unmarried at thirty-five, let him be fined every year: a man in the highest property class a hundred drachmas, in the second seventy, in the third sixty, and in the fourth thirty. And let this money be sacred [774b] to Hera.
774b	ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐκτίνων κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δεκαπλάσιον ὀφειλέτω· πραττέσθω δὲ ὁ ταμίας τῆς θεοῦ, μὴ ἐκπράξας δὲ αὐτὸς ὀφειλέτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τοῦ τοιούτου λόγον ὑπεχέτω πᾶς. εἰς μὲν οὖν χρήματα ὁ μὴ ᾽θέλων γαμεῖν ταῦτα ζημιούσθω, τιμῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων ἄτιμος πάσης ἔστω, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπακουέτω μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἑκὼν τῶν νέων· ἐὰν δὲ κολάζειν τινὰ ἐπιχειρῇ, πᾶς τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ βοηθείτω καὶ [774c] ἀμυνέτω, μὴ βοηθῶν δὲ ὁ παραγενόμενος δειλός τε ἅμα καὶ κακὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου πολίτης εἶναι λεγέσθω.	Anyone who doesn't pay each year shall owe ten times the amount. The treasurer of the goddess is to collect it; if he fails to collect it, he shall owe it himself, and every treasurer must give an account of this at his audit. That is the financial penalty for the man who is unwilling to marry. In addition, he shall receive no honor at all from younger people, and no young person shall willingly obey him in anything. If he tries to punish anyone, everyone is to come to the aid of the one being wronged and [774c] defend him; and anyone present who fails to

8 Greeks normally drank wine mixed with water in a large bowl; the "sober god" is the water.

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help shall be declared by the law a coward and a bad citizen.

774c περὶ δὲ προικὸς εἴρηται μὲν καὶ πρότερον, εἰρήσθω δὲ πάλιν ὡς ἴσα ἀντὶ ἴσων ἐστὶν τὸ μήτε λαμβάνοντι μήτ' ἐκδιδόντι διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν γηράσκειν τοὺς πένητας· τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπάρχοντά ἐστι πᾶσι τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, ὕβρις δὲ ἧττον γυναιξὶ καὶ δουλεία ταπεινὴ καὶ ἀνελεύθερος 774d διὰ χρήματα τοῖς γήμασι γίγνοιτο ἄν.

About dowries we have spoken before, but let it be said again: it is fair and equal all round that the poor should not grow old, whether taking a wife or giving a daughter in marriage, for lack of money. For everyone in this city has the necessities of life, and there would be less arrogance in wives, and less humble and servile subjection 774d in husbands on account of money.

774d καὶ ὁ μὲν πειθόμενος ἓν τῶν καλῶν δρᾷη τοῦτ' ἄν· ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἢ διδοὺς ἢ λαμβάνων πλέον ἢ πεντήκοντα ἄξια δραχμῶν ἐσθῆτος χάριν, ὁ δὲ μνᾶς, ὁ δὲ τριῶν ἡμιμναίων, ὁ δὲ δυοῖν μναῖν, ὁ τὸ μέγιστον τίμημα κεκτημένος, ὀφειλέτω μὲν τῷ δημοσίῳ τοσοῦτον ἕτερον, τὸ δὲ δοθὲν ἢ ληφθὲν ἱερὸν ἔστω τῆς Ἥρας τε καὶ τοῦ Διός, πραττόντων δὲ οἱ ταμίαι τούτοιν 774e τοῖν θεοῖν, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τῶν μὴ γαμούντων πέρι τοὺς ταμίας ἐκπράττειν ἑκάστοτε τοὺς τῆς Ἥρας ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν ἑκάστους τὴν ζημίαν ἐκτίνειν.

Whoever obeys will be doing something fine. But whoever disobeys, and gives or receives more than fifty drachmas' worth for the sake of clothing —or a mina in one case, one and a half minas in another, or two minas in the case of the man in the highest property class—shall owe as much again to the public treasury, and what was given or received shall be sacred to Hera and Zeus. The treasurers of these 774e two gods are to collect it, just as we said, in the case of those who don't marry, that the treasurers of Hera were always to collect the fine or else each pay it themselves.

774e ἐγγύην δὲ εἶναι κυρίαν πατρὸς μὲν πρῶτον, δευτέραν πάππου, τρίτην δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὁμοπατρίων, ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ εἷς ᾖ τούτων, τὴν πρὸς μητρὸς μετὰ τοῦτο εἶναι κυρίαν ὡσαύτως· ἐὰν δ' ἄρα τύχη τις ἀήθης συμβαίνῃ, τοὺς ἐγγύτατα γένους ἀεὶ κυρίους εἶναι μετὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων.

ὅσα δὲ προτέλεια γάμων ἤ τις ἄλλη περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα 775a ἱερουργία μελλόντων ἢ γιγνομένων ἢ γεγονότων προσήκουσά ἐστιν τελεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ἐρωτῶντα χρὴ καὶ πειθόμενον ἐκείνοις ἕκαστον ἡγεῖσθαι πάντα ἑαυτῷ μετρίως γίγνεσθαι.

A pledge of betrothal is to be valid if given first by the father, second by the grandfather, and third by brothers with the same father. If none of these exists, the pledge by relatives on the mother's side is next to be valid, in the same order. If some unusual chance should occur, the nearest relatives are always to have authority, together with the guardians.

As for any rites before the wedding, or any other sacred ceremony concerning such matters, 775a that should properly be performed before, during or after the wedding, each person should ask the interpreters and, by following their advice, consider that everything has been duly done for him.

775a περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑστιάσεων, φίλους μὲν χρὴ καὶ φίλας μὴ πλείους πέντε ἑκατέρων συγκαλεῖν, συγγενῶν δὲ καὶ οἰκείων ὡσαύτως τοσούτους ἄλλους ἑκατέρων· ἀνάλωμα δὲ μὴ γίγνεσθαι πλέον ἢ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν μηδενί, τῷ μὲν εἰς χρήματα μεγίστῳ μνᾶν, τῷ δ' ἥμισυ τοῦ τοσούτου, τῷ δ' 775b ἐφεξῆς οὕτω, καθάπερ ὑποβέβηκεν ἑκάστῳ τὸ τίμημα. καὶ τὸν μὲν πειθόμενον τῷ νόμῳ ἐπαινεῖν χρὴ πάντας, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα κολαζόντων οἱ νομοφύλακες ὡς ἀπειρόκαλόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἀπαίδευτον τῶν περὶ τὰς νυμφικὰς μούσας νόμων.

As for the wedding feasts, one should invite no more than five male and five female friends from each side, and the same number again of relatives and family members from each side. No one's expenses should exceed his means: for the richest, a mina; for the next, half that; and for 775b each after that in turn, as his property assessment decreases. Everyone should praise the man who obeys the law, but the guardians of the laws are to punish the one who disobeys, as a man with no taste and uneducated in the laws of the wedding Muses.

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775b	πίνειν δὲ εἰς μέθην οὔτε ἄλλοθί που πρέπει, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ ἑορταῖς, οὐδ' ἀσφαλές, οὔτ' οὖν δὴ περὶ γάμους ἐσπουδακότα, ἐν οἷς ἔμφρονα μάλιστα εἶναι πρέπει [775c] νύμφην καὶ νυμφίον μεταβολὴν οὐ σμικρὰν βίου μεταλλάττοντας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξ ἐμφρόνων ἀεὶ γίγνηται· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἄδηλον ὁποία νὺξ ἢ φῶς αὐτὸ γεννήσει μετὰ θεοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δεῖ μὴ τῶν σωμάτων διακεχυμένων ὑπὸ μέθης γίγνεσθαι τὴν παιδουργίαν, ἀλλ' εὐπαγὲς ἁπλανὲς ἡσυχαῖόν τε ἐν μοίρᾳ συνίστασθαι τὸ φυόμενον.	Drinking to the point of drunkenness is not fitting anywhere else, except at the festivals of the god who gave us wine; nor is it safe—and certainly not for someone serious about marriage. At a wedding, above all, the bride and groom ought to be in their right minds, [775c] since they are making no small change in their lives, and also so that their offspring may always come, as far as possible, from parents in their right minds. For it is almost impossible to know which night or day will, with god's help, beget it. Besides, the begetting of children shouldn't take place when bodies are loosened by drunkenness; what is conceived should be formed firm, steady and calm, as is proper.
775c	ὁ δὲ διῳνωμένος αὐτός τε φέρεται πάντῃ καὶ [775d] φέρει, λυττῶν κατά τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν· σπείρειν οὖν παράφορος ἅμα καὶ κακὸς ὁ μεθύων, ὥστ' ἀνώμαλα καὶ ἄπιστα καὶ οὐδὲν εὐθύπορον ἦθος οὐδὲ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων γεννῴη ποτ' ἄν. διὸ μᾶλλον μὲν ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ βίον χρή, μάλιστα δὲ ὁπόσον ἂν γεννᾷ χρόνον, εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ πράττειν μήτε ὅσα νοσώδη ἑκόντα εἶναι μήτε ὅσα ὕβρεως ἢ ἀδικίας ἐχόμενα—εἰς γὰρ τὰς τῶν γεννωμένων ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀναγκαῖον ἐξομοργνύμενον ἐκτυποῦσθαι καὶ τίκτειν [775e] πάντῃ φαυλότερα—διαφερόντως δὲ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀρχὴ γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἱδρυμένη σῴζει πάντα, τιμῆς ἐὰν τῆς προσηκούσης αὐτῇ παρ' ἑκάστου τῶν χρωμένων λαγχάνῃ.	A man full of wine is swept every which way himself and [775d] sweeps others along, raving in body and in soul. So a drunk man is a clumsy and bad sower, and in all likelihood would beget offspring that are unbalanced and untrustworthy, with nothing straight in either character or body. That's why one should take care throughout the whole year and one's whole life, but especially for as long as one is begetting children, not to do anything willingly that causes illness, or that involves insolence or injustice—for these are bound to be rubbed off and stamped onto the souls and bodies of the offspring, and to produce children [775e] worse in every way—and above all to keep away from such things on that day and night. For a beginning is also a god, and, established among human beings, it preserves everything, if it receives from each of those who deal with it the honor that is its due.
775e	νομίσαντα δ' εἶναι χρὴ τὸν γαμοῦντα ταῖν οἰκίαιν ταῖν ἐν [776a] τῷ κλήρῳ τὴν ἑτέραν οἷον νεοττῶν ἐγγέννησιν καὶ τροφήν, χωρισθέντα ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τὸν γάμον ἐκεῖ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν καὶ τὴν τροφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς φιλίαις ἐὰν μὲν πόθος ἐνῇ τις, κολλᾷ καὶ συνδεῖ πάντα ἤθη· κατακορὴς δὲ συνουσία καὶ οὐκ ἴσχουσα τὸν διὰ χρόνου πόθον ἀπορρεῖν ἀλλήλων ποιεῖ ὑπερβολαῖς πλησμονῆς. ὧν δὴ χάριν μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς γυναικὸς οἰκείοις παρέντας χρὴ τὰς αὑτῶν οἰκήσεις, οἷον [776b] εἰς ἀποικίαν ἀφικομένους, αὐτοὺς ἐπισκοποῦντάς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπισκοπουμένους οἰκεῖν, γεννῶντάς τε καὶ ἐκτρέφοντας παῖδας, καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλοις ἐξ ἄλλων, θεραπεύοντας ἀεὶ θεοὺς κατὰ νόμους.	The man who marries should regard one of the two houses [776a] on his allotment as a place for hatching and rearing his young. He should leave his father and mother and hold his wedding there, and make it the place where he lives and provides for himself and his children. For in friendships, if there is some longing, it cements and binds all kinds of character together; but too much togetherness, with no time for longing to grow, makes people drift apart from satiety. For this reason they should leave their own houses to the mother and father and the wife's relatives and, as though [776b] they had gone off to a colony, live on their own, visiting and being visited, begetting and raising

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children, handing on life from one generation to the next like a torch, and always serving the gods according to law.

SLAVES, TEMPLES AND WALLS

How to treat household slaves; temples surround the marketplace, and the city has no walls.

GREEK ENGLISH

776b **ATHENIAN** κτήματα δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ποῖα ἄν τις κεκτημένος ἐμμελεστάτην οὐσίαν κεκτῆτο; τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὔτε νοῆσαι χαλεπὸν οὔτε κτήσασθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν οἰκετῶν χαλεπὰ [776c] πάντῃ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς πως καί τινα τρόπον ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν λέγομεν· ἐναντία γὰρ ταῖς χρείαις, καὶ κατὰ τὰς χρείας αὖ, ποιούμεθα περὶ δούλων καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα.

ATHENIAN Next, what possessions would make the most harmonious property? Most of them are not hard to identify or to acquire, but household slaves are difficult [776c] in every way. The reason is that what we say about them is in a way incorrect and in a way correct. For what we say about slaves both contradicts our experience of using them and agrees with it.

776c **MEGILLUS** πῶς δ' αὖ τοῦτο λέγομεν; οὐ γάρ πω μανθάνομεν, ὦ ξένε, ὅτι τὰ νῦν φράζεις.

ATHENIAN καὶ μάλα γε, ὦ Μέγιλλε, εἰκότως· σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰλωτεία πλείστην ἀπορίαν παράσχοιτ' ἂν καὶ ἔριν τοῖς μὲν ὡς εὖ, τοῖς δ' ὡς οὐκ εὖ γεγονυῖά ἐστιν—ἐλάττω δὲ ἥ τε Ἡρακλεωτῶν [776d] δουλεία τῆς τῶν Μαριανδυνῶν καταδουλώσεως ἔριν ἂν ἔχοι, τὸ Θετταλῶν τ' αὖ πενεστικὸν ἔθνος—εἰς ἃ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα βλέψαντας ἡμᾶς τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ κτήσεως οἰκετῶν; ὃ δὴ παριὼν τῷ λόγῳ ἔτυχον εἰπών, καὶ σύ με εἰκότως τί ποτε φράζοιμι ἠρώτησας, τόδε ἐστίν. ἴσμεν ὅτι που πάντες εἴποιμεν ἂν ὡς χρὴ δούλους ὡς εὐμενεστάτους ἐκτῆσθαι καὶ ἀρίστους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἤδη δοῦλοι καὶ υἱέων τισὶν κρείττους πρὸς ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν γενόμενοι, σεσώκασιν δεσπότας [776e] καὶ κτήματα τάς τε οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὅλας. ταῦτα γὰρ ἴσμεν που περὶ δούλων λεγόμενα.

MEGILLUS What do we mean by that? We don't yet understand, stranger, what you're getting at.

ATHENIAN That's quite natural, Megillus. The Spartan system of helots would probably cause more perplexity and dispute than almost anything else among the Greeks, some saying it has turned out well, others that it hasn't. There would be less dispute about the subjection [776d] of the Mariandynians by the people of Heraclea, and about the serf class of the Thessalians, the Penestae. Looking at these and all similar cases, what should we do about acquiring household slaves? The point I happened to make in passing, which you quite reasonably asked me to explain, is this. We know, I think, that we would all say one should acquire slaves who are as loyal and as good as possible. For many slaves before now have proved better than brothers or sons in every kind of virtue, and have saved their masters, [776e] their possessions and their whole households. We know, I think, that these things are said about slaves.[9]

776e **MEGILLUS** τί μήν;

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν καὶ τοὐναντίον, ὡς ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ψυχῆς δούλης, οὐδὲ πιστεύειν οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν τῷ γένει δεῖ τὸν νοῦν κεκτημένον; ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος ἡμῖν τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀπεφήνατο, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διὸς ἀγορεύων, ὡς— [777a] ἥμισυ γάρ τε νόου , φησίν, ἀπαμείρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἂν δὴ κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσι. ταῦτα δὴ

MEGILLUS Certainly.

ATHENIAN And the opposite is said too: that there is nothing sound in a slave's soul, and that a sensible person should never trust that class at all. And the wisest of our poets declared, speaking about Zeus, that— [777a] "Half of their mind," he says, "far-seeing Zeus takes away from men, once the

9 The helots were Sparta's state-owned serfs; the Mariandynians were a native people on the Black Sea subjected by the Greek colony of Heraclea, and the Penestae were the serf class of Thessaly.

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διαλαβόντες ἕκαστοι τοῖς διανοήμασιν οἱ μὲν πιστεύουσί τε οὐδὲν γένει οἰκετῶν, κατὰ δὲ θηρίων φύσιν κέντροις καὶ μάστιξιν οὐ τρὶς μόνον ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἀπεργάζονται δούλας τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν· οἱ δ' αὖ τἀναντία τούτων δρῶσι πάντα.

777a **MEGILLUS** τί μήν;

777b **CLINIAS** τί οὖν δὴ χρὴ ποιεῖν, τούτων, ὦ ξένε, διαφερομένων οὕτω, περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὖ χώρας ἡμᾶς, τῆς τε κτήσεως ἅμα καὶ κολάσεως τῶν δούλων πέρι;

ATHENIAN τί δ', ὦ Κλεινία; δῆλον ὡς ἐπειδὴ δύσκολόν ἐστι τὸ θρέμμα ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν διόρισιν, τὸ δοῦλόν τε ἔργῳ διορίζεσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ δεσπότην, οὐδαμῶς εὔχρηστον ἐθέλειν εἶναί τε καὶ γίγνεσθαι φαίνεται, 777c χαλεπὸν δὴ τὸ κτῆμα· ἔργῳ γὰρ πολλάκις ἐπιδέδεικται περὶ τὰς Μεσσηνίων συχνὰς εἰωθυίας ἀποστάσεις γίγνεσθαι, καὶ περί γε τὰς τῶν ἐκ μιᾶς φωνῆς πολλοὺς οἰκέτας κτωμένων πόλεις, ὅσα κακὰ συμβαίνει, καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν λεγομένων περιδίνων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν γιγνομένων παντοδαπὰ κλωπῶν ἔργα τε καὶ παθήματα. πρὸς ἅ τις ἂν πάντα βλέψας διαπορήσειε τί χρὴ δρᾶν περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν τοιούτων.

777c δύο δὴ λείπεσθον μόνω μηχανά, μήτε πατριώτας ἀλλήλων εἶναι τοὺς 777d μέλλοντας ῥᾷον δουλεύσειν, ἀσυμφώνους τε εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα, τρέφειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὀρθῶς, μὴ μόνον ἐκείνων ἕνεκα, πλέον δὲ αὑτῶν προτιμῶντας· ἡ δὲ τροφὴ τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τινὰ ὕβριν ὑβρίζειν εἰς τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἧττον δέ, εἰ δυνατόν, ἀδικεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἴσου. διάδηλος γὰρ ὁ φύσει καὶ μὴ πλαστῶς σέβων τὴν δίκην, μισῶν δὲ ὄντως τὸ ἄδικον, ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν οἷς αὐτῷ ῥᾴδιον ἀδικεῖν· ὁ περὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων οὖν ἤθη καὶ πράξεις γιγνόμενός τις ἀμίαντος 777e τοῦ τε ἀνοσίου πέρι καὶ ἀδίκου, σπείρειν εἰς ἀρετῆς ἔκφυσιν ἱκανώτατος ἂν εἴη, ταὐτὸν δ' ἔστ' εἰπεῖν τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἅμα λέγοντα ἐπί τε δεσπότῃ καὶ τυράννῳ καὶ πᾶσαν δυναστείαν δυναστεύοντι πρὸς ἀσθενέστερον ἑαυτοῦ.

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day of slavery takes hold of them." People divide on these views, each in their own thinking. Some place no trust at all in the class of household slaves, and treat them like wild animals, using goads and whips to make their slaves' souls slavish not three times over but many times. Others do exactly the opposite.[10]

MEGILLUS Certainly.

CLINIAS Then what should we do, stranger, since people differ like this, about slaves in our own territory, when it comes both to acquiring and to punishing them?

ATHENIAN Well, Clinias? Clearly, since the human creature is hard to manage, and plainly refuses to be or become at all tractable with respect to the necessary distinction—distinguishing in practice between slave on the one hand and free man and master on the other— 777c it is a difficult possession. This has often been shown in practice: in the frequent revolts that tend to happen among the Messenians; in all the troubles that arise in the cities of those who acquire many household slaves who speak the same language; and again in the crimes of every kind committed, and suffered, by the so-called "rovers," bandits who roam around Italy. Looking at all this, one might well be at a loss about what to do in all such matters.[11]

Only two means are left. First, those who are going to 777d be slaves more readily should not be from the same country as one another, and as far as possible should not speak the same language. Second, we should treat them properly, not only for their sake but still more for our own. Proper treatment of such people means not committing any outrage against household slaves, and wronging them even less, if possible, than one's equals. For a man who reveres justice by nature and not in pretense, and truly hates injustice, shows himself in his dealings with those people whom it is easy for him to wrong. So whoever remains untainted by impiety 777e and injustice in his conduct toward the characters and actions of slaves would be best able to sow a crop of virtue. And the same thing may rightly be said of a master, a tyrant, and

10 Homer, *Odyssey* 17.322–323; in our texts of Homer, Zeus takes away half a man's virtue (aretē) rather than half his mind.
11 The Messenians, conquered by Sparta and made helots, revolted against it repeatedly. The "rovers" (peridinoi) are otherwise unknown; they were probably runaway slaves turned brigands.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		anyone who holds any kind of power over someone weaker than himself.
777e	κολάζειν γε μὴν ἐν δίκῃ δούλους δεῖ, καὶ μὴ νουθετοῦντας ὡς ἐλευθέρους θρύπτεσθαι ποιεῖν· τὴν δὲ οἰκέτου πρόσρησιν χρὴ σχεδὸν [778a] ἐπίταξιν πᾶσαν γίγνεσθαι, μὴ προσπαίζοντας μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς οἰκέταις, μήτ' οὖν θηλείαις μήτε ἄρρεσιν, ἃ δὴ πρὸς δούλους φιλοῦσι πολλοὶ σφόδρα ἀνοήτως θρύπτοντες χαλεπώτερον ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸν βίον ἐκείνοις τε ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἄρχειν.	Slaves must be punished, however, when it is just, and we shouldn't spoil them by admonishing them as though they were free. Whatever one says to a household slave should be almost [778a] entirely a command, and one should never joke in any way with household slaves, whether female or male. Many people very foolishly like to do this with their slaves, spoiling them and making life harder, both for the slaves to be ruled and for themselves to rule.
778a	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** You're right.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ὅτε τις οἰκέταις κατεσκευασμένος εἰς δύναμιν εἴη πλήθει καὶ ἐπιτηδειότητι πρὸς ἑκάστας τὰς τῶν ἔργων παραβοηθείας, τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο οἰκήσεις χρὴ διαγράφειν τῷ λόγῳ;	**ATHENIAN** So once someone has been supplied with household slaves, as far as possible sufficient in number and suited to help with each kind of work, the next thing is to sketch out the dwellings in our account?
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
778b	**ATHENIAN** καὶ συμπάσης γε ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἔοικεν τῆς οἰκοδομικῆς πέρι τήν γε δὴ νέαν καὶ ἀοίκητον ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν πόλιν ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι, τίνα τρόπον ἕκαστα ἕξει τούτων περί τε ἱερὰ καὶ τείχη. γάμων δ' ἦν ἔμπροσθεν ταῦτα, ὦ Κλεινία, νῦν δ' ἔπειπερ λόγῳ γίγνεται, καὶ μάλ' ἐγχωρεῖ ταύτῃ γίγνεσθαι τὰ νῦν· ἔργῳ μὴν ὅταν γίγνηται, ταῦτ' ἔμπροσθεν τῶν γάμων, ἐὰν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, ποιήσαντες, ἐκεῖνα ἤδη τότε ἐπὶ [778c] πᾶσιν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀποτελοῦμεν. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὅσον τινὰ τύπον αὐτῶν δι' ὀλίγων ἐπεξέλθωμεν.	**ATHENIAN** And it seems that, with a city that is new and hitherto uninhabited, we have to take care of practically all building matters: how each of these things will be arranged, including temples and walls. These matters came before marriage, Clinias; but since this is happening in words, it's perfectly all right for it to happen in this order for now. When it actually happens in deed, though, we'll do these things before the marriages, god willing, and only then complete those [778c] after all such matters. For now let's just go through a sort of outline of them, briefly.
778c	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** By all means.
	ATHENIAN τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ἱερὰ πᾶσαν πέριξ τήν τε ἀγορὰν χρὴ κατασκευάζειν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἐν κύκλῳ πρὸς τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς τῶν τόπων, εὐερκείας τε καὶ καθαρότητος χάριν· πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς οἰκήσεις τε ἀρχόντων καὶ δικαστηρίων, ἐν οἷς τὰς δίκας ὡς ἱερωτάτοις οὖσιν λήψονταί τε καὶ δώσουσι, τὰ μὲν [778d] ὡς ὁσίων πέρι, τὰ δὲ καὶ τοιούτων θεῶν ἱδρύματα, καὶ ἐν τούτοις δικαστήρια, ἐν οἷς αἵ τε τῶν φόνων πρέπουσαι δίκαι γίγνοιντ' ἂν καὶ ὅσα θανάτων ἄξια ἀδικήματα. περὶ δὲ τειχῶν, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ἔγωγ' ἂν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συμφεροίμην τὸ καθεύδειν ἐᾶν ἐν τῇ γῇ κατακείμενα τὰ τείχη καὶ μὴ ἐπανιστάναι, τῶνδε εἵνεκα.	**ATHENIAN** The temples should be built all around the marketplace, and in a circle around the whole city on the high ground, for ease of defense and for purity. Beside them should be the buildings of the officials, and the courts where they will receive and give judgment in the most sacred of settings, partly [778d] because the matters concern what is holy, and partly because these are seats of holy gods. Among these will be the courts where murder trials, and trials for all crimes deserving death, would properly be held. As for walls, Megillus, I would agree with Sparta in letting the walls

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sleep lying in the ground, and not raising them up. Here is why.[12]

778d καλῶς μὲν καὶ ὁ ποιητικὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγος ὑμνεῖται, τὸ χαλκᾶ καὶ σιδηρᾶ δεῖν εἶναι τὰ τείχη [778e] μᾶλλον ἢ γήινα· τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις γέλωτ' ἂν δικαίως πάμπολυν ὄφλοι, τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν ἐκπέμπειν εἰς τὴν χώραν τοὺς νέους, τὰ μὲν σκάψοντας, τὰ δὲ ταφρεύσοντας, τὰ δὲ καὶ διά τινων οἰκοδομήσεων εἴρξοντας τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς δὴ τῶν ὅρων τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἐάσοντας ἐπιβαίνειν, τεῖχος δὲ περιβαλοίμεθα, ὃ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς ὑγίειαν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐδαμῶς συμφέρει, πρὸς δέ τινα μαλθακὴν ἕξιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἐνοικούντων εἴωθε ποιεῖν, προκαλούμενον [779a] εἰς αὐτὸ καταφεύγοντας μὴ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, μηδὲ τῷ φρουρεῖν ἀεί τινας ἐν αὐτῇ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίας τυγχάνειν, τείχεσι δὲ καὶ πύλαις διανοεῖσθαι φραχθέντας τε καὶ καθεύδοντας σωτηρίας ὄντως ἔξειν μηχανάς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν γεγονότας, ἀγνοοῦντας δ' αὖ τὴν ῥᾳστώνην ὡς ὄντως ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν πόνων· ἐκ ῥᾳστώνης δέ γε, οἶμαι, τῆς αἰσχρᾶς οἱ πόνοι καὶ ῥᾳθυμίας πεφύκασι γίγνεσθαι πάλιν.

The poetic saying about walls is finely sung too, that they should be of bronze and iron [778e] rather than of earth. Besides, our own plan would deservedly earn a great deal of laughter, if we sent the young men out into the countryside every year to dig here and make trenches there, and even to keep out the enemy with fortifications of various kinds, so as not to let them set foot across the country's borders—and then put a wall around the city. A wall, first of all, is in no way good for the health of cities; and it tends to produce a kind of softness in the souls of those who live inside it. It invites them [779a] to flee into it and not fight off the enemy, and not to find their safety by having some people always on guard, night and day; instead they think that, fenced in by walls and gates and asleep, they will have a real means of safety, as though they were born not to work. They don't know that real ease comes from hard work, while hard work, I think, naturally comes back again from shameful ease and idleness.

779a ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τεῖχός γέ τι χρεὼν [779b] ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, τὰς οἰκοδομίας χρὴ τὰς τῶν ἰδίων οἰκήσεων οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάλλεσθαι, ὅπως ἂν ᾖ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἓν τεῖχος, ὁμαλότητί τε καὶ ὁμοιότησιν εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς πασῶν τῶν οἰκήσεων ἐχουσῶν εὐέρκειαν, ἰδεῖν τε οὐκ ἀηδὲς μιᾶς οἰκίας σχῆμα ἐχούσης αὐτῆς, εἵς τε τὴν τῆς φυλακῆς ῥᾳστώνην ὅλῳ καὶ παντὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν γίγνοιτ' ἂν διάφορος. τούτων δέ, ὡς ἂν μένῃ τὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς οἰκοδομηθέντα, μέλειν μὲν μάλιστα τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι πρέπον ἂν εἴη, [779c] τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προσαναγκάζοντας τὸν ὀλιγωροῦντα ζημιοῦντας, καὶ πάντων δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ καθαρότητός τ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅπως ἰδιώτης μηδεὶς μηδὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μήτε οἰκοδομήμασι μήτε οὖν ὀρύγμασιν ἐπιλήψεται.

But if human beings really must have some kind of [779b] wall, then the private houses should be laid out from the beginning so that the whole city is a single wall, with all the houses presenting a defensible front to the streets through their evenness and uniformity. The city, having the shape of a single house, would not be unpleasant to look at, and for ease of guarding it would be superior in every way, for safety. It would be fitting for the residents above all to see that what was originally built stays that way, [779c] but the city wardens should oversee it, enforcing it and fining anyone who neglects it. They should also look after the cleanliness of everything in the town, and see that no private person encroaches on anything belonging to the city, either with buildings or with excavations.

779c καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑδάτων τῶν ἐκ Διὸς εὐροίας τούτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι χρεών, καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς πόλεως ἢ ὁπόσα ἔξω πρέπον ἂν οἰκεῖν εἴη· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνιδόντες ταῖς χρείαις [779d] οἱ νομοφύλακες ἐπινομοθετούντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσα ἂν ὁ νόμος ἐκλείπῃ δι' ἀπορίαν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀγορὰν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ πάντα ὅσα διδασκαλεῖα κατεσκευασμένα

These officials must also take care that rainwater from Zeus drains away well, and of everything that is suitably located inside or outside the city. The guardians of the laws, surveying all these things in light of experience, [779d] should add legislation on them, and on anything else the law leaves out for lack of means. When these build-

12 Sparta was famous for having no city walls.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	περιμένει τοὺς φοιτητὰς καὶ θεατὰς θέατρα, πορευώμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς γάμους, τῆς νομοθεσίας ἑξῆς ἐχόμενοι.	ings, and those around the marketplace, and those for the gymnasia, and all the schools, are built and waiting for their pupils, and the theaters for their spectators, let's move on to what follows marriage, keeping to the order of our legislation.
779d	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.

COMMON MEALS FOR WOMEN

The Athenian proposes common meals for women, discusses the three human appetites and supervises childbearing.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN γάμοι μὲν τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἔστωσαν γεγονότες, ὦ Κλεινία· δίαιτα δὲ πρὸ παιδογονίας οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐνιαυσίας [779e] γίγνοιτ' ἂν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἣν δὴ τίνα τρόπον χρὴ ζῆν νυμφίον καὶ νύμφην ἐν πόλει διαφερούσῃ τῶν πολλῶν ἐσομένῃ—τὸ δὴ τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενον—εἰπεῖν οὐ πάντων εὐκολώτατον, ἀλλὰ ὄντων οὐκ ὀλίγων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τοιούτων, τοῦτο ἔτι ἐκείνων τῶν πολλῶν δυσχερέστερον ἀποδέχεσθαι τῷ πλήθει. τό γε μὴν δοκοῦν ὀρθὸν καὶ ἀληθὲς εἶναι πάντως ῥητέον, ὦ Κλεινία.	**ATHENIAN** Let's take it, Clinias, that the marriages have taken place. Next would come a way of life before having children, lasting no less than a year, [779e] and how bride and groom should live in a city that is to be different from most—which is what follows from what has just been said—is not the easiest of things to say. There have been quite a few such things before, but this one will be even harder than those many for most people to accept. Still, what seems right and true must be said in any case, Clinias.
779e	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
780a	**ATHENIAN** ὅστις δὴ διανοεῖται πόλεσιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι νόμους, πῇ τὰ δημόσια καὶ κοινὰ αὐτοὺς χρὴ ζῆν πράττοντας, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων ὅσον ἀνάγκη μηδὲ οἴεται δεῖν, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἑκάστοις εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ζῆν ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ, καὶ μὴ πάντα διὰ τάξεως δεῖν γίγνεσθαι, προέμενος δὲ τὰ ἴδια ἀνομοθέτητα, ἡγεῖται τά γε κοινὰ καὶ δημόσια ἐθελήσειν αὐτοὺς ζῆν διὰ νόμων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς διανοεῖται. τίνος δὴ χάριν ταῦτα εἴρηται; τοῦδε, ὅτι φήσομεν δεῖν ἡμῖν τοὺς νυμφίους μηδὲν διαφερόντως [780b] μηδὲ ἧττον ἐν συσσιτίοις τὴν δίαιταν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ πρὸ τῶν γάμων χρόνου γενομένου.	**ATHENIAN** Anyone who intends to declare laws for cities about how people should live when they conduct public and common affairs, but thinks there is no need to regulate private matters even as far as necessary—who thinks each person should be free to spend the day as he likes, and that not everything needs to be done in an orderly way—and who, leaving private matters unlegislated, believes people will be willing to live by laws in their common and public affairs, is not thinking correctly. Why have I said this? For this reason: we are going to say that our bridegrooms must take their meals at the common meals no differently [780b] and no less than in the time before their marriage.
780b	καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ θαυμαστὸν ὄν, ὅτε κατ' ἀρχὰς πρῶτον ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν τόποις, πολέμου τινὸς αὐτό, ὡς γ' εἰκός, νομοθετήσαντος ἢ τινος ἑτέρου τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος πράγματος ἐν ὀλιγανθρωπίαις ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐχομένοις, γευσαμένοις δὲ καὶ ἀναγκασθεῖσι χρήσασθαι τοῖς συσσιτίοις ἔδοξεν [780c] μέγα διαφέρειν εἰς σωτηρίαν τὸ νόμιμον, καὶ κατέστη δὴ τρόπῳ τινὶ τοιούτῳ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ὑμῖν τὸ τῶν συσσιτίων.	This practice was a marvel when it first arose in your part of the world. Probably some war laid it down as law, or some other event with the same force, among people in great difficulty because of their small numbers. Once they had tasted the common meals and been compelled to use them, the custom seemed [780c] to make a great difference to their safety, and so, in some such way, your practice of common meals was established.

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780c **CLINIAS** ἔοικε γοῦν.

ATHENIAN ὃ δὴ ἔλεγον, ὅτι θαυμαστὸν ὂν τοῦτό ποτε καὶ φοβερὸν ἐπιτάξαι τισίν, νῦν οὐχ ὁμοίως τῷ προστάττοντι δυσχερὲς ἂν εἴη νομοθετεῖν αὐτό· τὸ δ' ἑξῆς τούτῳ, πεφυκός τε ὀρθῶς ἂν γίγνεσθαι γιγνόμενον, νῦν τε οὐδαμῇ γιγνόμενον, ὀλίγου τε ποιοῦν τὸν νομοθέτην, τὸ τῶν παιζόντων, εἰς πῦρ ξαίνειν καὶ μυρία ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἀνήνυτα ποιοῦντα δρᾶν, οὐ 780d ῥᾴδιον οὔτ' εἰπεῖν οὔτ' εἰπόντα ἀποτελεῖν.

CLINIAS So it seems, at any rate.

ATHENIAN As I was saying, though this was once a marvel, and a frightening thing to impose on certain people, now it would not be as difficult for someone prescribing it to make it law. But the thing that comes next—which would naturally be right if it came about, but at present comes about nowhere—pretty much makes the lawgiver, as people say in jest, card wool into the fire and do countless other such futile things. It is not 780d easy either to say it or, having said it, to carry it out.

780d **CLINIAS** τί δὴ τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, ἐπιχειρῶν λέγειν ἔοικας σφόδρα ἀποκνεῖν;

CLINIAS What is this, stranger, that you're trying to say, but seem so very hesitant about?

ATHENIAN ἀκούοιτ' ἄν, ἵνα μὴ πολλὴ διατριβὴ γίγνηται περὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μάτην. πᾶν μὲν γάρ, ὅτιπερ ἂν τάξεως καὶ νόμου μετέχον ἐν πόλει γίγνηται, πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζεται, τῶν δὲ ἀτάκτων ἢ τῶν κακῶς ταχθέντων λύει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν εὖ τεταγμένων ἄλλα ἕτερα. οὗ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἐφέστηκεν πέρι τὸ λεγόμενον. ὑμῖν γάρ, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, τὰ μὲν περὶ 780e τοὺς ἄνδρας συσσίτια καλῶς ἅμα καί, ὅπερ εἶπον, θαυμαστῶς καθέστηκεν ἐκ θείας τινὸς ἀνάγκης, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας 781a οὐδαμῶς ὀρθῶς ἀνομοθέτητον μεθεῖται καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἦκται τὸ τῆς συσσιτίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἀλλ' ὃ καὶ ἄλλως γένος ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαθραιότερον μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπικλοπώτερον ἔφυ, τὸ θῆλυ, διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῦτο εἴξαντος τοῦ νομοθέτου δύστακτον ὂν ἀφείθη.

ATHENIAN You'll hear, so that we don't waste a lot of time on this very point. Everything in a city that partakes of order and law brings about all kinds of good; but of the things that are disordered, or badly ordered, most undo other things that are well ordered. That is where our discussion now stands. For you, Clinias and Megillus, the common meals 780e for men have been finely and, as I said, marvelously established out of some divine necessity. But where women are concerned, 781a the matter has quite wrongly been left unlegislated, and their practice of common meals has not been brought into the light. Instead, the female sex, which in any case is by nature more secretive and more sly among us human beings, because of its weakness, has been let go as hard to regulate, the lawgiver having wrongly given way.

781a διὰ δὲ τούτου μεθειμένου πολλὰ ὑμῖν παρέρρει, πολὺ ἄμεινον ἂν ἔχοντα, εἰ νόμων ἔτυχεν, ἢ τὰ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἥμισυ μόνον ἐστίν, ὡς 781b δόξειεν ἄν, τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκοσμήτως περιορώμενον, ὅσῳ δὲ ἡ θήλεια ἡμῖν φύσις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν χείρων τῆς τῶν ἀρρένων, τοσούτῳ διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον εἶναι. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐπαναλαβεῖν καὶ ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ πάντα συντάξασθαι κοινῇ γυναιξί τε καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτηδεύματα βέλτιον πρὸς πόλεως εὐδαιμονίαν· νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἦκται τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐδαμῶς εἰς τοῦτο εὐτυχῶς, ὥστε οὐδὲ μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἄλλοις γ' ἐστὶν τόποις καὶ πόλεσιν 781c νοῦν ἔχοντος, ὅπου μηδὲ συσσίτια ὑπάρχει τὸ παράπαν δεδογμένα κατὰ πόλιν εἶναι. πόθεν δή τίς γε ἔργῳ μὴ καταγελάστως ἐπιχειρήσει γυναῖκας προσβιάζεσθαι τὴν σίτων καὶ ποτῶν ἀνάλωσιν φανερὰν θεωρεῖσθαι;

Because this has been let go, many things slip away from you that would be much better if they had been given laws than they are now. For neglecting the proper order of women isn't, as 781b it might seem, only half the problem. Insofar as female nature is inferior to male nature in regard to virtue, it matters that much more—more than double. So it would be better for the city's happiness to take this up again, correct it, and arrange all practices in common for women and men. But as it is, the human race has come to such an unfortunate pass in this respect that in other places and cities 781c a sensible person can't even mention it, since there are no common meals at all accepted as a public institution. How, then, will anyone try in practice, without being laughed at, to force wo-

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781c τούτου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑπομείνειεν τοῦτο τὸ γένος· εἰθισμένον γὰρ δεδυκὸς καὶ σκοτεινὸν ζῆν, ἀγόμενον δ' εἰς φῶς βίᾳ πᾶσαν ἀντίτασιν ἀντιτεῖνον, πολὺ κρατήσει τοῦ [781d] νομοθέτου. τοῦτ' οὖν ἄλλοθι μέν, ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν λόγον ὑπομείνειε τὸν ὀρθὸν ῥηθέντα ἄνευ πάσης βοῆς, ἐνθάδε δὲ ἴσως ἄν. εἰ δὴ δοκεῖ λόγου γ' ἕνεκα μὴ ἀτυχῆ τὸν περὶ πάσης τῆς πολιτείας γενέσθαι λόγον, ἐθέλω λέγειν ὡς ἀγαθόν ἐστι καὶ πρέπον, εἰ καὶ σφῷν συνδοκεῖ ἀκούειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐᾶν.

men to eat and drink where they can be seen in public?

There is nothing this sex would put up with less. Accustomed to living withdrawn and in the dark, and dragged into the light by force, it will put up every kind of resistance and will be much stronger than the [781d] lawgiver. So elsewhere, as I said, it wouldn't even tolerate the correct view being stated without an outcry all round; but here perhaps it would. If you agree that, at least for the sake of the argument, our discussion of the whole constitution shouldn't fall short, I'm willing to explain how this is good and fitting—if you two are also agreed on hearing it; if not, to leave it alone.

781d **CLINIAS** ἀλλ', ὦ ξένε, θαυμαστῶς τό γε ἀκοῦσαι νῷν πάντως που συνδοκεῖ.

CLINIAS Why, stranger, we are both wonderfully agreed on hearing it, at all events.

ATHENIAN ἀκούωμεν δή. θαυμάσητε δὲ μηδὲν ἐὰν ὑμῖν ἄνωθέν [781e] ποθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν δόξω· σχολῆς γὰρ ἀπολαύομεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ κατεπεῖγον τὸ μὴ πάντῃ πάντως σκοπεῖν τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους.

ATHENIAN Then let's hear it. But don't be surprised if you find me starting a long way [781e] back. For we have leisure to enjoy, and there is nothing pressing us to keep us from examining matters of law from every angle and in every way.

781e **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς εἴρηκας.

CLINIAS You're right.

ATHENIAN πάλιν τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπαναχωρήσωμεν λεχθέντα. εὖ γὰρ δὴ τό γε τοσοῦτον χρὴ πάντ' ἄνδρα συννοεῖν, ὡς ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένεσις ἦ τὸ παράπαν ἀρχὴν [782a] οὐδεμίαν εἴληχεν οὐδ' ἕξει ποτέ γε τελευτήν, ἀλλ' ἦν τε ἀεὶ καὶ ἔσται πάντως, ἢ μῆκός τι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἀμήχανον ἂν χρόνον ὅσον γεγονὸς ἂν εἴη.

ATHENIAN Let's go back, then, to what we said at the start. Everyone should understand this much well: either the human race had no beginning at all [782a] and will never have an end, but always was and always will be; or it has existed for an immeasurable length of time since its beginning.

782a **CLINIAS** τί μήν;

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν; πόλεων συστάσεις καὶ φθοράς, καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα παντοῖα τάξεώς τε καὶ ἀταξίας, καὶ βρώσεως καὶ πωμάτων τε ἅμα καὶ βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμήματα παντοδαπά, πάντως καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἆρ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα γεγονέναι, καὶ στροφὰς ὡρῶν παντοίας, ἐν αἷς τὰ ζῷα μεταβάλλειν αὐτῶν [782b] παμπληθεῖς μεταβολὰς εἰκός;

ATHENIAN Well then? Don't we think that cities have been founded and destroyed, and that there have been all kinds of practices, orderly and disorderly, and all sorts of appetites for food, for drink and for things to eat, everywhere and all over the earth? And all kinds of changes in the seasons, in which animals would probably undergo [782b] a vast number of changes themselves?

782b **CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν; πιστεύομεν ἀμπέλους τε φανῆναί πού ποτε πρότερον οὐκ οὔσας; ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐλάας καὶ τὰ Δήμητρός τε καὶ Κόρης δῶρα; Τριπτόλεμόν τέ τινα τῶν τοιούτων γενέσθαι διάκονον; ἐν ᾧ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα ἦν τῷ χρόνῳ, μῶν οὐκ οἰόμεθα τὰ ζῷα, καθάπερ νῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐδωδὴν τρέπεσθαι;

ATHENIAN Well then? Do we believe that vines appeared somewhere at some point, when before they hadn't existed? And olives likewise, and the gifts of Demeter and Kore? And that someone called Triptolemus became the servant of such

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		things? And in the time when these things didn't exist, don't we suppose that animals turned to eating one another, as they do now?[13]
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	CLINIAS Certainly.
782c	ATHENIAN τὸ δὲ μὴν θύειν ἀνθρώπους ἀλλήλους ἔτι καὶ νῦν παραμένον ὁρῶμεν πολλοῖς· καὶ τοὐναντίον ἀκούομεν ἐν ἄλλοις, ὅτε οὐδὲ βοὸς ἐτόλμων μὲν γεύεσθαι, θύματά τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς θεοῖσι ζῷα, πέλανοι δὲ καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδευμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἁγνὰ θύματα, σαρκῶν δ' ἀπείχοντο ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν ἐσθίειν οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμοὺς αἵματι μιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ Ὀρφικοί τινες λεγόμενοι βίοι ἐγίγνοντο ἡμῶν τοῖς τότε, ἀψύχων μὲν ἐχόμενοι πάντων, ἐμψύχων δὲ τοὐναντίον 782d πάντων ἀπεχόμενοι.	ATHENIAN In fact we see that the practice of human beings sacrificing one another still survives among many people even now. And conversely we hear that among others there was a time when people didn't even dare to taste beef, and there were no animal sacrifices to the gods, but cakes, and fruits soaked in honey, and other such pure offerings. They kept away from meat, on the grounds that it was unholy to eat it or to stain the altars of the gods with blood. Instead, those of us who lived then led what are called Orphic lives, keeping to everything without a soul, and, on the contrary, 782d abstaining from everything with a soul.[14]
782d	CLINIAS καὶ σφόδρα λεγόμενά τ' εἴρηκας καὶ πιστεύεσθαι πιθανά.	CLINIAS What you've said is very widely said, and easy to believe.
	ATHENIAN πρὸς οὖν δὴ τί ταῦτα, εἴποι τις ἄν, ὑμῖν πάντ' ἐρρήθη τὰ νῦν;	ATHENIAN Then someone might ask: what was the point of saying all this to you just now?
	CLINIAS ὀρθῶς ὑπέλαβες, ὦ ξένε.	CLINIAS You've anticipated our question correctly, stranger.
	ATHENIAN καὶ τοίνυν, ἐὰν δύνωμαι, τὰ τούτοις ἑξῆς, ὦ Κλεινία, πειράσομαι φράζειν.	ATHENIAN Well then, if I can, Clinias, I'll try to explain what comes next.
	CLINIAS λέγοις ἄν.	CLINIAS Please go on.
	ATHENIAN ὁρῶ πάντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τριττῆς χρείας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἠρτημένα, δι' ὧν ἀρετή τε αὐτοῖς ἀγομένοις ὀρθῶς 782e καὶ τοὐναντίον ἀποβαίνει κακῶς ἀχθεῖσιν. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐδωδὴ μὲν καὶ πόσις εὐθὺς γενομένοις, ἣν πέρι ἅπασαν πᾶν ζῷον ἔμφυτον ἔρωτα ἔχον, μεστὸν οἴστρου τέ ἐστιν καὶ ἀνηκουστίας τοῦ λέγοντος ἄλλο τι δεῖν πράττειν πλὴν τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τὰς περὶ ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀποπληροῦντα, λύπης τῆς ἀπάσης ἀεὶ δεῖν σφᾶς ἀπαλλάττειν· τρίτη 783a δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ μεγίστη χρεία καὶ ἔρως ὀξύτατος ὕστατος μὲν ὁρμᾶται, διαπυρωτάτους δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μανίαις ἀπεργάζεται πάντως, ὁ περὶ τὴν τοῦ γένους σπορὰν ὕβρει πλείστῃ καόμενος.	ATHENIAN I see that everything for human beings depends on a threefold need and desire. Through these, virtue results for them if they are guided correctly, 782e and the opposite if they are guided badly. These are food and drink, from the moment they are born. Every animal has an innate love for all of this, and is full of frenzy, refusing to listen to anyone who says it should do anything other than satisfy its pleasures and desires for all these things, and so always rid itself of every pain. Our third 783a and greatest need, and our sharpest love, arises last, and it sets people utterly on fire with madness: the love that burns

13 Demeter, goddess of grain, and her daughter Kore (Persephone) were said to have given grain to humankind, and Triptolemus to have spread its cultivation.
14 Followers of the Orphic religious movement abstained from eating meat.

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		with the greatest wantonness, for the sowing of the race.
783a	ἃ δὴ δεῖ τρία νοσήματα, τρέποντα εἰς τὸ βέλτιστον παρὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ἥδιστον, τρισὶ μὲν τοῖς μεγίστοις πειρᾶσθαι κατέχειν, φόβῳ καὶ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ, προσχρωμένους μέντοι Μούσαις τε καὶ ἀγωνίοισι θεοῖς, 783b σβεννύντων τὴν αὔξην τε καὶ ἐπιρροήν.	These three diseases we must try to restrain, turning them toward what is best and away from what is called most pleasant, with the three greatest things—fear, law and true reason—and making use besides of the Muses and the gods of the games, 783b to quench their growth and their influx.
783b	παίδων δὲ δὴ γένεσιν μετὰ τοὺς γάμους θῶμεν, καὶ μετὰ γένεσιν τροφὴν καὶ παιδείαν· καὶ τάχ' ἂν οὕτω προϊόντων τῶν λόγων ὅ τε νόμος ἡμῖν ἕκαστος περαίνοιτο εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ συσσίτια ἡνίκα ἀφικόμεθα—τὰς τοιαύτας κοινωνίας εἴτε ἄρα γυναικῶν εἴτε ἀνδρῶν δεῖ μόνων γίγνεσθαι, προσμείξαντες αὐτοῖς ἐγγύθεν ἴσως μᾶλλον κατοψόμεθα—τά τε ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτῶν, ἔτι νῦν ὄντα ἀνομοθέτητα, 783c τάξαντες αὐτὰ ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησόμεθα, καὶ ὅπερ ἐρρήθη νυνδή, κατοψόμεθά τε αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστερον, μᾶλλόν τε τοὺς προσήκοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέποντας νόμους ἂν θείημεν.	Let's place the birth of children after marriage, and after birth, their nurture and education. And perhaps, as our discussion goes on this way, each of our laws would be brought to completion as we move forward, until we reach the common meals. Whether such associations should be of women as well, or of men only, we will perhaps see better when we get close to them. The matters that come before them, which are still unlegislated, 783c we will put in order and place in front of them; and, as was just said, we will see them more precisely, and would be better able to lay down laws that suit and fit them.
783c	CLINIAS ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	CLINIAS That's quite right.
	ATHENIAN φυλάξωμεν τοίνυν τῇ μνήμῃ τὰ νυνδὴ λεχθέντα· ἴσως γὰρ χρείαν ποτ' αὐτῶν πάντων ἕξομεν.	ATHENIAN Then let's keep in mind what we just said; perhaps we'll need all of it at some point.
	CLINIAS τὰ ποῖα δὴ διακελεύῃ;	CLINIAS What are you telling us to remember?
	ATHENIAN ἃ τοῖς τρισὶ διωριζόμεθα ῥήμασι· βρῶσιν μὲν ἐλέγομέν που, καὶ δεύτερον πόσιν, καὶ ἀφροδισίων δέ τινα 783d διαπτόησιν τρίτον.	ATHENIAN What we distinguished with three words. We spoke, I think, of eating; second, of drinking; and third, of a kind of 783d sexual excitement.
783d	CLINIAS πάντως, ὦ ξένε, μεμνησόμεθά που ὧν τὰ νῦν διακελεύῃ.	CLINIAS We'll certainly remember what you're telling us now, stranger.
	ATHENIAN καλῶς. ἔλθωμεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ νυμφικά, διδάξοντές τε αὐτοὺς πῶς χρὴ καὶ τίνα τρόπον τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ πείθωμεν, ἀπειλήσοντές τισιν νόμοις.	ATHENIAN Good. Now let's come to the newly married, to teach them how and in what way they should have children—and, if we can't persuade them, to threaten them with some laws.
	CLINIAS πῶς;	CLINIAS How so?
	ATHENIAN νύμφην χρὴ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ νυμφίον ὡς ὅτι καλλίστους καὶ ἀρίστους εἰς δύναμιν ἀποδειξομένους παῖδας τῇ 783e πόλει. πάντες δ' ἄνθρωποι κοινωνοὶ πάσης πράξεως, ἡνίκα μὲν ἂν προσέχωσιν αὑτοῖς τε καὶ τῇ πράξει τὸν νοῦν, πάντα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζονται, μὴ προσέχοντες δὲ ἢ μὴ ἔχοντες νοῦν, τἀναντία. προσεχέτω δὴ καὶ ὁ νυμφίος τῇ τε νύμφῃ καὶ τῇ παιδοποιίᾳ τὸν νοῦν, κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ νύμφη, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον	ATHENIAN The bride and groom must set their minds on producing the finest and best children they can for the 783e city. All human beings who share in any activity produce everything fine and good when they pay attention to themselves and to what they are doing, but the opposite when they don't pay attention, or have no sense. So let the bridegroom pay attention to the bride and to

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	διαφερόντως ὃν ἂν μήπω παῖδες [784a] αὐτοῖς ὦσιν γεγονότες.	having children, and the bride likewise, especially during the time when they don't yet [784a] have any children.
784a	ἐπίσκοποι δ' ἔστωσαν τούτων ἃς εἱλόμεθα γυναῖκες, πλείους εἴτ' ἐλάττους, τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁπόσας ἂν δοκῇ προστάττειν τε καὶ ὁπόταν, πρὸς τὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας συλλεγόμεναι μέχρι τρίτου μέρους ὥρας, οἳ δὴ συλλεχθεῖσαι διαγγελλόντων ἀλλήλαις εἴ τίς τινα ὁρᾷ πρὸς ἄλλ' ἄττα βλέποντα ἄνδρα ἢ καὶ γυναῖκα τῶν παιδοποιουμένων ἢ πρὸς τὰ τεταγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς [784b] γάμοις θυσιῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν γενομένων. ἡ δὲ παιδοποιία καὶ φυλακὴ τῶν παιδοποιουμένων δεκέτις ἔστω, μὴ πλείω δὲ χρόνον, ὅταν εὔροια ᾖ τῆς γενέσεως· ἂν δὲ ἄγονοί τινες εἰς τοῦτον γίγνωνται τὸν χρόνον, μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἀρχουσῶν γυναικῶν διαζεύγνυσθαι κοινῇ βουλευομένους εἰς τὰ πρόσφορα ἑκατέροις.	Their overseers are to be the women we have chosen—more of them or fewer, as many as the officials see fit to appoint, and at whatever time. They are to assemble every day at the temple of Eileithyia for up to a third of an hour. Once assembled there, they are to report to one another whether any of them has seen any man or woman among those having children paying attention to anything other than what was prescribed at the [784b] sacrifices and rites held at their weddings. The period for having children, and for supervising those having them, is to be ten years and no longer, when offspring come readily. If a couple remain childless up to that time, they are to separate, deciding jointly with their relatives and the women officials what is best for each of them.[15]
784b	ἐὰν δ' ἀμφισβήτησίς τις γίγνηται περὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις πρεπόντων καὶ προσφόρων, δέκα τῶν [784c] νομοφυλάκων ἑλομένους, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἱ δὲ τάξωσι, τούτοις ἐμμένειν. εἰσιοῦσαι δ' εἰς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν νέων αἱ γυναῖκες, τὰ μὲν νουθετοῦσαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπειλοῦσαι, παυόντων αὐτοὺς τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἀμαθίας· ἐὰν δ' ἀδυνατῶσι, πρὸς τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἰοῦσαι φραζόντων, οἱ δ' εἰργόντων. ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοί πως ἀδυνατήσωσι, πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἀποφηνάντων, ἀναγράψαντές τε καὶ ὀμόσαντες ἢ μὴν ἀδυνατεῖν [784d] τὸν καὶ τὸν βελτίω ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀναγραφεὶς ἄτιμος ἔστω, μὴ ἐλὼν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τοὺς ἐγγράψαντας, τῶνδε· μήτε γὰρ εἰς γάμους ἴτω μήτε εἰς τὰς τῶν παίδων ἐπιτελειώσεις, ἂν δὲ ἴῃ, πληγαῖς ὁ βουληθεὶς ἀθῷος αὐτὸν κολαζέτω.	If some dispute arises about what is fitting and best for each, they are to choose ten of the [784c] guardians of the laws, and abide by whatever those to whom they entrust the matter decide. The women are to go into the homes of the young couples and, partly by admonishing them and partly by threatening them, put a stop to their wrongdoing and ignorance. If they can't, they are to go to the guardians of the laws and tell them, and the guardians are to restrain them. And if they too somehow fail, they are to report it to the public, posting up the name and swearing on oath that they are unable [784d] to make so-and-so any better. The man who has been posted up is to lose the following rights, unless he wins a case in court against those who posted him: he is not to go to weddings, or to the celebrations held for children; and if he does go, anyone who wishes may punish him with a beating, without penalty.
784d	τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς ἔστω νόμιμα· τῶν ἐξόδων γὰρ τῶν γυναικείων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς γάμους καὶ γενέθλια τῶν παίδων φοιτήσεων μὴ μετεχέτω, ἐὰν ἀκοσμοῦσα ὡσαύτως [784e] ἀναγραφῇ καὶ μὴ ἕλῃ τὴν δίκην. ὅταν δὲ δὴ παῖδας γεννήσωνται κατὰ νόμους, ἐὰν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κοινωνῇ γυναικὶ ἢ γυνὴ ἀνδρί, ἐὰν μὲν παιδοποιουμένοις ἔτι, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιζήμια αὐτοῖς ἔστω καθάπερ τοῖς ἔτι γεννωμένοις εἴρηται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν σωφρονῶν καὶ σωφρονοῦσα εἰς τὰ	The same rules are to apply to a woman. She is to have no part in women's outings and honors, or in attending weddings and children's birthday celebrations, if she is likewise [784e] posted up for misbehaving and does not win her case. When they have had children according to the laws, if a man has relations of this kind with another woman, or a woman with another man, and the other party is still of child-bearing age, the same penalties apply

15 Eileithyia was the goddess of childbirth.

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τοιαῦτα ἔστω πάντα εὐδόκιμος, ὁ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἐναντίως τιμάσθω, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀτιμαζέσθω. καὶ μετριαζόντων μὲν [785a] περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν πλειόνων ἀνομοθέτητα σιγῇ κείσθω, ἀκοσμούντων δὲ νομοθετηθέντα ταύτῃ πραττέσθω κατὰ τοὺς τότε τεθέντας νόμους.

785a βίου μὲν ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἑκάστοις ὁ πρῶτος ἐνιαυτός· ὃν γεγράφθαι χρεὼν ἐν ἱεροῖσι πατρῴοις ζωῆς ἀρχή. κόρῳ καὶ κόρῃ παραγεγράφθω δ' ἐν τοίχῳ λελευκωμένῳ ἐν πάσῃ φρατρίᾳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀριθμουμένων· τῆς δὲ φρατρίας ἀεὶ [785b] τοὺς ζῶντας μὲν γεγράφθαι πλησίον, τοὺς δ' ὑπεκχωροῦντας τοῦ βίου ἐξαλείφειν. γάμου δὲ ὅρον εἶναι κόρῃ μὲν ἀπὸ ἑκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν εἰς εἴκοσι, τὸν μακρότατον χρόνον ἀφωρισμένον, κόρῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τριάκοντα μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα· εἰς δὲ ἀρχὰς γυναικὶ μὲν τετταράκοντα, ἀνδρὶ δὲ τριάκοντα ἔτη· πρὸς πόλεμον δὲ ἀνδρὶ μὲν εἴκοσι μέχρι τῶν ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν· γυναικὶ δέ, ἢν ἂν δοκῇ χρείαν δεῖν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ πολεμικά, ἐπειδὰν παῖδας γεννήσῃ, τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ πρέπον ἑκάσταις προστάττειν μέχρι τῶν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν.

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to them as were stated for those still having children. After that, the man and the woman who are moderate in such matters are to be well regarded in every way, and anyone who behaves in the opposite way is to be honored in the opposite way—or rather, dishonored. If most people behave with moderation [785a] in these matters, let them lie unlegislated, in silence; but if people misbehave, let these things be legislated and enforced accordingly, under the laws laid down at that time.

The beginning of each person's whole life is the first year, and it should be recorded in the family shrines as the beginning of life for boy and girl alike. Beside it, on a whitewashed wall in every phratry, should be written the number of the officials after whom the years are counted. The names of the living members of the phratry are always to be written [785b] close by, and those who depart from life erased. The age limit for marriage is to be sixteen to twenty for a girl—this being the longest period allowed—and thirty to thirty-five for a young man. For holding office, it is forty for a woman and thirty for a man. For military service, a man serves from twenty to sixty. As for a woman, whatever service it seems necessary for her to perform in war, once she has had children, it is to be assigned as possible and fitting for each, up to the age of fifty.[16]

16 Greek cities named each year after an official, so the list of officials served as a calendar.

Book VII

Education from infancy: music, gymnastics and mathematics.

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788a	**ATHENIAN** γενομένων δὲ παίδων ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν, τροφὴν μέν που καὶ παιδείαν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα λέγειν ὀρθότατ' ἂν γίγνοιθ' ἡμῖν, ἣν εἶναι μὲν ἄρρητον πάντως ἀδύνατον, λεγομένη δὲ διδαχῇ τινι καὶ νουθετήσει μᾶλλον ἢ νόμοις εἰκυῖ' ἂν ἡμῖν φαίνοιτο. ἰδίᾳ γὰρ καὶ κατ' οἰκίας πολλὰ καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐμφανῆ πᾶσι γιγνόμενα, ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ τῆς 788b ἑκάστων λύπης τε καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἕτερα παρὰ τὰς τοῦ νομοθέτου συμβουλὰς παραγενόμενα, παντοδαπὰ καὶ οὐχ ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις ἀπεργάζοιτ' ἂν τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἤθη. τοῦτο δὲ κακὸν ταῖς πόλεσιν· καὶ γὰρ διὰ σμικρότητα αὐτῶν καὶ πυκνότητα ἐπιζήμια τιθέντα ποιεῖν νόμους ἀπρεπὲς ἅμα καὶ ἄσχημον, διαφθείρει δὲ καὶ τοὺς γραφῇ τεθέντας νόμους, ἐν τοῖς σμικροῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς ἐθισθέντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρανομεῖν.	**ATHENIAN** Now that children have been born, boys and girls, it would be most correct for us to speak next about their nurture and education. It's quite impossible to leave this unspoken, but when it's spoken of, it would seem to us more like a kind of instruction and admonition than laws. For in private life, within households, many small things happen that aren't visible to everyone, and these, easily arising from 788b each person's pains, pleasures and desires, contrary to the lawgiver's advice, would make the citizens' characters varied and unlike one another. And that is bad for cities. Because these matters are so small and so frequent, it is both improper and unseemly to make laws imposing penalties on them; and yet it also undermines the laws that have been laid down in writing, when people have grown used to breaking the law in small and frequent matters.
788c	ὥστε ἀπορία μὲν περὶ αὐτὰ νομοθετεῖν, σιγᾶν δὲ ἀδύνατον. ἃ δὲ λέγω, δηλῶσαι πειρατέον οἷον δείγματα ἐξενεγκόντα εἰς φῶς· νῦν γὰρ λεγομένοις ἔοικε κατά τι σκότος.	So it's a problem to legislate about these things, and impossible to keep silent. I must try to make clear what I mean by bringing some samples, as it were, out into the light; at the moment what I'm saying seems to be spoken in a kind of darkness.
	CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς τήν γε ὀρθὴν πάντως δεῖ τροφὴν φαίνεσθαι δυναμένην ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἐξεργάζεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς εἴρηταί που.	**ATHENIAN** Well, we've rightly said, I think, that nurture which is really correct must prove able to make bodies and souls as beautiful and as good as possible.
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
788d	**ATHENIAN** σώματα δὲ κάλλιστα, οἶομαι, τό γε ἁπλούστατον, ὡς ὀρθότατα δεῖ νέων ὄντων εὐθὺς φύεσθαι τῶν παίδων.	**ATHENIAN** And the most beautiful bodies—to put it in the simplest way—come, I suppose, from children growing as straight as possible right from their earliest years.
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; τόδε οὐκ ἐννοοῦμεν, ὡς ἡ πρώτη βλάστη παντὸς ζῴου πολὺ μεγίστη καὶ πλείστη φύεται, ὥστε καὶ ἔριν πολλοῖς παρέσχηκεν μὴ γίγνεσθαι τά γ'	**ATHENIAN** Well then, don't we notice this: that the first growth of every living creature is by far the greatest and most abundant? So much so that

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ἀνθρώπινα μήκη διπλάσια ἀπὸ πέντε ἐτῶν ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν αὐξανόμενα;

many people have even argued that human height, from the age of five, doesn't double in the twenty years of growth that remain.

CLINIAS ἀληθῆ.

CLINIAS True.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν; πολλὴ αὔξη ὅταν ἐπιρρέῃ πόνων χωρὶς [789a] πολλῶν καὶ συμμέτρων, οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅτι μυρία κακὰ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἀποτελεῖ;

ATHENIAN Well then, when abundant growth floods in without [789a] plenty of well-proportioned exercise, don't we know that it causes countless ills in the body?

789a **CLINIAS** πάνυ γε.

CLINIAS Very much so.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν τότε δεῖται πλείστων πόνων, ὅταν ἡ πλείστη τροφὴ προσγίγνηται τοῖς σώμασι.

ATHENIAN So bodies need the most exercise when they're taking in the most nourishment.

CLINIAS τί δῆτ', ὦ ξένε; ἦ τοῖς ἄρτι γεγονόσι καὶ νεωτάτοις πόνους πλείστους προστάξομεν;

CLINIAS What's this, stranger? Are we going to prescribe the most exercise for newborns, the very youngest of all?

ATHENIAN οὐδαμῶς γε, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν αὐτῶν μητέρων τρεφομένοις.

ATHENIAN Not at all—but even earlier, for those still being nourished inside their mothers.

CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις, ὦ λῷστε; ἢ τοῖς κυουμένοισι φράζεις;

CLINIAS What do you mean, my good friend? Are you talking about babies in the womb?

789b **ATHENIAN** ναί. θαυμαστὸν δ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγνοεῖν ὑμᾶς τὴν τῶν τηλικούτων γυμναστικήν, ἣν βουλοίμην ἂν ὑμῖν καίπερ ἄτοπον οὖσαν δηλῶσαι.

ATHENIAN Yes. And it's no wonder you two are unfamiliar with the gymnastics of those so young. It's a strange thing, but I'd like to explain it to you.

CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS By all means.

ATHENIAN ἔστι τοίνυν παρ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον τὸ τοιοῦτον κατανοεῖν διὰ τὸ τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτόθι μειζόνως τινὰς παίζειν ἢ δεῖ· τρέφουσι γὰρ δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον παῖδες ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβύτεροί τινες ὀρνίθων θρέμματα, ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας τὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα.

ATHENIAN Well, it's easier to grasp this sort of thing where I come from, because some people there take their amusements more seriously than they should. With us, not only boys but some older men too raise young birds to fight one another.

ἀσκοῦντας τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν θηρίων πολλοῦ [789c] δὴ δέουσιν ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοὺς πρὸς ἄλληλα μετρίους, ἐν οἷς αὐτὰ ἀνακινοῦσι γυμνάζοντες· πρὸς γὰρ τούτοις λαβόντες ὑπὸ μάλης ἕκαστος, τοὺς μὲν ἐλάττονας εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, μείζους δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγκάλην ἐντός, πορεύονται περιπατοῦντες σταδίους παμπόλλους ἕνεκα τῆς εὐεξίας οὔτι τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς τούτων τῶν θρεμμάτων, καὶ τό γε τοσοῦτον δηλοῦσι τῷ δυναμένῳ καταμαθεῖν, [789d] ὅτι τὰ σώματα πάντα ὑπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν τε καὶ κινήσεων κινούμενα ἄκοπα ὀνίναται πάντων, ὅσα τε ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν, ἢ καὶ ἐν αἰώραις ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἢ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ὀχουμένων καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων ὁπωσοῦν δὴ φερομένων τῶν σωμάτων, κινεῖται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὰς τῶν σίτων τροφὰς καὶ ποτῶν κατακρατοῦντα, ὑγίειαν καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ῥώμην ἡμῖν δυνατά ἐστι παραδιδόναι.

And when they train such creatures, they're very far [789c] from thinking that the bouts against one another, in which they stir them up for exercise, give them enough exertion. On top of that, each of them takes his birds under his arm—the smaller ones in his hands, the bigger ones tucked into the crook of his arm—and goes walking for miles and miles, for the sake of the fitness not of his own body but of these creatures'. And to anyone able to learn from it they show at least this much: [789d] that all bodies benefit from being moved by shakings and motions without tiring, whether they move of themselves, or on swings, or at sea, or riding on horseback, or while being carried along by others in whatever way. Through this they master the nourishment of food and drink, and are able to

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give us health and beauty and strength of every other kind.

789d τί οὖν ἂν φαῖμεν ἐχόντων οὕτω τούτων τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς δεῖν ποιεῖν; βούλεσθε [789e] ἅμα γέλωτι φράζωμεν, τιθέντες νόμους τὴν μὲν κύουσαν περιπατεῖν, τὸ γενόμενον δὲ πλάττειν τε οἷον κήρινον, ἕως ὑγρόν, καὶ μέχρι δυοῖν ἐτοῖν σπαργανᾶν; καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς τροφοὺς ἀναγκάζωμεν νόμῳ ζημιοῦντες τὰ παιδία ἢ πρὸς ἀγροὺς ἢ πρὸς ἱερὰ ἢ πρὸς οἰκείους ἀεί πῃ φέρειν, μέχριπερ ἂν ἱκανῶς ἵστασθαι δυνατὰ γίγνηται, καὶ τότε, διευλαβουμένας ἔτι νέων ὄντων μή πῃ βίᾳ ἐπερειδομένων στρέφηται τὰ κῶλα, ἐπιπονεῖν φερούσας ἕως ἂν τριετὲς ἀποτελεσθῇ τὸ γενόμενον; εἰς δύναμιν δὲ ἰσχυρὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι χρεὼν [790a] καὶ μὴ μίαν; ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἑκάστοις, ἂν μὴ γίγνηται, ζημίαν τοῖς μὴ ποιοῦσι γράφωμεν; ἢ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ; τὸ γὰρ ἄρτι ῥηθὲν γίγνοιτ᾽ ἂν πολὺ καὶ ἄφθονον.

Given that this is how things stand, what should we say we must do next? Would you like us [789e] to spell it out, even at the risk of laughter, laying down laws that the pregnant woman must take walks, and that the newborn must be molded like wax while it's still soft and kept in swaddling clothes until the age of two? And that we compel the nurses, under legal penalty, to be forever carrying the children somewhere—to the fields or to the temples or to relatives—until they're able to stand properly; and even then, taking great care while they're still young that their limbs don't somehow get bent by bearing their weight too forcibly, to keep up the labor of carrying them until the child has turned three? That the nurses should be as strong as possible [790a] and more than one? And for each of these rules, if it isn't carried out, shall we write down a penalty for those who fail to comply? Or is that far from the mark? For the thing I just mentioned would happen, and in abundance.

790a **CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον;

CLINIAS What thing?

ATHENIAN τὸ γέλωτα ἂν πολὺν ὀφλεῖν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τῷ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἂν πείθεσθαι γυναικεῖά τε καὶ δούλεια ἤθη τροφῶν.

ATHENIAN That we'd earn a great deal of laughter—besides which the nurses, with the characters of women and of slaves, wouldn't be willing to obey.

CLINIAS ἀλλὰ τίνος δὴ χάριν ἔφαμεν αὐτὰ δεῖν ῥηθῆναι;

CLINIAS Then why did we say these things needed saying?

ATHENIAN τοῦδε· τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν τε καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἐν ταῖς [790b] πόλεσιν ἤθη τάχ᾽ ἂν ἀκούσαντα εἰς σύννοιαν ἀφίκοιτ᾽ ἂν τὴν ὀρθήν, ὅτι χωρὶς τῆς ἰδίας διοικήσεως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὀρθῆς γιγνομένης μάτην ἂν τὰ κοινά τις οἴοιτο ἕξειν τινὰ βεβαιότητα θέσεως νόμων, καὶ ταῦτα ἐννοῶν, αὐτὸς νόμοις ἂν τοῖς νῦν ῥηθεῖσιν χρῷτο, καὶ χρώμενος, εὖ τήν τε οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν ἅμα τὴν αὑτοῦ διοικῶν, εὐδαιμονοῖ.

ATHENIAN For this reason: if the masters and free people in the [790b] cities hear it, their characters might come to the right realization—that unless private life in cities is managed rightly, it's vain to suppose that public affairs will have any stability in the laying down of laws. And with this in mind a man might himself adopt as laws the things just said, and by adopting them, and managing both his household and his city well, be happy.

790b **CLINIAS** καὶ μάλ᾽ εἰκότως εἴρηκας.

CLINIAS That's very reasonable.

INFANCY: NEITHER PLEASURE NOR PAIN

Infants should be kept in motion and raised to be cheerful, avoiding both pampering and fear.

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ATHENIAN τοιγαροῦν μήπω λήξωμεν τῆς τοιαύτης νομοθεσίας, [790c] πρὶν ἂν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πάνυ

ATHENIAN Then let's not leave off this sort of legislation yet, [790c] not until we've also set out the

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	νέων παίδων ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀποδῶμεν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἤργμεθα τῶν περὶ τὰ σώματα μύθων λεχθέντων διαπεραίνειν.	practices concerning the souls of very young children, in the same way we've begun working through the stories we told about their bodies.
790c	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
	ATHENIAN λάβωμεν τοίνυν τοῦτο οἷον στοιχεῖον ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς τῶν πάνυ νέων τὴν τιθήνησιν καὶ κίνησιν γιγνομένην ὅτι μάλιστα διὰ πάσης τε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ὡς ἔστι σύμφορος ἅπασι μέν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τοῖς ὅτι νεωτάτοισι, καὶ οἰκεῖν, εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν, οἷον ἀεὶ πλέοντας· [790d] νῦν δ' ὡς ἐγγύτατα τούτου ποιεῖν δεῖ περὶ τὰ νεογενῆ παίδων θρέμματα.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's take this as a kind of basic element for both the body and the soul of the very young: that nursing them and keeping them in motion, as much as possible through every night and day, is beneficial for everyone, and not least for the very youngest; and that they should live, if it were possible, as though always at sea. [790d] As it is, we must do the nearest thing to this with newborn infants.
790d	τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε, ὡς ἐξ ἐμπειρίας αὐτὸ εἰλήφασι καὶ ἐγνώκασιν ὂν χρήσιμον αἵ τε τροφοὶ τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἰάματα τελοῦσαι· ἡνίκα γὰρ ἄν που βουληθῶσιν κατακοιμίζειν τὰ δυσυπνοῦντα τῶν παιδίων αἱ μητέρες, οὐχ ἡσυχίαν αὐτοῖς προσφέρουσιν ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον κίνησιν, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις [790e] ἀεὶ σείουσαι, καὶ οὐ σιγὴν ἀλλά τινα μελῳδίαν, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς οἷον καταυλοῦσι τῶν παιδίων, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἐκφρόνων βακχειῶν ἰάσεις, ταύτῃ τῇ τῆς κινήσεως ἅμα χορείᾳ καὶ μούσῃ χρώμεναι.	And we ought to infer from the following that nurses of little children, and the women who perform the Corybantic cures, have learned this from experience and recognized that it's useful. When mothers want to get babies who sleep badly to go to sleep, they don't bring them stillness but the opposite, motion, rocking them in their arms [790e] again and again; and not silence but a kind of melody. They quite literally pipe their children to sleep, as it were, just as in the cure of frenzied Bacchic states, using this combination of movement—dance—and music.[1]
790e	**CLINIAS** τίς οὖν αἰτία τούτων, ὦ ξένε, μάλιστ' ἔσθ' ἡμῖν;	**CLINIAS** So what would you say, stranger, is the main reason for this?
	ATHENIAN οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὴ γιγνώσκειν.	**ATHENIAN** It's not very hard to understand.
	CLINIAS πῶς δή;	**CLINIAS** How so?
	ATHENIAN δειμαίνειν ἐστίν που ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα τὰ πάθη, καὶ ἔστι δείματα δι' ἕξιν φαύλην τῆς ψυχῆς τινα. ὅταν οὖν [791a] ἔξωθέν τις προσφέρῃ τοῖς τοιούτοις πάθεσι σεισμόν, ἡ τῶν ἔξωθεν κρατεῖ κίνησις προσφερομένη τὴν ἐντὸς φοβερὰν οὖσαν καὶ μανικὴν κίνησιν, κρατήσασα δέ, γαλήνην ἡσυχίαν τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φαίνεσθαι ἀπεργασαμένη τῆς περὶ τὰ τῆς καρδίας χαλεπῆς γενομένης ἑκάστων πηδήσεως, παντάπασιν ἀγαπητόν τι, τοὺς μὲν ὕπνου λαγχάνειν ποιεῖ, τοὺς δ' ἐγρηγορότας ὀρχουμένους τε καὶ αὐλουμένους μετὰ θεῶν, οἷς ἂν καλλιεροῦντες ἕκαστοι θύωσι, κατηργάσατο ἀντὶ μανικῶν [791b] ἡμῖν διαθέσεων ἕξεις ἔμφρονας ἔχειν. καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς διὰ βραχέων γε οὕτως εἰπεῖν, πιθανὸν λόγον ἔχει τινά.	**ATHENIAN** Both these conditions are forms of fear, I suppose, and the fears come from some poor condition of the soul. So when [791a] someone applies a shaking from outside to conditions like these, the motion applied from outside overpowers the fearful, frenzied motion within. And having overpowered it, it produces a visible calm and stillness in the soul, in place of the violent pounding of the heart that each of them had suffered—something altogether welcome. The children it puts to sleep; the others, who are awake, dancing and being piped to in the company of the gods to whom each of them sacrifices with good omens, it brings to have sound states of mind in

1 The Corybantes were ecstatic attendants of the mother goddess Cybele; their rites of music and wild dancing were used to cure forms of frenzy.

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place of frenzied [791b] conditions. And this, to put it briefly at least, is a plausible enough account.

791b **CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN εἰ δέ γε οὕτως τοιαύτην τινὰ δύναμιν ἔχει ταῦτα, ἐννοεῖν χρὴ τόδε παρ' αὑτοῖς, ὡς ἅπασα ψυχὴ δείμασιν συνοῦσα ἐκ νέων μᾶλλον ἂν διὰ φόβων ἐθίζοιτο γίγνεσθαι· τοῦτο δέ που πᾶς ἂν φαίη δειλίας ἄσκησιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνδρείας γίγνεσθαι.

ATHENIAN Well, if these things have that sort of power, we ought to reflect on this among ourselves: every soul that lives with terrors from its youth will be all the more likely to become used to being fearful. And everyone would say that this is practice in cowardice, not courage.

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN τὸ δέ γε ἐναντίον ἀνδρείας ἂν φαῖμεν ἐκ νέων εὐθὺς [791c] ἐπιτήδευμα εἶναι, τὸ νικᾶν τὰ προσπίπτονθ' ἡμῖν δείματά τε καὶ φόβους.

ATHENIAN And the opposite, we'd say—practice in courage from earliest youth— [791c] is overcoming the terrors and fears that befall us.

791c **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς.

CLINIAS Right.

ATHENIAN ἓν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ψυχῆς μόριον ἀρετῆς, τὴν τῶν παντελῶς παίδων γυμναστικὴν ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν, μέγα ἡμῖν φῶμεν συμβάλλεσθαι.

ATHENIAN Then let's say that this too—the gymnastics of motion for very small children—contributes a great deal to one part of the soul's virtue.

CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν τό γε μὴ δύσκολον ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ δύσκολον οὐ σμικρὸν μόριον εὐψυχίας καὶ κακοψυχίας ἑκάτερον γιγνόμενον γίγνοιτ' ἄν.

ATHENIAN And again, having or not having a sour temper in the soul would be no small part of stout-heartedness and faint-heartedness respectively.

CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

791d **ATHENIAN** τίνα οὖν ἂν τρόπον εὐθὺς ἐμφύοιθ' ἡμῖν ὁπότερον βουληθεῖμεν τῷ νεογενεῖ, φράζειν δὴ πειρατέον ὅπως τις καὶ καθ' ὅσον εὐπορεῖ τούτων.

ATHENIAN So in what way could we implant in the newborn right from the start whichever of the two we wanted? We must try to say how, and how far, we have the means to do this.

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN λέγω δὴ τό γε παρ' ἡμῖν δόγμα, ὡς ἡ μὲν τρυφὴ δύσκολα καὶ ἀκράχολα καὶ σφόδρα ἀπὸ σμικρῶν κινούμενα τὰ τῶν νέων ἤθη ἀπεργάζεται, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἐναντίον, ἥ τε σφοδρὰ καὶ ἀγρία δούλωσις, ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀνελευθέρους καὶ μισανθρώπους ποιοῦσα, ἀνεπιτηδείους συνοίκους ἀποτελεῖ.

ATHENIAN I'll state the view we hold: luxury makes the characters of the young peevish, irritable and violently stirred by trifles; while its opposite, harsh and savage subjugation, by making them abject, servile and misanthropic, renders them unfit to live with others.

791e **CLINIAS** πῶς οὖν δὴ χρὴ τὰ μήπω φωνῆς συνιέντα, μηδὲ παιδείας τῆς ἄλλης δυνατὰ γεύεσθαί πω, τρέφειν τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν;

CLINIAS Then how should the city as a whole raise those who don't yet understand speech and can't yet taste any other kind of education?

ATHENIAN ὧδέ πως· φθέγγεσθαί που μετὰ βοῆς εὐθὺς πᾶν εἴωθεν τὸ γενόμενον, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ κλάειν πρὸς τῇ βοῇ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων συνέχεται.

ATHENIAN Something like this. Every creature that's born is used to giving voice with a cry right away, and not least the human race; and besides

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crying out, it's more given to weeping than the others.

CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν αἱ τροφοὶ σκοποῦσαι τίνος ἐπιθυμεῖ, τούτοις [792a] αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ προσφορᾷ τεκμαίρονται· οὗ μὲν γὰρ ἂν προσφερομένου σιγᾷ, καλῶς οἴονται προσφέρειν, οὗ δ' ἂν κλάῃ καὶ βοᾷ, οὐ καλῶς. τοῖς δὴ παιδίοις τὸ δήλωμα ὧν ἐρᾷ καὶ μισεῖ κλαυμοναὶ καὶ βοαί, σημεῖα οὐδαμῶς εὐτυχῆ· ἔστιν δὲ ὁ χρόνος οὗτος τριῶν οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐτῶν, μόριον οὐ σμικρὸν τοῦ βίου διαγαγεῖν χεῖρον ἢ μὴ χεῖρον.

ATHENIAN Now nurses, looking to see what a baby wants, judge [792a] by these very signs when they offer it things. If it falls silent when something is offered, they think they're offering the right thing; if it cries and screams, the wrong one. So for infants, the way of showing what they love and what they hate is crying and screaming—hardly happy signs. And this period lasts no less than three years, not a small part of life to spend badly or not badly.

792a **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς λέγεις.

CLINIAS You're right.

ATHENIAN ὁ δὴ δύσκολος οὐδαμῶς τε ἵλεως ἆρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σφῷν [792b] θρηνώδης τε εἶναι καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πλήρης μᾶλλον ἢ χρεών ἐστιν τὸν ἀγαθόν;

ATHENIAN Doesn't it seem to you both that someone sour-tempered and never cheerful [792b] is plaintive and, as a rule, fuller of complaints than a good man ought to be?

792b **CLINIAS** ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.

CLINIAS It seems so to me, at any rate.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν; εἴ τις τὰ τρί' ἔτη πειρῷτο πᾶσαν μηχανὴν προσφέρων ὅπως τὸ τρεφόμενον ἡμῖν ὡς ὀλιγίστῃ προσχρήσεται ἀλγηδόνι καὶ φόβοις καὶ λύπῃ πάσῃ κατὰ δύναμιν, ἆρ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα εὔθυμον μᾶλλόν τε καὶ ἵλεων ἀπεργάζεσθαι τηνικαῦτα τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ τρεφομένου;

ATHENIAN Well then, if someone tried during those three years, using every possible device, to make sure that our child would have as little experience as possible of pain and fear and every kind of distress, don't we suppose that he would then make the child's soul more good-humored and cheerful?

CLINIAS δῆλον δή, καὶ μάλιστά γ' ἄν, ὦ ξένε, εἴ τις πολλὰς [792c] ἡδονὰς αὐτῷ παρασκευάζοι.

CLINIAS Obviously, stranger—and especially if he provided it with lots of [792c] pleasures.

792c **ATHENIAN** τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Κλεινίᾳ συνακολουθήσαιμ' ἄν, ὦ θαυμάσιε. ἔστιν γὰρ οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ τοιαύτη πρᾶξις διαφθορὰ μεγίστη πασῶν· ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ γίγνεται ἑκάστοτε τροφῆς. ὁρῶμεν δὲ εἴ τι λέγομεν.

ATHENIAN There I could no longer go along with Clinias, my remarkable friend. In our view that sort of treatment is the worst corruption of all, since it always comes at the very beginning of upbringing. But let's see whether we're talking sense.

CLINIAS λέγε τί φῄς.

CLINIAS Tell us what you mean.

ATHENIAN οὐ σμικροῦ πέρι νῦν εἶναι νῷν τὸν λόγον. ὅρα δὲ καὶ σύ, συνεπίκρινέ τε ἡμᾶς, ὦ Μέγιλλε. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς δὴ λόγος οὔθ' ἡδονάς φησι δεῖν διώκειν τὸν ὀρθὸν βίον οὔτ' αὖ [792d] τὸ παράπαν φεύγειν τὰς λύπας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ ἀσπάζεσθαι τὸ μέσον, ὃ νυνδὴ προσεῖπον ὡς ἵλεων ὀνομάσας, ἣν δὴ διάθεσιν καὶ θεοῦ κατά τινα μαντείας φήμην εὐστόχως πάντες προσαγορεύομεν. ταύτην τὴν ἕξιν διώκειν φημὶ δεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι θεῖον, μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸν προπετῆ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς

ATHENIAN That the question we two are now discussing is no small one. You look into it too, Megillus, and help judge between us. My argument says that the right life should neither pursue pleasures nor, on the other hand, [792d] avoid pains altogether, but should embrace the middle itself—what I just now called being cheerful, the disposition that all of us, following some oracular saying, aptly ascribe to the god as well. It's this condition, I say,

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	γιγνόμενον ὅλως, ὡς οὐδ' ἐκτὸς λυπῶν ἐσόμενον, μήτε ἄλλον, γέροντα ἢ νέον, ἐᾶν πάσχειν ταὐτὸν τοῦθ' ἡμῖν, ἄρρενα ἢ θῆλυν, ἁπάντων δὲ ἥκιστα εἰς δύναμιν [792e] τὸν ἀρτίως νεογενῆ· κυριώτατον γὰρ οὖν ἐμφύεται πᾶσι τότε τὸ πᾶν ἦθος διὰ ἔθος.	that whoever among us means to be godlike must pursue: not throwing himself headlong at pleasures—since that won't free him from pains either—nor letting anyone else, old or young, male or female, suffer this, and least of all, as far as possible, [792e] the newborn. For it's then that a person's whole character is most decisively implanted in everyone, through habit.[2]
792e	ἔτι δ' ἔγωγ', εἰ μὴ μέλλοιμι δόξειν παίζειν, φαίην ἂν δεῖν καὶ τὰς φερούσας ἐν γαστρὶ πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν μάλιστα θεραπεύειν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅπως μήτε ἡδοναῖς τισι πολλαῖς ἅμα καὶ μάργοις προσχρήσεται ἡ κύουσα μήτε αὖ λύπαις, τὸ δὲ ἴλεων καὶ εὐμενὲς πρᾳόν τε τιμῶσα διαζήσει τὸν τότε χρόνον.	And I'd go further—if I weren't going to seem to be joking—and say that women carrying a child should be cared for more than any other women during that year, so that the expectant mother won't indulge in many wild pleasures, or in pains either, but will live through that time valuing cheerfulness, kindliness and gentleness.
793a	**CLINIAS** οὐδὲν δεῖ σε, ὦ ξένε, Μέγιλλον ἀνερωτᾶν πότερος ἡμῶν ὀρθότερον εἴρηκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτός σοι συγχωρῶ τὸν λύπης τε καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀκράτου βίον φεύγειν δεῖν πάντας, μέσον δέ τινα τέμνειν ἀεί. καλῶς τοίνυν εἴρηκάς τε καὶ ἀκήκοας ἅμα.	**CLINIAS** You don't need to ask Megillus, stranger, which of us two has spoken more correctly. I grant you myself that everyone must avoid a life of unmixed pain or unmixed pleasure and always steer a middle course. So you've spoken well, and heard a good answer too.
	ATHENIAN μάλα μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς, ὦ Κλεινία. τόδε τοίνυν ἐπὶ τούτοις τρεῖς ὄντες διανοηθῶμεν.	**ATHENIAN** Quite right, Clinias. Now let the three of us think about this next point.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What point?
	ATHENIAN ὅτι ταῦτ' ἔστιν πάντα, ὅσα νῦν διεξερχόμεθα, τὰ καλούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἄγραφα νόμιμα· καὶ οὓς πατρίους [793b] νόμους ἐπονομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα. καὶ ἔτι γε ὁ νυνδὴ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐπιχυθείς, ὡς οὔτε νόμους δεῖ προσαγορεύειν αὐτὰ οὔτε ἄρρητα ἐᾶν, εἴρηται καλῶς· δεσμοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πάσης εἰσὶν πολιτείας, μεταξὺ πάντων ὄντες τῶν ἐν γράμμασιν τεθέντων τε καὶ κειμένων καὶ τῶν ἔτι θησομένων, ἀτεχνῶς οἷον πάτρια καὶ παντάπασιν ἀρχαῖα νόμιμα, ἃ καλῶς μὲν τεθέντα καὶ ἐθισθέντα πάσῃ σωτηρίᾳ περικαλύψαντα ἔχει τοὺς τότε γραφέντας [793c] νόμους, ἂν δ' ἐκτὸς τοῦ καλοῦ βαίνῃ πλημμελῶς, οἷον τεκτόνων ἐν οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐρείσματα ἐκ μέσου ὑπορρέοντα, συμπίπτειν εἰς ταὐτὸν ποιεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, κεῖσθαί τε ἄλλα ὑφ' ἑτέρων, αὐτά τε καὶ τὰ καλῶς ὕστερον ἐποικοδομηθέντα, τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποπεσόντων.	**ATHENIAN** That all these things we're going through now are what most people call unwritten customs; and what they call ancestral [793b] laws are nothing other than all such things together. What's more, the argument that poured over us just now—that we should neither call these things laws nor leave them unspoken—was well said. For these are the bonds of every constitution, standing between all the laws that have been laid down in writing and are in force and those still to be laid down, just like ancestral and wholly ancient customs. Well established and well ingrained, they keep the laws written at any time [793c] wrapped in complete security; but if they step out of line and go wrong, they're like the props in builders' houses that slip out from the middle: they make everything collapse together, one part lying under another—the props themselves and all that was later built well on top of them—once the ancient foundations have given way.
793c		

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	ἃ δὴ διανοουμένους ἡμᾶς, ὦ Κλεινία, σοὶ δεῖ τὴν πόλιν καινὴν οὖσαν πάντῃ συνδεῖν, μήτε μέγα μήτε σμικρὸν παραλιπόντας εἰς δύναμιν ὅσα [793d] νόμους ἢ ἔθη τις ἢ ἐπιτηδεύματα καλεῖ· πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις πόλις συνδεῖται, ἄνευ δὲ ἀλλήλων ἑκάτερα τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν μόνιμα, ὥστε οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν ἐὰν ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἅμα καὶ σμικρὰ δοκούντων εἶναι νόμιμα ἢ καὶ ἐθίσματα ἐπιρρέοντα μακροτέρους ποιῇ τοὺς νόμους.	With all this in mind, Clinias, we must bind your city, new as it is, together at every point, omitting as far as possible nothing, large or small, of what [793d] people call laws or customs or practices. For a city is bound together by all such things, and neither kind is lasting without the other. So we shouldn't be surprised if a flood of customs or habits, many of them seemingly small, makes our laws longer.
793d	**CLINIAS** ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς σύ γε λέγεις, ἡμεῖς τε οὕτω διανοησόμεθα.	**CLINIAS** You're right, and that's how we'll think of it.

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND GYMNASTICS

Children play together at village temples, learn to use both hands, and train in dancing and wrestling.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN εἰς μὲν τοίνυν τὴν τοῦ τρί' ἔτη γεγονότος ἡλικίαν, [793e] κόρου καὶ κόρης, ταῦτα εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς ἀποτελοῖ καὶ μὴ παρέργως τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρῷτο, οὐ σμικρὰ εἰς ὠφελίαν γίγνοιτ' ἂν τοῖς νεωστὶ τρεφομένοις· τριετεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ τετραετεῖ καὶ πενταετεῖ καὶ ἔτι ἑξετεῖ ἤθει ψυχῆς παιδιῶν δέον ἂν εἴη, τρυφῆς δ' ἤδη παραλυτέον κολάζοντα, μὴ ἀτίμως, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων γ' ἐλέγομεν, τὸ μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως κολάζοντας ὀργὴν ἐμποιῆσαι δεῖν τοῖς κολασθεῖσιν [794a] μηδ' ἀκολάστους ἐῶντας τρυφήν, ταὐτὸν δραστέον τοῦτό γε καὶ ἐπ' ἐλευθέροισι. παιδιαὶ δ' εἰσὶν τοῖς τηλικούτοις αὐτοφυεῖς τινες, ἃς ἐπειδὰν συνέλθωσιν αὐτοὶ σχεδὸν ἀνευρίσκουσι.	**ATHENIAN** Up to the age of three, then, [793e] for boy and girl alike, if someone carries this out precisely and follows what's been said with more than passing attention, it would be of no small benefit to the newly raised. At three, four, five and even six years old, the character of the soul will need play; but by now we must draw them away from luxury by punishing them—not in a way that shames them. Rather, just as we said about slaves, that one must neither punish them with insolence, and so make those punished angry, [794a] nor leave them unpunished and pampered, the same must be done with free children too. Children of that age have games that come naturally to them, which they pretty much discover for themselves whenever they get together.
794a	συνιέναι δὲ εἰς τὰ κατὰ κώμας ἱερὰ δεῖ πάντα ἤδη τὰ τηλικαῦτα παιδία, ἀπὸ τριετοῦς μέχρι τῶν ἓξ ἐτῶν, κοινῇ τὰ τῶν κωμητῶν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἕκαστα· τὰς δὲ τροφοὺς ἔτι τῶν τηλικούτων κοσμιότητός τε καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ τροφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης συμπάσης, τῶν δώδεκα [794b] γυναικῶν μίαν ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ τετάχθαι κοσμοῦσαν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν προειρημένων ἃς ἂν τάξωσιν οἱ νομοφύλακες.	All the children of that age, from three to six, should now gather at the temples in each village, the children of each village together in one place. The nurses should still look after the good behavior or unruliness of children that age; and over the nurses themselves and the whole herd, one of the twelve [794b] women should be appointed to each group to keep order for a year—whichever of those mentioned earlier the guardians of the laws appoint.
794b	ταύτας δὲ αἱρείσθωσαν μὲν αἱ τῶν γάμων κύριαι τῆς ἐπιμελείας, ἐξ ἑκάστης τῆς φυλῆς μίαν, ἥλικας αὑταῖς· ἡ δὲ καταστᾶσα ἀρχέτω φοιτῶσα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ κολάζουσα ἀεὶ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα, δοῦλον μὲν καὶ	These women are to be chosen by the women in charge of supervising marriages, one from each tribe, of their own age. The one appointed shall carry out her office by going to the temple every

2 *Hileōs,* "cheerful," is also the word for a god who is gracious and well-disposed.

GREEK

δούλην καὶ ξένον καὶ ξένην αὐτὴ διά τινων τῆς πόλεως οἰκετῶν, πολίτην [794c] δὲ ἀμφισβητοῦντα μὲν τῇ κολάσει πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους ἐπὶ δίκην ἄγουσα, ἀναμφισβήτητον δὲ ὄντα καὶ τὸν πολίτην αὐτὴ κολαζέτω.

794c μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐξέτη καὶ τὴν ἐξέτιν διακρινέσθω μὲν ἤδη τὸ γένος ἑκατέρων—κόροι μὲν μετὰ κόρων, παρθένοι δὲ ὡσαύτως μετ' ἀλλήλων τὴν διατριβὴν ποιείσθωσαν—πρὸς δὲ τὰ μαθήματα τρέπεσθαι χρεὼν ἑκατέρους, τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἐφ' ἵππων διδασκάλους καὶ τόξων καὶ ἀκοντίων καὶ σφενδονήσεως, ἐὰν δέ πῃ συγχωρῶσιν, μέχρι [794d] γε μαθήσεως καὶ τὰ θήλεα, καὶ δὴ τά γε μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅπλων χρείαν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ νῦν καθεστὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖται παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὀλίγου.

794d **CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον;

ATHENIAN ὡς ἄρα τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ διαφέροντά ἐσθ' ἡμῶν φύσει πρὸς τὰς χρείας εἰς ἑκάστας τῶν πράξεων τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπεὶ τά γε περὶ πόδας τε καὶ τὰ κάτω τῶν μελῶν οὐδὲν διαφέροντα εἰς τοὺς πόνους φαίνεται· τὰ δὲ [794e] κατὰ χεῖρας ἀνοίᾳ τροφῶν καὶ μητέρων οἷον χωλοὶ γεγόναμεν ἕκαστοι. τῆς φύσεως γὰρ ἑκατέρων τῶν μελῶν σχεδὸν ἰσορροπούσης, αὐτοὶ διὰ τὰ ἔθη διάφορα αὐτὰ πεποιήκαμεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς χρώμενοι. ἐν ὅσοις μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἔργων μὴ μέγα διαφέρει, λύρᾳ μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χρώμενον, πλήκτρῳ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ, πρᾶγμα οὐδέν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· τούτοις δὲ παραδείγμασι χρώμενον καὶ εἰς ἄλλα μὴ δέον οὕτω χρῆσθαι [795a] σχεδὸν ἄνοια.

795a ἔδειξεν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ τῶν Σκυθῶν νόμος, οὐκ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τόξον ἀπάγων, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ οἰστὸν προσαγόμενος μόνον, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἑκατέροις ἐπ' ἀμφότερα χρώμενος· πάμπολλα δ' ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παραδείγματα ἐν ἡνιοχείαις τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις, ἐν οἷσιν μαθεῖν δυνατὸν ὅτι παρὰ φύσιν κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ ἀριστερὰ δεξιῶν ἀσθενέστερα κατασκευάζοντες. ταῦτα δ', ὅπερ εἴπομεν, ἐν μὲν κερατίνοις πλήκτροις [795b] καὶ ἐν ὀργάνοις τοιούτοις οὐδὲν μέγα· σιδηροῖς δ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὅταν δέῃ χρῆσθαι, μέγα διαφέρει, καὶ τόξοις καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ ἑκάστοις τούτων, πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅταν ὅπλοις δέῃ πρὸς ὅπλα χρῆσθαι. διαφέρει δὲ πάμπολυ μαθὼν μὴ μαθόντος καὶ ὁ γυμνασάμενος τοῦ μὴ γεγυμνασμένου.

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day and always punishing anyone who does wrong. A slave or a foreigner, male or female, she shall punish herself, through some of the city's public slaves; but a citizen [794c] who disputes the punishment she shall bring to trial before the city wardens, while if the citizen doesn't dispute it, she shall punish him herself as well.

After the age of six the sexes should be separated—boys spending their time with boys, and girls likewise with each other—and both should turn to lessons: the males to teachers of riding, archery, javelin-throwing and slinging; and the females too, if it's somehow agreed, at least [794d] as far as learning them goes, especially what concerns the use of arms. For the current practice in such matters is misunderstood by nearly everyone.

CLINIAS What's that?

ATHENIAN That our right and left sides are supposedly different by nature in their usefulness for each kind of action, as far as the hands are concerned—though in the feet and lower limbs there appears to be no difference for exertion. But [794e] in our hands each of us has been made lame, so to speak, by the folly of nurses and mothers. For although nature makes the two limbs more or less equal in strength, we ourselves have made them different through habit, by not using them properly. In tasks where it doesn't make much difference—holding the lyre in the left hand and the plectrum in the right, and so on—it doesn't matter at all. But to take these as examples and use our hands that way in other things where we shouldn't [795a] is close to folly.

The custom of the Scythians shows this. They don't only push the bow away with the left hand and draw the arrow toward them with the right, but use either hand alike for both. And there are a great many other examples like this, in chariot-driving and elsewhere, from which one can learn that those who make the left side weaker than the right are going against nature. As we said, with plectra of horn [795b] and instruments like that it's no great matter. But when iron weapons have to be used in war, it makes a great difference—bows and javelins and each of these—and by far the greatest when arms have to be used against arms. And the

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man who has learned is vastly superior to the man who hasn't, and the trained to the untrained.

795b καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ τελέως παγκράτιον ἠσκηκὼς ἢ πυγμὴν ἢ πάλην οὐκ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀδύνατός ἐστι μάχεσθαι, χωλαίνει δὲ καὶ ἐφέλκεται πλημμελῶν, ὁπόταν αὐτόν τις [795c] μεταβιβάζων ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀναγκάζῃ διαπονεῖν, ταὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτ', οἶμαι, καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ὀρθόν, ὅτι τὸν διττὰ δεῖ κεκτημένον, οἷς ἀμύνοιτό τ' ἂν καὶ ἐπιτιθεῖτο ἄλλοις, μηδὲν ἀργὸν τούτων μηδὲ ἀνεπιστῆμον ἐᾶν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν· Γηρυόνου δέ γε εἴ τις φύσιν ἔχων ἢ καὶ τὴν Βριάρεω φύοιτο, ταῖς ἑκατὸν χερσὶν ἑκατὸν δεῖ βέλη ῥίπτειν δυνατὸν εἶναι.

Someone fully trained in the pancratium, or boxing, or wrestling isn't unable to fight from his left side; he doesn't limp and stumble along awkwardly when someone [795c] shifts him over to the other side and forces him to work there. In just the same way, I think, one must rightly expect in the use of arms and in everything else that anyone who possesses a double set of limbs, with which to defend himself and attack others, should leave none of them idle or untrained, as far as he can. And if someone were born with the nature of Geryon, or even of Briareus, he ought to be able to throw a hundred missiles with his hundred hands.[3]

795c τούτων δὴ πάντων [795d] τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀρχούσαις τε καὶ ἄρχουσι δεῖ γίγνεσθαι, ταῖς μὲν ἐν παιδιαῖς τε καὶ τροφαῖς ἐπισκόποις γιγνομέναις, τοῖς δὲ περὶ μαθήματα, ὅπως ἀρτίποδές τε καὶ ἀρτίχειρες πάντες τε καὶ πᾶσαι γιγνόμενοι, μηδὲν τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἀποβλάπτωσι τὰς φύσεις εἰς τὸ δυνατόν.

The supervision of all this [795d] must lie with officials, women and men: the women overseeing games and nurture, the men lessons—so that all the boys and girls grow up sound of foot and sound of hand and, as far as possible, do their natures no harm through their habits.

795d τὰ δὲ μαθήματά που διττά, ὥς γ' εἰπεῖν, χρήσασθαι συμβαίνοι ἄν, τὰ μὲν ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμναστικῆς, τὰ δ' εὐψυχίας χάριν μουσικῆς. τὰ δὲ γυμναστικῆς αὖ δύο, [795e] τὸ μὲν ὄρχησις, τὸ δὲ πάλη. τῆς ὀρχήσεως δὲ ἄλλη μὲν Μούσης λέξιν μιμουμένων, τό τε μεγαλοπρεπὲς φυλάττοντας ἅμα καὶ ἐλεύθερον, ἄλλη δέ, εὐεξίας ἐλαφρότητός τε ἕνεκα καὶ κάλλους, τῶν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ μελῶν καὶ μερῶν τὸ προσῆκον καμπῆς τε καὶ ἐκτάσεως, καὶ ἀποδιδομένης ἑκάστοις αὐτοῖς αὐτῶν εὐρύθμου κινήσεως, διασπειρομένης ἅμα καὶ συνακολουθούσης εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ὄρχησιν ἱκανῶς.

The lessons, one might say, would turn out to be of two kinds: those concerned with the body belong to gymnastics, and those for good spirit to music. Gymnastics in turn has two parts: [795e] dancing and wrestling. Of dancing, one kind imitates the diction of the Muse, preserving dignity and freedom together; the other, for the sake of fitness, agility and beauty, aims at the proper bending and stretching of the body's own limbs and parts, giving each of them its own well-rhythmed movement, spread through and accompanying the whole dance as it should.

795e καὶ [796a] δὴ τά γε κατὰ πάλην ἃ μὲν Ἀνταῖος ἢ Κερκύων ἐν τέχναις ἑαυτῶν συνεστήσαντο φιλονικίας ἀχρήστου χάριν, ἢ πυγμῆς Ἐπειὸς ἢ Ἄμυκος, οὐδὲν χρήσιμα ἐπὶ πολέμου κοινωνίαν ὄντα, οὐκ ἄξια λόγῳ κοσμεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἀπ' ὀρθῆς πάλης, ἀπ' αὐχένων καὶ χειρῶν καὶ πλευρῶν ἐξειλήσεως, μετὰ φιλονικίας τε καὶ καταστάσεως διαπονούμενα μετ' εὐσχήμονος ῥώμης τε καὶ ὑγιείας ἕνεκα, ταῦτ' εἰς πάντα ὄντα χρήσιμα οὐ παρετέον, ἀλλὰ προστακτέον μαθηταῖς τε ἅμα καὶ τοῖς [796b] διδάξουσιν, ὅταν ἐνταῦθ' ὦμεν τῶν νόμων, τοῖς μὲν πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐμενῶς δωρεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ παραλαμβάνειν ἐν χάρισιν. οὐδ' ὅσα ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐστιν αὖ μιμήματα προσήκοντα

And [796a] in wrestling, the tricks that Antaeus or Cercyon devised in their arts out of a useless love of winning, or Epeius or Amycus in boxing, are of no use in the partnership of war and don't deserve to be dignified with a description. But what comes from upright wrestling—working the neck, hands and sides free, practiced with the will to win and with steady footing, with graceful strength and for the sake of health—this is useful for everything and must not be left out. When we reach this point in the laws, we must prescribe to learners and [796b] teachers alike that the teachers should give all

3 Geryon was a three-bodied giant, and Briareus a giant with a hundred hands.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	μιμεῖσθαι παρετέον, κατὰ μὲν τὸν τόπον τόνδε Κουρήτων ἐνόπλια παίγνια, κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαίμονα Διοσκόρων.	such things generously and the learners receive them gratefully. Nor should we leave out the fitting imitations to be performed in the choruses: here, the armed games of the Curetes; in Sparta, those of the Dioscuri.[4]
796b	ἡ δὲ αὖ που παρ' ἡμῖν κόρη καὶ δέσποινα, εὐφρανθεῖσα τῇ τῆς χορείας παιδιᾷ, κεναῖς χερσὶν οὐκ ᾠήθη δεῖν ἀθύρειν, [796c] πανοπλίᾳ δὲ παντελεῖ κοσμηθεῖσα, οὕτω τὴν ὄρχησιν διαπεραίνειν· ἃ δὴ πάντως μιμεῖσθαι πρέπον ἂν εἴη κόρους τε ἅμα καὶ κόρας, τὴν τῆς θεοῦ χάριν τιμῶντας, πολέμου τ' ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ ἑορτῶν ἕνεκα. τοῖς δέ που παισὶν εὐθύς τε καὶ ὅσον ἂν χρόνον μήπω εἰς πόλεμον ἴωσιν, πᾶσι θεοῖς προσόδους τε καὶ πομπὰς ποιουμένους μεθ' ὅπλων τε καὶ ἵππων ἀεὶ κοσμεῖσθαι δέον ἂν εἴη, θάττους τε καὶ βραδυτέρας ἐν ὀρχήσεσι καὶ ἐν πορείᾳ τὰς ἱκετείας ποιουμένους πρὸς θεούς [796d] τε καὶ θεῶν παῖδας.	And then our own Maiden and Mistress, delighting in the play of choral dance, didn't think she should amuse herself with empty hands, [796c] but danced it through adorned in full armor. It would be altogether fitting for boys and girls alike to imitate this, honoring the goddess's gift, both for use in war and for the sake of festivals. And boys, from early on and for as long as they haven't yet gone to war, should always be equipped with arms and horses when they hold processions and parades for all the gods, making their supplications to the gods [796d] and to the children of gods at a quicker or slower pace, in dances and on the march.[5]
796d	καὶ ἀγῶνας δὴ καὶ προαγῶνας, εἴ τινων, οὐκ ἄλλων ἢ τούτων ἕνεκα προαγωνιστέον· οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον χρήσιμοι εἷς τε πολιτείαν καὶ ἰδίους οἴκους, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πόνοι τε καὶ παιδιαὶ καὶ σπουδαὶ κατὰ σώματα οὐκ ἐλευθέρων, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία.	And contests and preliminary contests, if any are to be held, should be held for no other purpose than these. For these are useful in peace and in war, both for public life and for private households; whereas other bodily exertions, games and serious pursuits are unfit for free people, Megillus and Clinias.
	ἣν εἶπον γυμναστικὴν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις ὅτι δέοι διεξελθεῖν, σχεδὸν δὴ διελήλυθα τὰ νῦν, καὶ ἔσθ' αὕτη παντελής· εἰ δέ τινα ταύτης ὑμεῖς ἔχετε βελτίω, θέντες [796e] εἰς κοινὸν λέγετε.	The gymnastics that I said in our first discussions we needed to go through, I've now more or less gone through, and here it is, complete. If either of you has anything better than this, put it [796e] before us all and tell us.
796e	CLINIAS οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ὦ ξένε, παρέντας ταῦτα ἄλλα ἔχειν βελτίω τούτων περὶ γυμναστικῆς ἅμα καὶ ἀγωνίας εἰπεῖν.	**CLINIAS** It isn't easy, stranger, to set this aside and have anything better to say about gymnastics and competition.
	ATHENIAN τὸ τοίνυν τούτοις ἑξῆς περὶ τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος δῶρα, τότε μέν, ὡς ἅπαντα εἰρηκότες, ᾠόμεθα καταλείπειν μόνα τὰ περὶ γυμναστικῆς· νῦν δ' ἔστιν δῆλα ἅ τ' ἐστὶν καὶ ὅτι πρῶτα πᾶσιν ῥητέα. λέγωμεν τοίνυν ἑξῆς αὐτά.	**ATHENIAN** Then what comes next is the gifts of the Muses and Apollo. Back then we thought we'd covered all of it, and that only gymnastics was left. But now it's clear what remains, and that it must be said first of all. So let's discuss it next.
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν λεκτέον.	**CLINIAS** Yes, we certainly must.

4 Antaeus and Cercyon were legendary wrestlers, and Epeius and Amycus legendary boxers; the Curetes danced in armor around the infant Zeus in Crete, and the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) were honored at Sparta.
5 Athena, who was said to have danced the war dance in full armor.

SONGS AS LAWS

Games, songs and dances must never change, so every melody is consecrated and treated as law.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
797a	**ATHENIAN** ἀκούσατε δέ μου, προακηκοότες μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν· ὅμως δὲ τό γε σφόδρα ἄτοπον καὶ ἄηθες διευλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ λέγοντα καὶ ἀκούοντα, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν. ἐρῶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ λόγον οὐκ ἄφοβον εἰπεῖν, ὅμως δέ πῃ θαρρήσας οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι.	**ATHENIAN** Listen to me, then—though you've heard it before, in our earlier discussions. All the same, one must be very wary of anything extremely strange and unfamiliar, whether speaking or listening—and especially now. I'm going to put forward an argument that isn't safe to state; still, I'll take courage somehow and not shrink from it.
	CLINIAS τίνα δὴ τοῦτον, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What argument do you mean, stranger?
	ATHENIAN φημὶ κατὰ πάσας πόλεις τὸ τῶν παιδιῶν γένος ἠγνοῆσθαι σύμπασιν ὅτι κυριώτατόν ἐστι περὶ θέσεως νόμων, ἢ μονίμους εἶναι τοὺς τεθέντας ἢ μή. ταχθὲν μὲν [797b] γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ μετασχὸν τοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς παίζειν τε καὶ εὐθυμεῖσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς παιγνίοις, ἐᾷ καὶ τὰ σπουδῇ κείμενα νόμιμα μένειν ἡσυχῇ, κινούμενα δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ καινοτομούμενα, μεταβολαῖς τε ἄλλαις ἀεὶ χρώμενα, καὶ μηδέποτε ταὐτὰ φίλα προσαγορευόντων τῶν νέων, μήτ' ἐν σχήμασιν τοῖς τῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων μήτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις σκεύεσιν ὁμολογουμένως αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ κεῖσθαι τό τ' εὔσχημον καὶ ἄσχημον, ἀλλὰ τόν [797c] τι νέον ἀεὶ καινοτομοῦντα καὶ εἰσφέροντα τῶν εἰωθότων ἕτερον κατά τε σχήματα καὶ χρώματα καὶ πάντα ὅσα τοιαῦτα, τοῦτον τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως, τούτου πόλει λώβην οὐκ εἶναι μείζω φαῖμεν ἂν ὀρθότατα λέγοντες· λανθάνειν γὰρ τῶν νέων τὰ ἤθη μεθιστάντα καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄτιμον, τὸ δὲ νέον ἔντιμον.	**ATHENIAN** I say that in every city everyone has failed to realize that the kind of games children play has the most decisive effect on legislation—on whether the laws laid down will last or not. When this is regulated, [797b] and ensures that the same children always play the same games in the same way and by the same rules, and take pleasure in the same toys, it lets the laws that are seriously established stay undisturbed as well. But when these very games are shifted about and made new, always undergoing further changes, and the young never call the same things pleasing, and there's no settled, agreed standard of what's graceful and what's graceless, whether in the postures of their own bodies or in their other equipment—when instead the one [797c] who is always innovating and bringing in something different from the usual, in postures and colors and everything of that sort, is held in special honor—then we'd be quite right to say that a city has no greater plague than this person. For without anyone noticing he changes the characters of the young, making the old contemptible among them and the new esteemed.
797c	τούτου δὲ πάλιν αὖ λέγω τοῦ τε ῥήματος καὶ τοῦ δόγματος οὐκ εἶναι ζημίαν μείζω πάσαις πόλεσιν· ἀκούσατε δὲ ὅσον φημὶ αὖτ' εἶναι κακόν.	And I say, once more, that for all cities there is no greater harm than this way of talking and thinking. Listen to how great an evil I claim it is.
797d	**CLINIAS** ἦ τὸ ψέγεσθαι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα λέγεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν;	**CLINIAS** You mean the disparaging of antiquity in cities?
	ATHENIAN πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**ATHENIAN** Exactly.
	CLINIAS οὐ φαύλους τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἂν ἀκροατὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον ἔχοις ἂν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὡς δυνατὸν εὐμενεστάτους.	**CLINIAS** Well, you'll find us no poor audience for that argument, but as sympathetic a one as possible.
	ATHENIAN εἰκὸς γοῦν.	**ATHENIAN** So I'd expect.

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS λέγε μόνον.

CLINIAS Just go on.

ATHENIAN ἴτε δή, μειζόνως αὐτὸν ἀκούσωμέν τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕτως εἴπωμεν. μεταβολὴν γὰρ δὴ πάντων πλὴν κακῶν πολὺ σφαλερώτατον εὑρήσομεν ἐν ὥραις πάσαις, ἐν πνεύμασιν, ἐν διαίταις σωμάτων, ἐν τρόποις [797e] ψυχῶν, ἐν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐ τοῖς μέν, τοῖς δ' οὔ, πλήν, ὅτιπερ εἶπον νυνδή, κακοῖς· ὥστε, εἴ τις ἀποβλέψειε πρὸς σώματα, ὡς πᾶσι μὲν σιτίοις, πᾶσι δ' αὖ ποτοῖς καὶ πόνοις συνήθη γιγνόμενα, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ταραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἔπειτ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων ὑπὸ χρόνου σάρκας φύσαντα οἰκείας [798a] τούτοις, φίλα τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα γενόμενα ἁπάσῃ ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ὑγίειαν ἄριστα διάγει, καὶ ἄν ποτ' ἄρα ἀναγκασθῇ μεταβάλλειν αὖθις ἡντινοῦν τῶν εὐδοκίμων διαιτῶν, τό γε κατ' ἀρχὰς συνταραχθεὶς ὑπὸ νόσων μόγις ποτὲ κατέστη, τὴν συνήθειαν τῇ τροφῇ πάλιν ἀπολαβών, ταὐτὸν δὴ δεῖ νομίζειν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διανοίας τε ἅμα καὶ τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν φύσεις.

ATHENIAN Come, then: let's listen to it more attentively than we listen to ourselves, and put it to one another like this. We'll find that change, in everything except what's bad, is by far the most dangerous thing—in all the seasons, in the winds, in bodily regimens, in the characters [797e] of souls—in everything, one might say, not in some things and not in others, except, as I said just now, in what's bad. So if one looks at bodies, one sees how they become accustomed to all sorts of foods and drinks and exertions. At first they're upset by them; then in time, out of these very things, they grow flesh that's suited [798a] to them, and, having become fond of, used to and familiar with this whole regimen, they live in the best way for pleasure and health. And if ever someone is forced to change again to any other regimen, however well regarded, at first he's thrown into disorder by illnesses and only with difficulty recovers, once he has become used to his food again. We must suppose that the same thing happens with people's thoughts and with the natures of their souls.

[798a] οἷς γὰρ ἂν ἐντραφῶσιν νόμοις καὶ κατά τινα θείαν [798b] εὐτυχίαν ἀκίνητοι γένωνται μακρῶν καὶ πολλῶν χρόνων, ὡς μηδένα ἔχειν μνείαν μηδὲ ἀκοὴν τοῦ ποτε ἄλλως αὐτὰ σχεῖν ἢ καθάπερ νῦν ἔχει, σέβεται καὶ φοβεῖται πᾶσα ἡ ψυχὴ τό τι κινεῖν τῶν τότε καθεστώτων. μηχανὴν δὴ δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐννοεῖν ἀμόθεν γέ ποθεν ὄντινα τρόπον τοῦτ' ἔσται τῇ πόλει. τῇδ' οὖν ἔγωγε εὑρίσκω.

Whatever laws people have been brought up under, if by some divine [798b] good fortune these have remained unchanged over long ages, so that nobody has any memory or report of their ever having been otherwise than they are now, then the whole soul reveres and fears changing any of the things that are established. The lawgiver must think up some device, from wherever he can, by which this will come about in his city. And here's how I find it can be done.

[798b] τὰς παιδιὰς πάντες διανοοῦνται κινουμένας τῶν νέων, ὅπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἐλέγομεν, παιδιὰς ὄντως εἶναι καὶ οὐ τὴν μεγίστην ἐξ αὐτῶν [798c] σπουδὴν καὶ βλάβην συμβαίνειν, ὥστε οὐκ ἀποτρέπουσιν ἀλλὰ συνέπονται ὑπείκοντες, καὶ οὐ λογίζονται τόδε, ὅτι τούτους ἀνάγκη τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς νεωτερίζοντας ἑτέρους ἄνδρας τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γενέσθαι παίδων, γενομένους δὲ ἄλλους, ἄλλον βίον ζητεῖν, ζητήσαντας δέ, ἑτέρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ νόμων ἐπιθυμῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἥξοντος τοῦ νυνδὴ λεγομένου μεγίστου κακοῦ πόλεσιν [798d] οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν φοβεῖται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐλάττω μεταβαλλόμενα κακὰ διεξεργάζοιτ' ἄν, ὅσα περὶ σχήματα πάσχει τὸ τοιοῦτον· ὅσα δὲ περὶ τὰ τῶν ἠθῶν ἐπαίνου τε καὶ ψόγου πέρι πυκνὰ μεταπίπτει, πάντων, οἶομαι, μέγιστά τε καὶ πλείστης εὐλαβείας δεόμενα ἂν εἴη.

Everyone thinks, as we were saying earlier, that when the games of the young are changed they really are just games, and that no very serious consequence [798c] or harm comes of it. So people don't discourage the changes but give way and go along with them. They don't reckon that the children who innovate in their games are bound to grow into men different from the children before them; that being different, they'll look for a different life; and that having looked for it, they'll desire other practices and laws. And after that none of them fears the coming of what we were just calling the greatest evil for cities. [798d] Now changes in other matters—those that affect outward forms—would do lesser harm; but frequent shifts in what

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		is praised and blamed in characters would, I think, be the most serious of all, and need the greatest caution.
798d	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τί οὖν; τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις πιστεύομεν, οἷς ἐλέγομεν ὡς τὰ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν μουσικήν ἐστιν τρόπων μιμήματα βελτιόνων καὶ χειρόνων ἀνθρώπων; [798e] ἢ πῶς;	**ATHENIAN** Well then? Do we trust our earlier arguments, where we said that everything to do with rhythm and music as a whole consists of imitations of the characters of better and worse people? [798e] Or what?
798e	**CLINIAS** οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως πως τό γε παρ' ἡμῖν δόγμα ἔχον ἂν εἴη.	**CLINIAS** No, our view on that couldn't be any different.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν, φαμέν, ἅπασαν μηχανητέον μηχανὴν ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μήτε ἐπιθυμῶσιν ἄλλων μιμημάτων ἅπτεσθαι κατὰ ὀρχήσεις ἢ κατὰ μελῳδίας, μήτε τις αὐτοὺς πείσῃ προσάγων παντοίας ἡδονάς;	**ATHENIAN** Then, we say, we must use every possible device to ensure that our children neither desire to take up other imitations in dances or songs, nor are persuaded to by anyone offering them all sorts of pleasures?
	CLINIAS ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
799a	**ATHENIAN** ἔχει τις οὖν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βελτίω τινα τέχνην τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων;	**ATHENIAN** Does any of us have a better method for this than the Egyptians?
	CLINIAS ποίας δὴ λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What method do you mean?
	ATHENIAN τοῦ καθιερῶσαι πᾶσαν μὲν ὄρχησιν, πάντα δὲ μέλη, τάξαντας πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἑορτάς, συλλογισαμένους εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἅστινας ἐν οἷς χρόνοις καὶ οἵστισιν ἑκάστοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ παισὶ τούτων καὶ δαίμοσι γίγνεσθαι χρεών, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν θύμασιν ἑκάστοις ἣν ᾠδὴν δεῖ ἐφυμνεῖσθαι, καὶ χορείαις ποίαισιν γεραίρειν τὴν τότε [799b] θυσίαν, τάξαι μὲν πρῶτόν τινας, ἃ δ' ἂν ταχθῇ, Μοίραις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι θεοῖς θύσαντας κοινῇ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, σπένδοντας καθιεροῦν ἑκάστας τὰς ᾠδὰς ἑκάστοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἂν δὲ παρ' αὐτά τίς τῳ θεῶν ἄλλους ὕμνους ἢ χορείας προσάγῃ, τοὺς ἱερέας τε καὶ τὰς ἱερείας μετὰ νομοφυλάκων ἐξείργοντας ὁσίως ἐξείργειν καὶ κατὰ νόμον, τὸν δὲ ἐξειργόμενον, ἂν μὴ ἑκὼν ἐξείργηται, δίκας ἀσεβείας διὰ βίου παντὸς τῷ ἐθελήσαντι παρέχειν.	**ATHENIAN** Consecrating every dance and every melody. We should first fix the festivals, working out for the year which ones should take place, at what times, and in honor of which gods, children of gods and spirits; and then which song should be sung at each sacrifice to the gods, and with what choral dances to honor that particular [799b] sacrifice. Certain people should first fix these; and whatever has been fixed, all the citizens together, after sacrificing to the Fates and all the other gods, should consecrate with libations, each song to each of the gods and other powers. If anyone introduces other hymns or choral dances for any god contrary to these, the priests and priestesses, together with the guardians of the laws, shall exclude him, as religion and law allow; and if the one excluded doesn't willingly accept his exclusion, he shall be liable for the rest of his life to a prosecution for impiety by anyone who wishes.
799b	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς.	**CLINIAS** Right.
799c	**ATHENIAN** πρὸς τούτῳ δὴ νῦν γενόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, πάθωμεν τὸ πρέπον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς.	**ATHENIAN** Now that we've reached this point in the argument, let's do what's fitting for men like us.

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;

CLINIAS What do you mean?

ATHENIAN πᾶς που νέος, μὴ ὅτι πρεσβύτης, ἰδὼν ἄν ἢ καὶ ἀκούσας ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἐκτόπων καὶ μηδαμῇ πως συνήθων, οὐκ ἄν ποτέ που τὸ ἀπορηθὲν περὶ αὐτῶν συγχωρήσειεν ἐπιδραμὼν οὕτως εὐθύς, στὰς δ' ἄν, καθάπερ ἐν τριόδῳ γενόμενος καὶ μὴ σφόδρα κατειδὼς ὁδόν, εἴτε μόνος εἴτε μετ' [799d] ἄλλων τύχοι πορευόμενος, ἀνέροιτ' ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ ἀπορούμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πρότερον ὁρμήσειεν, πρίν πῃ βεβαιώσαιτο τὴν σκέψιν τῆς πορείας ὅπῃ ποτὲ φέρει. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἡμῖν ὡσαύτως ποιητέον· ἀτόπου γὰρ τὰ νῦν ἐμπεπτωκότος λόγου περὶ νόμων, ἀνάγκη που σκέψιν πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μὴ ῥᾳδίως οὕτως περὶ τοσούτων τηλικούτους ὄντας φάναι διισχυριζομένους ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμά τι σαφὲς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχειν.

ATHENIAN Any young man, let alone an old one, on seeing or hearing anything strange and quite unfamiliar, would never rush straight in and agree to what puzzles him about it. He'd stop, as if he'd come to a crossroads and didn't know the way very well, whether he happened to be traveling alone or with [799d] others; he'd put the difficulty to himself and to the others, and he wouldn't set off until he had somehow made sure, by examining it, where the road leads. And we should do the same now. Since a strange argument about laws has cropped up, we certainly have to examine it thoroughly, and not, at our age, lightly insist that we can say anything definite about such important matters on the spot.

799d **CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

CLINIAS Very true.

799e **ATHENIAN** οὐκοῦν τούτῳ μὲν χρόνον δώσομεν, βεβαιώσομεν δὲ τότε αὐτό, ὁπόταν σκεψώμεθα ἱκανῶς· ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὴν ἐπομένην τάξιν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς νῦν ἡμῖν παροῦσι διαπεράνασθαι κωλυθῶμεν μάτην, ἴωμεν πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν. τάχα γὰρ ἴσως, εἰ θεὸς ἐθέλοι, κἂν ἡ διέξοδος αὕτη ὅλη σχοῦσα τέλος ἱκανῶς ἂν μηνύσειε καὶ τὸ νῦν διαπορούμενον.

ATHENIAN So we'll give this time, and confirm it once we've examined it adequately. But so that we aren't prevented for nothing from completing the arrangement that follows on from the laws before us now, let's go on to their end. Perhaps, god willing, this whole exposition, once it has reached its end, may also sufficiently reveal what's now puzzling us.

CLINIAS ἄριστ', ὦ ξένε, λέγεις, καὶ ποιῶμεν οὕτως ὡς εἴρηκας.

CLINIAS Excellent, stranger. Let's do as you say.

ATHENIAN δεδόχθω μὲν δή, φαμέν, τὸ ἄτοπον τοῦτο, νόμους τὰς ᾠδὰς ἡμῖν γεγονέναι, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τότε περὶ κιθαρῳδίαν οὕτω πως, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὠνόμασαν— ὥστε τάχ' [800a] ἂν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι παντάπασί γ' ἂν ἀφεστῶτες εἶεν τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου, καθ' ὕπνον δὲ οἷόν πού τις ἢ καὶ ὕπαρ ἐγρηγορὼς ὠνείρωξεν μαντευόμενος αὐτό—τὸ δ' οὖν δόγμα περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτ' ἔστω· παρὰ τὰ δημόσια μέλη τε καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν νέων σύμπασαν χορείαν μηδεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' ὁντινοῦν ἄλλον τῶν νόμων φθεγγέσθω μηδ' ἐν ὀρχήσει κινείσθω. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιοῦτος ἀζήμιος ἀπαλλαττέσθω, τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθόμενον, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη νυνδή, νομοφύλακές τε [800b] καὶ ἱέρειαι καὶ ἱερῆς κολαζόντων. κείσθω δὲ νῦν ἡμῖν ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ;

ATHENIAN Let's take it as agreed, then, strange as it is, that our songs have become laws—*nomoi*, which seems to be just the name the ancients gave to songs for the lyre. So perhaps [800a] they too weren't entirely far from what we're now saying; one of them may have divined it, as it were, in a dream while asleep, or in a vision while awake. Anyway, let this be our decree about it: no one is to sing a note, or move in the dance, contrary to the public and sacred melodies and the whole choral performance of the young, any more than contrary to any other of the laws. Whoever complies shall go free of penalty; whoever disobeys, as was said just now, shall be punished by the guardians of the laws [800b] and the priestesses and priests. Shall we let this stand as settled in our discussion for now?

800b **CLINIAS** κείσθω.

CLINIAS Let it stand.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN τίνα δὴ τρόπον αὐτὰ νομοθετῶν τις μὴ παντάπασιν καταγέλαστος γίγνοιτ' ἄν; ἴδωμεν δὴ τὸ τοιόνδ' ἔτι περὶ αὐτά. ἀσφαλέστατον καθάπερ ἐκμαγεῖ' ἄττ' αὐτοῖσιν πρῶτον πλάσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ, λέγω δὲ ἓν μὲν τῶν ἐκμαγείων εἶναι τοιόνδε τι· θυσίας γενομένης καὶ ἱερῶν καυθέντων κατὰ νόμον, εἴ τῳ τις, φαμέν, ἰδίᾳ παραστὰς τοῖς βωμοῖς τε καὶ [800c] ἱεροῖς, υἱὸς ἢ καὶ ἀδελφός, βλασφημοῖ πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν, ἆρ' οὐκ, ἂν φαῖμεν, ἀθυμίαν καὶ κακὴν ὄτταν καὶ μαντείαν πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν οἰκείοις φθέγγοιτο ἐντιθείς;

ATHENIAN Then how could someone legislate about these things without being utterly ridiculous? Let's look further at this point about them. The safest thing is first to shape some models for them, so to speak, in our discussion. One of these models, I'd say, is something like this. When a sacrifice has been made and the offerings burned according to law, if someone's son or brother, say, standing privately beside the altars and [800c] offerings, were to utter every kind of blasphemy, wouldn't we say that his words would fill his father and the rest of his family with dismay and evil foreboding and presentiment?

800c CLINIAS τί μήν;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τόποις τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ταῖς πόλεσι γιγνόμενον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν σχεδὸν ὀλίγου πάσαις· δημοσίᾳ γάρ τινα θυσίαν ὅταν ἀρχή τις θύσῃ, μετὰ ταῦτα χορὸς οὐχ εἷς ἀλλὰ πλῆθος χορῶν ἥκει, καὶ στάντες οὐ [800d] πόρρω τῶν βωμῶν ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐνίοτε, πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καταχέουσιν, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ γοωδεστάταις ἁρμονίαις συντείνοντες τὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ψυχάς, καὶ ὃς ἂν δακρῦσαι μάλιστα τὴν θύσασαν παραχρῆμα ποιήσῃ πόλιν, οὗτος τὰ νικητήρια φέρει. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νόμον ἆρ' οὐκ ἀποψηφιζόμεθα;

ATHENIAN Well, in our part of the world this happens in practically all cities, one might say. When some magistrate performs a public sacrifice, afterward not one chorus but a whole crowd of choruses arrives, and standing not [800d] far from the altars, sometimes right beside them, they pour every sort of blasphemy over the sacred offerings, working up the souls of their listeners with words and rhythms and the most mournful modes; and whoever makes the city that has just sacrificed weep the most carries off the prize. Shouldn't we vote this custom down?

800d καὶ εἴ ποτ' ἄρα δεῖ τοιούτων οἴκτων γίγνεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐπηκόους, ὁπόταν ἡμέραι μὴ καθαραί τινες ἀλλὰ ἀποφράδες ὦσιν, τόθ' ἥκειν [800e] δέον ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον χορούς τινας ἔξωθεν μεμισθωμένους ᾠδούς, οἷον οἱ περὶ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας μισθούμενοι Καρικῇ τινι μούσῃ προπέμπουσι τοὺς τελευτήσαντας; τοιοῦτόν που πρέπον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ᾠδὰς γιγνόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ στολή γέ που ταῖς ἐπικηδείοις ᾠδαῖς οὐ στέφανοι πρέποιεν ἂν οὐδ' ἐπίχρυσοι κόσμοι, πᾶν δὲ τοὐναντίον, ἵν' ὅτι τάχιστα περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων ἀπαλλάττωμαι. τὸ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπανερωτῶ πάλιν, τῶν ἐκμαγείων ταῖς ᾠδαῖς εἰ πρῶτον ἓν τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀρέσκον κείσθω.

ATHENIAN Words of good omen: shall our songs, as a whole class, be of good omen [801a] in every way? Or shall I not even ask, but simply lay this down?

800e CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;

ATHENIAN εὐφημία, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς ᾠδῆς γένος εὔφημον [801a] ἡμῖν πάντῃ πάντως ὑπαρχέτω; ἢ μηδὲν ἐπανερωτῶ, τιθῶ δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως;

801a

6 Caria, in southwest Asia Minor, was known for its hired mourners and dirges.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν τίθει· νικᾷ γὰρ πάσαισι ταῖς ψήφοις οὗτος ὁ νόμος.	**CLINIAS** By all means lay it down. This law wins by every vote.
	ATHENIAN τίς δὴ μετ' εὐφημίαν δεύτερος ἂν εἴη νόμος μουσικῆς; ἆρ' οὐκ εὐχὰς εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς θύομεν ἑκάστοτε;	**ATHENIAN** What would be the second law of music, after words of good omen? Isn't it that there should be prayers to the gods to whom we sacrifice on each occasion?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τρίτος δ' οἶμαι νόμος, ὅτι γνόντας δεῖ τοὺς ποιητὰς ὡς εὐχαὶ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτήσεις εἰσίν, δεῖ δὴ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοὺς [801b] σφόδρα προσέχειν μή ποτε λάθωσιν κακὸν ὡς ἀγαθὸν αἰτούμενοι· γελοῖον γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάθος οἶμαι τοῦτ' ἂν γίγνοιτο, εὐχῆς τοιαύτης γενομένης.	**ATHENIAN** And the third law, I think: the poets must understand that prayers are requests made to the gods, and so they must [801b] take great care never to ask for something bad as if it were good without realizing it. That would be a ridiculous thing to happen, I think, if such a prayer were made.
801b	**CLINIAS** τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἔμπροσθεν σμικρὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἐπείσθημεν ὡς οὔτε ἀργυροῦν δεῖ πλοῦτον οὔτε χρυσοῦν ἐν πόλει ἱδρυμένον ἐνοικεῖν;	**ATHENIAN** Now weren't we persuaded by our argument a little while ago that no wealth of silver or gold should be established and dwell in the city?
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN τίνος οὖν ποτε παράδειγμα εἰρῆσθαι φῶμεν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον; ἆρ' οὐ τοῦδε, ὅτι τὸ τῶν ποιητῶν γένος οὐ πᾶν [801c] ἱκανόν ἐστι γιγνώσκειν σφόδρα τά τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ μή; ποιήσας οὖν δήπου τὶς ποιητὴς ῥήμασιν ἢ καὶ κατὰ μέλος τοῦτο ἡμαρτημένον, εὐχὰς οὐκ ὀρθάς, ἡμῖν τοὺς πολίτας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εὔχεσθαι τἀναντία ποιήσει· καίτοι τούτου, καθάπερ ἐλέγομεν, οὐ πολλὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἀνευρήσομεν μείζω. θῶμεν δὴ καὶ τοῦτον τῶν περὶ μοῦσαν νόμων καὶ τύπων ἕνα;	**ATHENIAN** Then what should we say that argument was meant to illustrate? Isn't it this: that the tribe of poets as a whole isn't [801c] fully capable of recognizing what's good and what isn't? So if a poet composes something with this mistake in it—prayers that aren't right—whether in words or in melody, he'll make our citizens pray for the opposite of what they should in the most important matters; and, as we were saying, we won't find many mistakes greater than that. Shall we lay this down, then, as one of our laws and patterns for music?
801c	**CLINIAS** τίνα; σαφέστερον εἰπὲ ἡμῖν.	**CLINIAS** What exactly? Tell us more clearly.
	ATHENIAN τὸν ποιητὴν παρὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια [801d] ἢ καλὰ ἢ ἀγαθὰ μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄλλο, τὰ δὲ ποιηθέντα μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν μηδενὶ πρότερον δεικνύναι, πρὶν ἂν αὐτοῖς τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἀποδεδειγμένοις κριταῖς καὶ τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν δειχθῇ καὶ ἀρέσῃ· σχεδὸν δὲ ἀποδεδειγμένοι εἰσὶν ἡμῖν οὓς εἰλόμεθα νομοθέτας περὶ τὰ μουσικὰ καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελητήν. τί οὖν; ὃ πολλάκις ἐρωτῶ, κείσθω νόμος ἡμῖν καὶ τύπος ἐκμαγεῖόν τε τρίτον τοῦτο; ἢ πῶς δοκεῖ;	**ATHENIAN** That the poet shall compose nothing contrary to what the city holds lawful and just, [801d] or fine, or good; and that he may not show what he has composed to any private person before it has been shown to the judges appointed for these matters and to the guardians of the laws, and has won their approval. And they have more or less been appointed already: those we chose as lawgivers for music, and the director of education. Well? As I keep asking, shall this stand as our third law, pattern and model? Or how does it seem to you?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
801d	**CLINIAS** κείσθω· τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Let it stand, of course.
801e	**ATHENIAN** μετά γε μὴν ταῦτα ὕμνοι θεῶν καὶ ἐγκώμια κεκοινωνημένα εὐχαῖς ᾄδοιτ' ἂν ὀρθότατα, καὶ μετὰ θεοὺς ὡσαύτως περὶ δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας μετ' ἐγκωμίων εὐχαὶ γίγνοιντ' ἂν τούτοις πᾶσιν πρέπουσαι.	**ATHENIAN** After these, hymns to the gods and praises combined with prayers would most rightly be sung; and after the gods, likewise, prayers with praises would be offered to spirits and heroes, as befits each of them.
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN μετά γε μὴν ταῦτ' ἤδη νόμος ἄνευ φθόνων εὐθὺς γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὅδε· τῶν πολιτῶν ὁπόσοι τέλος ἔχοιεν τοῦ βίου, κατὰ σώματα ἢ κατὰ ψυχὰς ἔργα ἐξειργασμένοι καλὰ καὶ ἐπίπονα καὶ τοῖς νόμοις εὐπειθεῖς γεγονότες, ἐγκωμίων αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν πρέπον ἂν εἴη.	**ATHENIAN** After this, the following law could at once be passed without any grudging: it would be fitting for those citizens who have reached the end of their lives, having accomplished fine and strenuous deeds of body or of soul and been obedient to the laws, to receive praises.
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
802a	**ATHENIAN** τούς γε μὴν ἔτι ζῶντας ἐγκωμίοις τε καὶ ὕμνοις τιμᾶν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαντά τις τὸν βίον διαδραμὼν τέλος ἐπιστήσηται καλόν· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἡμῖν ἔστω κοινὰ ἀνδράσιν τε καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγαθαῖς διαφανῶς γενομένοις. τὰς δὲ ᾠδάς τε καὶ ὀρχήσεις οὑτωσὶ χρὴ καθίστασθαι.	**ATHENIAN** But it isn't safe to honor people who are still alive with praises and hymns, until someone has run through his whole life and crowned it with a fine end. And all this should apply equally to men and to women who have clearly proved themselves good. The songs and dances should be established as follows.
	πολλὰ ἔστιν παλαιῶν παλαιὰ περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ καλὰ ποιήματα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὀρχήσεις ὡσαύτως, ὧν οὐδεὶς φθόνος ἐκλέξασθαι τῇ καθισταμένῃ [802b] πολιτείᾳ τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἁρμόττον· δοκιμαστὰς δὲ τούτων ἑλομένους τὴν ἐκλογὴν ποιεῖσθαι μὴ νεωτέρους πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἂν ἱκανὸν εἶναι δόξῃ τῶν παλαιῶν ποιημάτων, ἐγκρίνειν, ὅτι δ' ἂν ἐνδεὲς ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀνεπιτήδειον, τὸ μὲν ἀποβάλλεσθαι παντάπασιν, τὸ δ' ἐπανερόμενον ἐπιρρυθμίζειν, ποιητικοὺς ἅμα καὶ μουσικοὺς ἄνδρας παραλαβόντας, χρωμένους αὐτῶν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τῆς ποιήσεως, [802c] ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ ἐπιτρέποντας ἀλλ' ἤ τισιν ὀλίγοις, ἐξηγουμένους δὲ τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου βουλήματα, ὅτι μάλιστα ὄρχησίν τε καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ πᾶσαν χορείαν συστήσασθαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν νοῦν.	There are many fine old compositions in music by the men of old, and dances for the body likewise, from which there's no objection to choosing what's fitting and suitable for the [802b] constitution we're establishing. We should elect examiners of these, no younger than fifty, to make the selection. Whatever of the old compositions seems adequate they should admit; whatever falls short or is altogether unsuitable, they should either reject entirely or go over again and rework, calling in poets and musicians and making use of their poetic abilities, [802c] but not entrusting anything to their pleasures and desires, except in a few cases. They should explain the lawgiver's intentions to them, and so arrange dance, song and all choral performance as far as possible in keeping with his mind.
802c	πᾶσα δ' ἄτακτός γε τάξιν λαβοῦσα περὶ μοῦσαν διατριβὴ καὶ μὴ παρατιθεμένης τῆς γλυκείας μούσης ἀμείνων μυρίῳ· τὸ δ' ἡδὺ κοινὸν πάσαις. ἐν ᾗ γὰρ ἂν ἐκ παίδων τις μέχρι τῆς ἑστηκυίας τε καὶ ἔμφρονος ἡλικίας διαβιῷ, σώφρονι μὲν μούσῃ καὶ τεταγμένῃ, [802d] ἀκούων δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας, μισεῖ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον αὐτὴν προσαγορεύει, τραφεὶς δ' ἐν τῇ κοινῇ καὶ γλυκείᾳ, ψυχρὰν καὶ ἀηδῆ τὴν	Any musical pursuit that was disorderly and has been given order is ten thousand times better, even when the sweet Muse isn't served up with it; pleasure is common to them all. For if someone spends his life from childhood up to a steady and sensible age with music that's moderate and ordered, [802d] then when he hears the opposite kind

GREEK

ENGLISH

ταύτῃ ἐναντίαν εἶναί φησιν· ὥστε, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη νυνδή, τό γε τῆς ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀηδίας περὶ ἑκατέρας οὐδὲν πεπλεονέκτηκεν, ἐκ περιττοῦ δὲ ἡ μὲν βελτίους, ἡ δὲ χείρους τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τραφέντας ἑκάστοτε παρέχεται.

he hates it and calls it unworthy of a free person; while if he's been brought up on the popular, sweet kind, he says the kind opposed to it is cold and unpleasant. So, as was said just now, where pleasure or unpleasantness is concerned neither has the advantage over the other; but beyond that, the one always makes those raised in it better, and the other worse.

802d **CLINIAS** καλῶς εἴρηκας.

CLINIAS Well said.

THE GODS' PLAYTHINGS

Human beings are the gods' playthings; schooling is compulsory, and girls train like boys.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN ἔτι δὲ θηλείαις τε πρεπούσας ᾠδὰς ἄρρεσί τε [802e] χωρίσαι που δέον ἂν εἴη τύπῳ τινὶ διορισάμενον, καὶ ἁρμονίαισιν δὴ καὶ ῥυθμοῖς προσαρμόττειν ἀναγκαῖον· δεινὸν γὰρ ὅλῃ γε ἁρμονίᾳ ἀπᾴδειν ἢ ῥυθμῷ ἀρρυθμεῖν, μηδὲν προσήκοντα τούτων ἑκάστοις ἀποδιδόντα τοῖς μέλεσιν. ἀναγκαῖον δὴ καὶ τούτων τὰ σχήματά γε νομοθετεῖν. ἔστιν δὲ ἀμφοτέροις μὲν ἀμφότερα ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενα ἀποδιδόναι, τὰ δὲ τῶν θηλειῶν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἑκατέρου διαφέροντι, τούτῳ δεῖ καὶ διασαφεῖν. τὸ δὴ μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὖν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν ῥέπον ἀρρενωπὸν φατέον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸ κόσμιον καὶ σῶφρον μᾶλλον ἀποκλῖνον θηλυγενέστερον ὡς ὂν παραδοτέον ἔν τε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ.

ATHENIAN Further, it would presumably be necessary to separate the songs suitable for females from those for males, [802e] marking them off by some pattern, and to fit them to modes and rhythms as well. For it's terrible for a whole melody to be out of tune, or a rhythm out of time, when one gives songs none of the features that suit each of them. So we must legislate the outlines of these too. Both sexes must be given songs that are held fast by both of these; but the women's must be distinguished by the very difference between the two natures. So what is grand and inclines toward courage must be declared manly, while what tends rather toward orderliness and moderation must be handed down, in both law and argument, as more feminine.

802e τάξις μὲν δή [803a] τις αὕτη· τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν διδασκαλία καὶ παράδοσις λεγέσθω τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, τίνα τρόπον χρὴ καὶ οἵστισιν καὶ πότε πράττειν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν. οἷον δή τις ναυπηγὸς τὴν τῆς ναυπηγίας ἀρχὴν καταβαλλόμενος τὰ τροπιδεῖα ὑπογράφεται τῶν πλοίων σχήματα, ταὐτὸν δή μοι κἀγὼ φαίνομαι ἐμαυτῷ δρᾶν, τὰ τῶν βίων πειρώμενος σχήματα διαστήσασθαι κατὰ τρόπους τοὺς τῶν ψυχῶν, ὄντως αὐτῶν τὰ τροπιδεῖα καταβάλλεσθαι, [803b] ποίᾳ μηχανῇ καὶ τίσιν ποτὲ τρόποις συνόντες τὸν βίον ἄριστα διὰ τοῦ πλοῦ τούτου τῆς ζωῆς διακομισθησόμεθα, τοῦτο σκοπεῖν ὀρθῶς. ἔστι δὴ τοίνυν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα μεγάλης μὲν σπουδῆς οὐκ ἄξια, ἀναγκαῖόν γε μὴν σπουδάζειν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὐτυχές. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνταῦθά ἐσμεν, εἴ πως διὰ προσήκοντός τινος αὐτὸ πράττοιμεν, ἴσως ἂν ἡμῖν σύμμετρον ἂν εἴη.

This, then, is one kind of [803a] arrangement. Next let's discuss the teaching and transmission of these things themselves: how, to whom and when each of them should be done. A shipwright, when he lays the foundations of his craft, first lays down the keels and sketches the shapes of the vessels; and I seem to myself to be doing the same thing, trying to distinguish the shapes of lives according to the characters of souls—truly laying down their keels, [803b] and rightly considering by what means and in what ways of life we'll best be carried through this voyage of life. Human affairs aren't worth great seriousness; yet we do have to be serious about them—and that's our misfortune. But since we're where we are, perhaps it would suit us if we could go about it in some fitting way.

803b λέγω δὲ δὴ τί ποτε; ἴσως μεντἄν τίς μοι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὑπολαβὼν ὀρθῶς ὑπολάβοι.

But what on earth do I mean? Perhaps someone might pick me up on this very point, and rightly.

GREEK

ENGLISH

803c **CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ATHENIAN φημὶ χρῆναι τὸ μὲν σπουδαῖον σπουδάζειν, τὸ δὲ μὴ σπουδαῖον μή, φύσει δὲ εἶναι θεὸν μὲν πάσης μακαρίου σπουδῆς ἄξιον, ἄνθρωπον δέ, ὅπερ εἴπομεν ἔμπροσθεν, θεοῦ τι παίγνιον εἶναι μεμηχανημένον, καὶ ὄντως τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τὸ βέλτιστον γεγονέναι· τούτῳ δὴ δεῖν τῷ τρόπῳ συνεπόμενον καὶ παίζοντα ὅτι καλλίστας παιδιὰς πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα οὕτω διαβιῶναι, τοὐναντίον ἢ νῦν διανοηθέντας.

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN I say that one should be serious about what's serious, and not about what isn't; that by nature god is worthy of all blessed seriousness, while a human being, as we said earlier, has been fashioned as a kind of plaything of god—and that this really is the best thing about him. So every man and woman should go along with this role and live their lives playing the finest games, thinking the opposite of what they think now.

803d **CLINIAS** πῶς;

ATHENIAN νῦν μέν που τὰς σπουδὰς οἴονται δεῖν ἕνεκα τῶν παιδιῶν γίγνεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡγοῦνται σπουδαῖα ὄντα τῆς εἰρήνης ἕνεκα δεῖν εὖ τίθεσθαι. τὸ δ' ἦν ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν ἄρα οὔτ' οὖν παιδιὰ πεφυκυῖα οὔτ' αὖ παιδεία ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἀξιόλογος, οὔτε οὖσα οὔτ' ἐσομένη, ὃ δή φαμεν ἡμῖν γε εἶναι σπουδαιότατον· δεῖ δὴ τὸν κατ' εἰρήνην βίον ἕκαστον πλεῖστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον διεξελθεῖν. τίς οὖν 803e ὀρθότης;

CLINIAS How so?

ATHENIAN At present people think, I suppose, that serious things should be done for the sake of play. They believe that matters of war, being serious, must be handled well for the sake of peace. But in war, it turns out, there neither is nor ever will be, by nature, either play or education worth speaking of for us—and that is what we say is most serious for us. Each person must spend as much of his life as he can, and as well as he can, in peace. What, then, 803e is the right way?[7]

803e παίζοντά ἐστιν διαβιωτέον τινὰς δὴ παιδιάς, θύοντα καὶ ᾄδοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἵλεως αὑτῷ παρασκευάζειν δυνατὸν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον· ὁποῖα δὲ ᾄδων ἄν τις καὶ ὀρχούμενος ἀμφότερα ταῦτα πράττοι, τὸ μὲν τῶν τύπων εἴρηται καὶ καθάπερ ὁδοὶ τέτμηνται καθ' ἃς ἰτέον, προσδοκῶντα καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν εὖ λέγειν τὸ— 804a Τηλέμαχ', ἄλλα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῇσι νοήσεις, ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται· οὐ γὰρ οἴω οὔ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε.

One must live one's life playing certain games—sacrificing, singing and dancing—so as to be able to make the gods gracious to oneself, and to ward off enemies and defeat them in battle. What sorts of songs and dances will achieve both these ends has been outlined in our patterns; the paths, so to speak, along which we must go have been cut, and we can expect the poet to be right when he says: 804a "Telemachus, some things you'll think of yourself, in your own mind, and others a divine power will prompt; for I don't think you were born and raised without the gods' goodwill."[8]

804a ταὐτὸν δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους τροφίμους δεῖ διανοουμένους τὰ μὲν εἰρημένα ἀποχρώντως νομίζειν εἰρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν δαίμονά τε καὶ θεὸν αὐτοῖσιν ὑποθήσεσθαι θυσιῶν τε πέρι 804b καὶ χορειῶν, οἵστισί τε καὶ ὁπότε ἕκαστα ἑκάστοις προσπαίζοντές τε καὶ ἱλεούμενοι κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς φύσεως διαβιώσονται, θαύματα ὄντες τὸ πολύ, σμικρὰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἄττα μετέχοντες.

Our charges too must think the same way: that what's been said has been said sufficiently, and that the spirit and the god will prompt them on the rest—about sacrifices 804b and choral dances, to which gods and when they should play before each, and seek their favor—and so they'll live out their lives in keeping with their nature, being puppets for the most part, with only a small share of truth.

804b

7 In Greek, "play" (*paidia*) and "education" (*paideia*) are closely related words.
8 Athena, disguised as Mentor, speaks these lines to Odysseus' son in Homer's *Odyssey*.

GREEK

MEGILLUS παντάπασι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένε, διαφαυλίζεις.

ATHENIAN μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ἀλλὰ σύγγνωθί μοι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιδὼν καὶ παθὼν εἶπον ὅπερ εἴρηκα νῦν. ἔστω δ' οὖν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν μὴ φαῦλον, εἴ σοι φίλον, σπουδῆς δέ [804c] τινος ἄξιον.

804c τὸ δ' ἑξῆς τούτοις, οἰκοδομίαι μὲν εἴρηνται γυμνασίων ἅμα καὶ διδασκαλείων κοινῶν τριχῇ κατὰ μέσην τὴν πόλιν, ἔξωθεν δὲ ἵππων αὖ τριχῇ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ γυμνάσιά τε καὶ εὐρυχώρια, τοξικῆς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροβολισμῶν ἕνεκα διακεκοσμημένα, μαθήσεώς τε ἅμα καὶ μελέτης τῶν νέων· εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ τότε ἱκανῶς ἐρρήθησαν, νῦν εἰρήσθω τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ νόμων. ἐν δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν διδασκάλους ἑκάστων πεπεισμένους [804d] μισθοῖς οἰκοῦντας ξένους διδάσκειν τε πάντα ὅσα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμόν ἐστιν μαθήματα τοὺς φοιτῶντας ὅσα τε πρὸς μουσικήν, οὐχ ὃν μὲν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ βούληται, φοιτῶντα, ὃν δ' ἂν μή, ἐῶντα τὰς παιδείας, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας, παιδευτέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

804d τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ περὶ θηλειῶν ὁ μὲν ἐμὸς νόμος ἂν εἴποι πάντα ὅσαπερ [804e] καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρρένων, ἴσα καὶ τὰς θηλείας ἀσκεῖν δεῖν· καὶ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς εἴποιμ' ἄν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὔτε ἱππικῆς οὔτε γυμναστικῆς, ὡς ἀνδράσι μὲν πρέπον ἂν εἴη, γυναιξὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πρέπον. ἀκούων μὲν γὰρ δὴ μύθους παλαιοὺς πέπεισμαι, τὰ δὲ νῦν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οἶδα ὅτι μυριάδες ἀναρίθμητοι γυναικῶν εἰσι τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἃς Σαυρομάτιδας [805a] καλοῦσιν, αἷς οὐχ ἵππων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τόξων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων κοινωνία καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἴση προστεταγμένη ἴσως ἀσκεῖται.

805a λογισμὸν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις περὶ τούτων τοιόνδε τινὰ ἔχω· φημί, εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτω συμβαίνειν ἐστὶν δυνατά, πάντων ἀνοητότατα τὰ νῦν ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τόποις γίγνεσθαι τὸ μὴ πάσῃ ῥώμῃ πάντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιτηδεύειν ἄνδρας γυναιξὶν ταὐτά. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὀλίγου πᾶσα ἡμίσεια πόλις ἀντὶ διπλασίας οὕτως ἔστιν τε καὶ γίγνεται ἐκ τῶν [805b] αὐτῶν τελῶν καὶ πόνων· καίτοι θαυμαστὸν ἂν ἁμάρτημα νομοθέτῃ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γίγνοιτο.

ENGLISH

MEGILLUS You really do make the human race out to be worthless, stranger.

ATHENIAN Don't be surprised, Megillus—forgive me. I was looking toward the god, and felt what I felt when I said what I've just said. Well, let our race be not worthless, if you like, but worth [804c] some seriousness.

Next: we've spoken already of buildings for gymnasia and public schools in three places in the middle of the city, and outside, around the town, again in three places, of training grounds and open spaces for horses, laid out for archery and other shooting at long range, for the young to learn and practice in. If they weren't adequately described then, let them be described now, in our argument and in our laws. In all these places there are to be teachers for each subject, foreigners living there, won over [804d] by pay, who will teach those who attend all the lessons that concern war and all those that concern music. And it's not to be a matter of attending if the father wishes, and giving up education if he doesn't; rather, as the saying goes, "every man and boy," as far as possible, must be educated compulsorily, since they belong to the city more than to their parents.

And my law would say all the same things about females as [804e] about males: that the females must train on an equal footing. I'd say it without any fear: neither riding nor gymnastics is something fitting for men but not for women. I'm persuaded of this by old stories I've heard; and at present, I know, there are countless thousands, so to speak, of women around the Black Sea—they're called Sauromatians— [805a] for whom sharing in horses, and in bows and other arms as well, is prescribed on equal terms with the men and practiced equally.[9]

Besides this, I reason about the matter as follows. I say that if these things can happen in this way, then what's done in our part of the world now is the most foolish thing of all: that men and women don't all pursue the same things together, with all their strength. For in this way almost every city is, and becomes, half a city instead of double, from the [805b] same outlay and effort. And yet that very

9 The Sauromatians (Sarmatians) were a nomadic people north of the Black Sea, whose women rode and fought.

GREEK

ENGLISH

thing would be an astonishing mistake for a lawgiver to make.

805b **CLINIAS** ἔοικέν γε· ἔστι μέντοι πάμπολλα ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένε, παρὰ τὰς εἰωθυίας πολιτείας τῶν νῦν λεγομένων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰπὼν τὸν μὲν λόγον ἐᾶσαι διεξελθεῖν, εὖ διελθόντος δέ, οὕτω τὸ δοκοῦν αἱρεῖσθαι δεῖν, μάλα εἶπές τε ἐμμελῶς, πεποίηκάς τέ με τὰ νῦν αὐτὸν ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιπλήττειν ὅτι ταῦτα εἴρηκα· 805c λέγε οὖν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι σοι κεχαρισμένον ἐστίν.

CLINIAS It seems so. Yet a great deal of what's being said now, stranger, goes against our customary constitutions. But you said we should let the argument run its course, and only when it had been properly gone through should we choose what seemed best; that was very aptly said, and it's made me rebuke myself now for having said what I did. 805c So go on and say whatever you like next.

805c **ATHENIAN** τόδε ἔμοιγε, ὦ Κλεινία, ὃ καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον, ὡς, εἰ μὲν ταῦτα ἦν μὴ ἱκανῶς ἔργοις ἐληλεγμένα ὅτι δυνατά ἐστι γίγνεσθαι, τάχα ἦν ἄν τι καὶ ἀντειπεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, νῦν δὲ ἄλλο τί που ζητητέον ἐκείνῳ τῷ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον μηδαμῇ δεχομένῳ, τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον διακέλευμα ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἀποσβήσεται τὸ μὴ οὐ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ παιδείας τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι 805d μάλιστα κοινωνεῖν τὸ θῆλυ γένος ἡμῖν τῷ τῶν ἀρρένων γένει. καὶ γὰρ οὖν οὑτωσί πως δεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν διανοηθῆναι. φέρε, μὴ μετεχουσῶν ἀνδράσι γυναικῶν κοινῇ τῆς ζωῆς πάσης, μῶν οὐκ ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι γέ τινα τάξιν ἑτέραν αὐταῖς;

ATHENIAN What I'd like, Clinias, is what I said before: if it hadn't been adequately proved by facts that these things can happen, there might perhaps be something to say against the argument. As it is, anyone who refuses to accept this law at all will have to look for some other objection; and our exhortation on this point won't be silenced—we'll keep saying that the female sex must share with the male as fully 805d as possible in education and everything else. And in fact one ought to think about it roughly like this. Look: if women don't share the whole of life in common with men, won't there have to be some other arrangement for them?

805d **CLINIAS** ἀνάγκη μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS There will have to be.

ATHENIAN τίνα οὖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νῦν ἀποδεδειγμένων θεῖμεν ἂν τῆς κοινωνίας ταύτης ἣν νῦν αὐταῖς ἡμεῖς προστάττομεν; πότερον ἣν Θρᾷκες ταῖς γυναιξὶν χρῶνται καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα 805e γένη, γεωργεῖν τε καὶ βουκολεῖν καὶ ποιμαίνειν καὶ διακονεῖν μηδὲν διαφερόντως τῶν δούλων; ἢ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντές τε οἱ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον; νῦν γὰρ δὴ τό γε παρ' ἡμῖν ὧδέ ἐστιν περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενον· εἷς τινα μίαν οἴκησιν συμφορήσαντες, τὸ λεγόμενον, πάντα χρήματα, παρέδομεν ταῖς γυναιξὶν διαταμιεύειν τε καὶ κερκίδων ἄρχειν καὶ πάσης ταλασίας. ἢ τὸ τούτων δὴ διὰ μέσου φῶμεν, ὦ Μέγιλλε, 806a τὸ Λακωνικόν;

ATHENIAN Then which of the arrangements now on display would we rank ahead of the partnership that we're now prescribing for them? The one by which the Thracians and many other 805e peoples use their women—to farm, to herd cattle and sheep, and to serve, no differently from slaves? Or the way we do it, and everyone in our region? For at present this is how things are done with us: we gather all our goods, as the saying goes, into one dwelling and hand them over to the women to manage, and put them in charge of the shuttles and all the wool-working. Or shall we name the one in between, Megillus— 806a the Spartan way?

806a κόρας μὲν γυμνασίων μετόχους οὔσας ἅμα καὶ μουσικῆς ζῆν δεῖν, γυναῖκας δὲ ἀργοὺς μὲν ταλασίας, ἀσκητικὸν δέ τινα βίον καὶ οὐδαμῶς φαῦλον οὐδ' εὐτελῆ διαπλέκειν, θεραπείας δὲ καὶ ταμιείας αὖ καὶ παιδοτροφίας εἴς τι μέσον ἀφικνεῖσθαι, τῶν δ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μὴ κοινωνούσας, ὥστε οὐδ' εἴ τίς ποτε διαμάχεσθαι περὶ πόλεώς τε καὶ παίδων ἀναγκαία τύχη γίγνοιτο, οὔτ' ἂν τόξων, ὥς τινες 806b Ἀμαζόνες, οὔτ' ἄλλης κοινωνῆσαί

That girls should live taking part in gymnastics and music alike; that women, while free from wool-working, should weave themselves a life of exercise that's by no means trivial or cheap, and should arrive at a kind of middle position in looking after the household, managing its stores and raising children, but without taking part in military affairs? So that even if they ever had to fight

GREEK

ποτε βολῆς μετὰ τέχνης δυνάμεναι, οὐδὲ ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ λαβοῦσαι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θεόν, ὡς πορθουμένης αὐταῖς τῆς πατρίδος γενναίως ἀντιστάσας, φόβον γε, εἰ μηδὲν μεῖζον, πολεμίοισι δύνασθαι παρασχεῖν ἐν τάξει τινὶ κατοφθείσας; Σαυρομάτιδας δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ παράπαν τολμήσειαν μιμήσασθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαβιοῦσαι, παρὰ γυναῖκας δὲ αὐτὰς ἄνδρες ἂν αἱ ἐκείνων 806c γυναῖκες φανεῖεν.

806c ταῦτ' οὖν ὑμῶν τοὺς νομοθέτας ὁ μὲν βουλόμενος ἐπαινεῖν ἐπαινείτω, τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐκ ἄλλως ἂν λεχθείη· τέλεον γὰρ καὶ οὐ διήμισυν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην εἶναι, τὸ θῆλυ μὲν ἀφιέντα τρυφᾶν καὶ ἀναλίσκειν διαίταις ἀτάκτως χρώμενον, τοῦ δὲ ἄρρενος ἐπιμεληθέντα, τελέως σχεδὸν εὐδαίμονος ἥμισυ βίου καταλείπειν ἀντὶ διπλασίου τῇ πόλει.

MEGILLUS τί δράσομεν, ὦ Κλεινία; τὸν ξένον ἐάσομεν τὴν Σπάρτην ἡμῖν οὕτω καταδραμεῖν;

806d CLINIAS ναί· δεδομένης γὰρ αὐτῷ παρρησίας ἐατέον, ἕως ἂν διεξέλθωμεν πάντῃ ἱκανῶς τοὺς νόμους.

MEGILLUS ὀρθῶς λέγεις.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐμὸν πειρᾶσθαι φράζειν;

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ATHENIAN τίς δὴ τρόπος ἀνθρώποις γίγνοιτ' ἂν τοῦ βίου, οἷσιν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα εἴη κατεσκευασμένα μέτρια, τὰ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν ἄλλοις παραδεδομένα, γεωργίαι δὲ ἐκδεδομέναι 806e δούλοις ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀποτελοῦσιν ἱκανὴν ἀνθρώποις ζῶσι κοσμίως, συσσίτια δὲ κατεσκευασμένα εἴη χωρὶς μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐγγὺς δ' ἐχόμενα τὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς οἰκείων, παίδων τε ἅμα θηλειῶν καὶ τῶν μητέρων αὐταῖς, ἄρχουσιν δὲ καὶ ἀρχούσαις εἴη προστεταγμένα λύειν ταῦτα ἑκάστοις τὰ συσσίτια πάντα, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν θεασαμένους καὶ ἰδόντας τὴν διαγωγὴν τὴν τῶν συσσίτων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 807a σπείσαντας τόν τε ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἷς ἂν τυγχάνῃ θεοῖς ἡ τότε νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα καθιερωμένη, κατὰ ταῦτα οὕτως οἴκαδε πορεύεσθαι;

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for their city and children, they wouldn't be able to share in using bows with skill, as some 806b Amazons do, or any other missile; nor could they take up shield and spear and imitate the goddess, standing nobly against the enemy as their homeland was being sacked, and so at least strike fear, if nothing greater, into the enemy by being seen drawn up in a battle-line. Living this way, they wouldn't dare imitate the Sauromatian women at all; next to these women, the Sauromatians' 806c women would look like men.

So let anyone who wants to praise your lawgivers for this praise them; but my own view couldn't be put any other way. The lawgiver should be complete, not half a lawgiver: he shouldn't let the female sex live in luxury and spend money in a disordered way of life while taking care of the male, and so leave the city little more than half a fully happy life instead of double.

MEGILLUS What are we going to do, Clinias? Are we going to let our stranger make a raid on Sparta like this?

CLINIAS Yes. We've given him the freedom to speak his mind, so we have to let him, until we've gone through the laws thoroughly in every respect.

MEGILLUS You're right.

ATHENIAN Then isn't it more or less my job now to try to explain what comes next?

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN What sort of life, then, would people have if their necessities had been provided for in moderation, if the crafts had been handed over to others, and if their farms had been leased out 806e to slaves who paid them a share of the produce of the land sufficient for people living in an orderly way? Suppose common meals had been set up—the men's separately, and close by those of their households, the girls together with their mothers—and that officials, men and women, had been charged with dismissing each of these common meals every day, after watching and observing how the diners conducted themselves; and that afterward 807a the official and the rest poured libations to whichever gods that night and day

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happened to be dedicated to, and then, in keeping with this, went home?

807a τοῖς δὴ ταύτῃ κεκοσμημένοις ἆρα οὐδὲν λειπόμενόν ἐστιν ἀναγκαῖόν τε ἔργον καὶ παντάπασι προσῆκον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τρόπῳ βοσκήματος ἕκαστον πιαινόμενον αὐτῶν δεῖ ζῆν; οὔκουν τό γε δίκαιόν φαμεν οὐδὲ καλόν, οὐδ᾽ οἷόν τε τὸν ζῶντα οὕτως ἀτυχῆσαι τοῦ προσήκοντος, προσήκει 807b δὲ ἀργῷ καὶ ῥᾳθύμως καταπεπιασμένῳ ζῴῳ σχεδὸν ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου διαρπασθῆναι ζῴου τῶν σφόδρα τετρυχωμένων μετὰ ἀνδρείας τε ἅμα καὶ τῶν πόνων. ταῦτα οὖν δὴ δι᾽ ἀκριβείας μὲν ἱκανῆς, ὡς καὶ νῦν, εἰ ζητοῖμεν ἄν, ἴσως οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο, μέχριπερ ἂν γυναῖκές τε καὶ παῖδες οἰκήσεις τε ἴδιαι καὶ ἰδίως ἅπαντ᾽ ᾖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἑκάστοις ἡμῶν κατεσκευασμένα· τὰ δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽ αὖ δεύτερα τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα εἰ 807c γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, γίγνοιτο ἂν καὶ μάλα μετρίως.

For people living in this orderly way, is there no necessary and wholly fitting work left to do? Must each of them live like a fattening beast? We say that is neither just nor fine, nor can someone who lives that way escape what he deserves; and what a lazy animal 807b fattened in idleness deserves is, more or less, to be torn apart by another animal, one of those worn lean by courage and hard toil together. Now, to bring this about with full precision, as we are seeking to do even now, would perhaps never happen as long as women and children and houses are private, and everything of that sort is arranged privately for each of us. But if the second-best arrangement, the one we are now describing, 807c were to come about for us, it would turn out quite reasonably well.

807c ἔργον δὲ δὴ τοῖς οὕτω ζῶσίν φαμεν οὐ τὸ σμικρότατον οὐδὲ τὸ φαυλότατον λείπεσθαι, μέγιστον δὲ πάντων εἶναι προστεταγμένον ὑπὸ δικαίου νόμου· τοῦ γὰρ πᾶσαν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἔργων βίου ἀσχολίαν παρασκευάζοντος, τοῦ Πυθιάδος τε καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος νίκης ὀρεγομένου, διπλασίας τε καὶ ἔτι πολλῷ πλέονος ἀσχολίας ἐστὶν γέμων ὁ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος πάντως καὶ ψυχῆς εἰς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν βίος εἰρημένος 807d ὀρθότατα.

And we say that people who live this way are left with a task that is not the smallest or the meanest, but the greatest of all, assigned to them by a just law. For compared with the life that reaches for victory at the Pythian and Olympic games, and leaves no leisure for any other work at all, the life devoted to the thorough care of the body, and of the soul for virtue—the life we have described, 807d and described most rightly—is filled with twice as much lack of leisure, and far more still.

807d πάρεργον γὰρ οὐδὲν δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων διακώλυμα γίγνεσθαι τῶν τῷ σώματι προσηκόντων εἰς ἀπόδοσιν πόνων καὶ τροφῆς, οὐδ᾽ αὖ ψυχῇ μαθημάτων τε καὶ ἐθῶν, πᾶσα δὲ νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα σχεδὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἱκανὴ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ πράττοντι τὸ τέλεόν τε καὶ ἱκανὸν αὐτῶν ἐκλαμβάνειν· οὕτω δὴ τούτων πεφυκότων, τάξιν δεῖ γίγνεσθαι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς διατριβῆς περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἅπαντα, σχεδὸν 807e ἀρξάμενον ἐξ ἕω μέχρι τῆς ἑτέρας ἀεὶ συνεχῶς ἕω τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ σμικρὰ λέγων ἄν τις νομοθέτης ἀσχήμων φαίνοιτο περὶ τῶν κατ᾽ οἰκίαν διοικήσεων, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅσα νύκτωρ ἀυπνίας πέρι πρέπει τοῖς μέλλουσιν διὰ τέλους φυλάξειν πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀκριβῶς.

No side business should be allowed to get in the way of the other tasks: those that give the body its due of exercise and food, and the soul its due of learning and habits. For someone doing just this, practically every night and day together is not enough to get from them what is complete and sufficient. Since this is how things are by nature, all the free citizens must have a schedule for how they spend the whole of their time, beginning 807e roughly at dawn and running on without a break until the next dawn and sunrise. Now a lawgiver would look undignified if he said a great deal, in fine detail, about the running of households—including the rules about wakefulness at night that befit people who are to guard a whole city carefully and without letup.

807e τὸ γὰρ ὅλην διατελεῖν ἡντινοῦν νύκτα εὕδοντα καὶ ὁντινοῦν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μὴ φανερὸν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐγειρόμενόν 808a τε καὶ ἐξανιστάμενον ἀεὶ πρῶτον, τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν δεῖ δεδόχθαι πᾶσι καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθέρου, εἴτ᾽ οὖν νόμον εἴτ᾽ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τοιοῦτον

For any citizen whatever to sleep through any whole night, and not to be seen by all his servants always to be the first to wake 808a and get up—this must be held by everyone to be shameful and unworthy of a free man, whether we ought to call

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	καλεῖν ἐστιν χρεών· καὶ δὴ καὶ δέσποιναν ἐν οἰκίᾳ ὑπὸ θεραπαινίδων ἐγείρεσθαί τινων καὶ μὴ πρώτην αὐτὴν ἐγείρειν τὰς ἄλλας, αἰσχρὸν λέγειν χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δοῦλόν τε καὶ δούλην καὶ παῖδα, καὶ εἴ πως ἦν οἷόν τε, ὅλην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐγειρομένους δὲ νύκτωρ δεῖ πάντας [808b] πράττειν τῶν τε πολιτικῶν μέρη πολλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν, ἄρχοντας μὲν κατὰ πόλιν, δεσποίνας δὲ καὶ δεσπότας ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις.	such a thing a law or a custom. In particular, for the mistress of a house to be woken by her maids, instead of being the first to wake the others herself, is something the male and female slaves and the children must call shameful among themselves—and, if it were possible, the whole house, every bit of it. And when they get up at night, everyone must [808b] attend to a good part of their public and household business: officials throughout the city, mistresses and masters in their own houses.
808b	ὕπνος γὰρ δὴ πολὺς οὔτε τοῖς σώμασιν οὔτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν οὐδ' αὖ ταῖς πράξεσιν ταῖς περὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἁρμόττων ἐστὶν κατὰ φύσιν. καθεύδων γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἄξιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ μὴ ζῶντος· ἀλλ' ὅστις τοῦ ζῆν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν μάλιστά ἐστι κηδεμών, ἐγρήγορε [808c] χρόνον ὡς πλεῖστον, τὸ πρὸς ὑγίειαν αὐτοῦ μόνον φυλάττων χρήσιμον, ἔστιν δὲ οὐ πολύ, καλῶς εἰς ἔθος ἰόν. ἐγρηγορότες δὲ ἄρχοντες ἐν πόλεσιν νύκτωρ φοβεροὶ μὲν κακοῖς, πολεμίοις τε ἅμα καὶ πολίταις, ἀγαστοὶ δὲ καὶ τίμιοι τοῖς δικαίοις τε καὶ σώφροσιν, ὠφέλιμοι δὲ αὑτοῖς τε καὶ συμπάσῃ τῇ πόλει.	A great deal of sleep, you see, is not by nature suited to our bodies or our souls, or to the activities concerned with all of these. Someone asleep is worth nothing, no more than someone who isn't alive. Whoever among us cares most about being alive and thinking stays awake [808c] as long as he can, keeping back only what is useful for his health—and that isn't much, once it has become a good habit. Officials who stay awake at night in cities are a terror to bad people, enemies and citizens alike; they are admired and honored by the just and moderate, and useful both to themselves and to the whole city.
808c	νὺξ μὲν δὴ διαγομένη τοιαύτη τις πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνδρείαν ἄν τινα προσπαρέχοιτο ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἑκάστων [808d] τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν· ἡμέρας δὲ ὄρθρου τε ἐπανιόντων παῖδας μὲν πρὸς διδασκάλους που τρέπεσθαι χρεών, ἄνευ ποιμένος δὲ οὔτε πρόβατα οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδέν πω βιωτέον, οὐδὲ δὴ παῖδας ἄνευ τινῶν παιδαγωγῶν οὐδὲ δούλους ἄνευ δεσποτῶν. ὁ δὲ παῖς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δυσμεταχειριστότατον· ὅσῳ γὰρ μάλιστα ἔχει πηγὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν μήπω κατηρτυμένην, ἐπίβουλον καὶ δριμὺ καὶ ὑβριστότατον θηρίων γίγνεται.	A night spent in this way, besides everything that has been said, would also give a certain courage to the souls of all [808d] the people in the cities. When day and dawn come round again, the children, I suppose, should go off to their teachers. Neither sheep nor any other creature should ever live without a shepherd, nor children without attendants, nor slaves without masters. Of all wild creatures the child is the hardest to handle: precisely because it has a spring of reason that has not yet been brought under discipline, it becomes the most scheming, sharp, and unruly of creatures.[10]
808d	διὸ δὴ [808e] πολλοῖς αὐτὸ οἷον χαλινοῖς τισιν δεῖ δεσμεύειν, πρῶτον μέν, τροφῶν καὶ μητέρων ὅταν ἀπαλλάττηται, παιδαγωγοῖς παιδίας καὶ νηπιότητος χάριν, ἔτι δ' αὖ τοῖς διδάσκουσιν καὶ ὁτιοῦν καὶ μαθήμασιν ὡς ἐλεύθερον· ὡς δ' αὖ δοῦλον, πᾶς ὁ προστυγχάνων τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν κολαζέτω τόν τε παῖδα αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν καὶ διδάσκαλον, ἐὰν ἐξαμαρτάνῃ τίς τι τούτων. ἂν δ' αὖ προστυγχάνων τις μὴ κολάζῃ τῇ δίκῃ, ὀνείδει μὲν ἐνεχέσθω πρῶτον τῷ μεγίστῳ, ὁ δὲ τῶν νομοφυλάκων [809a] ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων	That is why [808e] it has to be held in check by many bridles, so to speak: first, once it has left its nurses and mothers, by attendants, to manage its childishness and infancy; then by teachers of every kind and by lessons, as befits a free person. But as one would a slave, any free man who happens upon them should punish the child himself, and the attendant and the teacher too, if any of them does something wrong. And if someone who hap-

10 The attendants (paidagōgoi) were household slaves who escorted children to school and looked after them.

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ἀρχὴν ἡρημένος ἐπισκοπείτω τοῦτον τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα οἷς λέγομεν καὶ μὴ κολάζοντα δέον κολάζειν, ἢ κολάζοντα μὴ κατὰ τρόπον, βλέπων δὲ ἡμῖν ὀξὺ καὶ διαφερόντως ἐπιμελούμενος τῆς τῶν παίδων τροφῆς κατευθυνέτω τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν, ἀεὶ τρέπων πρὸς τἀγαθὸν κατὰ νόμους.	pens upon them does not punish them as justice requires, first let him be subject to the greatest disgrace; and let the guardian of the laws [809a] elected to take charge of the children keep an eye on this man who happens upon what we are describing and fails to punish when he should, or punishes improperly. And let him keep a sharp lookout for us, take exceptional care over the children's upbringing, and straighten out their natures, always turning them toward the good in accordance with the laws.

READING AND THE LYRE

Children learn letters and the lyre; this very conversation is the model text for the young.

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809a **ATHENIAN** τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν αὖ πῶς ἂν ἡμῖν ὁ νόμος αὐτὸς παιδεύσειεν ἱκανῶς; νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ εἴρηκεν οὐδέν πω [809b] σαφὲς οὐδὲ ἱκανόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ' οὔ· δεῖ δὲ εἰς δύναμιν μηδὲν παραλείπειν αὐτῷ, πάντα δὲ λόγον ἀφερμηνεύειν, ἵνα οὗτος τοῖς ἄλλοις μηνυτής τε ἅμα καὶ τροφεὺς γίγνηται. τὰ μὲν οὖν δὴ χορείας πέρι μελῶν τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως ἐρρήθη, τίνα τύπον ἔχοντα ἐκλεκτέα τέ ἐστιν καὶ ἐπανορθωτέα καὶ καθιερωτέα· τὰ δὲ ἐν γράμμασι μὲν ὄντα, ἄνευ δὲ μέτρων, ποῖα καὶ τίνα μεταχειρίζεσθαι χρή σοι τρόπον, ὦ ἄριστε τῶν [809c] παίδων ἐπιμελητά, τοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ τρεφομένους, οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν.	**ATHENIAN** But how would our law itself give this man an adequate education? So far it has said nothing yet [809b] clear or adequate, only some things and not others. As far as possible it must leave nothing out for him, but explain its whole account to him, so that he can be both an interpreter and a nurturer to the others. About choral performance, songs and dances, we have said what type must be chosen, corrected, and consecrated. But as for writings in prose, without meter—which ones, and how you are to use them with those in your care, my excellent director [809c] of the children's education—that we have not yet said.
809c καίτοι τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἃ δεῖ μανθάνειν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ μελετᾶν ἔχεις τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ γράμματα πρῶτον, καὶ δεύτερον λύρας πέρι καὶ λογισμῶν, ὧν ἔφαμεν δεῖν ὅσα τε πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ πόλιν διοίκησιν χρῆναι ἑκάστους λαβεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἔτι τὰ χρήσιμα τῶν ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις τῶν θείων, ἄστρων τε πέρι καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ὅσα διοικεῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν περὶ [809d] ταῦτα πάσῃ πόλει—τίνων δὴ πέρι λέγομεν;	Now, you have in our account what they must learn and practice for war. But as for letters, first, and second the lyre and arithmetic—of which we said each person must get as much as is needed for war, for managing a household, and for running the city; and in addition, for these same purposes, whatever is useful in the circuits of the divine bodies, the stars and the sun and moon, so far as every city has to regulate its affairs [809d] by them—what are we talking about here?
809d ἡμερῶν τάξεως εἰς μηνῶν περιόδους καὶ μηνῶν εἰς ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ἵνα ὧραι καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ τὰ προσήκοντ' ἀπολαμβάνουσαι ἑαυταῖς ἕκασται τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἄγεσθαι, ζῶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐγρηγορυῖαν παρεχόμεναι, θεοῖς μὲν τὰς τιμὰς ἀποδιδῶσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους περὶ αὐτὰ μᾶλλον ἔμφρονας ἀπεργάζωνται—ταῦτα οὔπω σοι πάντα ἱκανῶς, ὦ φίλε, παρὰ [809e] τοῦ νομοθέτου διείρηται· πρόσεχε δὴ τὸν νοῦν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μέλλουσιν ῥηθήσεσθαι. γραμμάτων εἴπομεν ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἔχεις πέρι τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπικαλοῦντες τί τῇ λέξει;	The ordering of days into the cycles of months, and of months into each year, so that the seasons and sacrifices and festivals, each receiving what is due to it by being conducted according to nature, may keep the city alive and awake, render the gods their honors, and make people more intelligent about these things. All this, my friend, has not yet been adequately spelled out for you by [809e] the lawgiver. So pay attention to what is going to be said next. We said that, first of all, you weren't

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	τόδε, ὡς οὔπω διείρηκέ σοι πότερον εἰς ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ μαθήματος ἰτέον τὸν μέλλοντα πολίτην ἔσεσθαι μέτριον ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ προσοιστέον· ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ περὶ λύραν. προσοιστέον μέντοι νῦν φαμεν.	adequately informed about letters. What fault were we finding in what had been said? This: that he hasn't yet made clear to you whether someone who is to be a decent citizen must go on to full precision in the subject, or not take it up at all; and likewise with the lyre. Well, we now say that they must take them up.
809e	εἰς μὲν γράμματα παιδὶ δεκετεῖ σχεδὸν ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς, λύρας δὲ ἅψασθαι τρία μὲν ἔτη καὶ δέκα [810a] γεγονόσιν ἄρχεσθαι μέτριος ὁ χρόνος, ἐμμεῖναι δὲ ἕτερα τρία. καὶ μήτε πλείω τούτων μήτ' ἐλάττω πατρὶ μηδ' αὐτῷ, φιλομαθοῦντι μηδὲ μισοῦντι, περὶ ταῦτα ἐξέστω μείζω μηδὲ ἐλάττω διατριβὴν ποιεῖσθαι παράνομον· ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἄτιμος τῶν παιδείων ἔστω τιμῶν, ἃς ὀλίγον ὕστερον ῥητέον. μανθάνειν δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις δὴ τί ποτε δεῖ τοὺς νέους καὶ διδάσκειν αὖ τοὺς διδασκάλους, τοῦτο αὐτὸ πρῶτον [810b] μάνθανε. γράμματα μὲν τοίνυν χρὴ τὸ μέχρι τοῦ γράψαι τε καὶ ἀναγνῶναι δυνατὸν εἶναι διαπονεῖν· πρὸς τάχος δὲ ἢ κάλλος ἀπηκριβῶσθαί τισιν, οἷς μὴ φύσις ἐπέσπευσεν ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις ἔτεσιν, χαίρειν ἐᾶν.	For letters, about three years for a child of ten; for the lyre, a fair time to start is at thirteen [810a] years of age, and to keep at it for another three. Neither the father nor the child himself, whether he loves learning or hates it, shall be allowed to spend more or less time than this on these subjects, contrary to law. Anyone who disobeys shall be excluded from the school honors, which we must speak of a little later. But what exactly the young must learn in these years, and what the teachers must teach—learn this [810b] first. Letters, then, should be worked at up to the point of being able to write and read; but as for perfecting speed or beauty, we should let that go for those whom nature has not brought along quickly within the set years.
810b	πρὸς δὲ δὴ μαθήματα ἄλυρα ποιητῶν κείμενα ἐν γράμμασι, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ μέτρων, τοῖς δ' ἄνευ ῥυθμῶν τμημάτων, ἃ δὴ συγγράμματα κατὰ λόγον εἰρημένα μόνον, τητώμενα ῥυθμοῦ τε καὶ ἁρμονίας, σφαλερὰ [810c] γράμμαθ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν παρά τινων τῶν πολλῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων καταλελειμμένα· οἷς, ὦ πάντων βέλτιστοι νομοφύλακες, τί χρήσεσθε; ἢ τί ποθ' ὑμῖν ὁ νομοθέτης χρῆσθαι προστάξας ὀρθῶς ἂν τάξειε; καὶ μάλα ἀπορήσειν αὐτὸν προσδοκῶ.	Now as for the lessons without the lyre that authors have left in writing, some in meter and some without rhythmical divisions—compositions in plain speech alone, lacking rhythm and harmony —these are dangerous [810c] writings that some of the many people of that sort have left us. Most excellent guardians of the laws, what will you do with them? Or what would the lawgiver be right to instruct you to do with them? I expect he'll be completely at a loss.
810c	**CLINIAS** τί ποτε τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, φαίνῃ πρὸς σαυτὸν ὄντως ἠπορηκὼς λέγειν;	**CLINIAS** What's this, stranger? You seem to be talking to yourself, as if you really were at a loss.
	ATHENIAN ὀρθῶς ὑπέλαβες, ὦ Κλεινία. πρὸς δὲ δὴ κοινωνοὺς ὑμᾶς ὄντας περὶ νόμων ἀνάγκη τό τε φαινόμενον εὔπορον καὶ τὸ μὴ φράζειν.	**ATHENIAN** You've understood me correctly, Clinias. But to the two of you, my partners in this business of laws, I have to explain both what seems easy and what doesn't.
810d	**CLINIAS** τί οὖν; τί περὶ τούτων νῦν καὶ ποῖόν τι πεπονθὼς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** Well? What is it about these matters, and what is troubling you, that makes you say this?
	ATHENIAN ἐρῶ δή· στόμασι γὰρ πολλάκις μυρίοις ἐναντία λέγειν οὐδαμῶς εὔπορον.	**ATHENIAN** I'll tell you. It's no easy thing to contradict many tens of thousands of mouths.
	CLINIAS τί δέ; σμικρὰ καὶ ὀλίγα δοκεῖ σοι τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῖν εἰρημένα περὶ νόμων κεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπεναντία;	**CLINIAS** What? Do you think what we've said about laws so far runs counter to the many in only a few small points?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN καὶ μάλα ἀληθὲς τοῦτό γε λέγεις· κελεύεις γὰρ δή με, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἐχθοδοποῦ γεγονυίας πολλοῖς—ἴσως δ' οὐκ ἐλάττοσιν ἑτέροις προσφιλοῦς· εἰ δὲ [810e] ἐλάττοσιν, οὔκουν χείροσί γε—μεθ' ὧν διακελεύῃ με παρακινδυνεύοντά τε καὶ θαρροῦντα τὴν νῦν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων λόγων τετμημένην ὁδὸν τῆς νομοθεσίας πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν ἀνιέντα.	**ATHENIAN** That's very true. As I see it, you're urging me—since this same road has become hateful to many, though perhaps welcome to no fewer others; or if [810e] fewer, at any rate not worse ones—you're urging me, with them on my side, to take the risk, be bold, and travel without slackening the road of legislation that our present discussion has cut.
810e	**CLINIAS** τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN οὐ τοίνυν ἀνίημι. λέγω μὴν ὅτι ποιηταί τε ἡμῖν εἰσίν τινες ἐπῶν ἑξαμέτρων πάμπολλοι καὶ τριμέτρων καὶ πάντων δὴ τῶν λεγομένων μέτρων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ σπουδήν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γέλωτα ὡρμηκότες, ἐν οἷς φασι δεῖν οἱ πολλάκις μυρίοι τοὺς ὀρθῶς παιδευομένους τῶν νέων τρέφειν καὶ διακορεῖς ποιεῖν, πολυηκόους τ' ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν ποιοῦντας καὶ [811a] πολυμαθεῖς, ὅλους ποιητὰς ἐκμανθάνοντας· οἱ δὲ ἐκ πάντων κεφάλαια ἐκλέξαντες καί τινας ὅλας ῥήσεις εἰς ταὐτὸν συναγαγόντες, ἐκμανθάνειν φασὶ δεῖν εἰς μνήμην τιθεμένους, εἰ μέλλει τις ἀγαθὸς ἡμῖν καὶ σοφὸς ἐκ πολυπειρίας καὶ πολυμαθίας γενέσθαι. τούτοις δὴ σὺ κελεύεις ἐμὲ τὰ νῦν παρρησιαζόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι τί τε καλῶς λέγουσι καὶ τί μή;	**ATHENIAN** Then I won't slacken. What I say is this: we have a great many poets of hexameter verse, and of trimeters, and of every meter people speak of, some bent on seriousness and some on laughter. On these, say the countless voices, young people who are being correctly educated must be nourished and filled to the brim, made well-versed in hearing them read and [811a] broadly learned by memorizing whole poets. Others pick out the main passages from all of them, gather certain whole speeches into one collection, and say these must be learned by heart and committed to memory, if anyone among us is to become good and wise through wide experience and wide learning. Are you telling me now to speak frankly and declare to these people what they say well and what they don't?
811a	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τί δή ποτ' ἂν οὖν περὶ ἁπάντων τούτων ἑνὶ λόγῳ [811b] φράζων εἴποιμ' ἂν ἱκανόν; οἶμαι μὲν τὸ τοιόνδε σχεδόν, ὃ καὶ πᾶς ἄν μοι συγχωρήσειεν, πολλὰ μὲν ἕκαστον τούτων εἰρηκέναι καλῶς, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὐναντίον· εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἔχει, κίνδυνόν φημι εἶναι φέρουσαν τοῖς παισὶν τὴν πολυμαθίαν.	**ATHENIAN** Then what one statement could I make about all of them [811b] that would be adequate? I think something like this, which everyone would grant me: each of these poets has said many things well, and many things the opposite. And if that is so, I say that wide learning is a danger to children.
811b	**CLINIAS** πῶς οὖν καὶ τί παραινοίης ἂν τῷ νομοφύλακι;	**CLINIAS** Then how, and what, would you advise the guardian of the laws?
	ATHENIAN τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;	**ATHENIAN** About what?
	CLINIAS τοῦ πρὸς τί παράδειγμά ποτε ἀποβλέψας ἂν τὸ μὲν [811c] ἐᾷν πάντας μανθάνειν τοὺς νέους, τὸ δ' ἀποκωλύοι. λέγε καὶ μηδὲν ἀπόκνει λέγων.	**CLINIAS** About what model he should look to when he [811c] lets all the young learn some things and forbids them others. Tell us, and don't hold back.
811c	**ATHENIAN** ὠγαθὲ Κλεινία, κινδυνεύω κατά γέ τινα τρόπον ηὐτυχηκέναι.	**ATHENIAN** My good Clinias, I think I've had a stroke of luck, in a way.

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS τοῦ δὴ πέρι;

CLINIAS How so?

ATHENIAN τοῦ μὴ παντάπασι παραδείγματος ἀπορεῖν. νῦν γὰρ ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐξ ἕω μέχρι δεῦρο δὴ διεληλύθαμεν ἡμεῖς—ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ φαινόμεθα, οὐκ ἄνευ τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας θεῶν—ἔδοξαν δ' οὖν μοι παντάπασι ποιήσει τινὶ προσομοίως εἰρῆσθαι. καί μοι ἴσως οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν πάθος 811d ἐπῆλθε, λόγους οἰκείους οἷον ἀθρόους ἐπιβλέψαντι μάλα ἡσθῆναι· τῶν γὰρ δὴ πλείστων λόγων οὓς ἐν ποιήμασιν ἢ χύδην οὕτως εἰρημένους μεμάθηκα καὶ ἀκήκοα, πάντων μοι μετριώτατοί γε εἶναι κατεφάνησαν καὶ προσήκοντες τὰ μάλιστα ἀκούειν νέοις.

ATHENIAN In not being entirely at a loss for a model. Just now, looking back at the discussion we have been having from dawn until now—not without some inspiration from the gods, as it seems to me—it struck me that it had been spoken altogether like a kind of poem. And perhaps it's not surprising that I felt 811d this way, and took great pleasure in looking over my own words gathered together, as it were. Of all the many discourses I have learned or heard, whether in poems or in loose prose like this, they struck me as the most measured of all, and the most fitting for the young to hear.

811d τῷ δὴ νομοφύλακί τε καὶ παιδευτῇ παράδειγμα οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι, ὡς οἶμαι, τούτου βέλτιον φράζειν, ἢ ταῦτά τε διδάσκειν παρακελεύεσθαι τοῖσι διδασκάλοις 811e τοὺς παῖδας, τά τε τούτων ἐχόμενα καὶ ὅμοια, ἂν ἄρα που περιτυγχάνῃ ποιητῶν τε ποιήματα διεξιὼν καὶ γεγραμμένα καταλογάδην ἢ καὶ ψιλῶς οὕτως ἄνευ τοῦ γεγράφθαι λεγόμενα, ἀδελφά που τούτων τῶν λόγων, μὴ μεθιέναι τρόπῳ μηδενί, γράφεσθαι δέ· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζειν μανθάνειν καὶ ἐπαινεῖν, οὓς δ' ἂν μὴ ἀρέσκῃ τῶν διδασκάλων, μὴ χρῆσθαι τούτοις συνεργοῖς, οὓς δ' ἂν τῷ ἐπαίνῳ συμψήφους ἔχῃ, τούτοις χρώμενον, τοὺς 812a νέους αὐτοῖς παραδιδόναι διδάσκειν τε καὶ παιδεύειν. οὗτός μοι μῦθος ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὕτω τελευτάτω, περὶ γραμματιστῶν τε εἰρημένος ἅμα καὶ γραμμάτων.

So I couldn't, I think, describe a better model than this for the guardian of the laws who directs education. Let him urge the teachers to teach the 811e children these words, and what is connected with them and like them; and if he happens upon anything akin to these discussions as he goes through the poems of poets, or writings in prose, or even things simply spoken and never written down, he should on no account let it go, but have it written down. First he should compel the teachers themselves to learn and praise it; teachers who don't like it he should not take on as colleagues, but those who agree with him in praising it he should employ, and 812a hand the young over to them to teach and educate. Let my story end here, and in this way, as an account of schoolteachers and letters.

812a **CLINIAS** κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὦ ξένε, ἔμοιγε οὐ φαινόμεθα ἐκτὸς πορεύεσθαι τῶν ὑποτεθέντων λόγων· εἰ δὲ τὸ ὅλον κατορθοῦμεν ἢ μή, χαλεπὸν ἴσως διισχυρίζεσθαι.

CLINIAS As far as our premise goes, stranger, I don't think we're straying outside the discussion we set ourselves. But whether we're getting the whole thing right or not is perhaps hard to say with confidence.

ATHENIAN τότε γάρ, ὦ Κλεινία, τοῦτό γ' αὐτὸ ἔσται καταφανέστερον, ὡς εἰκός, ὅταν, ὃ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπὶ τέλος ἀφικώμεθα πάσης τῆς διεξόδου περὶ νόμων.

ATHENIAN That will become clearer, Clinias, most likely, when, as we have often said, we reach the end of our whole account of the laws.

812b **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς.

CLINIAS Right.

ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐ μετὰ τὸν γραμματιστὴν ὁ κιθαριστὴς ἡμῖν προσρητέος;

ATHENIAN Well then, after the schoolteacher, shouldn't we address the lyre teacher?

CLINIAS τί μήν;

CLINIAS Certainly.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN τοῖς κιθαρισταῖς μὲν τοίνυν ἡμᾶς δοκῶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν λόγων ἀναμνησθέντας τὸ προσῆκον νεῖμαι τῆς τε διδασκαλίας ἅμα καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παιδεύσεως.

ATHENIAN Then as for the lyre teachers, I think that if we recall our earlier discussion we can assign them their proper share of teaching, and of all education in such matters.

CLINIAS ποίων δὴ πέρι λέγεις;

CLINIAS What discussion do you mean?

ATHENIAN ἔφαμεν, οἶμαι, τοὺς τοῦ Διονύσου τοὺς ἑξηκοντούτας ᾠδοὺς διαφερόντως εὐαισθήτους δεῖν γεγονέναι περί [812c] τε τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁρμονιῶν συστάσεις, ἵνα τὴν τῶν μελῶν μίμησιν τὴν εὖ καὶ τὴν κακῶς μεμιμημένην, ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὅταν ψυχὴ γίγνηται, τά τε τῆς ἀγαθῆς ὁμοιώματα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐναντίας ἐκλέξασθαι δυνατὸς ὢν τις, τὰ μὲν ἀποβάλλῃ, τὰ δὲ προφέρων εἰς μέσον ὑμνῇ καὶ ἐπᾴδῃ ταῖς τῶν νέων ψυχαῖς, προκαλούμενος ἑκάστους εἰς ἀρετῆς ἕπεσθαι κτῆσιν συνακολουθοῦντας διὰ τῶν μιμήσεων.

ATHENIAN We said, I think, that the sixty-year-old singers of Dionysus must be exceptionally sensitive [812c] to rhythms and to the construction of harmonies, so that, faced with imitation in melodies—well and badly imitated—when the soul is gripped by emotion, a person able to pick out the likenesses of the good soul and of its opposite may reject the one, and bring the other forward to sing it and cast its spell on the souls of the young, calling on each of them to follow along with him through the imitations toward the acquisition of virtue.[11]

812c CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

CLINIAS Very true.

812d ATHENIAN τούτων τοίνυν δεῖ χάριν τοῖς φθόγγοις τῆς λύρας προσχρῆσθαι, σαφηνείας ἕνεκα τῶν χορδῶν, τόν τε κιθαριστὴν καὶ τὸν παιδευόμενον, ἀποδιδόντας πρόσχορδα τὰ φθέγματα τοῖς φθέγμασι· τὴν δ' ἑτεροφωνίαν καὶ ποικιλίαν τῆς λύρας, ἄλλα μὲν μέλη τῶν χορδῶν ἰεισῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τοῦ τὴν μελῳδίαν συνθέντος ποιητοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυκνότητα μανότητι καὶ τάχος βραδυτῆτι καὶ ὀξύτητα βαρύτητι σύμφωνον [812e] καὶ ἀντίφωνον παρεχομένους, καὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν ὡσαύτως παντοδαπὰ ποικίλματα προσαρμόττοντας τοῖσι φθόγγοις τῆς λύρας, πάντα οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ προσφέρειν τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς χρήσιμον ἐκλήψεσθαι διὰ τάχους. τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία ἄλληλα ταράττοντα δυσμάθειαν παρέχει, δεῖ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα εὐμαθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς νέους· τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα οὐ σμικρὰ οὐδ' ὀλίγα αὐτοῖς ἐστι προστεταγμένα μαθήματα, δείξει δὲ αὐτὰ προϊὼν ὁ λόγος ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ.

ATHENIAN It is for these reasons, then, that the lyre teacher and his pupil must use the notes of the lyre, for the sake of the clarity of its strings, rendering note for note in unison with the voice. But as for heterophony and elaboration on the lyre—the strings playing one melody and the poet who composed the tune another—and indeed producing concord [812e] and counterpoint of close intervals with wide, fast with slow, high with low, and likewise fitting all sorts of rhythmic intricacies to the notes of the lyre: none of this should be offered to those who have to pick up the useful part of music quickly, in three years. For opposites throw each other into confusion and make learning hard, and the young must learn as easily as possible, since the necessary subjects assigned to them are neither small nor few. The argument will show what they are as it proceeds in its own time.

812e ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς ἡμῖν ὁ παιδευτὴς ἐπιμελείσθω· τὰ δὲ μελῶν αὐτῶν αὖ καὶ ῥημάτων, οἷα τοὺς χοροδιδασκάλους καὶ ἃ δεῖ διδάσκειν, καὶ [813a] ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν διείρηται πάντα, ἃ δὴ καθιερωθέντα ἔφαμεν δεῖν, ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἕκαστα ἁρμόττοντα, ἡδονὴν εὐτυχῆ ταῖς πόλεσιν παραδιδόντα ὠφελεῖν.

So let the director of education look after music for us in this way. As for the melodies themselves, and the words—what sort the chorus teachers should teach, and which— [813a] this too has all been spelled out by us earlier: we said they must be consecrated, each fitted to its festival, and must benefit cities by bringing them a happy pleasure.

813a CLINIAS ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα διείρηκας.

11 The chorus of older men dedicated to Dionysus was introduced in Book II.

GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS What you've spelled out there is true as well.

DANCE AND MILITARY TRAINING

Boys and girls learn armed dancing and fighting, and dance is divided into warlike and peaceful kinds.

GREEK	ENGLISH
ATHENIAN ἀληθέστατα τοίνυν. καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν παραλαβὼν ὁ περὶ τὴν μοῦσαν ἄρχων αἱρεθεὶς ἐπιμελείσθω μετὰ τύχης εὐμενοῦς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀρχήσεώς τε πέρι καὶ ὅλης τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμναστικῆς πρὸς τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένοις ἀποδῶμεν· [813b] καθάπερ μουσικῆς τὸ διδασκαλικὸν ὑπόλοιπον ὂν ἀπέδομεν, ὡσαύτως ποιῶμεν καὶ γυμναστικῆς. τοὺς γὰρ παῖδάς τε καὶ τὰς παῖδας ὀρχεῖσθαι δὴ δεῖ καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι μανθάνειν· ἦ γάρ;	**ATHENIAN** Very true. So let the official elected for music take this over from us and look after it, with good fortune smiling on him. We, meanwhile, should give an account of dancing and of all bodily gymnastics, in addition to what was said earlier. [813b] Just as we gave the teaching side of music, which was still left, let's do the same for gymnastics. The boys and girls have to learn to dance and to exercise, don't they?
813b **CLINIAS** ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
ATHENIAN τοῖς μὲν τοίνυν παισὶν ὀρχησταί, ταῖς δὲ ὀρχηστρίδες ἂν εἶεν πρὸς τὸ διαπονεῖν οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδειότερον.	**ATHENIAN** Then for the boys, dancing masters, and for the girls, dancing mistresses, would not be unsuitable for training them.
CLINIAS ἔστω δὴ ταύτῃ.	**CLINIAS** Let it be so.
ATHENIAN πάλιν δὴ τὸν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔξοντα πράγματα καλῶμεν, [813c] τὸν τῶν παίδων ἐπιμελητήν, ὃς τῶν τε περὶ μουσικὴν τῶν τε περὶ γυμναστικὴν ἐπιμελούμενος οὐ πολλὴν ἕξει σχολήν.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's call once more on the man who will have the most business, [813c] the director of the children's education: in charge of both music and gymnastics, he won't have much leisure.
813c **CLINIAS** πῶς οὖν δυνατὸς ἔσται πρεσβύτερος ὢν τοσούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι;	**CLINIAS** But how will he manage to look after so much, as an older man?
ATHENIAN ῥᾳδίως, ὦ φίλε. ὁ νόμος γὰρ αὐτῷ δέδωκεν καὶ δώσει προσλαμβάνειν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, γνώσεται δὲ οὓς δεῖ, καὶ βουλήσεται μὴ πλημμελεῖν εἰς ταῦτα, αἰδούμενος [813d] ἐμφρόνως καὶ γιγνώσκων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος, λογισμῷ τε συνὼν ὡς εὖ μὲν τραφέντων καὶ τρεφομένων τῶν νέων πάντα ἡμῖν κατ' ὀρθὸν πλεῖ, μὴ δέ —οὔτ' εἰπεῖν ἄξιον οὔθ' ἡμεῖς λέγομεν ἐπὶ καινῇ πόλει τοὺς σφόδρα φιλομαντευτὰς σεβόμενοι.	**ATHENIAN** Easily, my friend. The law has given him the right, and will give it, to take on any citizens he wishes, men and women, to help him in this supervision. He will know whom he needs, and he will want to make no mistakes in these matters, out of a sensible reverence [813d] and an awareness of how great his office is, and bearing in mind that if the young have been and are being well brought up, everything sails on an even keel for us; and if not—well, it isn't fitting to say, and we won't say it about a new city, out of respect for those who set great store by omens.
813d πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων εἴρηται, τῶν περὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν γυμνασίων κίνησιν· γυμνάσια γὰρ τίθεμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἅπαντα τοῖς σώμασι διαπονήματα τοξικῆς τε καὶ πάσης [813e] ῥίψεως καὶ πελταστικῆς καὶ πάσης ὁπλομαχίας καὶ διεξόδων τακτικῶν καὶ ἁπάσης πορείας στρατοπέδων καὶ	Now we have said a good deal about these things as well—about dances and about all gymnastic movement. For we count as gymnastics all the bodily training for war too: archery and every kind [813e] of throwing, fighting with the light shield and every kind of fighting in heavy armor, tactical

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	στρατοπεδεύσεων καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἱππικὴν μαθήματα συντείνει.	maneuvers, all the marching of armies and pitching of camps, and all the lessons that bear on horsemanship.
813e	πάντων γὰρ τούτων διδασκάλους τε εἶναι δεῖ κοινούς, ἀρνυμένους μισθὸν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τούτων μαθητὰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει παῖδάς τε καὶ ἄνδρας, καὶ κόρας καὶ γυναῖκας πάντων τούτων ἐπιστήμονας, κόρας μὲν οὔσας ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν ὅπλοις ὄρχησιν καὶ μάχην μεμελετηκυίας, γυναῖκας δέ, διεξόδων [814a] καὶ τάξεων καὶ θέσεως καὶ ἀναιρέσεως ὅπλων ἡμμένας, εἰ μηδενὸς ἕνεκα, ἀλλ' εἴ ποτε δεήσειε πανδημεὶ πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει καταλείποντας τὴν πόλιν ἔξω στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς φυλάξοντας παῖδάς τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τό γε τοσοῦτον,	For all these there must be public teachers, paid a salary by the city, and their pupils must be the boys and men of the city; and the girls and women must also have knowledge of all these things. As girls, they should have practiced all the dancing and fighting in armor; as women, they should have got a grasp of maneuvers [814a] and battle order, and of grounding and taking up arms—if for no other reason, then so that, if it were ever necessary for the whole army to leave the city in full force and campaign abroad, those who stay behind to guard the children and the rest of the city would at least be capable of that much;
814a	ἢ καὶ τοὐναντίον, ὧν οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον, ἔξωθεν πολεμίους εἰσπεσόντας ῥώμῃ τινὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ βίᾳ, βαρβάρους εἴτε Ἕλληνας, ἀνάγκην παρασχεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως τὴν διαμάχην γίγνεσθαι, πολλή που κακία [814b] πολιτείας οὕτως αἰσχρῶς τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τεθραμμένας, ὡς μηδ' ὥσπερ ὄρνιθας περὶ τέκνων μαχομένας πρὸς ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων θηρίων ἐθέλειν ἀποθνῄσκειν τε καὶ πάντας κινδύνους κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς πρὸς ἱερὰ φερομένας, πάντας βωμούς τε καὶ ναοὺς ἐμπιμπλάναι, καὶ δόξαν τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους καταχεῖν ὡς πάντων δειλότατον φύσει θηρίων ἐστίν.	or again, the opposite—and none of this can be sworn off—if enemies from outside, whether non-Greeks or Greeks, should break in with great strength and force and make it necessary to fight for the city itself. It would surely be a great fault [814b] in a constitution for its women to have been brought up so shamefully that they would not even be willing, like birds fighting for their young against the strongest of beasts, to die and run every risk, but would rush straight to the temples, crowd every altar and shrine, and cover the human race with the reputation of being by nature the most cowardly of all creatures.
814b	CLINIAS οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ὦ ξένε, οὐδαμῶς εὔσχημον γίγνοιτ' [814c] ἄν, τοῦ κακοῦ χωρίς, τοῦτο ἐν πόλει ὅπου γίγνοιτο.	CLINIAS No, by Zeus, stranger. Quite apart from the harm, it would be anything but [814c] seemly if that happened in a city.
814c	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν τιθῶμεν τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, μέχρι γε τοσούτου μὴ ἀμελεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον γυναιξὶν δεῖν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὰς πολίτιδας;	ATHENIAN Then shall we lay down this law: that women must not neglect matters of war, at least to that extent, and that all the citizens, men and women alike, must attend to them?
	CLINIAS ἐγὼ γοῦν συγχωρῶ.	CLINIAS I agree, at any rate.
	ATHENIAN πάλης τοίνυν τὰ μὲν εἴπομεν, ὃ δ' ἐστὶ μέγιστον, ὡς ἐγὼ φαίην ἄν, οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν, οὐδ' ἔστι ῥᾴδιον ἄνευ τοῦ τῷ σώματι δεικνύντα ἅμα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ φράζειν. τοῦτ' οὖν [814d] τότε κρινοῦμεν, ὅταν ἔργῳ λόγος ἀκολουθήσας μηνύσῃ τι σαφὲς τῶν τε ἄλλων ὧν εἴρηκεν πέρι, καὶ ὅτι τῇ πολεμικῇ μάχῃ πασῶν κινήσεων ὄντως ἐστὶ συγγενὴς πολὺ μάλισθ' ἡμῖν ἡ τοιαύτη πάλη, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ταύτην ἐκείνης χάριν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ταύτης ἕνεκα μανθάνειν.	ATHENIAN Now about wrestling, we have said some things; but the most important point, as I would put it, we haven't said, and it isn't easy to explain in words without demonstrating with the body at the same time. So [814d] we'll decide about this when words, following on deeds, make something clear about the other points they have made—in particular, that of all movements this kind of wrestling is really by far the most closely related

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to fighting in war, and that one should practice it for the sake of war, not learn war for the sake of it.

814d **CLINIAS** καλῶς τοῦτό γε λέγεις.

CLINIAS That's well said.

ATHENIAN νῦν δὴ τῆς μὲν περὶ παλαίστραν δυνάμεως τὸ μέχρι δεῦρ' ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω· περὶ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης κινήσεως παντὸς [814e] τοῦ σώματος, ἧς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὄρχησίν τινά τις προσαγορεύων ὀρθῶς ἂν φθέγγοιτο, δύο μὲν αὐτῆς εἴδη χρὴ νομίζειν εἶναι, τὴν μὲν τῶν καλλιόνων σωμάτων ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνὸν μιμουμένην, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰσχιόνων ἐπὶ τὸ φαῦλον, καὶ πάλιν τοῦ φαύλου τε δύο καὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου δύο ἕτερα. τοῦ δὴ σπουδαίου τὴν μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ ἐν βιαίοις ἐμπλακέντων πόνοις σωμάτων μὲν καλῶν, ψυχῆς δ' ἀνδρικῆς, τὴν δ' ἐν εὐπραγίαις τε οὔσης ψυχῆς σώφρονος ἐν ἡδοναῖς τε ἐμμέτροις· εἰρηνικὴν ἄν τις λέγων κατὰ φύσιν τὴν τοιαύτην [815a] ὄρχησιν λέγοι.

ATHENIAN Then let what we have said up to now about the powers of the wrestling school stand. As for the other movement of the whole [814e] body, the greater part of which one would rightly call a kind of dance, we should regard it as having two kinds: one imitates finer bodies and aims at the dignified, the other imitates uglier bodies and aims at the base. And each of these, the base and the serious, has in turn two further kinds. Of the serious, one belongs to fine bodies and a courageous soul caught up in war and violent struggle; the other to a moderate soul in prosperity and measured pleasures. Someone who called this second kind [815a] of dance peaceful would be naming it according to its nature.

815a τὴν πολεμικὴν δὴ τούτων, ἄλλην οὖσαν τῆς εἰρηνικῆς, πυρρίχην ἄν τις ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύοι, τάς τε εὐλαβείας πασῶν πληγῶν καὶ βολῶν ἐκνεύσεσι καὶ ὑπείξει πάσῃ καὶ ἐκπηδήσεσιν ἐν ὕψει καὶ σὺν ταπεινώσει μιμουμένην, καὶ τὰς ταύταις ἐναντίας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ δραστικὰ φερομένας αὖ σχήματα, ἔν τε ταῖς τῶν τόξων βολαῖς καὶ ἀκοντίων καὶ πασῶν πληγῶν μιμήματα ἐπιχειρούσας μιμεῖσθαι· τό τε ὀρθὸν ἐν τούτοις καὶ τὸ εὔτονον, τῶν ἀγαθῶν σωμάτων [815b] καὶ ψυχῶν ὁπόταν γίγνηται μίμημα, εὐθυφερὲς ὡς τὸ πολὺ τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν γιγνόμενον, ὀρθὸν μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον, τὸ δὲ τούτοις τοὐναντίον οὐκ ὀρθὸν ἀποδεχόμενον. τὴν δὲ εἰρηνικὴν ὄρχησιν τῇδ' αὖ θεωρητέον ἑκάστων, εἴτε ὀρθῶς εἴτε μὴ κατὰ φύσιν τις τῆς καλῆς ὀρχήσεως ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἐν χορείαις πρεπόντως εὐνόμων ἀνδρῶν διατελεῖ.

The warlike kind, which is different from the peaceful, one might rightly call the pyrrhic. It imitates the ways of avoiding every blow and missile, by swerving, by giving ground in every way, by leaping clear, high or crouching low; and also the opposite movements, those that carry one into attacking postures, as it tries to imitate the shooting of arrows and javelins and blows of every kind. In these, when what is imitated is good bodies [815b] and souls, uprightness and good tension—the limbs of the body mostly held straight—is accepted as correct, and the opposite as incorrect. The peaceful dance, for its part, should be looked at with this in mind: whether each performer, in the choral performances that befit law-abiding men, keeps a correct hold on fine dancing, in keeping with nature, or not.[12]

815b τὴν τοίνυν ἀμφισβητουμένην ὄρχησιν δεῖ πρῶτον χωρὶς τῆς [815c] ἀναμφισβητήτου διατεμεῖν. τίς οὖν αὕτη, καὶ πῇ δεῖ χωρὶς τέμνειν ἑκατέραν; ὅση μὲν βακχεία τ' ἐστὶν καὶ τῶν ταύταις ἑπομένων, ἃς Νύμφας τε καὶ Πᾶνας καὶ Σειληνοὺς καὶ Σατύρους ἐπονομάζοντες, ὥς φασιν, μιμοῦνται κατῳνωμένους, περὶ καθαρμούς τε καὶ τελετάς τινας ἀποτελούντων, σύμπαν τοῦτο τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὸ γένος οὔθ' ὡς εἰρηνικὸν οὔθ' ὡς πολεμικὸν οὔθ' ὅτι ποτὲ βούλεται ῥᾴδιον ἀφορίσασθαι· διορίσασθαι μήν μοι ταύτῃ δοκεῖ σχεδὸν ὀρθότατον αὐτὸ εἶναι, [815d] χωρὶς μὲν πολεμικοῦ, χωρὶς δὲ εἰρηνικοῦ θέντας, εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἔστι

Now, first we must cut off the disputed kind of dance from [815c] the undisputed. What is it, and where should we cut to separate the two? All the Bacchic dancing, and the dancing of those who follow in its train—who, they say, imitate drunken figures they call Nymphs and Pans and Sileni and Satyrs, while they carry out certain purifications and initiations—this whole class of dance is not easy to define as peaceful or warlike, or indeed by whatever it may be aiming at. But the most correct way to classify it, I think, is this: [815d] set it apart

12 The pyrrhic (pyrrhichē) was a war dance performed in armor.

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	πολιτικὸν τοῦτο τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὸ γένος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ κείμενον ἐάσαντας κεῖσθαι, νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἅμα καὶ εἰρηνικὸν ὡς ἀναμφισβητήτως ἡμέτερον ὂν ἐπανιέναι.	from the warlike and apart from the peaceful, declare that this class of dance is not suited to citizens, leave it lying where it lies, and now go back to the warlike and peaceful kinds as undisputedly ours.[13]
815d	τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀπολέμου μούσης, ἐν ὀρχήσεσιν δὲ τούς τε θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν παῖδας τιμώντων, ἓν μὲν σύμπαν γίγνοιτ' ἂν γένος ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ πράττειν εὖ γιγνόμενον, τοῦτο δὲ διχῇ [815e] διαιροῖμεν ἄν, τὸ μὲν ἐκ πόνων τινῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ κινδύνων διαπεφευγότων εἰς ἀγαθά, μείζους ἡδονὰς ἔχον, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀγαθῶν σωτηρίας οὔσης καὶ ἐπαύξης, πρᾳοτέρας τὰς ἡδονὰς κεκτημένον ἐκείνων.	The class that belongs to the unwarlike Muse, of those who honor the gods and the children of the gods with dances, would make up one whole class, arising from a sense of faring well. We could divide it in two: [815e] one kind belongs to those who have come through certain toils and dangers into good fortune, and has greater pleasures; the other belongs to times when the goods people already had are being preserved and increased, and has pleasures gentler than those.
815e	ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις που πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὰς κινήσεις τοῦ σώματος μειζόνων μὲν τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐσῶν μείζους, ἐλαττόνων δὲ ἐλάττους κινεῖται, καὶ κοσμιώτερος μὲν ὢν πρός τε ἀνδρείαν μᾶλλον γεγυμνασμένος [816a] ἐλάττους αὖ, δειλὸς δὲ καὶ ἀγύμναστος γεγονὼς πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν μείζους καὶ σφοδροτέρας παρέχεται μεταβολὰς τῆς κινήσεως· ὅλως δὲ φθεγγόμενος, εἴτ' ἐν ᾠδαῖς εἴτ' ἐν λόγοις, ἡσυχίαν οὐ πάνυ δυνατὸς τῷ σώματι παρέχεσθαι πᾶς. διὸ μίμησις τῶν λεγομένων σχήμασι γενομένη τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν ἐξηργάσατο τέχνην σύμπασαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐμμελῶς ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ πλημμελῶς ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι κινεῖται.	In such circumstances, I suppose, every human being moves his body more when his pleasures are greater, and less when they are smaller. The more orderly a person is and the better trained in courage, [816a] the less he moves; while someone cowardly and untrained in moderation shows greater and more violent changes of movement. And in general, no one who is uttering sounds, whether in song or in speech, is quite able to keep his body still. That is why the imitation of what is said by means of gestures produced the whole art of dancing. Some of us move harmoniously in all this, others discordantly.
816b	πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τοίνυν ἄλλα ἡμῖν τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνομάτων ὡς εὖ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν κείμενα δεῖ διανοούμενον ἐπαινεῖν, τούτων δὲ ἓν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις τὰς τῶν εὖ πραττόντων, ὄντων δὲ μετρίων αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς, ὡς ὀρθῶς ἅμα καὶ μουσικῶς ὠνόμασεν ὅστις ποτ' ἦν, καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐταῖς θέμενος ὄνομα συμπάσαις ἐμμελείας ἐπωνόμασε, καὶ δύο δὴ τῶν ὀρχήσεων τῶν καλῶν εἴδη κατεστήσατο, τὸ μὲν πολεμικὸν πυρρίχην, τὸ δὲ εἰρηνικὸν ἐμμέλειαν, ἑκατέρῳ τὸ [816c] πρέπον τε καὶ ἁρμόττον ἐπιθεὶς ὄνομα.	Now there are many other ancient names that, when we think about them, we should praise as well and naturally given, and one of them is the name for the dances of people who are faring well and are moderate in their pleasures. How rightly and musically, whoever he was, did he name them! He gave them all a name in keeping with reason, calling them *emmeleiai*, and so set up two kinds of fine dance: the warlike, the pyrrhic, and the peaceful, the *emmeleia*, giving each [816c] its fitting and suitable name.[14]
816c	ἃ δὴ δεῖ τὸν μὲν νομοθέτην ἐξηγεῖσθαι τύποις, τὸν δὲ νομοφύλακα ζητεῖν τε, καὶ ἀνερευνησάμενον, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης μουσικῆς τὴν ὄρχησιν συνθέντα καὶ νείμαντα ἐπὶ πάσας ἑορτὰς τῶν θυσιῶν ἑκάστῃ τὸ πρόσφορον, οὕτω καθιερώσαντα αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν τάξει, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ κινεῖν μηδὲν μήτε ὀρχήσεως ἐχόμενον μήτε ᾠδῆς, ἐν ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὡσαύτως τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν [816d] καὶ	These the lawgiver must set out in outline, and the guardian of the laws must look for them. Once he has searched them out, he must combine dancing with the rest of music, and assign to each of the festivals and sacrifices what suits it. Having thus consecrated everything in order, he must from then on change nothing that has to do with dance

13 Nymphs, Pans, Sileni and Satyrs were nature spirits, the latter two in the drunken train of Dionysus.
14 Emmeleia means literally "being in tune"; it echoes the word translated "harmoniously" just above.

GREEK

πολίτας διάγοντας, ὁμοίους εἰς δύναμιν ὄντας, ζῆν εὖ τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνως.

ENGLISH

or song, so that the same city [816d] and citizens, going on in the same way with the same pleasures, and as alike as possible, may live well and happily.

COMEDY AND THE TRAGIC POETS

Comedy is left to slaves and foreigners; visiting tragedians are told the city itself is the truest tragedy.

GREEK

816d **ATHENIAN** τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων καὶ γενναίων ψυχῶν εἰς τὰς χορείας, οἵας εἴρηται δεῖν αὐτὰς εἶναι, διαπεπέρανται, τὰ δὲ τῶν αἰσχρῶν σωμάτων καὶ διανοημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ γέλωτος κωμῳδήματα τετραμμένων, κατὰ λέξιν τε καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ κατὰ ὄρχησιν καὶ κατὰ τὰ τούτων πάντων μιμήματα κεκωμῳδημένα, ἀνάγκη μὲν θεάσασθαι καὶ γνωρίζειν· ἄνευ γὰρ γελοίων τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ πάντων τῶν [816e] ἐναντίων τὰ ἐναντία μαθεῖν μὲν οὐ δυνατόν, εἰ μέλλει τις φρόνιμος ἔσεσθαι, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐκ αὖ δυνατὸν ἀμφότερα, εἴ τις αὖ μέλλει καὶ σμικρὸν ἀρετῆς μεθέξειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα τούτων καὶ μανθάνειν αὐτὰ δεῖ, τοῦ μή ποτε δι' ἄγνοιαν δρᾶν ἢ λέγειν ὅσα γελοῖα, μηδὲν δέον, δούλοις δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ξένοις ἐμμίσθοις προστάττειν μιμεῖσθαι, σπουδὴν δὲ περὶ αὐτὰ εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ' ἡντινοῦν, μηδέ τινα μανθάνοντα αὐτὰ γίγνεσθαι φανερὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων, μήτε γυναῖκα μήτε ἄνδρα, καινὸν δὲ ἀεί τι περὶ αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι τῶν μιμημάτων.

816e ὅσα μὲν οὖν περὶ γέλωτά ἐστιν παίγνια, ἃ δὴ [817a] κωμῳδίαν πάντες λέγομεν, οὕτως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ κείσθω· τῶν δὲ σπουδαίων, ὥς φασι, τῶν περὶ τραγῳδίαν ἡμῖν ποιητῶν, ἐάν ποτέ τινες αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντες ἐπανερωτήσωσιν οὑτωσί πως· "ὦ ξένοι, πότερον φοιτῶμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν ἢ μή, καὶ τὴν ποίησιν φέρωμέν τε καὶ ἄγωμεν, ἢ πῶς ὑμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δρᾶν;" — τί οὖν ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ἀποκριναίμεθα τοῖς θείοις ἀνδράσιν; [817b] ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τάδε· "ὦ ἄριστοι," φάναι, "τῶν ξένων, ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τραγῳδίας αὐτοὶ ποιηταὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι καλλίστης ἅμα καὶ ἀρίστης· πᾶσα οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ πολιτεία συνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου, ὃ δή φαμεν ἡμεῖς γε ὄντως εἶναι τραγῳδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην.

817b ποιηταὶ μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς, ποιηταὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὑμῖν ἀντίτεχνοί τε καὶ ἀνταγωνισταὶ τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος, ὃ δὴ νόμος ἀληθὴς μόνος ἀποτελεῖν πέφυκεν, ὡς [817c] ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐλπίς· μὴ δὴ δόξητε ἡμᾶς ῥᾳδίως γε οὕτως ὑμᾶς ποτε παρ' ἡμῖν ἐάσειν σκηνάς

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN So we have finished with fine bodies and noble souls in choral performances of the kind we said they should be. But ugly bodies and ugly thoughts, and people who turn to comic performances aimed at laughter, making comedy in speech and song and dance and in the imitations of all these—these one must observe and come to know. For without the ridiculous one cannot learn the serious, nor any opposite without [816e] its opposite, if one is to become wise; but one cannot do both, if one is to have even a small share of virtue. Rather, one must learn them for this very reason: so as never, through ignorance, to do or say anything ridiculous when there is no need. Such imitations should be assigned to slaves and hired foreigners. There must never be any serious concern with them whatever, no free person, woman or man, should be seen learning them, and there should always be something new about these imitations.

So as for the amusements concerned with laughter, which we all call [817a] comedy, let them be settled in this way by our law and our account. But as for the serious poets, as they are called, those concerned with tragedy—suppose some of them come to us one day and ask something like this: "Strangers, are we to visit your city and country or not? Are we to bring our poetry along with us, or what have you decided to do about such things?" What would be the right answer to give these divine men? [817b] For my part, I think we should say this: Most excellent of strangers, we are ourselves poets of a tragedy, the finest and best we can make. Our whole constitution has been built as an imitation of the finest and best life, and that, we say, is truly the truest tragedy.

So you are poets, and we too are poets of the same things, your rival artists and rival competitors in the finest drama—which only true law can by nature bring to completion, [817c] or so we hope. So don't imagine that we will ever so easily let you set

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τε πήξαντας κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ καλλιφώνους ὑποκριτὰς εἰσαγαγομένους, μεῖζον φθεγγομένους ἡμῶν, ἐπιτρέψειν ὑμῖν δημηγορεῖν πρὸς παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὸν πάντα ὄχλον, τῶν αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐπιτηδευμάτων πέρι μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἐναντία τὰ πλεῖστα. σχεδὸν γάρ τοι κἂν μαινοίμεθα [817d] τελέως ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἅπασα ἡ πόλις, ἡτισοῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποι δρᾶν τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα, πρὶν κρῖναι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἴτε ῥητὰ καὶ ἐπιτήδεια πεποιήκατε λέγειν εἰς τὸ μέσον εἴτε μή.	up your stages in our marketplace, bring in your fine-voiced actors who speak louder than we do, and allow you to harangue children and women and the whole crowd, saying things about the same practices that are not the same as what we say, but for the most part the opposite. For we would be practically out of our minds, [817d] completely so—we and any city at all that let you do what we are now describing before the officials had judged whether what you have composed is fit to be spoken and suitable for public performance or not.
817d	νῦν οὖν, ὦ παῖδες μαλακῶν Μουσῶν ἔκγονοι, ἐπιδείξαντες τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρῶτον τὰς ὑμετέρας παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ᾠδάς, ἂν μὲν τὰ αὐτά γε ἢ καὶ βελτίω τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν φαίνηται λεγόμενα, δώσομεν ὑμῖν χορόν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἄν ποτε δυναίμεθα." [817e]	So now, children and offspring of the soft Muses, first show your songs to the officials alongside ours. If what you say appears to be the same as ours, or even better, we will give you a chorus; but if not, my friends, we never could. [817e] [15]
817e	ταῦτ' οὖν ἔστω περὶ πᾶσαν χορείαν καὶ μάθησιν τούτων πέρι συντεταγμένα νόμοις ἔθη, χωρὶς μὲν τὰ τῶν δούλων, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν, εἰ συνδοκεῖ.	Let these, then, be the customs laid down by law concerning all choral performance and the learning of it—those for slaves on one side, those for masters on the other—if you agree.
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὐ συνδοκεῖ νῦν γε οὕτως;	**CLINIAS** How could we not agree, as things stand now?

ARITHMETIC, GEOMETRY AND ASTRONOMY

Everyone learns some mathematics, including incommensurable magnitudes and the true, regular motions of the planets.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN ἔτι δὴ τοίνυν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἔστιν τρία μαθήματα, λογισμοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀριθμοὺς ἓν μάθημα, μετρητικὴ δὲ μήκους καὶ ἐπιπέδου καὶ βάθους ὡς ἓν αὖ δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων περιόδου πρὸς ἄλληλα ὡς πέφυκεν [818a] πορεύεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σύμπαντα οὐχ ὡς ἀκριβείας ἐχόμενα δεῖ διαπονεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλά τινας ὀλίγους— οὓς δέ, προϊόντες ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει φράσομεν· οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἂν εἴη—τῷ πλήθει δέ, ὅσα αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖα καί πως ὀρθότατα λέγεται μὴ ἐπίστασθαι μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰσχρόν, δι' ἀκριβείας δὲ ζητεῖν πάντα οὔτε ῥᾴδιον οὔτε τὸ παράπαν δυνατόν.	**ATHENIAN** There remain, then, three subjects for the free: calculation and numbers make one subject; the measurement of length, surface, and depth, taken as one, is a second; and the third concerns the revolution of the stars, how they are by nature [818a] carried in relation to one another. All of these need to be worked through with precision not by the many but by a certain few—who they are we shall say as we go on, near the end, since that would be the fitting place. For the multitude, there are the parts of these subjects that are necessary, of which it is said, and rightly in a sense, that it is shameful for the many not to know them, though to pursue everything with precision is neither easy nor possible at all.
818a	τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀποβάλλειν, [818b] ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ τὸν θεὸν πρῶτον παροιμιασάμενος εἰς ταῦτα ἀποβλέψας εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδὲ θεὸς ἀνάγκῃ μή ποτε φανῇ	But what is necessary in them cannot be thrown away. [818b] It seems that the man who first coined

15 To "give a chorus" was to admit a poet's work to a public festival, with a chorus provided at public expense.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	μαχόμενος, ὅσαι θεῖαί γε, οἶμαι, τῶν γε ἀναγκῶν εἰσίν· ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἀνθρωπίνων, εἰς ἃς οἱ πολλοὶ βλέποντες λέγουσι τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὗτος πάντων τῶν λόγων εὐηθέστατός ἐστιν μακρῷ.	the proverb about the god had these things in view when he said that not even a god will ever be seen fighting against necessity—the necessities that are divine, I mean. For if we take it of the human ones, which most people have in view when they quote the saying, it is by far the most foolish saying there is.[16]
818b	**CLINIAS** τίνες οὖν, ὦ ξένε, αἱ μὴ τοιαῦται ἀνάγκαι τῶν μαθημάτων, θεῖαι δέ;	**CLINIAS** Then what are these necessities in the subjects, stranger, that are not of that kind but divine?
	ATHENIAN δοκῶ μέν, ἃς μή τις πράξας μηδὲ αὖ μαθὼν τὸ 818c παράπαν οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο ἀνθρώποις θεὸς οὐδὲ δαίμων οὐδὲ ἥρως οἷος δυνατὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν σὺν σπουδῇ ποιεῖσθαι· πολλοῦ δ' ἂν δεήσειεν ἄνθρωπός γε θεῖος γενέσθαι μήτε ἓν μήτε δύο μήτε τρία μήθ' ὅλως ἄρτια καὶ περιττὰ δυνάμενος γιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ ἀριθμεῖν τὸ παράπαν εἰδώς, μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διαριθμεῖσθαι δυνατὸς ὤν, σελήνης δὲ καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων περιφορᾶς 818d ἀπείρως ἔχων.	**ATHENIAN** I think they are the ones that someone who had never practiced or learned them at all 818c could never become a god or spirit or hero to human beings, able to take serious care of them. And a human being would be very far from becoming divine if he couldn't recognize one, two, or three, or odd and even at all, if he had no idea how to count, if he couldn't even reckon up night and day, and if he were unacquainted with the revolutions 818d of the moon and sun and the other stars.
818d	ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ πάντα ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖά ἐστι μαθήματα τῷ μέλλοντι σχεδὸν ὁτιοῦν τῶν καλλίστων μαθημάτων εἴσεσθαι, πολλὴ καὶ μωρία τοῦ διανοήματος· ποῖα δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων καὶ πόσα καὶ πότε μαθητέον, καὶ τί μετὰ τίνος καὶ τί χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τούτων κρᾶσιν, ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ δεῖ λαβόντα ὀρθῶς πρῶτα, ἐπὶ τἆλλα ἰόντα τούτων ἡγουμένων τῶν μαθημάτων μανθάνειν. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνάγκη φύσει κατείληφεν, ᾗ 818e φαμεν οὐδένα θεῶν οὔτε μάχεσθαι τὰ νῦν οὔτε μαχεῖσθαί ποτε.	So to think that all these are not necessary subjects for someone who is going to know practically any of the finest subjects is sheer folly. But what each of them is, how much of it is to be learned and when, which with which and which apart from the others, and the whole way they are combined—these are the things one must first grasp correctly, and then go on to learn the rest, with these subjects leading the way. For this is how necessity has taken hold by nature—the necessity which, 818e we say, no god is fighting now or will ever fight.
818e	**CLINIAS** ἔοικέν γε, ὦ ξένε, νῦν οὕτω πως ῥηθέντα ὀρθῶς εἰρῆσθαι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἃ λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** It does seem, stranger, that what you say, put this way, is said correctly and in accordance with nature.
	ATHENIAN ἔχει μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ὦ Κλεινία, χαλεπὸν δὲ αὐτὰ προταξάμενον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ νομοθετεῖν· ἀλλ' εἰς ἄλλον, εἰ δοκεῖ, χρόνον ἀκριβέστερον ἂν νομοθετησαίμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** It is so, Clinias; but it is hard to legislate about these things when they have been laid out in advance like this. If you like, we could legislate about them more precisely at another time.
	CLINIAS δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένε, φοβεῖσθαι τὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπειρίας ἔθος. οὔκουν ὀρθῶς φοβῇ· πειρῶ δὴ λέγειν μηδὲν ἀποκρυπτόμενος ἕνεκα τούτων.	**CLINIAS** You seem to us, stranger, to be afraid of our habitual lack of experience in such things. You're wrong to be afraid. Try to speak, and don't hide anything on that account.
819a		

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN φοβοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἃ σὺ νῦν λέγεις, μᾶλλον δ' ἔτι δέδοικα τοὺς ἡμμένους μὲν αὐτῶν τούτων τῶν μαθημάτων, κακῶς δ' ἡμμένους. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ δεινὸν οὐδὲ σφοδρὸν ἀπειρία τῶν πάντων οὐδὲ μέγιστον κακόν, ἀλλ' ἡ πολυπειρία καὶ πολυμαθία μετὰ κακῆς ἀγωγῆς γίγνεται πολὺ τούτων μείζων ζημία.	**ATHENIAN** I am afraid of what you're describing, too; but I am even more alarmed by people who have taken up these very subjects, and taken them up badly. Lack of experience in all things is never terrible or severe, nor the greatest evil; much experience and much learning under bad guidance is a far greater harm.
	CLINIAS ἀληθῆ λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** What you say is true.
	ATHENIAN τοσάδε τοίνυν ἑκάστων χρὴ φάναι μανθάνειν δεῖν [819b] τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὅσα καὶ πάμπολυς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παίδων ὄχλος ἅμα γράμμασι μανθάνει. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ λογισμοὺς ἀτεχνῶς παισὶν ἐξηυρημένα μαθήματα μετὰ παιδιᾶς τε καὶ ἡδονῆς μανθάνειν, μήλων τέ τινων διανομαὶ καὶ στεφάνων πλείοσιν ἅμα καὶ ἐλάττοσιν ἀρμοττόντων ἀριθμῶν τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πυκτῶν καὶ παλαιστῶν ἐφεδρείας τε καὶ συλλήξεως ἐν μέρει καὶ ἐφεξῆς καὶ ὡς πεφύκασι γίγνεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** Then we must say that the free should learn as much of each subject [819b] as a great crowd of children in Egypt learn along with their letters. First, for calculation, lessons have been devised for children quite simply, to be learned with play and pleasure: sharing out apples and garlands, with the same numbers fitted to larger and smaller groups; and arranging boxers and wrestlers, who sit out and who pair off, by turns and in sequence, in the ways these things naturally happen.
819b	καὶ δὴ καὶ παίζοντες, φιάλας ἅμα χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου [819c] καὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων κεραννύντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλας πως διαδιδόντες, ὅπερ εἶπον, εἰς παιδιὰν ἐναρμόττοντες τὰς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀριθμῶν χρήσεις, ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς μανθάνοντας εἴς τε τὰς τῶν στρατοπέδων τάξεις καὶ ἀγωγὰς καὶ στρατείας καὶ εἰς οἰκονομίας αὖ, καὶ πάντως χρησιμωτέρους αὐτοὺς αὑτοῖς καὶ ἐγρηγορότας μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεργάζονται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς μετρήσεσιν, ὅσα ἔχει [819d] μήκη καὶ πλάτη καὶ βάθη, περὶ ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐνοῦσάν τινα φύσει γελοίαν τε καὶ αἰσχρὰν ἄγνοιαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν, ταύτης ἀπαλλάττουσιν.	And in their play they mix up bowls of gold and bronze and silver [819c] and other such metals, while others hand out whole sets of them. As I said, by fitting the uses of the necessary numbers into play, they help the learners toward the ordering, leading, and marching of armies, and toward household management too, and in every way make people more useful to themselves and more wide awake. After this, in measuring things that have [819d] length, breadth, and depth, they rid them of an ignorance about all these things that is naturally present in all human beings, ridiculous and shameful.
819d	**CLINIAS** ποίαν δὴ καὶ τίνα λέγεις ταύτην;	**CLINIAS** What sort of ignorance do you mean?
	ATHENIAN ὦ φίλε Κλεινία, παντάπασί γε μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούσας ὀψέ ποτε τὸ περὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν πάθος ἐθαύμασα, καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ ὑηνῶν τινων εἶναι μᾶλλον θρεμμάτων, ἠσχύνθην τε οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μόνον, [819e] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.	**ATHENIAN** My dear Clinias, when I myself heard about it, very late in life, I was utterly astonished at our condition in these matters. It seemed to me not human at all, but more fit for some breed of pigs, and I was ashamed not only for myself [819e] but for all the Greeks.
819e	**CLINIAS** τοῦ πέρι; λέγ' ὅτι καὶ φῄς, ὦ ξένε.	**CLINIAS** Ashamed about what? Tell us what you mean, stranger.
	ATHENIAN λέγω δή· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐρωτῶν σοι δείξω. καί μοι σμικρὸν ἀπόκριναι· γιγνώσκεις που μῆκος;	**ATHENIAN** I'll tell you—or rather, I'll show you by asking questions. Answer me a small one: you know what length is, I suppose?

16 The saying is attributed to the poet Simonides.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; πλάτος;	**ATHENIAN** And breadth?
	CLINIAS πάντως.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἦ καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι δύ' ἐστόν, καὶ τρίτον τούτων βάθος;	**ATHENIAN** And that these are two, and depth is a third besides?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα εἶναι πάντα μετρητὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα;	**ATHENIAN** Well, don't you think all of these are measurable against one another?
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN μῆκός τε οἶμαι πρὸς μῆκος, καὶ πλάτος πρὸς 820a πλάτος, καὶ βάθος ὡσαύτως δυνατὸν εἶναι μετρεῖν φύσει.	**ATHENIAN** Length against length, I suppose, and breadth against 820a breadth, and depth likewise, can by nature be measured.
820a	**CLINIAS** σφόδρα γε.	**CLINIAS** Very much so.
	ATHENIAN εἰ δ' ἔστι μήτε σφόδρα μήτε ἠρέμα δυνατὰ ἔνια, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν, τὰ δὲ μή, σὺ δὲ πάντα ἡγῇ, πῶς οἴει πρὸς ταῦτα διακεῖσθαι;	**ATHENIAN** But if some of them can't be, either very much or slightly—if some can and some can't —and you think they all can, what state do you think you're in on this?[17]
	CLINIAS δῆλον ὅτι φαύλως.	**CLINIAS** A poor one, obviously.
	ATHENIAN τί δ' αὖ μῆκός τε καὶ πλάτος πρὸς βάθος, ἢ πλάτος τε καὶ μῆκος πρὸς ἄλληλα; ὥστε πῶς ἆρ' οὐ διανοούμεθα περὶ ταῦτα οὕτως Ἕλληνες πάντες, ὡς δυνατά ἐστι μετρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλα ἁμῶς γέ πως;	**ATHENIAN** And what about length and breadth against depth, or breadth and length against each other? Don't all we Greeks think about these things that they can somehow or other be measured against one another?
820b	**CLINIAS** παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Absolutely.
	ATHENIAN εἰ δ' ἔστιν αὖ μηδαμῶς μηδαμῇ δυνατά, πάντες δ', ὅπερ εἶπον, Ἕλληνες διανοούμεθα ὡς δυνατά, μῶν οὐκ ἄξιον ὑπὲρ πάντων αἰσχυνθέντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ βέλτιστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἓν ἐκείνων τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἔφαμεν αἰσχρὸν μὲν γεγονέναι τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι, τὸ δ' ἐπίστασθαι τἀναγκαῖα οὐδὲν πάνυ καλόν;	**ATHENIAN** But if they can't, in any way at all, and yet all we Greeks, as I said, think they can, wouldn't it be right to feel ashamed on behalf of everyone and say to them: "Best of Greeks, this is one of those things we said it was shameful not to know, though knowing what is necessary is nothing very fine"?
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε ἄλλα ἔστιν τούτων συγγενῆ, 820c ἐν οἷς αὖ πολλὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἐκείνων ἀδελφὰ ἡμῖν ἐγγίγνεται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων.	**ATHENIAN** And besides these there are other things related to them, 820c in which again many errors crop up in us, akin to those errors.
820c	**CLINIAS** ποῖα δή;	**CLINIAS** What things?

17 The Athenian is alluding to incommensurable magnitudes, such as the side and the diagonal of a square, which have no common measure.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN τὰ τῶν μετρητῶν τε καὶ ἀμέτρων πρὸς ἄλληλα ᾗτινι φύσει γέγονεν. ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ σκοποῦντα διαγιγνώσκειν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ παντάπασιν εἶναι φαῦλον, προβάλλοντά τε ἀλλήλοις ἀεί, διατριβὴν τῆς πεττείας πολὺ χαριεστέραν πρεσβυτῶν διατρίβοντα, φιλονικεῖν ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἀξίαισι σχολαῖς.	ATHENIAN The question of how the commensurable and the incommensurable are related to each other by nature. One must examine these and learn to tell them apart, or be altogether a poor specimen; and keep setting problems for one another—a far more graceful pastime for old men than board games—and compete in a leisure worthy of such things.
820d	CLINIAS ἴσως· ἔοικεν γοῦν ἥ τε πεττεία καὶ ταῦτα ἀλλήλων τὰ μαθήματα οὐ πάμπολυ κεχωρίσθαι.	CLINIAS Perhaps. Board games and these studies don't seem to be very far apart, at any rate.
	ATHENIAN ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ Κλεινία, φημὶ τοὺς νέους δεῖν μανθάνειν· καὶ γὰρ οὔτε βλαβερὰ οὔτε χαλεπά ἐστιν, μετὰ δὲ παιδιᾶς ἅμα μανθανόμενα ὠφελήσει μέν, βλάψει δὲ ἡμῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐδέν. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλως λέγει, ἀκουστέον.	ATHENIAN These, then, Clinias, are what I say the young must learn. They are neither harmful nor difficult, and if they are learned along with play they will benefit our city and do it no harm at all. If anyone says otherwise, we must hear him out.
	CLINIAS πῶς δ' οὔ;	CLINIAS Of course.
	ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ μὴν ἂν οὕτω ταῦτα ἔχοντα φαίνηται, δῆλον ὡς ἐγκρινοῦμεν αὐτά, μὴ ταύτῃ δὲ φαινόμενα ἔχειν ἀποκριθήσεται.	ATHENIAN But if it turns out that this is how they are, clearly we'll admit them; if they turn out not to be, they'll be dismissed.
820e	CLINIAS δῆλον· τί μήν;	CLINIAS Clearly. Of course.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν νῦν, ὦ ξένε, κείσθω ταῦτα ὡς ὄντα τῶν δεόντων μαθημάτων, ἵνα μὴ διάκενα ἡμῖν ᾖ τὰ τῶν νόμων; κείσθω μέντοι καθάπερ ἐνέχυρα λύσιμα ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτείας, ἐὰν ἢ τοὺς θέντας ἡμᾶς ἢ καὶ τοὺς θεμένους ὑμᾶς μηδαμῶς φιλοφρονῆται.	ATHENIAN Then for now, stranger, shall we lay these down as among the required subjects, so that our laws don't have gaps in them? But let them be laid down as pledges that can be redeemed separately from the rest of the constitution, if they don't at all please either us who proposed them or you who have adopted them.
	CLINIAS δικαίαν λέγεις τὴν θέσιν.	CLINIAS The terms you propose are fair.
	ATHENIAN ἄστρων δὴ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅρα τὴν μάθησιν τοῖς νέοις, ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀρέσκῃ λεχθεῖσα ἢ καὶ τοὐναντίον.	ATHENIAN Next, then, consider the study of the stars for the young—whether, once it has been described, we like it, or the opposite.
	CLINIAS λέγε μόνον.	CLINIAS Just tell us.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν θαῦμά γε περὶ αὐτά ἐστιν μέγα καὶ οὐδαμῶς οὐδαμῇ ἀνεκτόν.	ATHENIAN Well, there is something very strange about these things, and utterly intolerable.
821a	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δή;	CLINIAS What's that?
	ATHENIAN τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον φαμὲν οὔτε ζητεῖν δεῖν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνῶντας—οὐ γὰρ οὐδ' ὅσιον εἶναι—τὸ δὲ ἔοικεν πᾶν τούτου τοὐναντίον γιγνόμενον ὀρθῶς ἂν γίγνεσθαι.	ATHENIAN We say that one should not inquire into the greatest god and the whole cosmos, or busy oneself searching out their causes, since that isn't even pious. But it seems that the complete opposite of this would be the right thing to do.
	CLINIAS πῶς εἶπες;	CLINIAS What do you mean?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN παράδοξον μὲν τὸ λεγόμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πρεσβύταις τις οἰηθείη πρέπειν· τὸ δὲ ἐπειδάν τίς τι καλόν τε οἰηθῇ καὶ ἀληθὲς μάθημα εἶναι καὶ πόλει συμφέρον καὶ τῷ θεῷ [821b] παντάπασι φίλον, οὐδενὶ δὴ τρόπῳ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἔτι μὴ φράζειν.	**ATHENIAN** What I'm saying is paradoxical, and one wouldn't think it fitting for old men. But when someone thinks a study is fine and true and beneficial to the city and [821b] wholly dear to the god, there is no way he can keep from speaking of it any longer.
821b	**CLINIAS** εἰκότα λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἄστρων πέρι μάθημα τί τοιοῦτον ἀνευρήσομεν;	**CLINIAS** That's reasonable. But what study of that kind shall we find about the stars?
	ATHENIAN ὦ ἀγαθοί, καταψευδόμεθα νῦν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν Ἕλληνες πάντες μεγάλων θεῶν, Ἡλίου τε ἅμα καὶ Σελήνης.	**ATHENIAN** My good friends, practically all of us Greeks nowadays tell lies, so to speak, about great gods—the Sun and the Moon.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δὴ ψεῦδος;	**CLINIAS** What lie is that?
	ATHENIAN φαμὲν αὐτὰ οὐδέποτε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἰέναι, καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα ἄστρα μετὰ τούτων, ἐπονομάζοντες πλανητὰ αὐτά.	**ATHENIAN** We say that they never go the same way, and some other stars along with them, and we call them planets.[18]
821c	**CLINIAS** νὴ τὸν Δία, ὦ ξένε, ἀληθὲς τοῦτο λέγεις· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ βίῳ πολλάκις ἑώρακα καὶ αὐτὸς τόν τε Ἑωσφόρον καὶ τὸν Ἕσπερον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς οὐδέποτε ἰόντας εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον ἀλλὰ πάντῃ πλανωμένους, τὸν δὲ ἥλιόν που καὶ σελήνην δρῶντας ταῦθ' ἃ ἀεὶ πάντες συνεπιστάμεθα.	**CLINIAS** By Zeus, stranger, that's true. In my own life I have often seen the Morning Star and the Evening Star and some others never going on the same course but wandering every which way; and the sun and moon, I suppose, doing what we all know they always do.
	ATHENIAN ταῦτ' ἔστι τοίνυν, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία, νῦν ἃ δή φημι δεῖν περὶ θεῶν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν τούς γε ἡμετέρους [821d] πολίτας τε καὶ τοὺς νέους τὸ μέχρι τοσούτου μαθεῖν περὶ ἁπάντων τούτων, μέχρι τοῦ μὴ βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτά, εὐφημεῖν δὲ ἀεὶ θύοντάς τε καὶ ἐν εὐχαῖς εὐχομένους εὐσεβῶς.	**ATHENIAN** These, then, Megillus and Clinias, are the things I say our [821d] citizens and the young must learn about the gods in the heavens—all of them, but only so far as not to blaspheme about them, and always to speak reverently when they sacrifice and pray with piety.
821d	**CLINIAS** τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθόν, εἴ γε πρῶτον μὲν δυνατόν ἐστιν ὃ λέγεις μαθεῖν· εἶτα, εἰ μὴ λέγομέν τι περὶ αὐτῶν ὀρθῶς νῦν, μαθόντες δὲ λέξομεν, συγχωρῶ κἀγὼ τό γε τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον ὂν μαθητέον εἶναι. ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς ἔχοντά ἐσθ' οὕτω, πειρῶ σὺ μὲν ἐξηγεῖσθαι πάντως, ἡμεῖς δὲ συνέπεσθαί σοι μανθάνοντες.	**CLINIAS** That's right, if in the first place it is possible to learn what you are talking about. Then, if we aren't saying anything correct about them now, but will once we have learned, I too agree that something of this scope and kind should be learned. So, on the understanding that this is how things stand, try to explain it fully, and we will try to follow you and learn.
821e	**ATHENIAN** ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ὃ λέγω μαθεῖν, οὐδ' αὖ παντάπασι χαλεπόν, οὐδέ γέ τινος χρόνου παμπόλλου. τεκμήριον δέ· ἐγὼ τούτων οὔτε νέος οὔτε πάλαι ἀκηκοὼς σφῷν ἂν νῦν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δηλῶσαι δυναίμην. καίτοι χαλεπά γε ὄντα οὐκ ἄν ποτε οἷός τ' ἦν δηλοῦν τηλικούτοις οὖσι τηλικοῦτος.	**ATHENIAN** What I'm talking about isn't easy to learn, but it isn't altogether hard either, nor does it take a very long time. Here's the proof: I didn't hear about these things when I was young, or long ago, and yet I could make them clear to the two of you now in no long time. If they were hard, I could

18 "Planet" (planētēs) means "wanderer."

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		never make them clear, at my age, to men of your age.
	CLINIAS ἀληθῆ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ τί καὶ φῂς τοῦτο τὸ μάθημα [822a] ὃ θαυμαστὸν μὲν λέγεις, προσῆκον δ' αὖ μαθεῖν τοῖς νέοις, οὐ γιγνώσκειν δὲ ἡμᾶς; πειρῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τό γε τοσοῦτον φράζειν ὡς σαφέστατα.	**CLINIAS** True. But what is this study you call [822a] astonishing, and yet say is fitting for the young to learn, though we don't know it? Try to explain at least that much about it as clearly as you can.
822a	**ATHENIAN** πειρατέον. οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο, ὦ ἄριστοι, τὸ δόγμα ὀρθὸν περὶ σελήνης τε καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, ὡς ἄρα πλανᾶταί ποτε, πᾶν δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔχει τούτου—τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἕκαστον καὶ οὐ πολλὰς ἀλλὰ μίαν ἀεὶ κύκλῳ διεξέρχεται, φαίνεται δὲ πολλὰς φερόμενον—τὸ δὲ τάχιστον αὐτῶν ὂν βραδύτατον οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὖ δοξάζεται, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον [822b] ἐναντίως.	**ATHENIAN** I must try. This belief, my excellent friends, is not correct—about the moon and the sun and the other stars—that they ever wander. The very opposite is the case. Each of them travels the same path, not many paths but always one, in a circle, though it appears to travel many. And again, the fastest of them is wrongly believed to be the slowest, and the slowest, [822b] conversely, the fastest.
822b	ταῦτ' οὖν εἰ πέφυκεν μὲν οὕτως, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ ταύτῃ δόξομεν, εἰ μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεόντων ἵππων οὕτως ἢ δολιχοδρόμων ἀνδρῶν διενοούμεθα πέρι, καὶ προσηγορεύομεν τὸν τάχιστον μὲν ὡς βραδύτατον, τὸν δὲ βραδύτατον ὡς τάχιστον, ἐγκώμιά τε ποιοῦντες ᾄδομεν τὸν ἡττώμενον νενικηκότα, οὔτε ὀρθῶς ἂν οὔτ' οἶμαι προσφιλῶς τοῖς δρομεῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἂν τὰ ἐγκώμια προσάπτειν ἀνθρώποις οὖσιν· νῦν δὲ δὴ [822c] περὶ θεοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐξαμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν, ἆρ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα ὃ γελοῖόν τε καὶ οὐκ ὀρθὸν ἐκεῖ γιγνόμενον ἦν ἂν τότε, νῦν ἐνταυθοῖ καὶ ἐν τούτοισι γίγνεσθαι γελοῖον μὲν οὐδαμῶς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ θεοφιλές γε, ψευδῆ φήμην ἡμῶν κατὰ θεῶν ὑμνούντων.	So if this is how things are by nature, and we don't believe it—suppose we thought this way about horses racing at Olympia, or men running the long race, and called the fastest the slowest and the slowest the fastest, and made up songs of praise hailing the loser as the winner: I don't think we would be bestowing our praise correctly, or in a way the runners would welcome, human beings though they are. But now, [822c] when we make these same mistakes about gods, don't we think that what would have been ridiculous and wrong there is, here in these matters, not ridiculous at all, but not pleasing to the gods either, when we sing a false report about gods?
822c	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα, εἴπερ γε οὕτω ταῦτ' ἐστίν.	**CLINIAS** Very true, if this is how things are.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἂν μὲν δείξωμεν οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχοντα, μαθητέα μέχρι γε τούτου τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, μὴ δειχθέντων δὲ ἐατέον; καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν οὕτω συγκείσθω;	**ATHENIAN** Then if we show that this is how things are, all such matters must be learned at least to that extent, and if we don't show it, they must be left alone? Shall we agree on this?
822d	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.

HUNTING

Only hunting land animals with horses, dogs and one's own strength is praised and freely allowed.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN ἤδη τοίνυν χρὴ φάναι τέλος ἔχειν τά γε παιδείας μαθημάτων πέρι νόμιμα· περὶ δὲ θήρας ὡσαύτως διανοηθῆναι χρὴ καὶ περὶ ἁπάντων ὁπόσα τοιαῦτα. κινδυνεύει γὰρ δὴ νομοθέτῃ τὸ προσταττόμενον ἐπὶ μεῖζον εἶναι τοῦ νόμους θέντα ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἕτερον δέ τι πρὸς τοῖς νόμοις εἶναι μεταξύ τι νουθετήσεώς τε πεφυκὸς	**ATHENIAN** Now, then, we must say that the rules about the subjects of education are complete. We must think about hunting in the same way, and about everything of that sort. It seems that the lawgiver's task goes beyond laying down laws and being done with it: there is something else besides

GREEK

ἅμα καὶ νόμων, ὃ δὴ [822e] πολλάκις ἡμῶν ἐμπέπτωκεν τοῖς λόγοις, οἷον περὶ τὴν τῶν σφόδρα νέων παίδων τροφήν· οὐ γὰρ ἄρρητά φαμεν εἶναι, λέγοντές τε αὐτά, ὡς νόμους οἴεσθαι τιθεμένους εἶναι πολλῆς ἀνοίας γέμειν.

822e γεγραμμένων δὴ ταύτῃ τῶν νόμων τε καὶ ὅλης τῆς πολιτείας, οὐ τέλεος ὁ τοῦ διαφέροντος πολίτου πρὸς ἀρετὴν γίγνεται ἔπαινος, ὅταν αὐτόν τις φῇ τὸν ὑπηρετήσαντα τοῖς νόμοις ἄριστα καὶ πειθόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθόν· τελεώτερον δὲ ὧδε εἰρημένον, ὡς ἄρα ὃς ἂν τοῖς τοῦ νομοθέτου νομοθετοῦντός τε καὶ ἐπαινοῦντος καὶ ψέγοντος [823a] πειθόμενος γράμμασιν διεξέλθῃ τὸν βίον ἄκρατον. οὗτος ὅ τε λόγος ὀρθότατος εἰς ἔπαινον πολίτου, τόν τε νομοθέτην ὄντως δεῖ μὴ μόνον γράφειν τοὺς νόμους, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς νόμοις, ὅσα καλὰ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ καλὰ εἶναι, νόμοις ἐμπεπλεγμένα γράφειν, τὸν δὲ ἄκρον πολίτην μηδὲν ἧττον ταῦτα ἐμπεδοῦν ἢ τὰ ταῖς ζημίαις ὑπὸ νόμων κατειλημμένα. τὸ δὲ δὴ παρὸν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν εἰ οἷον μάρτυρα ἐπαγόμεθα, δηλοῖμεν ἂν [823b] ὃ βουλόμεθα μᾶλλον.

823b θήρα γὰρ πάμπολύ τι πρᾶγμά ἐστι, περιειλημμένον ὀνόματι νῦν σχεδὸν ἑνί. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἐνύδρων, πολλὴ δὲ ἡ τῶν πτηνῶν, πάμπολυ δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ πεζὰ θηρεύματα, οὐ μόνον θηρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀξίαν ἐννοεῖν θήραν, τήν τε κατὰ πόλεμον, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ κατὰ φιλίαν θηρεύουσα, ἡ μὲν ἔπαινον, ἡ δὲ ψόγον ἔχει· καὶ κλωπεῖαι καὶ ληστῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων στρατοπέδοις [823c] θῆραι. θήρας δὲ πέρι τιθέντι τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοὺς νόμους οὔτε μὴ δηλοῦν ταῦθ' οἷόν τε, οὔτε ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τάξεις καὶ ζημίας ἐπιτιθέντα ἀπειλητικὰ νόμιμα τιθέναι. τί δὴ δραστέον περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα;

823c τὸν μέν, τὸν νομοθέτην, ἐπαινέσαι καὶ ψέξαι χρεὼν τὰ περὶ θήρας πρὸς τοὺς τῶν νέων πόνους τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὸν δ' αὖ νέον ἀκούσαντα πείθεσθαι, καὶ μήθ' ἡδονὴν μήτε πόνον ἐξείργειν αὐτόν, τῶν δὲ περὶ ἕκαστα ἀπειληθέντων μετὰ ζημίας καὶ νομοθετηθέντων, τὰ [823d] μετ' ἐπαίνου ῥηθέντα μᾶλλον τιμᾶν καὶ προσταχθέντα ἀποτελεῖν.

823d

ENGLISH

the laws, something that by nature lies between admonition and law, which [822e] has often cropped up in our discussion—for instance, about the upbringing of very young children. We say these things must not be left unsaid; but to suppose, when one says them, that one is laying down laws is the height of folly.

With the laws and the whole constitution written in this way, the praise of a citizen who stands out in virtue is not complete when someone says that the good man is the one who has served the laws best and obeyed them most. It is more complete when put like this: the good man is the one who goes through life [823a] obeying without reserve the writings of the lawgiver, as he legislates, praises, and blames. This is the most correct way to praise a citizen. And the lawgiver really must not only write laws, but, besides the laws, write down what he thinks fine and not fine, woven in with the laws; and the best citizen must hold to these no less firmly than to what the laws have backed with penalties. If we bring in the present topic as a kind of witness, we will make [823b] our meaning clearer.

Hunting is a very wide affair, now covered by what is more or less a single name. There is a great deal of hunting of water creatures, a great deal of winged creatures, and a very great deal concerning creatures that go on land—and not just wild beasts: we should also bear in mind the hunting of human beings, both in war and, a great deal of it, in friendship, one kind earning praise and the other blame; and there are the thefts, and the hunts of robbers, and of armies by [823c] armies. A lawgiver laying down laws about hunting cannot avoid making these things clear, but neither can he lay down threatening statutes imposing regulations and penalties on all of them. So what should be done about such things?

The lawgiver should praise and blame the various kinds of hunting with an eye to the exertions and pursuits of the young; the young man, for his part, should listen and obey, and let neither pleasure nor toil keep him from it; and rather than what is threatened with penalties and laid down by law on each matter, he should honor more highly what is [823d] said by way of praise, and carry it out as a command.

GREEK

τούτων δὴ προρρηθέντων, ἑξῆς ἂν γίγνοιτο ἔμμετρος ἔπαινος θήρας καὶ ψόγος, ἥτις μὲν βελτίους ἀποτελεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν νέων ἐπαινοῦντος, ψέγοντος δὲ ἢ τἀναντία. λέγωμεν τοίνυν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἑξῆς προσαγορεύοντες δι' εὐχῆς τοὺς νέους· ὦ φίλοι, εἴθ' ὑμᾶς μήτε τις ἐπιθυμία μήτ' ἔρως τῆς περὶ θάλατταν θήρας ποτὲ λάβοι μηδὲ ἀγκιστρείας [823e] μηδ' ὅλως τῆς τῶν ἐνύδρων ζῴων, μήτε ἐγρηγορόσιν μήτε εὕδουσιν κύρτοις ἀργὸν θήραν διαπονουμένοις. μηδ' αὖ ἄγρας ἀνθρώπων κατὰ θάλατταν λῃστείας τε ἵμερος ἐπελθὼν ὑμῖν θηρευτὰς ὠμοὺς καὶ ἀνόμους ἀποτελοῖ· κλωπείας δ' ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ πόλει μηδὲ εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον ἐπέλθοι νοῦν ἅψασθαι. μηδ' αὖ πτηνῶν θήρας αἰμύλος ἔρως οὐ σφόδρα ἐλευθέριος ἐπέλθοι [824a] τινὶ νέων.

824a πεζῶν δὴ μόνον θήρευσίς τε καὶ ἄγρα λοιπὴ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀθληταῖς, ὧν ἡ μὲν τῶν εὐδόντων αὖ κατὰ μέρη, νυκτερεία κληθεῖσα, ἀργῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἀξία ἐπαίνου, οὐδ' ἧττον διαπαύματα πόνων ἔχουσα, ἄρκυσίν τε καὶ πάγαις ἀλλ' οὐ φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς νίκῃ χειρουμένων τὴν ἄγριον τῶν θηρίων ῥώμην· μόνη δὴ πᾶσιν λοιπὴ καὶ ἀρίστη ἡ τῶν τετραπόδων ἵπποις καὶ κυσὶν καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν θήρα σώμασιν, ὧν ἁπάντων κρατοῦσιν δρόμοις καὶ πληγαῖς καὶ βολαῖς αὐτόχειρες θηρεύοντες, ὅσοις ἀνδρείας τῆς θείας ἐπιμελές.

τούτων δὴ πάντων ἔπαινος μὲν πέρι καὶ ψόγος ὁ διειρημένος ἂν εἴη λόγος, νόμος δὲ ὅδε· τούτους μηδεὶς τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὄντως θηρευτὰς κωλυέτω ὅπου καὶ ὅπῃπερ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν κυνηγετεῖν, νυκτερευτὴν δὲ ἄρκυσιν καὶ πλεκταῖς πιστὸν μηδεὶς μηδέποτε ἐάσῃ μηδαμοῦ θηρεῦσαι· τὸν ὀρνιθευτὴν δὲ ἐν ἀργοῖς μὲν καὶ ὄρεσιν μὴ κωλυέτω, ἐν ἐργασίμοις δὲ καὶ ἱεροῖς ἀγρίοις ἐξειργέτω ὁ προστυγχάνων, ἐνυγροθηρευτὴν δέ, πλὴν ἐν λιμέσιν καὶ ἱεροῖς ποταμοῖς τε καὶ ἕλεσι καὶ λίμναις, ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἐξέστω θηρεύειν, μὴ χρώμενον ὀπῶν ἀναθολώσει μόνον.

νῦν οὖν ἤδη πάντα χρὴ φάναι τέλος ἔχειν τά γε παιδείας πέρι νόμιμα.

CLINIAS καλῶς ἂν λέγοις.

ENGLISH

With this said in advance, next would come a measured praise and blame of hunting, praising the kind that makes the souls of the young better and blaming the kind that does the opposite. Let us say what comes next, then, addressing the young with a prayer: My friends, may no desire or passion ever seize you for hunting at sea, or angling, [823e] or for hunting water creatures at all, toiling at the lazy hunt of the fish trap that does its work whether you're awake or asleep. Nor may any longing for catching human beings at sea, for piracy, come over you and make you cruel and lawless hunters. And may it not so much as cross your mind to turn to thieving in the countryside or the city. Nor may a crafty passion for hunting birds, hardly fit for a free man, come over [824a] any of the young.

So for our athletes there remains only the hunting and catching of land animals. Of this, the kind called night hunting, done by men who sleep in turns, belongs to lazy men and deserves no praise; nor does the kind that has its rests from toil, and masters the wild strength of beasts with nets and snares instead of by the victory of a soul that loves hard work. The only kind left for all, and the best, is the hunting of four-footed animals with horses and dogs and one's own body, in which the hunters overcome them all with their own hands, by running and striking and throwing—all those who care for a godlike courage.

For all of these, the account just given would serve as praise and blame, and the law is this. Let no one hinder these truly sacred hunters wherever and however they wish to hunt with hounds; but the night hunter who puts his trust in nets and traps, let no one ever allow to hunt anywhere. Let no one hinder the fowler on uncultivated land and in the mountains, but on farmland and in sacred wild places let anyone who comes upon him drive him off. The fisherman shall be allowed to fish anywhere except in harbors and sacred rivers, marshes, and lakes—provided only he does not muddy the water with plant poisons.

So now we must say that all the rules about education are complete.

CLINIAS Well said.

Book VIII

Festivals, sexual conduct, farming and trade.

GREEK

828a **ATHENIAN** τούτων μὴν ἐχόμενά ἐστιν τάξασθαι μὲν καὶ νομοθετήσασθαι ἑορτὰς μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντειῶν, αἵτινες θυσίαι καὶ θεοῖς οἵστισιν ἄμεινον καὶ λῷον θυούσῃ τῇ πόλει γίγνοιντ' ἄν· πότε δὲ καὶ πόσαι τὸν ἀριθμόν, σχεδὸν ἴσως ἡμέτερον ἂν νομοθετεῖν ἔνιά γ' αὐτῶν εἴη.

CLINIAS τάχ' ἂν τὸν ἀριθμόν.

ATHENIAN τὸν ἀριθμὸν δὴ λέγωμεν πρῶτον· ἔστωσαν γὰρ τῶν 828b μὲν πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων μηδὲν ἀπολείπουσαι, ὅπως ἂν μία γέ τις ἀρχὴ θύῃ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων τινὶ ἀεὶ ὑπὲρ πόλεώς τε καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ κτημάτων. ταῦτα δὲ συνελθόντες ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ ἱερεῖς ἱέρειαί τε καὶ μάντεις μετὰ νομοφυλάκων ταξάντων ἃ παραλείπειν ἀνάγκη τῷ νομοθέτῃ· καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου χρὴ γίγνεσθαι ἐπιγνώμονας τοῦ παραλειπομένου τούτους τοὺς αὐτούς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δὴ νόμος ἐρεῖ δώδεκα μὲν 828c ἑορτὰς εἶναι τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς, ὧν ἂν ἡ φυλὴ ἑκάστη ἐπώνυμος ᾖ, θύοντας τούτων ἑκάστοις ἔμμηνα ἱερά, χορούς τε καὶ ἀγῶνας μουσικούς, τοὺς δὲ γυμνικούς, κατὰ τὸ πρέπον προσνέμοντας τοῖς θεοῖς τε αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ ταῖς ὥραις ἑκάσταις, γυναικείας τε ἑορτάς, ὅσαις χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν προσήκει καὶ ὅσαις μή, διανέμοντας.

828c ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν χθονίων καὶ ὅσους αὖ θεοὺς οὐρανίους ἐπονομαστέον καὶ τὸ τῶν τούτοις ἑπομένων οὐ συμμεικτέον ἀλλὰ χωριστέον, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πλούτωνος 828d μηνὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδόντας, καὶ οὐ δυσχεραντέον πολεμικοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν τοιοῦτον θεόν, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον ὡς ὄντα ἀεὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ἄριστον· κοινωνία γὰρ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι διαλύσεως οὐκ ἔστιν ᾗ κρεῖττον, ὡς ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν σπουδῇ λέγων. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ διάνοιαν χρὴ σχεῖν τοὺς διαιρήσοντας ἱκανῶς ταῦτα τοιάνδε, ὡς ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις οἵαν οὐκ ἄν τις ἑτέραν εὕροι τῶν νῦν περὶ χρόνου σχολῆς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐξουσίας, δεῖ δὲ 829a αὐτήν, καθάπερ ἕνα ἄνθρωπον, ζῆν εὖ· τοῖς δὲ εὐδαιμόνως ζῶσιν ὑπάρχειν

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ATHENIAN Next after this comes the task of arranging and legislating festivals, with the help of oracles from Delphi: what sacrifices, and to which gods, it would be better and more beneficial for the city to offer. But when they are to be held, and how many of them there should be—some of that, perhaps, may be more or less ours to legislate.

CLINIAS Their number, maybe.

ATHENIAN Then let's speak of the number first. Let there be 828b no fewer than three hundred and sixty-five, so that there is always some official sacrificing to one of the gods or spirits on behalf of the city, its people and their possessions. The interpreters, priests, priestesses and seers are to meet with the guardians of the laws and arrange whatever the lawgiver is bound to leave out; and these same people must also be the ones to judge just what has been left out. For the law will say that there are to be twelve 828c festivals for the twelve gods after whom each tribe is named; that the citizens are to offer monthly sacrifices to each of them, with choruses and musical contests, and athletic ones too, assigning them as is fitting both to the gods themselves and to the several seasons; and that they are to distribute the women's festivals, deciding which should be held apart from the men and which should not.

Further, the rites of the gods below must not be mixed with those of the gods who are to be called gods of the heavens and of their attendants, but kept apart, and given their due in the 828d twelfth month, the month of Pluto, as the law prescribes. Men of war must not resent a god like this; they should honor him as one who is always the best of gods for the human race. For the union of soul and body is in no way better than their dissolution—I would say that in all seriousness. Besides this, those who are to divide up these matters properly must keep the following in mind: our city has no

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ἀνάγκη πρῶτον τὸ μήθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀδικεῖν μήτε ὑφ' ἑτέρων αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖσθαι.	equal among cities today for leisure and freedom from the necessities of life, and it must [829a] live well, just like a single human being. And those who live happily must first of all neither do wrong to themselves nor be wronged by others.[1]

TRAINING FOR WAR IN PEACETIME

The city holds monthly mock battles; greed and factional regimes explain why other cities do not.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
829a	**ATHENIAN** τούτοιν δὲ τὸ μὲν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι κτήσασθαι δύναμιν παγχάλεπον, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸ τελέως σχεῖν ἄλλως ἢ τελέως γενόμενον ἀγαθόν· ταὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτο ἔστι καὶ πόλει ὑπάρχειν, γενομένῃ μὲν ἀγαθῇ βίος εἰρηνικός, πολεμικὸς δὲ ἔξωθέν τε καὶ ἔνδοθεν, ἂν ᾖ κακή. τούτων δὲ ταύτῃ σχεδὸν ἐχόντων, [829b] οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ τὸν πόλεμον ἑκάστοις γυμναστέον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης βίῳ.	**ATHENIAN** The first of these is not very hard, but acquiring the power not to be wronged is extremely hard, and there is no way to have it completely except by becoming completely good. The same holds for a city: if it becomes good, its life is one of peace; if it is bad, its life is one of war, from without and within. Since this is roughly how things stand, [829b] each citizen must train for war not in war but in the life of peace.
829b	δεῖ τοίνυν πόλιν ἑκάστου μηνὸς νοῦν κεκτημένην στρατεύεσθαι μὴ ἔλαττον μιᾶς ἡμέρας, πλείους δέ, ὡς ἂν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν συνδοκῇ, μηδὲν χειμῶνας ἢ καύματα διευλαβουμένους, αὐτούς τε ἅμα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ὅταν ὡς πανδημίαν ἐξάγειν δόξῃ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέρη· καί τινας ἀεὶ παιδιὰς μηχανᾶσθαι καλὰς ἅμα θυσίαις, ὅπως ἂν γίγνωνται μάχαι τινὲς ἑορταστικαί, [829c] μιμούμεναι τὰς πολεμικὰς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐναργῶς μάχας. νικητήρια δὲ καὶ ἀριστεῖα ἑκάστοισι τούτων δεῖ διανέμειν ἐγκώμιά τε καὶ ψόγους ποιεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ὁποῖός τις ἂν ἕκαστος γίγνηται κατά τε τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν παντί τε αὖ τῷ βίῳ, τόν τε ἄριστον δοκοῦντα εἶναι κοσμοῦντας καὶ τὸν μὴ ψέγοντας.	So a city with any sense must go out on campaign each month for no less than one day—for more, if the officials also think fit—paying no heed to cold or heat. The men are to go themselves, along with the women and children, whenever the officials decide to lead out the whole population, and at other times in sections. And they must always be devising fine games to go with the sacrifices, so that there may be festival battles [829c] imitating the battles of war as vividly as possible. Prizes for victory and for valor must be distributed in each of these, and the citizens must compose speeches of praise and blame for one another, according to how each person conducts himself in the contests and in the whole of his life, honoring the one reputed best and censuring the one who is not.
829c	ποιητὴς δὲ ἔστω τῶν τοιούτων μὴ ἅπας, ἀλλὰ γεγονὼς πρῶτον μὲν μὴ ἔλαττον πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν, μηδ' αὖ τῶν ὁπόσοι ποίησιν μὲν καὶ μοῦσαν ἱκανῶς κεκτημένοι ἐν αὑτοῖς εἰσιν, καλὸν δὲ [829d] ἔργον καὶ ἐπιφανὲς μηδὲν δράσαντες πώποτε· ὅσοι δὲ ἀγαθοί τε αὐτοὶ καὶ τίμιοι ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἔργων ὄντες δημιουργοὶ καλῶν, τὰ τῶν τοιούτων ᾀδέσθω ποιήματα, ἐὰν καὶ μὴ μουσικὰ πεφύκῃ.	The composer of such poems must not be just anyone. First, he must be at least fifty years old; nor may he be one of those who have enough skill in poetry and music but have never done a single fine [829d] and distinguished deed. Rather, let the poems of those who are themselves good and honored in the city, as authors of fine deeds, be the ones that are sung, even if they have no natural gift for music.
829d	κρίσις δὲ αὐτῶν ἔστω παρά τε τῷ παιδευτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοφύλαξι, τοῦτο ἀποδιδόντων αὐτοῖς γέρας, παρρησίαν ἐν μούσαις εἶναι μόνοις, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις	The choice of them is to rest with the director of education and the other guardians of the laws,

1 Pluto, another name for Hades, god of the dead.

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μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν γίγνεσθαι, μηδέ τινα τολμᾶν ᾄδειν ἀδόκιμον μοῦσαν μὴ κρινάντων τῶν νομοφυλάκων, μηδ' ἂν ἡδίων ᾖ τῶν Θαμύρου [829e] τε καὶ Ὀρφείων ὕμνων, ἀλλ' ὅσα τε ἱερὰ κριθέντα ποιήματα ἐδόθη τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἀγαθῶν ὄντων ἀνδρῶν ψέγοντα ἢ ἐπαινοῦντά τινας ἐκρίθη μετρίως δρᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ λέγω στρατείας τε πέρι καὶ τῆς ἐν ποιήσεσι παρρησίας γυναιξί τε καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὁμοίως γίγνεσθαι δεῖν. χρὴ δὲ ἀναφέρειν παραδεικνύντα ἑαυτῷ τὸν νομοθέτην τῷ λόγῳ· φέρε, τίνας ποτὲ τρέφω τὴν πόλιν ὅλην παρασκευάσας; [830a] ἆρ' οὐκ ἀθλητὰς τῶν μεγίστων ἀγώνων, οἷς ἀνταγωνισταὶ μυρίοι ὑπάρχουσι;

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who are to grant them this privilege: that they alone have freedom of speech in music. Others are to have no such license; no one is to dare sing a song that has not been approved and passed by the guardians of the laws, not even if it is sweeter than the hymns of Thamyris [829e] and Orpheus. Only poems judged sacred and dedicated to the gods may be sung, and those by good men that were judged to blame or praise people in due measure. The same, I say, must hold for women and men alike, both as to military service and as to freedom of speech in poetry. The lawgiver must keep referring things back to this, setting it out for himself in words: "Come now, whom am I raising, having prepared the whole city? [830a] Aren't they athletes for the greatest of contests, facing countless rivals?"[2]

830a καὶ πάνυ γε, φαίη τις ἂν ὀρθῶς λέγων. τί δῆτα; εἰ πύκτας ἢ παγκρατιαστὰς ἐτρέφομεν ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἕτερον ἀγωνισμάτων ἀθλοῦντας, ἆρα εἰς αὐτὸν ἂν ἀπηντῶμεν τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ οὐδενὶ καθ' ἡμέραν προσμαχόμενοι; ἢ πύκται γε ὄντες παμπόλλας ἂν ἡμέρας ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐμανθάνομέν [830b] τε ἂν μάχεσθαι καὶ διεπονούμεθα, μιμούμενοι πάντα ἐκεῖνα ὁπόσοις ἐμέλλομεν εἰς τότε χρήσεσθαι περὶ τῆς νίκης διαμαχόμενοι, καὶ ὡς ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ὁμοίου ἰόντες, ἀντὶ ἱμάντων σφαίρας ἂν περιεδούμεθα, ὅπως αἱ πληγαί τε καὶ αἱ τῶν πληγῶν εὐλάβειαι διεμελετῶντο εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἱκανῶς, εἴ τέ τις ἡμῖν συγγυμναστῶν συνέβαινεν ἀπορία πλείων, ἆρ' ἂν δείσαντες τὸν τῶν ἀνοήτων γέλωτα οὐκ ἂν ἐτολμῶμεν κρεμαννύντες εἴδωλον ἄψυχον γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτό;

"Certainly," someone would rightly answer. Well then: if we were training boxers or pancratium fighters, or athletes in some other such event, would we go straight into the contest itself, having fought no one day by day beforehand? Or, if we were boxers, would we spend many days before the contest learning [830b] to fight and working hard at it, imitating all the moves we were going to use when the time came to fight for victory? Wouldn't we come as close as we could to the real thing, strapping on padded gloves instead of thongs, so that we got as much practice as possible at landing blows and avoiding them? And if we happened to be badly short of training partners, would we be afraid of fools laughing at us and not dare to hang up a lifeless dummy and practice against it?[3]

830b καὶ [830c] ἔτι πάντων τῶν τε ἐμψύχων καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἀπορήσαντές ποτε, ἐν ἐρημίᾳ συγγυμναστῶν ἆρά γε οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἂν αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σκιαμαχεῖν ὄντως; ἢ τί ποτε ἄλλο τὴν τοῦ χειρονομεῖν μελέτην ἄν τις φαίη γεγονέναι;

And [830c] if we were ever short of every partner, living and lifeless, with no one to train with, wouldn't we dare to fight our own shadows, literally? Or what else would anyone say the practice of sparring with the air was invented for?

830c **CLINIAS** σχεδόν, ὦ ξένε, οὐδὲν ἄλλο γε πλὴν τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὃ σὺ νῦν ἔφθεγξαι.

CLINIAS For nothing else, stranger, more or less, than exactly what you've just said.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν; τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν μάχιμον ἦ χεῖρόν τι παρασκευασάμενον τῶν τοιούτων ἀγωνιστῶν εἰς τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγώνων ἑκάστοτε τολμήσει παριέναι, διαμαχούμενον περὶ [830d] ψυχῆς καὶ παίδων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως; καὶ ταῦτα δὴ φοβηθεὶς

ATHENIAN Well then? Will our city's fighting force be less well prepared than contestants like these, when it dares to enter, time and again, the greatest of contests, fighting for [830d] life and children and property and the whole city? And will its

2 Thamyris was a legendary Thracian singer who challenged the Muses to a contest.
3 The pancratium was a no-holds-barred combination of boxing and wrestling.

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	αὐτῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους γυμνάσια μὴ φαίνηταί τισιν γελοῖα, οὐκ ἄρα νομοθετήσει, στρατεύεσθαι προστάττων μάλιστα μὲν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τά γε σμικρὰ χωρὶς τῶν ὅπλων, χορούς τε εἰς ταῦτα ἅμα καὶ γυμναστικὴν πᾶσαν συντείνων, τὰς δὲ οἷόν τινας μείζους τε καὶ ἐλάττους γυμνασίας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ποιεῖσθαι προστάξει, ἀμίλλας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιουμένους [830e] κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἐπὶ κατάληψιν χωρίων ἀμιλλωμένους καὶ ἐνέδρας, καὶ πᾶσαν μιμουμένους τὴν πολεμικήν,	lawgiver, afraid that their exercises against one another may look ridiculous to some, then fail to legislate? Won't he order them to campaign, ideally every day, in small exercises at least, without weapons, directing choruses and all gymnastics toward this end; and won't he order larger and smaller exercises of a sort to be held at least once a month, in which they compete against one another [830e] all over the country, vying to seize positions and to lay ambushes, and imitating every part of warfare—
830e	ὄντως σφαιρομαχεῖν τε καὶ βολαῖς ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῶν ἀληθῶν, χρωμένους ὑποκινδύνοις βέλεσιν, ὅπως μὴ παντάπασιν ἄφοβος ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνηται παιδιά, δείματα δὲ παρέχῃ καί τινα τρόπον δηλοῖ τόν τε εὔψυχον καὶ τὸν μή, [831a] καὶ τοῖς μὲν τιμάς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμίας διανέμων ὀρθῶς, τὴν πόλιν ὅλην εἰς τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἀγῶνα διὰ βίου παρασκευάζῃ χρησίμην, καὶ δὴ καί τινος ἀποθανόντος οὕτως, ὡς ἀκουσίου τοῦ φόνου γενομένου, τιθῇ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα κατὰ νόμον καθαρθέντα καθαρὸν εἶναι χεῖρας, ἡγούμενος ἀνθρώπων μὲν τελευτησάντων μὴ πολλῶν, ἑτέρους πάλιν οὐ χείρους φύσεσθαι, φόβου δὲ οἷον τελευτήσαντος, ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς τοιούτοις βάσανον οὐχ εὑρήσειν τῶν τε ἀμεινόνων καὶ χειρόνων, οὐ [831b] σμικρῷ πόλει μεῖζον κακὸν ἐκείνου;	really fighting with padded gloves, and with throwing, as close as possible to the real thing, using weapons that carry some danger, so that their sport with one another is not entirely free of fear, but produces alarms and in a way shows who is brave and who is not? [831a] So too, by distributing honors to some and dishonor to others correctly, he will prepare the whole city to be useful for the real contest all its life. And if someone is killed in this way, since the killing was unintentional, he will lay down that the killer, once purified according to law, is clean of hand. For he reckons that if a few human beings die, others no worse will be born in their place; but if fear, so to speak, dies, he will find no way in all such matters to test the better and the worse— [831b] and that is a far greater evil for a city than the other.
831b	**CLINIAS** συμφαῖμεν ἂν ἡμεῖς γε, ὦ ξένε, τὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖν καὶ νομοθετεῖν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύειν πόλιν ἅπασαν.	**CLINIAS** We at any rate would agree, stranger, that a whole city should both legislate for such things and practice them.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν γιγνώσκομεν ἅπαντες τὴν αἰτίαν διότι ποτὲ νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ τοιαύτη χορεία καὶ ἀγωνία σχεδὸν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ πάνυ τι σμικρά; ἢ φῶμεν δι' ἀμαθίαν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν τιθέντων αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους;	**ATHENIAN** Then do we all know the reason why, in cities now, choral performance and competition of this kind hardly exists anywhere at all, except on a very small scale? Or shall we say it's because of the ignorance of the many and of those who make their laws for them?
	CLINIAS τάχ' ἄν.	**CLINIAS** Maybe.
831c	**ATHENIAN** οὐδαμῶς, ὦ μακάριε Κλεινία· δύο δὲ χρὴ φάναι τούτων αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ μάλα ἱκανάς.	**ATHENIAN** Not at all, my good Clinias. We must say there are two causes of this, and very powerful ones.
	CLINIAS ποίας;	**CLINIAS** What are they?
	ATHENIAN τὴν μὲν ὑπ' ἔρωτος πλούτου πάντα χρόνον ἄσχολον ποιοῦντος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πλὴν τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων, ἐξ ὧν κρεμαμένη πᾶσα ψυχὴ πολίτου παντὸς οὐκ ἄν ποτε δύναιτο τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλειαν	**ATHENIAN** One is the love of wealth, which leaves no time at all to care for anything but one's own possessions. On these every citizen's whole soul

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ἴσχειν πλὴν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν κέρδους· καὶ ὅτι μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο φέρει μάθημα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα, ἰδίᾳ πᾶς μανθάνειν τε καὶ ἀσκεῖν ἑτοιμότατός ἐστιν, [831d] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων καταγελᾷ.

hangs, and it could never attend to anything but the day's profit. Whatever study or practice leads to that, each man privately is quite ready to learn and pursue; [831d] everything else he laughs at.

831d τοῦτο μὲν ἓν καὶ ταύτην μίαν αἰτίαν χρὴ φάναι τοῦ μήτε τοῦτο μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ἐθέλειν ἐπιτήδευμα πόλιν σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀπληστίαν πᾶσαν μὲν τέχνην καὶ μηχανήν, καλλίω τε καὶ ἀσχημονεστέραν, ἐθέλειν ὑπομένειν πάντα ἄνδρα, εἰ μέλλει πλούσιος ἔσεσθαι, καὶ πρᾶξιν πράττειν ὅσιόν τε καὶ ἀνόσιον καὶ πάντως αἰσχράν, μηδὲν δυσχεραίνοντα, ἐὰν μόνον ἔχῃ δύναμιν καθάπερ θηρίῳ τοῦ [831e] φαγεῖν παντοδαπὰ καὶ πιεῖν ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀφροδισίων πᾶσαν πάντως παρασχεῖν πλησμονήν.

So this is one thing, and we must say it is one cause why a city won't take seriously either this or any other fine and good practice. Because of their insatiable appetite for gold and silver, every man is willing to put up with every art and every device, finer or more disgraceful, if he is going to become rich, and to do any deed, holy or unholy and utterly shameful, without the least distaste, provided only that he has the means, like a beast, [831e] to eat all sorts of things and drink likewise and supply himself in every way with his fill of sex.

831e **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς.

CLINIAS Right.

ATHENIAN αὕτη μὲν τοίνυν, ἣν λέγω, μία κείσθω διακωλύουσα αἰτία τοῦ μήτε ἄλλο καλὸν μήτε τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανῶς ἐῶσα ἀσκεῖν τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ναυκλήρους καὶ διακόνους πάντως τοὺς φύσει κοσμίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπεργαζομένη, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρείους λῃστὰς καὶ τοιχωρύχους καὶ [832a] ἱεροσύλους καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ τυραννικοὺς ποιοῦσα, καὶ μάλ' ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἀφυεῖς ὄντας, δυστυχοῦντάς γε μήν.

ATHENIAN Then let this, as I say, be set down as one cause that prevents cities from practicing adequately either anything else that is fine or the things of war. It turns those who are orderly by nature into merchants, shipowners and servants of every kind, while it makes the brave into robbers, burglars, [832a] temple-robbers, warmongers and tyrants—men sometimes not without talent, but unfortunate.

832a **CLINIAS** πῶς λέγεις;

CLINIAS What do you mean?

ATHENIAN πῶς μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς οὐ λέγοιμ' ἂν τὸ παράπαν δυστυχεῖς, οἷς γε ἀνάγκη διὰ βίου πεινῶσιν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀεὶ τὴν αὑτῶν διεξελθεῖν;

ATHENIAN Well, how could I not call them utterly unfortunate, when they have to go through life with their own souls always starving?

CLINIAS αὕτη μὲν τοίνυν μία· τὴν δὲ δὴ δευτέραν αἰτίαν τίνα λέγεις, ὦ ξένε;

CLINIAS That is one cause, then. And the second—what do you say it is, stranger?

ATHENIAN καλῶς ὑπέμνησας.

ATHENIAN You were right to remind me.

CLINIAS αὕτη μὲν δή, φῂς σύ, μία, ἡ διὰ βίου ἄπληστος [832b] ζήτησις, παρέχουσα ἄσχολον ἕκαστον, ἐμπόδιος γίγνεται τοῦ μὴ καλῶς ἀσκεῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἑκάστους. ἔστω· τὴν δὲ δὴ δευτέραν λέγε.

CLINIAS One cause, you say, is this lifelong insatiable [832b] pursuit, which leaves each person no time and so prevents all of them from practicing warfare properly. Granted. Now tell us the second.

832b **ATHENIAN** μῶν οὐ λέγειν ἀλλὰ διατρίβειν δοκῶ δι' ἀπορίαν;

ATHENIAN You don't think I'm stalling instead of speaking because I'm at a loss, do you?

CLINIAS οὔκ, ἀλλὰ οἷον μισῶν δοκεῖς ἡμῖν κολάζειν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἦθος μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος τῷ παραπεπτωκότι λόγῳ.

CLINIAS No, but you seem to us to be punishing this kind of character more than you need to in the argument that has come up, as though you hated it.

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ATHENIAN κάλλιστα, ὦ ξένοι, ἐπεπλήξατε· καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούοιτ' ἄν, ὡς ἔοικε.

ATHENIAN A very fair rebuke, strangers. And now, it seems, you'd like to hear what comes next.

CLINIAS λέγε μόνον.

CLINIAS Just speak.

ATHENIAN τὰς οὐ πολιτείας ἔγωγε αἰτίας εἶναί φημι ἃς [832c] πολλάκις εἴρηκα ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις, δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ τυραννίδα. τούτων γὰρ δὴ πολιτεία μὲν οὐδεμία, στασιωτεῖαι δὲ πᾶσαι λέγοιντ' ἂν ὀρθότατα· ἑκόντων γὰρ ἑκοῦσα οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἀκόντων ἑκοῦσα ἄρχει σὺν ἀεί τινι βίᾳ, φοβούμενος δὲ ἄρχων ἀρχόμενον οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε πλούσιον οὔτε ἰσχυρὸν οὔτ' ἀνδρεῖον οὔτε τὸ παράπαν πολεμικὸν ἑκὼν ἐάσει γίγνεσθαί ποτε. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐστι τὰ δύο πάντων μὲν σμικροῦ διαφερόντως αἴτια, τούτων δ' οὖν ὄντως διαφέρει.

ATHENIAN The causes, I say, are the non-constitutions I've [832c] often mentioned in our earlier discussions: democracy, oligarchy and tyranny. None of these is a constitution; they would all most correctly be called factional regimes. For none of them rules willingly over the willing; each rules willingly over the unwilling, always with some use of force. And a ruler who fears the ruled will never willingly let them become fine or rich or strong or brave, or warlike at all. These, then, are the two causes of nearly everything, but above all of these failings.

832c τὸ δὲ τῆς νῦν πολιτείας, ἣν νομοθετούμενοι [832d] λέγομεν, ἐκπέφευγεν ἀμφότερα· σχολήν τε γὰρ ἄγει που μεγίστην, ἐλεύθεροί τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰσί, φιλοχρήματοι δὲ ἥκιστ' ἄν, οἶμαι, γίγνοιντ' ἂν ἐκ τούτων τῶν νόμων, ὥστ' εἰκότως ἅμα καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἡ τοιαύτη κατάστασις πολιτείας μόνη δέξαιτ' ἂν τῶν νῦν τὴν διαπεπανθεῖσαν παιδείαν τε ἅμα καὶ παιδιὰν πολεμικήν, ἀποτελεσθεῖσαν ὀρθῶς τῷ λόγῳ.

But the constitution we are now describing as we legislate [832d] has escaped both. It enjoys, I suppose, the greatest leisure; its citizens are free with respect to one another; and under these laws, I think, they would be least likely of all to become lovers of money. So it's reasonable and consistent that this kind of constitutional arrangement alone, of those now existing, would accept the education and the military play we've gone through, completed correctly in our discussion.

832d CLINIAS καλῶς.

CLINIAS Good.

CONTESTS FOR WAR

Races, armed combat and horse contests are kept only insofar as they prepare citizens for war.

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ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐ τούτοις ἐφεξῆς ἐστιν μνησθῆναί ποτε [832e] περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν γυμνικῶν, ὡς ὅσα μὲν αὐτῶν πρὸς πόλεμόν ἐστιν ἀγωνίσματα ἐπιτηδευτέον καὶ θετέον ἆθλα νικητήρια, ὅσα δὲ μή, χαίρειν ἐατέον; ἃ δ' ἔστιν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄμεινον ῥηθῆναί τε καὶ νομοθετηθῆναι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ δρόμον καὶ τάχος ὅλως ἆρ' οὐ θετέον;

ATHENIAN Then isn't the next thing to take up, sometime, [832e] the subject of all the athletic contests? Those that are training for war should be pursued, with prizes set for victory, while the rest should be dismissed. Which ones they are had better be stated and legislated from the start. And first, shouldn't we establish contests in running and in speed generally?

832e CLINIAS θετέον.

CLINIAS We should.

ATHENIAN ἔστι γοῦν πάντων πολεμικώτατον ἡ σώματος ὀξύτης πάντως, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν [833a] χειρῶν· φυγεῖν μὲν καὶ ἑλεῖν ἡ τῶν ποδῶν, ἡ δ' ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς μάχη καὶ σύστασις ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης δεομένη.

ATHENIAN Of all things, at any rate, the most useful in war is quickness of body in every form, partly of the feet and partly of the [833a] hands: that of the feet for fleeing and catching, and that of the

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hands for fighting at close quarters and standing firm, which needs strength and might.

833a **CLINIAS** τί μήν;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN οὐ μὴν χωρίς γε ὅπλων οὐδετέρα τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει χρείαν.

ATHENIAN Yet neither is of the greatest use without weapons.

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ ἄν;

CLINIAS How could it be?

ATHENIAN σταδιοδρόμον δὴ πρῶτον ὁ κῆρυξ ἡμῖν, καθάπερ νῦν, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρακαλεῖ, ὁ δὲ εἴσεισιν ὅπλα ἔχων· ψιλῷ δὲ ἆθλα οὐ θήσομεν ἀγωνιστῇ. πρῶτος δὲ εἴσεισιν ὁ τὸ στάδιον ἁμιλλησόμενος σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, δεύτερος δὲ [833b] ὁ τὸν δίαυλον, καὶ τρίτος ὁ τὸν ἐφίππιον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τέταρτος ὁ τὸν δόλιχον, καὶ πέμπτος δὲ ὃν ἀφήσομεν πρῶτον ὡπλισμένον, ἑξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων μῆκος πρὸς ἱερὸν Ἄρεώς τι καὶ πάλιν, βαρύτερον, ὁπλίτην ἐπονομάζοντες, λειοτέρας ὁδοῦ διαμιλλώμενον, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον, τοξότην πᾶσαν τοξικὴν ἔχοντα στολήν, σταδίων δὲ ἑκατὸν πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν τὴν δι' ὀρῶν τε καὶ παντοίας χώρας ἁμιλλώμενον· [833c] καὶ τιθέντες τὸν ἀγῶνα μενοῦμεν τούτους, ἕως ἂν ἔλθωσι, καὶ τῷ νικῶντι τὰ νικητήρια δώσομεν ἑκάστων.

ATHENIAN Then first, as now, our herald at the games will summon the runner in the stade race, and he will come in bearing arms; we won't set prizes for any contestant without weapons. First will enter the man who is to race the stade in arms; second, [833b] the one for the double stade; third, the one for the horse-course race; fourth, the one for the long race; and fifth, the ones we will send off: first the more heavily armed man—we'll call him the hoplite—competing over sixty stades to some temple of Ares and back, on a fairly smooth road; and then the other, an archer in full archer's gear, competing over a hundred stades, through mountains and every kind of country, to a temple of Apollo and Artemis. [833c] Having set the contest, we'll wait for them until they return, and give the victory prize to the winner in each.[4]

833c **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς.

CLINIAS Right.

ATHENIAN τριττὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀθλήματα διανοηθῶμεν, ἓν μὲν παιδικόν, ἓν δὲ ἀγενείων, ἓν δὲ ἀνδρῶν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν ἀγενείων τὰ δύο τῶν τριῶν τοῦ μήκους τοῦ δρόμου θήσομεν, τοῖς δὲ παισὶ τὰ τούτων ἡμίσεα, τοξόταις τε καὶ ὁπλίταις ἁμιλλωμένοις, γυναιξὶν δέ, κόραις μὲν ἀνήβοις γυμναῖς [833d] στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ ἐφίππιον καὶ δόλιχον, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δρόμῳ ἁμιλλωμέναις, ταῖς δὲ τριακαιδεκέτεσι μέχρι γάμου μενούσαις κοινωνίας μὴ μακρότερον εἴκοσι ἐτῶν μηδ' ἔλαττον ὀκτωκαίδεκα· πρεπούσῃ δὲ στολῇ ταύτας ἐσταλμένας καταβατέον ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμιλλαν τούτων τῶν δρόμων.

ATHENIAN Let's envisage these contests in three divisions—one for boys, one for youths, one for men. For the youths we'll set two-thirds of the length of the course, and for the boys half of that, when they compete as archers and hoplites. For females: girls below the age of puberty are to compete naked in [833d] the stade, the double stade, the horse-course race and the long race, on the racetrack itself. Girls of thirteen are to go on taking part until they marry, which is to be no later than twenty and no earlier than eighteen; they must come down to compete in these races dressed in suitable clothing.

833d καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ δρόμους ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῦτα ἔστω· τὰ δὲ κατ' ἰσχύν, ἀντὶ μὲν πάλης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, τὰ νῦν ὅσα [833e] βαρέα, τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μάχην, ἕνα τε πρὸς ἕνα διαμαχομένους καὶ δύο πρὸς δύο, καὶ μέχρι δέκα πρὸς δέκα διαμιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις. ἃ δὲ τὸν μὴ παθόντα ἢ ποιήσαντα δεῖ νικᾶν καὶ εἰς ὁπόσα, καθάπερ

Let these be the rules about races for men and women. As for contests of strength: instead of wrestling and the like—all the [833e] heavy events of today—there will be fighting in armor, one against one and two against two, and up to ten against ten competing with one another. As for what a man

4 The stade race was one length of the track; the double stade went there and back; the horse-course race was probably four lengths; the long race was much longer.

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νῦν ἐν τῇ πάλῃ διενομοθετήσαντο οἱ περὶ τὴν πάλην αὐτὴν τί τοῦ καλῶς παλαίοντος ἔργον καὶ μὴ καλῶς, ταὐτὸν δὴ καὶ τοὺς περὶ ὁπλομαχίαν ἄκρους παρακαλοῦντας, χρὴ τούτους συννομοθετεῖν κελεύειν τίς νικᾶν ἄρα δίκαιος περὶ ταύτας αὖ τὰς μάχας, ὅτι μὴ [834a] παθὼν ἢ δράσας, καὶ τὸν ἡττώμενον ὡσαύτως ἥτις διακρίνει τάξις. ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν θηλειῶν ἔστω νομοθετούμενα τῶν μέχρι γάμου.	must avoid suffering or must inflict in order to win, and how many times: just as now in wrestling those in charge of the sport have laid down what counts as good wrestling and what does not, in the same way we must call in the leading experts in armed combat and bid them help us legislate who deserves to win in these fights, and for avoiding [834a] which blows or delivering which; and likewise what rule decides who is the loser. Let the same legislation hold also for females up to marriage.
[834a] πελταστικὴν δὲ ὅλην ἀντιστήσαντας δεῖ τῇ τοῦ παγκρατίου μάχῃ, τόξοις καὶ πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθῳ ἐκ χειρός τε καὶ σφενδόναις ἀμιλλωμένων, διαθεμένους αὖ περὶ τούτων νόμους, τῷ κάλλιστα ἀποδιδόντι τὰ περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰς νίκας διανέμειν. τὸ δὲ [834b] μετὰ ταῦτα ἵππων δὴ περὶ ἀγῶνος γίγνοιτο ἑξῆς ἂν νομοθετούμενα· ἵππων δὲ ἡμῖν χρεία μὲν οὔτε τις πολλῶν οὔτε πολλή, κατά γε δὴ Κρήτην, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς ἐλάττους γίγνεσθαι τάς τε ἐν τῇ τροφῇ καὶ τὰς περὶ ἀγωνίαν αὐτῶν.	In place of the pancratium, we must set up light-armed combat as a whole, with contestants competing with bows, light shields, javelins, and stones thrown by hand and with slings; and again we must lay down laws about these, and give the prizes and victories to the one who best fulfills the rules for them. After [834b] this, the next thing to legislate would be the contest of horses. We have no need for many horses, nor much need of them, at least in Crete, so our efforts both in rearing them and in competing with them must necessarily be smaller.
[834b] ἅρματος μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε τις τροφεὺς ἡμῖν ἐστιν οὔτε τις φιλοτιμία πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδενὶ γίγνοιτ' ἂν λόγον ἔχουσα, ὥστε τούτου μὲν ἀγωνιστάς, οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, ἔσται τιθέντας νοῦν μήτε ἔχειν μήτε δοκεῖν κεκτῆσθαι· [834c] μονίπποις δὲ ἆθλα τιθέντες, πώλοις τε ἀβόλοις καὶ τελείων τε καὶ ἀβόλων τοῖς μέσοις καὶ αὐτοῖς δὴ τοῖς τέλος ἔχουσι, κατὰ φύσιν τῆς χώρας ἂν τὴν ἱππικὴν παιδιὰν ἀποδιδοῖμεν. ἔστω δὴ τούτων τε αὐτῶν κατὰ νόμον ἅμιλλά τε καὶ φιλονικία, φυλάρχοις τε καὶ ἱππάρχοις δεδομένη κοινὴ κρίσις ἁπάντων τῶν τε δρόμων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν καταβαινόντων μεθ' ὅπλων· ψιλοῖς δὲ ὅπλων οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς οὔτε ἐνταῦθα [834d] τιθέντες ἀγωνίας ὀρθῶς ἂν νομοθετοῖμεν.	There is no one at all among us who keeps chariot teams, nor would anyone's ambition for them make any sense; so if we set up contests in chariots, a thing foreign to our country, we would be neither sensible nor seem it. [834c] But by setting prizes for riders on single horses—on young colts, on horses between colts and full-grown, and on full-grown horses themselves—we would provide equestrian sport that suits the nature of the country. Let there be competition and rivalry in these, as the law directs, with the cavalry squadron commanders and the cavalry commanders given joint judgment of all the races themselves and of those who enter in arms. Setting contests for those without arms, whether in the athletic games or here, [834d] would not be right legislation.
[834d] τοξότης δὲ ἀφ' ἵππων Κρὴς οὐκ ἄχρηστος, οὐδ' ἀκοντιστής, ὥστε ἔστω καὶ τούτων παιδιᾶς χάριν ἔρις τε καὶ ἀγωνία. θηλείας δὲ περὶ τούτων νόμοις μὲν καὶ ἐπιτάξεσιν οὐκ ἄξια βιάζεσθαι τῆς κοινωνίας· ἐὰν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν παιδευμάτων εἰς ἔθος ἰόντων ἡ φύσις ἐνδέχηται καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνῃ παῖδας ἢ παρθένους κοινωνεῖν, ἐᾶν καὶ μὴ ψέγειν.	A Cretan mounted archer is not useless, nor a mounted javelin-thrower, so let there be rivalry and contests in these too, for the sake of play. As for females, it isn't worth compelling them by laws and directives to take part in these. But if, as their earlier training turns into habit, their nature permits it and girls or young women are not averse to taking part, let them, and don't blame them.
ἀγωνία δὴ νῦν ἤδη καὶ μάθησις γυμναστικῆς, ὅσα τε [834e] ἐν ἀγῶσιν καὶ ὅσα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν διδασκάλων	So now the competitions and the learning of gymnastics, both what we work at [834e] in contests and

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἐκπονούμεθα, πάντως ἤδη πέρας ἔχει. καὶ δὴ καὶ μουσικῆς τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ὡσαύτως διαπεπέρανται, τὰ δὲ ῥαψῳδῶν καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἑπομένων, καὶ ὅσαι ἐν ἑορταῖς ἅμιλλαι χορῶν ἀναγκαῖαι γίγνεσθαι, ταχθέντων τοῖς θεοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ θεῶν μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν, κοσμηθήσονται τότε, εἴτε τριετηρίδες εἴτε αὖ καὶ διὰ πέμπτων ἐτῶν, εἴθ' ὅπῃ καὶ [835a] ὅπως ἔννοιαν διδόντων τῶν θεῶν τάξεως πέρι διανεμηθῶσιν· τότε καὶ τοὺς μουσικῆς ἀγῶνας χρὴ προσδοκᾶν κατὰ μέρος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι ταχθέντας ὑπό τε ἀθλοθετῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδευτοῦ τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν νομοφυλάκων, εἰς κοινὸν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων συνελθόντων καὶ γενομένων νομοθετῶν αὐτῶν, τοῦ τε πότε καὶ τίνες καὶ μετὰ τίνων τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιήσονται περὶ ἁπάντων χορῶν καὶ χορείας.

what we do daily under teachers, are entirely complete. Likewise most of music has been gone through. But matters concerning rhapsodes and those who go with them, and all the choral competitions that have to take place at festivals, will be put in order when the months, days and years have been assigned to the gods and to those associated with gods—whether they are to be every other year, or every four years, or however and [835a] in whatever way the gods give us the idea of how to order them. At that point we must also expect the musical contests to be held, each in its turn, arranged by the stewards of the games, the director of the young people's education and the guardians of the laws. These will meet together on these very matters and become lawgivers themselves, deciding when, and by whom, and with whom the contests are to be held, for all choruses and choral performance.

835a οἷα δὲ ἕκαστα αὐτῶν εἶναι δεῖ κατὰ λόγον καὶ κατ' ᾠδὰς καὶ καθ' ἁρμονίας ῥυθμοῖς [835b] κραθείσας καὶ ὀρχήσεσι, πολλάκις εἴρηται τῷ πρώτῳ νομοθέτῃ, καθ' ἃ τοὺς δευτέρους δεῖ μεταδιώκοντας νομοθετεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας πρεπόντως ἑκάστοις θύμασιν ἐν χρόνοις προσήκουσι νείμαντας, ἑορτὰς ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει ἑορτάζειν.

What each of these should be like, in words and songs and in harmonies blended with rhythms [835b] and dances, has been stated many times by the first lawgiver. The second lawgivers must follow this in their legislation, assigning the contests suitably to each sacrifice at the appropriate times, and so give the city festivals to celebrate.

THE PROBLEM OF SEXUAL DESIRE

Well-fed, leisured citizens need a law on sex; the Athenian distinguishes three kinds of love.

GREEK

ENGLISH

835b **ATHENIAN** ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα οὔτε χαλεπὸν γνῶναι τίνα τρόπον χρὴ τάξεως ἐννόμου λαγχάνειν, οὐδ' αὖ μετατιθέμενα ἔνθα ἢ ἔνθα μέγα τῇ πόλει κέρδος ἢ ζημίαν ἂν φέροι· [835c] ἃ δὲ μὴ σμικρὸν διαφέρει, πείθειν τε χαλεπόν, θεοῦ μὲν μάλιστα ἔργον, εἴ πως οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπιτάξεις αὐτὰς παρ' ἐκείνου γίγνεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἀνθρώπου τολμηροῦ κινδυνεύει δεῖσθαί τινος, ὃς παρρησίαν διαφερόντως τιμῶν ἐρεῖ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἄριστ' εἶναι πόλει καὶ πολίταις, ἐν ψυχαῖς διεφθαρμέναις τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἑπόμενον πάσῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τάττων, ἐναντία λέγων ταῖς μεγίσταισιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ οὐκ ἔχων βοηθὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδένα, λόγῳ ἑπόμενος μόνῳ μόνος.

ATHENIAN Now it's not hard to know how these and other such matters should be given a lawful order, nor would shifting them this way or that bring the city any great gain or loss. [835c] But the matters that make no small difference, and about which persuasion is hard, are above all a task for a god—if it were somehow possible for the ordinances to come from him. As it is, they probably need some bold human being, one who values frankness above all, to say what seems best for city and citizens: to prescribe, among corrupted souls, what is fitting and consistent with the whole constitution, speaking against the strongest desires, with no human helper, alone, following reason alone.

835d **CLINIAS** τίν' αὖ νῦν, ὦ ξένε, λόγον λέγομεν; οὐ γάρ πω μανθάνομεν.

CLINIAS What is this argument we're making now, stranger? We don't understand yet.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN εἰκότως γε· ἀλλὰ δὴ πειράσομαι ἐγὼ φράζειν ὑμῖν ἔτι σαφέστερον. ὡς γὰρ εἰς παιδείαν ἦλθον τῷ λόγῳ, εἶδον νέους τε καὶ νέας ὁμιλοῦντας φιλοφρόνως ἀλλήλοις· εἰσῆλθεν δή με, οἷον εἰκός, φοβηθῆναι, συννοήσαντα τί τις χρήσεται τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει ἐν ᾗ δὴ νέοι μὲν νέαι τε εὐτρεφεῖς εἰσί, πόνων δὲ σφοδρῶν καὶ ἀνελευθέρων, οἳ [835e] μάλιστα ὕβριν σβεννύασιν, ἀργοί, θυσίαι δὲ καὶ ἑορταὶ καὶ χοροὶ πᾶσιν μέλουσιν διὰ βίου. τίνα δή ποτε τρόπον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἀφέξονται τῶν πολλοὺς δὴ πολλὰ ἐπιθυμιῶν εἰς ἔσχατα βαλλουσῶν, ὧν ἂν ὁ λόγος προστάττῃ ἀπέχεσθαι, νόμος ἐπιχειρῶν γίγνεσθαι;

ATHENIAN Naturally. Well, I'll try to explain it to you more clearly. When my discussion reached education, I saw young men and young women associating affectionately with one another. And I began, as was natural, to be afraid, as I reflected what one is to do with a city like this, where young men and women are well fed and free of the hard and servile labor that most [835e] quenches wantonness, and where sacrifices, festivals and choruses occupy everyone all their lives. How in the world, in this city, will they keep away from the desires that hurl many people to the utmost extremes—the desires that reason, trying to become law, commands them to keep away from?

835e καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλῶν οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἐπιθυμιῶν εἰ κρατοῖ τὰ πρόσθεν νόμιμα ταχθέντα—τὸ [836a] γὰρ μὴ πλουτεῖν τε ἐξεῖναι ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγαθὸν πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν οὐ σμικρόν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ παιδεία μετρίους πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἴληφεν νόμους, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄψις διηναγκασμένη μὴ ἀποβλέπειν ἄλλοσε, τηρεῖν δ' ἀεί, τοὺς νέους τ' αὐτούς, πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθυμίας, ὅσα γε ἀνθρώπινα, μέτρον ἔχει—τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐρώτων παίδων τε ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν [836b] καὶ ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν ὅθεν δὴ μυρία γέγονεν ἀνθρώποις ἰδίᾳ καὶ ὅλαις πόλεσιν, πῶς τις τοῦτο διευλαβοῖτ' ἄν, καὶ τί τεμὼν φάρμακον τούτοις ἑκάστοις τοῦ τοιούτου κινδύνου διαφυγὴν εὑρήσει; πάντως οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ὦ Κλεινία.

It's no wonder if the rules laid down before prevail over most desires—for [836a] not being allowed to become excessively rich is no small help toward moderation, and the whole of our education has taken on laws that are moderate in such matters; and besides this, the eye of the officials, compelled never to look elsewhere but always to keep watch on the young themselves, holds the other desires in check, as far as anything human can. But the passions of love—for boys and for girls, of women for men [836b] and of men for women—from which countless troubles have come upon people privately and upon whole cities: how could one guard against this? What remedy could one cut to find, in each case, an escape from such a danger? It's not easy at all, Clinias.

836b καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρὸς μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα ἡ Κρήτη τε ἡμῖν ὅλη καὶ ἡ Λακεδαίμων βοήθειαν ἐπιεικῶς οὐ σμικρὰν συμβάλλονται τιθεῖσι νόμους ἀλλοίους τῶν πολλῶν τρόπων, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐρώτων—αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν—ἐναντιοῦνται παντάπασιν. εἰ [836c] γάρ τις ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει θήσει τὸν πρὸ τοῦ Λαΐου νόμον, λέγων ὡς ὀρθῶς εἶχεν τὸ τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ νέων μὴ κοινωνεῖν καθάπερ θηλειῶν πρὸς μεῖξιν ἀφροδισίων, μάρτυρα παραγόμενος τὴν τῶν θηρίων φύσιν καὶ δεικνὺς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἁπτόμενον ἄρρενα ἄρρενος διὰ τὸ μὴ φύσει τοῦτο εἶναι, τάχ' ἂν χρῷτο πιθανῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις πόλεσιν οὐδαμῶς συμφωνοῖ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὃ διὰ παντός [836d] φαμεν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην τηρεῖν, τοῦτο ἐν τούτοις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ.

For in many other respects Crete as a whole and Sparta give us no small help, and fairly so, when we lay down laws different from the ways of most people; but on the subject of love—we're by ourselves, after all—they are entirely against us. [836c] For suppose someone, following nature, were to lay down the law as it was before Laius, saying it was right not to have sexual intercourse with males, the young, as with females, and calling as witness the nature of animals, and pointing out that male does not touch male for such purposes, since this is not natural. He might be using a persuasive argument, and one in no way consonant with your cities. Besides this, the thing that we say [836d] the lawgiver must watch for at all times does not agree with these practices.[5]

5 Laius, father of Oedipus, was said to have carried off the boy Chrysippus, and so to have been the first to begin sexual relations between males.

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836d ζητοῦμεν γὰρ ἀεὶ δὴ τί τῶν τιθεμένων πρὸς ἀρετὴν φέρει καὶ τί μή· φέρε δή, τοῦτο ἐὰν συγχωρῶμεν καλὸν ἢ μηδαμῶς αἰσχρὸν νομοθετεῖσθαι τὰ νῦν, τί μέρος ἡμῖν συμβάλλοιτ' ἂν πρὸς ἀρετήν; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ πεισθέντος ψυχῇ γιγνόμενον ἐμφύσεται τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἦθος, ἢ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πείσαντος τὸ τῆς σώφρονος ἰδέας γένος; ἢ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἂν πεισθείη ποτέ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἅπαν τούτου τοὐναντίον, τοῦ μὲν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὑπείκοντος καὶ 836e καρτερεῖν οὐ δυναμένου ψέξει πᾶς τὴν μαλακίαν, τοῦ δ' εἰς μίμησιν τοῦ θήλεος ἰόντος τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος ὁμοιότητα ἆρ' οὐ μέμψεται; τίς οὖν ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο ὂν τοιοῦτον νομοθετήσει; σχεδὸν οὐδείς, ἔχων γε ἐν τῷ νῷ νόμον ἀληθῆ. πῶς οὖν φαμεν ἀληθὲς τοῦτο εἶναι;

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For we are always asking which of our enactments lead to virtue and which don't. Come then: if we agreed to legislate now that this is fine, or not at all shameful, what part would it contribute toward virtue? Would it produce the character of courage in the soul of the one who is persuaded, or the sort of thing that belongs to a moderate character in the soul of the persuader? Or would no one ever be persuaded of this, but rather of quite the opposite? Won't everyone blame the softness of the one who yields to pleasures 836e and can't hold out, and won't they reproach the one who goes over to imitating the female for his likeness to what he copies? Then who among human beings will make something like this law? Practically no one, at least no one with true law in mind. So how do we say this is true?

836e τὴν τῆς φιλίας τε καὶ 837a ἐπιθυμίας ἅμα καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐρώτων φύσιν ἰδεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ μέλλει τις ταῦτα ὀρθῶς διανοηθήσεσθαι· δύο γὰρ ὄντα αὐτά, καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρίτον ἄλλο εἶδος, ἓν ὄνομα περιλαβὸν πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν καὶ σκότον ἀπεργάζεται.

One must see the nature of friendship and 837a desire, and of what are called loves, if one is going to think about these matters correctly. For there are two of them, and from both a third kind, different again; and one name covering them all creates utter confusion and darkness.

837a **CLINIAS** πῶς;

CLINIAS How so?

ATHENIAN φίλον μέν που καλοῦμεν ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἴσον ἴσῳ, φίλον δ' αὖ καὶ τὸ δεόμενον τοῦ πεπλουτηκότος, ἐναντίον ὂν τῷ γένει· ὅταν δὲ ἑκάτερον γίγνηται σφοδρόν, ἔρωτα ἐπονομάζομεν.

ATHENIAN We call someone a friend, I suppose, when he is like his like in virtue, and equal to his equal; and we also call the needy a friend to the rich, though they are opposite in kind. And when either becomes intense, we call it love.

837b **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς.

CLINIAS Right.

ATHENIAN φιλία τοίνυν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ ἐναντίων δεινὴ καὶ ἀγρία καὶ τὸ κοινὸν οὐ πολλάκις ἔχουσα ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων ἥμερός τε καὶ κοινὴ διὰ βίου· μεικτὴ δὲ ἐκ τούτων γενομένη πρῶτον μὲν καταμαθεῖν οὐ ῥᾳδία, τί ποτε βούλοιτ' ἂν αὑτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν τρίτον ἔρωτά τις ἔχων τοῦτον, ἔπειτα εἰς τοὐναντίον ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν ἑλκόμενος ἀπορεῖ, τοῦ μὲν κελεύοντος τῆς ὥρας ἅπτεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἀπαγορεύοντος.

ATHENIAN Now friendship between opposites is terrible and wild, and among us it is seldom mutual, while friendship between likes is gentle and mutual throughout life. But the kind mixed from these is, first of all, not easy to understand—what the one who has this third love would want to get for himself; and then, pulled in opposite directions by the two, he is at a loss, one urging him to lay hold of the bloom of youth, the other forbidding it.

ὁ μὲν 837c γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἐρῶν, καὶ τῆς ὥρας καθάπερ ὀπώρας πεινῶν, ἐμπλησθῆναι παρακελεύεται ἑαυτῷ, τιμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀπονέμων τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθει τοῦ ἐρωμένου· ὁ δὲ πάρεργον μὲν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων, ὁρῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐρῶν, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ὄντως τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτεθυμηκώς, ὕβριν ἡγεῖται τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ

For the one 837c who loves the body, and hungers for its bloom as for ripe fruit, urges himself to have his fill, paying no regard to the character of the beloved's soul. But the one who treats bodily desire as secondary, gazing rather than lusting, and whose soul truly desires the soul, considers

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σώματος πλησμονήν, τὸ σῶφρον δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον αἰδούμενος ἅμα καὶ σεβόμενος, ἀγνεύειν ἀεὶ μεθ' ἁγνεύοντος [837d] τοῦ ἐρωμένου βούλοιτ' ἄν· ὁ δὲ μειχθεὶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρίτος ἔρως οὗτός ἐσθ' ὃν νῦν διεληλύθαμεν ὡς τρίτον.	the body's gorging itself on the body an outrage; and revering and respecting moderation, courage, magnificence and wisdom, he would want always to live chastely with a chaste [837d] beloved. And the love mixed from both is the one we've just described as third.
837d ὄντων δὲ τούτων τοσούτων, πότερον ἅπαντας δεῖ κωλύειν τὸν νόμον, ἀπείργοντα μὴ γίγνεσθαι ἐν ἡμῖν, ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἀρετῆς ὄντα καὶ τὸν νέον ἐπιθυμοῦντα ὡς ἄριστον γίγνεσθαι βουλοίμεθ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ δύο, εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη, κωλύοιμεν ἄν; ἢ πῶς λέγομεν, ὦ φίλε Μέγιλλε;	Since there are so many of them, should the law forbid them all, keeping them from arising among us? Or isn't it clear that we would want the love that belongs to virtue, and desires the young man to become as good as possible, to exist in our city, and would forbid the other two, if we could? Or what do we say, my friend Megillus?
MEGILLUS πάντῃ τοι καλῶς, ὦ ξένε, περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων [837e] εἴρηκας τὰ νῦν.	MEGILLUS What you've said just now about these very matters, stranger, [837e] is entirely right.
837e ATHENIAN ἔοικά γε, ὅπερ καὶ ἐτόπαζον, τυχεῖν τῆς σῆς, ὦ φίλε, συνῳδίας· τὸν δὲ νόμον ὑμῶν, ὅτι νοεῖ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐδέν με ἐξετάζειν δεῖ, δέχεσθαι δὲ τὴν τῷ λόγῳ συγχώρησιν. Κλεινίᾳ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς αὖθις περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων πειράσομαι ἐπᾴδων πείθειν. τὸ δέ μοι δεδομένον ὑπὸ σφῷν ἴτω, καὶ διεξέλθωμεν πάντως τοὺς νόμους.	ATHENIAN It seems I've won your agreement, my friend, as I guessed I would. What your law intends about such things I needn't examine; I'll accept your consent to the argument. Clinias I'll try to persuade on these same matters afterward, another time, by singing charms to him. Let what you two have granted me stand, and let's go right on through the laws.
MEGILLUS ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	MEGILLUS You're quite right.

THE LAW ON SEX

Sex should be confined to marriage and procreation, backed by religious sanction or, failing that, by shame.

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ATHENIAN τέχνην δή τιν' αὖ τούτου τοῦ νόμου τῆς θέσεως [838a] ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι τὴν μὲν ῥᾳδίαν ἔχω, τὴν δ' αὖ τινα τρόπον παντάπασιν ὡς οἷόν τε χαλεπωτάτην.	ATHENIAN Now, for enacting this law, I have at present a technique that is in one way [838a] easy, and in another as hard as can be.
838a MEGILLUS πῶς δὴ λέγεις;	MEGILLUS What do you mean?
ATHENIAN ἴσμεν που καὶ τὰ νῦν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καίπερ παρανόμους ὄντας, ὡς εὖ τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἴργονται τῆς τῶν καλῶν συνουσίας οὐκ ἄκοντες, ὡς οἷόν τε δὲ μάλιστα ἑκόντες.	ATHENIAN We know, I suppose, that even now most people, lawless as they are, are kept well and strictly from intercourse with beautiful people—and not against their will, but as willingly as can be.
MEGILLUS πότε λέγεις;	MEGILLUS When do you mean?
ATHENIAN ὅταν ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἀδελφὴ τῳ γένωνται καλοί. καὶ [838b] περὶ υἱέος ἢ θυγατρὸς ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος ἄγραφος ὢν ὡς οἷόν τε ἱκανώτατα φυλάττει μήτε φανερῶς μήτε λάθρᾳ συγκαθεύδοντα ἤ πως ἄλλως ἀσπαζόμενον ἅπτεσθαι τούτων· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιθυμία	ATHENIAN When someone's brother or sister is beautiful. And [838b] in the case of a son or daughter the same law, though unwritten, guards as effectively as possible against anyone sleeping with them, openly or secretly, or touching them in any

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	ταύτης τῆς συνουσίας τὸ παράπαν εἰσέρχεται τοὺς πολλούς.	other embrace. Indeed, the desire for this intercourse doesn't even enter most people's minds at all.
838b	**MEGILLUS** ἀληθῆ λέγεις.	**MEGILLUS** That's true.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν σμικρὸν ῥῆμα κατασβέννυσι πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας ἡδονάς;	**ATHENIAN** So a small phrase quenches all such pleasures?
	MEGILLUS τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;	**MEGILLUS** What phrase do you mean?
	ATHENIAN τὸ ταῦτα εἶναι φάναι μηδαμῶς ὅσια, θεομισῆ δὲ [838c] καὶ αἰσχρῶν αἴσχιστα. τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἆρ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστί, τὸ μηδένα ἄλλως λέγειν αὐτά, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς γενόμενον ἡμῶν ἕκαστον ἀκούειν τε λεγόντων ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ταῦτα, ἐν γελοίοις τε ἅμα ἐν πάσῃ τε σπουδῇ τραγικῇ λεγομένῃ πολλάκις, ὅταν ἢ Θυέστας ἤ τινας Οἰδίποδας εἰσάγωσιν, ἢ Μακαρέας τινὰς ἀδελφαῖς μειχθέντας λαθραίως, ὀφθέντας δὲ ἑτοίμως θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθέντας δίκην τῆς ἁμαρτίας;	**ATHENIAN** That these things are in no way holy, but hated by the gods [838c] and the most shameful of shameful things. And isn't the reason this: that no one says anything else about them, but each of us from birth hears people saying this always and everywhere, both in comedies and often in all the seriousness of tragedy, when they bring on a Thyestes or some Oedipus, or some Macareus who secretly slept with his sister and, when found out, readily inflicted death on himself as punishment for his offense?[6]
838c	**MEGILLUS** ὀρθότατα λέγεις τό γε τοσοῦτον, ὅτι τὸ τῆς φήμης [838d] θαυμαστήν τινα δύναμιν εἴληχεν, ὅταν μηδεὶς μηδαμῶς ἄλλως ἀναπνεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ ποτὲ παρὰ τὸν νόμον.	**MEGILLUS** You're quite right at least in this, that common talk [838d] has a wonderful power, when no one ever tries to draw breath in any way contrary to the law.
838d	**ATHENIAN** οὐκοῦν ὀρθὸν τὸ νυνδὴ ῥηθέν, ὅτι νομοθέτῃ, βουλομένῳ τινὰ ἐπιθυμίαν δουλώσασθαι τῶν διαφερόντως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δουλουμένων, ῥᾴδιον γνῶναί γε ὄντινα τρόπον χειρώσαιτο ἄν· ὅτι καθιερώσας ταύτην τὴν φήμην παρὰ πᾶσι, δούλοις τε καὶ ἐλευθέροις καὶ παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, οὕτω τὸ βεβαιότατον ἀπειργασμένος [838e] ἔσται περὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον.	**ATHENIAN** Then what I said just now is right: for a lawgiver who wants to enslave one of the desires that most enslave human beings, it's easy to know how to master it. He must consecrate this common talk among everyone—slaves and free, children and women, and the whole city alike—and in that way he will have made [838e] this law as secure as it can be.
838e	**MEGILLUS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν· ὅπως δὲ αὖ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐθέλοντας λέγειν πάντας δυνατὸν ἔσται ποτὲ παρασχεῖν—	**MEGILLUS** Certainly. But how it will ever be possible to make everyone willing to say such a thing —
	ATHENIAN καλῶς ὑπέλαβες· αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ λεχθέν, ὅτι τέχνην ἐγὼ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἔχοιμι τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν χρῆσθαι τῇ τῆς παιδογονίας συνουσίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος ἀπεχομένους, μὴ κτείνοντάς τε ἐκ προνοίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, μηδ' εἰς πέτρας τε καὶ λίθους σπείροντας, [839a] οὗ μήποτε φύσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥιζωθὲν λήψεται γόνιμον, ἀπεχομένους δὲ ἀρούρας θηλείας πάσης ἐν ᾗ μὴ βούλοιο ἄν σοι φύεσθαι τὸ σπαρέν. ὁ δὴ νόμος οὗτος διηνεκὴς μὲν γενόμενος ἅμα καὶ	**ATHENIAN** You've taken me up well. That's exactly what I meant when I said I had a technique for this law—for getting us to use the intercourse that produces children according to nature: keeping away from the male, not deliberately killing off the human race, not sowing on rocks and stones, [839a] where the seed will never take root and acquire its fertile nature; and keeping away from every female field in which you wouldn't want

6 Thyestes slept with his own daughter; Oedipus unknowingly married his mother; Macareus, son of Aeolus, fathered a child by his sister Canace.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	κρατήσας, καθάπερ νῦν περὶ τὰς τῶν γονέων συμμείξεις κρατεῖ, ἐὰν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας νικήσῃ δικαίως, μυρία ἀγαθὰ ἔχει.	what you sow to grow. This law, if it became permanent and prevailed—as it now prevails over intercourse with parents—and if it rightly won out over the other kinds too, would bring countless goods.
839a	κατὰ φύσιν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον κεῖται, λύττης δὲ ἐρωτικῆς καὶ μανίας καὶ μοιχειῶν πασῶν καὶ πωμάτων καὶ σίτων εἴργεσθαι ποιεῖ τῶν ἀμέτρων 839b πάντων, γυναιξί τε αὐτῶν οἰκείους εἶναι φίλους· ἄλλα τε πάμπολλα ἀγαθὰ γίγνοιτ' ἄν, εἰ τοῦ νόμου τις τούτου δύναιτο ἐγκρατὴς εἶναι. τάχα δ' ἂν ἡμῖν τις παραστὰς ἀνὴρ σφοδρὸς καὶ νέος, πολλοῦ σπέρματος μεστός, ἀκούων τιθεμένου τοῦ νόμου λοιδορήσειεν ἂν ὡς ἀνόητα καὶ ἀδύνατα τιθέντων νόμιμα, καὶ βοῆς πάντα ἐμπλήσειε· πρὸς ἃ δὴ καὶ βλέψας ἐγὼ τοῦτο εἶπον τὸ ῥῆμα, ὡς τινα τέχνην κεκτῄμην, 839c τῇ μὲν ῥᾴστην ἁπασῶν, τῇ δὲ χαλεπωτάτην, πρὸς τὸ τοῦτον τεθέντα ἐμμεῖναι τὸν νόμον.	First, it is laid down in accordance with nature; and it makes people keep away from erotic frenzy and madness, from all adulteries, and from all excess in drink and food, 839b and makes men truly close to their own wives. And many other goods would follow, if one could make this law hold. But perhaps some vehement young man, full of seed, standing by and hearing the law being laid down, would heap abuse on us for making foolish and impossible rules, and fill the place with his shouting. It was with this in view that I made that remark about having a technique, 839c in one way the easiest of all, in another the hardest, for making this law endure once laid down.
839c	νοῆσαι μὲν γὰρ δὴ ῥᾷστον ὡς δυνατόν τέ ἐστιν καὶ ὅπῃ—φαμὲν γὰρ δὴ καθιερωθὲν τοῦτο ἱκανῶς τὸ νόμιμον πᾶσαν ψυχὴν δουλώσεσθαι καὶ παντάπασιν μετὰ φόβου ποιήσειν πείθεσθαι τοῖς τεθεῖσιν νόμοις—ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο προβέβηκε νῦν, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἂν τότε γενέσθαι δοκεῖ, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν συσσιτίων ἐπιτήδευμα ἀπιστεῖται μὴ δυνατὸν εἶναι δύνασθαι διὰ βίου πόλιν ὅλην 839d ζῆν πράττουσαν τοῦτο, ἐλεγχθὲν δ' ἔργῳ καὶ γενόμενον παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅμως ἔτι τό γε γυναικῶν οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις πόλεσιν δοκεῖ φύσιν ἔχειν γίγνεσθαι. ταύτῃ δ' αὖ, διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀπιστίας ῥώμην, εἴρηκα ἀμφότερα ταῦτα εἶναι παγχάλεπα μεῖναι κατὰ νόμον.	For it's very easy to see that it's possible, and how—we say that this rule, once adequately consecrated, will enslave every soul and make it obey the established laws with fear in every way. But things have now come to such a pass that it seems it wouldn't happen even so. It's like the practice of common meals: people don't believe a whole city could 839d keep it up all its life; and even though it has been proven in fact and exists among you, still, even in your cities, common meals for women don't seem natural. So too, because of the strength of this disbelief, I said that both of these are extremely hard to establish in law.
839d	**MEGILLUS** ὀρθῶς γε σὺ λέγων.	**MEGILLUS** And you're right to say so.
	ATHENIAN ὡς δ' οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, οἷόν τε δὲ γενέσθαι, βούλεσθε ὑμῖν πειραθῶ τινα λόγον ἐχόμενον πιθανότητος εἰπεῖν τινος;	**ATHENIAN** Well, to show that it isn't beyond human power but can happen, would you like me to try to give an argument that has some persuasiveness?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
839e	**ATHENIAN** πότερον οὖν τις ἀφροδισίων ῥᾷον ἂν ἀπέχοιτο, καὶ τὸ ταχθὲν ἐθέλοι περὶ αὐτὰ μετρίως ποιεῖν, εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων καὶ μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς, ἢ φαύλως;	**ATHENIAN** Would someone keep away from sex more easily, and be more willing to do moderately what is prescribed about it, if his body were in good condition and not an amateur's, or if it were in poor shape?
	CLINIAS πολύ που μᾶλλον μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς.	**CLINIAS** Far more, surely, if it were not an amateur's.

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ATHENIAN ἆρ’ οὖν οὐκ ἴσμεν τὸν Ταραντῖνον Ἴκκον ἀκοῇ [840a] διὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπίασί τε ἀγῶνα καὶ τούς γε ἄλλους; ὧν διὰ φιλονικίαν, καὶ τέχνην καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἀνδρεῖον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κεκτημένος, ὡς λόγος, οὔτε τινὸς πώποτε γυναικὸς ἥψατο οὐδ’ αὖ παιδὸς ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀκμῇ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρίσωνα καὶ Ἀστύλον καὶ Διόπομπον καὶ ἄλλους παμπόλλους ὁ αὐτός που λόγος ἔχει. καίτοι τῶν γ’ ἐμῶν καὶ σῶν πολιτῶν, ὦ Κλεινία, πολὺ κάκιον ἦσαν πεπαιδευμένοι [840b] τὰς ψυχάς, τὰ δὲ σώματα πολὺ μᾶλλον σφριγῶντες.

ATHENIAN Don’t we know by hearsay of Iccus of Tarentum, [840a] because of his contest at Olympia and his other victories? Out of ambition, and possessing skill and courage joined with moderation in his soul, he never, the story goes, touched a woman or a boy during the whole peak of his training. And the same story is told, I think, of Crison, Astylus, Diopompus and very many others. Yet their souls were far worse educated than those of my fellow citizens and yours, Clinias, [840b] and their bodies far lustier.[7]

840b CLINIAS ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λέγεις ὅτι σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐστιν εἰρημένα περὶ τούτων τῶν ἀθλητῶν ὡς ὄντως ποτὲ γενόμενα.

CLINIAS What you say is true: the ancients insist that this really happened with these athletes.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν; οἱ μὲν ἄρα νίκης ἕνεκα πάλης καὶ δρόμων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐτόλμησαν ἀπέχεσθαι λεγομένου πράγματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εὐδαίμονος, οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι παῖδες ἀδυνατήσουσι καρτερεῖν πολὺ καλλίονος ἕνεκα νίκης, ἣν [840c] ἡμεῖς καλλίστην ἐκ παίδων πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντες ἐν μύθοις τε καὶ ἐν ῥήμασιν καὶ ἐν μέλεσιν ᾄδοντες, ὡς εἰκός, κηλήσομεν;

ATHENIAN Well then? Those men had the endurance to abstain from what most people call a happy thing, for the sake of victory in wrestling, running and the like. Will our children be unable to hold out for the sake of a far finer victory—the one [840c] which we will tell them from childhood is the finest, and so, as we may expect, enchant them with it in stories, sayings and songs?

840c CLINIAS ποίας;

CLINIAS What victory?

ATHENIAN τῆς τῶν ἡδονῶν νίκης ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας ἂν ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως, ἡττωμένους δὲ τοὐναντίον ἅπαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔτι φόβος ὁ τοῦ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς ὅσιον αὐτὸ εἶναι δύναμιν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄρα ἕξει κρατεῖν ὧν ἄλλοι κεκρατήκασι τούτων ὄντες χείρονες;

ATHENIAN Victory over pleasures: that if they master them they will live happily, and if they are defeated, quite the opposite. Besides this, won’t the fear that this is in no way whatever holy give them the power to master what others, worse than they are, have mastered?

CLINIAS εἰκὸς γοῦν.

CLINIAS It’s likely, at any rate.

ATHENIAN ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθά ἐσμεν τούτου τοῦ νομίμου [840d] πέρι, διὰ κάκην δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐπέσομεν, φημὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον νόμιμον ἀτεχνῶς δεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων πορεύεσθαι λέγον ὡς οὐ δεῖ χείρους ἡμῖν εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας ὀρνίθων καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων πολλῶν, οἳ κατὰ μεγάλας ἀγέλας γεννηθέντες, μέχρι μὲν παιδογονίας ἠίθεοι καὶ ἀκήρατοι γάμων τε ἄγνοὶ ζῶσιν, ὅταν δ’ εἰς τοῦτο ἡλικίας ἔλθωσι, συνδυασθέντες ἄρρην θηλείᾳ κατὰ χάριν καὶ θήλεια ἄρρενι, τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶσιν, ἐμμένοντες [840e] βεβαίως ταῖς πρώταις τῆς φιλίας ὁμολογίαις· δεῖν δὴ θηρίων γε αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους εἶναι.

ATHENIAN Since, then, we’ve reached this point about this rule, [840d] and have fallen into perplexity because of the weakness of the many, I say our rule should go forward on these very matters, simply stating that our citizens must not be worse than birds and many other animals. These are born in great flocks, and live unmated, pure and chaste of marriage, until the age for breeding; and when they reach that age, they pair off, male with female and female with male, as they please, and live the rest of their time piously and justly, abid-

7 Iccus of Tarentum was a famous pentathlete and trainer of the fifth century BC; Crison and Astylus were celebrated Olympic runners.

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ing [840e] firmly by their first agreements of love. Surely our citizens should be better than animals.

840e ἐὰν δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν πλείστων διαφθείρωνται, τὴν λεγομένην ἄτακτον Ἀφροδίτην ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁρῶντές τε καὶ ἀκούοντες μέγιστον δυναμένην, καὶ οὕτω δὴ μὴ δυνατοὶ γίγνωνται κατακρατεῖν, δεύτερον νόμον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μηχανᾶσθαι χρὴ τοὺς νομοφύλακας νομοθέτας γενομένους.

But if they are corrupted by the other Greeks and by most non-Greeks, seeing and hearing that the so-called lawless Aphrodite has the greatest power among them, and so become unable to master it, then the guardians of the laws must turn lawgivers and devise a second law for them.

841a **CLINIAS** τίνα δὴ συμβουλεύεις αὐτοῖς τίθεσθαι νόμον, ἐὰν ὁ νῦν τιθέμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκφύγῃ;

CLINIAS What law do you advise them to lay down, if the one being laid down now escapes them?

ATHENIAN δῆλον ὅτι τὸν ἐχόμενον τούτου δεύτερον, ὦ Κλεινία.

ATHENIAN Clearly the one that comes after it, the second, Clinias.

CLINIAS τίνα λέγεις;

CLINIAS Which do you mean?

ATHENIAN ἀγύμναστον ὅτι μάλιστα ποιεῖν τὴν τῶν ἡδονῶν ῥώμην ἦν, τὴν ἐπίχυσιν καὶ τροφὴν αὐτῆς διὰ πόνων ἄλλοσε τρέποντα τοῦ σώματος. εἴη δ' ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ ἀναίδεια μὴ ἐνείη τῇ τῶν ἀφροδισίων χρήσει· σπανίῳ γὰρ αὖ τῷ τοιούτῳ [841b] δι' αἰσχύνην χρώμενοι, ἀσθενεστέραν ἂν αὐτὴν δέσποιναν κτῷντο ὀλιγάκις χρώμενοι. τὸ δὴ λανθάνειν τούτων δρῶντά τι καλὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔστω, νόμιμον ἔθει καὶ ἀγράφῳ νομισθὲν νόμῳ, τὸ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ μὴ πάντως δρᾶν. οὕτω τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν αὖ καὶ καλὸν δευτέρως ἂν ἡμῖν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενον κέοιτο, ὀρθότητα ἔχον δευτέραν, καὶ τοὺς τὰς φύσεις διεφθαρμένους, οὓς ἥττους αὐτῶν προσαγορεύομεν, [841c] ἓν γένος ὄν, περιλαβόντα τρία γένη βιάζοιτ' ἂν μὴ παρανομεῖν.

ATHENIAN It was to leave the strength of the pleasures as unexercised as possible, diverting their influx and nourishment through exertion to other parts of the body. This would happen if there were no shamelessness in sexual activity; for if people engaged in it rarely, [841b] out of shame, they would have in it a weaker mistress, since they would indulge seldom. So let it be fine among them to do such things unobserved—a custom established by habit and unwritten law—and shameful to be observed, but not shameful not to abstain entirely. In this way it would be established in our law as a second standard of shameful and fine, with a second-best correctness; and those whose natures are corrupted, whom we call "weaker than themselves," [841c] being one kind, would be hemmed in by three kinds and forced not to break the law.

841c **CLINIAS** ποῖα δή;

CLINIAS What kinds?

ATHENIAN τό τε θεοσεβὲς ἅμα καὶ φιλότιμον καὶ τὸ μὴ τῶν σωμάτων ἀλλὰ τῶν τρόπων τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντων καλῶν γεγονὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ. ταῦτα δὴ καθάπερ ἴσως ἐν μύθῳ τὰ νῦν λεγόμεν' ἐστὶν εὐχαί, πολύ γε μὴν ἄριστα, εἴπερ γίγνοιτο, ἐν πάσαις πόλεσι γίγνοιτο ἄν.

ATHENIAN The kind that fears the gods, the kind that loves honor, and the kind that has come to desire not bodies but the traits of soul, which are beautiful. What we are saying now is perhaps like the prayers in a story; yet if they came true, it would be by far the best thing that could happen in all cities.

τάχα δ' ἄν, εἰ θεὸς ἐθέλοι, [841d] κἂν δυοῖν θάτερα βιασαίμεθα περὶ ἐρωτικῶν, ἢ μηδένα τολμᾶν μηδενὸς ἅπτεσθαι τῶν γενναίων ἅμα καὶ ἐλευθέρων πλὴν γαμετῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ἄθυτα δὲ παλλακῶν σπέρματα καὶ νόθα μὴ σπείρειν, μηδὲ ἄγονα ἀρρένων παρὰ φύσιν· ἢ

But perhaps, if a god were willing, [841d] we might enforce one of two things about love. Either no one would dare touch any freeborn person of good birth except his own wedded wife, nor sow unconsecrated and illegitimate seed in concubines, nor

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τὸ μὲν τῶν ἀρρένων πάμπαν ἀφελοίμεθ' ἄν, τὸ δὲ γυναικῶν, εἴ τις συγγίγνοιτό τινι πλὴν ταῖς μετὰ θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν γάμων ἐλθούσαις εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὠνηταῖς εἴτε [841e] ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν τρόπῳ κτηταῖς, μὴ λανθάνων ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας πάσας, τάχ' ἂν ἄτιμον αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπαίνων νομοθετοῦντες ὀρθῶς ἂν δόξαιμεν νομοθετεῖν, ὡς ὄντως ὄντα ξενικόν.

841e οὗτος δὴ νόμος, εἴτε εἷς εἴτε δύο αὐτοὺς χρὴ προσαγορεύειν, κείσθω περὶ ἀφροδισίων [842a] καὶ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐρωτικῶν, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιθυμίας ὁμιλοῦντες ὀρθῶς τε καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς πράττομεν.

842a **MEGILLUS** καὶ τοίνυν, ὦ ξένε, ἐγὼ μέν σοι σφόδρα δεχοίμην ἂν τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλεινίας αὐτὸς φραζέτω τί ποτε περὶ αὐτῶν διανοεῖται.

CLINIAS ἔσται ταῦτα, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ὁπόταν γε δή μοι δόξῃ τις παραπεπτωκέναι καιρός· νῦν μὴν ἐῶμεν τὸν ξένον ἔτι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προϊέναι τῶν νόμων.

MEGILLUS ὀρθῶς.

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barren seed in males, against nature. Or we would abolish sex with males entirely; and as for women, if a man had intercourse with any woman other than those who entered his house with the gods and sacred marriage rites—whether bought [841e] or acquired in any other way—and did not escape the notice of all men and women, we might seem to legislate correctly in barring him from the city's commendations, as being truly alien.

Let this, then, be laid down as our law—whether we should call it one law or two—concerning sex [842a] and all matters of love: all the things we do rightly and wrongly in dealing with one another because of such desires.

MEGILLUS Well, stranger, for my part I would gladly accept this law; but let Clinias himself tell us what he thinks about these matters.

CLINIAS I will, Megillus, whenever I think a suitable moment has come. For now, let's let the stranger go further on with the laws.

MEGILLUS Right.

FARMING LAWS

Rules on boundaries, damage between neighbors, water, and picking fruit.

GREEK

842b **ATHENIAN** ἀλλὰ μὴν νῦν γε προϊόντες ἤδη σχεδόν ἐσμεν ἐν τῷ κατεσκευάσθαι μὲν συσσίτια—ὅ φαμεν ἄλλοθι μὲν ἂν χαλεπὸν εἶναι, ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἄλλως ἂν ὑπολάβοι δεῖν γίγνεσθαι—τὸ δὲ τίνα τρόπον, πότερον ὡς ἐνθάδε ἢ καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ἢ παρὰ ταῦτα ἔστιν τι τρίτον εἶδος συσσιτίων ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν ἄμεινον ἂν ἔχον, τοῦτο οὔτ' ἐξευρεῖν μοι χαλεπὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ, μέγα τε ἀγαθὸν εὑρεθὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεργάσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν κατεσκευασμένα. [842c]

842c τούτοις δ' ἐστὶν ἀκόλουθον ἡ τοῦ βίου κατασκευή, τίν' αὐτοῖς ἂν τρόπον ἕποιτο. βίος δὴ ἄλλαις μὲν πόλεσιν παντοδαπῶς ἂν καὶ πολλαχόθεν εἴη, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκ διπλασίων ἢ τούτοις· ἐκ γῆς γὰρ καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένα τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφήν, τούτοις δὲ μόνον ἐκ γῆς. τῷ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτῃ τοῦτο ῥᾷον· [842d] οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμίσεις αὖ γίγνονται νόμοι μέτριοι, πολὺ δ' ἐλάττους, ἔτι δ' ἐλευθέροις ἀνθρώποις μᾶλλον πρέποντες.

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ATHENIAN Well, going forward, we have now pretty well reached the point where common meals have been set up—which we say would be hard elsewhere, though in Crete no one would suppose it should be otherwise. But in what manner—whether as here, or as in Sparta, or whether there is some third kind of common meal beyond these that would be better than both—this, it seems to me, is not hard to discover, and discovering it wouldn't achieve any great good; for as things stand they are suitably arranged. [842c]

Following on these comes the arrangement of the means of life, and how it would go along with them. In other cities the means of life would come in every way and from many sources—from at least twice as many as for these people. For most Greeks, the food supply is arranged from land and from sea, but for these people from land alone. That makes things easier for the lawgiver: [842d] the laws needed become not just half as many but far

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fewer, and they are more fitting for free people besides.

842d ναυκληρικῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐμπορικῶν καὶ καπηλευτικῶν καὶ πανδοκεύσεων καὶ τελωνικῶν καὶ μεταλλειῶν καὶ δανεισμῶν καὶ ἐπιτόκων τόκων καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων τοιούτων τὰ πολλὰ ἀπήλλακται, χαίρειν αὐτοῖς εἰπών, ὁ περὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν νομοθέτης, γεωργοῖς δὲ καὶ νομεῦσι καὶ μελιττουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φυλακτηρίοις τε καὶ ἐπιστάταις ὀργάνων 842e νομοθετήσει, τὰ μέγιστα ἤδη νενομοθετηκὼς περὶ γάμους ἅμα καὶ γενέσεις παίδων καὶ τροφάς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ παιδείας ἀρχῶν τε καταστάσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει· νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν τροφὴν καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην συνδιαπονοῦσιν ἀναγκαῖον νομοθετοῦντά ἐστιν τρέπεσθαι.

For the lawgiver of this city is rid of most matters of shipping, commerce, retail trade, innkeeping, customs duties, mining, lending, compound interest and countless other such things; he has bid them goodbye. He will legislate for farmers, herdsmen and beekeepers, and for those who keep watch over such things and oversee the tools, 842e having already legislated the most important matters—marriage, the birth and rearing of children, education too, and the appointment of officials in the city. Now, in his legislation, he must turn to those who produce food and all who share in the labor of producing it.

842e πρῶτον δὴ νόμοι ἔστωσαν λεγόμενοι τοὔνομα γεωργικοί. Διὸς ὁρίου μὲν πρῶτος νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω· μὴ κινείτω γῆς ὅρια μηδεὶς μήτε οἰκείου πολίτου γείτονος, μήτε ὁμοτέρμονος ἐπ' ἐσχατιᾶς κεκτημένος ἄλλῳ ξένῳ γειτονῶν, νομίσας τὸ 843a τἀκίνητα κινεῖν ἀληθῶς τοῦτο εἶναι· βουλέσθω δὲ πᾶς πέτρον ἐπιχειρῆσαι κινεῖν τὸν μέγιστον ἄλλον πλὴν ὅρον μᾶλλον ἢ σμικρὸν λίθον ὁρίζοντα φιλίαν τε καὶ ἔχθραν ἔνορκον παρὰ θεῶν. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόφυλος Ζεὺς μάρτυς, τοῦ δὲ ξένιος, οἳ μετὰ πολέμων τῶν ἐχθίστων ἐγείρονται. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς τῷ νόμῳ ἀναίσθητος τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶν γίγνοιτ' ἄν, καταφρονήσας δὲ διτταῖς δίκαις ἔνοχος ἔστω, μιᾷ μὲν παρὰ θεῶν καὶ πρώτῃ, δευτέρᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ νόμου.

First, then, let there be laws called "agricultural." Let the first law, that of Zeus of Boundaries, be stated as follows. No one is to move the boundary markers of land—neither those of a neighbor who is a fellow citizen, nor, if he owns land at the frontier, those of a neighbor who is a foreigner—believing that this is truly 843a "moving the immovable." Let everyone be more willing to try to move the largest rock that is not a boundary marker than a small stone that marks the border between friendship and enmity, sworn before the gods. For Zeus of Kindred is witness to the one, and Zeus of Strangers to the other, and when they are roused, the most hateful wars come with them. One who obeys the law will not experience the evils that come from breaking it; but whoever scorns it is to be liable to two penalties, the first and foremost from the gods, the second from the law.

843b μηδεὶς γὰρ ἑκὼν κινείτω γῆς ὅρια γειτόνων· ὃς δ' ἂν κινήσῃ, μηνυέτω μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀγόντων. ἢν δέ τις ὄφλῃ τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην, ὡς ἀνάδαστον γῆν λάθρᾳ καὶ βίᾳ ποιοῦντος τοῦ ὄφλοντος, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι ἂν δέῃ πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν τὸν ἡττηθέντα.

Let no one willingly move the boundary markers of his neighbors' land. If anyone does, whoever wishes is to report him to the farmers, and they are to bring him to court. If anyone is convicted in such a case, on the grounds that he is redistributing land by stealth and force, the court is to assess what the losing party must suffer or pay.

τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο βλάβαι πολλαὶ καὶ σμικραὶ γειτόνων γιγνόμεναι, διὰ τὸ θαμίζειν ἔχθρας ὄγκον μέγαν ἐντίκτουσαι, 843c χαλεπὴν καὶ σφόδρα πικρὰν γειτονίαν ἀπεργάζονται. διὸ χρὴ πάντως εὐλαβεῖσθαι γείτονα γείτονι μηδὲν ποιεῖν διάφορον, τῶν τε ἄλλων πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπεργασίας συμπάσης σφόδρ' ἀεὶ διευλαβούμενον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ βλάπτειν οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπου παντός, τὸ δ' ἐπωφελεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἅπαντος. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐπεργάζηται τὰ

Next: many small injuries between neighbors, because they happen so often, breed a great mass of enmity 843c and make neighborliness hard and very bitter. So a neighbor must take every care to do nothing to his neighbor that causes a quarrel, and in particular must always be very careful never to encroach in his farming. For doing harm is not hard at all—anyone can do it—but doing a ser-

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	τοῦ γείτονος ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς ὅρους, τὸ μὲν βλάβος ἀποτινέτω, τῆς δὲ ἀναιδείας ἅμα [843d] καὶ ἀνελευθερίας ἕνεκα ἰατρευόμενος διπλάσιον τοῦ βλάβους ἄλλο ἐκτεισάτω τῷ βλαφθέντι· τούτων δὲ καὶ ἁπάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιγνώμονές τε καὶ δικασταὶ καὶ τιμηταὶ γιγνέσθων ἀγρονόμοι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν εἴρηται, πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου τάξις, τῶν ἐλαττόνων δὲ οἱ φρούραρχοι τούτων.	vice is not in everyone's power. Whoever encroaches on his neighbor's land, crossing the boundaries, is to pay for the damage, and, as a cure for his shamelessness [843d] and meanness, is to pay the injured party a further double the damage. The assessors, judges and valuers of these and all such matters are to be the country wardens: for the larger cases, as was said before, the whole company of that twelfth part of the land; for the smaller, its garrison commanders.
843d	καὶ ἐάν τις βοσκήματα ἐπινέμῃ, τὰς βλάβας ὁρῶντες κρινόντων καὶ τιμώντων. καὶ ἐὰν ἐσμοὺς ἀλλοτρίους σφετερίζῃ τις τῇ τῶν μελιττῶν ἡδονῇ συνεπόμενος [843e] καὶ κατακρούων οὕτως οἰκειῶται, τινέτω τὴν βλάβην. καὶ ἐὰν πυρεύων τὴν ὕλην μὴ διευλαβηθῇ τῶν τοῦ γείτονος, τὴν δόξασαν ζημίαν τοῖς ἄρχουσι ζημιούσθω.	If someone grazes his animals on another's land, they are to inspect the damage, judge it and assess it. If someone appropriates another man's swarms, going along with the bees' fancy, [843e] and makes them his own by beating on metal, he is to pay for the damage. If anyone, when burning off brushwood, fails to take care of his neighbor's property, he is to be fined whatever penalty the officials decide.
843e	καὶ ἐὰν φυτεύων μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸ μέτρον τῶν τοῦ γείτονος χωρίων, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πολλοῖς νομοθέταις ἱκανῶς, ὧν τοῖς νόμοις χρὴ προσχρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ πάντα ἀξιοῦν, πολλὰ καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος νομοθέτου γιγνόμενα, τὸν μείζω [844a] πόλεως κοσμητὴν νομοθετεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων πέρι γεωργοῖσι παλαιοὶ καὶ καλοὶ νόμοι κείμενοι οὐκ ἄξιοι παροχετεύειν λόγοις, ἀλλ' ὁ βουληθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν αὑτοῦ τόπον ἄγειν ὕδωρ ἀγέτω μὲν ἀρχόμενος ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ναμάτων, μὴ ὑποτέμνων πηγὰς φανερὰς ἰδιώτου μηδενός, ᾗ δ' ἂν βούληται ἄγειν, πλὴν δι' οἰκίας ἢ ἱερῶν τινων ἢ καὶ μνημάτων, ἀγέτω, μὴ βλάπτων πλὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ὀχεταγωγίας.	And if in planting he doesn't leave the proper distance from his neighbor's land—this has been adequately covered by many lawgivers too, whose laws we should draw on, instead of expecting the greater orderer of a city to legislate on everything, [844a] much of it small and the work of any ordinary lawgiver. Take water, too: there are old and fine laws in place for farmers, and it isn't worth channeling them off into our discussion. But whoever wants to bring water to his own land is to bring it, starting from the public streams, without tapping the visible springs of any private person; and he may bring it by whatever route he likes, except through houses or certain shrines or tombs, doing no damage beyond the channeling itself.
844b	ἀυδρία δὲ εἴ τισι τόποις σύμφυτος ἐκ γῆς τὰ ἐκ Διὸς ἰόντα ἀποστέγει νάματα, καὶ ἐλλείπει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πωμάτων, ὀρυττέτω μὲν ἐν τῷ αὑτοῦ χωρίῳ μέχρι τῆς κεραμίδος γῆς, ἐὰν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βάθει μηδαμῶς ὕδατι προστυγχάνῃ, παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων ὑδρευέσθω μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πώματος ἑκάστοις τῶν οἰκετῶν· ἐὰν δὲ δι' ἀκριβείας ᾖ καὶ τοῖς γείτοσι, τάξιν τῆς ὑδρείας ταξάμενος παρὰ τοῖς ἀγρονόμοις, ταύτην ἡμέρας ἑκάστης κομιζόμενος, οὕτω κοινωνείτω τοῖς [844c] γείτοσιν ὕδατος.	If in some places a natural dryness of the ground shuts out the rains that come from Zeus, and there is a lack of necessary drinking water, the owner is to dig on his own land down to the clay; and if at that depth he finds no water at all, he is to draw water from his neighbors, as much as is necessary for drinking, for each member of his household. If his neighbors too have barely enough, he is to have a schedule of water-drawing fixed with the country wardens, take his share each day accordingly, and so share [844c] water with his neighbors.
844c	ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδατα γιγνόμενα, τὸν ἐπάνω γεωργοῦντα ἢ καὶ ὁμότοιχον οἰκοῦντα τῶν ὑποκάτω βλάπτῃ τις μὴ διδοὺς ἐκροήν, ἢ τοὐναντίον ὁ ἐπάνω μεθιεὶς εἰκῇ τὰ ῥεύματα βλάπτῃ τὸν κάτω, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα μὴ ἐθέλωσιν	When rain from Zeus falls, if someone lower down does harm to the one farming above him, or living next to him wall to wall, by not giving the water an outlet; or, conversely, if the one above harms

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	διὰ ταῦτα κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ἐν ἄστει μὲν ἀστυνόμον, ἐν ἀγρῷ δὲ ἀγρονόμον ἐπάγων ὁ βουλόμενος ταξάσθω τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ἑκάτερον· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐμμένων ἐν τῇ τάξει φθόνου [844d] θ' ἅμα καὶ δυσκόλου ψυχῆς ὑπεχέτω δίκην, καὶ ὀφλὼν διπλάσιον τὸ βλάβος ἀποτινέτω τῷ βλαφθέντι, μὴ ἐθελήσας τοῖς ἄρχουσιν πείθεσθαι.	the one below by letting the streams off carelessly; and if because of this they are unwilling to cooperate with each other, then whoever wishes is to bring in a city warden in town or a country warden in the country, and have him prescribe what each of them must do. Whoever does not abide by the prescription is to face a suit for envy [844d] and a surly spirit, and if convicted he is to pay double the damage to the injured party, for being unwilling to obey the officials.
844d	ὀπώρας δὲ δὴ χρὴ κοινωνίαν ποιεῖσθαι πάντας τοιάνδε τινά. διττὰς ἡμῖν δωρεὰς ἡ θεὸς ἔχει χάριτος αὕτη, τὴν μὲν παιδιὰν Διονυσιάδα ἀθησαύριστον, τὴν δ' εἰς ἀπόθεσιν γενομένην κατὰ φύσιν. ἔστω δὴ περὶ ὀπώρας ὅδε νόμος ταχθείς· ὃς ἂν ἀγροίκου ὀπώρας γεύσηται, βοτρύων εἴτε [844e] καὶ σύκων, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ὥραν τὴν τοῦ τρυγᾶν ἀρκτούρῳ σύνδρομον, εἴτ' ἐν τοῖς αὑτοῦ χωρίοις εἴτε καὶ ἐν ἄλλων, ἱερὰς μὲν πεντήκοντα ὀφειλέτω τῷ Διονύσῳ δραχμάς, ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δρέπῃ, ἐὰν δ' ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων, μνᾶν, ἐὰν δ' ἐξ ἄλλων, δύο μέρη τῆς μνᾶς.	As for fruit, everyone must share in it on some such terms as these. The goddess of the harvest season has two gifts of her favor for us: one, the plaything of Dionysus, not to be stored; the other, grown by nature to be stored. So let this law be laid down about fruit. Whoever tastes the common kind of fruit, grapes or [844e] figs, before the vintage season comes that coincides with the rising of Arcturus, whether on his own land or on others', is to owe fifty drachmas, sacred to Dionysus, if he picks from his own; a mina, if from his neighbors'; and two-thirds of a mina, if from anyone else's.[8]
844e	ὃς δ' ἂν τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ἢ τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα ὀπωρίζειν βούληται, ἐὰν μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων λαμβάνῃ, ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὁπόταν βούληται καρπούσθω, ἐὰν δ' ἐξ ἄλλων μὴ πείσας, ἑπομένως τῷ νόμῳ, τῷ μὴ κινεῖν ὅτι μὴ κατέθετο, [845a] ἐκείνως ἀεὶ ζημιούσθω· ἐὰν δὲ δὴ δοῦλος μὴ πείσας τὸν δεσπότην τῶν χωρίων ἅπτηταί του τῶν τοιούτων, κατὰ ῥᾶγα βοτρύων καὶ σῦκον συκῆς ἰσαρίθμους πληγὰς τούτοις μαστιγούσθω.	Whoever wants to pick what are now called choice grapes, or the figs called choice, may harvest them however and whenever he likes if he takes them from his own land; but if he takes them from others' without their consent, he is always to be penalized in accordance with the law against moving what one did not put down. [845a] If a slave touches any such fruit without the consent of the owner of the land, he is to be whipped with as many lashes as there were grapes in the bunch or figs taken from the fig tree.
845a	μέτοικος δὲ ὠνούμενος τὴν γενναίαν ὀπώραν ὀπωριζέτω, ἐὰν βούληται, ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ἐπιδημήσας ὀπώρας ἐπιθυμῇ φαγεῖν διαπορευόμενος τὰς ὁδούς, τῆς μὲν γενναίας ἁπτέσθω, ἐὰν βούληται, μεθ' ἑνὸς ἀκολούθου χωρὶς τιμῆς, [845b] ξένια δεχόμενος, τῆς δὲ ἀγροίκου λεγομένης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁ νόμος εἰργέτω μὴ κοινωνεῖν ἡμῖν τοὺς ξένους· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀίστωρ ὢν αὐτὸς ἢ δοῦλος ἅψηται, τὸν μὲν δοῦλον πληγαῖς κολάζειν, τὸν δὲ ἐλεύθερον ἀποπέμπειν νουθετήσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα τῆς ἄλλης ὀπώρας ἅπτεσθαι τῆς εἰς ἀπόθεσιν ἀσταφίδος οἴνου τε καὶ ξηρῶν σύκων ἀνεπιτηδείου κεκτῆσθαι. ἀπίων δὲ πέρι καὶ μήλων καὶ ῥοῶν καὶ πάντων [845c] τῶν τοιούτων, αἰσχρὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἔστω λάθρᾳ λαμβάνειν, ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ἐντὸς	A resident foreigner may pick the choice fruit by buying it, if he wishes. If a foreigner visiting the country wants to eat fruit as he travels along the roads, he may help himself to the choice fruit if he wishes, for himself and one attendant, without payment, [845b] as a gift of hospitality; but the law is to bar foreigners from sharing with us in the so-called common fruit and the like. If anyone, whether the visitor himself or his slave, touches it in ignorance, the slave is to be punished with blows, and the free man sent away with a warning, having been taught to help himself to the other

8 Arcturus rises at dawn in mid-September, the start of the vintage.

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	τριάκοντα ἐτῶν γεγονὼς τυπτέσθω καὶ ἀμυνέσθω ἄνευ τραυμάτων, δίκην δ' εἶναι ἐλευθέρῳ τῶν τοιούτων πληγῶν μηδεμίαν.	fruit, since the kind meant for storing—for raisins, wine and dried figs—is not his to take. As for pears, apples, pomegranates and all [845c] such fruit, there is to be no disgrace in taking them secretly; but anyone under thirty caught doing so is to be beaten and driven off, without being wounded, and a free man is to have no legal action for such blows.
845c	ξένῳ δὲ καθάπερ ὀπώρας ἐξέστω καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μέτοχον εἶναι· ἐὰν δὲ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἅπτηται τούτων, φαγὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποφέρων μηδέν, καθάπερ ὁ ξένος ταύτῃ κοινωνείτω τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων, μὴ πειθόμενος [845d] δὲ τῷ νόμῳ κινδυνευέτω ἀναγώνιστος γίγνεσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς, ἐὰν εἰς τότε τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τότε κριτάς τις ἀναμιμνήσκῃ.	A foreigner may share in these as in the other fruit. If an older man touches them, eating them on the spot and carrying nothing away, he may share in all such fruit on the same terms as the foreigner; but if he disobeys [845d] the law, he is to risk being barred from competing for virtue, if anyone reminds the judges at that time of such conduct on his part.
845d	ὕδωρ δὲ πάντων μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς κηπείας διαφερόντως τρόφιμον, εὐδιάφθαρτον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ γῆν οὔτε ἥλιον οὔτε πνεύματα, τοῖς ὕδασι σύντροφα τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστανόντων, ῥᾴδιον φθείρειν φαρμακεύσεσιν ἢ ἀποτροπαῖς ἢ καὶ κλοπαῖς, περὶ δὲ τὴν ὕδατος φύσιν ἐστὶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα δυνατὰ [845e] γίγνεσθαι· διὸ δὴ βοηθοῦ δεῖται νόμου. ἔστω τοίνυν ὅδε περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἄν τις διαφθείρῃ ἑκὼν ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον, εἴτε καὶ πηγαῖον εἴτε καὶ συναγυρτόν, φαρμακείαις ἢ σκάμμασιν ἢ κλοπαῖς, ὁ βλαπτόμενος δικαζέσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους, τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς βλάβης ἀπογραφόμενος· ἂν δέ τις ὄφλῃ φαρμακείαις τισὶν βλάπτων, πρὸς τῷ τιμήματι καθηράτω τὰς πηγὰς ἢ τἀγγεῖον τοῦ ὕδατος, ὅπῃπερ ἂν οἱ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν νόμοι ἀφηγῶνται δεῖν γίγνεσθαι τὴν κάθαρσιν ἑκάστοτε καὶ ἑκάστοις.	Water is the most nourishing of all things for gardens, but it is easily spoiled. For soil, sun and winds, which join with water in nourishing what sprouts from the earth, are not easy to spoil by poisoning, diversion or theft; but with water, by its nature, all such things [845e] are possible. So it needs a law to help it. Let the law about it be this: if anyone deliberately spoils another's water, whether spring water or collected water, by poisoning, digging or theft, the injured party is to bring a suit before the city wardens, recording the value of the damage in writing. If anyone is convicted of doing harm with poisons, besides paying the fine he is to purify the springs or the reservoir, in whatever way the rules of the interpreters prescribe that purification should be carried out on each occasion and for each person.
845e	περὶ δὲ συγκομιδῆς τῶν ὡραίων ἁπάντων, ἐξέστω τῷ [846a] βουλομένῳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τόπου κομίζεσθαι, ὅπῃπερ ἂν ἢ μηδὲν μηδένα ζημιοῖ ἢ τριπλάσιον αὐτὸς κέρδος τῆς τοῦ γείτονος ζημίας κερδαίνῃ, τούτων δὲ ἐπιγνώμονας τοὺς ἄρχοντας γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὅσα τις ἂν ἑκὼν ἄκοντα βλάπτῃ βίᾳ ἢ λάθρᾳ, αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ τι, διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιδεικνὺς τιμωρείσθω, μέχρι τριῶν μνῶν ὄντος τοῦ βλάβους· ἐὰν δ' ἔγκλημά τῳ μεῖζον ἄλλῳ πρὸς ἄλλον γίγνηται, πρὸς [846b] τὰ κοινὰ δικαστήρια φέρων τὴν δίκην τιμωρείσθω τὸν ἀδικοῦντα.	As for bringing in the crops of the season, anyone [846a] who wishes may carry his own produce through any place, provided that either he does no one any harm, or he himself gains three times as much as his neighbor loses. The officials are to judge these matters, and also all other cases where someone willingly harms an unwilling person, by force or by stealth, either the person himself or any of his property, through the use of his own possessions. In all such cases the injured party is to obtain redress by laying the matter before the officials, when the damage is up to three minas; but if one person has a larger charge against another, [846b] he is to take the case to the public courts and obtain redress from the wrongdoer.

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846b ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ἀρχόντων δοκῇ μετ᾽ ἀδίκου γνώμης κρίνειν τὰς ζημίας, τῶν διπλασίων ὑπόδικος ἔστω τῷ βλαφθέντι· τὰ δὲ αὖ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀδικήματα εἰς τὰ κοινὰ δικαστήρια ἐπανάγειν τὸν βουλόμενον ἑκάστων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. μυρία δὲ ταῦτα ὄντα καὶ σμικρὰ νόμιμα, καθ᾽ ἃ δεῖ τὰς τιμωρίας γίγνεσθαι, λήξεών τε πέρι δικῶν καὶ 846c προσκλήσεων καὶ κλητήρων, εἴτ᾽ ἐπὶ δυοῖν εἴτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὁπόσων δεῖ καλεῖσθαι, καὶ πάντα ὁπόσα τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, οὔτ᾽ ἀνομοθέτητα οἷόν τ᾽ εἶναι γέροντός τε οὐκ ἄξια νομοθέτου, νομοθετούντων δ᾽ αὐτὰ οἱ νέοι πρὸς τὰ τῶν πρόσθεν νομοθετήματα ἀπομιμούμενοι, σμικρὰ πρὸς μεγάλα, καὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῶν χρείας ἐμπείρως ἴσχοντες, μέχριπερ ἂν πάντα ἱκανῶς δόξῃ κεῖσθαι· τότε δὲ ἀκίνητα ποιησάμενοι, ζώντων τούτοις ἤδη χρώμενοι μέτρον ἔχουσι. 846d

If any of the officials seems to decide the penalties with unjust intent, he is to be liable to the injured party for double. Anyone who wishes may bring the officials' misdeeds, in each kind of charge, before the public courts. There are countless small regulations like these, governing how penalties are to be carried out: about the filing of lawsuits, 846c summonses and those who deliver them—whether a summons needs two witnesses, or how many—and everything of this kind. They can't be left without legislation, yet they aren't worthy of an old lawgiver. Let the young legislate them, modeling them on the enactments of their predecessors, small on great, and gaining experience of how they must be applied in practice, until everything seems adequately established. Then let them make them unalterable, and live by them, now that they are in due measure. 846d

CRAFTSMEN, TRADE AND RESIDENT FOREIGNERS

Crafts and retail trade are left to foreigners; produce is divided in three and markets regulated.

GREEK

ENGLISH

846d **ATHENIAN** τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δημιουργῶν ποιεῖν χρὴ κατὰ τόδε. πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιχώριος μηδεὶς ἔστω τῶν περὶ τὰ δημιουργικὰ τεχνήματα διαπονούντων, μηδὲ οἰκέτης ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχωρίου. τέχνην γὰρ ἱκανήν, πολλῆς ἀσκήσεως ἅμα καὶ μαθημάτων πολλῶν δεομένην, κέκτηται πολίτης ἀνὴρ τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως κόσμον σῴζων καὶ κτώμενος, οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ δεόμενον ἐπιτηδεύειν· δύο δὲ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἢ δύο τέχνας ἀκριβῶς διαπονεῖσθαι σχεδὸν οὐδεμία φύσις ἱκανὴ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, 846e οὐδ᾽ αὖ τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς ἀσκεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλον ἀσκοῦντα ἐπιτροπεύειν.

ATHENIAN As for the other craftsmen, this is how we should proceed. First, no native of the country is to be one of those who labor at the crafts, nor any household slave of a native. For a citizen already has a craft that is quite enough for him, one that requires much practice and much learning as well: preserving and securing the common order of the city. That is not something to be pursued as a sideline. And hardly any human nature is capable of working with precision at two pursuits or two crafts, 846e or even of being able to practice one itself while supervising someone else who practices the other.

846e τοῦτ᾽ οὖν ἐν πόλει ὑπάρχον δεῖ πρῶτον γίγνεσθαι· μηδεὶς χαλκεύων ἅμα τεκταινέσθω, μηδ᾽ αὖ τεκταινόμενος χαλκευόντων ἄλλων ἐπιμελείσθω μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς αὑτοῦ τέχνης, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς πολλῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπιμελούμενος ἑαυτῷ δημιουργούντων, εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖται δι᾽ 847a ἐκείνων διὰ τὸ τὴν πρόσοδον ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῷ πλείω γίγνεσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης, ἀλλ᾽ εἷς μίαν ἕκαστος τέχνην ἐν πόλει κεκτημένος ἀπὸ ταύτης ἅμα καὶ τὸ ζῆν κτάσθω. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νόμον ἀστυνόμοι διαπονούμενοι σῳζόντων, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπιχώριον, ἐὰν εἴς τινα τέχνην ἀποκλίνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν, κολαζόντων ὀνείδεσί τε καὶ ἀτιμίαις, μέχριπερ ἂν κατευθύνωσιν εἰς τὸν αὑτοῦ δρόμον, ξένων

So this must be the first thing established in the city. No one who works as a smith is to do carpentry as well; nor, again, is someone who does carpentry to supervise others working as smiths rather than his own craft, on the pretext that since he supervises many slaves who work for him, he naturally attends to his business through them, because he gets more income 847a from that source than from his own craft. Instead, each person in the city is to have one craft and to earn his living from it as well. The city wardens must work to uphold this law. If a native inclines toward some craft rather than toward the cultivation of virtue,

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	δὲ ἄν τις ἐπιτηδεύῃ δύο τέχνας, δεσμοῖσί τε καὶ χρημάτων [847b] ζημίαις καὶ ἐκβολαῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κολάζοντες, ἀναγκαζόντων ἕνα μόνον ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς εἶναι.	they are to punish him with reproaches and disgrace until they steer him back onto his proper course; and if any foreigner practices two crafts, they are to punish him with imprisonment, fines [847b] and expulsion from the city, and compel him to be one man, not many.
847b	μισθῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς πέρι καὶ τῶν ἀναιρέσεων τῶν ἔργων, καὶ ἐάν τις αὐτοὺς ἕτερος ἢ ’κεῖνοί τινα ἄλλον ἀδικῶσι, μέχρι δραχμῶν πεντήκοντα ἀστυνόμοι διαδικαζόντων, τὸ δὲ πλέον τούτου τὰ κοινὰ δικαστήρια διακρινόντων κατὰ νόμον.	As for their wages and contracts for work, and any case in which someone else wrongs them or they wrong someone else, the city wardens are to decide cases up to fifty drachmas; the public courts are to decide anything above that according to law.
	τέλος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει μηδένα μηδὲν τελεῖν μήτε ἐξαγομένων χρημάτων μήτ’ εἰσαγομένων· λιβανωτὸν δὲ καὶ ὅσα [847c] πρὸς θεοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐστὶν ξενικὰ θυμιάματα, καὶ πορφύραν καὶ ὅσα βαπτὰ χρώματα, μὴ φερούσης τῆς χώρας, ἢ περί τινα ἄλλην τέχνην δεομένην ξενικῶν τινων εἰσαγωγίμων μηδενὸς ἀναγκαίου χάριν μήτε τις ἀγέτω, μήτε αὖ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀναγκαίων ἐμμένειν ἐξαγέτω· τούτων δ’ αὖ πάντων ἐπιγνώμονας εἶναι καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν νομοφυλάκων, πέντε ἀφαιρεθέντων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τοὺς ἑξῆς δώδεκα. [847d]	No one in the city is to pay any duty on goods either exported or imported. Frankincense and other such foreign incense [847c] used in the worship of the gods, and purple and other dyes that our land doesn’t produce, or the materials of any other craft that needs certain imports from abroad for no necessary purpose: no one is to import them; nor, again, is anyone to export anything that ought to remain in the country. The judges and supervisors of all this are to be the twelve guardians of the laws who come next once the five oldest are left out. [847d]
847d	περὶ δὲ ὅπλων καὶ ὅσα περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἅπαντα ὄργανα, ἐάν τινος ἢ τέχνης εἰσαγωγίμου δέῃ γίγνεσθαι ἢ φυτοῦ ἢ μεταλλευτικοῦ κτήματος ἢ δεσμευτικοῦ ἢ ζῴων τινῶν ἕνεκα τῆς τοιαύτης χρείας, ἵππαρχοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τούτων ἔστωσαν κύριοι εἰσαγωγῆς τε καὶ ἐξαγωγῆς, διδούσης τε ἅμα καὶ δεχομένης τῆς πόλεως, νόμους δὲ περὶ τούτων νομοφύλακες τοὺς πρέποντάς τε καὶ ἱκανοὺς θήσουσι· καπηλείαν δὲ ἕνεκα χρηματισμῶν μήτε οὖν τούτου μήτε ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἐν τῇ [847e] χώρᾳ ὅλῃ καὶ πόλει ἡμῖν γίγνεσθαι.	As for weapons and all the instruments of war, if there is need to bring in some craft from abroad, or a plant, or metal, or binding material, or certain animals for such purposes, the cavalry commanders and generals are to have authority over importing and exporting them, with the city itself doing the giving and the receiving; and the guardians of the laws will lay down suitable and adequate laws on these matters. But there is to be no retail trade for profit, in this or in anything else, anywhere in our [847e] whole country and city.
847e	τροφῆς δὲ καὶ διανομῆς τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐγγὺς τῆς τοῦ Κρητικοῦ νόμου ἔοικεν ὀρθότης ἄν τις γιγνομένη κατὰ τρόπον γίγνεσθαι. δώδεκα μὲν γὰρ δὴ μέρη τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνόμενα νέμειν χρεὼν πάντας, ᾗπερ καὶ ἀναλωτέα· τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον μέρος ἕκαστον—οἷον πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν, οἷσιν δὴ καὶ τὰ ἅπαντα ἀκολουθείτω τὰ ἄλλα ὡραῖα [848a] νεμόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ζῷα σύμπαντα πράσιμα ἐν ἑκάστοις ᾖ— τριχῇ διαιρείσθω κατὰ λόγον, ἓν μὲν μέρος τοῖς ἐλευθέροις, ἓν δὲ τοῖς τούτων οἰκέταις· τὸ δὲ τρίτον δημιουργοῖς τε καὶ πάντως τοῖς ξένοις, οἵ τέ τινες αὖ τῶν μετοικούντων ὥσι συνοικοῦντες τροφῆς ἀναγκαίου δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅσοι χρείᾳ τινὶ πόλεως ἤ τινος ἰδιωτῶν εἰσαφικνοῦνται ἑκάστοτε, πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων	As for the provision and distribution of the country’s produce, a correct arrangement would, it seems, come about properly if it came close to the Cretan law. Everyone must divide all the produce of the land into twelve parts, according to how it is to be consumed. Each twelfth part—of wheat and barley, for instance, with all the other seasonal produce [848a] distributed on the same model, together with all the animals for sale in each district—is to be divided proportionately into three: one part for the free, one for their household slaves, and the third for the craftsmen and foreigners

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	ἀπονεμηθὲν τρίτον μέρος ὦνιον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔστω τοῦτο μόνον, τῶν δὲ δύο μερῶν μηδὲν ἐπάναγκες ἔστω 848b πωλεῖν.	generally, both any resident foreigners living here who need the necessities of life and those who come in from time to time on some business of the city or of private persons. This third part, apportioned out of all the necessities, is alone to be offered for sale as a matter of obligation; there is to be no obligation to sell any of the other two 848b parts.
848b	πῶς οὖν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρθότατα νέμοιτ' ἄν; πρῶτον μὲν δῆλον ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἴσα, τῇ δ' οὐκ ἴσα νέμομεν.	Then how would these be distributed most correctly? First, clearly, we distribute equally in one way and not equally in another.
	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN χείρω που καὶ βελτίω τούτων ἕκαστα ἀνάγκη φύειν καὶ ἐκτρέφειν τὴν γῆν.	**ATHENIAN** The land must, I suppose, grow and nurture better and worse specimens of each of these things.
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN τῷ μὲν τοίνυν τοιούτῳ τῶν μερῶν, τριῶν ὄντων, μηδὲν πλέον ἐχέτω μήτε τοῖς δεσπόταις ἢ δούλοις νεμόμενον, μήτε αὖ τὸ τῶν ξένων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἰσότητα ἡ νομὴ 848c πᾶσιν ἀποδιδότω τὴν αὐτήν· λαβὼν ἕκαστος τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ δύο μέρη κύριος ἔστω τῆς νομῆς δούλοις τε καὶ ἐλευθέροις, ὁπόσ' ἂν καὶ ὁποῖα βούληται διανέμειν. τὸ δὲ πλέον τούτων μέτροις τε καὶ ἀριθμῷ τῇδε χρὴ διανέμεσθαι· λαβόντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάντων τῶν ζῴων οἷς ἐκ τῆς γῆς δεῖ τὴν τροφὴν γίγνεσθαι, διανέμειν.	**ATHENIAN** Then in this respect none of the three parts is to get more—neither what is allotted to masters or to slaves, nor again the foreigners' share; the distribution 848c is to give all of them the same equality, the equality of likeness. Each citizen, on receiving his two parts, is to have authority over their distribution among slaves and free people, to distribute as much and of whatever kind he wishes. The rest must be distributed by measure and number, as follows: take the number of all the animals that must get their food from the land, and distribute accordingly.
848c	τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς οἰκήσεις δεῖ χωρὶς διατεταγμένας εἶναι· τάξις δὲ ἥδε πρέπει τοῖς τοιούτοις. δώδεκα κώμας εἶναι χρή, κατὰ μέσον τὸ δωδεκατημόριον ἕκαστον μίαν, ἐν 848d τῇ κώμῃ δὲ ἑκάστῃ πρῶτον μὲν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγορὰν ἐξῃρῆσθαι θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων θεοῖς δαιμόνων, εἴτε τινὲς ἔντοποι Μαγνήτων εἴτ' ἄλλων ἱδρύματα παλαιῶν μνήμῃ διασεσωμένων εἰσίν, τούτοις ἀποδιδόντας τὰς τῶν πάλαι τιμὰς ἀνθρώπων, Ἑστίας δὲ καὶ Διὸς Ἀθηνᾶς τε, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀρχηγὸς ᾖ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἑκάστου μέρους, ἱερὰ πανταχοῦ ἱδρύσασθαι.	Next, they must have dwellings laid out separately, and the following arrangement suits these matters. There must be twelve villages, one in the middle of each twelfth part. In 848d each village, first, sanctuaries and a marketplace are to be set apart for the gods and for the spirits who attend the gods. If there are any local gods of the Magnesians, or shrines of other ancient gods whose memory has been preserved, they are to pay them the honors that people paid of old. And everywhere they are to found sanctuaries of Hestia, Zeus and Athena, and of whichever other god is patron of each twelfth part.
848d	πρῶτον δὲ οἰκοδομίας εἶναι περὶ τὰ 848e ἱερὰ ταῦτα, ὅπῃ ἂν ὁ τόπος ὑψηλότατος ᾖ, τοῖς φρουροῖς ὑποδοχὴν ὅτι μάλιστα εὐερκῆ· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην χώραν κατασκευάζειν πᾶσαν δημιουργῶν τριακαίδεκα μέρη διελομένους, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν ἄστει κατοικίζειν, διελομένους αὖ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὰ	First, there are to be buildings around 848e these sanctuaries, wherever the ground is highest, to serve as a strongly fortified post for the garrison. As for the rest of the country, they are to equip it all by dividing the craftsmen into thirteen parts.

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	δώδεκα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἁπάσης, ἔξω τε καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ κατανεμηθέντας, ἐν τῇ κώμῃ δὲ ἑκάστῃ τὰ πρόσφορα γεωργοῖς γένη τῶν δημιουργῶν συνοικίζειν. τοὺς δ' ἐπιμελητὰς εἶναι τούτων πάντων τοὺς τῶν ἀγρονόμων ἄρχοντας, ὅσων τε καὶ ὧντινων ὁ τόπος ἕκαστος δεῖται, καὶ ὅπου κατοικοῦντες ἀλυπότατοί τε καὶ ὠφελιμώτατοι ἔσονται τοῖσιν γεωργοῖσι. [849a] τῶν δὲ ἐν ἄστει κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀρχήν.	One part they are to settle in the town, dividing it in turn among the twelve sections of the whole city and distributing it around the outskirts in a circle; and in each village they are to settle the kinds of craftsmen that are useful to farmers. Those in charge of all this are to be the officers of the country wardens: they will decide how many craftsmen, and of what kinds, each district needs, and where they will live so as to be least troublesome and most useful to the farmers. [849a] In the same way, the board of city wardens is to take charge of those in the town, both at the outset and from then on.
849a	τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἀγορανόμοις τὰ περὶ ἀγοράν που δεῖ ἕκαστα μέλειν· ἡ δ' ἐπιμέλεια, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν μή τις ἀδικῇ τι, τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρείας τὸ δεύτερον ἂν εἴη, σωφροσύνης τε καὶ ὕβρεως ἐπισκόπους ὄντας κολάζειν τὸν δεόμενον κολάσεως. τῶν δὲ ὠνίων, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τοὺς ξένους ταχθέντα πωλεῖν τοῖς ἀστοῖς σκοπεῖν [849b] εἰ γίγνεται κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἕκαστα.	The market wardens, I suppose, must look after everything to do with the marketplace. After watching over the sanctuaries around the marketplace so that no one wrongs them in any way, their second concern would be people's dealings: as overseers of moderation and outrage, they are to punish whoever needs punishing. As for goods for sale, they are first to watch whether everything that citizens are required to sell to foreigners [849b] is sold in each case according to the law.
849b	νόμος δ' ἑκάστῳ μηνὸς τῇ νέᾳ ὧν δεῖ πραθῆναι τὸ μέρος τοῖς ξένοις ἐξάγειν τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους, ὅσοι τοῖς ἀστοῖς ξένοι ἢ καὶ δοῦλοι ἐπιτροπεύουσι, δωδεκατημόριον πρῶτον τοῦ σίτου, τὸν δὲ ξένον εἰς πάντα τὸν μῆνα ὠνεῖσθαι σῖτον μὲν καὶ ὅσα περὶ σῖτον ἀγορᾷ τῇ πρώτῃ· δεκάτῃ δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς τὴν τῶν ὑγρῶν οἱ μὲν πρᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ ὠνὴν ποιείσθωσαν δι' ὅλου τοῦ μηνὸς ἱκανήν· [849c] τρίτῃ δὲ εἰκάδι τῶν ζῴων ἔστω πρᾶσις, ὅσα πρατέα ἑκάστοις ἢ ὠνητέα αὐτοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ ὁπόσων σκευῶν ἢ χρημάτων γεωργοῖς μὲν πρᾶσις, οἷον δερμάτων ἢ καὶ πάσης ἐσθῆτος ἢ πλοκῆς ἢ πιλήσεως ἤ τινων ἄλλων τοιούτων, ξένοις δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' ἄλλων κτωμένοις.	The law for each item is this. On the first day of each month the agents—the foreigners or slaves who manage affairs for the citizens—are to bring out the portion that must be sold to foreigners, beginning with a twelfth of the grain; and at this first market the foreigner is to buy grain, and everything that goes with grain, for the whole month. On the tenth of the month, the one side is to sell and the other to buy liquids, enough for the whole month. [849c] On the twenty-third there is to be a sale of animals—whatever each party needs to sell or to buy—and of whatever implements or goods farmers sell and foreigners must buy, since they have to get them from others: skins, for example, or clothing of every kind, woven or felted, or other such things.
849c	καπηλείας δὲ τούτων ἢ κριθῶν ἢ πυρῶν εἰς ἄλφιτα νεμηθέντων, ἢ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύμπασαν τροφήν, ἀστοῖς μὲν καὶ τούτων δούλοις μήτε τις πωλείτω μήτε ὠνείσθω παρὰ τοιούτου μηδεὶς μηδενός, ἐν [849d] δὲ ταῖς τῶν ξένων ξένος ἀγοραῖς πωλείτω τοῖς δημιουργοῖς τε καὶ τούτων δούλοις, οἴνου τε μεταβαλλόμενος καὶ σίτου πρᾶσιν, ὃ δὴ καπηλείαν ἐπονομάζουσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι· καὶ ζῴων διαμερισθέντων μάγειροι διατιθέσθων ξένοις τε καὶ δημιουργοῖς καὶ τούτων οἰκέταις. πᾶσαν δὲ ὕλην καύσιμον ὁσημέραι ξένος ὁ βουληθεὶς ὠνείσθω μὲν	As for retail trade in these things, or in barley or wheat ground into meal, or in any other food at all: no one is to sell it to citizens and their slaves, and none of them is to buy anything from such a trader. In [849d] the foreigners' markets, though, a foreigner may sell to craftsmen and their slaves, reselling wine and grain—which is what most people call retail trade. And butchers may dispose of cut-up animals to foreigners, craftsmen and

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	ἀθρόαν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐπιτρόπων, πωλείτω δὲ αὐτὸς τοῖς ξένοις, [849e] καθ' ὅσον ἂν βούληται καὶ ὁπόταν βούληται.	their household slaves. Any foreigner who wishes may buy firewood of every kind by the day, wholesale from the agents in the country districts, and sell it himself to foreigners [849e] in whatever quantity and whenever he wishes.
849e	τῶν δὲ ἄλλων χρημάτων πάντων καὶ σκευῶν ὁπόσων ἑκάστοισι χρεία, πωλεῖν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀγορὰν φέροντας εἰς τὸν τόπον ἕκαστον, ἐν οἷς ἂν νομοφύλακές τε καὶ ἀγορανόμοι, μετ' ἀστυνόμων τεκμηράμενοι ἕδρας πρεπούσας, ὅρους θῶνται τῶν ὠνίων, ἐν τούτοις ἀλλάττεσθαι νόμισμά τε χρημάτων καὶ χρήματα νομίσματος, μὴ προϊέμενον ἄλλον ἑτέρῳ τὴν ἀλλαγήν· ὁ δὲ προέμενος ὡς πιστεύων, ἐάντε κομίσηται καὶ ἂν μή, στεργέτω ὡς οὐκέτι δίκης οὔσης τῶν τοιούτων [850a] περὶ συναλλάξεων. τὸ δὲ ὠνηθὲν ἢ πραθὲν ὅσῳ πλέον ἂν ᾖ καὶ πλέονος ἢ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς εἴρηκεν πόσου προσγενομένου καὶ ἀπογενομένου δεῖ μηδέτερα τούτων ποιεῖν, ἀναγραφήτω τότ' ἤδη παρὰ τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν τὸ πλέον, ἐξαλειφέσθω δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ μετοίκων ἔστω τῆς ἀναγραφῆς πέρι τῆς οὐσίας.	All other goods and implements that anyone needs are to be sold by bringing them to the common market, each to its own place. In the places where the guardians of the laws and the market wardens, together with the city wardens, have fixed suitable sites and set boundaries for the goods on sale, there they are to exchange money for goods and goods for money, and no one is to give credit to another in the exchange. Anyone who does give credit, trusting the other, must put up with the outcome whether he gets paid or not, since there will be no legal action over such [850a] transactions. If what is bought or sold exceeds in quantity or price what the law allows—the law that has stated how much may be added or subtracted before one must do neither—then any increase is at once to be recorded with the guardians of the laws, and any decrease struck off. The same is to apply to resident foreigners regarding the registration of their property.
850a	ἰέναι δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον εἰς τὴν μετοίκησιν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, ὡς οἰκήσεως οὔσης τῶν ξένων τῷ [850b] βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ κατοικεῖν, τέχνην κεκτημένῳ καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντι μὴ πλέον ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν γράψηται, μετοίκιον μηδὲ σμικρὸν τελοῦντι πλὴν τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, μηδὲ ἄλλο αὖ τέλος ἕνεκά τινος ὠνῆς ἢ καὶ πράσεως· ὅταν δ' ἐξήκωσιν οἱ χρόνοι, τὴν αὐτοῦ λαβόντα οὐσίαν ἀπιέναι. ἐὰν δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσι τούτοις αὐτῷ συμβῇ λόγου ἀξίῳ πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι τινὰ ἱκανήν, καὶ πιστεύῃ πείσειν βουλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, ἤ τινα ἀναβολὴν τῆς ἐξοικήσεως [850c] ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι κυρίως, ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν διὰ βίου τινὰ μονήν, ἐπελθὼν καὶ πείσας τὴν πόλιν, ἅπερ ἂν πείσῃ, ταῦτα αὐτῷ τέλεα γιγνέσθω.	Anyone who wishes may come and live as a resident foreigner on stated terms. There is to be residence for foreigners, for anyone [850b] who wishes and is able to settle, provided he has a craft and stays no more than twenty years from the date he registers. He is to pay no resident's tax, however small, except good conduct, nor any other tax on buying or selling. When his time is up, he is to take his property and leave. But if during these years it turns out that he has distinguished himself by some substantial service to the city, and he is confident he will persuade the council and the assembly when he asks that his departure be formally postponed, [850c] or even that he be allowed to stay for life, he is to come forward and persuade the city; and whatever he persuades it of is to be granted him in full.[9]
850c	παισὶ δὲ μετοίκων, δημιουργοῖς οὖσι καὶ γενομένοις ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα, τῆς μὲν μετοικίας ἀρχέτω χρόνος ὁ μετὰ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἴκοσιν ἔτη μείνας, ἴτω ὅπῃ αὐτῷ φίλον, μένειν δὲ ἂν βούληται, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μενέτω πείσας· ὁ δὲ ἀπιὼν [850d] ἐξαλειψάμενος	For the children of resident foreigners, if they are craftsmen and have reached fifteen years of age, the period of residence is to begin from their fifteenth year. After staying twenty years on these terms, such a person is to go wherever he likes;

9 At Athens, resident foreigners (metics) paid a special annual tax, the metoikion; Plato's city waives it.

GREEK	ENGLISH
ἴτω τὰς ἀπογραφάς, αἵτινες ἂν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν γεγραμμέναι πρότερον ὦσιν.	but if he wishes to stay, he may stay, having persuaded the city in the same way. Anyone who leaves 850d is to have the registrations that were previously entered for him with the officials struck off before he goes.

Book IX

Criminal law: temple robbery, homicide and wounding.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
853a	**ATHENIAN** δίκαι δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκόλουθοι ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν πράξεσιν ἁπάσαις οὖσαι κατὰ φύσιν γίγνοιντο ἂν τὴν τῆς διακοσμήσεως τῶν νόμων. ὄντινων οὖν δὴ πέρι δεῖ γίγνεσθαι δίκας, τὰ μὲν εἴρηται, τὰ κατὰ γεωργίας τε καὶ ὅσα τούτοις εἵπετο, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα οὔτε εἴρηταί πω, καθ' ἓν ἕκαστόν τε λεγόμενον, ῥηθὲν ἣν δεῖ λαμβάνειν αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν καὶ [853b] τίνων ποτὲ δικαστῶν τυγχάνειν, μετ' ἐκεῖν' αὐτὰ ἑξῆς ταῦτα ῥητέον.	**ATHENIAN** Legal cases would come next, following naturally on all the activities we've dealt with before, in the orderly arrangement of the laws. Some of the matters on which there must be trials have been discussed—those concerning farming and whatever went with it—but the most important have not yet been. Each of them must be discussed one by one, stating what penalty it should receive and [853b] what judges it should come before; these must be discussed next, in order, after the others.
853b	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς.	**CLINIAS** Right.
	ATHENIAN αἰσχρὸν μὲν δή τινα τρόπον καὶ νομοθετεῖν πάντα ὁπόσα νῦν μέλλομεν τοῦτο δρᾶν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει ἥν φαμεν οἰκήσεσθαί τε εὖ καὶ τεύξεσθαι πάσης ὀρθότητος πρὸς ἐπιτήδευσιν ἀρετῆς· ἐν δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τὸ καὶ ἀξιοῦν τῆς τῶν ἄλλων μοχθηρίας τῶν μεγίστων ἐμφύεσθαί τινα μεθέξοντα, ὥστε δεῖν νομοθετεῖν προκαταλαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀπειλοῦντα [853c] ἐάν τις τοιοῦτος γίγνηται, καὶ τούτων ἀποτροπῆς τε ἕνεκα καὶ γενομένων κολάσεως τιθέναι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμους, ὡς ἐσομένους, ὅπερ εἶπον, αἰσχρὸν μέν τινα τρόπον.	**ATHENIAN** In a way it is shameful even to legislate on all the matters we are now about to legislate on, in a city of the sort we say will be well governed and will attain every correctness in the practice of virtue. In such a city, even to suppose that someone could grow up who would share in the worst wickedness found elsewhere—so that one must legislate in advance and threaten, [853c] in case such a person appears, and lay down laws against these crimes, both to deter them and to punish them if they occur, as though they will—this, as I said, is shameful in a way.
853c	ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ νομοθέται θεῶν παισὶν νομοθετούμενοι τοῖς ἥρωσιν, ὡς ὁ νῦν λόγος, αὐτοί τ' ἐκ θεῶν ὄντες ἄλλοις τε ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονόσιν ἐνομοθέτουν, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποί τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων σπέρμασιν νομοθετοῦμεν τὰ νῦν, ἀνεμέσητον [853d] δὴ φοβεῖσθαι μή τις ἐγγίγνηται τῶν πολιτῶν ἡμῖν οἷον κερασβόλος, ὃς ἀτεράμων εἰς τοσοῦτον φύσει γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὥστε μὴ τήκεσθαι· καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα τὰ σπέρματα πυρί, νόμοις οὗτοι καίπερ οὕτως ἰσχυροῖς οὖσιν ἄτηκτοι γίγνωνται. ὧν δὴ χάριν οὐκ ἐπίχαριν λέγοιμ' ἂν πρῶτον νόμον ἱερῶν περὶ συλήσεων, ἄν τις τοῦτο δρᾶν τολμᾷ.	But we are not like the ancient lawgivers, who, as the story now goes, legislated for heroes, the children of gods, being descended from gods themselves and giving laws to others of the same descent. We are human beings, legislating now for the seed of human beings, and so we can't be blamed [853d] for fearing that one of our citizens may turn out to be "horn-struck," as it were: so hard by nature that he won't soften. Just as those seeds don't soften in the fire, such people remain unsoftened by laws, however strong. For their sake—and it gives me no pleasure—I shall pronounce the first law, on robbing temples, in case anyone dares to do it.[1]

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853d καὶ πολίτην μὲν τῶν τεθραμμένων ὀρθῶς οὔτ’ ἂν βουλοίμεθα οὔτε ἐλπιστὸν πάνυ τι νοσῆσαί ποτε ἂν ταύτην τὴν νόσον, οἰκέται δὲ ἂν τούτων καὶ ξένοι καὶ ξένων δοῦλοι πολλὰ ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειαν τοιαῦτα· ὧν ἕνεκα μὲν μάλιστα, ὅμως δὲ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν 854a τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀσθένειαν εὐλαβούμενος, ἐρῶ τὸν τῶν ἱεροσύλων πέρι νόμον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ὅσα δυσίατα καὶ ἀνίατα. προοίμια δὲ τούτοισι, κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν λόγον ὁμολογηθέντα, προρρητέον ἅπασιν ὡς βραχύτατα.

Now, a correctly brought up citizen is someone we would neither wish nor much expect ever to catch this disease. But their household slaves, and foreigners, and foreigners’ slaves might attempt many such things. Chiefly for their sake, but also guarding against the weakness 854a of human nature as a whole, I shall state the law about temple robbers and about all other such crimes as are hard to cure or incurable. And in keeping with the principle we agreed on earlier, preambles must be pronounced before all of these, as briefly as possible.

854a λέγοι δή τις ἂν ἐκείνῳ διαλεγόμενος ἅμα καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ὃν ἐπιθυμία κακὴ παρακαλοῦσα μεθ’ ἡμέραν τε καὶ ἐπεγείρουσα νύκτωρ ἐπί τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἄγει 854b συλήσοντα, τάδε· ὦ θαυμάσιε, οὐκ ἀνθρώπινόν σε κακὸν οὐδὲ θεῖον κινεῖ τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν προτρέπον ἰέναι, οἶστρος δέ σέ τις ἐμφυόμενος ἐκ παλαιῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀδικημάτων, περιφερόμενος ἀλιτηριώδης, ὃν εὐλαβεῖσθαι χρεὼν παντὶ σθένει· τίς δ’ ἐστὶν εὐλάβεια, μαθέ. ὅταν σοι προσπίπτῃ τι τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων, ἴθι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδιοπομπήσεις, ἴθι ἐπὶ θεῶν ἀποτροπαίων ἱερὰ ἱκέτης, ἴθι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν λεγομένων ἀνδρῶν ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν 854c συνουσίας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄκουε, τὰ δὲ πειρῶ λέγειν αὐτός, ὡς δεῖ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια πάντα ἄνδρα τιμᾶν· τὰς δὲ τῶν κακῶν συνουσίας φεῦγε ἀμεταστρεπτί.

One might address the man whom an evil desire, summoning him by day and rousing him at night, drives to rob 854b some sanctuary, talking with him and encouraging him at the same time, like this: My dear man, what moves you now and urges you on to temple robbery is no human evil, nor a divine one either. It is a kind of frenzy, bred in human beings from ancient crimes never purified, that goes around bringing ruin; and you must guard against it with all your strength. Learn what that guarding is. When any such idea comes over you, go to the rites that turn evil away; go as a suppliant to the sanctuaries of the gods who avert evil; go to the company of the men among you who are said to be good, 854c and listen to them, and try to say it yourself, that every man must honor what is fine and just. Flee the company of bad men without looking back.

854c καὶ ἐὰν μέν σοι δρῶντι ταῦτα λωφᾷ τι τὸ νόσημα· εἰ δὲ μή, καλλίω θάνατον σκεψάμενος ἀπαλλάττου τοῦ βίου.

And if, when you do this, the sickness abates somewhat, well and good; if not, consider death the finer course, and rid yourself of life.

ταῦτα ἡμῶν ᾀδόντων προοίμια τοῖς πάντα ταῦτα ἐπινοοῦσιν ὅσα ἀνόσια ἔργα καὶ πολιτοφθόρα, τῷ μὲν πειθομένῳ τὸν νόμον ἐᾶν σιγῇ δεῖ, τῷ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντι μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον 854d ᾄδειν μέγα· ὃς δ’ ἂν ἱεροσυλῶν ληφθῇ, ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ δοῦλος ἢ ξένος, ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ γραφεὶς τὴν συμφοράν, καὶ μαστιγωθεὶς ὁπόσας ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἐκτὸς τῶν ὅρων τῆς χώρας γυμνὸς ἐκβληθήτω· τάχα γὰρ ἂν δοὺς ταύτην τὴν δίκην γένοιτ’ ἂν βελτίων σωφρονισθείς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ κακῷ δίκη γίγνεται οὐδεμία γενομένη κατὰ νόμον, δυοῖν δὲ θάτερον ἀπεργάζεται σχεδόν· ἢ γὰρ βελτίονα ἢ μοχθηρότερον 854e ἧττον ἐξηργάσατο τὸν τὴν δίκην παρασχόντα.

These are the preambles we sing to all who contemplate such impious deeds, deeds that destroy cities. For the one who obeys, the law must be left unspoken; but for the one who disobeys, after the preamble, 854d it must sing out loud: Whoever is caught robbing a temple, if he is a slave or a foreigner, is to have his misfortune written on his face and hands, be whipped with as many lashes as the judges decide, and be thrown out naked beyond the borders of the country. For perhaps by paying this penalty he may be brought to his senses and become better. No penalty imposed ac-

1 “Horn-struck” seeds were beans said to stay hard however long they were cooked, supposedly because they had touched an ox’s horn at sowing.

GREEK

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cording to law is inflicted to do harm; it generally achieves one of two things: it makes the one who pays it either better or less [854e] wicked.

854e πολίτης δὲ ἄν τίς ποτέ τι τοιοῦτον δρῶν ἀναφανῇ, περὶ θεοὺς ἢ περὶ γονέας ἢ περὶ πόλιν ἠδικηκὼς τῶν μεγάλων τινα καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἀδικιῶν, ὡς ἀνίατον ἤδη τοῦτον ὄντα ὁ δικαστὴς διανοείσθω, λογιζόμενος οἵας παιδείας τε καὶ τροφῆς ἐκ παιδὸς τυγχάνων οὐκ ἀπέσχετο τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν. δίκη δὴ τούτῳ θάνατος, ἐλάχιστον τῶν κακῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους [855a] παράδειγμα ὀνήσει γενόμενος, ἀκλεὴς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τῆς χώρας ὅρους ἀφανισθείς· παισὶ δὲ καὶ γένει, ἐὰν φύγωσι τὰ πατρῷα ἤθη, κλέος ἔστω καὶ λόγος ἔντιμος λεγόμενος, ὡς εὖ τε καὶ ἀνδρείως εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐκ κακοῦ διαπεφευγότων. δημόσια δὲ χρήματα οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρέπον ἂν εἴη γίγνεσθαι, ἐν ᾗ δεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ καὶ ἴσους ὄντας διατελεῖν κλήρους.

But if a citizen is ever shown to have done anything of this kind—to have committed one of the great and unspeakable wrongs against gods, parents or city—the judge should regard him as already incurable, considering what education and upbringing he has had from childhood, and still has not kept away from the greatest evils. His penalty is death, the least of evils; and he will benefit others [855a] by becoming an example, as he vanishes without honor beyond the borders of the country. But his children and family, if they shun their father's ways, are to have glory and be spoken of with honor, as people who escaped well and bravely from bad to good. It would not be fitting in this constitution for the property of any such person to be confiscated by the state, since here the allotments must always remain the same and equal.

855a ζημίας δ' ἐκτίσεις, ὅταν ἀδικεῖν ἄξια δοκῇ τις χρημάτων, ἐκτίνειν, ἂν ᾖ τι τῶν τοῦ κλήρου κατεσκευασμένου [855b] περιττεῦον, μέχρι τοσούτου ζημιωθέντα, τὸ δὲ πλέον μή· τὰς δ' εἰς ταῦτα ἀκριβείας ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν νομοφύλακες σκοποῦντες τὸ σαφὲς ἐξαγγελλόντων ἀεὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς, ὅπως ἂν τῶν κλήρων ἀργὸς μηδεὶς μηδέποτε γίγνηται δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων.

As for paying fines, when someone is thought to have committed wrongs that deserve a fine, he is to pay it if he has anything left over beyond the equipment of his allotment, [855b] being fined up to that amount and no more. The guardians of the laws are to examine the precise facts from the property registers and always report them clearly to the judges, so that no allotment ever goes untilled for lack of money.

855b ζημίας δὲ ἄν τις πλέονος ἄξιος εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐὰν ἄρα μή τινες ἐθέλωσιν αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων ἐγγυᾶσθαί τε καὶ συνεκτίνοντες ἀπελευθεροῦν, δεσμοῖς τε χρονίοις καὶ ἐμφανέσι καί τισιν προπηλακισμοῖς κολάζειν, [855c] ἄτιμον δὲ παντάπασιν μηδένα εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ' ἐφ' ἑνὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, μηδ' ὑπερορίαν φυγάδα· θάνατον δὲ ἢ δεσμοὺς ἢ πληγάς, ἤ τινας ἀμόρφους ἕδρας ἢ στάσεις ἢ παραστάσεις εἰς ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς χώρας ἔσχατα, ἢ χρημάτων καθάπερ ἔμπροσθεν εἴπομεν ἐκτίσεις γίγνεσθαι δεῖν τὴν δίκην ταύτην, γιγνέσθω. δικασταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν θανάτου πέρι νομοφύλακές τε καὶ τὸ τῶν περυσινῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην [855d] ἀπομερισθὲν δικαστήριον· εἰσαγωγὰς δὲ τούτων καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα καὶ ὡς δεῖ γίγνεσθαι, τοῖς νεωτέροις νομοθέταις χρὴ μέλειν, τὴν διαψήφισιν δὲ ἡμέτερον ἔργον νομοθετεῖν.

If someone is thought to deserve a heavier fine, then, unless some of his friends are willing to stand surety for him and set him free by helping to pay it, he is to be punished with long and public imprisonment and certain humiliations. [855c] But no one is ever to be wholly deprived of civic rights for any single offense, nor banished beyond the borders. The penalty is to be death, or imprisonment, or beatings, or some degrading postures, sitting or standing, or being made to stand at sanctuaries on the frontiers of the country, or payment of money, in the way we said earlier that this penalty should be exacted. In capital cases, the judges are to be the guardians of the laws together with a court selected on merit from the previous year's officials. [855d] The bringing of these cases, the summonses and all such matters, and how they are to be conducted, must be the concern of the younger lawgivers; the voting is ours to legislate.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
855d	ἔστω δὴ φανερὰ μὲν ἡ ψῆφος τιθεμένη, πρὸ τούτου δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ διώκοντός τε καὶ φεύγοντος ὁ δικαστὴς ἑξῆς ἡμῖν ἐγγύτατα κατὰ πρέσβιν ἱζέσθω, πάντες δ' οἱ πολῖται, ὅσοιπερ ἂν ἄγωσι σχολήν, ἐπήκοοι ἔστωσαν σπουδῇ τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν. λέγειν δὲ ἕνα λόγον, πρῶτον 855e μὲν τὸν διώκοντα, τὸν δὲ φεύγοντα δεύτερον· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἄρχεσθαι μὲν τὸν γεραίτατον ἀνακρίνοντα, ἰόντα εἰς τὴν τῶν λεχθέντων σκέψιν ἱκανήν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἑξῆς ἅπαντας χρὴ διεξελθεῖν ὅτι ἂν παρ' ἑκατέρου τις τῶν ἀντιδίκων ῥηθὲν ἢ μὴ ῥηθὲν ἐπιποθῇ τινα τρόπον· ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ποθῶν ἄλλῳ τὴν ἀνάκρισιν παραδιδότω.	Let the vote be cast openly. Before that, the judges are to sit in order of seniority, as close as possible, facing the prosecutor and the defendant; and all citizens who have the leisure are to attend and listen seriously to such trials. Each side is to make one speech, 855e the prosecutor first and the defendant second. After these speeches the eldest judge is to begin the questioning, going into an adequate examination of what has been said; after the eldest, all of them in turn must go through whatever they find lacking in what either party said or failed to say. A judge who finds nothing lacking is to hand the questioning on to the next.
855e	τῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων ἐπισφραγισαμένους ὅσα ἂν εἶναι καίρια 856a δοκῇ, γράμμασιν σημεῖα ἐπιβάλλοντας πάντων τῶν δικαστῶν, θεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν, καὶ πάλιν αὔριον εἰς ταὐτὸν συνελθόντας, ὡσαύτως τε ἀνακρίνοντας διεξελθεῖν τὴν δίκην καὶ σημεῖα ἐπιβάλλοντας αὖ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν· καὶ τρὶς δράσαντας τοῦτο, τεκμήριά τε καὶ μάρτυρας ἱκανῶς παραλαβόντας, ψῆφον ἱερὰν ἕκαστον φέροντα καὶ ὑποσχόμενον πρὸς τῆς ἑστίας εἰς δύναμιν τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῆ κρίνειν, οὕτω τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ τοιαύτῃ δίκῃ. 856b	They are to put their seals on whatever of the statements 856a seem relevant, attaching the marks of all the judges to the written record, and place it on the hearth. The next day they are to meet again in the same place, go through the case with questioning in the same way, and again put their marks on what has been said. When they have done this three times and have given adequate hearing to the evidence and the witnesses, each is to cast a sacred vote, promising by the hearth to judge what is just and true as far as he can; and in this way they are to bring such a trial to a close. 856b
856b	μετὰ δὲ τὰ περὶ θεοὺς τὰ περὶ κατάλυσιν τῆς πολιτείας. ὃς ἂν ἄγων εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀνθρώπων δουλῶται μὲν τοὺς νόμους, ἑταιρίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον ποιῇ, καὶ βιαίως δὴ πᾶν τοῦτο πράττων καὶ στάσιν ἐγείρων παρανομῇ, τοῦτον δὴ διανοεῖσθαι δεῖ πάντων πολεμιώτατον ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει· τὸν δὲ κοινωνοῦντα μὲν τῶν τοιούτων μηδενί, τῶν μεγίστων δὲ μετέχοντα ἀρχῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, λεληθότα τε ταῦτα αὐτόν, ἢ 856c μὴ λεληθότα, δειλίᾳ δ', ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτοῦ μὴ τιμωρούμενον, δεῖ δεύτερον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον πολίτην κάκῃ.	After crimes concerning the gods come those aimed at overthrowing the constitution. Whoever enslaves the laws by putting them under the rule of men, and makes the city subject to a faction, and breaks the law by doing all this by violence and stirring up civil strife, must be regarded as the worst enemy of the whole city. And the man who takes part in none of this, but holds one of the highest offices in the city, and either fails to notice it or 856c notices it but out of cowardice fails to take vengeance on his country's behalf—such a citizen must be considered second in baseness.
856c	πᾶς δὲ ἀνήρ, οὗ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, ἐνδεικνύτω ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς κρίσιν ἄγων τὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα βιαίου πολιτείας μεταστάσεως ἅμα καὶ παρανόμου· δικασταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν τούτοις οἵπερ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κρίσιν ὡσαύτως αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἐκείνοις, τὴν ψῆφον θάνατον φέρειν τὴν πλήθει νικῶσαν. ἑνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, πατρὸς ὀνείδη καὶ τιμωρίας 856d παίδων μηδενὶ συνέπεσθαι, πλὴν ἐάν τινι πατὴρ καὶ πάππος καὶ πάππου πατὴρ ἐφεξῆς ὄφλωσι θανάτου δίκην· τούτους δὲ ἡ πόλις ἔχοντας τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν, πλὴν ὅσον κατεσκευασμένου τοῦ κλήρου παντελῶς, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχαίαν ἐκπεμπέσθω πατρίδα καὶ πόλιν.	Every man who is of the slightest use is to denounce to the officials, bringing him to trial, anyone who plots a change of constitution that is both violent and unlawful. The judges in these cases are to be the same as for temple robbers, and the whole trial is to be conducted in the same way as for them, the majority vote carrying the death penalty. In a word, a father's disgrace and penalties 856d are not to pass to any of his children, except where someone's father, grandfather and great-grandfather in succession have all been con-

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	demned to death. Such people the city is to send away to their ancient homeland and city, keeping their own property except for everything belonging to the fully equipped allotment.
856d οἷς δ' ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν ὑεῖς ὄντες τυγχάνωσιν πλείους ἑνός, μὴ ἔλαττον δέκα ἔτη γεγονότες, κληρῶσαι μὲν τούτων δέκα, οὓς ἂν ἀποφήνῃ πατὴρ ἢ πάππος ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς ἢ μητρός, τῶν δὲ λαχόντων τὰ 856e ὀνόματα εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθέντων· ὃν δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέλῃ, κληρονόμον εἰς τὸν οἶκον καταστῆσαι τὸν τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τύχῃ ἀμείνονι.	Citizens who happen to have more than one son, not less than ten years old, are to draw lots among ten of them, those designated by the father or by the grandfather on the father's or the mother's side, and the names of those chosen by lot 856e are to be sent to Delphi. Whichever one the god indicates is to be installed, with better luck, as heir to the household of those who have left it.
856e CLINIAS καλῶς.	CLINIAS Good.
ATHENIAN κοινὸς δ' ἔτι τρίτος εἷς ἔστω νόμος περὶ δικαστῶν τε, οὓς δεῖ δικάζειν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῶν δικῶν, οἷς ἂν προδόσεως αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρων τις εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγῃ· καὶ μονῆς ὡσαύτως ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἐξόδου τῆς πατρίδος εἷς ἔστω 857a περὶ ταῦτα νόμος οὗτος τρισί, προδότῃ καὶ ἱεροσύλῳ καὶ τῷ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους βίᾳ ἀπολλύντι. κλέπτῃ δέ, ἐάντε μέγα ἐάντε σμικρὸν κλέπτῃ τις, εἷς αὖ νόμος κείσθω καὶ μία δίκης τιμωρία σύμπασιν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κλαπὲν δὴ χρεὼν διπλάσιον πρῶτον ἐκτίνειν, ἐὰν ὄφλῃ τις τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην καὶ ἱκανὴν ἔχῃ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν ἀποτίνειν ὑπὲρ τὸν κλῆρον, ἐὰν δὲ μή, δεδέσθαι ἕως ἂν ἐκτείσῃ ἢ πείσῃ τὸν καταδικασάμενον.	ATHENIAN Let there be one common law, too, for a third case, concerning the judges who are to try it and the procedure of the trials, when someone brings a charge of treason to court. And likewise, concerning whether descendants stay in their homeland or leave it, let there be this one law 857a for all three: the traitor, the temple robber, and the man who destroys the city's laws by violence. For the thief, too, whether he steals something large or something small, one law is to be laid down and one penalty for all. First, he must pay back double what was stolen, if he loses such a case and has enough other property beyond his allotment to pay it; if not, he is to be kept in prison until he pays it or persuades the one who won the case against him.
857b ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλῃ κλοπῆς δημοσίᾳ δίκην, πείσας τὴν πόλιν ἢ τὸ κλέμμα ἐκτείσας διπλοῦν, ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῶν δεσμῶν.	If someone is convicted of theft from the public, he is to be released from prison once he has persuaded the city or paid back double what he stole.
CLINIAS πῶς δὴ λέγομεν, ὦ ξένε, μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῷ κλέπτοντι μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ὑφελομένῳ, καὶ ἐξ ἱερῶν ἢ ὁσίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν περὶ κλοπὴν πᾶσαν ἀνομοιότητα ἔχοντα, οἷς δεῖ ποικίλοις οὖσιν ἕπεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην μηδὲν ὁμοίαις ζημίαις ζημιοῦντα;	CLINIAS What do we mean, stranger, by saying it makes no difference whether the thief takes something large or small, from sacred places or secular ones, and in all the other respects in which thefts are unlike one another? The lawgiver ought to follow them in all their variety and not impose the same penalties at all.

THE LAWGIVER AS TEACHER

Clinias objects to one penalty for all thefts; the Athenian says laws should educate, like a free doctor.

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ATHENIAN ἄριστ', ὦ Κλεινία· σχεδόν τοί με ὥσπερ φερόμενον 857c ἀντικρούσας ἀνήγειρας, ἐννενοηκότα δὲ καὶ πρότερον ὑπέμνησας ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων θέσιν	ATHENIAN Excellent, Clinias! You've run into me as I was, so to speak, rushing headlong, 857c and woken me up, and reminded me of something I'd

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	οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ πώποτε γέγονεν ὀρθῶς διαπεπονημένα, ὥς γε ἐν τῷ νῦν παραπεπτωκότι λέγειν. πῶς δ' αὖ καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν; οὐ κακῶς ἀπῃκάσαμεν, ὅτε δούλοις ὡς ἰατρευομένοις ὑπὸ δούλων ἀπῃκάζομεν πάντας τοὺς νῦν νομοθετουμένους.	thought about before: that lawmaking has never yet been worked out correctly in any way—to judge by the case that has just come up. What do we mean by that, in turn? It was not a bad comparison we made when we compared everyone who receives laws nowadays to slaves being treated by slaves.[2]
857c	εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ τὸ τοιόνδε, ὡς εἰ καταλάβοι ποτέ τις ἰατρὸς τῶν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἄνευ λόγου τὴν ἰατρικὴν μεταχειριζομένων [857d] ἐλεύθερον ἐλευθέρῳ νοσοῦντι διαλεγόμενον ἰατρόν, καὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγγὺς χρώμενον μὲν τοῖς λόγοις, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε ἁπτόμενον τοῦ νοσήματος, περὶ φύσεως πάσης ἐπανιόντα τῆς τῶν σωμάτων, ταχὺ καὶ σφόδρα γελάσειεν ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλους εἴποι λόγους ἢ τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀεὶ προχείρους ὄντας τοῖς πλείστοις λεγομένοις ἰατροῖς· φαίη γὰρ ἄν "ὦ μῶρε, οὐκ ἰατρεύεις τὸν νοσοῦντα ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν παιδεύεις, [857e] ὡς ἰατρὸν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑγιῆ δεόμενον γίγνεσθαι".	For you should be well aware of this. Suppose one of the doctors who practice medicine by experience without any theory were to come upon [857d] a free doctor talking with a free patient—using arguments not far from philosophy, getting hold of the disease from its origin, going back over the whole nature of bodies. He would promptly burst out laughing, and would say nothing but what most so-called doctors always have ready on such occasions: "You fool, you're not treating the patient, you're practically educating him, [857e] as if what he needed was to become a doctor, not to get well!"
857e	**CLINIAS** οὐκοῦν λέγων τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀρθῶς ἂν λέγοι;	**CLINIAS** And wouldn't he be right to say so?
	ATHENIAN τάχ' ἄν, εἰ προσδιανοοῖτό γε ὡς ὅστις περὶ νόμων οὕτω διεξέρχεται, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς τὰ νῦν, παιδεύει τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλ' οὐ νομοθετεῖ. ἆρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν πρὸς τρόπου λέγειν φαίνοιτο;	**ATHENIAN** Perhaps—if he had this further point in mind, that anyone who goes through the subject of laws the way we are doing now is educating the citizens, not legislating. Wouldn't that too seem a fair thing to say?
	CLINIAS ἴσως.	**CLINIAS** Perhaps.
	ATHENIAN εὐτυχὲς δὲ ἡμῶν τὸ παρὸν γέγονεν.	**ATHENIAN** But our present situation is a lucky one.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δή;	**CLINIAS** In what way?
	ATHENIAN τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀνάγκην εἶναι νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς [858a] ἐν σκέψει γενομένους περὶ πάσης πολιτείας πειρᾶσθαι κατιδεῖν τό τε ἄριστον καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, τίνα τρόπον ἂν γιγνόμενον γίγνοιτο. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ νῦν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰ μὲν βουλόμεθα, τὸ βέλτιστον σκοπεῖν, εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα, τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον περὶ νόμων· αἱρώμεθα οὖν πότερον δοκεῖ.	**ATHENIAN** In that there is no necessity for us to legislate. We can [858a] examine every constitution for ourselves and try to discern both what is best and what is most necessary, and how it might come about. And now, in particular, it seems we are free, if we like, to consider what is best in matters of law, or, if we like, what is most necessary. So let's choose whichever we prefer.
858a	**CLINIAS** γελοίαν, ὦ ξένε, προτιθέμεθα τὴν αἵρεσιν, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ κατεχομένοις νομοθέταις ὅμοιοι γιγνοίμεθ' [858b] ἂν ὑπὸ μεγάλης τινὸς ἀνάγκης ἤδη νομοθετεῖν, ὡς οὐκέτ' ἐξὸν εἰς αὔριον· ἡμῖν δ'—εἰπεῖν σὺν θεῷ—ἔξεστι, καθάπερ ἢ λιθολόγοις ἢ καί τινος ἑτέρας	**CLINIAS** It's a ridiculous choice we're setting ourselves, stranger. We'd be just like lawgivers under pressure, forced by some great necessity [858b] to legislate right now, as if it were no longer possible tomorrow. But we—heaven willing—are free, like

2 In Book IV the Athenian contrasted slave doctors, who simply give orders, with free doctors, who explain and persuade—his model for laws with preambles.

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ἀρχομένοις συστάσεως, παραφορήσασθαι χύδην ἐξ ὧν ἐκλεξόμεθα τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ μελλούσῃ γενήσεσθαι συστάσει, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκλέξασθαι. τιθῶμεν οὖν ἡμᾶς νῦν εἶναι μὴ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἰκοδομοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἔτι τὰ μὲν παρατιθεμένους, τὰ δὲ συνιστάντας· ὥστε ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὰ μὲν ἤδη τῶν 858c νόμων λέγειν ὡς τιθέμενα, τὰ δ' ὡς παρατιθέμενα.

stonemasons or people beginning any other construction, to bring together a heap of materials from which we can select what suits the construction to come, and to select at our leisure. So let's take it that we are now not people building out of necessity, but people with leisure still to set some things aside and put others together. That way it is right to state some of our 858c laws as already enacted, and some as set aside for later.

858c **ATHENIAN** γένοιτο γοῦν ἄν, ὦ Κλεινία, κατὰ φύσιν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡ σύνοψις τῶν νόμων. ἴδωμεν γὰρ οὖν, ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, τὸ τοιόνδε περὶ νομοθετῶν.

ATHENIAN At any rate, Clinias, our survey of the laws would be more in keeping with nature that way. So let's look, by the gods, at the following point about lawgivers.

CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον δή;

CLINIAS What point?

ATHENIAN γράμματα μέν που καὶ ἐν γράμμασιν λόγοι καὶ ἄλλων εἰσὶ πολλῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν γεγραμμένοι, γράμματα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ λόγοι.

ATHENIAN In cities, I suppose, there are writings, and discourses in writing, by many other people; and there are also writings and discourses of the lawgiver.

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN πότερον οὖν τοῖς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων συγγράμμασιν, 858d ποιητῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἄνευ μέτρων καὶ μετὰ μέτρων τὴν αὑτῶν εἰς μνήμην συμβουλὴν περὶ βίου κατέθεντο συγγράψαντες, προσέχωμεν τὸν νοῦν, τοῖς δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν μὴ προσέχωμεν; ἢ πάντων μάλιστα;

ATHENIAN Then are we to pay attention to the writings of the others— 858d poets, and those who have written down, in prose or in verse, their advice about life for people to remember—and not pay attention to those of the lawgivers? Or should we attend to these most of all?

858d **CLINIAS** πολύ γε.

CLINIAS Much the most.

ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ δῆτα οὐ χρὴ τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τῶν γραφόντων περὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων συμβουλεύειν, διδάσκοντα οἷά τέ ἐστι καὶ ὡς ἐπιτηδευτέον αὐτὰ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐδαίμοσιν ἔσεσθαι;

ATHENIAN Well then, shouldn't the lawgiver, alone among writers, give advice about what is fine and good and just, teaching what these things are and how those who mean to be happy must practice them?

CLINIAS καὶ πῶς οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

858e **ATHENIAN** ἀλλὰ αἰσχρὸν δὴ μᾶλλον Ὁμήρῳ τε καὶ Τυρταίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς περὶ βίου τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων κακῶς θέσθαι γράψαντας, Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἧττον καὶ Σόλωνι καὶ ὅσοι δὴ νομοθέται γενόμενοι γράμματα ἔγραψαν; ἢ τό γε ὀρθόν, πάντων δεῖ γραμμάτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους γεγραμμένα φαίνεσθαι διαπτυττόμενα μακρῷ κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κατ' ἐκεῖνα 859a συνεπόμενα, ἢ διαφωνοῦντα αὐτοῖς εἶναι καταγέλαστα; οὕτω διανοώμεθα περὶ νόμων δεῖν γραφῆς γίγνεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν πατρός τε καὶ μητρὸς σχήμασι φιλούντων τε καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων φαίνεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἢ κατὰ

ATHENIAN Then is it more shameful for Homer and Tyrtaeus and the other poets to have laid down bad precepts in their writings about life and its pursuits, and less shameful for Lycurgus and Solon and all who became lawgivers and wrote texts? Or, rightly, shouldn't the writings about laws, of all the writings in cities, prove when unrolled to be by far the finest and best, and the writings of others either conform 859a to them or, where they disagree with them, be laughable? Should we think that the laws of cities ought to be written in such a way that the writings appear in

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	τύραννον καὶ δεσπότην τάξαντα καὶ ἀπειλήσαντα γράψαντα ἐν τοίχοις ἀπηλλάχθαι;	the guise of a loving and sensible father and mother? Or should they be like a tyrant and despot who gives orders and threats, writes them on walls, and is done with it?[3]
859a	σκοπῶμεν οὖν δὴ καὶ τὰ νῦν ἡμεῖς πότερα ταύτῃ πειρώμεθα λέγειν διανοηθέντες περὶ νόμων, εἴτ' οὖν 859b δυνάμεθα εἴτε μή, ἀλλ' οὖν τό γε πρόθυμον παρεχόμενοι· καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἰόντες, ἂν ἄρα τι καὶ δέῃ πάσχειν, πάσχωμεν. ἀγαθὸν δ' εἴη τε, καὶ ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, γίγνοιτ' ἂν ταύτῃ.	So let's consider whether we too are now trying to speak about laws with this in mind, whether 859b we can or not, at least bringing our goodwill to it; and if, going along this road, we have to suffer something, let's suffer it. May it be for the good—and, god willing, that is how it will turn out.
859b	**CLINIAS** καλῶς εἴρηκας, ποιῶμέν τε ὡς λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Well said. Let's do as you say.
	ATHENIAN διασκεπτέον ἄρα πρῶτον, ὥσπερ ἐπεχειρήσαμεν, ἀκριβῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν τε ἱεροσυλούντων καὶ κλοπῆς πάσης πέρι καὶ ἀδικημάτων συμπάντων, καὶ οὐ δυσχεραντέον εἰ 859c μεταξὺ νομοθετοῦντες τὰ μὲν ἔθεμεν, τῶν δ' ἔτι διασκοποῦμεν πέρι· νομοθέται γὰρ γιγνόμεθα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσμέν πω, τάχα δὲ ἴσως ἂν γενοίμεθα. εἰ δὴ δοκεῖ περὶ ὧν εἴρηκα ὡς εἴρηκα σκοπεῖσθαι, σκοπώμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** Then we must first examine carefully, as we set out to do, the law concerning temple robbers, and all theft, and every kind of wrongdoing; and we mustn't be troubled if, 859c in the midst of lawmaking, we have enacted some things and are still examining others. For we are becoming lawgivers but are not yet lawgivers, though perhaps we may become so. So if you agree that we should examine the things I've mentioned in the way I've mentioned, let's examine them.
859c	**CLINIAS** παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** By all means.
	ATHENIAN περὶ δὴ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων συμπάντων πειρώμεθα κατιδεῖν τὸ τοιόνδε, ὅπῃ ποτὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν νῦν καὶ ὅπῃ διαφερόμεθα ἡμεῖς τε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, οἳ δὴ φαῖμεν ἂν προθυμεῖσθαί γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, διαφέρειν τῶν πλείστων, οἱ πολλοί 859d τε αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὑτοὺς αὖ.	**ATHENIAN** About everything fine and just, then, let's try to discern this: where we now agree with ourselves and where we differ—we who would claim to be eager, if nothing else, to be different from most people—and where the many, 859d in turn, differ among themselves.
859d	**CLINIAS** τὰς ποίας δὲ δὴ διαφορὰς ἡμῶν ἐννοηθεὶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What sort of differences of ours do you have in mind?
	ATHENIAN ἐγὼ πειράσομαι φράζειν. περὶ δικαιοσύνης ὅλως καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ πράξεων πάντες πως συνομολογοῦμεν πάντα εἶναι ταῦτα καλά, ὥστε οὐδ' εἴ τις διισχυρίζοιτο εἶναι τοὺς δικαίους ἀνθρώπους, ἂν καὶ τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες αἰσχροὶ τὰ σώματα, κατ' αὐτό γε τὸ δικαιότατον ἦθος ταύτῃ παγκάλους εἶναι, σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν 859e λέγων οὕτω πλημμελῶς δόξειε λέγειν.	**ATHENIAN** I'll try to explain. About justice in general, and about just people, things and actions, we all somehow agree that all of them are fine. So much so that if someone were to insist that just people, even if they happen to be ugly in body, are nevertheless wholly fine by virtue of their supremely just character, hardly anyone 859e saying so would be thought to strike a wrong note.
859e	**CLINIAS** οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς;	**CLINIAS** And wouldn't that be right?
	ATHENIAN ἴσως· ἴδωμεν δὲ ὡς, εἰ πάντ' ἐστὶν καλὰ ὅσα δικαιοσύνης ἔχεται, τῶν πάντων τοι καὶ τὰ παθήματα ἡμῖν ἐστιν, σχεδὸν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἴσα.	**ATHENIAN** Perhaps. But let's see: if everything that has to do with justice is fine, then among all

3 Solon was the Athenian statesman and lawgiver of the early sixth century BC; laws were published on scrolls, and also on walls and tablets.

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		these things, for us, are the things one undergoes as well, roughly as many as the things one does.
	CLINIAS τί οὖν δή;	**CLINIAS** What of it?
	ATHENIAN ποίημα μέν, ὅπερ ἂν ᾖ δίκαιον, σχεδὸν ὅσονπερ ἂν τοῦ δικαίου κοινωνῇ, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ μετέχον ἐστί.	**ATHENIAN** Any action that is just shares in the fine, I take it, to just the extent that it shares in the just.
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν καὶ πάθος ὅπερ ἂν δικαίου κοινωνῇ, κατὰ 860a τοσοῦτον γίγνεσθαι καλὸν ὁμολογούμενον, οὐκ ἂν διαφωνοῦντα παρέχοι τὸν λόγον;	**ATHENIAN** Then wouldn't it keep our argument consistent to agree that anything one undergoes that shares in the just becomes fine 860a to that same extent?
860a	**CLINIAS** ἀληθῆ.	**CLINIAS** True.
	ATHENIAN ἐὰν δέ γε δίκαιον μὲν ὁμολογῶμεν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ εἶναι πάθος, διαφωνήσει τό τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ καλόν, λεχθέντων τῶν δικαίων αἰσχίστων εἶναι.	**ATHENIAN** But if we agree that something undergone is just but shameful, the just and the fine will be out of tune, since just things will have been called most shameful.
	CLINIAS πῶς τοῦτο εἴρηκας;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean by that?
	ATHENIAN οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν ἐννοεῖν· οἱ γὰρ ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν τεθέντες ἡμῖν νόμοι πάντων ἐναντιώτατα παραγγέλλειν δόξειαν ἂν τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις.	**ATHENIAN** It's not hard to see. The laws we laid down a little while ago would seem to prescribe the complete opposite of what we are saying now.
	CLINIAS ποίοις;	**CLINIAS** Which laws?
860b	**ATHENIAN** τὸν ἱερόσυλόν που ἐτίθεμεν δικαίως ἂν ἀποθνῄσκειν καὶ τὸν τῶν εὖ κειμένων νόμων πολέμιον, καὶ μέλλοντες δὴ νόμιμα τοιαῦτα τιθέναι πάμπολλα ἐπέσχομεν, ἰδόντες ὡς ταῦτα ἐστὶν μὲν ἄπειρα παθήματα πλήθει καὶ μεγέθεσιν, δικαιότατα δὲ πάντων παθημάτων καὶ συμπάντων αἴσχιστα. μῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἡμῖν τά τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ καλὰ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς ταὐτὰ σύμπαντα, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς ἐναντιώτατα φανεῖται;	**ATHENIAN** We laid down, I think, that the temple robber would justly be put to death, and so would the enemy of well-established laws; and when we were about to lay down a great many more rules of this kind, we held back, seeing that these are things undergone that are unlimited in number and magnitude, and though the most just of all things undergone, the most shameful of all. Won't the just and the fine appear to us, then, at one moment to be entirely the same, and at another the complete opposite?
	CLINIAS κινδυνεύει.	**CLINIAS** It looks that way.
860c	**ATHENIAN** τοῖς μὲν τοίνυν πολλοῖς οὕτω περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀσυμφώνως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια διερριμμένα προσαγορεύεται.	**ATHENIAN** So it is that most people talk of the fine and the just in this discordant way, torn apart from each other in matters like these.
	CLINIAS φαίνεται γοῦν, ὦ ξένε.	**CLINIAS** It seems so, at any rate, stranger.
	ATHENIAN τὸ τοίνυν ἡμέτερον, ὦ Κλεινία, πάλιν ἴδωμεν πῶς αὖ περὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἔχει τῆς συμφωνίας.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's look again, Clinias, at our own position, and see how consistent it is on these very matters.

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	CLINIAS ποίας δὴ πρὸς ποίαν;	**CLINIAS** Consistent in what, with what?
	ATHENIAN ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις οἶμαι διαρρήδην ἐμὲ εἰρηκέναι πως, εἰ δ' οὖν μὴ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν ὡς λέγοντα τίθετε—	**ATHENIAN** In the earlier discussion I think I stated explicitly, somehow—or if not before, then take me as saying it now—
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What?

NO ONE DOES WRONG WILLINGLY

The Athenian holds that injustice is always involuntary and distinguishes wrongdoing from mere harm.

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860d	**ATHENIAN** ὡς οἱ κακοὶ πάντες εἰς πάντα εἰσὶν ἄκοντες κακοί· τούτου δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος, ἀνάγκη που τούτῳ συνέπεσθαι τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον.	**ATHENIAN** That all bad people are bad involuntarily, in every respect. And if this is so, the next statement must, I suppose, follow from it.
	CLINIAS τίνα λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** Which do you mean?
	ATHENIAN ὡς ὁ μὲν ἄδικός που κακός, ὁ δὲ κακὸς ἄκων τοιοῦτος. ἀκουσίως δὲ ἑκούσιον οὐκ ἔχει πράττεσθαί ποτε λόγον· ἄκων οὖν ἐκείνῳ φαίνοιτ' ἂν ἀδικεῖν ὁ ἀδικῶν τῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀκούσιον τιθεμένῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὁμολογητέον ἐμοί· σύμφημι γὰρ ἄκοντας ἀδικεῖν πάντας—εἰ καί τις φιλονικίας 860e ἢ φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα ἄκοντας μὲν ἀδίκους εἶναί φησιν, ἀδικεῖν μὴν ἑκόντας πολλούς, ὅ γ' ἐμὸς λόγος ἐκεῖνος ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗτος —τίνα οὖν αὖ τρόπον ἔγωγε συμφωνοίην ἂν τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ λόγοις; εἴ με, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, ἐρωτῷτε· "εἰ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντά ἐστιν, ὦ ξένε, τί συμβουλεύεις ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας τῇ τῶν Μαγνήτων πόλει; πότερον νομοθετεῖν ἢ μή;" "πῶς γὰρ οὔ;" φήσω.	**ATHENIAN** That the unjust man is, I suppose, bad, and the bad man is such involuntarily. But it never makes sense for something voluntary to be done involuntarily. So to someone who holds that injustice is involuntary, the one who does wrong would seem to do it involuntarily. And now I too must agree to this, since I concede that everyone who does wrong does it involuntarily—even if someone, out of love of victory 860e or of honor, says that people are unjust involuntarily but that many do wrong voluntarily, my position is the first one, not this. How, then, could I be consistent with my own statements? Suppose you ask me, Clinias and Megillus: "If this is how things stand, stranger, what advice do you give us about legislation for the city of the Magnesians? Should we legislate or not?" "Of course you should," I shall say.
860e	"διοριεῖς οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀκούσιά τε καὶ ἑκούσια ἀδικήματα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἑκουσίων ἁμαρτημάτων τε καὶ ἀδικημάτων μείζους τὰς ζημίας 861a θήσομεν, τῶν δ' ἐλάττους; ἢ πάντων ἐξ ἴσης, ὡς οὐκ ὄντων ἀδικημάτων τὸ παράπαν ἑκουσίων;"	"Will you distinguish for them, then, between involuntary and voluntary wrongs? And shall we set greater penalties for voluntary errors and wrongs, 861a and lesser ones for the others? Or equal penalties for all, on the ground that there are no voluntary wrongs at all?"
861a	**CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς μέντοι λέγεις, ὦ ξένε· καὶ τούτοις δὴ τί χρησόμεθα τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις;	**CLINIAS** You're quite right, stranger. And what use shall we make of what we're now saying?
	ATHENIAN καλῶς ἥρου. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν αὐτοῖς τόδε χρησώμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** A good question. First, then, let's use it for this.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** For what?

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ATHENIAN ἀναμνησθῶμεν ὡς ἔμπροσθεν νυνδὴ καλῶς ἐλέγομεν ὅτι περὶ τὰ δίκαια εἴη παμπόλλη τις ἡμῶν ταραχή τε καὶ ἀσυμφωνία. τοῦτο δὲ λαβόντες πάλιν ἐρωτῶμεν ἡμᾶς [861b] αὐτούς· "ἆρ' οὖν περὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπορίαν οὔτ' ἐξευπορήσαντες οὔτε διορισάμενοι τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ταῦτα ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα, ἃ δὴ κατὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ὑπὸ νομοθετῶν πάντων τῶν πώποτε γενομένων ὡς δύο εἴδη τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὄντα, τὰ μὲν ἑκούσια, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια, ταύτῃ καὶ νομοθετεῖται· ὁ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν νυνδὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος, ὥσπερ παρὰ θεοῦ λεχθείς, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάξεται, δοὺς δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ὡς [861c] ὀρθῶς εἴρηκεν, κατανομοθετήσει τινὰ τρόπον;" οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πως ταῦτα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νομοθετεῖν δηλῶσαι δύο τε ὄντα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἄλλην, ἵνα, ὅταν ἑκατέρῳ τις τὴν δίκην ἐπιτιθῇ, πᾶς ἐπακολουθῇ τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ δυνατὸς ᾖ τό τε πρεπόντως τεθὲν ἀμῇ γέ πῃ κρῖναι καὶ τὸ μή.

ATHENIAN Let's remember that a moment ago we rightly said that on the subject of just things there is a great deal of confusion and disagreement among us. With this in hand, let's ask ourselves again: [861b] "Since we have neither found our way out of the difficulty about these things nor determined how they differ from one another—things that in every city, by every lawgiver there has ever been, are legislated for as two kinds of wrong, the voluntary and the involuntary—is the statement we made just now, as if spoken by a god, simply going to say that much and be done, giving no reason at all why [861c] it was correct, and somehow lay down laws?" That's impossible. Before legislating, we must somehow make clear that these are two, and that the difference between them is something else, so that when someone imposes a penalty for each, everyone can follow what is said and can judge, in one way or another, what has been laid down fittingly and what has not.

861c CLINIAS καλῶς ἡμῖν φαίνῃ λέγειν, ὦ ξένε· δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερον ἡμᾶς χρεών, ἢ μὴ λέγειν ὡς πάντα ἀκούσια τὰ ἀδικήματα, ἢ [861d] τοῦτο ὡς ὀρθῶς εἴρηται πρῶτον διορίσαντας δηλῶσαι.

CLINIAS You seem to us to be speaking well, stranger. We must do one of two things: either not say that all wrongs are involuntary, or [861d] first make distinctions and show that this has been rightly said.

861d ATHENIAN τούτοιν τοίνυν τοῖν δυοῖν τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐμοὶ πάντως που γίγνεσθαι, τό γε δὴ μὴ λέγειν, οὕτως οἰόμενον ἔχειν τἀληθές—οὐ γὰρ ἂν νόμιμον οὐδ' ὅσιον ἂν εἴη—κατὰ τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἐστὸν δύο, εἰ μὴ τῷ τε ἀκουσίῳ καὶ τῷ ἑκουσίῳ διαφέρετον ἑκάτερον; ἀλλὰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ δή ποτε πειρατέον ἁμῶς γέ πως δηλοῦν.

ATHENIAN Of these two, the one is utterly intolerable to me: not to say it, when I think that this is the truth—that would be neither lawful nor pious. But in what way are they two, if each does not differ from the other as involuntary and voluntary? That is what we must try to make clear, somehow or other, by some other means.

CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ὦ ξένε, τοῦτό γε οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄλλως πως ἡμᾶς διανοηθῆναι.

CLINIAS Absolutely, stranger. There's no other way we can think about it.

861e ATHENIAN ταῦτα ἔσται. φέρε δή, βλάβαι μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλήλων τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις τε καὶ ὁμιλίαις πολλαὶ γίγνονται, καὶ τό γε ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον ἐν αὐταῖς ἄφθονόν ἐστι.

ATHENIAN So be it. Come, then: in citizens' dealings and associations with one another, many harms occur, it seems, and there is no shortage of the voluntary and the involuntary among them.

CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN μὴ τοίνυν τις τὰς βλάβας πάσας ἀδικίας τιθείς, οὕτως οἴηται καὶ τὰ ἄδικα ἐν αὐταῖσι ταύτῃ γίγνεσθαι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ἑκούσια δή, τὰ δ' ἀκούσια—βλάβαι γὰρ ἀκούσιοι τῶν πάντων οὔτ' ἀριθμοῖς οὔτε μεγέθεσιν ἐλάττους εἰσὶ τῶν [862a] ἑκουσίων—σκοπεῖσθε δὲ εἴτε τι λέγω λέγων ἃ μέλλω λέγειν, εἴτε καὶ μηδὲν τὸ

ATHENIAN Then let no one class all harms as wrongs and so suppose that the wrongs among them are twofold in the same way, some voluntary and others involuntary. (Involuntary harms, taken all together, are no fewer, in number or in magnitude, than [862a] voluntary ones.) Consider wheth-

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παράπαν. οὐ γάρ φημι ἔγωγε, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, εἴ τίς τινά τι πημαίνει μὴ βουλόμενος ἀλλ' ἄκων, ἀδικεῖν μέν, ἄκοντα μήν, καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ νομοθετήσω, τοῦτο ὡς ἀκούσιον ἀδίκημα νομοθετῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀδικίαν τὸ παράπαν θήσω τὴν τοιαύτην βλάβην, οὔτε ἂν μείζων οὔτε ἂν ἐλάττων τῳ γίγνηται· πολλάκις δὲ ὠφελίαν οὐκ ὀρθὴν γενομένην τὸν τῆς ὠφελίας αἴτιον ἀδικεῖν φήσομεν, ἐὰν ἥ γ' [862b] ἐμὴ νικᾷ.

862b σχεδὸν γάρ, ὦ φίλοι, οὔτ' εἴ τίς τῳ δίδωσίν τι τῶν ὄντων οὔτ' εἰ τοὐναντίον ἀφαιρεῖται, δίκαιον ἁπλῶς ἢ ἄδικον χρὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον οὕτω λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἥθει καὶ δικαίῳ τρόπῳ χρώμενός τις ὠφελῇ τινά τι καὶ βλάπτῃ, τοῦτό ἐστιν τῷ νομοθέτῃ θεατέον, καὶ πρὸς δύο ταῦτα δὴ βλεπτέον, πρός τε ἀδικίαν καὶ βλάβην, καὶ τὸ μὲν βλαβὲν ὑγιὲς τοῖς νόμοις εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ποιητέον, τό τε ἀπολόμενον σῴζοντα καὶ τὸ [862c] πεσὸν ὑπό του πάλιν ἐξορθοῦντα, καὶ τὸ θανατωθὲν ἢ τρωθέν, ὑγιές, τὸ δὲ ἀποίνοις ἐξιλασθὲν τοῖς δρῶσι καὶ πάσχουσιν ἑκάστας τῶν βλάψεων, ἐκ διαφορᾶς εἰς φιλίαν πειρατέον ἀεὶ καθιστάναι τοῖς νόμοις.

862c **CLINIAS** καλῶς ταῦτά γε.

ATHENIAN τὰς τοίνυν ἀδίκους αὖ βλάβας καὶ κέρδη δέ, ἐάν τις ἀδικῶν τινα κερδαίνειν ποιῇ, τούτων ὁπόσα μὲν ἰατά, ὡς οὐσῶν ἐν ψυχῇ νόσων, ἰᾶσθαι· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰάσεως ἡμῖν τῆς ἀδικίας τῇδε ῥέπειν χρὴ φάναι.

CLINIAS πῇ;

862d **ATHENIAN** ὅπως ὅτι τις ἂν ἀδικήσῃ μέγα ἢ σμικρόν, ὁ νόμος αὐτὸν διδάξει καὶ ἀναγκάσει τὸ παράπαν εἰς αὖθις τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ μηδέποτε ἑκόντα τολμῆσαι ποιεῖν ἢ διαφερόντως ἧττον πολύ, πρὸς τῇ τῆς βλάβης ἐκτίσει. ταῦτα εἴτε ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις, ἢ μεθ' ἡδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν, ἢ τιμῶν ἢ ἀτιμιῶν, καὶ χρημάτων ζημίας ἢ καὶ δώρων, ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ᾧτινι τρόπῳ ποιήσει τις μισῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἀδικίαν, στέρξαι δὲ ἢ μὴ μισεῖν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν, αὐτό ἐστιν τοῦτο ἔργον [862e] τῶν καλλίστων νόμων. ὃν δ' ἂν ἀνιάτως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχοντα αἴσθηται νομοθέτης, δίκην τούτοισι καὶ νόμον θήσει τίνα;

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er I'm saying anything, or nothing at all, in what I'm about to say. My claim, Clinias and Megillus, is not that if someone harms someone else without wanting to, involuntarily, he does wrong, but involuntarily, and I shall not legislate on that basis, treating this as an involuntary wrong. No, I shall not count such harm as wrong at all, whether it turns out to be greater or smaller. And often, if my [862b] view prevails, we shall say that someone responsible for a benefit does wrong, when the benefit came about wrongly.

For, my friends, it's hardly right to call it simply just or unjust when someone gives someone something he has, or, conversely, takes something away. Rather, whether someone who benefits or harms another does so with a just character and in a just manner—that is what the lawgiver must look at. He must look to these two things, injustice and harm. What has been harmed he must make whole by the laws as far as possible, saving what was lost, setting upright again [862c] what someone knocked down, and making good what was killed or wounded; and once the harm has been atoned for by compensation, he must always try, by the laws, to bring those who do and those who suffer each harm from hostility into friendship.

CLINIAS That's well said.

ATHENIAN Now as for unjust harms, and gains too, when someone makes a gain by wronging another: those that are curable we must cure, as diseases in the soul. And we should say that the cure of injustice must tend in this direction.

CLINIAS Which direction?

ATHENIAN That whenever someone commits a wrong, great or small, the law will teach him and compel him, in addition to paying for the harm, either never again to dare to do such a thing voluntarily or to do it very much less. Whether by deeds or words, by pleasures or pains, by honors or dishonors, by fines or even by gifts—by whatever means at all one can make people hate injustice and love, or at least not hate, the nature of justice—this is precisely the work [862e] of the finest laws. But what penalty and law will the lawgiver set for those he perceives to be incurable in this respect?

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	γιγνώσκων που τοῖς τοιούτοις πᾶσιν ὡς οὔτε αὐτοῖς ἔτι ζῆν ἄμεινον, τούς τε ἄλλους ἂν διπλῇ ὠφελοῖεν ἀπαλλαττόμενοι τοῦ βίου, παράδειγμα μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενοι, ποιοῦντες δὲ ἀνδρῶν κακῶν ἔρημον τὴν πόλιν, οὕτω [863a] δὴ τῶν τοιούτων πέρι νομοθέτῃ κολαστὴν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων θάνατον ἀνάγκη νέμειν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐδαμῶς.	He knows, I suppose, that for all such people it is no longer better even for themselves to go on living, and that by departing from life they would benefit others doubly: they would become an example to others not to do wrong, and they would rid the city of bad men. So [863a] for such people, and for them alone, the lawgiver must assign death as the punishment for their offenses.
863a	**CLINIAS** ἔοικε μέν πως λέγεσθαι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ μάλα μετρίως, ἥδιον δ' ἂν ἔτι σαφέστερον ἀκούσαιμεν ταῦτα ῥηθέντα, τὸ τῆς ἀδικίας τε καὶ βλάβης διάφορον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἑκουσίων καὶ ἀκουσίων ὡς ἐν τούτοις διαπεποίκιλται.	**CLINIAS** What you say does seem quite reasonable, somehow. But we'd be glad to hear it put still more clearly: the difference between injustice and harm, and how the voluntary and the involuntary are variously involved in them.
	ATHENIAN πειρατέον τοίνυν ὡς κελεύετε δρᾶν, καὶ λέγειν. [863b] δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοσόνδε γε περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ λέγετε πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀκούετε, ὡς ἓν μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς φύσεως εἴτε τι πάθος εἴτε τι μέρος ὂν ὁ θυμός, δύσερι καὶ δύσμαχον κτῆμα ἐμπεφυκός, ἀλογίστῳ βίᾳ πολλὰ ἀνατρέπει.	**ATHENIAN** Then I must try to do as you ask, and explain. [863b] Clearly this much, at least, you say to each other and hear said about the soul: that one element in its nature, whether an affection or a part, is spirit—a quarrelsome, hard-to-fight thing implanted in it, which overturns a great deal by unreasoning force.[4]
863b	**CLINIAS** πῶς δ' οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν ἡδονήν γε οὐ ταὐτὸν τῷ θυμῷ προσαγορεύομεν, ἐξ ἐναντίας δὲ αὐτῷ φαμεν ῥώμης δυναστεύουσαν, πειθοῖ μετὰ ἀπάτης βιαίου πράττειν πᾶν ὅτιπερ ἂν αὐτῆς ἡ βούλησις ἐθελήσῃ.	**ATHENIAN** And pleasure we don't call the same thing as spirit. We say it holds power by a strength of the opposite kind, and does whatever its will desires by persuasion combined with forceful deception.
	CLINIAS καὶ μάλα.	**CLINIAS** Very much so.
863c	**ATHENIAN** τρίτον μὴν ἄγνοιαν λέγων ἄν τις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αἰτίαν οὐκ ἂν ψεύδοιτο· διχῇ μὴν διελόμενος αὐτὸ ὁ νομοθέτης ἂν βελτίων εἴη, τὸ μὲν ἁπλοῦν αὐτοῦ κούφων ἁμαρτημάτων αἴτιον ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν, ὅταν ἀμαθαίνῃ τις μὴ μόνον ἀγνοίᾳ συνεχόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξῃ σοφίας, ὡς εἰδὼς παντελῶς περὶ ἃ μηδαμῶς οἶδεν, μετὰ μὲν ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης ἑπομένης μεγάλων καὶ ἀμούσων ἁμαρτημάτων τιθεὶς [863d] αἴτια τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀσθενείας δὲ ἑπομένης, παίδειά τε ἁμαρτήματα καὶ πρεσβυτέρων γιγνόμενα θήσει μὲν ἁμαρτήματα καὶ ὡς ἁμαρτάνουσιν νόμους τάξει, πραοτάτους γε μὴν πάντων καὶ συγγνώμης πλείστης ἐχομένους.	**ATHENIAN** And someone who named ignorance as a third cause of errors wouldn't be lying. But the lawgiver would do better to divide it in two. The simple kind he will regard as the cause of light errors. The double kind is when someone is ignorant and in the grip not only of ignorance but also of a conceit of wisdom, as though he knew all about things of which he knows nothing at all. When strength and power go with it, he will set this down as the cause of great and brutish errors; [863d] when weakness goes with it, he will class the errors as those of children and old people. He will treat them as errors and lay down laws for them as offenders, but the mildest laws of all and the most forgiving.
863d	**CLINIAS** εἰκότα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** What you say is reasonable.

4 "Spirit" renders *thymos*; in the homicide laws that follow the same word is translated "anger."

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	ATHENIAN ἡδονῆς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ θυμοῦ λέγομεν σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ὡς ὁ μὲν κρείττων ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ ἥττων ἐστίν· καὶ ἔχει ταύτῃ.	**ATHENIAN** About pleasure and spirit, nearly all of us say that one person is stronger than them and another weaker; and that's how it is.
	CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Absolutely.
	ATHENIAN ἀγνοίας δέ γε ὡς ὁ μὲν ἡμῶν κρείττων, ὁ δὲ ἥττων, οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν πώποτε.	**ATHENIAN** But we've never heard it said that one of us is stronger than his ignorance and another weaker.
863e	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
	ATHENIAN πάντα δέ γε προτρέπειν ταῦτά φαμεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἐπισπώμενον ἕκαστον εἰς τἀναντία πολλάκις ἅμα.	**ATHENIAN** And we say that all of these urge each person toward their own will, often dragging him in opposite directions at once.
	CLINIAS πλειστάκις μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Very often indeed.
	ATHENIAN νῦν δή σοι τό τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον, ὅ γε ἐγὼ λέγω, σαφῶς ἂν διορισαίμην οὐδὲν ποικίλλων. τὴν γὰρ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ φόβου καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ φθόνων καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν ψυχῇ τυραννίδα, ἐάντε τι βλάπτῃ καὶ ἐὰν μή, [864a] πάντως ἀδικίαν προσαγορεύω· τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου δόξαν, ὅπῃπερ ἂν ἔσεσθαι τούτων ἡγήσωνται πόλις εἴτε ἰδιῶταί τινες, ἐὰν αὕτη κρατοῦσα ἐν ψυχαῖς διακοσμῇ πάντα ἄνδρα, κἂν σφάλληταί τι, δίκαιον μὲν πᾶν εἶναι φατέον τὸ ταύτῃ πραχθὲν καὶ τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς γιγνόμενον ὑπήκοον ἑκάστων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον ἄριστον, δοξάζεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀκούσιον ἀδικίαν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην βλάβην.	**ATHENIAN** Now, then, I can define for you clearly, without complications, what I mean by the just and the unjust. The tyranny in the soul of spirit and fear, pleasure and pain, envy and desires, whether it does any harm or not, [864a] I call injustice, without qualification. But the belief about what is best, however a city or certain individuals think it will be realized: if this prevails in souls and orders every man, then even if it goes wrong in some respect, we must say that everything done in this way is just, and so is whatever in each person becomes subject to such rule, and that it is best for the whole of human life—though many people think such harm is involuntary injustice.
864a	ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν τὰ νῦν ὀνομάτων πέρι δύσερις [864b] λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων τρία εἴδη δεδήλωται γιγνόμενα, ταῦτα εἰς μνήμην πρῶτον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀναληπτέον. λύπης μὲν οὖν, ἣν θυμὸν καὶ φόβον ἐπονομάζομεν, ἓν εἶδος ἡμῖν ἐστιν.	But we are not now having a quarrelsome argument [864b] about words. Since three kinds of error have been shown to occur, we must first fix them still more firmly in our memory. One kind, then, is pain, which we call spirit and fear.
864b	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἡδονῆς δ' αὖ καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν δεύτερον, ἐλπίδων δὲ καὶ δόξης τῆς ἀληθοῦς περὶ τὸ ἄριστον ἕφεσις τρίτον ἕτερον. τούτου δὲ αὐτοῦ τρία διχῇ τμηθέντος πέντε εἴδη γέγονεν, ὡς [864c] νῦν φαμεν· οἷς νόμους διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων πέντε εἴδεσιν θετέον ἐν δυοῖν γένεσιν.	**ATHENIAN** The second, in turn, is that of pleasure and desires; and a third, different one is the striving after hopes and true belief about what is best. With this third divided in two, there are now five kinds, as [864c] we now say; and for these five kinds we must lay down laws differing from one another, in two classes.
864c	**CLINIAS** τίσιν τούτοις;	**CLINIAS** What are these?
	ATHENIAN τὸ μὲν διὰ βιαίων καὶ συμφανῶν πράξεων πραττόμενον ἑκάστοτε, τὸ δὲ μετὰ σκότους καὶ ἀπάτης	**ATHENIAN** One is done on each occasion by violent and open acts; the other happens secretly, un-

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λαθραίως γιγνόμενον, ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ δι' ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν πραχθέν· ᾧ δὴ καὶ νόμοι τραχύτατοι γίγνοιντο ἄν, εἰ τὸ προσῆκον μέρος ἔχοιεν.

CLINIAS εἰκὸς γοῦν.

ATHENIAN ἴωμεν δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖσε ὀπόθεν ἐξέβημεν δεῦρο, περαίνοντες τὴν θέσιν τῶν νόμων. ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν [864d] κείμενα περί τε τῶν συλώντων, οἶμαι, τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ περὶ προδοτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν τοὺς νόμους διαφθειρόντων ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας.

[864d] τούτων δή τις ἂν ἴσως πράξειέν τι μανείς, ἢ νόσοις ἢ γήρᾳ ὑπερμέτρῳ συνεχόμενος, ἢ παιδίᾳ χρώμενος, οὐδέν πω τῶν τοιούτων διαφέρων· ὧν ἂν γίγνηταί τι φανερὸν τοῖς ἐκλεχθεῖσιν ἑκάστοτε δικασταῖς, ἀναφέροντος τοῦ δράσαντος ἢ τοῦ σκηπτομένου ὑπὲρ τοῦ [864e] ποιήσαντος, κριθῇ δὲ οὕτω διατεθεὶς παρανομῆσαι, τὴν μὲν βλάβην ἣν ἄν τινα καταβλάψῃ πάντως ἁπλῆν ἀποτινέτω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δικαιωμάτων ἀφείσθω, πλὴν ἂν ἄρα τινὰ ἀποκτείνας μὴ καθαρὸς ᾖ τὰς χεῖρας φόνου· οὕτω δ' εἰς ἄλλην χώραν καὶ τόπον ἀπελθὼν οἰκείτω τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκδημῶν, πρότερον δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῦ χρόνου ὃν ὁ νόμος ὥρισεν, ἢ καὶ πάσης ἐπιβὰς τῆς οἰκείας χώρας, ἐν δημοσίῳ δεσμῷ δεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων δύο ἐνιαυτούς, οὕτως ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῶν δεσμῶν. [865a]

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der cover of darkness and deceit; and sometimes a thing is done by both of these means. For this last the laws would be harshest, if they were to have their proper share.

CLINIAS That's reasonable, at any rate.

ATHENIAN Then let's go back to the point from which we set out on this digression, and complete the enactment of the laws. We had laid down, [864d] I think, the laws about those who rob the gods, and about traitors, and also about those who corrupt the laws to overthrow the existing constitution.

Someone might perhaps do one of these things while mad, or afflicted by disease or extreme old age, or in a state of childishness, no different from a child. If any of this is made clear to the judges selected on each occasion, when the doer, or someone pleading on the [864e] doer's behalf, puts it forward, and he is judged to have broken the law in such a state, he is to pay simple compensation in full for whatever harm he may have done to anyone, and be exempted from the other penalties —unless he has killed someone and his hands are not clean of bloodshed. In that case he is to go away to another country and place and live abroad for a year. If he comes back before the time the law has set, or even sets foot anywhere in his own country, he is to be bound in the public prison by the guardians of the laws for two years, and only then released. [865a]

INVOLUNTARY HOMICIDE

Laws on accidental killings: purification, a year's exile, and the anger of the newly dead.

GREEK

[865a] **ATHENIAN** φόνου δὴ καθάπερ ἠρξάμεθα, πειρώμεθα διὰ τέλους παντὸς εἴδους πέρι φόνου θεῖναι τοὺς νόμους, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ βίαια καὶ ἀκούσια λέγωμεν. εἴ τις ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ ἄθλοις δημοσίοις ἄκων, εἴτε παραχρῆμα εἴτε καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις χρόνοις ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν, ἀπέκτεινέν τινα φίλιον, ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον ὡσαύτως ἢ κατὰ μελέτην τὴν πρὸς πόλεμον, ποιουμένων ἄσκησιν τῶν ἀρχόντων ψιλοῖς σώμασιν ἢ μετά τινων ὅπλων [865b] ἀπομιμουμένων τὴν πολεμικὴν πρᾶξιν, καθαρθεὶς κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομισθέντα περὶ τούτων νόμον ἔστω καθαρός· ἰατρῶν δὲ πέρι πάντων, ἂν ὁ θεραπευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκόντων τελευτᾷ, καθαρὸς ἔστω κατὰ νόμον.

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ATHENIAN Let's try, as we began, to lay down the laws on homicide of every kind, to the end; and first let's speak of killings that are violent and involuntary. If someone in a contest or public games involuntarily kills someone who is not an enemy, whether on the spot or later from the blows; or likewise in war, or in military training, when the officials hold exercises with bare bodies or with some weapons, [865b] imitating the actions of war, he is to be purified according to the law brought from Delphi on these matters, and then be clean. As for doctors of every kind, if the patient they are treating dies without their intending it, the doctor is to be clean according to law.

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865b	ἐὰν δὲ αὐτόχειρ μέν, ἄκων δὲ ἀποκτείνῃ τις ἕτερος ἕτερον, εἴτε τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι ψιλῷ εἴτε ὀργάνῳ ἢ βέλει ἢ πώματος ἢ σίτου δόσει ἢ πυρὸς ἢ χειμῶνος προσβολῇ ἢ στερήσει πνεύματος, αὐτὸς τῷ [865c] ἑαυτοῦ σώματι ἢ δι' ἑτέρων σωμάτων, πάντως ἔστω μὲν ὡς αὐτόχειρ, δίκας δὲ τινέτω τὰς τοιάσδε· ἐὰν μὲν δοῦλον κτείνῃ, νομίζων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διειργάσθαι τὸν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος δεσπότην ἀβλαβῆ παρεχέτω καὶ ἀζήμιον, ἢ δίκην εἰς τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ὑπεχέτω διπλῆν, τῆς δὲ ἀξίας οἱ δικασταὶ διάγνωσιν ποιείσθωσαν, καθαρμοῖς δὲ χρήσασθαι μείζοσίν τε καὶ πλείοσι τῶν περὶ τὰ ἆθλα ἀποκτεινάντων, [865d] τούτων δ' ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι κυρίους οὓς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέλῃ· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτοῦ δοῦλον, καθηράμενος ἀπαλλαττέσθω τοῦ φόνου κατὰ νόμον.	If someone kills another with his own hand, but involuntarily—whether with his bare body or with a tool or missile, or by giving drink or food, or by applying fire or cold, or by cutting off breath, whether he does it himself [865c] with his own body or through other people's bodies—he is in every case to count as the killer by his own hand, and is to pay penalties as follows. If he kills a slave, he is to reckon it as if he had destroyed his own, and keep the dead slave's master free from harm and loss, or else be liable to a penalty of double the dead slave's value, the judges assessing the value. He is to undergo purifications greater and more numerous than those who killed in the games, [865d] and the authority over these is to rest with interpreters appointed by the god. If he kills his own slave, he is to be purified and released from the charge of homicide according to law.
865d	ἐὰν δέ τις ἐλεύθερον ἄκων ἀποκτείνῃ, τοὺς μὲν καθαρμοὺς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθαρθήτω τῷ τὸν δοῦλον ἀποκτείναντι, παλαιὸν δέ τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων μύθων λεγόμενον μὴ ἀτιμαζέτω. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὁ θανατωθεὶς ἄρα βιαίως, ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ φρονήματι βεβιωκώς, θυμοῦταί τε τῷ [865e] δράσαντι νεοθνὴς ὤν, καὶ φόβου καὶ δείματος ἅμα διὰ τὴν βίαιον πάθην αὐτὸς πεπληρωμένος, ὁρῶν τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φονέα ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσι τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνηθείας ἀναστρεφόμενον, δειμαίνει, καὶ ταραττόμενος αὐτὸς ταράττει κατὰ δύναμιν πᾶσαν τὸν δράσαντα, μνήμην σύμμαχον ἔχων, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ.	If someone involuntarily kills a free man, he is to undergo the same purifications as the one who killed the slave, and he is not to disregard an old story from the ancient myths. It is said that someone who has died by violence, having lived with the proud spirit of a free man, is angry with [865e] the doer when he is newly dead. Filled himself with fear and terror because of his violent death, and seeing his own killer going about the places he himself used to frequent, he is terrified; and, being disturbed himself, he disturbs the doer—both the man and his actions—with all his power, with memory as his ally.
865e	διὸ δὴ χρεών ἐστιν ἄρα ὑπεξελθεῖν τῷ παθόντι τὸν δράσαντα τὰς ὥρας πάσας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ἐρημῶσαι πάντας τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους συμπάσης τῆς πατρίδος· ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ὁ τελευτήσας ᾖ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ξένου [866a] χώρας εἰργέσθω τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ νόμῳ ἐὰν μὲν ἑκὼν πείθηταί τις, ὁ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γένει ἐγγύτατα, ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τούτων πάντων γενομένων, ἐχέτω συγγνώμην τε καὶ ἄγων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην μέτριος ἂν εἴη πάντως· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκάθαρτος ὢν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τολμᾷ πορεύεσθαι καὶ θύειν, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς χρόνους μὴ ἐθέλῃ πληροῦν ἀποξενούμενος τοὺς εἰρημένους, ὁ [866b] τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γένει ἐγγύτατα ἐπεξίτω μὲν φόνου τῷ κτείναντι, διπλᾶ δὲ πάντα ἔστω τὰ τιμωρήματα τῷ ὀφλόντι.	That is why the doer must withdraw from the victim for all the seasons of a year, and keep away from all the victim's familiar places throughout the whole homeland. If the dead man is a foreigner, the killer is also to be barred from the foreigner's [866a] country for the same period. If someone obeys this law willingly, the dead man's closest relative, who is to watch over all these proceedings, is to pardon him, and he would show proper moderation by making peace with him. But if someone disobeys—if he first dares to enter sanctuaries and sacrifice while unclean, and then refuses to complete the stated period of exile—the [866b] dead man's closest relative is to prosecute the killer for homicide, and all penalties are to be doubled for the one convicted.
866b	ἐὰν δ' ὁ προσήκων ἐγγύτατα μὴ ἐπεξίῃ τῷ παθήματι, τὸ μίασμα ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν περιελήλυθός, τοῦ παθόντος	If the nearest relative does not prosecute for what was done, the pollution is to be regarded as having

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προστρεπομένου τὴν πάθην, ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπεξελθὼν τούτῳ δίκην, πέντε ἔτη ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος ἀναγκαζέτω κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ἄκων ξένον κτείνῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, [866c] ἐπεξίτω μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις, μέτοικος δὲ ὢν ἀπενιαυτησάτω, ξένος δὲ ἂν ᾖ παντάπασιν, πρὸς τῷ καθαρμῷ, ἐάντε ξένον ἐάντε μέτοικον ἐάντε ἀστὸν κτείνῃ, τὸν βίον ἅπαντα τῆς χώρας τῆς τῶν νόμων τῶνδε κυρίας εἰργέσθω· ἐὰν δ' ἔλθῃ παρανόμως, οἱ νομοφύλακες θανάτῳ ζημιούντων αὐτόν, καὶ ἐὰν ἔχῃ οὐσίαν τινά, τῷ τοῦ παθόντος ἐγγύτατα γένει παραδιδόντων.

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passed onto him, the victim turning his suffering against him; and anyone who wishes may bring a case against him and compel him by law to stay away from his homeland for five years. If a foreigner involuntarily kills a foreigner living in the city, [866c] anyone who wishes is to prosecute under the same laws. If the killer is a resident foreigner, he is to go abroad for a year; if he is a foreigner through and through, then in addition to the purification, whether he kills a foreigner, a resident foreigner or a citizen, he is to be barred for his whole life from the country these laws govern. If he comes back unlawfully, the guardians of the laws are to punish him with death, and if he has any property, they are to hand it over to the victim's nearest relative.

866c ἐὰν δὲ ἄκων ἔλθῃ, ἂν μὲν [866d] κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκπίπτῃ πρὸς τὴν χώραν, σκηνησάμενος ἐν θαλάττῃ τέγγων τοὺς πόδας πλοῦν ἐπιφυλαττέτω, κατὰ γῆν δὲ ἂν βίᾳ ὑπό τινων ἀχθῇ, ἡ πρώτη προστυχοῦσα ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει λύσασα, εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐκπεμπέτω ἄσυλον. ἐὰν δ' ἄρα τις αὐτόχειρ μὲν κτείνῃ ἐλεύθερον, θυμῷ δὲ ᾖ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐκπραχθέν, διχῇ δεῖ πρῶτον τὸ τοιοῦτον διαλαβεῖν. θυμῷ γὰρ δὴ πέπρακται καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι ἂν ἐξαίφνης [866e] μὲν καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτως τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι πληγαῖς ἤ τινι τοιούτῳ διαφθείρωσί τινα παραχρῆμα τῆς ὁρμῆς γενομένης, μεταμέλειά τε εὐθὺς τοῦ πεπραγμένου γίγνηται, θυμῷ δὲ καὶ ὅσοι προπηλακισθέντες λόγοις ἢ καὶ ἀτίμοις ἔργοις, μεταδιώκοντες τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὕστερον ἀποκτείνωσί τινα βουληθέντες κτεῖναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἀμεταμέλητον γίγνηται.

If he comes back involuntarily—if he is shipwrecked [866d] on the coast—he is to camp with his feet in the sea and watch for a ship to sail on; if he is brought overland by force by others, the first official of the city to come across him is to release him and send him unharmed beyond the borders. If someone kills a free man with his own hand, but the deed was done in anger, we must first distinguish two cases of this sort. It is done in anger by those who, suddenly [866e] and without any prior intention to kill, destroy someone on the spot with blows or some such means when the impulse comes over them, and immediately regret what they've done. It is also done in anger by those who have been insulted by words or by dishonoring deeds and, pursuing vengeance, later kill someone with the intention of killing, and feel no regret for what they've done.

KILLING IN ANGER

Killings in anger fall between voluntary and involuntary; penalties depend on premeditation and on the victim.

GREEK

866e **ATHENIAN** διττοὺς μὲν δὴ τοὺς φόνους, ὡς ἔοικε, θετέον, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀμφοτέρους [867a] θυμῷ γεγονότας, μεταξὺ δέ που τοῦ τε ἑκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου δικαιότατ' ἂν λεγομένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰκών ἐσθ' ἑκάτερος· ὁ μὲν τὸν θυμὸν φυλάττων καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐξαίφνης ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐπιβουλῆς ὕστερον χρόνῳ τιμωρούμενος ἑκουσίῳ ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ ἀταμιεύτως ταῖς ὀργαῖς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα εὐθὺς χρώμενος ἀπροβουλεύτως ὅμοιος μὲν ἀκουσίῳ, ἔστι δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος αὖ παντάπασιν ἀκούσιος ἀλλ' εἰκὼν ἀκουσίου.

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ATHENIAN So it seems we must lay down two kinds of homicide, both of them, broadly, [867a] done in anger, and most justly described as lying somewhere between the voluntary and the involuntary. Still, each is a likeness of one of these. The one who nurses his anger, and takes vengeance not suddenly, on the spot, but later, with premeditation, resembles the voluntary killer. The one who gives vent to his rage without restraint, immediately, on the spot and without premeditation, is

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like the involuntary killer; yet he too is not entirely involuntary, but a likeness of the involuntary.

867b διὸ χαλεποὶ διορίζειν οἱ τῷ θυμῷ πραχθέντες φόνοι, πότερον ἑκουσίους αὐτοὺς ἢ τινας ὡς ἀκουσίους νομοθετητέον, βέλτιστον μὴν καὶ ἀληθέστατον εἰς εἰκόνα μὲν ἄμφω θεῖναι, τεμεῖν δὲ αὐτὼ χωρὶς τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ καὶ ἀπροβουλίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν μετ' ἐπιβουλῆς τε καὶ ὀργῇ κτείνασιν τὰς τιμωρίας χαλεπωτέρας, τοῖς δὲ ἀπροβουλεύτως τε καὶ ἐξαίφνης πραοτέρας νομοθετεῖν· τὸ γὰρ εἰκὸς μείζονι κακῷ μειζόνως, τὸ [867c] δ' ἐλάττονι τιμωρητέον ἐλαττόνως. ποιητέον δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις νόμοις οὕτω.

That is why homicides committed in anger are hard to classify: should we legislate for them as voluntary, or some of them as involuntary? The best and truest course is to class both as likenesses, and to separate them by premeditation and its absence: for those who kill with premeditation and in anger we should legislate harsher penalties, and for those who kill without premeditation and suddenly, milder ones. For what resembles a greater evil should reasonably be punished more, [867c] and what resembles a lesser one, less. And so our own laws must do this.

867c **CLINIAS** παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS Absolutely.

ATHENIAN πάλιν ἐπανελθόντες τοίνυν λέγωμεν· ἄν ἄρα τις αὐτόχειρ μὲν κτείνῃ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ πεπραγμένον ἀπροβουλεύτως ὀργῇ τινι γένηται πραχθέν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, καθάπερ ἄνευ θυμοῦ κτείναντι προσῆκέν τῳ πάσχειν, πασχέτω, δύο δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔτη φευγέτω κολάζων τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμόν. ὁ δὲ [867d] θυμῷ μέν, μετ' ἐπιβουλῆς δὲ κτείνας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν πρόσθεν αὖ, τρία δὲ ἔτη, καθάπερ ἄτερος ἔφευγεν τὰ δύο, φευγέτω, μεγέθει θυμοῦ πλείω τιμωρηθεὶς χρόνον. καθόδου δὲ πέρι τούτοις ὧδε ἔστω. χαλεπὸν μὲν ἀκριβῶς νομοθετεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε τούτοιν ὁ τῷ νόμῳ ταχθεὶς χαλεπώτερος ἡμερώτερος ἄν, ὁ δὲ ἡμερώτερος χαλεπώτερος ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν φόνον ἀγριωτέρως ἂν πράξειεν, ὁ δὲ ἡμερωτέρως· ὡς [867e] δὲ τὸ πολὺ κατὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα συμβαίνει γιγνόμενα.

ATHENIAN Then let's go back and state it again. If someone kills a free person with his own hand, and the deed is done without premeditation, in some fit of rage, let him suffer everything else that it would be fitting for someone to suffer who had killed without anger, but let him also be compelled to go into exile for two years, chastening his own anger. The man who [867d] kills in anger but with premeditation is in other respects to be treated like the previous one, but is to go into exile for three years, as the other did for two, punished for a longer time because of the greater force of his anger. As for their return, let it be as follows. It is hard to legislate precisely. For sometimes the one of these two whom the law has classed as the worse may turn out to be the gentler, and the one classed as gentler the worse, having gone about the killing more savagely, while the other did it more gently. Yet [867e] for the most part things do turn out as we have just described.

867e τούτων οὖν πάντων ἐπιγνώμονας εἶναι χρὴ νομοφύλακας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἔλθῃ τῆς φυγῆς ἑκατέρῳ, πέμπειν αὐτῶν δικαστὰς δώδεκα ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χώρας, ἐσκεμμένους ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τὰς τῶν φυγόντων πράξεις ἔτι σαφέστερον, καὶ τῆς αἰδοῦς τε πέρι καὶ καταδοχῆς τούτων δικαστὰς γίγνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ αὖ τοῖς δικασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων [868a] ἀρχόντων ἐμμένειν. ἐὰν δ' αὖθίς ποτε κατελθὼν ὁπότερος αὐτοῖν ἡττηθεὶς ὀργῇ πράξῃ ταὐτὸν τοῦτο, φυγὼν μηκέτι κατέλθῃ, κατελθὼν δέ, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ξένου ἄφιξιν ταύτῃ πασχέτω. δοῦλον δ' ὁ κτείνας ἑαυτοῦ μὲν καθηράσθω, ἐὰν

The guardians of the laws, then, must be the judges of all these matters. When the period of exile has ended for either of them, they are to send twelve of their number as judges to the borders of the country. These should have examined the exiles' conduct during that time still more closely, and they are to judge whether to pardon them and receive them back; and the exiles for their part must abide by what such [868a] officials decide. But if either of them, after returning, is ever again overcome by anger and does the same thing, let him go into exile and never return; and if he does return,

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δὲ ἀλλότριον θυμῷ, διπλῆ τὸ βλάβος ἐκτεισάτω τῷ κεκτημένῳ.

868a ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων πάντων μὴ πείθηται τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἀκάθαρτος ὢν ἀγοράν τε καὶ ἅθλα καὶ τὰ 868b ἄλλα ἱερὰ μιαίνῃ, ὁ βουλόμενος, τόν τε ἐπιτρέποντα τῶν προσηκόντων τῷ τελευτήσαντι καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἰς δίκην καταστήσας, τὴν διπλασίαν χρημάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων ἀναγκαζέτω πράττειν τε καὶ ἐκτίνειν, τὸ δὲ ἔκτεισμα αὐτὸς αὑτῷ κομιζέσθω κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἐὰν δέ τις θυμῷ δοῦλος δεσπότην αὐτοῦ κτείνῃ, τοὺς προσήκοντας τοῦ τελευτήσαντος χρωμένους τῷ κτείναντι χρείαν ἣν ἂν 868c ἐθέλωσι, πλὴν μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς ζωγροῦντας, καθαροὺς εἶναι· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλος τις δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἀποκτείνῃ θυμῷ, παραδιδόντων οἱ δεσπόται τὸν δοῦλον τοῖς προσήκουσι τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὲν θανατωσάντων τὸν δράσαντα, τρόπῳ δὲ ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν.

868c ἂν δ', ὃ γίγνεται μέν, ὀλιγάκις δέ, διὰ θυμὸν πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα πληγαῖς ἤ τινι τρόπῳ βιαίῳ κτείνῃ, καθάρσεις μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαιρέσθω καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς ἀπενιαυτεῖν, 868d κατελθόντων δὲ τῶν κτεινάντων, ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γυναῖκά τε ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπὸ γυναικός, καὶ μή ποτ' ἔτι κοινῇ παιδοποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ συνέστιον ὧν ἔγκονον ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἀπεστέρηκε γίγνεσθαί ποτε μηδὲ κοινωνὸν ἱερῶν· ὁ δὲ ἀσεβῶν τε περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπειθῶν ὑπόδικος ἀσεβείας γιγνέσθω τῷ ἐθέλοντι. γυναῖκα δὲ γαμετὴν ἐὰν ἀνὴρ δι' ὀργὴν κτείνῃ 868e τινά τις, ἢ γυνὴ ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ὡσαύτως ἐργάσηται, καθαίρεσθαι μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθαρμούς, τριετεῖς δὲ ἀπενιαυτήσεις διατελεῖν.

868e κατελθὼν δὲ ὅ τι τοιοῦτον δράσας, τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν ἱερῶν μὴ κοινωνείτω μηδὲ ὁμοτράπεζος γιγνέσθω ποτέ· ἀπειθῶν δὲ ὁ γεννήτωρ ἢ ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἀσεβείας αὖ ὑπόδικος γιγνέσθω τῷ ἐθέλοντι. καὶ ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφήν, ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν θυμῷ κτείνῃ, τὰ μὲν τῶν καθαρμῶν καὶ ἀπενιαυτήσεων ὡσαύτως, καθάπερ εἴρηται τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἰρήσθω δεῖν γίγνεσθαι καὶ τούτοις—ὧν ἀδελφούς τε ἀδελφῶν καὶ γονέας ἐστέρηκε παίδων, τούτοις δὲ συνέστιος αὐτοῖς μηδέποτε γιγνέσθω μηδὲ κοινωνὸς ἱερῶν—ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, 869a τῷ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἀσεβείας εἰρημένῳ νόμῳ ὑπόδικος ὀρθῶς ἂν γίγνοιτο μετὰ δίκης.

ENGLISH

let him be treated as the foreigner who returns is treated. Whoever kills a slave of his own is to purify himself; if he kills someone else's slave in anger, he is to pay the owner double the damage.

If any killer at all disobeys the law and, while still unclean, pollutes the marketplace, the games, and the 868b other sacred places, anyone who wishes may bring to trial both the relative of the dead man who allows this and the killer himself, and compel them to pay double the fines and other penalties and make them good; and the prosecutor is to keep the payment for himself, as the law provides. If a slave kills his own master in anger, the dead man's relatives may treat the killer in any way they 868c wish—except that they may on no account whatever let him live—and they will be free of pollution. If some other slave kills a free person in anger, his owners are to hand the slave over to the dead man's relatives, and they must put him to death, but in whatever way they choose.

If—as does happen, though rarely—a father or mother kills a son or daughter in anger, by blows or some other violent means, the killer is to undergo the same purifications as the others and spend three years in exile. 868d When the killers return, the wife is to separate from the husband and the husband from the wife, and they are never again to have children together. Nor is the killer ever to share a hearth or sacred rites with those he has robbed of a child or a brother. Whoever behaves impiously in these matters and disobeys is to be liable to prosecution for impiety by anyone who wishes. If a husband kills his wedded wife in a fit of rage, 868e or a wife does the same to her husband in the same way, they are to undergo the same purifications and complete three years of exile.

On his return, the one who has done such a thing is not to share in sacred rites with his own children or ever sit at the same table with them. If the parent or the child disobeys, he too is to be liable to prosecution for impiety by anyone who wishes. And if a brother kills a brother or sister in anger, or a sister kills a brother or sister, let it be declared that the same purifications and years of exile must apply to them as were stated for parents and children. The killer is never to share a hearth or sacred rites with those whom he has robbed of brothers, or parents of children. If anyone dis-

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obeys, [869a] he will rightly and justly be liable under the law already stated on impiety in these matters.

869a ἐὰν δ’ ἄρα τις εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀκρατὴς θυμοῦ γίγνηται πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας, ὥστε μανίαις ὀργῆς τῶν γεννητόρων τολμῆσαι κτεῖναί τινα, ἐὰν μὲν ὁ τελευτήσας πρὶν τελευτῆσαι τὸν δράσαντα φόνου ἀφιῇ ἑκών, καθάπερ οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον ἐξεργασάμενοι καθαρθείς, καὶ τἆλλα ὅσαπερ ἐκεῖνοι πράξας, καθαρὸς ἔστω, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [869b] ἀφῇ, πολλοῖς ἔνοχος ἔστω νόμοις ὁ δράσας τι τοιοῦτον· καὶ γὰρ αἰκίας δίκαις ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἔνοχος ἂν γίγνοιτο καὶ ἀσεβείας ὡσαύτως καὶ ἱεροσυλίας, τὴν τοῦ γεννητοῦ ψυχὴν συλήσας, ὥστ’ εἴπερ οἷόν τ’ ἦν τὸ πολλάκις ἀποθνῄσκειν τὸν αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν πατροφόνον ἢ μητροκτόνον, ἐξεργασάμενον θυμῷ τοῦτο, δικαιότατον θανάτων πολλῶν ἦν τυγχάνειν.

But if someone becomes so unable to control his anger toward those who gave him life that in a mad fury he dares to kill one of his parents, then, if the dying parent, before death, freely releases the killer from the charge of murder, let him be purified as those who have committed involuntary homicide are, do everything else they do, and be clean. But if the parent does not [869b] release him, the one who has done such a thing is to be liable under many laws. For he would be liable to the most extreme penalties for assault, and likewise for impiety and for temple robbery, since he has despoiled his parent of the soul. So if it were possible for the same man to die many times over, it would be most just for someone who kills his father or mother, and does it in anger, to suffer many deaths.

869b ᾧ γὰρ μόνῳ οὐδ’ ἀμυνομένῳ θάνατον, μέλλοντι ὑπὸ [869c] τῶν γονέων τελευτήσεσθαι, παρέξει νόμος οὐδεὶς κτεῖναι τὸν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, τοὺς εἰς φῶς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ἀγαγόντας, ἀλλ’ ὑπομείναντα τὰ πάντα πάσχειν πρίν τι δρᾶν τοιοῦτον νομοθετήσει, πῶς τούτῳ δίκης γε ἄλλως προσῆκον τυγχάνειν ἂν γίγνοιτο ἐν νόμῳ; κείσθω δὴ τῷ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἀποκτείναντι θυμῷ θάνατος ἡ ζημία. ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἂν ἀδελφὸν κτείνῃ ἐν στάσεσι μάχης γενομένης ἤ τινι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, [869d] ἀμυνόμενος ἄρχοντα χειρῶν πρότερον, καθάπερ πολέμιον ἀποκτείνας ἔστω καθαρός, καὶ ἐὰν πολίτης πολίτην, ὡσαύτως, ἢ ξένος ξένον. ἐὰν δὲ ἀστὸς ξένον ἢ ξένος ἀστὸν ἀμυνόμενος κτείνῃ, κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἔστω τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι.

For he is the one man whom no law will permit to kill his father or mother—those who brought him into the light—not even in self-defense when he is about to be put to death [869c] by his parents; the law will require him to endure everything rather than do such a thing. How, then, could it be fitting for him to receive justice under the law in any other way? So let death be laid down as the penalty for anyone who kills his father or mother in anger. If a brother kills a brother in civil strife, when a fight has broken out, or in some similar way, [869d] defending himself against one who struck first, let him be clean, as if he had killed an enemy in war; and the same if a citizen kills a citizen, or a foreigner a foreigner. If a citizen kills a foreigner, or a foreigner a citizen, in self-defense, let the same hold as regards his being clean.

869d καὶ ἐὰν δοῦλος δοῦλον, ὡσαύτως· ἐὰν δὲ αὖ δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτείνῃ, καθάπερ ὁ κτείνας πατέρα, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχος ἔστω νόμοις. ὃ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως εἴρηται φόνου πατρί, ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ἔστω περὶ ἁπάσης τῶν [869e] τοιούτων ἀφέσεως, ἐὰν ὁστισοῦν ὁτῳοῦν ἀφιῇ τοῦτο ἑκών, ὡς ἀκουσίου γεγονότος τοῦ φόνου, οἵ τε καθαρμοὶ γιγνέσθωσαν τῷ δράσαντι καὶ ἐνιαυτὸς εἷς ἔστω τῆς ἐκδημίας ἐν νόμῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ βίαιά τε καὶ ἀκούσια καὶ κατὰ τὸν θυμὸν γιγνόμενα περὶ φόνους μετρίως εἰρήσθω· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ ἑκούσια καὶ κατ’ ἀδικίαν πᾶσαν γιγνόμενα τούτων πέρι καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς δι’ ἥττας ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ φθόνων, ταῦτα μετ’ ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν λεκτέον.

Likewise if a slave kills a slave. But if a slave kills a free person in self-defense, let him be liable to the same laws as one who has killed his father. What has been said about a father’s releasing his killer from the charge of murder is to apply equally to every release of [869e] this kind: if anyone at all freely releases anyone at all, treating the killing as involuntary, the killer is to undergo the purifications and spend one year abroad, as the law provides. So much, then, for killings that are violent, involuntary, or done in anger; let that be a fair account of them. Next we must speak about those done voluntarily and out of sheer wrongdoing,

GREEK

ENGLISH

with premeditation, through being overcome by pleasures, desires, and envy.

869e **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς λέγεις.

CLINIAS You're right.

DELIBERATE MURDER

The causes of murder are greed, ambition and fear; laws follow for murder and the killing of kin.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN πάλιν δὴ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς δύναμιν [870a] εἴπωμεν ὁπόσα ἂν εἴη. τὸ μὲν δὴ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμία κρατοῦσα ψυχῆς ἐξηγριωμένης ὑπὸ πόθων· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν μάλιστα ἐνταῦθα οὗ πλεῖστός τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατος ἵμερος ὢν τυγχάνει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς ἀπλήστου καὶ ἀπείρου κτήσεως ἔρωτας μυρίους ἐντίκτουσα δύναμις διὰ φύσιν τε καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν τὴν κακήν. τῆς δὲ ἀπαιδευσίας ἡ τοῦ κακῶς ἐπαινεῖσθαι πλοῦτον αἰτία φήμη πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων· πρῶτον γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτὸ [870b] προκρίνοντες, τρίτον ὄν, τούς τ' ἐπιγιγνομένους λωβῶνται καὶ ἑαυτούς.

ATHENIAN Again, then, let us first say, as best we can, how many [870a] such causes there might be. The greatest is desire mastering a soul made savage by longings. This occurs most of all where most people's craving happens to be greatest and strongest: in the power of money, which, through a bad nature and lack of education, breeds countless passions for insatiable and unlimited acquisition. And the cause of that lack of education is the bad praise that wealth enjoys in the talk of Greeks and non-Greeks alike. They rank it first among good things, [870b] when it is third, and so ruin both their descendants and themselves.

870b τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς λέγεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πλούτου κατὰ πόλεις πάσας πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον, ὡς ἕνεκα σώματός ἐστι, καὶ σῶμα ψυχῆς ἕνεκα· ἀγαθῶν μὲν οὖν ὄντων ὧν ἕνεκα ὁ πλοῦτος εἶναι πέφυκε, τρίτον ἂν εἴη μετὰ σώματος ἀρετὴν καὶ ψυχῆς. διδάσκαλος οὖν ἂν ὁ λόγος οὗτος γίγνοιτο ὡς οὐ χρὴ πλουτεῖν ζητεῖν τὸν εὐδαίμονα [870c] ἐσόμενον, ἀλλὰ δικαίως πλουτεῖν καὶ σωφρόνως· καὶ φόνοι οὕτως οὐκ ἂν γίγνοιντο ἐν πόλεσιν φόνοις δεόμενοι καθαίρεσθαι. νῦν δέ, ὅπερ ἀρχόμενοι τούτων εἴπομεν, ἓν μὲν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστον ὃ ποιεῖ φόνου ἑκουσίου τὰς μεγίστας δίκας. δεύτερον δὲ φιλοτίμου ψυχῆς ἕξις, φθόνους ἐντίκτουσα, χαλεποὺς συνοίκους μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ κεκτημένῳ τὸν φθόνον, δευτέροις δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

For the finest and best thing of all would be for the truth about wealth to be told in every city: that it exists for the sake of the body, and the body for the sake of the soul. So, although the things for whose sake wealth naturally exists are good, it would come third, after the excellence of the body and the virtue of the soul. This account would teach that the man who means to be happy [870c] must not seek to be rich, but to be rich justly and with moderation; and in that way there would be no murders in cities requiring purification by other murders. As it is, as we said when we began on this subject, this is one cause, and the greatest, that produces the gravest cases of voluntary murder. The second is the disposition of an ambitious soul, which breeds envy—a troublesome housemate, first for the very person who has the envy, and second for the best people in the city.

870c τρίτον δὲ οἱ δειλοὶ καὶ ἄδικοι φόβοι πολλοὺς δὴ φόνους [870d] εἰσὶν ἐξειργασμένοι, ὅταν ᾖ τῳ πραττόμενα ἢ πεπραγμένα ἃ μηδένα βούλονταί σφισιν συνειδέναι γιγνόμενα ἢ γεγονότα· τοὺς οὖν τούτων μηνυτὰς ἀναιροῦσι θανάτοις, ὅταν ἄλλῳ μηδενὶ δύνωνται τρόπῳ. τούτων δὴ πάντων πέρι προοίμια μὲν εἰρημένα ταῦτ' ἔστω, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὃν καὶ πολλοὶ λόγον τῶν ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακότων ἀκούοντες σφόδρα πείθονται, τὸ τῶν τοιούτων τίσιν ἐν Ἅιδου [870e]

Third, cowardly and unjust fears have caused many murders, [870d] when someone is doing or has done things he wants no one to know are being done or have been done. So people do away with those who could inform on them, killing them when they can't do it any other way. Let these, then, stand as our preambles on all these matters. And in addition there is the account that many people hear from those who take such things seri-

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	γίγνεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀφικομένοις δεῦρο ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν δίκην ἐκτεῖσαι, τὴν τοῦ παθόντος ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἔδρασεν, ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου τοιαύτῃ μοίρᾳ τελευτῆσαι τὸν τότε βίον.	ously in the mystery rites, and firmly believe: that such crimes are punished in Hades, [870e] and that when the doers come back here again they must pay the penalty that nature prescribes, suffering what they themselves did—ending the life they then lead in the same way, at another's hands.[5]
870e	πειθομένῳ μὲν δὴ καὶ πάντως φοβουμένῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προοιμίου τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην οὐδὲν δεῖ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ [871a] νόμον ὑμνεῖν, ἀπειθοῦντι δὲ νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω τῇ γραφῇ· ὃς ἂν ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ ἀδίκως ὀντιναοῦν τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτόχειρ κτείνῃ, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν νομίμων εἰργέσθω, μήτε ἱερὰ μήτε ἀγορὰν μήτε λιμένας μήτε ἄλλον κοινὸν σύλλογον μηδένα μιαίνων, ἐάντε τις ἀπαγορεύῃ τῷ δράσαντι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐὰν μή—ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει καὶ ἀπαγορεύων ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἀεὶ φαίνεταί τε καὶ φανεῖται [871b] —ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπεξιὼν δέον, ἢ μὴ προαγορεύων εἴργεσθαι, τῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος, πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν προσήκων τῷ τελευτήσαντι, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μίασμα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἔχθραν δέχοιτο, ὡς ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἀρὰ τὴν φήμην προτρέπεται, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὑπόδικος τῷ ἐθέλοντι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γιγνέσθω.	Anyone who believes this and truly fears such a penalty after the preamble alone has no need for the law on the subject [871a] to be chanted over him. But for the one who disobeys, let the following law be stated in writing. Whoever kills any of his fellow citizens with his own hand, with forethought and unjustly, is first to be barred from all customary places. He is not to pollute temples, marketplace, harbors, or any other public gathering, whether or not anyone forbids him these things—for the law forbids them, and is and always will be seen forbidding them on behalf of the whole city. [871b] And any relative of the dead man within the degree of cousin, on the male or female side, who fails to prosecute when he should, or fails to proclaim the killer's exclusion, will first take the pollution upon himself, and the enmity of the gods, as the curse of the law turns its utterance against him; and second, he is to be liable to prosecution by anyone who wishes to avenge the dead man.
871b	ὁ δὲ ἐθέλων τιμωρεῖν, τῶν τε ἐπὶ τούτοις λουτρῶν φυλακῆς πέρι καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἑτέρων [871c] ὁ θεὸς περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα παραδῷ, πάντα ἀποτελῶν, καὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν προαγορεύων, ἴτω ἀναγκάζων τὸν δράσαντα ὑπέχειν τὴν τῆς δίκης πρᾶξιν κατὰ νόμον. ταῦτα δὲ ὅτι μὲν γίγνεσθαι χρεών ἐστι διά τινων ἐπευχῶν καὶ θυσιῶν θεοῖς τισιν οἷς τῶν τοιούτων μέλει, φόνους μὴ γίγνεσθαι κατὰ πόλεις, ῥᾴδιον ἀποφαίνεσθαι νομοθέτῃ· τίνες δ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς ὀρθότατα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἂν γιγνόμενος εἴη, νομοφύλακες μετ᾽ [871d] ἐξηγητῶν καὶ μάντεων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ νομοθετησάμενοι, τὰς δίκας εἰσαγόντων ταύτας.	Whoever wishes to avenge him is to carry out everything—taking care over the ritual washings for such cases and all the other observances [871c] the god has handed down on these matters—and, having made the formal proclamation, go and compel the killer to submit to the execution of justice according to law. That these things must be accompanied by certain prayers and sacrifices to the gods whose concern it is that murders should not occur in cities, a lawgiver can easily declare. But which gods these are, and what way of bringing such cases to court would be most correct with respect to the divine, the guardians of the laws are to legislate together [871d] with the interpreters, the seers, and the god, and then bring these cases to trial.
871d	δικαστὰς δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς οὕσπερ τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶσιν διαδικάζειν ἐρρήθη κυρίως· ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ τοῦ παθόντος χώρᾳ θαπτέσθω, ἀναιδείας ἕνεκα πρὸς τῷ ἀσεβεῖν. φυγὼν δὲ καὶ μὴ ᾽θελήσας κρίσιν ὑποσχεῖν φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν· ἐὰν δέ τις	Their judges are to be the same ones who were said to have full authority to try those who rob temples. The one convicted is to be punished with death, and is not to be buried in the victim's country, because of his shamelessness as well as his

5 Mystery cults such as the Orphic taught that souls are reborn and that crimes are repaid in the underworld and in later lives.

GREEK

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ἐπιβῇ που τῶν τῆς τοῦ φονευθέντος χώρας, ὁ προστυχὼν πρῶτος τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ ἀποθανόντος [871e] ἢ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνατὶ κτεινέτω, ἢ δήσας τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν τὴν δίκην κρινάντων κτεῖναι παραδότω.

impiety. If he flees and refuses to stand trial, let him be exiled forever. If he sets foot anywhere in the murdered man's country, whoever first meets him, whether one of the dead man's family [871e] or any citizen, may kill him with impunity, or bind him and hand him over to the officials of the court that tried the case to be put to death.

871e ὁ δὲ ἐπισκηπτόμενος ἅμα καὶ κατεγγυάτω τὸν ᾧ ἂν ἐπισκήπτηται· ὁ δὲ παρεχέτω τοὺς ἐγγυητάς, ἀξιόχρεως οὓς ἂν ἡ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δικαστῶν ἀρχὴ κρίνῃ, τρεῖς ἐγγυητὰς ἀξιόχρεως παρέξειν ἐγγυωμένους εἰς δίκην· ἐὰν δὲ ἢ μὴ ἐθέλῃ ἢ ἀδυνατῇ τις καθιστάναι, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβοῦσαν δήσασαν φυλάττειν καὶ παρέχειν εἰς τὴν κρίσιν τῆς δίκης. ἐὰν δὲ [872a] αὐτόχειρ μὲν μή, βουλεύσῃ δὲ θάνατόν τις ἄλλος ἑτέρῳ καὶ τῇ βουλήσει τε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσει ἀποκτείνας αἴτιος ὢν καὶ μὴ καθαρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ φόνου ἐν πόλει ἐνοικῇ, γιγνέσθων καὶ τούτῳ κατὰ ταὐτὰ αἱ κρίσεις τούτων πέρι πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης, τῷ δὲ ὀφλόντι ταφῆς τῆς οἰκείας ἐξέστω τυχεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὡσαύτως τῷ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντι περὶ αὐτὸν γιγνέσθω.

The prosecutor is at the same time to demand bail from the man he charges; and the accused must provide sureties—three sureties judged adequate by the board of judges for these cases—guaranteeing that he will appear for trial. If he is unwilling or unable to provide them, the board is to take him, keep him in bonds, and produce him for the trial of the case. If [872a] someone does not kill with his own hand but plans another person's death, and, though responsible for the killing through his intention and plotting and not clean in soul of the murder, goes on living in the city, let the trials in his case be conducted in the same way, except for the bail. The one convicted may have burial in his own country, but in other respects let the same be done to him as was stated for the previous case.

872a τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ἔστω ταῦτα ξένοισί τε πρὸς ξένους καὶ ἀστοῖσι καὶ ξένοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, δούλοις [872b] τε αὖ πρὸς δούλους, τῆς τε αὐτοχειρίας πέρι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσεως, πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης· ταύτην δέ, καθάπερ εἴρηται, τοὺς αὐτόχειρας κατεγγυᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ προαγορεύοντα τὸν φόνον ἅμα κατεγγυᾶν καὶ τούτους. ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἑκών, εἴτε αὐτόχειρ εἴτε βουλεύσας, ἀποκτείνῃ καὶ ὄφλῃ τὴν δίκην, ὁ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸς δήμιος ἄγων πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὅθεν ἂν ὁρᾷ τὸν τύμβον, μαστιγώσας ὁπόσας [872c] ἂν ὁ ἑλὼν προστάττῃ, ἐάνπερ βιῷ παιόμενος ὁ φονεύς, θανατωσάτω.

Let these same rules hold for foreigners toward foreigners, for citizens and foreigners toward each other, and for slaves [872b] toward slaves, both for killing with one's own hand and for plotting, except for the bail. In that matter, as has been said, those who killed with their own hands are to be held to bail, and whoever proclaims the murder is at the same time to demand bail from them as well. If a slave kills a free person deliberately, whether with his own hand or by plotting, and is convicted, the city's public executioner is to lead him toward the dead man's tomb, to a spot where he can see the grave, whip him with as many lashes [872c] as the successful prosecutor orders, and, if the murderer survives the beating, put him to death.

872c ἐὰν δέ τις δοῦλον κτείνῃ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, φόβῳ δὲ μὴ μηνυτὴς αἰσχρῶν ἔργων καὶ κακῶν αὐτοῦ γίγνηται, ἤ τινος ἕνεκα ἄλλου τοιούτου, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ πολίτην κτείνας ὑπεῖχε φόνου δίκας, ὡσαύτως καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου δούλου κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀποθανόντος οὕτως ὑπεχέτω.

If someone kills a slave who has done no wrong, out of fear that he may inform on his shameful and wicked deeds, or for some other such reason, then just as he would have stood trial for murder if he had killed a citizen, let him stand trial in the same way for the death of such a slave.

ἐὰν δὲ δὴ γίγνηται ἐφ' οἷσι καὶ νομοθετεῖν δεινὸν καὶ οὐδαμῶς προσφιλές, μὴ νομοθετεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατον, συγγενῶν [872d] αὐτόχειρας φόνους ἢ δι' ἐπιβουλεύσεως

Now suppose there occur crimes for which it is dreadful and in no way pleasant even to legislate, yet impossible not to—murders of kin, [872d] by one's

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	γενομένους, ἑκουσίους τε καὶ ἀδίκους πάντως, οἳ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν κακῶς οἰκούσαις καὶ τρεφομέναις γίγνονται πόλεσιν, γένοιτο δ' ἄν πού τι καὶ ἐν ᾗ μή τις ἂν προσδοκήσειεν χώρᾳ, λέγειν μὲν δὴ χρεὼν αὖ πάλιν τὸν ἔμπροσθε σμικρῷ ῥηθέντα λόγον, ἂν ἄρα τις ἀκούων ἡμῶν οἷος ἀποσχέσθαι γένηται μᾶλλον ἑκὼν διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα φόνων τῶν πάντῃ ἀνοσιωτάτων.	own hand or by plotting, deliberate and utterly unjust, which mostly occur in badly governed and badly brought-up cities, though one may happen even in a country where no one would expect it. We must then repeat once more the account given a little earlier, in the hope that anyone who hears us may become more willing, because of it, to keep away of his own accord from murders that are the most unholy of all.
872d	ὁ γὰρ δὴ [872e] μῦθος ἢ λόγος, ἢ ὅτι χρὴ προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, ἐκ παλαιῶν ἱερέων εἴρηται σαφῶς, ὡς ἡ τῶν συγγενῶν αἱμάτων τιμωρὸς δίκη ἐπίσκοπος νόμῳ χρῆται τῷ νυνδὴ λεχθέντι καὶ ἔταξεν ἄρα δράσαντί τι τοιοῦτον παθεῖν ταὐτὰ ἀναγκαίως ἅπερ ἔδρασεν· εἰ πατέρα ἀπέκτεινέν ποτέ τις, αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὑπὸ τέκνων τολμῆσαι βίᾳ πάσχοντα ἔν τισι χρόνοις, κἂν εἰ μητέρα, γενέσθαι τε αὐτὸν θηλείας μετασχόντα φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον, γενόμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν γεννηθέντων λιπεῖν τὸν βίον ἐν χρόνοις ὑστέροις· τοῦ γὰρ κοινοῦ μιανθέντος αἵματος οὐκ εἶναι κάθαρσιν ἄλλην, οὐδὲ ἔκπλυτον ἐθέλειν γίγνεσθαι [873a] τὸ μιανθὲν πρὶν φόνον φόνῳ ὁμοίῳ ὅμοιον ἡ δράσασα ψυχὴ τείσῃ καὶ πάσης τῆς συγγενείας τὸν θυμὸν ἀφιλασαμένη κοιμίσῃ.	For the [872e] myth or account—or whatever one should call it—has been clearly stated by priests of old: that Justice, who watches over and avenges the blood of kin, follows the law just mentioned, and has ordained that anyone who has done such a thing must necessarily suffer the same things he did. If someone ever killed his father, he himself must in time come to suffer the same violence at the hands of his children; if his mother, he must necessarily be born sharing a female nature, and, once born, lose his life at the hands of those he bore, in later times. For when the blood of a family has been polluted there is no other purification, nor will the stain consent to be washed out [873a] until the soul that did the deed has paid murder for like murder and has appeased and laid to rest the anger of the whole family.
873a	ταῦτα δὴ παρὰ θεῶν μέν τινα φοβούμενον τὰς τιμωρίας εἴργεσθαι χρὴ τὰς τοιαύτας· εἰ δέ τινας οὕτως ἀθλία συμφορὰ καταλάβοι, ὥστε πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἢ ἀδελφῶν ἢ τέκνων ἐκ προνοίας ἑκουσίως ψυχὴν τολμῆσαι ἀποστερεῖν σώματος, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ θνητοῦ νομοθέτου νόμος ὧδε περὶ τῶν [873b] τοιούτων νομοθετεῖ, Προρρήσεις μὲν τὰς περὶ τῶν νομίμων εἴργεσθαι καὶ ἐγγύας τὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν· ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλῃ φόνου τοιούτου, τούτων κτείνας τινά, οἱ μὲν τῶν δικαστῶν ὑπηρέται καὶ ἄρχοντες ἀποκτείναντες, εἰς τεταγμένην τρίοδον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλλόντων γυμνόν, αἱ δὲ ἀρχαὶ πᾶσαι ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, λίθον ἕκαστος φέρων, ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ βάλλων ἀφοσιούτω τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο εἰς τὰ τῆς χώρας [873c] ὅρια φέροντες ἐκβαλλόντων τῷ νόμῳ ἄταφον.	Fear of such punishments from the gods ought to hold a person back from these acts. But if some are overtaken by so wretched a misfortune that they dare, deliberately and with forethought, to part the soul of a father, mother, brothers, or children from its body, the law of the mortal lawgiver legislates for such cases [873b] as follows. The proclamations of exclusion from customary places and the bail are to be the same as were stated for the earlier cases. If someone is convicted of such a murder, having killed one of these, the officers of the judges and the officials are to put him to death and throw him out naked at an appointed crossroads outside the city. All the officials, on behalf of the whole city, are each to carry a stone and throw it at the head of the corpse, and so absolve the whole city of the pollution. After this they are to carry him to the borders [873c] of the country and cast him out unburied, as the law requires.
873c	τὸν δὲ δὴ πάντων οἰκειότατον καὶ λεγόμενον φίλτατον ὃς ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ, τί χρὴ πάσχειν; λέγω δὲ ὃς ἂν ἑαυτὸν κτείνῃ, τὴν τῆς εἱμαρμένης βίᾳ ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν, μήτε	And what should happen to the one who kills the person nearest of all to him, the one called dearest? I mean the one who kills himself, forcibly

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πόλεως ταξάσης δίκῃ, μήτε περιωδύνῳ ἀφύκτῳ προσπεσούσῃ τύχῃ ἀναγκασθείς, μηδὲ αἰσχύνης τινὸς ἀπόρου καὶ ἀβίου μεταλαχών, ἀργίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀνανδρίας δειλίᾳ ἑαυτῷ δίκην ἄδικον [873d] ἐπιθῇ. τούτῳ δὴ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θεὸς οἶδεν ἃ χρὴ νόμιμα γίγνεσθαι περὶ καθαρμούς τε καὶ ταφάς, ὧν ἐξηγητάς τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα νόμους ἐπανερομένους χρὴ τοὺς ἐγγύτατα γένει ποιεῖν αὐτοῖσιν κατὰ τὰ προσταττόμενα· τάφους δ' εἶναι τοῖς οὕτω φθαρεῖσι πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ μόνας μηδὲ μεθ' ἑνὸς συντάφου, εἶτα ἐν τοῖς τῶν δώδεκα ὁρίοισι μερῶν τῶν ὅσα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀνώνυμα θάπτειν ἀκλεεῖς αὐτούς, μήτε στήλαις μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους. [873e]

ENGLISH

robbing himself of his destined share of life, when the city has not ordered it by judicial sentence, and he has not been compelled by some agonizing and inescapable misfortune that has befallen him, nor has he met with some disgrace that leaves him helpless and unable to go on living, but through sloth and unmanly cowardice he imposes an unjust penalty [873d] on himself. For such a person, the god knows what other observances are proper regarding purifications and burial, and the nearest relatives must consult the interpreters and the laws on these matters and act as they prescribe. But the graves of those who perish in this way are, first, to be apart, not shared with a single other; and second, they are to be buried without honor in those places on the borders of the twelve districts that are barren and nameless, and their graves are to be marked with neither headstone nor name. [873e]

873e ἐὰν δ' ἄρα ὑποζύγιον ἢ ζῷον ἄλλο τι φονεύσῃ τινά, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἐν ἀγῶνι τῶν δημοσίᾳ τιθεμένων ἀθλεύοντά τι τοιοῦτον δράσῃ, ἐπεξίτωσαν μὲν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῦ φόνου τῷ κτείναντι, διαδικαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἀγρονόμων οἷσιν ἂν καὶ ὁπόσοις προστάξῃ ὁ προσήκων, τὸ δὲ ὀφλὸν ἔξω τῶν ὅρων τῆς χώρας ἀποκτείναντας διορίσαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἄψυχόν τι ψυχῆς ἄνθρωπον στερήσῃ, πλὴν ὅσα κεραυνὸς ἤ τι παρὰ θεοῦ τοιοῦτον βέλος ἰόν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα τινὸς προσπεσόντος ἢ αὐτὸ ἐμπεσὸν κτείνῃ τινά, δικαστὴν μὲν αὐτῷ [874a] καθιζέτω τῶν γειτόνων τὸν ἐγγύτατα ὁ προσήκων γένει, ἀφοσιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς συγγενείας ὅλης, τὸ δὲ ὀφλὸν ἐξορίζειν, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τὸ τῶν ζῴων γένος.

If a beast of burden or some other animal kills someone—except when it does so while competing in one of the public contests—the relatives are to prosecute the killer for murder, the case being decided by whichever country wardens the relative appoints, and as many as he appoints; and if the animal is convicted, they are to kill it and throw it out beyond the borders of the country. If some lifeless thing deprives a person of life—except for a thunderbolt or some such missile hurled by a god—that is, any other thing that kills someone, whether he falls against it or it falls on him, the nearest relative is to appoint [874a] the nearest neighbor as judge over it, purifying himself and the whole family, and the thing convicted is to be cast out beyond the borders, as was said for animals.

874a ἐὰν δὲ τεθνεὼς μὲν αὖ τις φανῇ, ἄδηλος δὲ ὁ κτείνας ᾖ καὶ μὴ ἀμελῶς ζητοῦσιν ἀνεύρετος γίγνηται, τὰς μὲν προρρήσεις τὰς αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις, προαγορεύειν δὲ τὸν φόνον τῷ δράσαντι, καὶ ἐπιδικασάμενον ἐν [874b] ἀγορᾷ κηρῦξαι τῷ κτείναντι τὸν καὶ τὸν καὶ ὠφληκότι φόνου μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἱερῶν μηδὲ ὅλης χώρας τῆς τοῦ παθόντος, ὡς, ἂν φανῇ καὶ γνωσθῇ, ἀποθανούμενον καὶ ἔξω τῆς τοῦ παθόντος χώρας ἐκβληθησόμενον ἄταφον. οὗτος δὴ νόμος εἷς ἡμῖν ἔστω κύριος περὶ φόνου κείμενος.

If someone is found dead and the killer is unknown and cannot be discovered by a careful search, the proclamations are to be the same as for the others, but the charge of murder is to be proclaimed against "the one who did it"; and the prosecutor, having obtained judgment, is to announce in the [874b] marketplace that the killer of so-and-so, convicted of murder, is not to set foot in the temples or anywhere in the victim's country, since if he appears and is identified, he will be put to death and cast out unburied beyond the victim's country. Let this one law, then, be laid down for us with authority on murder.

GREEK

ENGLISH

874b καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέχρι τούτων οὕτως· ὧν δὲ ὁ κτείνας ἐφ' οἷς τε ὀρθῶς ἂν καθαρὸς εἴη, τάδε ἔστω· Νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσιόντα ἐπὶ κλοπῇ χρημάτων ἐὰν [874c] ἑλὼν κτείνῃ, καθαρὸς ἔστω· καὶ ἐὰν λωποδύτην ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτείνῃ, καθαρὸς ἔστω· καὶ ἐὰν ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα βιάζηταί τις ἢ παῖδα περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, νηποινὶ τεθνάτω ὑπό τε τοῦ ὑβρισθέντος βίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἢ ἀδελφῶν ἢ υἱέων· ἐάν τε ἀνὴρ ἐπιτύχῃ γαμετῇ γυναικὶ βιαζομένῃ, κτείνας τὸν βιαζόμενον ἔστω καθαρὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ· καὶ ἐάν τις πατρὶ βοηθῶν θάνατον, μηδὲν ἀνόσιον δρῶντι, κτείνῃ τινά, ἢ μητρὶ ἢ τέκνοις ἢ ἀδελφοῖς ἢ συγγεννήτορι τέκνων, [874d] πάντως καθαρὸς ἔστω.

So much for these matters. Now the cases in which the killer would rightly be clean are as follows. If someone catches a thief entering his house at night to steal property [874c] and kills him, let him be clean. If he kills a highway robber in self-defense, let him be clean. If anyone sexually assaults a free woman or a boy, let him be killed with impunity by the one he has assaulted, or by that person's father, brothers, or sons. If a husband comes upon his wedded wife being raped and kills the rapist, let him be clean in the eyes of the law. And if anyone kills someone while protecting his father from death, when the father is doing nothing unholy, or his mother, children, brothers, or the partner with whom he has children, [874d] let him be entirely clean.

874d τὰ μὲν τοίνυν περὶ τροφήν τε ζώσης ψυχῆς καὶ παιδείαν, ὧν αὐτῇ τυχούσῃ μὲν βιωτόν, ἀτυχησάσῃ δὲ τοὐναντίον, καὶ περὶ θανάτων τῶν βιαίων ἃς δεῖ τιμωρίας γίγνεσθαι, νενομοθετήσθω· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων τροφὴν μὲν καὶ παιδείαν εἴρηται, τὸ δ' ἐχόμενον τούτων, αἱ βίαιοι πράξεις ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀκούσιοί τε καὶ ἑκούσιοι γιγνόμεναι διοριστέον εἰς δύναμιν αἵ τέ εἰσιν καὶ ὅσαι, καὶ ὧν ἂν [874e] τυγχάνουσαι τιμωρήσεων τὸ πρόσφορον ἔχοιεν ἂν ἕκασται, ταῦτα μετ' ἐκεῖνα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὀρθῶς ἂν νομοθετοῖτο.

Let this, then, stand as our legislation on the nurture and education of the living soul—which make life worth living for a soul that gets them, and the opposite for one that misses them—and on the penalties there must be for violent deaths. The nurture and education of bodies has already been discussed. Next after these come acts of violence that people do to one another, involuntary and voluntary: we must define as best we can what they are and how many, and what [874e] punishments each should meet with to receive its due. These, it seems, would rightly be legislated next.

WHY HUMAN BEINGS NEED LAWS

Wounding introduces an argument that no one could rule without laws, since no one has perfect knowledge.

GREEK

ENGLISH

874e **ATHENIAN** τραύματα δὴ καὶ πηρώσεις ἐκ τραυμάτων τά γε δεύτερα μετὰ θανάτους καὶ ὁ φαυλότατος ἂν τάξειεν τῶν ἐπὶ νόμον τρεπομένων. τὰ δὴ τραύματα, καθάπερ οἱ φόνοι διῄρηντο, διαιρετέον, τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια, τὰ δὲ θυμῷ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὁπόσα ἐκ προνοίας ἑκούσια συμβαίνει γιγνόμενα· προρρητέον δή τι περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων τοιόνδε, ὡς ἄρα νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαῖον τίθεσθαι καὶ ζῆν κατὰ νόμους [875a] ἢ μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῶν πάντῃ ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων. ἡ δὲ αἰτία τούτων ἥδε, ὅτι φύσις ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὸς ἱκανὴ φύεται ὥστε γνῶναί τε τὰ συμφέροντα ἀνθρώποις εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ γνοῦσα, τὸ βέλτιστον ἀεὶ δύνασθαί τε καὶ ἐθέλειν πράττειν.

ATHENIAN Even the least capable of those who turn to lawmaking would put wounds, and the maiming that results from wounds, second after deaths. Wounds must be divided just as killings were: some are involuntary, some done in anger, some from fear, and some are done voluntarily and with forethought. About all such cases we must first say something like this: human beings must lay down laws for themselves and live by laws, [875a] or else be no different from the most savage beasts. The reason is this: no human being is born with a nature capable both of knowing what benefits human beings in their political life and, knowing it, of always being able and willing to do what is best.

GREEK

875a γνῶναι μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον χαλεπὸν ὅτι πολιτικῇ καὶ ἀληθεῖ τέχνῃ οὐ τὸ ἴδιον ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνάγκη μέλειν—τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνδεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον διασπᾷ τὰς πόλεις—καὶ ὅτι συμφέρει τῷ κοινῷ τε καὶ ἰδίῳ, τοῖν ἀμφοῖν, ἢν τὸ κοινὸν 875b τιθῆται καλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἴδιον· δεύτερον δέ, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ τὸ γνῶναί τις ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτω πέφυκεν λάβῃ ἱκανῶς ἐν τέχνῃ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀνυπεύθυνός τε καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἄρξῃ πόλεως, οὐκ ἄν ποτε δύναιτο ἐμμεῖναι τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι καὶ διαβιῶναι τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ἡγούμενον τρέφων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον ἑπόμενον τῷ κοινῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἰδιοπραγίαν ἡ θνητὴ φύσις αὐτὸν ὁρμήσει ἀεί, φεύγουσα μὲν ἀλόγως τὴν λύπην, διώκουσα δὲ τὴν ἡδονήν, τοῦ δὲ 875c δικαιοτέρου τε καὶ ἀμείνονος ἐπίπροσθεν ἄμφω τούτω προστήσεται, καὶ σκότος ἀπεργαζομένη ἐν αὑτῇ πάντων κακῶν ἐμπλήσει πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὑτήν τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην.

875c ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἴ ποτέ τις ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἱκανὸς θείᾳ μοίρᾳ γεννηθεὶς παραλαβεῖν δυνατὸς εἴη, νόμων οὐδὲν ἂν δέοιτο τῶν ἀρξόντων ἑαυτοῦ· ἐπιστήμης γὰρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε τάξις οὐδεμία κρείττων, οὐδὲ θέμις ἐστὶν νοῦν οὐδενὸς ὑπήκοον οὐδὲ 875d δοῦλον ἀλλὰ πάντων ἄρχοντα εἶναι, ἐάνπερ ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύθερός τε ὄντως ᾖ κατὰ φύσιν. νῦν δὲ οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδαμοῦ οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ βραχύ· διὸ δὴ τὸ δεύτερον αἱρετέον, τάξιν τε καὶ νόμον, ἃ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὁρᾷ καὶ βλέπει, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀδυνατεῖ. ταῦτα δὴ τῶνδε εἵνεκα εἴρηται· νῦν ἡμεῖς τάξομεν τί χρὴ τὸν τρώσαντα ἤ τι βλάψαντα ἕτερον ἄλλον παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν. πρόχειρον δὴ παντὶ περὶ παντὸς ὑπολαβεῖν ὀρθῶς, "τὸν τί τρώσαντα ἢ 875e τίνα ἢ πῶς ἢ πότε λέγεις;

875e μυρία γὰρ ἕκαστά ἐστι τούτων καὶ πάμπολυ διαφέροντα ἀλλήλων." ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ δικαστηρίοις ἐπιτρέπειν κρίνειν πάντα ἢ μηδὲν ἀδύνατον. ἓν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ πάντων ἀναγκαῖον ἐπιτρέπειν κρῖναι, τὸ πότερον ἐγένετο ἢ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἕκαστον τούτων· τὸ δὲ μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπειν 876a αὖ περὶ τοῦ τί δεῖ ζημιοῦσθαι καὶ πάσχειν τί χρεὼν τὸν ἀδικήσαντα τούτων τι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν περὶ πάντων νομοθετῆσαι σμικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων, σχεδὸν ἀδύνατον.

ENGLISH

For first, it is hard to recognize that the true political art must care not for the private but for the common—since the common binds cities together, while the private tears them apart—and that it benefits both the common and the private, both of them, if the common 875b is well established rather than the private. Second, even if someone were to grasp adequately, as a matter of art, that these things are so by nature, and afterward ruled a city with absolute power, accountable to no one, he could never hold to this conviction and live his life nurturing the common good in the city as the leader and the private as following the common. Instead, his mortal nature will always drive him toward getting more for himself and minding his own interests, irrationally fleeing pain and pursuing pleasure. It will set these two in front of what 875c is more just and better, and, creating darkness within itself, will in the end fill both itself and the whole city with every kind of evil.

For if ever some human being, born by divine dispensation with a capable nature, were able to take hold of these things, he would have no need of laws to rule over him. For no law or order is stronger than knowledge, nor is it right for intelligence to be subject or 875d slave to anything; it must rule over all, if it is genuine and truly free, as its nature requires. But as it is, such a nature is not found anywhere at all, except to a slight degree. That is why we must choose the second best, order and law, which see and look to what holds for the most part but cannot see to every case. All this has been said for the following reason. We are now going to lay down what someone who has wounded or otherwise harmed another must suffer or pay. Now anyone can readily and rightly object, about any case: when you speak of someone wounding, do you mean wounding what, or 875e whom, or how, or when?

For each of these varies in countless ways, and they differ greatly from one another. So it is impossible either to leave everything to the courts to decide, or nothing. One thing must be left to them in every case: deciding whether or not each of these things happened. But to leave nothing to them 876a about what penalty or suffering the wrongdoer in such cases should receive, and instead for the lawgiver himself to legislate about everything, small and great, is next to impossible.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
876a	**CLINIAS** τίς οὖν ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον λόγος;	**CLINIAS** Then what comes next in the argument?
	ATHENIAN ὅδε, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐπιτρεπτέον δικαστηρίοις, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῷ νομοθετητέον.	**ATHENIAN** This: that some things must be left to the courts, and others must not be left to them but legislated by the lawgiver himself.
	CLINIAS ποῖα δὴ νομοθετητέον τε καὶ ποῖα ἀποδοτέον κρίνειν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις;	**CLINIAS** Which things must be legislated, and which handed over to the courts to decide?
	ATHENIAN τάδε δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρθότατ᾽ ἂν εἰπεῖν εἴη, ὡς ἐν [876b] πόλει ἐν ᾗ δικαστήρια φαῦλα καὶ ἄφωνα, κλέπτοντα τὰς αὑτῶν δόξας, κρύβδην τὰς κρίσεις διαδικάζει καί, ὃ τούτου δεινότερον, ὅταν μηδὲ σιγῶντα ἀλλὰ θορύβου μεστὰ καθάπερ θέατρα ἐπαινοῦντά τε βοῇ καὶ ψέγοντα τῶν ῥητόρων ἑκάτερον ἐν μέρει κρίνῃ, χαλεπὸν τότε πάθος ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ.	**ATHENIAN** The most correct thing to say next would be this: in [876b] a city where the courts are poor and voiceless, hiding their own opinions and deciding cases in secret, or—what is still worse—where they are not even silent but full of uproar, like theaters, shouting praise and blame at each speaker in turn as they judge, a grievous condition usually arises for the whole city.
876b	τοῖς οὖν δὴ τοιούτοις δικαστηρίοις νομοθετεῖν ὑπό τινος ἀνάγκης ληφθέντα οὐκ εὐτυχὲς μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης [876c] εἰλημμένον ὅτι περὶ σμικρότατα ἐπιτρεπτέον αὐτοῖς τάττειν τὰς ζημίας, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα αὐτὸν νομοθετεῖν διαρρήδην, ἄν τις ἄρα τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ νομοθετῇ ποτε· ἐν ᾗ δὲ ἂν πόλει δικαστήρια εἰς δύναμιν ὀρθῶς καθεστῶτα ᾖ, τραφέντων τε εὖ τῶν μελλόντων δικάζειν δοκιμασθέντων τε διὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας, ἐνταῦθα ὀρθὸν καὶ ἔχον εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὸ πολλὰ ἐπιτρέπειν κρίνειν τοῖς τοιούτοις δικασταῖς τῶν ὀφλόντων πέρι, τί χρὴ πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀποτίνειν.	To legislate for such courts, when one is caught by some necessity, is not a happy task. Still, one who is caught [876c] by necessity must leave them the power to fix penalties only in the most trivial matters and legislate most things himself in explicit terms—if anyone ever does legislate for such a constitution. But in a city where the courts are established as correctly as possible, where those who are to judge have been well brought up and tested with all possible rigor, there it is right and good and fine to leave many things to such judges to decide concerning those convicted—what they should suffer or pay.
876c	ἡμῖν δὴ τὰ νῦν ἀνεμέσητον [876d] τὸ μὴ νομοθετεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πλεῖστα, ἃ καὶ φαυλοτέρως ἂν πεπαιδευμένοι δικασταὶ δύναιντο κατιδεῖν καὶ προσάπτειν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ πάθους τε καὶ πράξεως· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἷς ἡμεῖς νομοθετοῦμεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐμμελεῖς αὐτοὺς οἰόμεθ᾽ ἂν τῶν τοιούτων γίγνεσθαι κριτάς, ἐπιτρεπτέον δὴ τὰ πλεῖστα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ὅπερ πολλάκις εἴπομέν τε καὶ ἐδράσαμεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν [876e] νομοθετήσει νόμων, τὸ περιγραφήν τε καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν τιμωριῶν εἰπόντας, δοῦναι τὰ παραδείγματα τοῖσι δικασταῖς τοῦ μήποτε βαίνειν ἔξω τῆς δίκης, τότε τε ἦν ὀρθότατα ἔχον καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο αὐτὸ ποιητέον, ἐπανελθόντα ἤδη πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους.	In our present case, then, no one could blame us [876d] for not legislating for them the greatest and most numerous matters, which even judges educated less well could discern, assigning to each offense the penalty or payment it deserves. Since we believe that the people for whom we are legislating will become judges of such matters as competent as any, we must leave most things to them. All the same, what we often said and did in legislating our earlier [876e] laws—giving an outline and the general patterns of the punishments, and so providing the judges with models, so that they never step outside justice—was quite right then, and we must do exactly this now too, as we return once more to our laws.
876e	ἡ δὴ γραφὴ περὶ τραύματος ὧδε ἡμῖν κείσθω· ἐάν τις διανοηθεὶς τῇ βουλήσει κτεῖναί τινα φίλιον, πλὴν ὧν ὁ νόμος ἐφίησιν, τρώσῃ μέν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ ἀδυνατήσῃ, τὸν διανοηθέντα τε καὶ τρώσαντα οὕτως οὐκ ἄξιον [877a]	Let our written law on wounding be laid down as follows. If someone, intending and wishing to kill a person who is not an enemy—other than those the law permits—wounds him but fails to kill him,

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἐλεεῖν, οὐδὲ αἰδούμενον ἄλλως ἢ καθάπερ ἀποκτείναντα ὑπέχειν τὴν δίκην φόνου ἀναγκάζειν· τὴν δὲ οὐ παντάπασι κακὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ σεβόμενον καὶ τὸν δαίμονα, ὃς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν τρωθέντα ἐλεήσας ἀπότροπος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο μὴ τῷ μὲν ἀνίατον ἕλκος γενέσθαι, τῷ δὲ ἐπάρατον τύχην καὶ συμφοράν, τούτῳ δὴ χάριν τῷ δαίμονι διδόντα καὶ μὴ ἐναντιούμενον, τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἀφελεῖν τοῦ τρώσαντος, μετάστασιν [877b] δὲ εἰς τὴν γείτονα πόλιν αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι διὰ βίου, καρπούμενον ἅπασαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κτῆσιν.

the one who so intended and wounded does not deserve [877a] pity, nor should he be shown any more consideration than if he had killed; he should be made to stand trial for murder. But out of reverence for his fortune, which was not altogether bad, and for the spirit that took pity on him and on the wounded man and turned the thing aside—so that the one did not get an incurable wound, nor the other an accursed fate and calamity—in gratitude to this spirit, and not opposing it, the death penalty is to be lifted from the one who wounded, and he is to be moved [877b] to a neighboring city for life, while enjoying the income from all his property.

877b βλάβος δέ, εἰ κατέβλαψεν τὸν τρωθέντα, ἐκτίνειν τῷ βλαφθέντι, τιμᾶν δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅπερ ἂν τὴν δίκην κρίνῃ, κρίνειν δὲ οἵπερ ἂν τοῦ φόνου ἐδίκασαν εἰ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τοῦ τραύματος. γονέας δ' ἂν παῖς ἢ δοῦλος δεσπότην ὡσαύτως ἐκ προνοίας τρώσῃ, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν· καὶ ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν ὡσαύτως τρώσῃ, [877c] καὶ ὅφλῃ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. γυνὴ δὲ ἄνδρα ἑαυτῆς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τρώσασα, ἢ ἀνὴρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν· τὴν δὲ κτῆσιν, ἐὰν μὲν ὑεῖς ἢ θυγατέρες αὐτοῖς ὦσιν παῖδες ἔτι, τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ ὡς ὀρφανῶν τῶν παίδων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ ἄνδρες, μὴ ἐπάναγκες ἔστω τρέφεσθαι τὸν φεύγοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκγόνων, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοὺς κεκτῆσθαι.

If he has done damage to the wounded man, he is to pay it to the injured party, the court that tries the case assessing the amount; and the judges are to be those who would have tried the murder if the man had died from the blow that wounded him. If a child wounds a parent, or a slave his master, in the same way, with forethought, the penalty is to be death. And if a brother wounds a brother or sister, or a sister a brother or sister, in the same way, [877c] and is convicted of wounding with forethought, the penalty is to be death. A wife who wounds her husband with a plan to kill him, or a husband his wife, is to be exiled for life. As for the property, if they have sons or daughters who are still children, the guardians are to administer it and take care of the children as orphans; but if the sons are grown men, they are not to be obliged to support the exile, and are to own the estate themselves.

877c ἄπαις δὲ ὅστις ἂν τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς περιπέσῃ, [877d] τοὺς συγγενεῖς συνελθόντας μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων τοῦ πεφευγότος ἀμφοτέρωθεν, πρός τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν, κληρονόμον εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον τῇ πόλει τετταρακοντακαιπεντακισχιλιοστὸν καταστῆσαι βουλευομένους μετὰ νομοφυλάκων καὶ ἱερέων, διανοηθέντας τρόπῳ καὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ὡς οὐδεὶς οἶκος τῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίων τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντός ἐστιν οὐδὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ γένους οὕτως ὡς τῆς πόλεως δημόσιός τε καὶ ἴδιος· δεῖ δὴ τήν γε πόλιν τοὺς [877e] αὐτῆς οἴκους ὡς ὁσιωτάτους τε καὶ εὐτυχεστάτους κεκτῆσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν.

If someone who falls into such misfortunes has no children, [877d] the exile's relatives on both sides, male and female, as far as the children of cousins, are to meet and, consulting with the guardians of the laws and the priests, appoint an heir to this household, the city's five thousand and fortieth. They are to reason in this way and on this principle: none of the five thousand and forty households belongs to its occupant, or even to his whole family, so much as it belongs to the city, both publicly and privately. And the city must keep its [877e] own households as holy and as fortunate as it can.

877e ὅταν οὖν τις ἅμα δυστυχηθῇ καὶ ἀσεβηθῇ τῶν οἴκων, ὥστε τὸν κεκτημένον ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας μὲν μὴ καταλιπεῖν, ἠίθεον δὲ ἢ καὶ γεγαμηκότα ἄπαιδα τελευτῆσαι φόνου ὀφλόντα ἑκουσίου ἤ τινος ἁμαρτήματος ἄλλου τῶν περὶ

So when a household is struck at once by misfortune and impiety, so that its owner leaves no children but dies unmarried, or married but childless, having been convicted of deliberate murder or of

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θεοὺς ἢ πολίτας ὧν ἂν θάνατος ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ζημία διαρρήδην ᾖ κειμένη, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀειφυγίᾳ τις φεύγῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄπαις, τοῦτον πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι καὶ ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι τὸν οἶκον χρεὼν ἔστω κατὰ νόμον, ἔπειτα [878a] συνελθόντας, καθάπερ εἴπομεν νυνδή, τοὺς οἰκείους ἅμα νομοφύλαξιν σκέψασθαι γένος ὅτιπερ ἂν ᾖ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει εὐδοκιμώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἅμα εὐτυχές, ἐν ᾧ ἂν παῖδες γεγονότες ὦσιν πλείους· ὅθεν ἕνα τῷ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄνω τοῦ γένους ὑὸν ὡς ἐκείνων εἰσποιοῦντας, φήμης ἕνεκα ἐπονομάζοντας, γεννήτορά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑστιοῦχον καὶ θεραπευτὴν ὁσίων τε καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπ' ἀμείνοσι τύχαις γίγνεσθαι τοῦ πατρός, τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπευξαμένους, αὐτὸν κληρονόμον [878b] καταστῆσαι κατὰ νόμον, τὸν δ' ἐξαμαρτόντα ἀνώνυμον ἐᾶν καὶ ἄπαιδα καὶ ἄμοιρον κεῖσθαι, ὁπόταν αὐτὸν καταλάβωσιν αἱ τοιαῦται συμφοραί.

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some other offense against gods or citizens for which death is expressly laid down in the law as the penalty; or when one of the men goes into permanent exile childless, then the household must first be purified and have the pollution sent away according to law. Next, [878a] as we said just now, the relatives are to meet together with the guardians of the laws and look for the family in the city that has the best reputation for virtue and is also fortunate, and in which several children have been born. From it they are to adopt one son for the dead man's father and his forefathers, naming him after them for the sake of good omen, and praying that in this way he may, with better fortune than his father, become a begetter of children for them, keeper of the hearth, and tender of their holy and sacred rites. They are to appoint him heir [878b] according to law, and leave the offender to lie nameless, childless, and without a share, whenever such misfortunes overtake him.

878b ἔστιν δὲ οὐ πάντων, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ὄντων ὅρος ὅρῳ προσμειγνύς, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔστιν μεθόριον, τοῦτο ἐν μέσῳ ὅρων πρότερον ἑκατέρῳ προσβάλλον γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἀμφοῖν μεταξύ· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων τε καὶ ἑκουσίων τὸ θυμῷ γιγνόμενον ἔφαμεν εἶναι τοιοῦτον. τραυμάτων οὖν ἔστω τῶν ὀργῇ [878c] γενομένων· ἐὰν ὅφλῃ τις, πρῶτον μὲν τίνειν τοῦ βλάβους τὴν διπλασίαν, ἂν τὸ τραῦμα ἰάσιμον ἀποβῇ, τῶν δὲ ἀνιάτων τὴν τετραπλασίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἰάσιμον μέν, αἰσχύνην δὲ μεγάλην τινὰ προσβάλλῃ τῷ τρωθέντι καὶ ἐπονείδιστον, τὴν τετραπλασίαν ἐκτίνειν.

Not all things, it seems, have one boundary directly adjoining another. Where there is a borderland, it lies in the middle, touching each boundary first, and would be between the two. And in fact we said that what is done in anger is of this kind, between the involuntary and the voluntary. So for wounds inflicted in rage, [878c] let the rule be this. If someone is convicted, he is first to pay double the damage if the wound turns out to be curable, and four times the damage for incurable ones; and if it is curable but brings some great shame and disgrace on the wounded man, he is to pay four times the damage.

878c ὅσα δέ τις τρώσας τινὰ μὴ μόνον βλάπτῃ τὸν παθόντα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ποιήσας ἀδύνατον τῇ πατρίδι πρὸς πολεμίους βοηθεῖν, τοῦτον δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ζημιῶν ἐκτίνειν καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν βλάβην· πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς [878d] αὐτοῦ στρατείαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνατοῦντος στρατευέσθω καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμικὰς ταττέσθω τάξεις, ἢ μὴ δρῶν ταῦτα ὑπόδικος τῷ ἐθέλοντι τῆς ἀστρατείας γιγνέσθω κατὰ νόμον. τὴν δὲ δὴ τῆς βλάβης ἀξίαν, εἴτε διπλῆν εἴτε τριπλῆν εἴτε καὶ τετραπλασίαν, οἱ καταψηφισάμενοι δικασταὶ ταττόντων.

Whenever someone who wounds another harms not only the victim but also the city, by making him unable to help defend his country against its enemies, he is to pay the city for the damage too, in addition to the other penalties. Besides his own [878d] campaigns, he is to serve on campaign in place of the disabled man as well and take his post in the battle line; and if he does not do this, anyone who wishes may prosecute him for evading military service according to law. The amount of the damage—whether double, triple, or even fourfold—is to be fixed by the judges who convicted him.

878d ἐὰν δὲ ὁμόγονος ὁμόγονον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τούτῳ τρώσῃ, τοὺς γεννήτας καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων πρὸς γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, γυναῖκάς τε [878e] καὶ

If a blood relative wounds a blood relative in this same way, the members of the clan and the relatives as far as the children of cousins, on the female

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ἄνδρας συνελθόντας, κρίναντας παραδιδόναι τιμᾶν τοῖς γεννήσασι κατὰ φύσιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφισβητήσιμος ἡ τίμησις γίγνηται, τοὺς πρὸς ἀνδρῶν εἶναι τιμῶντας κυρίους, ἐὰν δὲ ἀδυνατῶσιν αὐτοί, τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν τελευτῶντας ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐκγόνοις δὲ πρὸς γονέας εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων τραυμάτων δικαστὰς μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας ἐπάναγκες, οἷς ἂν παῖδες μὴ ποιητοί, ἀληθινοὶ δέ, ὦσιν, ἂν δέ τις ὄφλῃ, τιμᾶν εἰ τεθνάναι χρὴ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἴτε τι μεῖζον ἕτερον τούτου πάσχειν ἢ καὶ μὴ πολλῷ σμικρότερον· καὶ τῶν [879a] συγγενῶν τοῦ δράσαντος μηδένα δικάζειν, μηδ' ἐὰν γεγονὼς ᾖ τὸν χρόνον ὅσον ὁ νόμος εἴρηκεν.

and male side, women [878e] and men alike, are to meet, decide the case, and hand over the assessment of the penalty to the natural parents. If the assessment is disputed, the relatives on the male side are to have authority to fix it; and if they themselves cannot manage it, they are finally to refer it to the guardians of the laws. When children wound their parents in this way, the judges must be people over sixty who have children of their own, not adopted but natural. If someone is convicted, they are to assess whether such a person must die or suffer some other penalty even greater than that, or not much smaller. And [879a] none of the wrongdoer's relatives is to sit as judge, not even one who has reached the age the law has stated.

879a δοῦλος δ' ἐάν τις ἐλεύθερον ὀργῇ τρώσῃ, παραδότω τὸν δοῦλον ὁ κεκτημένος τῷ τρωθέντι χρῆσθαι ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραδιδῷ, αὐτὸς τὴν βλάβην ἐξιάσθω. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ συνθήκης αἰτιᾶται τοῦ δούλου καὶ τοῦ τρωθέντος μηχανὴν εἶναί τις τὸ γεγονός, ἀμφισβητησάτω· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἕλῃ, τριπλασίαν ἐκτεισάτω τὴν βλάβην, ἑλὼν δέ, ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ὑπόδικον ἐχέτω τὸν τεχνάζοντα [879b] μετὰ τοῦ δούλου. ὃς δ' ἂν ἄκων ἄλλος ἄλλον τρώσῃ, τὸ βλάβος ἁπλοῦν ἀποτινέτω—τύχης γὰρ νομοθέτης οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἄρχειν—δικασταὶ δὲ ὄντων οἵπερ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τοὺς γεννήτορας ἐρρήθησαν, καὶ τιμώντων τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς βλάβης.

If a slave wounds a free person in rage, the owner is to hand the slave over to the wounded man to deal with as he wishes; if he does not hand him over, he is to make good the damage himself. If anyone alleges that what happened was a scheme arranged by agreement between the slave and the wounded man, he is to contest the case. If he fails to win, he is to pay three times the damage; but if he wins, he may prosecute the man who contrived the scheme [879b] along with the slave for kidnapping. Anyone who wounds another involuntarily is to pay simple damages—for no lawgiver is able to rule over chance—and the judges are to be the same as those named for cases of children against parents, and they are to assess the amount of the damage.

ASSAULT AND RESPECT FOR ELDERS

Laws on assault honor the old, protect foreigners, and punish violence against parents severely.

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879b **ATHENIAN** βίαια μὲν δὴ πάνθ' ἡμῖν τὰ προειρημένα πάθη, βίαιον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰκίας πᾶν γένος. ὧδε οὖν χρὴ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντα ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα καὶ γυναῖκα ἀεὶ διανοεῖσθαι, τὸ πρεσβύτερον ὡς οὐ σμικρῷ τοῦ νεωτέρου ἐστὶ πρεσβευόμενον [879c] ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς μέλλουσι σῴζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν. αἰκίαν οὖν περὶ πρεσβύτερον ἐν πόλει γενομένην ὑπὸ νεωτέρου ἰδεῖν αἰσχρὸν καὶ θεομισές· ἔοικεν δὲ νέῳ παντὶ ὑπὸ γέροντος πληγέντι ῥᾳθύμως ὀργὴν ὑποφέρειν, αὐτῷ τιθεμένῳ τιμὴν ταύτην εἰς γῆρας. ὧδε οὖν ἔστω· πᾶς ἡμῖν αἰδείσθω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἔργῳ τε καὶ ἔπει· τὸν δὲ προέχοντα εἴκοσιν ἡλικίας ἔτεσιν, ἄρρενα ἢ θῆλυν,

ATHENIAN All the injuries we have described so far are violent, but the whole class of assault is violent too. Concerning such things, every man, child, and woman should always think in this way: that the older is honored far above the younger, [879c] both among the gods and among human beings who mean to be preserved and to be happy. So it is a shameful and god-hated thing to see an older person assaulted by a younger in a city; and it is fitting for every young man who is struck by an old one to bear his anger calmly, storing up this honor for himself for his own old age. So let it be

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νομίζων ὡς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα διευλαβείσθω, καὶ [879d] πάσης τῆς δυνατῆς ἡλικίας αὐτὸν φιτῦσαι καὶ τεκεῖν ἀπέχοιτο ἀεὶ θεῶν γενεθλίων χάριν.

[879d] ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ ξένου ἀπείργοιτο εἴτε πάλαι ἐνοικοῦντος εἴτε νεήλυδος ἀφιγμένου· μήτε γὰρ ὑπάρχων μήτε ἀμυνόμενος τὸ παράπαν τολμάτω πληγαῖς τὸν τοιοῦτον νουθετεῖν. ξένον δὲ ἂν ἀσελγαίνοντα καὶ θρασυνόμενον ἑαυτὸν τύπτοντα οἴηται δεῖν κολασθῆναι, λαβὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀπαγέτω, τοῦ τύπτειν δὲ εἰργέσθω, ἵνα πόρρω γίγνηται τοῦ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ἂν τολμῆσαί [879e] ποτε πατάξαι. οἱ δ' ἀστυνόμοι παραλαβόντες τε καὶ ἀνακρίναντες, τὸν ξενικὸν αὖ θεὸν εὐλαβούμενοι, ἐὰν ἄρα ἀδίκως δοκῇ ὁ ξένος τὸν ἐπιχώριον τύπτειν, τῇ μάστιγι τὸν ξένον ὅσας ἂν αὐτὸς πατάξῃ τοσαύτας δόντες, τῆς θρασυξενίας παυόντων· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀπειλήσαντές τε καὶ ὀνειδίσαντες τῷ ἀπαγαγόντι μεθιέντων ἄμφω.

[879e] ἦλιξ δὲ ἥλικα καὶ τὸν [880a] ἄπαιδα προέχοντα ἡλικίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ ἐὰν τύπτῃ, γέρων τε γέροντα καὶ ἐὰν νέος νέον, ἀμυνέσθω κατὰ φύσιν ἄνευ βέλους ψιλαῖς ταῖς χερσίν· ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη ἐὰν τολμᾷ τῳ μάχεσθαι, εἴτε ἄρχων εἴτε ἀμυνόμενος, ἄγροικος καὶ ἀνελεύθερος ἂν λεγόμενος ἀνδραποδώδης τε, δίκης ἂν ἐπονειδίστου τυγχάνων τὸ πρέπον ἔχοι.

[880a] καὶ ἐὰν μέν τις τοιούτοις παραμυθίοις εὐπειθὴς γίγνηται, εὐήνιος ἂν εἴη· ὁ δὲ δυσπειθὴς καὶ μηδὲν προοιμίου φροντίζων δέχοιτ' ἂν τὸν τοιόνδε [880b] ἑτοίμως νόμον· ἐάν τις τύπτῃ τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν ἢ πλείοσιν ἑαυτοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ προστυγχάνων, ἐὰν μὴ ἦλιξ μηδὲ νεώτερος ᾖ τῶν μαχομένων, διειργέτω ἢ κακὸς ἔστω κατὰ νόμον· ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πληγέντος ἡλικίᾳ ἢ ἔτι νεώτερος, ἀμυνέτω ὡς ἀδελφῷ ἢ πατρὶ ἢ ἔτι ἀνωτέρω τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ. πρὸς δ' ἔτι δίκην ὑπεχέτω τῆς αἰκίας ὁ τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὡς εἴρηται, τολμήσας τύπτειν, καὶ ἐὰν ὄφλῃ [880c] τὴν δίκην, δεδέσθω μηδὲν ἐνιαυτοῦ σμικρότερον· ἐὰν δὲ οἱ δικασταὶ τιμήσωσιν πλείονος, ἔστω κύριος ὁ τιμηθεὶς αὐτῷ χρόνος.

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as follows. Everyone among us is to show respect to his elders in deed and word. Anyone who is twenty years older than himself, male or female, he is to regard as a father or mother and treat with great care; and [879d] out of respect for the gods of birth he is always to keep his hands off anyone of an age that could have fathered or borne him.

In the same way he is to keep his hands off a foreigner, whether one long resident or newly arrived. He is not to dare discipline such a person with blows at all, whether he starts it or is defending himself. If he thinks that a foreigner who is striking him with insolence and effrontery ought to be punished, let him seize him and take him before the city wardens, but refrain from hitting him, so that the foreigner may be far from ever [879e] daring to strike a native. The city wardens are to take him and question him, again showing due reverence to the god who protects foreigners. If the foreigner does seem to have struck the native unjustly, they are to give him as many lashes with the whip as the blows he himself struck, and so put a stop to his foreign insolence. If he has done no wrong, they are to threaten and reprimand the man who brought him in, and let them both go.

If someone strikes a person of his own age, or [880a] someone older than himself who has no children—an old man striking an old man, or a young man a young man—the one struck may defend himself as nature allows, without a weapon, with his bare hands. But anyone over forty who dares to fight with someone, whether he starts it or is defending himself, will be called boorish, ill-bred, and servile, and he will get what he deserves in meeting with a disgraceful penalty.

Anyone who is readily persuaded by such exhortations will be easy to manage. But one who is hard to persuade and pays no attention to the preamble should be ready to receive [880b] a law like this. If anyone strikes a person twenty or more years older than himself, first, whoever happens to be present, if he is neither the same age as the combatants nor younger, is to separate them, or be held a coward in the eyes of the law. If he is the same age as the one struck, or younger still, he is to defend the wronged man as he would a brother or father or someone still further up the family. In addition, the one who dared to strike an older person, as described, is to stand trial for assault; and

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if he is convicted, [880c] he is to be imprisoned for no less than a year. If the judges assess a longer period, the period they set is to stand.

880c ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ἢ τῶν μετοίκων τις τύπτῃ τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν ἢ πλείοσιν ἑαυτοῦ, περὶ μὲν τῶν παραγενομένων τῆς βοηθείας ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος ἐχέτω τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην ἡττηθείς, ξένος μὲν ὢν καὶ μὴ σύνοικος, δύο ἔτη δεδεμένος ἐκτινέτω ταύτην αὐτὴν τὴν δίκην, ὁ δὲ μέτοικός τε ὢν καὶ ἀπειθῶν τοῖς νόμοις τρία [880d] ἔτη δεδέσθω, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ δικαστήριον πλείονος αὐτῷ χρόνου τιμήσῃ τὴν δίκην. ζημιούσθω δὲ καὶ ὁ παραγενόμενος ὁτῳοῦν τούτων καὶ μὴ βοηθήσας κατὰ νόμον, ὁ μὲν μεγίστου τιμήματος ὢν μνᾶ, δευτέρου δὲ ὢν πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς, τρίτου δὲ τριάκοντα, εἴκοσι δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου· δικαστήριον δὲ γιγνέσθω τοῖς τοιούτοισι στρατηγοὶ καὶ ταξίαρχοι φύλαρχοί τε καὶ ἵππαρχοι.

If a foreigner or a resident foreigner strikes someone twenty or more years older than himself, the same law about bystanders coming to help is to have the same force. The one who loses such a case, if he is a foreigner and not a resident, is to pay the penalty with two years in prison; if he is a resident foreigner who has disobeyed the laws, he is to be imprisoned for three [880d] years, unless the court assesses a longer period in his case. Anyone present at any of these incidents who fails to help as the law requires is also to be fined: a mina if he belongs to the highest property class, fifty drachmas if to the second, thirty if to the third, and twenty if to the fourth. The court for such cases is to consist of the generals, the infantry commanders, the cavalry squadron commanders, and the cavalry commanders.

880d νόμοι δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ μὲν τῶν χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκα γίγνονται, διδαχῆς χάριν τοῦ τίνα τρόπον ὁμιλοῦντες [880e] ἀλλήλοις ἂν φιλοφρόνως οἰκοῖεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν τὴν παιδείαν διαφυγόντων, ἀτεράμονι χρωμένων τινὶ φύσει καὶ μηδὲν τεγχθέντων ὥστε μὴ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἰέναι κάκην. οὗτοι τοὺς μέλλοντας λόγους ῥηθήσεσθαι πεποιηκότες ἂν εἶεν· οἷς δὴ τοὺς νόμους ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ νομοθέτης ἂν νομοθετοῖ, βουλόμενος αὐτῶν μηδέποτε χρείαν γίγνεσθαι. πατρὸς γὰρ ἢ μητρὸς ἢ τούτων ἔτι προγόνων ὅστις τολμήσει ἅψασθαί ποτε βιαζόμενος αἰκίᾳ τινί, μήτε τῶν ἄνω δείσας θεῶν μῆνιν μήτε [881a] τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς τιμωριῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ ὡς εἰδὼς ἃ μηδαμῶς οἶδεν, καταφρονῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων εἰρημένων, παρανομεῖ, τούτῳ δεῖ τινος ἀποτροπῆς ἐσχάτης.

Laws, it seems, are made partly for the sake of good people, to teach them how to live together [880e] in friendship, and partly for the sake of those who have escaped education, who have a tough nature that nothing has softened, to keep them from going to every kind of wickedness. It is these people who will have caused the words that are about to be spoken. It is for them that the lawgiver would lay down his laws out of necessity, wishing that there might never be any need of them. For whoever dares ever to lay violent hands on his father or mother, or their forebears, in an assault, fearing neither the wrath of the gods above nor [881a] the punishments said to await below the earth, but breaks the law as if he knew what he does not know at all, despising the ancient sayings that everyone repeats—such a man needs some extreme deterrent.

881a θάνατος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔσχατον, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἅιδου τούτοισι λεγόμενοι πόνοι ἔτι τε τούτων εἰσὶ μᾶλλον ἐν ἐσχάτοις, καὶ ἀληθέστατα λέγοντες οὐδὲν ἀνύτουσιν ταῖς τοιαύταις ψυχαῖς ἀποτροπῆς—οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγίγνοντό ποτε μητραλοῖαί τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεννητόρων ἀνόσιοι πληγῶν τόλμαι—δεῖ δὴ τὰς ἐνθάδε [881b] κολάσεις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τούτοισι τὰς ἐν τῷ ζῆν μηδὲν τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου λείπεσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν.

Now death is not the extreme; the sufferings said to await such people in Hades go further still to the extreme. Yet though these accounts speak the very truth, they accomplish nothing to deter such souls—otherwise there would never be people who beat their mothers, or who have the unholy audacity to strike their other parents. So the punishments here [881b] for such crimes, in this life, must as far as possible fall in no way short of those in Hades.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
881b	ἔστω δὴ λεγόμενον τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇδε· ὃς ἂν τολμήσῃ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ τούτων πατέρας ἢ μητέρας τύπτειν μὴ μανίαις ἐχόμενος, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ προστυγχάνων καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν βοηθείτω, καὶ ὁ μὲν μέτοικος ἢ ξένος εἰς προεδρίαν τῶν ἀγώνων καλείσθω βοηθῶν, μὴ βοηθήσας δὲ ἀειφυγίαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φευγέτω· 881c ὁ δὲ μὴ μέτοικος βοηθῶν μὲν ἔπαινον ἐχέτω, μὴ βοηθῶν δέ, ψόγον· δοῦλος δὲ βοηθήσας μὲν ἐλεύθερος γιγνέσθω, μὴ βοηθήσας δὲ πληγὰς ἑκατὸν τῇ μάστιγι τυπτέσθω, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ἂν γίγνηται τὸ γενόμενον, ὑπ᾽ ἀγορανόμων, ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐκτὸς ἀγορᾶς ἐν ἄστει, τῶν ἀστυνόμων κολάζειν τὸν ἐπιδημοῦντα, ἐὰν δὲ κατ᾽ ἀγροὺς τῆς χώρας που, τοὺς τῶν ἀγρονόμων ἄρχοντας.	Let what comes next, then, be stated like this. If anyone dares to strike his father or mother, or their fathers or mothers, when he is not in the grip of madness, first, whoever happens to be present is to come to the victim's aid as in the previous cases. A resident foreigner or foreigner who helps is to be invited to a front seat at the public contests; if he does not help, he is to be exiled from the country for life. 881c Anyone who is not a resident foreigner is to be praised if he helps, and blamed if he doesn't. A slave who helps is to become free, but one who doesn't is to be given a hundred lashes with the whip: by the market wardens if the incident takes place in the marketplace; if it takes place in the town outside the marketplace, the city warden who is in town is to punish him; and if somewhere out in the countryside, the officers of the country wardens.
881c	ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐπιχώριος ὁ παρατυγχάνων ᾗ τις, ἐάντε 881d παῖς ἐάντε ἀνὴρ ἐάντ᾽ οὖν γυνή, ἀμυνέτω πᾶς τὸν ἀνόσιον ἐπονομάζων· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀμύνων ἀρᾷ ἐνεχέσθω Διὸς ὁμογνίου καὶ πατρῴου κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλῃ δίκην αἰκίας γονέων, πρῶτον μὲν φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν ἐξ ἅστεος εἰς τὴν ἄλλην χώραν καὶ πάντων ἱερῶν εἰργέσθω· μὴ δὲ εἰργόμενον κολαζόντων αὐτὸν ἀγρονόμοι πληγαῖς καὶ πάντως ὡς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, κατελθὼν δὲ θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω.	If the bystander is a native, whether 881d a child, a man, or a woman, each is to defend the victim, denouncing the attacker as unholy; and whoever fails to defend him is to be liable, according to law, to the curse of Zeus of the Family and Zeus of the Fathers. If someone is convicted of assaulting his parents, first he is to be banished for life from the city into the rest of the country and excluded from all sacred places. If he does not keep away from them, the country wardens are to punish him with blows and in any way they wish; and if he comes back to the city, he is to be punished with death.
881d	ἐὰν δέ τις τῷ τοιούτῳ, ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι, συμφάγῃ ἢ συμπίῃ ἤ τινα 881e τοιαύτην ἄλλην κοινωνίαν κοινωνήσῃ, ἢ καὶ μόνον ἐντυγχάνων που προσάπτηται ἑκών, μήτε εἰς ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ μηδὲν μήτ᾽ εἰς ἀγορὰν μήτ᾽ εἰς πόλιν ὅλως πρότερον ἢ καθήρηται, νομίζων κεκοινωνηκέναι ἀλιτηριώδους τύχης· ἐὰν δὲ ἀπειθῶν νόμῳ ἱερὰ καὶ πόλιν μιαίνῃ παρανόμως, ὃς ἂν τῶν ἀρχόντων αἰσθόμενος μὴ ἐπάγῃ δίκην τῷ τοιούτῳ, ἐν εὐθύναις ἔστω 882a τῶν κατηγορημάτων τῶν μεγίστων ἓν τοῦτο αὐτῷ.	If any free person eats or drinks with such a man, or has any other such 881e dealings with him, or even just meets him somewhere and willingly touches him, he is not to enter any temple, or the marketplace, or the city at all before he has been purified, considering that he has shared in an accursed fortune. If he disobeys the law and pollutes temples and city unlawfully, any official who notices it and does not bring him to trial is to have this counted, at his audit, 882a as one of the gravest charges against him.
882a	ἐὰν δὲ αὖ δοῦλος τύπτῃ τὸν ἐλεύθερον, εἴτ᾽ οὖν ξένον εἴτε ἀστόν, βοηθείτω μὲν ὁ προστυγχάνων ἢ κατὰ τὸ τίμημα τὴν εἰρημένην ζημίαν ἀποτινέτω, συνδήσαντες δὲ οἱ προστυγχάνοντες μετὰ τοῦ πληγέντος παραδόντων τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ· ὁ 882b δὲ παραλαβών, δήσας ἐν πέδαις καὶ μαστιγώσας ὁπόσας ἂν ἐθέλῃ, μηδὲν βλάπτων τὸν δεσπότην, παραδότω ἐκείνῳ κεκτῆσθαι κατὰ νόμον. ὁ δὲ νόμος ἔστω· ὃς ἂν ἐλεύθερον δοῦλος ὢν τύπτῃ μὴ τῶν	If a slave strikes a free person, whether foreigner or citizen, anyone present is to come to the victim's aid or pay the fine stated for his property class. Those present, together with the man who was struck, are to tie the slave up and hand him over to the wronged party. 882b He is to take him, put him in shackles, and whip him as many times as he likes, provided he does no damage to the

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ἀρχόντων κελευόντων, παραλαβὼν ὁ κεκτημένος παρὰ τοῦ πληγέντος δεδεμένον αὐτὸν μὴ λύσῃ, 882c πρὶν ἂν ὁ δοῦλος πείσῃ τὸν πληγέντα ἄξιος εἶναι τοῦ λελυμένος ζῆν. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ γυναιξίν τε ἔστω πρὸς ἀλλήλας περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων νόμιμα, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι πρὸς γυναῖκας.

ENGLISH

owner's interest, and then hand him back to his owner to keep according to law. The law is to be this: when a slave strikes a free person without the officials' ordering it, his owner, taking him back in bonds from the man who was struck, is not to release him 882c until the slave persuades the man he struck that he deserves to live unbound. Let the same rules hold for women toward one another in all such matters, and for women toward men and men toward women.

Book X

Impiety, and the proof that the gods exist and care for us.

GREEK

ENGLISH

884a **ATHENIAN** μετὰ δὲ τὰς αἰκίας περὶ παντὸς ἓν εἰρήσθω τοιόνδε τι νόμιμον βιαίων πέρι· τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μηδένα μηδὲν φέρειν μηδὲ ἄγειν, μηδ' αὖ χρῆσθαι μηδενὶ τῶν τοῦ πέλας, ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τὸν κεκτημένον· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τοιούτου πάντα ἠρτημένα τά τε εἰρημένα κακὰ γέγονε καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται. μέγιστα δὲ δὴ τῶν λοιπῶν αἱ τῶν νέων ἀκολασίαι τε καὶ ὕβρεις, εἰς μέγιστα δέ, ὅταν εἰς ἱερὰ γίγνωνται, καὶ διαφερόντως αὖ μεγάλα, ὅταν εἰς δημόσια καὶ ἅγια ἢ κατὰ μέρη κοινὰ φυλετῶν ἤ τινων ἄλλων τοιούτων κεκοινωνηκότων· 885a εἰς ἱερὰ δὲ ἴδια καὶ τάφους δεύτερα καὶ δευτέρως, εἰς δὲ γονέας τρίτα, χωρὶς τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων, ὅταν ὑβρίζῃ τις.

ATHENIAN After assault, let a single legal principle covering all violent acts be stated, something like this. No one is to carry off or drive off anything belonging to others, nor use anything of his neighbor's, unless he persuades the owner. For on this sort of thing hang all the evils we have mentioned: from it they have come, they come, and they will come. The greatest of the remaining ones are the licentious and outrageous acts of the young. They are greatest when directed at sacred things, and especially great when directed at what is public and holy, or held in common by parts of the city—by tribesmen or other such associations. 885a Second, and second in gravity, are outrages against private sacred things and tombs; and third, apart from those already mentioned, outrages when someone commits them against parents.

885a τέταρτον δὲ γένος ὕβρεως, ὅταν ἀφροντιστῶν τις ἀρχόντων ἄγῃ ἢ φέρῃ ἢ χρῆταί τινι τῶν ἐκείνων μὴ πείσας αὐτούς, πέμπτον δὲ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἂν εἴη ἑκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρισθὲν δίκην ἐπικαλούμενον. οἷς δὴ δοτέον εἰς κοινὸν νόμον ἑκάστοις. ἱεροσυλία μὲν γὰρ εἴρηται 885b συλλήβδην, βίαιός τε καὶ λάθρᾳ ἐὰν γίγνηται, τί χρὴ πάσχειν· ὅσα δὲ λόγῳ καὶ ὅσα ἔργῳ περὶ θεοὺς ὑβρίζει τις λέγων ἢ πράττων, τὸ παραμύθιον ὑποθεμένῳ ῥητέον ἃ δεῖ πάσχειν. ἔστω δὴ τόδε. θεοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι κατὰ νόμους οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε ἔργον ἀσεβὲς ἠργάσατο ἑκὼν οὔτε λόγον ἀφῆκεν ἄνομον, ἀλλὰ ἓν δή τι τῶν τριῶν πάσχων, ἢ τοῦτο, ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐχ ἡγούμενος, ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ὄντας οὐ φροντίζειν ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τρίτον εὐπαραμυθήτους εἶναι θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς παραγομένους.

A fourth kind of outrage is when someone, disregarding the officials, carries off or drives off or uses something of theirs without persuading them; the fifth would be the civic kind, the outrage against the rights of an individual citizen, which calls for legal redress. To each of these a common law must be given. Temple robbery has already been dealt with 885b in general—what should happen to the offender, whether it is done by force or in secret. But as for the outrages someone commits against the gods in word or deed, speaking or acting, we must first set out the exhortation and then state what he should suffer. Let it be this. No one who believes, as the laws prescribe, that gods exist has ever willingly done an impious deed or let slip a lawless word. Rather, he is suffering from one of three things: either, as I said, he does not believe this; or, second, he believes that they exist but do not care about human beings; or third, that they are easily won over, swayed by sacrifices and prayers.

885c **CLINIAS** τί οὖν δὴ δρῶμεν ἂν ἢ καὶ λέγοιμεν πρὸς αὐτούς;

CLINIAS Then what should we do, or say, to them?

THE ATHEISTS' CHALLENGE

Imagined unbelievers demand proof that gods exist before being threatened with punishment.

GREEK	ENGLISH
ATHENIAN ὠγαθέ, ἐπακούσωμεν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἃ τῷ καταφρονεῖν ἡμῶν προσπαίζοντας αὐτοὺς λέγειν μαντεύομαι.	**ATHENIAN** My good friend, let us first listen to what I imagine they would say, mocking us in their contempt.
CLINIAS ποῖα δή;	**CLINIAS** What would that be?
ATHENIAN ταῦτα τάχ' ἂν ἐρεσχηλοῦντες εἴποιεν· ὦ ξένε Ἀθηναῖε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιε καὶ Κνώσιε, ἀληθῆ λέγετε. ἡμῶν γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν θεοὺς οὐδαμῶς νομίζομεν, οἱ δὲ οἵους ὑμεῖς λέγετε. ἀξιοῦμεν δή, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ἠξιώκατε [885d] περὶ νόμων, πρὶν ἀπειλεῖν ἡμῖν σκληρῶς, ὑμᾶς πρότερον ἐπιχειρεῖν πείθειν καὶ διδάσκειν ὡς εἰσὶ θεοί, τεκμήρια λέγοντες ἱκανά, καὶ ὅτι βελτίους ἢ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπό τινων δώρων παρατρέπεσθαι κηλούμενοι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ἀκούοντές τε καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα τῶν λεγομένων ἀρίστων εἶναι ποιητῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ μάντεων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ ἄλλων μυριάκις μυρίων, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ δρᾶν τὰ ἄδικα τρεπόμεθα οἱ [885e] πλεῖστοι, δράσαντες δ' ἐξακεῖσθαι πειρώμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** They might well say this, teasing us: Strangers—from Athens, Sparta, and Knossos—what you say is true. Some of us don't believe in gods at all, and others believe in gods of the kind you describe. So we demand, just as you have demanded [885d] in the matter of laws, that before threatening us harshly you first try to persuade and teach us that gods exist, offering adequate evidence, and that they are too good to be charmed by gifts and turned aside from justice. As it is, we hear these things and others like them from those reputed to be the best poets, orators, seers, priests, and countless thousands of others, and most of us are not turned away from doing wrong; [885e] instead we do wrong and then try to make amends.
885e παρὰ δὲ δὴ νομοθετῶν, φασκόντων εἶναι μὴ ἀγρίων ἀλλὰ ἡμέρων, ἀξιοῦμεν πειθοῖ πρῶτον χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἰ μὴ πολλῷ βελτίω τῶν ἄλλων λέγοντας περὶ θεῶν ὡς εἰσίν, ἀλλ' οὖν βελτίω γε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τάχα πειθοίμεθ' ἂν ἴσως ὑμῖν. ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρεῖτε, εἴ τι μέτριον λέγομεν, εἰπεῖν ἃ προκαλούμεθα.	From lawgivers who claim to be gentle rather than savage, we demand that you use persuasion with us first. Even if what you say about the existence of gods is not much better than what others say, let it at least be better as regards the truth, and perhaps you might persuade us. So if our request is reasonable, try to answer our challenge.
CLINIAS οὐκοῦν, ὦ ξένε, δοκεῖ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι ἀληθεύοντας λέγειν ὡς εἰσὶν θεοί;	**CLINIAS** Well, stranger, doesn't it seem easy to say truthfully that gods exist?
886a **ATHENIAN** πῶς;	**ATHENIAN** How so?
CLINIAS πρῶτον μὲν γῆ καὶ ἥλιος ἄστρα τε καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὡρῶν διακεκοσμημένα καλῶς οὕτως, ἐνιαυτοῖς τε καὶ μησὶν διειλημμένα· καὶ ὅτι πάντες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι νομίζουσιν εἶναι θεούς.	**CLINIAS** First, there's the earth and the sun, the stars and the whole universe, and the seasons so beautifully ordered, divided into years and months. And then there's the fact that all Greeks and non-Greeks believe that gods exist.
ATHENIAN φοβοῦμαί γε, ὦ μακάριε, τοὺς μοχθηρούς—οὐ γὰρ δή ποτε εἴποιμ' ἂν ὥς γε αἰδοῦμαι—μή πως ἡμῶν καταφρονήσωσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἴστε αὐτῶν πέρι τὴν τῆς διαφορᾶς αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' ἡγεῖσθε ἀκρατείᾳ μόνον ἡδονῶν τε [886b] καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσεβῆ βίον ὁρμᾶσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν.	**ATHENIAN** My dear friend, I'm afraid of the wicked—I would certainly never say I feel respect for them—afraid that they may somehow look down on us. You two don't know the reason for their difference of view; you think their souls rush

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into the impious life only through lack of control over their pleasures [886b] and desires.

886b **CLINIAS** τὸ δὲ τί πρὸς τούτοις αἴτιον ἄν, ὦ ξένε, εἴη;

CLINIAS And what other cause could there be besides these, stranger?

ATHENIAN σχεδὸν ὃ παντάπασιν ὑμεῖς ἔξω ζῶντες οὐκ ἂν εἰδείητε, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς ἂν λανθάνοι.

ATHENIAN One that you, living quite outside it, would hardly know about; it would escape your notice.

CLINIAS τί δὴ τοῦτο φράζεις τὰ νῦν;

CLINIAS What are you getting at now?

ATHENIAN ἀμαθία τις μάλα χαλεπή, δοκοῦσα εἶναι μεγίστη φρόνησις.

ATHENIAN A very grievous kind of ignorance, which passes for the greatest wisdom.

CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;

CLINIAS What do you mean?

ATHENIAN εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἐν γράμμασιν λόγοι κείμενοι, οἳ παρ' ὑμῖν οὐκ εἰσὶν δι' ἀρετὴν πολιτείας, ὡς ἐγὼ μανθάνω, οἱ μὲν ἔν [886c] τισι μέτροις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ μέτρων λέγοντες περὶ θεῶν, οἱ μὲν παλαιότατοι ὡς γέγονεν ἡ πρώτη φύσις οὐρανοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων, προϊόντες δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ πολὺ θεογονίαν διεξέρχονται, γενόμενοί τε ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὠμίλησαν· ἃ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν εἰ μὲν εἰς ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς ἔχει, οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐπιτιμᾶν παλαιοῖς οὖσιν, εἰς μέντοι γονέων τε θεραπείας καὶ τιμὰς οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ ποτε ἐπαινῶν εἴποιμι οὔτε ὡς ὠφέλιμα οὔτε ὡς τὸ παράπαν ὄντως εἴρηται. τὰ [886d] μὲν οὖν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πέρι μεθείσθω καὶ χαιρέτω, καὶ ὅπῃ θεοῖσιν φίλον, λεγέσθω ταύτῃ· τὰ δὲ τῶν νέων ἡμῖν καὶ σοφῶν αἰτιαθήτω ὅπῃ κακῶν αἴτια.

ATHENIAN Among us there are accounts set down in writing, which you don't have in your cities because of the virtue of your constitutions, as I understand it. Some are [886c] in verse, others in prose, and they speak about the gods. The most ancient tell how the first nature of the heavens and of everything else came to be, and, going on not far from the beginning, relate the birth of the gods and how, once born, they dealt with one another. Whether these accounts are good or bad for their hearers in other respects is not easy to criticize, since they are ancient. But as regards the care and honor due to parents, I at least would never praise them, or call them either beneficial or at all true. [886d] So let the ancient accounts be dismissed and let go, and let them be told in whatever way is pleasing to the gods. But the accounts of our modern, wise men must be held to blame wherever they cause harm.[1]

886d τόδε οὖν οἱ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξεργάζονται λόγοι· ἐμοῦ γὰρ καὶ σοῦ, ὅταν τεκμήρια λέγωμεν ὡς εἰσὶν θεοί, ταῦτα αὐτὰ προφέροντες, ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἄστρα καὶ γῆν ὡς θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα ὄντα, ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν τούτων ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἂν λέγοιεν ὡς γῆν τε καὶ λίθους ὄντα αὐτὰ καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων [886e] πραγμάτων φροντίζειν δυνάμενα, λόγοισι δὲ ταῦτα εὖ πως εἰς τὸ πιθανὸν περιπεπεμμένα.

This, then, is what the accounts of such men accomplish. When you and I offer evidence that gods exist, bringing forward these very things—sun, moon, stars, and earth—as gods and divine beings, people who have been won over by these wise men would say that these things are earth and stones and are incapable of caring [886e] at all about human affairs, and that all this has been nicely sugarcoated with words to make it plausible.[2]

886e **CLINIAS** χαλεπόν γε λόγον, ὦ ξένε, εἰρηκὼς τυγχάνεις, εἴ γε εἷς ἦν μόνον· νῦν δὲ ὅτε πάμπολλοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἔτι χαλεπώτερον ἂν εἴη.

CLINIAS That's a hard argument you've brought up, stranger, even if there were only one such ac-

1 He means theogonies such as Hesiod's, in which gods overthrow and mutilate their fathers.
2 The philosopher Anaxagoras, for example, had called the sun a red-hot stone.

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count; but as there are a great many, it would be harder still.

ATHENIAN τί οὖν δή; τί λέγομεν; τί χρὴ δρᾶν ἡμᾶς; πότερον ἀπολογησώμεθα οἷον κατηγορήσαντός τινος ἐν ἀσεβέσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡμῶν, φεύγουσι περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας λέγουσιν [887a] ὡς δεινὰ ἐργαζόμεθα νομοθετοῦντες ὡς ὄντων θεῶν; ἢ χαίρειν ἐάσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους τρεπώμεθα πάλιν, μὴ καὶ τὸ προοίμιον ἡμῖν μακρότερον γίγνηται τῶν νόμων; οὐ γάρ τι βραχὺς ὁ λόγος ἐκταθεὶς ἂν γίγνοιτο, εἰ τοῖσιν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀσεβεῖν τὰ μὲν ἀποδείξαιμεν μετρίως τοῖς λόγοις ὧν ἔφραζον δεῖν πέρι λέγειν, τὸν δὲ εἰς φόβον τρέψαιμεν, τὰ δὲ δυσχεραίνειν ποιήσαντες, ὅσα πρέπει μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη νομοθετοῖμεν.

ATHENIAN Well then? What do we say? What must we do? Should we make a defense speech, as if someone had accused us before a court of impious men and we were on trial over our legislation, charged with [887a] doing something terrible in legislating on the assumption that gods exist? Or should we say goodbye to all this and turn back to our laws, so that our preamble doesn't become longer than the laws themselves? For the argument would grow to no small length if, for those who want to be impious, we were to demonstrate adequately in argument the things they said we must speak about, turn them to fear, make them loathe what they should, and only then legislate what is fitting.

887b CLINIAS ἀλλ', ὦ ξένε, πολλάκις μὲν ὥς γε ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ εἰρήκαμεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖ προτιμᾶν βραχυλογίαν μᾶλλον ἢ μῆκος—οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμᾶς, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπείγων διώκει—γελοῖον δὴ καὶ φαῦλον τὸ πρὸ τῶν βελτίστων τὰ βραχύτερα αἱρουμένους φαίνεσθαι. διαφέρει δ' οὐ σμικρὸν ἁμῶς γέ πως πιθανότητά τινα τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ὡς θεοί τ' εἰσὶν καὶ ἀγαθοί, δίκην τιμῶντες διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπων· σχεδὸν γὰρ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων [887c] τῶν νόμων κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον προοίμιον ἂν εἴη. μηδὲν οὖν δυσχεράναντες μηδὲ ἐπειχθέντες, ἤντινά ποτε ἔχομεν δύναμιν εἰς πειθὼ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, μηδὲν ἀποθέμενοι διεξέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἱκανῶς.

CLINIAS But, stranger, we've said this very thing many times in this short while: at present we shouldn't prefer brevity to length at all—for no one, as the saying goes, is chasing us and pressing us on—and it would be ridiculous and shabby to be seen choosing the shorter over the best. It makes no small difference that our arguments have some plausibility, somehow or other, that gods exist and are good, and honor justice more than human beings do. For this would be just about the finest and best preamble for all [887c] our laws. So, without annoyance or haste, let us go through these arguments as adequately as we can, holding back none of whatever power of persuasion we have in such matters.

887c ATHENIAN εὐχήν μοι δοκεῖ παρακαλεῖν ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ νῦν λόγος, ἐπειδὴ προθύμως συντείνεις·

μέλλειν δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγχωρεῖ λέγειν. φέρε δή, πῶς ἄν τις μὴ θυμῷ λέγοι περὶ θεῶν ὡς εἰσίν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ δὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν καὶ μισεῖν [887d] ἐκείνους οἳ τούτων ἡμῖν αἴτιοι τῶν λόγων γεγένηνται καὶ γίγνονται νῦν, οὐ πειθόμενοι τοῖς μύθοις οὓς ἐκ νέων παίδων ἔτι ἐν γάλαξι τρεφόμενοι τροφῶν τε ἤκουον καὶ μητέρων, οἷον ἐν ἐπῳδαῖς μετά τε παιδιᾶς καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένων καὶ μετὰ θυσιῶν ἐν εὐχαῖς αὐτοὺς ἀκούοντές τε, καὶ ὄψεις ὁρῶντες ἑπομένας αὐτοῖς ἃς ἥδιστα ὅ γε νέος ὁρᾷ τε καὶ ἀκούει πραττομένας θυόντων, ἐν σπουδῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ τοὺς αὑτῶν γονέας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων ἐσπουδακότας, ὡς [887e] ὅτι μάλιστα οὗσιν θεοῖς εὐχαῖς προσδιαλεγομένους καὶ ἱκετείαις, ἀνατέλλοντός τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ πρὸς δυσμὰς

But there's no more room for delay; I must speak. Come then: how could anyone argue without anger that the gods exist? One can't help being annoyed with, and hating, [887d] those who have been responsible, and still are, for our having to make these arguments. They don't believe the stories they heard from their nurses and mothers when they were small children still at the breast—stories told as if they were charms, both in play and in earnest. They heard them, too, in the prayers at sacrifices, and saw the spectacles that go with them, which a young person sees and hears per-

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ἰόντων προκυλίσεις ἅμα καὶ προσκυνήσεις ἀκούοντές τε καὶ ὁρῶντες Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πάντων ἐν συμφοραῖς παντοίαις ἐχομένων καὶ ἐν εὐπραγίαις, οὐχ ὡς οὐκ ὄντων ἀλλ' ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ὄντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ὑποψίαν ἐνδιδόντων ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί— τούτων δὴ πάντων ὅσοι καταφρονήσαντες οὐδὲ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἱκανοῦ λόγου, ὡς φαῖεν ἂν ὅσοι καὶ σμικρὸν νοῦ κέκτηνται, νῦν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἡμᾶς λέγειν ἃ λέγομεν, [888a] πῶς τούτους ἄν τις ἐν πρᾳέσι λόγοις δύναιτο νουθετῶν ἅμα διδάσκειν περὶ θεῶν πρῶτον ὡς εἰσίν;

888a τολμητέον δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἅμα γε δεῖ μανῆναι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας ἡδονῆς ἡμῶν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις. ἴτω δὴ πρόρρησις τοιάδε τις ἄθυμος τοῖς οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν διεφθαρμένοις, καὶ λέγωμεν πρᾴως, σβέσαντες τὸν θυμόν, ὡς ἑνὶ διαλεγόμενοι τῶν τοιούτων· ὦ παῖ, νέος εἶ, προϊὼν δέ σε ὁ χρόνος ποιήσει [888b] πολλὰ ὧν νῦν δοξάζεις μεταβαλόντα ἐπὶ τἀναντία τίθεσθαι· περίμεινον οὖν εἰς τότε κριτὴς περὶ τῶν μεγίστων γίγνεσθαι, μέγιστον δέ, ὃ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡγῇ σύ, τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς διανοηθέντα ζῆν καλῶς ἢ μή. πρῶτον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἕν τι μέγα σοι μηνύων οὐκ ἄν ποτε φανείην ψευδής, τὸ τοιόνδε.

888b οὐ σὺ μόνος οὐδὲ οἱ σοὶ φίλοι πρῶτοι καὶ πρῶτον ταύτην δόξαν περὶ θεῶν ἔσχετε, γίγνονται δὲ ἀεὶ πλείους ἢ ἐλάττους ταύτην τὴν νόσον ἔχοντες· τόδε τοίνυν σοι, παραγεγονὼς [888c] αὐτῶν πολλοῖσι, φράζοιμ' ἄν, τὸ μηδένα πώποτε λαβόντα ἐκ νέου ταύτην τὴν δόξαν περὶ θεῶν, ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν, διατελέσαι πρὸς γῆρας μείναντα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διανοήσει, τὰ δύο μέντοι πάθη περὶ θεοὺς μεῖναι, πολλοῖσι μὲν οὔ, μεῖναι δὲ οὖν τισιν, τὸ τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι μέν, φροντίζειν δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς φροντίζουσι μέν, εὐπαραμύθητοι δ' εἰσὶν θύμασιν καὶ εὐχαῖς.

888c τὸ δὴ σαφὲς ἂν γενόμενόν σοι περὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ δύναμιν δόγμα, ἂν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, περιμενεῖς, ἀνασκοπῶν εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει, [888d] πυνθανόμενος παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου· ἐν δὲ δὴ

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formed with the greatest delight: their own parents sacrificing, in the utmost earnest on behalf of themselves and their children, and addressing the gods in prayers and supplications [887e] as beings who most certainly exist. They heard and saw, too, at the rising and setting of the sun and moon, the prostrations and obeisances of all Greeks and non-Greeks, in every kind of misfortune and in success —not as though the gods did not exist, but as though they most certainly did, and gave no room at all for suspicion that they don't. All this these people despise, and not on the strength of a single sufficient argument, as anyone with even a little sense would say; and now they force us to say what we are saying. [888a] How could anyone admonish such people in gentle words, and at the same time teach them, first of all, that the gods exist?

Still, we must dare it. We can't have both sides going mad at once—they from greed for pleasure, we from anger at people like them. So let's make some such calm preliminary address to those whose minds are corrupted in this way. Let's quench our anger and speak gently, as if talking to one of them: My boy, you are young. As time goes on it will make you [888b] reverse many of the views you now hold and adopt their opposites. So wait until then before you set yourself up as a judge of the most important matters. And the most important —though you now think it nothing—is whether one thinks rightly about the gods and so lives well, or not. First, then, there is one great point about them that I can reveal to you, and I would never be shown to be wrong about it. It is this.

It is not you alone, nor you and your friends, who were the first to hold this opinion about the gods. There are always people, more or fewer, who have this disease. So, having met [888c] many of them, I can tell you this: no one who took up this opinion in youth, that the gods do not exist, has ever remained in that way of thinking all the way to old age. Two other attitudes about the gods do remain —not in many, but still in some: that the gods exist but pay no attention to human affairs; and, next, that they do pay attention but are easily won over by sacrifices and prayers.

If you take my advice, you will wait until you have as clear a view about them as you can, examining whether things are this way or otherwise, [888d] and inquiring of other people, and above all of the law-

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	τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ τολμήσῃς περὶ θεοὺς μηδὲν ἀσεβῆσαι. πειρατέον γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νόμους σοι τιθέντι νῦν καὶ εἰς αὖθις διδάσκειν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὡς ἔχει.	giver. In the meantime, don't dare commit any impiety concerning the gods. For whoever is laying down your laws must try, now and in the future, to teach you how these very matters stand.
888d	**CLINIAS** κάλλισθ' ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένε, μέχρι γε τοῦ νῦν εἴρηται.	**CLINIAS** What we've said so far, stranger, has been very well said.
	ATHENIAN παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία· λελήθαμεν δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς θαυμαστὸν λόγον ἐμπεπτωκότες.	**ATHENIAN** Very much so, Megillus and Clinias. But without noticing it we've stumbled into an extraordinary argument.
	CLINIAS τὸν ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** Which one do you mean?
888e	**ATHENIAN** τὸν παρὰ πολλοῖς δοξαζόμενον εἶναι σοφώτατον ἁπάντων λόγων.	**ATHENIAN** The one that many people consider the wisest of all arguments.
	CLINIAS φράζ' ἔτι σαφέστερον.	**CLINIAS** Put it more plainly still.

NATURE, CHANCE AND ART

The unbelievers' view: the world arose by nature and chance, while gods and laws are products of art.

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	ATHENIAN λέγουσί πού τινες ὡς πάντα ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα γιγνόμενα καὶ γενόμενα καὶ γενησόμενα τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ τέχνῃ, τὰ δὲ διὰ τύχην.	**ATHENIAN** Some people say, I believe, that all things that come to be, have come to be, and will come to be do so some by nature, some by art, and some by chance.
	CLINIAS οὐκοῦν καλῶς;	**CLINIAS** Well, isn't that right?
	ATHENIAN εἰκός γέ τοί που σοφοὺς ἄνδρας ὀρθῶς λέγειν· 889a ἑπόμενοί γε μὴν αὐτοῖς σκεψώμεθα τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν τί ποτε καὶ τυγχάνουσι διανοούμενοι.	**ATHENIAN** It's likely enough, I suppose, that wise men speak correctly. 889a All the same, let's follow them and see what exactly the people in that camp actually have in mind.
889a	**CLINIAS** πάντως.	**CLINIAS** By all means.
	ATHENIAN ἔοικε, φασίν, τὰ μὲν μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ κάλλιστα ἀπεργάζεσθαι φύσιν καὶ τύχην, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα τέχνην, ἣν δὴ παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσαν τὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ πρώτων γένεσιν ἔργων, πλάττειν καὶ τεκταίνεσθαι πάντα τὰ σμικρότερα, ἃ δὴ τεχνικὰ πάντες προσαγορεύομεν.	**ATHENIAN** It seems, they say, that the greatest and finest things are produced by nature and chance, and the lesser ones by art. Art takes over from nature the great and primary works already generated, and molds and constructs all the lesser ones—the things we all call artificial.
	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
889b	**ATHENIAN** ὧδ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ἐρῶ. πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα φύσει πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχῃ φασίν, τέχνῃ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων, καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὖ σώματα, γῆς τε καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἄστρων τε πέρι, διὰ τούτων γεγονέναι παντελῶς ὄντων ἀψύχων· τύχῃ δὲ φερόμενα τῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἕκαστα ἑκάστων, ᾗ συμπέπτωκεν ἁρμόττοντα οἰκείως πως, θερμὰ ψυχροῖς ἢ ξηρὰ πρὸς ὑγρὰ καὶ	**ATHENIAN** I'll put it more plainly still. Fire, water, earth and air, they say, all exist by nature and chance, and none of them by art. The bodies that come after them—the earth, sun, moon and stars—came to be through these elements, which are entirely without soul. Each of them was carried along by chance, according to its own power, and

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μαλακὰ πρὸς σκληρά, καὶ [889c] πάντα ὁπόσα τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κράσει κατὰ τύχην ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνεκεράσθη, ταύτῃ καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα οὕτως γεγεννηκέναι τόν τε οὐρανὸν ὅλον καὶ πάντα ὁπόσα κατ' οὐρανόν, καὶ ζῷα αὖ καὶ φυτὰ σύμπαντα, ὡρῶν πασῶν ἐκ τούτων γενομένων, οὐ δὲ διὰ νοῦν, φασίν, οὐδὲ διά τινα θεὸν οὐδὲ διὰ τέχνην ἀλλά, ὃ λέγομεν, φύσει καὶ τύχῃ.

889c τέχνην δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ τούτων ὑστέραν γενομένην, αὐτὴν θνητὴν ἐκ [889d] θνητῶν ὕστερα γεγεννηκέναι παιδιάς τινας, ἀληθείας οὐ σφόδρα μετεχούσας, ἀλλὰ εἴδωλ' ἄττα συγγενῆ ἑαυτῶν, οἷ' ἡ γραφικὴ γεννᾷ καὶ μουσικὴ καὶ ὅσαι ταύταις εἰσὶν συνέριθοι τέχναι· αἳ δέ τι καὶ σπουδαῖον ἄρα γεννῶσι τῶν τεχνῶν, εἶναι ταύτας ὁπόσαι τῇ φύσει ἐκοίνωσαν τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, οἷον αὖ ἰατρικὴ καὶ γεωργικὴ καὶ γυμναστική. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν σμικρόν τι μέρος εἶναί φασιν κοινωνοῦν φύσει, τέχνῃ δὲ τὸ πολύ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν [889e] πᾶσαν οὐ φύσει, τέχνῃ δέ, ἧς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς εἶναι τὰς θέσεις.

889e **CLINIAS** πῶς λέγεις;

ATHENIAN θεούς, ὦ μακάριε, εἶναι πρῶτόν φασιν οὗτοι τέχνῃ, οὐ φύσει ἀλλά τισιν νόμοις, καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, ὅπῃ ἕκαστοι ἑαυτοῖσι συνωμολόγησαν νομοθετούμενοι· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ καλὰ φύσει μὲν ἄλλα εἶναι, νόμῳ δὲ ἕτερα, τὰ δὲ δὴ δίκαια οὐδ' εἶναι τὸ παράπαν φύσει, ἀλλ' ἀμφισβητοῦντας διατελεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ μετατιθεμένους ἀεὶ ταῦτα, ἃ δ' ἂν [890a] μετάθωνται καὶ ὅταν, τότε κύρια ἕκαστα εἶναι, γιγνόμενα τέχνῃ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλ' οὐ δή τινι φύσει.

890a ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ φίλοι, ἅπαντα ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν παρὰ νέοις ἀνθρώποις, ἰδιωτῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν, φασκόντων εἶναι τὸ δικαιότατον ὅτι τις ἂν νικᾷ βιαζόμενος· ὅθεν ἀσέβειαί τε ἀνθρώποις ἐμπίπτουσιν νέοις, ὡς οὐκ ὄντων θεῶν οἵους ὁ νόμος προστάττει διανοεῖσθαι δεῖν, στάσεις τε διὰ ταῦτα ἑλκόντων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὀρθὸν βίον, ὅς ἐστιν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κρατοῦντα ζῆν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μὴ δουλεύοντα ἑτέροισι κατὰ νόμον.

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wherever they happened to meet and fit together in some congenial way—hot with cold, dry with wet, soft with hard, and [889c] all the things that were blended by chance, of necessity, in the mixing of opposites—in this way and on these terms they have generated the whole heaven and everything in the heavens, and all animals and plants as well, once all the seasons had arisen from these elements. Not through intelligence, they say, nor through any god, nor through art, but, as we said, by nature and chance.

Art, they say, arose later out of these, a latecomer, itself mortal and born of [889d] mortal things; and later still it generated certain amusements that have little share in truth, mere images akin to one another, such as painting and music produce, along with the arts that work alongside them. The arts that do produce something serious, they say, are those that share their power with nature, like medicine, farming and physical training. Politics, too, they say, shares with nature to some small extent, but is mostly art. And in the same way all legislation [889e] is not by nature but by art, and its enactments are not true.

CLINIAS What do you mean?

ATHENIAN The first thing these people say, my dear friend, is that gods exist by art—not by nature, but by certain laws—and that they differ from place to place, according to what each people agreed among themselves when they made their laws. Moreover, what is fine by nature is one thing and what is fine by law another; and what is just does not exist by nature at all. People go on disputing it with one another and constantly changing it, and whatever changes they make, [890a] whenever they make them, are authoritative from that moment—coming to be by art and by laws, and not by any nature at all.

All this, my friends, comes from men the young regard as wise—prose writers and poets—who declare that the height of justice is whatever someone can win by force. That is how impiety takes hold of the young, as though there were no gods of the kind the law commands us to believe in; and that is how factions arise, as these teachers draw them toward the life that is "correct according to nature"—which is, in truth, to live as master

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of others, and not as their slave in accordance with law.

890b **CLINIAS** οἷον διελήλυθας, ὦ ξένε, λόγον, καὶ ὅσην λώβην ἀνθρώπων νέων δημοσίᾳ πόλεσίν τε καὶ ἰδίοις οἴκοις.

CLINIAS What an argument you've described, stranger! And what ruin it brings on the young, publicly in cities and in private households!

ATHENIAN ἀληθῆ μέντοι λέγεις, ὦ Κλεινία. τί οὖν οἴει χρῆναι δρᾶν τὸν νομοθέτην, οὕτω τούτων πάλαι παρεσκευασμένων; ἢ μόνον ἀπειλεῖν στάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει σύμπασι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς εἰ μὴ φήσουσιν εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ διανοηθήσονται δοξάζοντες τοιούτους οἵους φησὶν ὁ νόμος—καὶ περὶ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν μεγίστων ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, [890c] ὅσα δὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τείνει καὶ κακίαν, ὡς δεῖ ταῦτα οὕτω πράττειν διανοουμένους ὅπηπερ ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης ὑφηγήσηται γράφων—ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ παρέχηται ἑαυτὸν τοῖς νόμοις εὐπειθῆ, τὸν μὲν δεῖν τεθνάναι, τὸν δέ τινα πληγαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς, τὸν δὲ ἀτιμίαις, ἄλλους δὲ πενίαις κολάζεσθαι καὶ φυγαῖς· πειθὼ δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἅμα τιθέντα αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, μηδεμίαν ἔχειν τοῖς λόγοις προσάπτοντα εἰς δύναμιν ἡμεροῦν;

ATHENIAN True enough, Clinias. So what do you think the lawgiver should do, when these people have been prepared like this for so long? Should he simply stand up in the city and threaten everyone? Unless they say the gods exist, and hold in their minds that the gods are such as the law says—and the same goes for the fine and the just and all the most important matters, [890c] whatever bears on virtue and vice: they must act on these with the thoughts the lawgiver lays down in writing—then whoever fails to make himself obedient to the laws must, in one case, be put to death; in another, be punished with beatings and imprisonment; in another, with loss of civic rights; and others with loss of property and exile. And as he lays down laws for people, should he offer them no persuasion, attaching nothing to his words to tame them as far as he can?

890d **CLINIAS** μηδαμῶς, ὦ ξένε, ἀλλ' εἴπερ τυγχάνει γε οὖσα καὶ σμικρὰ πειθώ τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, δεῖ μηδαμῇ κάμνειν τόν γε ἄξιον καὶ σμικροῦ νομοθέτην, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν, τὸ λεγόμενον, φωνὴν ἱέντα, τῷ παλαιῷ νόμῳ ἐπίκουρον γίγνεσθαι λόγῳ ὡς εἰσὶν θεοὶ καὶ ὅσα νυνδὴ διῆλθες σύ, καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμῳ αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι καὶ τέχνῃ, ὡς ἐστὸν φύσει ἢ φύσεως οὐχ ἧττον, εἴπερ νοῦ γέ ἐστιν γεννήματα κατὰ λόγον ὀρθόν, ὃν σύ τε λέγειν μοι φαίνῃ καὶ ἐγώ σοι πιστεύω τὰ νῦν.

CLINIAS Not at all, stranger. If there's any persuasion to be had on such matters, even a little, a lawgiver worth anything at all must never tire, but must leave no word unspoken, as the saying goes, in coming to the aid of the ancient law with argument—that the gods exist, and all the rest you've just gone through. He must also defend law itself, and art, as existing by nature, or by something no less than nature, if indeed they are products of intelligence according to right reason. That is what you seem to me to be saying, and I believe you now.

890e **ATHENIAN** ὦ προθυμότατε Κλεινία, τί δ'; οὐ χαλεπά τέ ἐστι συνακολουθεῖν λόγοις οὕτως εἰς πλήθη λεγόμενα, μήκη τε αὖ κέκτηται διωλύγια;

ATHENIAN My most eager Clinias, what then? Aren't arguments that are spoken to crowds like this hard to follow? And don't they also run to enormous lengths?

CLINIAS τί δέ, ὦ ξένε; περὶ μέθης μὲν καὶ μουσικῆς οὕτω μακρὰ λέγοντας ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περιεμείναμεν, περὶ θεῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐχ ὑπομενοῦμεν; καὶ μὴν καὶ νομοθεσίᾳ γέ ἐστίν που τῇ μετὰ φρονήσεως μεγίστη βοήθεια, διότι [891a] τὰ περὶ νόμους προστάγματα ἐν γράμμασι τεθέντα, ὡς δώσοντα εἰς πάντα χρόνον ἔλεγχον, πάντως ἠρεμεῖ, ὥστε οὔτ' εἰ χαλεπὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀκούειν ἐστὶν φοβητέον, ἅ γ' ἔσται καὶ τῷ δυσμαθεῖ

CLINIAS What's this, stranger? We put up with ourselves talking at such length about drinking and music, and we won't be patient when it comes to the gods and such matters? What's more, this is surely the greatest help to legislation guided by wisdom: [891a] instructions about laws, once set down in writing, stay perfectly still, ready to be

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πολλάκις ἐπανιόντι σκοπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ μακρά, ὠφέλιμα δέ, διὰ ταῦτα λόγον οὐδαμῇ ἔχει οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἔμοιγε εἶναι φαίνεται τὸ μὴ οὐ βοηθεῖν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις πάντα ἄνδρα κατὰ δύναμιν.

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scrutinized at any time. So there's no need to be afraid if they're hard to take in at first, since even a slow learner can come back and examine them again and again. Nor, if they are long but useful, does it make any sense—nor does it seem pious to me—for any man not to support these arguments as best he can.

891a **MEGILLUS** ἄριστα, ὦ ξένε, δοκεῖ μοι λέγειν Κλεινίας.

MEGILLUS I think Clinias is speaking excellently, stranger.

891b **ATHENIAN** καὶ μάλα γε, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ποιητέον τε ὡς λέγει. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ κατεσπαρμένοι ἦσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει τῶν ἐπαμυνούντων λόγων ὡς εἰσὶν θεοί· νῦν δὲ ἀνάγκη. νόμοις οὖν διαφθειρομένοις τοῖς μεγίστοις ὑπὸ κακῶν ἀνθρώπων τίνα καὶ μᾶλλον προσήκει βοηθεῖν ἢ νομοθέτην;

ATHENIAN He certainly is, Megillus, and we must do as he says. If arguments like these hadn't been sown among practically everyone, so to speak, there would be no need for arguments to defend the claim that the gods exist. But as it is, there's need. When the greatest laws are being corrupted by bad men, who has a better claim to come to their aid than the lawgiver?

MEGILLUS οὐκ ἔστιν.

MEGILLUS No one.

ATHENIAN ἀλλὰ δὴ λέγε μοι πάλιν, Κλεινία, καὶ σύ—κοινωνὸν 891c γὰρ δεῖ σε εἶναι τῶν λόγων—κινδυνεύει γὰρ ὁ λέγων ταῦτα πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα πρῶτα ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν πάντων εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτά, ψυχὴν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ὕστερον. ἔοικεν δὲ οὐ κινδυνεύειν ἀλλὰ ὄντως σημαίνειν ταῦτα ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ.

ATHENIAN Then tell me again, Clinias—you too must be a partner 891c in the discussion. Whoever says these things is liable to think that fire, water, earth and air are the first of all things, and to call these very things "nature," and to hold that soul came from them later. In fact, it's not just that he's liable to: he really is indicating this to us in his argument.

891c **CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

CLINIAS Certainly.

ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν πρὸς Διὸς οἷον πηγήν τινα ἀνοήτου δόξης ἀνηυρήκαμεν ἀνθρώπων ὁπόσοι πώποτε τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἐφήψαντο ζητημάτων; σκόπει πάντα λόγον ἐξετάζων· οὐ 891d γὰρ δὴ σμικρόν γε τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ φανεῖεν οἱ λόγων ἁπτόμενοι ἀσεβῶν, ἄλλοις τε ἐξάρχοντες, μηδὲ εὖ τοῖς λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐξημαρτημένως χρώμενοι. δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν.

ATHENIAN Then, by Zeus, have we discovered something like a spring of foolish opinion in all those who have ever taken up inquiries into nature? Consider it, examining every argument. For 891d it makes no small difference if it turns out that those who take up impious arguments, and lead others on, are not even using their arguments well, but faultily. And that is how I think things stand.

891d **CLINIAS** εὖ λέγεις· ἀλλ' ὅπῃ, πειρῶ φράζειν.

CLINIAS Well said. But try to explain how.

ATHENIAN ἔοικεν τοίνυν ἀληθεστέρων ἁπτέον εἶναι λόγων.

ATHENIAN It looks as though we must take up some rather unfamiliar arguments.

CLINIAS οὐκ ὀκνητέον, ὦ ξένε. μανθάνω γὰρ ὡς νομοθεσίας ἐκτὸς οἰήσῃ βαίνειν, ἐὰν τῶν τοιούτων ἁπτώμεθα 891e λόγων. εἰ δὲ ἔστι μηδαμῇ ἑτέρως συμφωνῆσαι τοῖς νῦν κατὰ νόμον λεγομένοις θεοῖς ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔχουσιν ἢ ταύτῃ, λεκτέον, ὦ θαυμάσιε, καὶ ταύτῃ.

CLINIAS We mustn't shrink from them, stranger. I understand: you think we'll be stepping outside legislation if we take up such 891e arguments. But if there's no other way to show agreement that the gods, as our law now speaks of them, are rightly

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		spoken of, then, my admirable friend, this is the way we must speak.

SOUL IS OLDER THAN BODY

The Athenian argues that soul, the self-moving motion, is the first cause of all change.

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891e	**ATHENIAN** λέγοιμ' ἄν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤδη σχεδὸν οὐκ εἰωθότα λόγον τινὰ τόνδε. ὃ πρῶτον γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς αἴτιον ἁπάντων, τοῦτο οὐ πρῶτον ἀλλὰ ὕστερον ἀπεφήναντο εἶναι γεγονὸς οἱ τὴν τῶν ἀσεβῶν ψυχὴν ἀπεργασάμενοι λόγοι, ὃ δὲ ὕστερον, πρότερον· ὅθεν ἡμαρτήκασι περὶ θεῶν τῆς ὄντως οὐσίας.	**ATHENIAN** Then it seems I must now give this rather unusual argument. The arguments that have produced the soul of the impious declared that what is the first cause of the coming-to-be and passing away of all things was not first but came to be later, and that what is later was earlier. That is how they have gone wrong about the true being of the gods.
892a	**CLINIAS** οὔπω μανθάνω.	**CLINIAS** I don't follow yet.
	ATHENIAN ψυχήν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, ἠγνοηκέναι κινδυνεύουσι μὲν ὀλίγου σύμπαντες οἷόν τε ὂν τυγχάνει καὶ δύναμιν ἣν ἔχει, τῶν τε ἄλλων αὐτῆς πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ γενέσεως, ὡς ἐν πρώτοις ἐστί, σωμάτων ἔμπροσθεν πάντων γενομένη, καὶ μεταβολῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετακοσμήσεως ἁπάσης ἄρχει παντὸς μᾶλλον· εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ταῦτα οὕτως, ἆρ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰ ψυχῆς συγγενῆ πρότερα ἂν εἴη γεγονότα τῶν σώματι [892b] προσηκόντων, οὔσης γ' αὐτῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἢ σώματος;	**ATHENIAN** Soul, my friend: nearly all of them seem to be ignorant of what sort of thing it actually is and what power it has—both in other respects and especially as regards its origin: that it is among the first things, having come to be before all bodies, and that more than anything it governs all their change and rearrangement. And if this is so, won't the things akin to soul necessarily have come to be before the things that belong [892b] to body, since soul is older than body?
892b	**CLINIAS** ἀνάγκη.	**CLINIAS** Necessarily.
	ATHENIAN δόξα δὴ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ νοῦς καὶ τέχνη καὶ νόμος σκληρῶν καὶ μαλακῶν καὶ βαρέων καὶ κούφων πρότερα ἂν εἴη· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πρῶτα ἔργα καὶ πράξεις τέχνης ἂν γίγνοιτο, ὄντα ἐν πρώτοις, τὰ δὲ φύσει καὶ φύσις, ἣν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπονομάζουσιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὕστερα καὶ ἀρχόμενα ἂν ἐκ τέχνης εἴη καὶ νοῦ.	**ATHENIAN** Then opinion and care and intelligence and art and law will come before hard and soft, heavy and light. And the great and primary works and actions will belong to art, since they are among the first things; while the things that are by nature, and nature itself—which they wrongly call by that name—will come later and be governed by art and intelligence.
892c	**CLINIAS** πῶς οὐκ ὀρθῶς;	**CLINIAS** Why wrongly?
	ATHENIAN φύσιν βούλονται λέγειν γένεσιν τὴν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα· εἰ δὲ φανήσεται ψυχὴ πρῶτον, οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ ἀήρ, ψυχὴ δ' ἐν πρώτοις γεγενημένη, σχεδὸν ὀρθότατα λέγοιτ' ἂν εἶναι διαφερόντως φύσει. ταῦτ' ἔσθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἂν ψυχήν τις ἐπιδείξῃ πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν σώματος, ἄλλως δὲ οὐδαμῶς.	**ATHENIAN** By "nature" they mean the coming-to-be of the first things. But if it turns out that soul came first—not fire, not air, but soul came to be among the first things—then it would be almost perfectly correct to say that soul, above all, exists by nature. That is how things stand, if one shows that soul is older than body, and not otherwise.
	CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Very true.

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ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο στελλώμεθα;

ATHENIAN Then shall we set off next toward this very point?

892d **CLINIAS** τί μήν;

CLINIAS Of course.

ATHENIAN φυλάττωμεν δὴ παντάπασιν ἀπατηλὸν λόγον, μή πῃ πρεσβύτας ἡμᾶς ὄντας νεοπρεπὴς ὢν παραπείσῃ καὶ διαφυγὼν καταγελάστους ποιήσῃ, καὶ δόξωμεν μείζονα ἐπιβαλλόμενοι καὶ τῶν σμικρῶν ἀποτυχεῖν. σκοπεῖτε οὖν. εἰ καθάπερ ποταμὸν ἡμᾶς ἔδει τρεῖς ὄντας διαβαίνειν ῥέοντα σφόδρα, νεώτατος δ᾽ ἐγὼ τυγχάνων ἡμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειρος ῥευμάτων, εἶπον ὅτι πρῶτον ἐμὲ χρῆναι πειραθῆναι [892e] κατ᾽ ἐμαυτόν, καταλιπόντα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, σκέψασθαι εἰ διαβατός ἐστι πρεσβυτέροις οὖσι καὶ ὑμῖν, ἢ πῶς ἔχει, καὶ φανέντος μὲν ταύτῃ, καλεῖν ὑμᾶς τότε καὶ συνδιαβιβάζειν ἐμπειρίᾳ, εἰ δὲ ἄβατος ἦν ὡς ὑμῖν, ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν κίνδυνον γεγονέναι, μετρίως ἂν ἐδόκουν λέγειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὁ μέλλων ἐστὶ λόγος σφοδρότερος καὶ σχεδὸν ἴσως ἄβατος ὡς τῇ σφῷν ῥώμῃ·

ATHENIAN Let's be thoroughly on guard against a deceptive argument, in case, being so youthful, it talks us old men round, then slips away and makes us a laughingstock, and we seem to have reached for greater things and missed even the small ones. So consider. Suppose the three of us had to cross a river running hard, and I, being the youngest of us and experienced with many currents, said that I should first try it [892e] by myself, leaving you in safety, and see whether it could be crossed by you older men too, or how things stood. If it proved crossable, I would then call you and help you across with my experience; but if it was impassable for you, the danger would have fallen on me. I would seem to be talking sense. And so now: the argument ahead runs rather hard, and is perhaps nearly impassable for the strength you two have.

892e μὴ δὴ σκοτοδινίαν ἴλιγγόν τε ὑμῖν [893a] ἐμποιήσῃ παραφερόμενός τε καὶ ἐρωτῶν ἀήθεις ὄντας ἀποκρίσεων, εἶτ᾽ ἀσχημοσύνην ἀπρέπειάν τε ἐντέκῃ ἀηδῆ, δοκεῖ δή μοι χρῆναι ποιεῖν οὑτωσὶ τὰ νῦν ἐμέ, ἀνερωτᾶν πρῶτον ἐμαυτόν, ἀκουόντων ὑμῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποκρίνασθαι πάλιν ἐμέ, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἅπαντα οὕτω διεξελθεῖν, μέχριπερ ἂν ψυχῆς πέρι διαπεράνηται καὶ δείξῃ πρότερον ὂν ψυχὴν σώματος.

So that it doesn't make you dizzy and give you vertigo [893a] as it sweeps past, questioning you when you're not used to answering, and then produce an unpleasant awkwardness and embarrassment, I think I should proceed like this for now: first I'll question myself while you listen in safety, then answer myself in turn, and go through the whole argument that way until it has reached its conclusion about soul and shown that soul is prior to body.

893a **CLINIAS** ἄριστ᾽, ὦ ξένε, δοκεῖς ἡμῖν εἰρηκέναι, ποίει τε ὡς λέγεις.

CLINIAS That seems an excellent plan to us, stranger. Do as you say.

THE TEN KINDS OF MOTION

He lists the kinds of motion and shows that self-motion must come first.

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893b **ATHENIAN** ἄγε δή, θεὸν εἴ ποτε παρακλητέον ἡμῖν, νῦν ἔστω τοῦτο οὕτω γενόμενον—ἐπί γε ἀπόδειξιν ὡς εἰσὶν τὴν αὐτῶν σπουδῇ πάσῃ παρακεκλήσθων—ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὥς τινος ἀσφαλοῦς πείσματος ἐπεισβαίνωμεν εἰς τὸν νῦν λόγον. καί μοι ἐλεγχομένῳ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐρωτήσεσιν τοιαῖσδε ἀσφαλέστατα ἀποκρίνεσθαι φαίνεται κατὰ τάδε· ὦ ξένε, ὁπόταν φῇ τις, ἆρα ἔστηκε μὲν πάντα, κινεῖται δὲ οὐδέν; ἢ τούτῳ πᾶν τοὐναντίον;

ATHENIAN Come then: if ever we must call on a god for help, let it be now. Let the gods be called on in all earnestness to help prove their own existence; and holding on to this as to a secure cable, let's embark on the argument before us. When I'm examined on such matters with questions like the following, it seems to me safest to answer this way. Stranger, suppose someone asks: Do all

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		things stand still, and nothing move? Or is the exact opposite true?
	ἢ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κινεῖται, τὰ δὲ μένει;—	Or do some of them move and others remain at rest?—
893c	τὰ μὲν κινεῖταί που, φήσω, τὰ δὲ μένει.—μῶν οὖν οὐκ ἐν χώρᾳ τινὶ τά τε ἑστῶτα ἕστηκεν καὶ τὰ κινούμενα κινεῖται;—πῶς γὰρ οὔ; —καὶ τὰ μέν γε ἐν μιᾷ ἕδρᾳ που τοῦτο ἂν δρῴη, τὰ δὲ ἐν πλείοσιν.—τὰ τὴν τῶν ἑστώτων ἐν μέσῳ λαμβάνοντα δύναμιν λέγεις, φήσομεν, ἐν ἑνὶ κινεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἑστάναι λεγομένων κύκλων στρέφεται περιφορά;—ναί.	893c Some move, I suppose, I shall say, and others remain at rest.—Then don't the things at rest stand, and the things in motion move, in some place?—Of course.—And some of them, I suppose, would do this in one location, others in several.—You mean, we shall say, that things that take on at their center the capacity of things at rest move in one place, as the revolution turns of circles said to stand still?—Yes.
893c	μανθάνομεν δέ γε ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ περιφορᾷ τὸν μέγιστον καὶ τὸν σμικρότατον κύκλον ἅμα περιάγουσα, 893d ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις ἀνὰ λόγον ἑαυτὴν διανέμει σμικροῖς τε καὶ μείζοσιν, ἐλάττων τε οὖσα καὶ πλείων κατὰ λόγον· διὸ δὴ τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἁπάντων πηγὴ γέγονεν, ἅμα μεγάλοις καὶ σμικροῖς κύκλοις βραδυτῆτάς τε καὶ τάχη ὁμολογούμενα πορεύουσα, ἀδύνατον, ὡς ἄν τις ἐλπίσειε, γίγνεσθαι πάθος.—ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.—τὰ δέ γε κινούμενα ἐν πολλοῖς φαίνῃ μοι λέγειν ὅσα φορᾷ κινεῖται μεταβαίνοντα εἰς ἕτερον ἀεὶ τόπον, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔστιν ὅτε βάσιν ἑνὸς κεκτημένα 893e τινὸς κέντρου, τοτὲ δὲ πλείονα τῷ περικυλινδεῖσθαι.	And we understand that in this revolution such a motion carries the largest and the smallest circle around together, 893d distributing itself in proportion to small and large, being less and more in proportion. That is why it has become the source of all sorts of wonders: it carries large and small circles at once at slow and fast speeds that agree with each other—a thing one might expect to be impossible.—Very true.—And by things that move in many places you seem to me to mean those that move by locomotion, always passing to another place, sometimes having a base on a single 893e center, and sometimes on several, as they roll along.
893e	προστυγχάνοντα δ' ἑκάστοτε ἑκάστοις, τοῖς ἑστῶσι μὲν διασχίζεται, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀπαντῶσι καὶ φερομένοις εἰς ἓν γιγνόμενα μέσα τε καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τοιούτων συγκρίνεται.—λέγω γὰρ οὖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα, ὡς σὺ λέγεις.— καὶ μὴν καὶ συγκρινόμενα μὲν αὐξάνεται, διακρινόμενα δὲ φθίνει τότε, ὅταν ἡ καθεστηκυῖα ἑκάστων ἕξις διαμένῃ, 894a μὴ μενούσης δὲ αὐτῆς, δι' ἀμφότερα ἀπόλλυται. γίγνεται δὴ πάντων γένεσις, ἡνίκ' ἂν τί πάθος ᾖ; δῆλον ὡς ὁπόταν ἀρχὴ λαβοῦσα αὔξην εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἔλθῃ μετάβασιν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν πλησίον, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν ἐλθοῦσα αἴσθησιν σχῇ τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις. μεταβάλλον μὲν οὖν οὕτω καὶ μετακινούμενον γίγνεται πᾶν· ἔστιν δὲ ὄντως ὄν, ὁπόταν μένῃ, μεταβαλὸν δὲ εἰς ἄλλην ἕξιν διέφθαρται παντελῶς.	When they meet with things one after another, they are split by those at rest; but when they meet others coming from the opposite direction and moving toward them, they unite and become a single thing midway between them.—Yes, I agree things are as you say.—And when they combine they grow, and when they separate they diminish —so long as the established condition of each remains; 894a if it does not remain, they perish by both processes. Now in what condition does the coming-to-be of anything occur? Clearly, whenever a starting point takes on growth and passes to its second stage, and from this to the next, and on reaching three becomes perceptible to those who perceive. So it is by changing and shifting in this way that everything comes to be; and it truly is, as long as it remains, but when it has changed into another condition it is utterly destroyed.
894a	ἆρ' οὖν κινήσεις πάσας εἰρήκαμεν ὡς ἐν εἴδεσιν 894b λαβεῖν μετ' ἀριθμοῦ, πλήν γε, ὦ φίλοι, δυοῖν;	Have we now described all motions, so far as they can be grasped in kinds 894b and counted—except, my friends, two?
894b	**CLINIAS** ποίαιν δή;	**CLINIAS** Which two?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN σχεδόν, ὠγαθέ, ἐκείναιν ὧν ἕνεκα πᾶσα ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἡ σκέψις τὰ νῦν.	ATHENIAN Just about, my good friend, the two for whose sake our whole present inquiry is being made.
	CLINIAS λέγε σαφέστερον.	CLINIAS Speak more plainly.
	ATHENIAN ψυχῆς ἦν ἕνεκά που;	ATHENIAN It was for the sake of soul, wasn't it?
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	CLINIAS Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἔστω τοίνυν ἡ μὲν ἕτερα δυναμένη κινεῖν κίνησις, ἑαυτὴν δὲ ἀδυνατοῦσα, ἀεὶ μία τις, ἡ δὲ αὐτήν τ' ἀεὶ καὶ ἕτερα δυναμένη κατά τε συγκρίσεις ἔν τε διακρίσεσιν αὔξαις τε καὶ τῷ ἐναντίῳ καὶ γενέσεσι καὶ φθοραῖς ἄλλη μία τις 894c αὖ τῶν πασῶν κινήσεων.	ATHENIAN Then let one motion be the one that can move other things but can't move itself—always one kind; and let another be the one that can always move both itself and other things, by combining and separating, by growth and its opposite, by coming-to-be and destruction—yet another kind 894c among all the motions.
894c	CLINIAS ἔστω γὰρ οὖν.	CLINIAS So be it.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν ἕτερον ἀεὶ κινοῦσαν καὶ μεταβαλλομένην ὑφ' ἑτέρου θήσομεν ἐνάτην αὖ, τήν τε ἑαυτὴν κινοῦσαν καὶ ἕτερον, ἐναρμόττουσαν πᾶσιν μὲν ποιήμασι, πᾶσιν δὲ παθήμασι, καλουμένην δὲ ὄντως τῶν ὄντων πάντων μεταβολὴν καὶ κίνησιν, ταύτην δὲ δεκάτην σχεδὸν ἐροῦμεν.	ATHENIAN Then the one that always moves something else and is changed by something else we'll put ninth; and the one that moves itself and something else, fitting in with every action and every passion, and truly called the change and motion of all the things that are—this, I suppose, we'll call tenth.
	CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	CLINIAS Certainly.
	ATHENIAN τῶν δὴ δέκα μάλιστα ἡμῖν κινήσεων τίν' ἂν προκρίναιμεν 894d ὀρθότατα πασῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτην τε εἶναι καὶ πρακτικὴν διαφερόντως;	ATHENIAN Of our ten motions, which should we most rightly judge 894d to be the strongest of all and by far the most effective?
894d	CLINIAS μυρίῳ ἀνάγκη που φάναι διαφέρειν τὴν αὐτὴν αὑτὴν δυναμένην κινεῖν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πάσας ὑστέρας.	CLINIAS We must say, surely, that the one that can move itself is ten thousand times superior, and all the others come after it.
	ATHENIAN εὖ λέγεις. ἆρ' οὖν ἡμῖν τῶν νῦν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ῥηθέντων μεταθετέον ἓν ἢ καὶ δύο;	ATHENIAN Well said. Then must we correct one or even two of the things we just said, which weren't said correctly?
	CLINIAS ποῖα φῄς;	CLINIAS Which do you mean?
	ATHENIAN τὸ τῆς δεκάτης ῥηθὲν σχεδὸν οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἴρηται.	ATHENIAN What we said about the tenth wasn't quite right.
	CLINIAS πῇ;	CLINIAS How so?
	ATHENIAN πρῶτον γενέσει τέ ἐστιν καὶ ῥώμῃ κατὰ λόγον· τὸ 894e δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔχομεν τούτου δεύτερον, ἄρτι ῥηθὲν ἀτόπως ἔνατον.	ATHENIAN By rights it is first in origin and in strength. 894e And the one after it we count second, though a moment ago we absurdly called it ninth.
894e	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;	CLINIAS What do you mean?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN ὦδε. ὅταν ἕτερον ἄλλο ἡμῖν μεταβάλῃ καὶ τοῦτο ἄλλο ἕτερον ἀεί, τῶν τοιούτων ἆρα ἔσται ποτέ τι πρῶτον μεταβάλλον; καὶ πῶς, ὅταν ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου κινῆται, τοῦτ᾽ ἔσται ποτὲ τῶν ἀλλοιούντων πρῶτον; ἀδύνατον γάρ. ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἄρα αὐτὸ αὑτὸ κινῆσαν ἕτερον ἀλλοιώσῃ, τὸ δ᾽ ἕτερον ἄλλο, [895a] καὶ οὕτω δὴ χίλια ἐπὶ μυρίοις γίγνηται τὰ κινηθέντα, μῶν ἀρχή τις αὐτῶν ἔσται τῆς κινήσεως ἁπάσης ἄλλη πλὴν ἡ τῆς αὐτῆς αὑτὴν κινησάσης μεταβολή;	ATHENIAN This. When one thing changes another, and that in turn another, and so on forever, will there ever be anything among such things that changes first? How can something that is moved by another ever be the first of the things that alter? It's impossible. But when something that has moved itself alters another, and that another, [895a] and in this way the things set in motion come to thousands upon tens of thousands, can there be any beginning of all their motion other than the change of the thing that moved itself?
895a	CLINIAS κάλλιστα εἶπες, συγχωρητέα τε τούτοις.	CLINIAS Very well put, and we must agree to it.
	ATHENIAN ἔτι δὴ καὶ τῇδε εἴπωμεν, καὶ ἀποκρινώμεθα πάλιν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσιν. εἰ σταίη πως τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ γενόμενα, καθάπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τοιούτων τολμῶσι λέγειν, τίν᾽ ἄρα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη πρώτην κίνησιν γενέσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων; [895b] τὴν αὐτὴν ἑαυτὴν δήπου κινοῦσαν· ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου γὰρ οὐ μήποτε ἔμπροσθεν μεταπέσῃ, μηδεμιᾶς γε ἐν αὐτοῖς οὔσης ἔμπροσθεν μεταπτώσεως. ἀρχὴν ἄρα κινήσεων πασῶν καὶ πρώτην ἔν τε ἑστῶσιν γενομένην καὶ ἐν κινουμένοις οὖσαν τὴν αὐτὴν κινοῦσαν φήσομεν ἀναγκαίως εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην καὶ κρατίστην μεταβολὴν πασῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀλλοιουμένην ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου, κινοῦσαν δὲ ἕτερα δευτέραν.	ATHENIAN Let's put it this way too, and again answer ourselves. If all things somehow came together and stood still—as most of these thinkers dare to claim—which of the motions we've described would necessarily be the first to arise among them? [895b] Surely the one that moves itself. For they could never be shifted by something else before that, since there was no shifting in them before. So we shall say that the beginning of all motions, the first to arise among things at rest and the first to exist among things in motion—the self-moving motion—is necessarily the oldest and mightiest change of all; and the one that is altered by something else and moves other things is second.
895b	CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	CLINIAS Very true.
895c	ATHENIAN ὁπότε δὴ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθά ἐσμεν τοῦ λόγου, τόδε ἀποκρινώμεθα.	ATHENIAN Now that we've reached this point in the argument, let's answer this question.
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	CLINIAS What question?
	ATHENIAN ἐὰν ἴδωμέν που ταύτην γενομένην ἐν τῷ γηίνῳ ἢ ἐνύδρῳ ἢ πυροειδεῖ, κεχωρισμένῳ ἢ καὶ συμμιγεῖ, τί ποτε φήσομεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθος εἶναι;	ATHENIAN If we should see this motion arise in something made of earth or water or fire, whether separate or mixed, what condition shall we say is present in such a thing?
	CLINIAS μῶν ἄρα με ἐρωτᾷς εἰ ζῆν αὐτὸ προσεροῦμεν, ὅταν αὐτὸ αὑτὸ κινῇ;	CLINIAS Are you asking me whether we'll say it is alive, when it moves itself?
	ATHENIAN ναί.	ATHENIAN Yes.
	CLINIAS Ζῆν· πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	CLINIAS Alive. Of course.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; ὁπόταν ψυχὴν ἔν τισιν ὁρῶμεν, μῶν ἄλλο ἢ ταὐτὸν τούτῳ; ζῆν ὁμολογητέον;	ATHENIAN And what about when we see soul in things? Is it anything other than this? Must we agree that they are alive?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS οὐκ ἄλλο.	**CLINIAS** Nothing other.
895d	**ATHENIAN** ἔχε δὴ πρὸς Διός· ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοις περὶ ἕκαστον τρία νοεῖν;	**ATHENIAN** Hold on, by Zeus! Wouldn't you be willing to recognize three things about each thing?
	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN ἓν μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἓν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας τὸν λόγον, ἓν δὲ ὄνομα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐρωτήσεις εἶναι περὶ τὸ ὂν ἅπαν δύο.	**ATHENIAN** One is its being, one the definition of its being, and one its name. And also that there are two questions about everything that is.
	CLINIAS πῶς δύο;	**CLINIAS** Why two?
	ATHENIAN τοτὲ μὲν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τοὔνομα προτεινόμενον αὐτὸ τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν προτεινόμενον ἐρωτᾶν αὖ τοὔνομα. ἆρά γε τὸ τοιόνδε αὖ βουλόμεθα νῦν λέγειν;	**ATHENIAN** Sometimes each of us puts forward the name and asks for the definition, and sometimes puts forward the definition and asks in turn for the name. Isn't this the kind of thing we want to say now?
	CLINIAS τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What kind of thing?
895e	**ATHENIAN** ἔστιν που δίχα διαιρούμενον ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ· τούτῳ δὴ τῷ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ὄνομα μὲν ἄρτιον, λόγος δέ, ἀριθμὸς διαιρούμενος εἰς ἴσα δύο μέρη.	**ATHENIAN** Division in two occurs, I suppose, in various things, including number. In the case of number, the name is "even," and the definition is "a number divided into two equal parts."
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN τὸ τοιοῦτον φράζω. μῶν οὖν οὐ ταὐτὸν ἑκατέρως προσαγορεύομεν, ἄντε τὸν λόγον ἐρωτώμενοι τοὔνομα ἀποδιδῶμεν, ἄντε τοὔνομα τὸν λόγον, ἄρτιον ὀνόματι, καὶ λόγῳ δίχα διαιρούμενον ἀριθμόν, προσαγορεύοντες ταὐτὸν ὄν;	**ATHENIAN** That's the sort of thing I mean. Aren't we referring to the same thing either way—whether, asked for the definition, we give the name, or asked for the name, we give the definition—calling one and the same thing "even" by its name and "a number divided in two" by its definition?
	CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ὦι δὴ ψυχὴ τοὔνομα, τίς τούτου λόγος; ἔχομεν 896a ἄλλον πλὴν τὸν νυνδὴ ῥηθέντα, τὴν δυναμένην αὐτὴν αὑτὴν κινεῖν κίνησιν;	**ATHENIAN** Then what is the definition of the thing whose name is "soul"? Do we have 896a any other than the one just given: "the motion that can move itself"?
896a	**CLINIAS** τὸ ἑαυτὸ κινεῖν φῂς λόγον ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν, ἥνπερ τοὔνομα ὃ δὴ πάντες ψυχὴν προσαγορεύομεν;	**CLINIAS** Are you saying that "moving itself" is the definition of the very being that has the name we all use, "soul"?
	ATHENIAN φημί γε· εἰ δ' ἔστι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχον, ἆρα ἔτι ποθοῦμεν μὴ ἱκανῶς δεδεῖχθαι ψυχὴν ταὐτὸν ὂν καὶ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν καὶ κίνησιν τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ γεγονότων καὶ ἐσομένων καὶ πάντων αὖ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις, ἐπειδή γε 896b ἀνεφάνη μεταβολῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως ἁπάσης αἰτία ἅπασιν;	**ATHENIAN** I am. And if that is so, do we still feel it hasn't been adequately shown that soul is the same as the first coming-to-be and motion of the things that are, have been and will be, and of all their opposites, since 896b it has been revealed as the cause of all change and motion in all things?
896b		

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS οὔκ, ἀλλὰ ἱκανώτατα δέδεικται ψυχὴ τῶν πάντων πρεσβυτάτη, γενομένη γε ἀρχὴ κινήσεως.	**CLINIAS** No. It has been shown most adequately that soul is the oldest of all things, since it came to be as the beginning of motion.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐχ ἡ δι' ἕτερον ἐν ἄλλῳ γιγνομένη κίνησις, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐν αὑτῷ μηδέποτε παρέχουσα κινεῖσθαι μηδέν, δευτέρα τε, καὶ ὁπόσων ἀριθμῶν βούλοιτο ἄν τις ἀριθμεῖν αὐτὴν πολλοστήν, τοσούτων, σώματος οὖσα ὄντως ἀψύχου μεταβολή;	**ATHENIAN** Then isn't the motion that arises in one thing because of another, and never makes anything move of itself within itself, second—or as many places down the list as anyone cares to count—since it is the change of a body that is truly without soul?
	CLINIAS ὀρθῶς.	**CLINIAS** Right.
	ATHENIAN ὀρθῶς ἄρα καὶ κυρίως ἀληθέστατά τε καὶ τελεώτατα [896c] εἰρηκότες ἂν εἴμεν ψυχὴν μὲν προτέραν γεγονέναι σώματος ἡμῖν, σῶμα δὲ δεύτερόν τε καὶ ὕστερον, ψυχῆς ἀρχούσης, ἀρχόμενον κατὰ φύσιν.	**ATHENIAN** Then we would be speaking rightly, with authority, and most truly and completely, [896c] in saying that soul came to be before body, and body second and later: soul rules, and body is ruled, according to nature.
896c	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Most truly indeed.
	ATHENIAN μεμνήμεθά γε μὴν ὁμολογήσαντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς, εἰ ψυχὴ φανείη πρεσβυτέρα σώματος οὖσα, καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔσοιτο πρεσβύτερα.	**ATHENIAN** Now, we remember agreeing earlier that if soul turned out to be older than body, the things of soul would also be older than the things of body.
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN τρόποι δὲ καὶ ἤθη καὶ βουλήσεις καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ [896d] δόξαι ἀληθεῖς ἐπιμέλειαί τε καὶ μνῆμαι πρότερα μήκους σωμάτων καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους καὶ ῥώμης εἴη γεγονότα ἄν, εἴπερ καὶ ψυχὴ σώματος.	**ATHENIAN** Then dispositions, characters, wishes, reasonings, [896d] true opinions, cares and memories will have come to be before the length, breadth, depth and strength of bodies, if soul is prior to body.
896d	**CLINIAS** ἀνάγκη.	**CLINIAS** Necessarily.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι ψυχὴν καὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων, εἴπερ τῶν πάντων γε αὐτὴν θήσομεν αἰτίαν;	**ATHENIAN** Then must we next agree that soul is the cause of good things and bad, fine and shameful, just and unjust, and all the opposites, if we are going to posit it as the cause of all things?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN ψυχὴν δὴ διοικοῦσαν καὶ ἐνοικοῦσαν ἐν ἅπασιν [896e] τοῖς πάντῃ κινουμένοις μῶν οὐ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάγκη διοικεῖν φάναι;	**ATHENIAN** And soul, which manages and dwells in all things [896e] that move in any direction—mustn't we say that it manages the heaven too?
896e	**CLINIAS** τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN μίαν ἢ πλείους; πλείους· ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῷν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. δυοῖν μέν γέ που ἔλαττον μηδὲν τιθῶμεν, τῆς τε εὐεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς τἀναντία δυναμένης ἐξεργάζεσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** One soul, or more? More—I'll answer for you both. Let's posit no fewer than two, at any rate: the one that does good, and the one capable of producing the opposite.

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS σφόδρα ὀρθῶς εἴρηκας.

CLINIAS Quite right.

ATHENIAN εἶεν. ἄγει μὲν δὴ ψυχὴ πάντα τὰ κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ταῖς αὑτῆς κινήσεσιν, αἷς ὀνόματά [897a] ἐστιν βούλεσθαι, σκοπεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, βουλεύεσθαι, δοξάζειν ὀρθῶς ἐψευσμένως, χαίρουσαν λυπουμένην, θαρροῦσαν φοβουμένην, μισοῦσαν στέργουσαν, καὶ πάσαις ὅσαι τούτων συγγενεῖς ἠ πρωτουργοὶ κινήσεις τὰς δευτερουργοὺς αὖ παραλαμβάνουσαι κινήσεις σωμάτων ἄγουσι πάντα εἰς αὔξησιν καὶ φθίσιν καὶ διάκρισιν καὶ σύγκρισιν καὶ τούτοις ἑπομένας θερμότητας ψύξεις, βαρύτητας κουφότητας, σκληρὸν καὶ μαλακόν, λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν, αὐστηρὸν [897b] καὶ γλυκύ, καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ψυχὴ χρωμένη, νοῦν μὲν προσλαβοῦσα ἀεὶ θεὸν ὀρθῶς θεοῖς, ὀρθὰ καὶ εὐδαίμονα παιδαγωγεῖ πάντα, ἀνοίᾳ δὲ συγγενομένη πάντα αὖ τἀναντία τούτοις ἀπεργάζεται. τιθῶμεν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν, ἢ ἔτι διστάζομεν εἰ ἑτέρως πως ἔχει;

ATHENIAN Very well. Soul drives all things in heaven, on earth and in the sea by its own motions, whose names [897a] are wishing, examining, caring, deliberating, opining correctly and falsely, feeling joy and grief, confidence and fear, hatred and love; and by all the motions akin to these—primary motions, which take over in turn the secondary motions of bodies and drive all things to growth and decay, separation and combination, and to the heating and cooling, heaviness and lightness, hard and soft, white and black, bitter [897b] and sweet that follow from them. Using all these, soul, when it takes intelligence as its partner—a god, rightly, to the gods—guides all things rightly and happily; but when it keeps company with folly, it produces the opposite in everything. Shall we lay it down that this is how things are, or do we still doubt whether they may be otherwise?

897b CLINIAS οὐδαμῶς.

CLINIAS Not at all.

ATHENIAN πότερον οὖν δὴ ψυχῆς γένος ἐγκρατὲς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάσης τῆς περιόδου γεγονέναι φῶμεν; τὸ φρόνιμον [897c] καὶ ἀρετῆς πλῆρες, ἢ τὸ μηδέτερα κεκτημένον; βούλεσθε οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα ὧδε ἀποκρινώμεθα;

ATHENIAN Then which kind of soul shall we say has come to be in control of heaven and earth and the whole circuit? The wise [897c] kind, full of virtue, or the kind that has neither? Would you like us to answer this way?

897c CLINIAS πῶς;

CLINIAS How?

ATHENIAN εἰ μέν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, φῶμεν, ἡ σύμπασα οὐρανοῦ ὁδὸς ἅμα καὶ φορὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντων ἁπάντων νοῦ κινήσει καὶ περιφορᾷ καὶ λογισμοῖς ὁμοίαν φύσιν ἔχει καὶ συγγενῶς ἔρχεται, δῆλον ὡς τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν φατέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν τὴν τοιαύτην ὁδὸν ἐκείνην.

ATHENIAN If, my admirable friend, we say that the whole course and movement of heaven and of everything in it has a nature like the motion, revolution and reasonings of intelligence, and proceeds in a kindred way, then clearly we must say that the best soul cares for the whole cosmos and drives it along that kind of course.

CLINIAS ὀρθῶς.

CLINIAS Right.

897d ATHENIAN εἰ δὲ μανικῶς τε καὶ ἀτάκτως ἔρχεται, τὴν κακήν.

ATHENIAN But if it proceeds in a mad and disorderly way, then the bad soul.

CLINIAS καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς.

CLINIAS That's right too.

ATHENIAN τίνα οὖν δὴ νοῦ κίνησις φύσιν ἔχει; τοῦτο ἤδη χαλεπόν, ὦ φίλοι, ἐρώτημα ἀποκρινόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐμφρόνως· διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ὑμῖν δίκαιον τὰ νῦν προσλαμβάνειν.

ATHENIAN Then what nature does the motion of intelligence have? This, my friends, is a question hard to answer sensibly. So it's only fair that I should now help you with the answer.

CLINIAS εὖ λέγεις.

CLINIAS Well said.

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	ATHENIAN μὴ τοίνυν ἐξ ἐναντίας οἷον εἰς ἥλιον ἀποβλέποντες, νύκτα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἐπαγόμενοι, ποιησώμεθα τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ὡς νοῦν ποτε θνητοῖς ὄμμασιν ὀψόμενοί τε καὶ γνωσόμενοι [897e] ἱκανῶς· πρὸς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐρωτωμένου βλέποντας ἀσφαλέστερον ὁρᾶν.	**ATHENIAN** Let's not give our answer as though we were staring straight into the sun and bringing night on ourselves at midday, as if we could ever see intelligence with mortal eyes and know it [897e] adequately. It's safer to look at an image of what we're asking about.
897e	**CLINIAS** πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN ἦι προσέοικεν κινήσει νοῦς τῶν δέκα ἐκείνων κινήσεων, τὴν εἰκόνα λάβωμεν· ἣν συναναμνησθεὶς ὑμῖν ἐγὼ κοινῇ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ποιήσομαι.	**ATHENIAN** Let's take as our image whichever of those ten motions intelligence resembles. I'll recall it together with you, and give the answer on behalf of us all.
	CLINIAS κάλλιστα ἂν λέγοις.	**CLINIAS** That would be excellent.
	ATHENIAN μεμνήμεθα τοίνυν τῶν τότε ἔτι τοῦτό γε, ὅτι τῶν πάντων τὰ μὲν κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ μένειν ἔθεμεν;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, do we still remember this much of what we said then: that we laid down that of all things some move and others remain at rest?
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
	ATHENIAN τῶν δ' αὖ κινουμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ κινεῖσθαι, [898a] τὰ δ' ἐν πλείοσιν φερόμενα.	**ATHENIAN** And again, that of the things that move, some move in one place, [898a] and others are carried in several.
898a	**CLINIAS** ἔστι ταῦτα.	**CLINIAS** That's so.
	ATHENIAN τούτοιν δὴ τοῖν κινησέοιν τὴν ἐν ἑνὶ φερομένην ἀεὶ περί γέ τι μέσον ἀνάγκη κινεῖσθαι, τῶν ἐντόρνων οὖσαν μίμημά τι κύκλων, εἶναί τε αὐτὴν τῇ τοῦ νοῦ περιόδῳ πάντως ὡς δυνατὸν οἰκειοτάτην τε καὶ ὁμοίαν.	**ATHENIAN** Of these two motions, the one carried in one place must always move around some center, being a kind of imitation of circles turned on a lathe; and it must be in every way as closely akin and as similar as possible to the revolution of intelligence.
	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN τὸ κατὰ ταὐτὰ δήπου καὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἕνα λόγον καὶ τάξιν [898b] μίαν ἄμφω κινεῖσθαι λέγοντες, νοῦν τήν τε ἐν ἑνὶ φερομένην κίνησιν, σφαίρας ἐντόρνου ἀπεικασμένα φοραῖς, οὐκ ἄν ποτε φανεῖμεν φαῦλοι δημιουργοὶ λόγῳ καλῶν εἰκόνων.	**ATHENIAN** Suppose we say that both intelligence and the motion carried in one place move in the same respect and in the same way, in the same place, around the same things and relative to the same things, according to one proportion and one [898b] order, and liken them to the movements of a sphere turned on a lathe: then we would never be shown to be poor craftsmen of fine images in words.
898b	**CLINIAS** ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** You're quite right.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν αὖ ἥ γε μηδέποτε ὡσαύτως μηδὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μηδὲ ἐν ταὐτῷ μηδὲ περὶ ταὐτὰ μηδὲ πρὸς ταὐτὰ μηδ' ἐν ἑνὶ φερομένη μηδ' ἐν κόσμῳ μηδ' ἐν τάξει	**ATHENIAN** And again, the motion that is never in the same way, nor in the same respect, nor in the same place, nor around the same things, nor relative to the same things, nor carried in one place,

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	μηδὲ ἔν τινι λόγῳ κίνησις ἀνοίας ἂν ἁπάσης εἴη συγγενής;	nor in any arrangement or order or proportion—wouldn't it be akin to every kind of folly?
	CLINIAS εἴη γὰρ ἂν ἀληθέστατα.	**CLINIAS** Most truly it would.
898c	**ATHENIAN** νῦν δὴ χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι διαρρήδην εἰπεῖν ὡς, ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μέν ἐστιν ἡ περιάγουσα ἡμῖν πάντα, τὴν δὲ οὐρανοῦ περιφορὰν ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιάγειν φατέον ἐπιμελουμένην καὶ κοσμοῦσαν ἤτοι τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν ἐναντίαν.	**ATHENIAN** Now, then, it's no longer difficult to say explicitly that, since it is soul that drives everything around for us, we must say that the revolution of heaven is necessarily driven around, cared for and ordered either by the best soul or by its opposite.
	CLINIAS ὦ ξένε, ἀλλὰ ἔκ γε τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων οὐδ' ὅσιον ἄλλως λέγειν ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσαν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλείους περιάγειν αὐτά.	**CLINIAS** But, stranger, from what has now been said, it wouldn't even be pious to say anything other than that one soul or more, possessing every virtue, drives them around.
	ATHENIAN κάλλιστα, ὦ Κλεινία, ὑπήκουσας τοῖς λόγοις· τόδε [898d] δὲ προσυπάκουσον ἔτι.	**ATHENIAN** You've followed the argument excellently, Clinias. Now [898d] follow this further point.
898d	**CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What point?
	ATHENIAN Ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα, εἴπερ ψυχὴ περιάγει πάντα, ἆρ' οὐ καὶ ἓν ἕκαστον;	**ATHENIAN** Sun and moon and the other stars: if soul drives all things around, doesn't it also drive each one of them?
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN περὶ ἑνὸς δὴ ποιησώμεθα λόγους, οἳ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα ἡμῖν ἄστρα ἁρμόττοντες φανοῦνται.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's discuss one of them, and what we say will turn out to fit all the stars.
	CLINIAS τίνος;	**CLINIAS** Which one?
	ATHENIAN Ἡλίου πᾶς ἄνθρωπος σῶμα μὲν ὁρᾷ, ψυχὴν δὲ οὐδείς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου σώματος οὐδενὸς οὔτε ζῶντος οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντος τῶν ζῴων, ἀλλὰ ἐλπὶς πολλὴ τὸ παράπαν [898e] τὸ γένος ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἀναίσθητον πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεσι περιπεφυκέναι, νοητὸν δ' εἶναι. νῷ μόνῳ δὴ καὶ διανοήματι λάβωμεν αὐτοῦ πέρι τὸ τοιόνδε.	**ATHENIAN** Every human being sees the sun's body, but no one sees its soul—nor, for that matter, the soul of any other body belonging to any living creature, whether alive or dying. There is every reason to expect that this kind of thing [898e] is by nature entirely imperceptible to all our bodily senses, and can be grasped only by the mind. So let's grasp the following point about it by intelligence and thought alone.
898e	**CLINIAS** ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What point?
	ATHENIAN Ἥλιον εἴπερ ἄγει ψυχή, τριῶν αὐτὴν ἓν λέγοντες δρᾶν σχεδὸν οὐκ ἀποτευξόμεθα.	**ATHENIAN** If soul drives the sun, we shan't go far wrong in saying that it does one of three things.
	CLINIAS τίνων;	**CLINIAS** What things?
	ATHENIAN ὡς ἢ ἐνοῦσα ἐντὸς τῷ περιφερεῖ τούτῳ φαινομένῳ σώματι πάντῃ διακομίζει τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ ἡμᾶς ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχὴ πάντῃ περιφέρει· ἢ ποθεν ἔξωθεν σῶμα αὑτῇ [899a] πορισαμένη πυρὸς ἢ τινος ἀέρος, ὡς λόγος ἐστί τινων, ὠθεῖ βίᾳ σώματι σῶμα· ἢ τρίτον	**ATHENIAN** Either it dwells inside this round visible body and conveys it everywhere, just as the soul in us carries us about everywhere; or it provides itself from somewhere outside with a body [899a] of fire or some kind of air, as some people

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	αὐτὴ ψιλὴ σώματος οὖσα, ἔχουσα δὲ δυνάμεις ἄλλας τινὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας θαύματι, ποδηγεῖ.	claim, and pushes body by force with body; or, third, it is itself bare of body but has certain other powers of surpassing wonder, and guides it along.
899a	CLINIAS ναί, τοῦτο μὲν ἀνάγκη, τούτων ἕν γέ τι δρῶσαν ψυχὴν πάντα διάγειν.	CLINIAS Yes, that much is necessary: soul must do one of these things as it conducts everything.
	ATHENIAN αὐτοῦ δὴ ἄμεινον ταύτην τὴν ψυχήν, εἴτε ἐν ἅρμασιν ἔχουσα ἡμῖν ἥλιον ἄγει φῶς τοῖς ἅπασιν, εἴτε ἔξωθεν, εἴθ' ὅπως εἴθ' ὅπῃ, θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι χρεὼν πάντα ἄνδρα. ἢ πῶς;	ATHENIAN And this soul—whether it brings light to us all by having the sun as its chariot, or from outside, or however and by whatever means—every man must regard as a god, and as better than the sun itself. Or how else?
899b	CLINIAS ναί, τόν γέ που μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένον ἀνοίας.	CLINIAS Yes—any man, at least, who hasn't reached the uttermost depth of folly.
	ATHENIAN ἄστρων δὴ πέρι πάντων καὶ σελήνης, ἐνιαυτῶν τε καὶ μηνῶν καὶ πασῶν ὡρῶν πέρι, τίνα ἄλλον λόγον ἐροῦμεν ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μὲν ἢ ψυχαὶ πάντων τούτων αἴτιαι ἐφάνησαν, ἀγαθαὶ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, θεοὺς αὐτὰς εἶναι φήσομεν, εἴτε ἐν σώμασιν ἐνοῦσαι, ζῷα ὄντα, κοσμοῦσιν πάντα οὐρανόν, εἴτε ὅπῃ τε καὶ ὅπως; ἔσθ' ὅστις ταῦτα ὁμολογῶν ὑπομενεῖ μὴ θεῶν εἶναι πλήρη πάντα;	ATHENIAN And as for all the stars and the moon, and the years and months and all the seasons, what account shall we give other than this same one? Since soul or souls have been shown to be the causes of all these things, and good with every virtue, we shall say they are gods, whether they order the whole heaven by dwelling in bodies as living creatures, or however and in whatever way they do it. Is there anyone who agrees to this and will still hold out against saying that all things are full of gods?[3]
899c	CLINIAS οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως, ὦ ξένε, παραφρονῶν οὐδείς.	CLINIAS No one, stranger, is so far out of his mind.
	ATHENIAN τῷ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ νομίζοντι θεοὺς ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία, εἰπόντες ὅρους ἀπαλλαττώμεθα.	ATHENIAN Then, Megillus and Clinias, let's set terms for the man who until now hasn't believed in gods, and be done with him.
	CLINIAS τίνας;	CLINIAS What terms?
	ATHENIAN ἢ διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγομεν τιθέμενοι ψυχὴν γένεσιν ἁπάντων εἶναι πρώτην, καὶ τἆλλα ὁπόσα τούτων συνεπόμενα εἴπομεν, ἢ μὴ δυνάμενον βέλτιον λέγειν ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν πείθεσθαι καὶ ζῆν θεοὺς ἡγούμενον εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον 899d βίον. ὁρῶμεν οὖν εἴτε ἱκανῶς ἤδη τοῖς οὐχ ἡγουμένοις θεοὺς εἰρήκαμεν ὡς εἰσὶν θεοί, εἴτε ἐπιδεῶς.	ATHENIAN Either he should teach us that we're wrong to posit soul as the first origin of all things, along with all the other conclusions we drew from this; or, if he can't give a better account than ours, he should be persuaded by us and live the rest of his 899d life believing in gods. So let's see whether what we've said to those who don't believe in gods, to show that gods exist, is now sufficient or falls short.
899d	CLINIAS ἥκιστά γε, ὦ ξένε, πάντων ἐπιδεῶς.	CLINIAS Falls short, stranger? That's the last thing it does.

3 "All things are full of gods" was a saying attributed to the early philosopher Thales of Miletus.

DO THE GODS CARE FOR SMALL THINGS?

Against those who think the gods neglect humans, the Athenian argues they care for small things too.

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ATHENIAN τούτοις μὲν τοίνυν ἡμῖν τὸ λόγων τέλος ἐχέτω· τὸν δὲ ἡγούμενον μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι, μὴ φροντίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, παραμυθητέον. ὦ ἄριστε δὴ φῶμεν, ὅτι μὲν ἡγῇ θεούς, συγγένειά τις ἴσως σε θεία πρὸς τὸ σύμφυτον ἄγει τιμᾶν καὶ νομίζειν εἶναι· κακῶν δὲ 899e ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδίκων τύχαι ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ἀληθείᾳ μὲν οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, δόξαις δὲ εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι σφόδρα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμμελῶς, ἄγουσί σε πρὸς ἀσέβειαν, ἔν τε μούσαις οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑμνούμεναι ἅμα καὶ ἐν παντοίοις λόγοις.

ATHENIAN Then let our argument with these people be at an end. But the man who believes that gods exist but pay no attention to human affairs must be reasoned with gently. Let's say: My excellent friend, your believing in gods is perhaps due to some divine kinship drawing you toward what is akin to you, to honor them and hold that they exist. But the fortunes of bad 899e and unjust men, in private and public life—not truly happy, but thought extremely happy in popular opinion, though wrongly—lead you to impiety, celebrated wrongly as they are in poetry and in all kinds of stories.

899e ἢ καὶ πρὸς τέλος ἴσως ἀνθρώπους ὁρῶν ἐλθόντας γηραιούς, 900a παῖδας παίδων καταλιπόντας ἐν τιμαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, ταράττῃ τὸ νῦν ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις ἰδών, ἢ δι' ἀκοῆς αἰσθόμενος ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης, προστυχὴς πολλῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ δεινῶν γενομένων τισίν, δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐκ σμικρῶν εἰς τυραννίδας τε καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἀφικομένους· τότε διὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δῆλος εἶ μέμφεσθαι μὲν θεοὺς ὡς αἰτίους ὄντας τῶν τοιούτων διὰ συγγένειαν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλων, ἀγόμενος δὲ ὑπό τε ἀλογίας ἅμα καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος δυσχεραίνειν 900b θεούς, εἰς τοῦτο νῦν τὸ πάθος ἐλήλυθας, ὥστ' εἶναι μὲν δοκεῖν αὐτούς, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνων καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν πραγμάτων.

Or perhaps you see men reaching the end of life in old age, 900a leaving their children's children behind them in the highest honors, and you are troubled now. Among all these you have seen—whether you learned of it by hearsay or witnessed it entirely with your own eyes—some who have committed many terrible impieties, and who, precisely through these, have risen from small beginnings to tyrannies and the highest positions. Then, because of all this, you plainly would not wish to blame the gods as responsible for such things, because of your kinship with them; but led on by unreason, and unable at the same time to be angry 900b with the gods, you have come to your present state, where you think they exist but despise and neglect human affairs.

900b ἵνα οὖν μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἔλθῃ σοι πάθος πρὸς ἀσέβειαν τὸ νῦν παρὸν δόγμα, ἀλλ' ἐάν πως οἷον ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι λόγοις αὐτὸ προσιὸν γενώμεθα δυνατοί, πειρώμεθα, συνάψαντες τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον ᾧ πρὸς τὸν τὸ παράπαν οὐχ ἡγούμενον θεοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς διεπερανάμεθα, 900c τούτῳ τὰ νῦν προσχρήσασθαι. σὺ δ', ὦ Κλεινία τε καὶ Μέγιλλε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ νέου καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀποκρινόμενοι διαδέχεσθε· ἂν δέ τι δύσκολον ἐμπίπτῃ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ σφῷν ὥσπερ νυνδὴ δεξάμενος διαβιβῶ τὸν ποταμόν.

So that your present belief doesn't advance any further into a condition of impiety, and so that, if we can somehow, we may ward it off with arguments as it approaches, let's try to attach the next argument to the one we worked through from the beginning against the man who doesn't believe in gods at all, 900c and make use of it now. And you, Clinias and Megillus, take your turn answering on the young man's behalf, as before. If anything difficult comes up in the argument, I'll take you two on my back, as I did just now, and carry you across the river.

900c **CLINIAS** ὀρθῶς λέγεις· καὶ σύ τε οὕτω ταῦτα δρᾶ, ποιήσομέν τε ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἃ λέγεις.

CLINIAS You're right. You do it that way, and we'll do what you say as best we can.

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	ATHENIAN ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τάχ' ἂν ἴσως εἴη χαλεπὸν ἐνδείξασθαι τοῦτό γε, ὡς ἐπιμελεῖς σμικρῶν εἰσιν θεοὶ οὐχ ἧττον, μᾶλλον 900d δέ, ἢ τῶν μεγέθει διαφερόντων. ἤκουε γάρ που καὶ παρῆν τοῖς νυνδὴ λεγομένοις, ὡς ἀγαθοί γε ὄντες πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τὴν τῶν πάντων ἐπιμέλειαν οἰκειοτάτην αὐτῶν οὖσαν κέκτηνται.	**ATHENIAN** Well, it may be no hard task to show this much, at least: that the gods care for small things no less than, but rather 900d more than, things of outstanding size. For he was present, I suppose, and heard what was said just now: that since they are good with every virtue, the care of all things is most properly their own.
900d	**CLINIAS** καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐπήκουεν.	**CLINIAS** He certainly heard it.
	ATHENIAN τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν κοινῇ συνεξεταζόντων τίνα λέγοντες ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὁμολογοῦμεν αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι. φέρε, τὸ σωφρονεῖν νοῦν τε κεκτῆσθαί φαμεν ἀρετῆς, τὰ δ' ἐναντία κακίας;	**ATHENIAN** Next, then, let's examine together what virtue of theirs we mean when we agree that they are good. Come: do we say that being moderate and having intelligence belong to virtue, and their opposites to vice?
	CLINIAS φαμέν.	**CLINIAS** We do.
900e	**ATHENIAN** τί δέ; ἀρετῆς μὲν ἀνδρείαν εἶναι, δειλίαν δὲ κακίας;	**ATHENIAN** And that courage belongs to virtue, and cowardice to vice?
	CLINIAS πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ τούτων, τὰ δὲ καλὰ φήσομεν;	**ATHENIAN** And shall we call the latter shameful and the former fine?
	CLINIAS ἀνάγκη.	**CLINIAS** Necessarily.
	ATHENIAN καὶ τῶν μὲν προσήκειν ἡμῖν, εἴπερ, ὁπόσα φλαῦρα, θεοῖς δὲ οὔτε μέγα οὔτε σμικρὸν τῶν τοιούτων μετὸν ἐροῦμεν;	**ATHENIAN** And shall we say that whatever is base among these belongs, if to anyone, to us, while the gods have no share in such things, great or small?
	CLINIAS καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὁμολογοῖ πᾶς ἄν.	**CLINIAS** Anyone would agree to that as well.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν εἰς ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς θήσομεν, ἢ πῶς λέγεις;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, shall we count neglect, idleness and self-indulgence as part of the soul's virtue? Or what do you say?
	CLINIAS καὶ πῶς;	**CLINIAS** How could we?
	ATHENIAN ἀλλ' εἰς τοὐναντίον;	**ATHENIAN** Rather to the opposite?
	CLINIAS ναί.	**CLINIAS** Yes.
901a	**ATHENIAN** τἀναντία ἄρα τούτοις εἰς τοὐναντίον;	**ATHENIAN** And their opposites, then, to the opposite side?
	CLINIAS τοὐναντίον.	**CLINIAS** To the opposite.
	ATHENIAN τί οὖν δή; τρυφῶν καὶ ἀμελὴς ἀργός τε, ὃν ὁ ποιητὴς κηφῆσι κοθούροισι μάλιστα εἴκελον ἔφασκεν εἶναι, γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος πᾶς ἡμῖν;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, wouldn't everyone of this sort be, in our eyes, self-indulgent, neglectful and idle—the kind of man the poet said was most like stingless drones?[4]

4 The poet is Hesiod, who compares the idle man to drones in *Works and Days*.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS ὀρθότατά γε εἰπών.	**CLINIAS** And very rightly he said it.
	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν τόν γε θεὸν οὐ ῥητέον ἔχειν ἦθος τοιοῦτον, ὅ γέ τοι αὐτὸς μισεῖ, τῷ τέ τι τοιοῦτον φθέγγεσθαι πειρωμένῳ οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον.	**ATHENIAN** Then we mustn't say that the god has a character like that—one he himself hates, surely—and we mustn't allow anyone who tries to voice any such thing.
	CLINIAS οὐ μὲν δή· πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** No indeed. How could we?
901b	**ATHENIAN** ὧι δὴ προσήκει μὲν πράττειν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι διαφερόντως τινός, ὁ δὲ τούτου γε νοῦς τῶν μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελεῖται, τῶν σμικρῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖ, κατὰ τίνα ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον οὐκ ἂν παντάπασι πλημμελοῖμεν; σκοπῶμεν δὲ ὧδε. ἆρ' οὐ κατὰ δύο εἴδη τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττει ὁ πράττων, εἴτε θεὸς εἴτ' ἄνθρωπος;	**ATHENIAN** Suppose someone whose special task is to act and to care for something has a mind that cares for the great things in it but neglects the small ones. On what reasoning could we praise such a person without striking an utterly false note? Let's consider it this way. Doesn't whoever acts like this, god or man, do so in one of two ways?
	CLINIAS ποίω δὴ λέγομεν;	**CLINIAS** What two ways do we mean?
	ATHENIAN ἢ διαφέρον οὐδὲν οἰόμενος εἶναι τῷ ὅλῳ ἀμελουμένων [901c] τῶν σμικρῶν, ἢ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ, εἰ διαφέρει, ὁ δὲ ἀμελεῖ. ἢ ἔστιν ἄλλως πως γιγνομένη ἀμέλεια; οὐ γάρ που ὅταν γε ἀδύνατον ᾖ τῶν ἁπάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τότε ἀμέλεια ἔσται τῶν σμικρῶν ἢ μεγάλων, μὴ ἐπιμελουμένῳ ὧν ἂν δυνάμει θεὸς ἢ φαῦλός τις ὢν ἐλλιπὴς καὶ μὴ δυνατὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι γίγνηται.	**ATHENIAN** Either he thinks it makes no difference to the whole if the small things [901c] are neglected; or, if it does make a difference, he neglects them from laziness and self-indulgence. Or is there some other way neglect comes about? For surely, when it's impossible to care for everything, it won't be neglect of small things or great when someone—whether a god or some inferior being—fails to care for the things he lacks the power and ability to care for.
901c	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** How could it be?
	ATHENIAN νῦν δὴ δύ' ὄντες τρισὶν ἡμῖν οὖσιν ἀποκρινάσθωσαν [901d] οἱ θεοὺς μὲν ἀμφότεροι ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι, παραιτητοὺς δὲ ἄτερος, ὁ δὲ ἀμελεῖς τῶν σμικρῶν. πρῶτον μὲν θεοὺς ἀμφότεροί φατε γιγνώσκειν καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν πάντα, λαθεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ὁπόσων εἰσὶν αἱ αἰσθήσεις τε καὶ ἐπιστῆμαι· ταύτῃ λέγετε ἔχειν ταῦτα, ἢ πῶς;	**ATHENIAN** Now then, let the two of them answer the three of us. [901d] Both agree that gods exist, but one says they can be won over, the other that they neglect small things. First, both of you say that the gods know and see and hear everything, and that nothing within the range of the senses and of knowledge can escape them. Is that what you say, or what?
901d	**CLINIAS** οὕτως.	**CLINIAS** It is.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; δύνασθαι πάντα ὁπόσων αὖ δύναμίς ἐστιν θνητοῖς τε καὶ ἀθανάτοις;	**ATHENIAN** And that they can do everything within the power of mortals and immortals?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὐ συγχωρήσονται καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν;	**CLINIAS** Of course they'll grant that this is so as well.
901e	**ATHENIAN** καὶ μὴν ἀγαθούς γε καὶ ἀρίστους ὡμολογήκαμεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι πέντε ὄντες.	**ATHENIAN** And the five of us have agreed that they are good, indeed supremely good.

GREEK	ENGLISH
CLINIAS σφόδρα γε.	**CLINIAS** Very much so.
ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν οὐ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ μὲν καὶ τρυφῇ ἀδύνατον αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖν πράττειν ὁτιοῦν τὸ παράπαν, ὄντας γε οἵους ὁμολογοῦμεν; δειλίας γὰρ ἔκγονος ἔν γε ἡμῖν ἀργία, ῥᾳθυμία δὲ ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς.	**ATHENIAN** Then, being what we agree they are, isn't it impossible to agree that they do anything at all out of laziness and self-indulgence? For among us, at any rate, idleness is the offspring of cowardice, and laziness the offspring of idleness and self-indulgence.
CLINIAS ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Very true.
ATHENIAN ἀργίᾳ μὲν δὴ καὶ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ οὐδεὶς ἀμελεῖ θεῶν· οὐ γὰρ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ που δειλίας.	**ATHENIAN** So none of the gods neglects anything out of idleness and laziness, since no god, surely, has any share in cowardice.
CLINIAS ὀρθότατα λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** Quite right.
902a **ATHENIAN** οὐκοῦν τὸ λοιπόν, εἴπερ ἀμελοῦσι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀλίγων τῶν περὶ τὸ πᾶν, ἢ γιγνώσκοντες ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, δρῷεν ἂν τοῦτο, ἢ τί τὸ λοιπὸν πλὴν τῷ γιγνώσκειν τοὐναντίον;	**ATHENIAN** Then what remains is this: if they do neglect the small and slight things in the universe, they would do so either because they know there is no need at all to care for any such things—or what else remains, except that they know the opposite?
CLINIAS οὐδέν.	**CLINIAS** Nothing.
ATHENIAN πότερον οὖν, ὦ ἄριστε καὶ βέλτιστε, θῶμέν σε λέγοντα ὡς ἀγνοοῦντάς τε καὶ δέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀμελοῦντας, ἢ γιγνώσκοντας ὅτι δεῖ, καθάπερ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγονται ποιεῖν, εἰδότες ἄλλα εἶναι βελτίω 902b πράττειν ὧν δὴ πράττουσιν, διά τινας ἥττας ἡδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν οὐ ποιεῖν;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, my excellent and noble friend, which shall we take you to be saying? That they are ignorant, and neglect out of ignorance what they ought to care for? Or that they know they ought to, but—as the worst of men are said to do, knowing that there are better things 902b to do than what they are doing—fail to do them, because they are somehow overcome by pleasures or pains?
902b **CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** How could that be?
ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν δὴ τά γε ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα τῆς τε ἐμψύχου μετέχει φύσεως ἅμα, καὶ θεοσεβέστατον αὐτό ἐστι πάντων ζῴων ἄνθρωπος;	**ATHENIAN** Now, don't human affairs share in the nature of what has soul, and isn't man himself the most god-fearing of all animals?
CLINIAS ἔοικε γοῦν.	**CLINIAS** So it seems, at any rate.
ATHENIAN θεῶν γε μὴν κτήματά φαμεν εἶναι πάντα ὁπόσα θνητὰ ζῷα, ὥνπερ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον.	**ATHENIAN** And we say that all mortal animals are possessions of the gods, to whom the whole heaven belongs as well.
CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
ATHENIAN ἤδη τοίνυν σμικρὰ ἢ μεγάλα τις φάτω ταῦτα εἶναι 902c τοῖς θεοῖς· οὐδετέρως γὰρ τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἡμᾶς ἀμελεῖν ἂν εἴη προσῆκον,	**ATHENIAN** Now then, let anyone say that these things are small or great 902c in the eyes of the gods: either way, it would not be fitting for those who own us to neglect us, since they are most

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐπιμελεστάτοις γε οὖσι καὶ ἀρίστοις. σκοπῶμεν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις.	caring and supremely good. And let's consider this further point besides.
902c	**CLINIAS** τὸ ποῖον;	**CLINIAS** What point?
	ATHENIAN τὸ περί τε αἰσθήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως, ἆρ' οὐκ ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοιν πρὸς ῥᾳστώνην καὶ χαλεπότητά ἐστον πεφυκότε;	**ATHENIAN** Perception and power: aren't they by nature opposed to each other with respect to ease and difficulty?
	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN ὁρᾶν μέν που καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ σμικρὰ χαλεπώτερον ἢ τὰ μεγάλα, φέρειν δὲ αὖ καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀλίγων παντὶ ῥᾷον ἢ τῶν ἐναντίων.	**ATHENIAN** Seeing and hearing small things is harder, I suppose, than seeing and hearing great ones; but carrying, controlling and caring for small and few things is easier for anyone than for their opposites.
902d	**CLINIAS** καὶ πολύ γε.	**CLINIAS** Much easier.
	ATHENIAN ἰατρῷ δὲ προστεταγμένον ὅλον τι θεραπεύειν, βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τῶν μορίων δὲ καὶ σμικρῶν ἀμελοῦντι, ἕξει ποτὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν;	**ATHENIAN** If a doctor is charged with treating a whole body, and is willing and able to care for its large parts but neglects the small ones, will the whole ever be in good condition for him?
	CLINIAS οὐδαμῶς.	**CLINIAS** Never.
	ATHENIAN οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ κυβερνήταις οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς οὐδ' οἰκονόμοις, οὐδ' αὖ τισὶν πολιτικοῖς οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενί, χωρὶς τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ σμικρῶν πολλὰ ἢ μεγάλα· οὐδὲ [902e] γὰρ ἄνευ σμικρῶν τοὺς μεγάλους φασὶν λιθολόγοι λίθους εὖ κεῖσθαι.	**ATHENIAN** Nor will the many or the great go well for ship captains or generals or household managers, nor for statesmen or anyone else of that kind, apart from the few and small. For [902e] as masons say, big stones don't lie well without small ones.
902e	**CLINIAS** πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** Of course not.
	ATHENIAN μὴ τοίνυν τόν γε θεὸν ἀξιώσωμέν ποτε θνητῶν δημιουργῶν φαυλότερον, οἳ τὰ προσήκοντα αὑτοῖς ἔργα, ὅσῳπερ ἂν ἀμείνους ὦσιν, τόσῳ ἀκριβέστερα καὶ τελεώτερα μιᾷ τέχνῃ σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀπεργάζονται· τὸν δὲ θεὸν ὄντα τε σοφώτατον βουλόμενόν τ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ δυνάμενον, [903a] ὧν μὲν ῥᾷον ἦν ἐπιμεληθῆναι σμικρῶν ὄντων, μηδαμῇ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἀργὸν ἢ δειλόν τινα διὰ πόνους ῥᾳθυμοῦντα, τῶν δὲ μεγάλων.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's never consider the god inferior to mortal craftsmen, who, the better they are, the more precisely and perfectly they finish the works that belong to them, small and great alike, by a single art. Let's not suppose that the god, who is supremely wise and both willing and able to care, [903a] takes no care at all of the small things, which are easier to care for, like someone idle or cowardly shirking the toil, but cares only for the great.
903a	**CLINIAS** μηδαμῶς δόξαν τοιαύτην περὶ θεῶν, ὦ ξένε, ἀποδεχώμεθα· οὐδαμῇ γὰρ οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτ' ἀληθὲς τὸ διανόημα διανοοίμεθ' ἄν.	**CLINIAS** Let's never accept such an opinion about the gods, stranger. It would be a thought neither pious nor true in any way.
	ATHENIAN δοκοῦμεν δέ μοι νῦν ἤδη μάλιστα μετρίως διειλέχθαι τῷ φιλαιτίῳ τῆς ἀμελείας πέρι θεῶν.	**ATHENIAN** I think we've now argued quite adequately with the man who loves to accuse the gods of neglect.

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS ναί.

CLINIAS Yes.

ATHENIAN τῷ γε βιάζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ [903b] λέγειν ὀρθῶς· ἐπῳδῶν γε μὴν προσδεῖσθαί μοι δοκεῖ μύθων ἔτι τινῶν.

ATHENIAN At least in forcing him by our arguments to admit that he is not [903b] speaking rightly. But he still seems to me to need some stories as well, to act as charms.

903b **CLINIAS** ποίων, ὠγαθέ;

CLINIAS What sort, my good friend?

THE PART AND THE WHOLE

A story tells the young doubter he exists for the whole, and souls find the places they deserve.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN πείθωμεν τὸν νεανίαν τοῖς λόγοις ὡς τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιμελουμένῳ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῦ ὅλου πάντ' ἐστὶ συντεταγμένα, ὧν καὶ τὸ μέρος εἰς δύναμιν ἕκαστον τὸ προσῆκον πάσχει καὶ ποιεῖ. τούτοις δ' εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες προστεταγμένοι ἑκάστοις ἐπὶ τὸ σμικρότατον ἀεὶ πάθης καὶ πράξεως, εἰς μερισμὸν τὸν ἔσχατον τέλος ἀπειργασμένοι· [903c] ὧν ἓν καὶ τὸ σόν, ὦ σχέτλιε, μόριον εἰς τὸ πᾶν συντείνει βλέπον ἀεί, καίπερ πάνσμικρον ὄν, σὲ δὲ λέληθεν περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὡς γένεσις ἕνεκα ἐκείνου γίγνεται πᾶσα, ὅπως ᾖ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς βίῳ ὑπάρχουσα εὐδαίμων οὐσία, οὐχ ἕνεκα σοῦ γιγνομένη, σὺ δ' ἕνεκα ἐκείνου.

ATHENIAN Let's persuade the young man with our arguments that the one who cares for the universe has arranged everything with a view to the preservation and virtue of the whole, and each part of it, as far as it can, undergoes and does what is fitting for it. Over each of these, rulers have been appointed for even the smallest detail of what is undergone and done, and they have brought it to completion down to the last subdivision. [903c] One of these parts is yours too, you stubborn man: tiny as it is, it always strains toward the whole and looks to it. But in this very matter you have failed to see that all coming-to-be happens for the sake of the whole, so that the life of the universe may have a happy existence. It does not come to be for your sake; you come to be for its sake.

903c πᾶς γὰρ ἰατρὸς καὶ πᾶς ἔντεχνος δημιουργὸς παντὸς μὲν ἕνεκα πάντα ἐργάζεται, πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συντεῖνον βέλτιστον μέρος μὴν ἕνεκα ὅλου καὶ οὐχ [903d] ὅλον μέρους ἕνεκα ἀπεργάζεται· σὺ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖς, ἀγνοῶν ὅπῃ τὸ περὶ σὲ ἄριστον τῷ παντὶ συμβαίνει καὶ σοὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν τῆς κοινῆς γενέσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀεὶ ψυχὴ συντεταγμένη σώματι τοτὲ μὲν ἄλλῳ, τοτὲ δὲ ἄλλῳ, μεταβάλλει παντοίας μεταβολὰς δι' ἑαυτὴν ἢ δι' ἑτέραν ψυχήν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον τῷ πεττευτῇ λείπεται πλὴν μετατιθέναι τὸ μὲν ἄμεινον γιγνόμενον ἦθος εἰς βελτίω τόπον, χεῖρον δὲ εἰς τὸν χείρονα, κατὰ τὸ πρέπον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα τῆς προσηκούσης [903e] μοίρας λαγχάνῃ.

Every doctor and every skilled craftsman does all his work for the sake of the whole, aiming at what is best in common; he produces the part for the sake of the whole, and not [903d] the whole for the sake of the part. But you are indignant, not knowing how what is best in your case turns out best both for the universe and for you, as far as the power of your common origin allows. Since soul is always joined now to one body, now to another, and undergoes all kinds of changes, either through itself or through another soul, nothing is left for the player at the board to do except to move the character that is growing better to a better place and the worse to a worse one, according to what befits each, so that each may receive its fitting [903e] lot.[5]

903e

5 The image is of *petteia*, a Greek board game in which pieces were moved from square to square.

GREEK

CLINIAS πῇ λέγεις;

ATHENIAN ἥιπερ ἂν ἔχοι ῥᾳστώνης ἐπιμελείας θεοῖς τῶν πάντων, ταύτῃ μοι δοκῶ φράζειν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον ἀεὶ βλέπων πλάττοι τις μετασχηματίζων τὰ πάντα, οἷον ἐκ πυρὸς ὕδωρ ἔμψυχον, καὶ μὴ σύμπολλα ἐξ ἑνὸς ἢ [904a] ἐκ πολλῶν ἕν, πρώτης ἢ δευτέρας ἢ καὶ τρίτης γενέσεως μετειληφότα πλήθεσιν ἄπειρ' ἂν εἴη τῆς μετατιθεμένης κοσμήσεως· νῦν δ' ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ῥᾳστώνη τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιμελουμένῳ.

904a **CLINIAS** πῶς αὖ λέγεις;

ATHENIAN ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ κατεῖδεν ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμψύχους οὔσας τὰς πράξεις ἁπάσας καὶ πολλὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν ἐν αὐταῖς οὖσαν, πολλὴν δὲ κακίαν, ἀνώλεθρον δὲ ὂν γενόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰώνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, καθάπερ οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὄντες [904b] θεοί—γένεσις γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἦν ζῴων ἀπολομένου τούτοιν θατέρου—καὶ τὸ μὲν ὠφελεῖν ἀεὶ πεφυκός, ὅσον ἀγαθὸν ψυχῆς, διενοήθη, τὸ δὲ κακὸν βλάπτειν· ταῦτα πάντα συνιδών, ἐμηχανήσατο ποῦ κείμενον ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν νικῶσαν ἀρετήν, ἡττωμένην δὲ κακίαν, ἐν τῷ παντὶ παρέχοι μάλιστ' ἂν καὶ ῥᾷστα καὶ ἄριστα. μεμηχάνηται δὴ πρὸς πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ ποιόν τι γιγνόμενον ἀεὶ ποίαν ἕδραν δεῖ μεταλαμβάνον οἰκίζεσθαι καὶ τίνας ποτὲ τόπους· τῆς δὲ γενέσεως τοῦ [904c] ποίου τινὸς ἀφῆκε ταῖς βουλήσεσιν ἑκάστων ἡμῶν τὰς αἰτίας.

904c ὅπῃ γὰρ ἂν ἐπιθυμῇ καὶ ὁποῖός τις ὢν τὴν ψυχήν, ταύτῃ σχεδὸν ἑκάστοτε καὶ τοιοῦτος γίγνεται ἅπας ἡμῶν ὡς τὸ πολύ.

CLINIAS τὸ γοῦν εἰκός.

ATHENIAN μεταβάλλει μὲν τοίνυν πάνθ' ὅσα μέτοχά ἐστιν ψυχῆς, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κεκτημένα τὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς αἰτίαν, μεταβάλλοντα δὲ φέρεται κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἱμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον· σμικρότερα μὲν τῶν ἠθῶν μεταβάλλοντα ἐλάττω κατὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἐπίπεδον μεταπορεύεται, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀδικώτερα [904d] μεταπεσόντα, εἰς βάθος τά τε κάτω λεγόμενα τῶν τόπων, ὅσα Ἅιδην τε καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπονομάζοντες σφόδρα φοβοῦνται καὶ ὀνειροπολοῦσιν ζῶντες διαλυθέντες τε τῶν σωμάτων. μείζω δὲ δὴ ψυχὴ

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CLINIAS How do you mean?

ATHENIAN I think I'm describing the way in which the gods' care of all things would be easy. If someone always looked to the whole and molded all things by transforming them—making living water out of fire, say—and not many things out of one or [904a] one out of many, then the things that had come to share in a first or second or even third stage of generation would be unlimited in number in this shifting arrangement. As it is, there is a wonderful ease for the one who cares for the universe.

CLINIAS What do you mean now?

ATHENIAN This. Our king saw that all our actions involve soul, and contain much virtue and much vice; and that soul and body, once they have come to be, are indestructible but not eternal, just like the gods recognized by law [904b] —for there could never have been any coming-to-be of living things if either of the two were destroyed. He considered that whatever in soul is good is by nature always beneficial, and whatever is bad, harmful. Seeing all this together, he devised where each of the parts should be placed so as to make virtue victorious and vice defeated in the universe as fully, easily and well as possible. For this whole purpose he has devised what kind of seat, and what regions, each thing must take up and inhabit as it becomes of a certain kind; but the causes of its becoming [904c] of a certain kind he left to the wishes of each of us.

For as a rule each of us becomes, almost every time, whatever kind of person accords with the direction of his desires and the character of his soul.

CLINIAS That's likely, at any rate.

ATHENIAN All things that share in soul change, since they possess the cause of change within themselves; and as they change they are carried along according to the order and law of destiny. Characters that change in lesser ways travel across the surface of the land; those that fall further and into greater injustice [904d] travel into the depths and the regions called "below"—which people call Hades and other such names, and fear terribly, and dream of, both while alive and once they are

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κακίας ἢ ἀρετῆς ὁπόταν μεταλάβῃ διὰ τὴν αὑτῆς βούλησίν τε καὶ ὁμιλίαν γενομένην ἰσχυράν, ὁπόταν μὲν ἀρετῇ θείᾳ προσμείξασα γίγνηται διαφερόντως τοιαύτη, διαφέροντα καὶ μετέβαλεν [904e] τόπον ἅγιον ὅλον, μετακομισθεῖσα εἰς ἀμείνω τινὰ τόπον ἕτερον· ὅταν δὲ τἀναντία, ἐπὶ τἀναντία μεθιδρύσασα τὸν αὑτῆς βίον.

904e αὕτη τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν, ὦ παῖ καὶ νεανίσκε ἀμελεῖσθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ θεῶν, κακίω μὲν γιγνόμενον πρὸς τὰς κακίους ψυχάς, ἀμείνω δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀμείνους πορευόμενον, ἔν τε ζωῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι θανάτοις πάσχειν τε ἃ προσῆκον δρᾶν ἐστι τοῖς προσφερέσι τοὺς προσφερεῖς [905a] καὶ ποιεῖν. ταύτης τῆς δίκης οὔτε σὺ μή ποτε οὔτε εἴ ἄλλος ἀτυχὴς γενόμενος ἐπεύξηται περιγενέσθαι θεῶν· ἣν πασῶν δικῶν διαφερόντως ἔταξάν τε οἱ τάξαντες χρεών τε ἐξευλαβεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀμεληθήσῃ ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς· οὐχ οὕτω σμικρὸς ὢν δύσῃ κατὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς βάθος, οὐδ' ὑψηλὸς γενόμενος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτήσῃ, τείσεις δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν εἴτ' ἐνθάδε μένων εἴτε καὶ [905b] ἐν Ἅιδου διαπορευθεὶς εἴτε καὶ τούτων εἰς ἀγριώτερον ἔτι διακομισθεὶς τόπον.

905b ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λόγος σοι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἂν εἴη, τῶν οὓς σὺ κατιδὼν ἐκ σμικρῶν μεγάλους γεγονότας ἀνοσιουργήσαντας ἤ τι τοιοῦτον πράξαντας ᾠήθης ἐξ ἀθλίων εὐδαίμονας γεγονέναι, κᾆτα ὡς ἐν κατόπτροις αὐτῶν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἠγήσω καθεωρακέναι τὴν πάντων ἀμέλειαν θεῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν συντέλειαν ὅπῃ ποτὲ τῷ παντὶ συμβάλλεται. [905c] γιγνώσκειν δὲ αὐτήν, ὦ πάντων ἀνδρειότατε, πῶς οὐ δεῖν δοκεῖς; ἥν τις μὴ γιγνώσκων οὐδ' ἂν τύπον ἴδοι ποτέ, οὐδὲ λόγον συμβάλλεσθαι περὶ βίου δυνατὸς ἂν γένοιτο εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν τε καὶ δυσδαίμονα τύχην.

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released from their bodies. And whenever a soul takes on a greater share of vice or virtue through its own will and the strength of its associations: if it has mingled with divine virtue and become exceptionally virtuous, it moves to an exceptional [904e] place, wholly holy, being carried over to some other, better place; but when the opposite happens, it relocates its life to the opposite place.

"This is the justice of the gods who hold Olympus," my boy—yes, you, young man, who think the gods neglect you: as you become worse you travel to the worse souls, and as you become better, to the better; and both in life and in every death you undergo what it is fitting for like to do to like, [905a] and you do it too. Neither you nor anyone else who meets with misfortune will ever boast of having got the better of this justice of the gods. Those who ordained it ordained it above all other forms of justice, and one must be thoroughly on one's guard against it. For you will never be neglected by it. You are not so small that you could sink into the depths of the earth, nor so high that you could fly up into heaven; you will pay them the fitting penalty, whether you remain here, or [905b] pass through into Hades, or are carried off to some place still wilder than these.[6]

The same account will apply to you about those you saw rise from small to great by committing impious acts or doing something of the kind, and whom you thought had gone from misery to happiness. You believed you had seen in their actions, as in mirrors, the gods' neglect of everything, not knowing how their contribution fits into the universe. [905c] And how can you think, boldest of men, that you have no need to know it? Whoever doesn't know it could never see even the outline of it, nor be able to give an account of life with respect to happiness and unhappy fortune.

THE GODS CANNOT BE BRIBED

The Athenian argues that gods, the best of guardians, cannot be won over by gifts from wrongdoers.

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905c ATHENIAN ταῦτα εἰ μέν σε πείθει Κλεινίας ὅδε καὶ σύμπασα ἡμῶν ἥδε ἡ γερουσία, περὶ θεῶν ὡς οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι λέγεις, καλῶς ἄν σοι θεὸς αὐτὸς συλλαμβάνοι· εἰ δ' ἐπιδεὶς ἔτι λόγου τινὸς ἂν εἴης, λεγόντων ἡμῶν [905d] πρὸς

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ATHENIAN If Clinias here and this whole council of elders of ours persuade you that you don't know what you're saying about the gods, the god himself would be doing you a fine service. But if you still

6 The quoted line adapts one from Homer's *Odyssey*.

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τὸν τρίτον ἐπάκουε, εἰ νοῦν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἔχεις. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ θεοί τ' εἰσὶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελοῦνται, ἔγωγε οὐ παντάπασιν φαύλως ἂν φαίην ἡμῖν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι· τὸ δὲ παραιτητοὺς αὖ θεοὺς εἶναι τοῖσιν ἀδικοῦσι, δεχομένους δῶρα, οὔτε τινὶ συγχωρητέον παντί τ' αὖ κατὰ δύναμιν τρόπῳ ἐλεγκτέον.

905d **CLINIAS** κάλλιστ' εἶπες, ποιῶμέν τε ὡς λέγεις.

ATHENIAN φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν αὐτῶν, τίνα τρόπον παραιτητοὶ [905e] γίγνοιντ' ἂν ἡμῖν, εἰ γίγνοιντο αὖ; καὶ τίνες ἢ ποῖοί τινες ὄντες; ἄρχοντας μὲν ἀναγκαῖόν που γίγνεσθαι τούς γε διοικήσοντας τὸν ἅπαντα ἐντελεχῶς οὐρανόν.

905e **CLINIAS** οὕτως.

ATHENIAN ἀλλ' ἆρα τίσιν προσφερεῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων; ἢ τίνες τούτοις, ὧν δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀπεικάζουσι τυγχάνειν μείζοσιν ἐλάττονας; πότερον ἡνίοχοί τινες ἂν εἶεν τοιοῦτοι ζευγῶν ἁμιλλωμένων ἢ πλοίων κυβερνῆται; τάχα δὲ κἂν ἀπεικασθεῖεν στρατοπέδων ἄρχουσί τισιν· εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ νόσων πόλεμον εὐλαβουμένοις ἰατροῖς ἐοικέναι περὶ σώματα, ἢ [906a] γεωργοῖς περὶ φυτῶν γένεσιν εἰωθυίας ὥρας χαλεπὰς διὰ φόβων προσδεχομένοις, ἢ καὶ ποιμνίων ἐπιστάταις.

906a ἐπειδὴ γὰρ συγκεχωρήκαμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν πολλῶν μεστὸν ἀγαθῶν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, πλειόνων δὲ τῶν μή, μάχη δή, φαμέν, ἀθάνατός ἐσθ' ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ φυλακῆς θαυμαστῆς δεομένη, σύμμαχοι δὲ ἡμῖν θεοί τε ἅμα καὶ δαίμονες, ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ κτῆμα θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων· φθείρει δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀδικία καὶ ὕβρις μετὰ ἀφροσύνης, σῴζει δὲ δικαιοσύνη [906b] καὶ σωφροσύνη μετὰ φρονήσεως, ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐμψύχοις οἰκοῦσαι δυνάμεσιν, βραχὺ δέ τι καὶ τῇδε ἄν τις τῶν τοιούτων ἐνοικοῦν ἡμῖν σαφὲς ἴδοι.

906b ψυχαὶ δέ τινες ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκοῦσαι καὶ ἄδικον λῆμμα κεκτημέναι δῆλον ὅτι θηριώδεις, πρὸς τὰς τῶν φυλάκων ψυχὰς ἆρα κυνῶν ἢ τὰς τῶν νομέων ἢ πρὸς τὰς τῶν παντάπασιν ἀκροτάτων δεσποτῶν προσπίπτουσαι, πείθουσιν θωπείαις λόγων καὶ ἐν εὐκταίαις τισὶν ἐπῳδαῖς, [906c] ὡς αἱ φῆμαί φασιν αἱ τῶν κακῶν, ἐξεῖναι πλεονεκτοῦσιν σφίσιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πάσχειν μηδὲν χαλεπόν· φαμὲν δ' εἶναί που τὸ νῦν ὀνομαζόμενον ἁμάρτημα, τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἐν μὲν σαρκίνοις σώμασι νόσημα καλούμενον, ἐν δὲ ὥραις ἐτῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῖς

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need some further argument, listen, if you have any sense at all, while we speak [905d] to the third man. That gods exist and care for human beings has, I for my part would say, been proved by us not at all badly. But that the gods can be won over by wrongdoers when they accept gifts—this we must concede to no one, and must refute in every way we can.

CLINIAS Very well said. Let's do as you say.

ATHENIAN Come then, by the gods themselves: in what way [905e] would they be won over, if they were? And who, or what sort of beings, would they be? They must be rulers, I suppose, if they are to manage the whole heaven continuously.

CLINIAS Yes.

ATHENIAN But which rulers are they like? Or which are like them, among those we can compare, the lesser with the greater? Would charioteers of competing teams be like this, or pilots of ships? Perhaps they might be compared to commanders of armies. Or they might resemble doctors on guard against the assault of diseases on bodies, or [906a] farmers anxiously awaiting the seasons that are usually hard on the growth of crops, or keepers of flocks.

Since we have agreed among ourselves that the heaven is full of many good things, and also of their opposites, but more of the good, such a battle, we say, is undying and calls for wonderful vigilance. The gods and spirits are our allies, and we in turn are the possessions of gods and spirits. What destroys us is injustice and insolence together with folly; what saves us is justice [906b] and moderation together with wisdom, which dwell in the living powers of the gods—though one may also see clearly some small part of them dwelling here in us.

But certain souls that dwell on earth and have acquired unjust gain are plainly bestial. They fall upon the souls of the guardians—the watchdogs, or the shepherds, or the supreme masters of all—and try to persuade them with flattering words and with charms dressed up as prayers, [906c] as the tales told by bad men claim, that they may take more than their share among human beings without suffering anything harsh. But we say that

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	λοιμόν, ἐν δὲ πόλεσι καὶ πολιτείαις τοῦτο αὐτό, ῥήματι μετεσχηματισμένον, ἀδικίαν.	the fault now named, overreaching, is what is called disease in bodies of flesh, and plague in seasons and years; and in cities and constitutions this same thing, under a changed name, is called injustice.
906c	**CLINIAS** παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Absolutely.
	ATHENIAN τοῦτον δὴ τὸν λόγον ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν τὸν λέγοντα 906d ὡς εἰσὶν συγγνώμονες ἀεὶ θεοὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκοις καὶ ἀδικοῦσιν, ἂν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων τις ἀπονέμῃ· καθάπερ κυσὶν λύκοι τῶν ἁρπασμάτων σμικρὰ ἀπονέμοιεν, οἱ δὲ ἡμερούμενοι τοῖς δώροις συγχωροῖεν τὰ ποίμνια διαρπάζειν. ἆρ' οὐχ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὁ τῶν φασκόντων παραιτητοὺς εἶναι θεούς;	**ATHENIAN** Then anyone who says 906d that the gods are always ready to forgive unjust people and wrongdoers, provided they're given a share of the ill-gotten gains, is bound to be saying something like this: it's as if wolves were to hand the dogs a small share of their plunder, and the dogs, tamed by the gifts, were to let them plunder the flocks. Isn't that the argument of those who claim the gods can be won over?
906d	**CLINIAS** οὗτος μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** That's the one.
	ATHENIAN τίσιν οὖν δὴ τῶν προρρηθέντων ἀπεικάζων ὁμοίους φύλακας εἶναι θεοὺς οὐκ ἂν καταγέλαστος γίγνοιτο ἀνθρώπων 906e ὁστισοῦν; πότερον κυβερνήταις, λοιβῇ τε οἴνου κνίσῃ τε παρατρεπομένοις αὐτοῖς, ἀνατρέπουσι δὲ ναῦς τε καὶ ναύτας;	**ATHENIAN** Then to which of the guardians we mentioned could anyone compare the gods without making himself a laughing-stock to every human being 906e alive? To helmsmen who are themselves turned aside by libations of wine and the savor of roasting fat, and who capsize ships and sailors alike?
906e	**CLINIAS** μηδαμῶς.	**CLINIAS** Certainly not.
	ATHENIAN ἀλλ' οὔτι μὴν ἡνιόχοισί γε ἐν ἁμίλλῃ συντεταγμένοις, πεισθεῖσιν ὑπὸ δωρεᾶς ἑτέροισι τὴν νίκην ζεύγεσι προδοῦναι.	**ATHENIAN** Nor, surely, to charioteers lined up for a race, who are persuaded by a gift to throw the victory to other teams.
	CLINIAS δεινὴν γὰρ εἰκόνα λέγοις ἂν λέγων τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.	**CLINIAS** That would be a dreadful comparison to draw.
	ATHENIAN οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς γε οὐδ' ἰατροῖς οὐδὲ γεωργοῖς, οὐδὲ νομεῦσιν μὴν οὐδέ τισι κυσὶν κεκηλημένοις ὑπὸ λύκων.	**ATHENIAN** Nor, of course, to generals, or doctors, or farmers; nor to herdsmen, nor to dogs charmed by wolves.
907a	**CLINIAS** εὐφήμει· πῶς γὰρ ἄν;	**CLINIAS** Don't even say it! How could they be?
	ATHENIAN ἀλλ' οὐ πάντων φυλάκων εἰσὶ μέγιστοι καὶ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἡμῖν οἱ πάντες θεοί;	**ATHENIAN** But aren't all the gods the greatest of all guardians, and over the greatest things we have?
	CLINIAS πολύ γε.	**CLINIAS** By far.
	ATHENIAN τοὺς δὴ κάλλιστά τε πράγματα φυλάττοντας, διαφέροντάς τε αὐτοὺς φυλακῇ πρὸς ἀρετήν, κυνῶν χείρους καὶ ἀνθρώπων μέσων εἶναι φήσομεν, οἳ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἄν ποτε προδοῖεν ἕνεκα δώρων παρὰ ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν ἀνοσίως διδομένων;	**ATHENIAN** Are we going to say, then, that those who guard the finest things, and who excel at guarding in virtue, are worse than dogs and than ordinary men—men who would never betray justice for gifts impiously offered by the unjust?

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907b	**CLINIAS** οὐδαμῶς· οὔτε ἀνεκτὸς λόγων, τῶν τε περὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ὄντων κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἀντεχόμενος πάντων ἂν τῶν ἀσεβῶν κεκρίσθαι δικαιότατα κάκιστός τε εἶναι καὶ ἀσεβέστατος.	**CLINIAS** Certainly not. It's intolerable to say, and anyone who clings to this opinion is likely to be judged, with perfect justice, the worst and most impious of all the impious, of all who engage in any kind of impiety.
	ATHENIAN τὰ μὲν δὴ προτεθέντα τρία, θεοί τε ὡς εἰσίν, καὶ ὡς ἐπιμελεῖς, καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὡς παντάπασιν ἀπαραίτητοι, φῶμεν ἱκανῶς ἀποδεδεῖχθαί που;	**ATHENIAN** So the three propositions we set out—that gods exist, that they care, and that they can in no way be won over to act against justice—may we say they've been adequately demonstrated?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ; καὶ σύμψηφοί γε τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἐσμέν.	**CLINIAS** Of course. We cast our votes with these arguments.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν εἴρηνταί γέ πως σφοδρότερον διὰ φιλονικίαν 907c τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων· τούτου γε μὴν ἕνεκα, ὦ φίλε Κλεινία, πεφιλονίκηνται, μή ποτε λόγοις ἡγῶνται κρατοῦντες ἐξουσίαν εἶναι σφίσιν ἃ βούλονται πράττειν οἱ κακοί, ἃ δὴ καὶ ὅσα καὶ οἷα περὶ θεοὺς διανοοῦνται. προθυμία μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα νεωτέρως εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν γέγονεν· εἰ δέ τι καὶ βραχὺ προὔργου πεποιήκαμεν εἰς τὸ πείθειν πῃ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτοὺς μὲν μισῆσαι, τὰ δ' ἐναντία πως ἤθη στέρξαι, καλῶς ἡμῖν εἰρημένον 907d ἂν εἴη τὸ προοίμιον ἀσεβείας πέρι νόμων.	**ATHENIAN** And yet they've been stated rather vehemently, out of eagerness to get the better 907c of wicked men. But this is why we fought so hard to win, my dear Clinias: so that the wicked would never suppose that, if they won the argument, they were free to do whatever they wanted—whatever, and however much, and of whatever kind, they think about the gods. That is why we were eager to speak with more heat than suits our years. If we've made even a little progress toward persuading these men somehow to hate themselves and to come to love the opposite sort of character, then our preamble to the laws on impiety 907d will have been well spoken.
907d	**CLINIAS** ἀλλὰ ἐλπίς· εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε τοῦ λόγου γένος οὐκ αἰτιάσεται τὸν νομοθέτην.	**CLINIAS** Well, there's hope. And if not, at least the kind of argument won't bring any blame on the lawgiver.

THE LAW ON IMPIETY

Penalties for kinds of impiety, three prisons, and a ban on private shrines.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον τοίνυν λόγος οἷος ἂν τῶν νόμων ἑρμηνεὺς ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, προαγορεύων ἐξίστασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τρόπων τῶν αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς. τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις ἀσεβείας ὅδε ἔστω πέρι νόμος· ἐάν τις ἀσεβῇ 907e λόγοις εἴτ' ἔργοις, ὁ παρατυγχάνων ἀμυνέτω σημαίνων πρὸς ἄρχοντας, τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων οἱ πρῶτοι πυθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ περὶ τούτων ἀποδεδειγμένον κρίνειν δικαστήριον εἰσαγαγόντων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀκούσασα ἀρχὴ μὴ δρᾷ ταῦτα, αὐτὴ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδικος γιγνέσθω τῷ ἐθέλοντι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων. ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλῃ, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ἓν ἑκάστῳ τῶν καθ' ἓν ἀσεβούντων τίμημα.	**ATHENIAN** After the preamble, then, we should have a statement suited to serve as interpreter of the laws, proclaiming to all the impious that they must leave their own ways for those of the pious. And for those who don't obey, let this be the law on impiety: If anyone commits impiety 907e in word or deed, whoever happens to be present is to defend the law by reporting it to the magistrates; and the first magistrates to learn of it are to bring the case, in accordance with the laws, before the court appointed to try such matters. If any office hears of it and doesn't do this, it is itself to be liable to a charge of impiety at the hands of anyone willing

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to seek justice on behalf of the laws. If someone is convicted, the court is to assess a penalty for each impious offender individually.

908a δεσμὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπαρχέτω πᾶσιν· δεσμωτηρίων δὲ ὄντων ἐν τῇ πόλει τριῶν, ἑνὸς μὲν κοινοῦ τοῖς πλείστοις περὶ ἀγοράν, σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν σωμάτων, ἑνὸς δὲ περὶ τὸν τῶν νύκτωρ συλλεγομένων σύλλογον, σωφρονιστήριον ἐπονομαζόμενον, ἑνὸς δὲ αὖ κατὰ μέσην τὴν χώραν, ὅπηπερ ἂν ἔρημός τε καὶ ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγριώτατος ᾖ τόπος, τιμωρίας ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν φήμην τινά· περὶ ἀσέβειαν δὲ ὄντων αἰτίαις 908b μὲν τρισίν, αἷσπερ καὶ διήλθομεν, δύο δὲ ἐξ ἑκάστης τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας γενομένων, ἓξ ἂν γίγνοιντο ἃ καὶ διακρίσεως ἄξια γένη τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐξαμαρτανόντων, οὐκ ἴσης οὐδ' ὁμοίας δίκης δεόμενα.

Imprisonment is to apply in every case. There are to be three prisons in the city: one near the marketplace, common to most offenders, for the safe custody of the persons of the majority; one near the meeting place of the council that gathers by night, to be called the House of Correction; and one in the middle of the countryside, in whatever spot is most deserted and wild, bearing a name that speaks of retribution. Now impiety has three causes, 908b which we have gone through, and each such cause gives rise to two kinds; so there would be six classes of those who go wrong in matters of the gods, which deserve to be distinguished, since they call for neither equal nor similar penalties.[7]

908b ᾧ γὰρ ἂν μὴ νομίζοντι θεοὺς εἶναι τὸ παράπαν ἦθος φύσει προσγένηται δίκαιον, μισοῦντές τε γίγνονται τοὺς κακούς, καὶ τῷ δυσχεραίνειν τὴν ἀδικίαν οὔτε τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις προσίενται πράττειν, τούς τε μὴ δικαίους 908c τῶν ἀνθρώπων φεύγουσι καὶ τοὺς δικαίους στέργουσιν· οἷς δ' ἂν πρὸς τῇ δόξῃ τῇ θεῶν ἔρημα εἶναι πάντα ἀκράτειαί τε ἡδονῶν καὶ λυπῶν προσπέσωσι, μνῆμαί τε ἰσχυραὶ καὶ μαθήσεις ὀξεῖαι παρῶσι, τὸ μὲν μὴ νομίζειν θεοὺς ἀμφοῖν ἂν ἐνυπάρχοι κοινὸν πάθος, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων λώβῃ τὸ μὲν ἐλάττω, τὸ δὲ πλείω κακὰ ἐργάζοιτ' ἄν.

Take a man who doesn't believe in gods at all, but has a naturally just character. Such people come to hate the wicked; because they're disgusted by injustice, they don't allow themselves to do such things, and they shun unjust 908c people and are fond of the just. But then there are those who, besides believing that the world is empty of gods, are prone to lack control over pleasures and pains, and have strong memories and quick minds. Not believing in gods would be a condition shared by both; but in the harm they do other people, the first would do less damage and the second more.

908c ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ τε ἂν περὶ θεοὺς παρρησίας εἴη μεστὸς καὶ περὶ θυσίας τε καὶ ὅρκους, καὶ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων καταγελῶν τάχ' ἂν 908d ἑτέρους τοιούτους ἀπεργάζοιτο, δίκης μὴ τυγχάνων· ὁ δὲ δὴ δοξάζων μὲν καθάπερ ἄτερος, εὐφυὴς δὲ ἐπικαλούμενος, δόλου δὲ καὶ ἐνέδρας πλήρης, ἐξ ὧν μάντεις τε κατασκευάζονται πολλοὶ καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μαγγανείαν κεκινημένοι, γίγνονται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τύραννοι καὶ δημηγόροι καὶ στρατηγοί, καὶ τελεταῖς δὲ ἰδίαις ἐπιβεβουλευκότες, σοφιστῶν τε ἐπικαλουμένων μηχαναί. τούτων δὴ πολλὰ 908e μὲν εἴδη γένοιτ' ἄν, τὰ δὲ νόμων ἄξια θέσεως δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν εἰρωνικὸν οὐχ ἑνὸς οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἄξια θανάτοιν ἁμαρτάνον, τὸ δὲ νουθετήσεως ἅμα καὶ δεσμῶν δεόμενον.

The first will be full of free talk about the gods, and about sacrifices and oaths, and by mocking others he might well 908d make others like himself, if he goes unpunished. But the second, who holds the same beliefs as the first but is called "gifted," is full of cunning and guile. From this sort come many diviners and people eager for every kind of sorcery; and sometimes from them come tyrants and demagogues and generals, and those who plot with private mystery rites, and the contrivances of the so-called sophists. There could be many 908e kinds of these, but two worth legislating for: the dissembling kind, whose offenses deserve not one death, nor two, and the other, which needs admonishment together with imprisonment.

908e ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ θεοὺς νομίζον ἀμελεῖν δύ' ἕτερα γεννᾷ, καὶ τὸ παραιτητοὺς ἄλλα δύο. τούτων δὴ ταύτῃ διεστηκότων, τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἄνευ κάκης ὀργῆς τε

In the same way, the belief that the gods don't care produces two more kinds, and the belief that they can be won over another two. With the distinc-

7 The Nocturnal Council, whose make-up and full role are set out in Book XII.

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καὶ ἤθους γεγενημένους εἰς τὸ [909a] σωφρονιστήριον ὁ δικαστὴς τιθέμενος νόμῳ τιθέσθω μηδὲν ἔλαττον ἐτῶν πέντε, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοῖς ἄλλος συγγιγνέσθω πλὴν οἱ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ συλλόγου κοινωνοῦντες, ἐπὶ νουθετήσει τε καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρίᾳ ὁμιλοῦντες· ὅταν δ' ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἐξέλθῃ τῶν δεσμῶν, ἐὰν μὲν δοκῇ τις σωφρονεῖν αὐτῶν, οἰκείτω μετὰ τῶν σωφρόνων, ἐὰν δὲ μή, ὀφείλῃ δ' αὖθις τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω.

ENGLISH

tions drawn in this way, those who have come to this through folly, without any vice of temper or character, the judge is to place by law in the [909a] House of Correction for no less than five years. During this time no other citizen is to associate with them except the members of the Nocturnal Council, who are to visit them to admonish them and for the salvation of their souls. When their term of imprisonment is over, if any of them seems to have come to his senses, he is to live among the sensible; but if not, and he is convicted again on such a charge, he is to be punished with death.

909a ὅσοι δ' ἂν θηριώδεις γένωνται [909b] πρὸς τῷ θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν ἢ ἀμελεῖς ἢ παραιτητοὺς εἶναι, καταφρονοῦντες δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαγωγῶσι μὲν πολλοὺς τῶν ζώντων, τοὺς δὲ τεθνεῶτας φάσκοντες ψυχαγωγεῖν καὶ θεοὺς ὑπισχνούμενοι πείθειν, ὡς θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπῳδαῖς γοητεύοντες, ἰδιώτας τε καὶ ὅλας οἰκίας καὶ πόλεις χρημάτων χάριν ἐπιχειρῶσιν κατ' ἄκρας ἐξαιρεῖν, τούτων δὲ ὃς ἂν ὀφλὼν εἶναι δόξῃ, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτῷ κατὰ [909c] νόμον δεδέσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ τῶν μεσογέων δεσμωτηρίῳ, προσιέναι δὲ αὐτοῖς μηδένα ἐλεύθερον μηδέποτε, τακτὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων αὐτοὺς τροφὴν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν λαμβάνειν. ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἔξω τῶν ὁρίων ἐκβάλλειν ἄταφον· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐλεύθερος συνθάπτῃ, δίκας ἀσεβείας τῷ ἐθέλοντι λαγχάνειν ὑπεχέτω.

But there are those who become like beasts, [909b] and who, besides believing that the gods don't exist, or don't care, or can be won over, hold people in contempt: they work on the souls of many of the living, claiming to conjure up the souls of the dead and promising to persuade the gods, as though bewitching them with sacrifices and prayers and incantations, and for the sake of money they try to ruin utterly individuals, whole households and cities. Any of these who is found guilty, the court is to sentence, according to [909c] law, to be imprisoned in the prison in the middle of the country. No free person is ever to visit them, and they are to receive from the slaves a ration of food fixed by the guardians of the laws. When one of them dies, he is to be cast out beyond the borders unburied; and if any free person helps to bury him, he is to be liable to prosecution for impiety by anyone who wishes.

909c παῖδας δὲ ἂν μὲν καταλείπῃ τῇ πόλει ἱκανούς, οἱ τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι καὶ τούτων ὡς ὄντων [909d] ὀρφανῶν ἐπιμελείσθων μηδὲν χεῖρον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἂν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ὄφλῃ τὴν δίκην.

If he leaves children fit to be citizens, those in charge of orphans are to take care of them too, as [909d] orphans, no worse than the others, from the day their father is convicted.

909d κοινὸν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν νόμον κεῖσθαι χρεών, ὃς ἐλάττω τε εἰς θεοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ πλημμελεῖν ἂν ποιοῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνοήτους ἧττον γίγνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι θεοπολεῖν παρὰ νόμον. ἔστω γὰρ νόμος ὅδε τοῖς σύμπασιν κείμενος ἁπλῶς· Ἱερὰ μηδὲ εἷς ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἐκτήσθω· θύειν δ' ὅταν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἴῃ τινί, πρὸς τὰ δημόσια ἴτω θύσων, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσί τε καὶ ἱερείαις ἐγχειριζέτω [909e] τὰ θύματα, οἷς ἀγνεῖαι τούτων ἐπιμελεῖς. συνευξάσθω δὲ αὐτός τε καὶ ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ συνεύχεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ γιγνόμενα τῶν τοιῶνδε χάριν ἔστω.

There must be a law laid down common to all these cases, which would make most people offend less against the gods in deed and word, and indeed become less foolish, by not permitting them to deal in religious matters contrary to law. Let this law be laid down for everyone, without qualification: No one is to have a shrine in a private house. When anyone has a mind to sacrifice, he is to go to the public shrines to sacrifice, and hand [909e] his offerings to the priests and priestesses whose charge is the purity of these things. He may pray along with them himself, together

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἱερὰ καὶ θεοὺς οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἱδρύεσθαι, μεγάλης δὲ διανοίας τινὸς ὀρθῶς δρᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἔθος τε γυναιξί τε δὴ διαφερόντως πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι πάντῃ καὶ κινδυνεύουσι καὶ ἀποροῦσιν, ὅπῃ τις ἂν ἀπορῇ, καὶ τοὐναντίον ὅταν εὐπορίας τινὸς λάβωνται, καθιεροῦν τε τὸ παρὸν ἀεὶ καὶ θυσίας εὔχεσθαι καὶ ἱδρύσεις [910a] ὑπισχνεῖσθαι θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσιν καὶ παισὶν θεῶν, ἔν τε φάσμασιν ἐγρηγορότας διὰ φόβους καὶ ἐν ὀνείροις, ὡς δ' αὖτος ὄψεις πολλὰς ἀπομνημονεύοντας ἑκάσταισί τε αὐτῶν ἄκη ποιουμένους, βωμοὺς καὶ ἱερὰ πάσας μὲν οἰκίας, πάσας δὲ κώμας ἔν τε καθαροῖς ἱδρυομένους ἐμπιμπλάναι καὶ ὅπῃ τις ἔτυχε τῶν τοιούτων.

909e

Founding shrines and gods is no easy matter; to do such a thing correctly takes a great mind. Yet it's the habit of women in particular, all of them, and of people who are sick in any way, or in danger, or in any kind of difficulty, and conversely whenever they come into some good fortune, to dedicate whatever is at hand, to vow sacrifices and promise [910a] to found shrines for gods and spirits and children of gods. Awake, through fear of apparitions, or in dreams—and likewise recalling many visions and making remedies for each of them—they fill every house and every village with altars and shrines, setting them up in open spaces and wherever they happen to be.

ὧν ἕνεκα χρὴ πάντων ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον νόμον· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἕνεκα τῶν ἀσεβούντων, [910b] ἵνα μὴ καὶ ταῦτα κλέπτοντες ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἱερά τε καὶ βωμοὺς ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἱδρυόμενοι, λάθρᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς ἵλεως οἰόμενοι ποιεῖν θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς, εἰς ἄπειρον τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐξάνοντες αὑτοῖς τε ἐγκλήματα πρὸς θεῶν ποιῶνται καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, οὗσιν αὐτῶν βελτίοσιν, καὶ πᾶσα οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἀπολαύῃ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τρόπον τινὰ δικαίως.

910a

For all these reasons we must act in accordance with the law now being stated. There is also the matter of the impious, [910b] so that they won't do this too by stealth—setting up shrines and altars in private houses and thinking they can win over the gods secretly with sacrifices and prayers—and so increase their injustice without limit, bringing guilt before the gods both on themselves and on those who allow it, though these are better men than they; and so that the whole city won't reap the consequences of the impious, as in a way it would justly do.

τὸν μὲν δὴ νομοθέτην ὁ θεὸς οὐ μέμψεται· κείσθω γὰρ νόμος οὗτος· μὴ κεκτῆσθαι θεῶν ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἱερά, τὸν δὲ [910c] φανέντα κεκτημένον ἕτερα καὶ ὀργιάζοντα πλὴν τὰ δημόσια, ἐὰν μὲν ἄδικον μηδὲν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀνοσίων εἰργασμένος ἀνὴρ ἢ καὶ γυνὴ κεκτῆταί τις, ὁ μὲν αἰσθανόμενος καὶ εἰσαγγελλέτω τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν, οἱ δὲ προσταττόντων εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἀποφέρειν ἱερὰ τὰ ἴδια, μὴ πείθοντες δὲ ζημιούντων ἕως ἂν ἀπενεχθῇ· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀσεβήσας μὴ παιδίων ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν ἀσέβημα ἀνοσίων γένηται φανερός, εἴτε ἐν ἰδίοις ἱδρυσάμενος εἴτ' ἐν δημοσίοις θύσας ἱερὰ θεοῖς [910d] οἱστισινοῦν, ὡς οὐ καθαρὸς ὢν θύων θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. τὸ δὲ παίδειον ἢ μὴ κρίναντες οἱ νομοφύλακες, εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον οὕτως εἰσαγαγόντες, τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκην τούτοις ἐπιτελούντων.

910b

Then the god will not blame the lawgiver. Let this law be laid down: No one is to possess shrines of the gods in private houses. If anyone [910c] is found to possess shrines other than the public ones, or to perform rites at them, and the one who possesses them, man or woman, has committed no great and impious wrong, whoever notices it is to report it to the guardians of the laws, and they are to order the private shrines to be taken to the public ones; if they are not obeyed, they are to impose penalties until the shrines are removed. But if anyone is shown to have committed impiety—not the impiety of children, but of impious grown men—either by founding a shrine on private ground or by sacrificing at public shrines to any gods [910d] whatever, he is to be punished with death, for sacrificing while impure. Whether the offense is childish or not, the guardians of the laws are to decide, and then bring the case before the court and carry through the prosecution for impiety against them.

Book XI

Property, commerce, inheritance and the family.

GREEK

913a **ATHENIAN** τὸ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἴη συμβολαίων ἂν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν δεόμενα προσηκούσης τάξεως. ἁπλοῦν δέ γέ ἐστίν που τό γε τοιοῦτον· μήτε οὖν τις τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων ἅπτοιτο εἰς δύναμιν, μηδ' αὖ κινήσειεν μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐμὲ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς πείθων· κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγὼ δρῴην, νοῦν ἔχων ἔμφρονα. θησαυρὸν δὴ λέγωμεν πρῶτον τῶν τοιούτων ὅν τις αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κειμήλιον ἔθετο, μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ὢν πατέρων· μήθ' [913b] εὑρεῖν ποτε θεοῖς εὐξαίμην μήθ' εὑρὼν κινήσαιμι, μηδ' αὖ τοῖς λεγομένοις μάντεσιν ἀνακοινώσαιμι τοῖς ἁμῶς γέ πώς μοι συμβουλεύουσιν ἀνελεῖν τὴν γῇ παρακαταθήκην.

913b οὐ γάρ ποτε τοσοῦτον εἰς χρημάτων ὠφεληθείην ἂν κτῆσιν ἀνελών, ὅσον εἰς ὄγκον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπιδιδοίην μὴ ἀνελόμενος, κτῆμα ἀντὶ κτήματος ἄμεινον ἐν ἀμείνονι κτησάμενος, δίκην ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πλούτου προτιμήσας ἐν οὐσίᾳ κεκτῆσθαι πρότερον· ἐπὶ πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ λεγόμενον εὖ τὸ μὴ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα καὶ περὶ τούτου [913c] λέγοιτ' ἂν ὡς ἑνὸς ἐκείνων ὄντος.

913c πείθεσθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα λεγομένοις μύθοις, ὡς εἰς παίδων γενεὰν οὐ σύμφορα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ὃς δ' ἂν παίδων τε ἀκηδὴς γένηται καί, τοῦ θέντος τὸν νόμον ἀμελήσας, ἃ μήτε αὐτὸς κατέθετο μήτε αὖ πατέρων τις πατήρ, μὴ πείσας τὸν θέμενον ἀνέληται, κάλλιστον νόμων διαφθείρων, ἁπλούστατον καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἀγεννοῦς ἀνδρὸς νομοθέτημα, ὃς εἶπεν· ἃ μὴ κατέθου, [913d] μὴ ἀνέλῃ —τούτοιν τοῖν δυοῖν νομοθέταιν καταφρονήσαντα καὶ ἀνελόμενον, οὔτι σμικρόν, ὃ μὴ κατέθετο αὐτός, πλῆθος δ' ἔστιν ὅτε θησαυροῦ παμμέγεθες, τί χρὴ πάσχειν; ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ θεῶν, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν· ὁ δὲ κατιδὼν πρῶτος ἀγγελλέτω, ἐὰν μὲν ἐν ἄστει γίγνηται τὸ τοιοῦτον, τοῖς ἀστυνόμοις, ἐὰν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀγορᾷ που, τοῖσιν ἀγορανόμοις, ἐὰν [914a] δὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, ἀγρονόμοις τε καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἄρχουσι δηλωσάτω.

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN Next we would need a proper arrangement for our dealings with one another. The principle, surely, is simple: as far as possible, no one should touch my property, or move the least bit of it without in some way getting my consent; and I should treat other people's property in the same way, if I have any sense. Let's speak first of treasure, which someone—not one of my ancestors—has stored away for himself and his family. I should never [913b] pray to the gods to find it, nor, if I did find it, move it; nor should I consult the so-called diviners about it, who will one way or another advise me to take up what has been entrusted to the earth.

For I would never gain as much in acquiring wealth by taking it up as I would grow in stature of soul, in virtue and justice, by not taking it: I'd have gained a better possession in place of a lesser one, and in a better place, having chosen to have justice in my soul before wealth in my estate. The saying "Don't move what should not be moved" applies well in many cases, [913c] and it could be said of this one too.

One should also believe the stories told about such matters, that these things do no good to a man's descendants. But suppose someone is careless of his children and, heedless of the lawgiver, takes up without the depositor's consent what neither he himself put down nor any of his forefathers. He violates the finest of laws, the simplest of enactments, and the work of no base man, who said: "What you did not put down, [913d] do not take up." When a man has scorned these two lawgivers and taken up what he did not put down himself—no small thing, but at times a huge hoard of treasure —what should happen to him? What the gods will do, the god knows; but the first person to see it is to report it: if it happens in the city, to the city wardens; if in the city's marketplace, to the market

GREEK	ENGLISH
	wardens; if [914a] elsewhere in the country, let him inform the country wardens and their officers.[1]
914a δηλωθέντων δέ, ἡ πόλις εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμπέτω· ὅτι δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀναιρῇ περί τε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ κινήσαντος, τοῦτο ἡ πόλις ὑπηρετοῦσα ταῖς μαντείαις δράτω τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐλεύθερος ὁ μηνύσας ᾖ, δόξαν ἀρετῆς κεκτήσθω, μὴ μηνύσας δέ, κακίας· δοῦλος δ' ἐὰν ᾖ, μηνύσας μὲν ἐλεύθερος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἀποδιδούσης τῷ δεσπότῃ τὴν τιμήν, μὴ μηνύων δὲ θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. [914b] τούτῳ δ' ἑπόμενον ἑξῆς ἂν γίγνοιτο τὸ περὶ σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ταὐτὸν τοῦτο νόμιμον συνακολουθεῖν. ἄν τις τῶν αὐτοῦ τι καταλείπῃ που ἑκὼν εἴτ' ἄκων, ὁ προστυγχάνων ἐάτω κεῖσθαι, νομίζων φυλάττειν ἐνοδίαν δαίμονα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῇ θεῷ καθιερωμένα.	Once they've been informed, the city is to send to Delphi, and whatever the god ordains about the money and about the man who moved it, the city is to carry out, in obedience to the god's oracles. If the informer is free, let him gain a reputation for virtue, and if he fails to inform, one for vice. If he's a slave, it would be right for the city to set him free for informing, paying his master his price; if he fails to inform, he is to be punished with death. [914b] Next after this, following on from it, would come the same rule applied to things small and great alike. If someone leaves any of his property somewhere, on purpose or not, whoever comes across it is to let it lie, believing that such things are guarded by the goddess of the wayside, to whom they are consecrated by law.[2]
914b ἂν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτά τις ἀπειθῶν ἀναιρούμενος οἴκαδε φέρῃ, ἂν μὲν σμικρᾶς τιμῆς ἄξιον ὢν δοῦλος, ὑπὸ τοῦ προστυγχάνοντος μὴ ἔλαττον τριακονταέτους πολλὰς πληγὰς μαστιγούσθω· [914c] ἐὰν δέ τις ἐλεύθερος, πρὸς τῷ ἀνελεύθερος εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ ἀκοινώνητος νόμων, δεκαπλάσιον τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ κινηθέντος ἀποτινέτω τῷ καταλιπόντι. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπαιτιᾶται τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ἔχειν τινὰ πλέον ἢ καὶ σμικρότερον, ὁ δὲ ὁμολογῇ μὲν ἔχειν, μὴ τὸ ἐκείνου δέ, ἂν μὲν ἀπογεγραμμένον ᾖ παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τὸ κτῆμα κατὰ νόμον, τὸν ἔχοντα καλείσθω πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ καθιστάτω.	If anyone disobeys this, picks the thing up and carries it home: if it is of small value and he is a slave, he is to be given many lashes of the whip by whoever comes across him, provided that person is at least thirty years old; [914c] if he is free, then besides being thought unworthy of a free man and to have no share in the laws, he is to pay the one who left it ten times the value of what he moved. If someone accuses another of holding some of his property, whether more or less, and the other admits holding it but denies that it is the accuser's, then, if the property is registered with the magistrates according to law, the accuser is to summon the holder before the magistrate, and he is to produce it.
914c γενομένου δὲ ἐμφανοῦς, ἐὰν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἀπογεγραμμένον [914d] φαίνηται ποτέρου τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων, ἔχων οὗτος ἀπίτω· ἐὰν δέ τινος ἄλλου τῶν μὴ παρόντων, ὁπότερος ἂν παράσχῃ τὸν ἐγγυητὴν ἀξιόχρεων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπόντος ὡς παραδώσων ἐκείνῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀφαίρεσιν ἀφαιρείσθω. ἐὰν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον μὴ ἀπογεγραμμένον ᾖ, κείσθω μὲν μέχρι δίκης παρὰ τρισὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις, ἐὰν δὲ τὸ μεσεγγυωθὲν θρέμμα ᾖ, τὸν νικηθέντα περὶ αὐτοῦ δίκῃ τὴν τροφὴν ἐκτίνειν τοῖς [914e] ἄρχουσιν· τὴν δὲ κρίσιν διαδικάζειν ἐντὸς τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας.	Once it has been produced, if the records show it registered [914d] as belonging to one of the two disputants, that one is to take it and go. If it belongs to someone else who is not present, whichever of the two provides a sufficient guarantor is to take it on behalf of the absent owner, exercising that owner's right of removal, in order to hand it over to him. If the disputed property is not registered with the magistrates, it is to remain until the trial in the keeping of the three oldest magistrates; and if what is held in deposit is an animal, whoever loses the case over it is to pay the cost of its keep to the [914e] magistrates. The magistrates are to decide the case within three days.

1 The saying "What you did not put down, do not take up" was traditionally attributed to Solon.
2 The goddess of the wayside (Enodia) is Hecate, protector of roads and travelers.

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914e ἀγέτω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ βουλόμενος, ἐὰν ἔμφρων ᾖ, χρησόμενος ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν ὁπόσα ὅσια· ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τῶν οἰκείων ἢ φίλων τὸν ἀφεστῶτα ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ. ἐὰν δέ τις ἀφαιρῆταί τινα εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ὡς δοῦλον ἀγόμενον, μεθιέτω μὲν ὁ ἄγων, ὁ δὲ ἀφαιρούμενος ἐγγυητὰς τρεῖς ἀξιόχρεως καταστήσας, οὕτως ἀφαιρείσθω κατὰ ταῦτα, ἄλλως δὲ μή· ἐὰν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτά τις ἀφαιρῆται, τῶν βιαίων 915a ἔνοχος ἔστω, καὶ ἁλοὺς τὴν διπλασίαν τοῦ ἐπιγραφέντος βλάβους τῷ ἀφαιρεθέντι τινέτω. ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, ἐάν τις μὴ θεραπεύῃ τοὺς ἀπελευθερώσαντας ἢ μὴ ἱκανῶς· θεραπεία δὲ φοιτᾶν τρὶς τοῦ μηνὸς τὸν ἀπελευθερωθέντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος ἑστίαν, ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὅτι χρὴ δρᾶν τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἅμα δυνατῶν, καὶ περὶ γάμου ποιεῖν ὅτιπερ ἂν συνδοκῇ τῷ γενομένῳ δεσπότῃ.

Anyone who wishes may lay hold of his own slave, provided he is of sound mind, to deal with him in any way that religion permits; he may also lay hold of a runaway on behalf of a relative or friend, to keep him safe. If anyone tries to rescue into freedom a person being led off as a slave, the one leading him away is to release him, and the rescuer may take him only after providing three sufficient guarantors, on these terms and not otherwise. If anyone rescues him otherwise, he is to be liable to a charge 915a of violence, and if convicted is to pay the one deprived double the damages stated in the charge. A freedman may also be laid hold of, if he fails to attend on those who freed him, or does so inadequately. The attendance consists in this: the freedman is to go three times a month to the hearth of the one who freed him, offering to do whatever is right and at the same time within his power; and about marriage he is to do whatever his former master approves.

915a πλουτεῖν δὲ τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος μὴ ἐξεῖναι 915b μᾶλλον· τὸ δὲ πλέον γιγνέσθω τοῦ δεσπότου. μὴ πλείω δὲ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν μένειν τὸν ἀφεθέντα, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξένους ἀπιέναι λαβόντα τὴν αὑτοῦ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν, ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τούς τε ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν ἀπελευθερώσαντα. ἐὰν δὲ τῷ ἀπελευθερωθέντι ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῳ ξένων οὐσία πλείων γίγνηται τοῦ τρίτου μεγέθει τιμήματος, ᾗ ἂν τοῦτο ἡμέρᾳ γένηται, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς 915c ἡμέρας λαβὼν ἀπίτω τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μηδεμία τῆς μονῆς παραίτησις ἔτι τούτῳ παρ' ἀρχόντων γιγνέσθω· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθῶν τούτοις εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς δικαστήριον ὄφλῃ, θανάτῳ τε ζημιούσθω καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ γιγνέσθω δημόσια.

He is not to be allowed to grow richer 915b than the one who freed him; any surplus is to go to his master. The freed slave is not to stay more than twenty years, but, like other foreigners, is to depart taking all his property with him, unless he wins the consent of the magistrates and of the one who freed him. If a freedman, or any other foreigner, comes to own property greater than the amount of the third property class, then within thirty days from the 915c day this happens he is to take his possessions and leave, and he is not to be granted any further request to stay by the magistrates. If anyone disobeys these rules, is brought to court and convicted, he is to be punished with death and his property is to become public.

915c δίκαι δ' ἔστωσαν τούτων ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαῖσιν δίκαις, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἐν γείτοσιν ἢ ἐν αἱρετοῖσιν δικασταῖς ἀπαλλάττωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. ἐὰν δὲ ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐφάπτηται ζῴου καὶ ὁτουοῦν ἤ τινος ἑτέρου τῶν αὑτοῦ 915d χρημάτων, ἀναγέτω μὲν ὁ ἔχων εἰς πρατῆρα ἢ τὸν δόντα ἀξιόχρεών τε καὶ ἔνδικον ἤ τινι τρόπῳ παραδόντα ἄλλῳ κυρίως, εἰς μὲν πολίτην ἢ καὶ μέτοικον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα, εἰς δὲ ξενικὴν παράδοσιν πέντε μηνῶν, ἧς μέσος ὁ μὴν ἐν ᾧ τρέπεται θερινὸς ἥλιος εἰς τὰ χειμερινά.

Suits on these matters are to be heard in the tribal courts, unless the parties first settle their complaints against each other before neighbors or chosen judges. If someone lays claim to an animal of any kind, or to any other 915d property, as his own, the holder is to refer the claim back to the seller, or to the person who gave it to him, someone solvent and answerable at law, or who handed it over to him lawfully in some other way: within thirty days if the transfer was from a citizen or a resident foreigner in the city, and within five months if it was from a foreigner, the middle

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		of which is to be the month in which the summer sun turns toward winter.
915d	ὅσα δὲ διά τινος ὠνῆς ἢ καὶ πράσεως ἀλλάττηταί τις ἕτερος ἄλλῳ, διδόντα ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ τεταγμένῃ ἑκάστοις κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δεχόμενον ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα τιμήν, οὕτως 915e ἀλλάττεσθαι, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, μηδ' ἐπὶ ἀναβολῇ πρᾶσιν μηδὲ ὠνὴν ποιεῖσθαι μηδενός· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλως ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ὁτιοῦν ἀνθ' ὁτουοῦν διαμείβηται ἕτερος ἄλλῳ, πιστεύων πρὸς ὃν ἂν ἀλλάττηται, ποιείτω ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ οὐσῶν δικῶν κατὰ νόμον περὶ τῶν μὴ πραθέντων κατὰ τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα. ἐράνων δὲ πέρι, τὸν βουλόμενον ἐρανίζειν φίλον παρὰ φίλοις· ἐὰν δέ τις διαφορὰ γίγνηται περὶ τῆς ἐρανίσεως, οὕτω πράττειν ὡς δικῶν μηδενὶ περὶ τούτων μηδαμῶς ἐσομένων.	Whatever anyone exchanges with another by buying or selling, he is to exchange by handing it over in the place in the marketplace assigned to each kind of goods, and receiving the price on the spot; 915e he is to do so nowhere else, and no one is to buy or sell anything on credit. If someone exchanges anything for anything with another in some other way or in other places, trusting the person he is dealing with, let him do so knowing that there are no legal actions for anything not sold in the manner now described. As for contribution loans, anyone who wishes may raise one as a friend among friends; but if a dispute arises over the contribution, let them act knowing that there will be no legal actions of any kind about such matters.[3]
915e	ὃς δ' ἂν ἀποδόμενος τιμήν του λάβῃ μὴ ἐλάττω δραχμῶν πεντήκοντα, παραμενέτω κατὰ πόλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης 916a δέκα ἡμέρας, ὁ δὲ πριάμενος ἴστω τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ ἀποδομένου, τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκλημάτων εἰωθότων γίγνεσθαι χάριν καὶ τῶν ἀναγωγῶν τῶν κατὰ νόμους εἵνεκα· ἡ δὲ κατὰ νόμους ἀναγωγὴ καὶ μὴ τῇδε ἔστω.	Anyone who sells something for a price of not less than fifty drachmas is required to remain in the city 916a for ten days, and the buyer is to know the seller's house, because of the complaints that commonly arise over such transactions and to allow for lawful returns. When lawful return is permitted and when it is not is to be as follows.
916a	ἐάν τις ἀνδράποδον ἀποδῶται κάμνον φθόῃ ἢ λιθῶν ἢ στραγγουριῶν ἢ τῇ καλουμένῃ ἱερᾷ νόσῳ ἢ καὶ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἀδήλῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς νοσήματι μακρῷ καὶ δυσιάτῳ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἢ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐὰν μὲν ἰατρῷ τις ἢ γυμναστῇ, μὴ ἀναγωγῆς ἔστω τούτῳ 916b πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον τυγχάνειν, μηδ' ἐὰν τἀληθές τις προειπὼν ἀποδῶταί τῳ· ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδιώτῃ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἀποδῶται δημιουργός, ὁ πριάμενος ἐντὸς ἑκμήνου ἀναγέτω, πλὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς, ταύτης δ' ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ἐξέστω ποιεῖσθαι τῆς νόσου. διαδικαζέσθω δὲ ἔν τισι τῶν ἰατρῶν, οὓς ἂν κοινῇ προβαλόμενοι ἕλωνται· τὸν δὲ ὀφλόντα τὴν δίκην διπλάσιον ἀποτίνειν τῆς τιμῆς ἧς ἂν ἀποδῶται.	If anyone sells a slave suffering from consumption, or stones, or strangury, or the so-called sacred disease, or from any other long, hard-to-cure disease of body or mind not evident to most people: if the buyer is a doctor or a trainer, he is not to be allowed any return 916b against such a seller; nor if the seller told the truth before selling. But if a professional sells anything of this kind to a layman, the buyer may return it within six months, except for the sacred disease; for that disease the return may be made within a year. The case is to be decided before some doctors whom the parties jointly nominate and choose, and the one who loses is to pay back double the price at which he sold.[4]
916b	ἐὰν 916c δὲ ἰδιώτῃ τις ἰδιώτης, ἀναγωγὴν μὲν εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐρρήθη, καὶ τὴν διαδικασίαν, ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν τὴν τιμὴν ἁπλῆν ἀποτινέτω. ἐὰν δὲ ἀνδροφόνον ἀποδῶταί τίς τινι εἰδότι μὲν εἰδώς, μὴ τυγχανέτω ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ τοιούτου τῆς πράσεως, μὴ δὲ εἰδότι τὴν μὲν ἀναγωγὴν εἶναι τότε ὅταν τις αἴσθηται	If 916c a layman sells to a layman, there is to be return and a hearing, as was stated for the previous cases, but the loser is to pay back only the price. If someone knowingly sells a slave who has killed a man to a buyer who knows it, there is to be no return on such a sale; but if the buyer didn't know,

3 An eranos was a fund raised by contributions among friends, usually lent without interest.
4 The "sacred disease" is epilepsy.

GREEK

τῶν πριαμένων, ἐν πέντε δὲ τῶν νομοφυλάκων τοῖς νεωτάτοις εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν, εἰδὼς δὲ ἂν κριθῇ, τάς τε οἰκίας τοῦ πριαμένου καθηράτω κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἐξηγητῶν [916d] νόμον, τῆς τιμῆς τε ἀποδότω τῷ πριαμένῳ τριπλάσιον.

ENGLISH

the return is to be allowed whenever he becomes aware of it, and the decision is to rest with the five youngest of the guardians of the laws. If the seller is judged to have known, he is to purify the buyer's house according to the interpreters' [916d] rule, and pay the buyer three times the price.

FRAUD IN THE MARKETPLACE

Laws against adulteration, false oaths and haggling in the market.

GREEK

916d **ATHENIAN** ὁ δὲ ἀλλαττόμενος ἢ νόμισμα ἀντὶ νομίσματος, ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ὁτιοῦν ἢ καὶ μὴ ζῴων, ἀκίβδηλον πᾶν διδότω καὶ δεχέσθω τῷ νόμῳ συνεπόμενος· προοίμιον δέ, καθάπερ ἄλλων νόμων, δεξώμεθα καὶ περὶ ὅλης ταύτης τῆς κάκης. κιβδηλείαν δὲ χρὴ πάντα ἄνδρα διανοηθῆναι καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ ἀπάτην ὡς ἕν τι γένος ὄν, τοῦτο ᾧ τὴν φήμην ἐπιφέρειν εἰώθασιν οἱ πολλοί, κακῶς λέγοντες, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ [916e] γιγνόμενον ἑκάστοτε τὸ τοιοῦτον πολλάκις ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι, τὸν καιρὸν δὲ καὶ ὅπου καὶ ὁπότε ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀορίστως ἐῶντες, τῇ λέξει ταύτῃ πολλὰ ζημιοῦνταί τε καὶ ζημιοῦσιν ἑτέρους. νομοθέτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τοῦτο ἀόριστον ἐᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἢ μείζους ἢ ἐλάττους ὅρους ἀεὶ δεῖ διασαφεῖν, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὡρίσθω.

916e Ψεῦδος μηδεὶς μηδὲν μηδ' ἀπάτην μηδέ τι κίβδηλον, γένος ἐπικαλούμενος θεῶν, μήτε λόγῳ μήτε [917a] ἔργῳ πράξειεν, ὁ μὴ θεομισέστατος ἔσεσθαι μέλλων· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὃς ἂν ὅρκους ὀμνὺς ψευδεῖς μηδὲν φροντίζῃ θεῶν, δεύτερος δὲ ὃς ἂν ἐναντίον τῶν κρειττόνων αὐτοῦ ψεύδηται. κρείττους δὲ οἱ ἀμείνους τῶν χειρόνων, πρεσβῦταί τε ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν τῶν νέων, διὸ καὶ γονῆς κρείττους ἐκγόνων, καὶ ἄνδρες δὴ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, ἄρχοντές τε ἀρχομένων· οὓς αἰδεῖσθαι πᾶσιν πάντας πρέπον ἂν εἴη ἐν ἄλλῃ τε ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δὴ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖς, ὅθεν ὁ νῦν παρὼν ἡμῖν λόγος ἐλήλυθεν.

917a πᾶς γὰρ τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν [917b] ὁ κιβδηλεύων τι ψεύδεται καὶ ἀπατᾷ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλῶν ἐπόμνυσιν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀγορανόμων νόμοισίν τε καὶ φυλακτηρίοις, οὔτε ἀνθρώπους αἰδούμενος οὔτε θεοὺς σεβόμενος. πάντως μὲν δὴ καλὸν ἐπιτήδευμα θεῶν ὀνόματα μὴ χραίνειν ῥᾳδίως, ἔχοντα ὡς ἔχουσιν ἡμῶν ἑκάστοτε τὰ πολλὰ οἱ πλεῖστοι καθαρότητός τε καὶ ἁγνείας τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς· εἰ δ' οὖν μὴ πείθοιτο, ὅδε νόμος· ὁ πωλῶν ὁτιοῦν ἐν

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN Anyone exchanging coin for coin, or any animal, or anything else living or not, is to give and receive everything unadulterated, in obedience to the law. And as with other laws, let's have a preamble on this whole form of wickedness. Every man should think of adulteration, falsehood and deception as all one kind of thing—the kind which most people, speaking badly, commonly say is often all right, when it's done [916e] at the right moment. They leave the right moment, the where and the when, unordered and undefined, and by this saying do a great deal of harm both to themselves and to others. A lawgiver can't leave this undefined; he must always set clear limits, whether broad or narrow; so let them be defined now.

No one who calls the gods to witness is to commit any falsehood, deception, or adulteration in word or [917a] deed, unless he means to be most hateful to the gods. That man is the one who swears false oaths without any thought for the gods, and second, the one who lies in the presence of his superiors. The better are superior to the worse, and, generally speaking, the older to the young; hence parents are superior to their offspring, and men to women and children, and rulers to the ruled. It would be fitting for everyone to respect all of these, in every other form of authority and above all in the authority of the city, which is where our present discussion started.

For everyone in the marketplace [917b] who adulterates anything is lying and deceiving, and swears oaths calling on the gods in the face of the market wardens' laws and safeguards, neither respecting men nor revering gods. It is certainly a fine practice not to defile the names of the gods lightly, keeping our dealings with the gods as pure and holy as most of us, for the most part, usually keep

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἀγορᾷ μηδέποτε δύο εἴπῃ τιμὰς ὧν ἂν πωλῇ, [917c] ἁπλῆν δὲ εἰπών, ἂν μὴ τυγχάνῃ ταύτης, ἀποφέρων ὀρθῶς ἂν ἀποφέροι πάλιν, καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας μὴ τιμήσῃ πλέονος μηδὲ ἐλάττονος, ἔπαινος δὲ ὅρκος τε περὶ παντὸς τοῦ πωλουμένου ἀπέστω· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ τούτοις, ὁ παρατυγχάνων τῶν ἀστῶν, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη, κολάζων μὲν τὸν ὀμνύντα ἀνατὶ τυπτέτω τις, ἀφροντιστῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπειθῶν ἔνοχος ἔστω ψόγῳ προδοσίας τῶν νόμων.

them. But if someone won't be persuaded, here is the law: Whoever sells anything in the marketplace is never to state two prices for what he sells; [917c] he is to state one, and if he doesn't get it, he may rightly take the goods away again, and on that day he is not to price them higher or lower. There is to be no praising of goods and no swearing of oaths about anything for sale. If anyone disobeys these rules, any citizen present who is at least thirty years old may punish the one swearing by striking him with impunity; if he ignores this and fails to obey, he is to be liable to the reproach of betraying the laws.

917c τὸν δὲ δὴ κίβδηλόν τι πωλοῦντα, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον τοῖς [917d] νῦν πείθεσθαι λόγοις, ὁ προστυγχάνων τῶν γιγνωσκόντων, δυνατὸς ὢν ἐξελέγχειν, ἐναντίον ἐλέγξας τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁ μὲν δοῦλος φερέσθω τὸ κιβδηλευθὲν καὶ ὁ μέτοικος, ὁ δὲ πολίτης μὴ ἐλέγχων μὲν ὡς ἀποστερῶν τοὺς θεοὺς κακὸς ἀγορευέσθω, ἐλέγξας δὲ ἀναθέτω τοῖς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν θεοῖς. ὁ δὲ δὴ φανερὸς γενόμενός τι πωλῶν τοιοῦτον, πρὸς τῷ στερηθῆναι τοῦ κιβδηλευθέντος, ὁπόσης ἂν τιμῆς ἀξιώσῃ τὸ πωλούμενον, κατὰ δραχμὴν ἑκάστην τῇ μάστιγι [917e] τυπτέσθω πληγὰς ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κηρύξαντος ὧν ἕνεκα μέλλει τύπτεσθαι.

As for someone selling adulterated goods who can't [917d] obey the present precepts: whoever comes upon him and knows the trade and can prove the fraud is to prove it in front of the magistrates. If the one proving it is a slave or a resident foreigner, he is to take the adulterated goods for himself; if a citizen fails to prove it, he is to be denounced as a bad man for defrauding the gods; if he proves it, he is to dedicate the goods to the gods of the marketplace. And whoever is shown to be selling such goods is, besides being deprived of the adulterated goods, to be whipped, one stroke of the lash for every drachma of the price he asked, [917e] by the herald, after the herald has proclaimed in the marketplace why he is to be beaten.

917e τὰ δὲ κιβδηλεύματά τε καὶ κακουργίας τῶν πωλούντων οἵ τε ἀγορανόμοι καὶ οἱ νομοφύλακες, πυθόμενοι τῶν ἐμπείρων περὶ ἕκαστα, ἀναγραψάντων ἅ τε χρὴ ποιεῖν τὸν πωλοῦντα καὶ ἃ μή, καὶ πρόσθε τοῦ ἀγορανομίου θέντων ἐν στήλῃ γράψαντες νόμους εἶναι τοῖς περὶ [918a] τὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς χρείαν μηνυτὰς σαφεῖς. τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται· ἐὰν δέ τι προσδεῖν δοκῇ, νομοφύλαξιν ἐπανακοινώσαντες καὶ γράψαντες τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκλιπεῖν, εἰς ἀστυνόμιον θέντων ἐν στήλῃ τά τε πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα τεθέντα αὐτοῖσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμιμα.

The market wardens and the guardians of the laws are to find out from people experienced in each trade about the frauds and malpractices of sellers, write down what the seller must do and what he must not, and set them up on a pillar in front of the market wardens' office, as laws to give clear guidance to those who [918a] use the market. As for the city wardens, enough was said earlier; but if anything more seems needed, they are to consult the guardians of the laws, write down what seems to be missing, and set up on a pillar at the city wardens' office both the first and the second regulations laid down for their office.

RETAIL TRADE

Retail trade is useful but corrupting, so citizens are barred from it and its profits are regulated.

GREEK

ENGLISH

918a **ATHENIAN** κιβδήλοις δ' ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἕπεται κατὰ πόδα καπηλείας ἐπιτηδεύματα· ταύτης δὲ πέρι συμπάσης συμβουλὴν πρῶτον δόντες καὶ λόγον, ἐπ' αὐτῇ νόμον

ATHENIAN Close on the heels of fraudulent practices come the practices of retail trade. On all of this we'll first give advice and reasons, and after-

GREEK

ὕστερον ἐπιθώμεθα. καπηλεία [918b] γὰρ κατὰ πόλιν πᾶσα γέγονεν οὐ βλάβης ἕνεκα τό γε κατὰ φύσιν, πᾶν δὲ τοὐναντίον· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ εὐεργέτης πᾶς ὃς ἂν οὐσίαν χρημάτων ὠντινωνοῦν, ἀσύμμετρον οὖσαν καὶ ἀνώμαλον, ὁμαλήν τε καὶ σύμμετρον ἀπεργάζηται; τοῦτο ἡμῖν χρὴ φάναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος ἀπεργάζεσθαι δύναμιν, καὶ τὸν ἔμπορον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τετάχθαι δεῖ λέγειν. καὶ μισθωτὸς καὶ πανδοκεὺς καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν εὐσχημονέστερα, [918c] τὰ δὲ ἀσχημονέστερα γιγνόμενα, τοῦτό γε πάντα δύναται, πᾶσιν ἐπικουρίαν ταῖς χρείαις ἐξευπορεῖν καὶ ὁμαλότητα ταῖς οὐσίαις.

ENGLISH

ward lay down a law about it. All retail trade [918b] in a city has come about, by its nature, not for the sake of harm, but quite the opposite. How can anyone not be a benefactor who takes any sort of goods that are distributed disproportionately and unevenly and makes their distribution even and proportionate? This, we must say, is what the power of money also accomplishes, and we must say the merchant is appointed for this purpose. The hired laborer, the innkeeper and the rest—some trades more respectable, [918c] some less—all have this function: to meet everyone's needs and even out their possessions.

918c τί ποτε δὴ τὸ μὴ καλὸν αὐτὸ μηδ' εὔσχημον δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τί τὸ διαβεβληκὸς τυγχάνει, ἴδωμεν, ἵνα εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ ὅλον, ἀλλ' οὖν μέρη γε ἐξιασώμεθα νόμῳ. πρᾶγμ' ἔσθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ φαῦλον, οὐδὲ σμικρᾶς δεόμενον ἀρετῆς.

Let's see, then, what it is that makes retail trade seem neither fine nor respectable, and what has brought it into disrepute, so that we may cure by law, if not the whole of it, then at least parts. It's no trivial matter, it seems, and it calls for no small virtue.

CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;

CLINIAS What do you mean?

ATHENIAN ὦ φίλε Κλεινία, σμικρὸν γένος ἀνθρώπων καὶ φύσει ὀλίγον καὶ ἄκρᾳ τροφῇ τεθραμμένον, ὅταν εἰς χρείας [918d] τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τινῶν ἐμπίπτῃ, καρτερεῖν πρὸς τὸ μέτριον δυνατόν ἐστιν, καὶ ὅταν ἐξῇ χρήματα λαβεῖν πολλά, νήφει καὶ πρότερον αἱρεῖται τοῦ πολλοῦ τὸ τοῦ μέτρου ἐχόμενον· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλήθη πᾶν τοὐναντίον ἔχει τούτοις, δεόμενά τε ἀμέτρως δεῖται καὶ ἐξὸν κερδαίνειν τὰ μέτρια, ἁπλήστως αἱρεῖται κερδαίνειν, διὸ πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν καπηλείαν καὶ ἐμπορίαν καὶ πανδοκείαν γένη διαβέβληταί τε καὶ ἐν αἰσχροῖς γέγονεν ὀνείδεσιν.

ATHENIAN My dear Clinias, it's a small class of people—few by nature and reared with the highest education—who, when they fall into needs [918d] and desires of various kinds, can hold out for moderation, and when they have the chance to get a lot of money, stay sober and choose what is measured over what is abundant. The great mass of people are just the opposite: when they want, they want without measure, and when they could make a moderate profit, they choose to make an insatiable one. That's why all the classes connected with retail trade, commerce and innkeeping have fallen into disrepute and are subject to disgraceful reproaches.

918d ἐπεὶ εἴ τις, ὃ μή ποτε γένοιτο οὐδ' ἔσται, προσαναγκάσειεν —γελοῖον μὲν εἰπεῖν, [918e] ὅμως δὲ εἰρήσεται— πανδοκεῦσαι τοὺς πανταχῇ ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐπί τινα χρόνον, ἢ καπηλεύειν ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων πράττειν, ἢ καὶ γυναῖκας ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης εἱμαρμένης τοῦ τοιούτου μετασχεῖν τρόπου, γνοίημεν ἂν ὡς φίλον καὶ ἀγαπητόν ἐστιν ἕκαστον τούτων, καὶ εἰ κατὰ λόγον ἀδιάφθορον γίγνοιτο, ἐν μητρὸς ἂν καὶ τροφοῦ σχήματι τιμῷτο τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα· νῦν δὲ ὁπόταν εἰς ἐρήμους τις καπηλείας [919a] ἕνεκα τόπους καὶ πανταχόσε μήκη ἔχοντας ὁδῶν ἱδρυσάμενος οἰκήσεις, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ γιγνομένους καταλύσεσιν ἀγαπηταῖς δεχόμενος ἢ ὑπὸ χειμώνων ἀγρίων βίᾳ ἐλαυνομένους, εὐδιεινὴν γαλήνην παρασχὼν ἢ πνίγεσιν ἀναψυχήν, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς ἑταίρους

For suppose someone were to compel—may it never happen, nor will it—the very best men everywhere (it's absurd to say, [918e] but it will be said all the same) to keep an inn for a time, or run a shop, or do something of that kind; or suppose women were compelled by some fated necessity to take up that way of life. We'd realize that each of these is a welcome and friendly thing, and if it were carried on according to an incorruptible rule, all such things would be honored like a mother or a nurse. But as it is, a man sets up a dwelling for the sake of trade in lonely [919a] places with long roads in every direction, and receives with welcome lodging those who arrive in need, or who are driven by the

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	δεξάμενος φιλικὰ παράσχῃ ξένια ἑπόμενα ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς, ὡς δ' ἐχθροὺς αἰχμαλώτους κεχειρωμένους ἀπολυτρώσῃ τῶν μακροτάτων καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων [919b] λύτρων, ταῦτά ἐστιν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν σύμπασιν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀρθῶς ἁμαρτανόμενα τὰς διαβολὰς τῇ τῆς ἀπορίας ἐπικουρήσει παρεσκευακότα.	force of wild storms, offering them fair-weather calm or cool refreshment in stifling heat; but then, instead of receiving them as friends and offering the friendly gifts of hospitality that go with such a welcome, he treats them like enemy captives in his power, and releases them only for the largest, most unjust and unclean [919b] ransoms. It is these wrongs, and others like them, rightly condemned in all such trades, that have brought discredit on the relief of those in need.
919b	τούτων οὖν χρὴ φάρμακον ἀεὶ τέμνειν τὸν νομοθέτην. ὀρθὸν μὲν δὴ πάλαι τε εἰρημένον ὡς πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι καὶ ἐναντία χαλεπόν, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοισιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἡ τούτων καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἐστὶν πρὸς δύο μάχη, πενίαν καὶ πλοῦτον, τὸν μὲν ψυχὴν διεφθαρκότα τρυφῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, [919c] τὴν δὲ λύπαις προτετραμμένην εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν αὐτήν. τίς οὖν δὴ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἀρωγὴ γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἐν νοῦν ἐχούσῃ πόλει; πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι σμικροτάτῳ χρῆσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν τῷ τῶν καπήλων γένει, ἔπειτα τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων προστάττειν ὧν διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἂν γίγνοιτο μεγάλη λύμη τῇ πόλει, τρίτον δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς μετασχοῦσι τούτων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὑρεῖν μηχανὴν ὅπως ἥθη μὴ ἀνέδην [919d] ἀναισχυντίας τε καὶ ἀνελευθέρου ψυχῆς μέτοχα συμβήσεται γίγνεσθαι ῥᾳδίως.	So the lawgiver must always be cutting a remedy for these ills. It's right, as was said long ago, that it's hard to fight against two enemies, and opposite ones at that, as in diseases and in many other things. And indeed our fight here, in these matters, is against two: poverty and wealth. The one has corrupted people's souls with luxury; [919c] the other has driven them through pain into shamelessness. What help against this disease could there be in a city that has sense? First, to have as small a class of retailers as possible; second, to assign retail trade to people whose corruption would do no great harm to the city; and third, to find a means of ensuring that the characters of those who take up these occupations won't easily come to share in unrestrained [919d] shamelessness and a soul unworthy of a free man.
919d	μετὰ δὴ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα, περὶ ταῦτα νόμος ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοιόσδε ἡμῖν γιγνέσθω· Μαγνήτων, οὓς ὁ θεὸς ἀνορθῶν πάλιν κατοικίζει, γεωμόροι ὅσοι τῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἑστιῶν εἰσιν, μήτε κάπηλος ἑκὼν μηδ' ἄκων μηδεὶς γιγνέσθω μηδ' ἔμπορος μήτε διακονίαν μηδ' ἥντινα κεκτημένος ἰδιώταις τοῖς μὴ ἐξ ἴσου ἑαυτῷ, πλὴν [919e] πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἔτι τούτων εἰς τὸ ἄνω γένεσιν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέροις, ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι ἐλευθέρως. τὸ δ' ἐλευθερικὸν καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ἀκριβῶς μὲν οὐ ῥᾴδιον νομοθετεῖν, κρινέσθω γε μὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἀριστεῖα εἰληφότων τῷ ἐκείνων μίσει τε καὶ ἀσπασμῷ.	After what has just been said, then, let our law on these matters be as follows, with good fortune: Of the Magnesians, whom the god is restoring and resettling, none who are landholders among the five thousand and forty households is to become a retailer, willingly or unwillingly, nor a merchant, nor to perform any service at all for private persons who are not his equals, except [919e] for his father and mother and their forebears further back, and all who are older than himself and free, and in a way that befits a free man. What befits a free man and what doesn't isn't easy to lay down precisely by law; but it is to be judged by those who have won prizes for virtue, according to what they detest and what they welcome.
919e	ὃς δ' ἂν καπηλείας τῆς ἀνελευθέρου τέχνῃ τινὶ μετάσχῃ, γραφέσθω μὲν αὐτὸν γένους αἰσχύνης ὁ βουλόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῇ πρώτους κεκριμένους, ἐὰν δὲ δόξῃ ἀναξίῳ ἐπιτηδεύματι καταρρυπαίνειν τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρῴαν ἑστίαν, δεθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποσχέσθω [920a] τοῦ τοιούτου, καὶ ἐὰν αὖθις, ἔτη δύο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἁλώσεως τοὺς δεσμοὺς μὴ παυέσθω διπλασιάζων τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον.	Whoever takes part in retail trade unworthy of a free man by any craft, anyone who wishes may indict him for disgracing his family, before those who have been judged first in virtue; and if he is judged to be soiling his ancestral hearth with an unworthy occupation, he is to be imprisoned for a year and to keep away [920a] from such activity; if he

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does it again, for two years; and with each conviction the term of imprisonment is to go on doubling the previous one.

920a δεύτερος μὴν νόμος· Μέτοικον εἶναι χρεὼν ἢ ξένον, ὃς ἂν μέλλῃ καπηλεύσειν· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τρίτος· ὅπως ὡς ἄριστος ἢ καὶ κακὸς ὡς ἥκιστα ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ᾖ σύνοικος ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς νομοφύλακας χρὴ νοῆσαι φύλακας εἶναι μὴ μόνον ἐκείνων οὓς φυλάττειν ῥᾴδιον μὴ παρανόμους καὶ κακοὺς γίγνεσθαι, ὅσοι γενέσει καὶ τροφαῖς εὖ πεπαίδευνται, [920b] τοὺς δὲ μὴ τοιούτους ἐπιτηδεύματά τε ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἃ ῥοπὴν ἔχει τινὰ ἰσχυρὰν πρὸς τὸ προτρέπειν κακοὺς γίγνεσθαι, φυλακτέον μᾶλλον.

A second law: Anyone who is to be a retailer must be a resident foreigner or a foreigner. And third comes a third law: so that such a person may be as good as possible, or at least as little bad as possible, as our fellow resident in the city, the guardians of the laws must realize that they are guardians not only of those whom it is easy to keep from becoming lawless and bad, those well educated by birth and upbringing, [920b] but that those who are not such, and who pursue occupations with a strong tendency to incline people to become bad, must be guarded more closely.

920b ταύτῃ δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν καπηλείαν πολλὴν οὖσαν καὶ πολλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τοιαῦτα κεκτημένην, ὅσαπερ ἂν αὐτῶν λειφθῇ δόξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης ἐν τῇ πόλει δεῖν εἶναι, συνελθεῖν αὖ χρεὼν περὶ ταῦτα τοὺς νομοφύλακας μετὰ τῶν ἐμπείρων ἑκάστης καπηλείας, [920c] καθάπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπετάξαμεν τῆς κιβδηλείας πέρι, συγγενοῦς τούτῳ πράγματος, συνελθόντας δὲ ἰδεῖν λῆμμά τε καὶ ἀνάλωμα τί ποτε τῷ καπήλῳ κέρδος ποιεῖ τὸ μέτριον, γράψαντας δὲ θεῖναι τὸ γιγνόμενον ἀνάλωμα καὶ λῆμμα καὶ φυλάττειν, τὰ μὲν ἀγορανόμους, τὰ δὲ ἀστυνόμους, τὰ δὲ ἀγρονόμους· καὶ σχεδὸν οὕτως ἂν καπηλεία τὰ μὲν ὠφελοῖ ἑκάστους, σμικρότατα δὲ ἂν βλάπτοι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι χρωμένους. [920d]

So, as to retail trade, which is extensive and includes many such occupations: whichever of them are kept, having been judged absolutely necessary to the city, the guardians of the laws must meet again about these with people experienced in each kind of retailing, [920c] just as we prescribed earlier about adulteration, a related matter. When they meet, they are to see what balance of receipts and expenses produces a moderate profit for the retailer, then write down and post the resulting expenses and receipts and enforce them—the market wardens some, the city wardens others, and the country wardens others. In this way, roughly speaking, retail trade would benefit each group, and do the least possible harm to those in the city who make use of it. [920d]

CONTRACTS AND CRAFTSMEN

Laws on broken agreements, craftsmen's work and wages, and honors for soldiers.

GREEK

ENGLISH

920d **ATHENIAN** ὅσα τις ἂν ὁμολογῶν συνθέσθαι μὴ ποιῇ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας, πλὴν ὧν ἂν νόμοι ἀπείργωσιν ἢ ψήφισμα, ἤ τινος ὑπὸ ἀδίκου βιασθεὶς ἀνάγκης ὁμολογήσῃ, καὶ ἐὰν ἀπὸ τύχης ἀπροσδοκήτου τις ἄκων κωλυθῇ, δίκας εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀτελοῦς ὁμολογίας ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαῖσιν δίκαις, ἐὰν ἐν διαιτηταῖς ἢ γείτοσιν ἔμπροσθεν μὴ δύνωνται διαλλάττεσθαι. Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν γένος, οἳ [920e] τὸν βίον ἡμῖν συγκατεσκευάκασιν τέχναις, Ἄρεως δ' αὖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς οἱ τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν σῴζοντες τέχναισιν ἑτέραις ἀμυντηρίοις ἔργα· δικαίως δὲ καὶ τὸ τούτων γένος ἱερόν ἐστι τούτων τῶν θεῶν.

ATHENIAN Whenever someone who has agreed to a contract fails to act in accordance with his agreement—except where laws or a decree forbid it, or where he agreed under compulsion by some unjust force, or where he is unwillingly prevented by some unexpected chance—for all other cases of unfulfilled agreement suits are to be brought in the tribal courts, if the parties can't first be reconciled before arbitrators or neighbors. The class of craftsmen, who [920e] have equipped our life with their crafts, is sacred to Hephaestus and Athena; and those who preserve the craftsmen's works by other, defensive crafts are sacred to Ares and

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Athena. So this class too is rightly sacred to these gods.

920e οὗτοι δὴ πάντες χώραν καὶ δῆμον θεραπεύοντες διατελοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων, οἱ δὲ ὀργάνων τε καὶ ἔργων ἀποτελοῦντες γένεσιν ἔμμισθον· οἷς δὴ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ πρέπον ἂν εἴη ψεύδεσθαι, 921a θεοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν αἰδουμένους. ἂν δή τις δημιουργῶν εἰς χρόνον εἰρημένον ἔργον μὴ ἀποτελέσῃ διὰ κάκην, μηδὲν τὸν βιοδότην θεὸν ἐπαιδεσθείς, ἡγούμενος ὡς οἰκεῖον συγγνώμονα εἶναι θεόν, οὐδὲν τῷ νῷ βλέπων, πρῶτον μὲν δίκην τῷ θεῷ ὑφέξει, δεύτερον δὲ ἑπόμενος αὐτῷ νόμος κείσθω· τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἔργων ὀφειλέτω ὧν ἂν τὸν ἐκδόντα ψεύσηται καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ ῥηθέντι χρόνῳ προῖκα ἐξεργαζέσθω.

All of these continue to serve the country and the people: the one group as leaders in the contests of war, the other by producing tools and works for pay. It would not be fitting for them to lie about such things, 921a since they revere the gods as their ancestors. So if any craftsman fails through negligence to finish a job in the time stated, with no respect for the god who gives him his livelihood, thinking the god will be lenient since he is his own—and seeing nothing with his mind—first, he will pay a penalty to the god; and second, let a law follow: he is to owe the price of the work he has cheated the client of, and do it over again from the beginning within the stated time, for nothing.

921a καὶ ἀναιρουμένῳ δ' ἔργον συμβουλευτὴς νόμος, ἅπερ 921b τῷ πωλοῦντι συνεβούλευεν, μὴ πλέονος τιμᾶν διαπειρώμενον ἀλλ' ὡς ἁπλούστατα τῆς ἀξίας, ταὐτὸν δὴ προστάττει καὶ τῷ ἀναιρουμένῳ—γιγνώσκει γὰρ ὅ γε δημιουργὸς τὴν ἀξίαν —ἐν ἐλευθέρων οὖν πόλεσιν οὐ δή ποτε χρὴ τέχνῃ, σαφεῖ τε καὶ ἀψευδεῖ φύσει πράγματι, διαπειρᾶσθαι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τεχνάζοντα αὐτὸν τὸν δημιουργόν, δίκας δὲ εἶναι τούτων τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ πρὸς τὸν ἀδικοῦντα.

To one who takes on a job, the law gives the same advice it gave 921b to the seller: not to try for a higher price, but to ask as simply as possible what the work is worth. It gives this same instruction to the one taking on the job—for the craftsman, at least, knows the value. So in cities of free people, the craftsman must never use his craft, which is by nature a clear and truthful thing, to try to get the better of laymen by crafty tricks; and the wronged party is to have a right to sue the wrongdoer for this.

921b ἐὰν δέ τις ἐκδοὺς αὖ 921c δημιουργῷ μὴ ἀποδῷ τοὺς μισθοὺς ὀρθῶς κατὰ τὴν ἔννομον ὁμολογίαν γενομένην, Δία δὲ πολιοῦχον καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν κοινωνοὺς πολιτείας ἀτιμάζων, βραχὺ κέρδος ἀγαπῶν, λύῃ μεγάλας κοινωνίας, νόμος ὁ βοηθῶν ἔστω τῷ τῆς πόλεως συνδέσμῳ μετὰ θεῶν· ὃς γὰρ ἂν προαμειψάμενος ἔργον μισθοὺς μὴ ἀποδιδῷ ἐν χρόνοις τοῖς ὁμολογηθεῖσιν, διπλοῦν πραττέσθω· ἐὰν δὲ ἐνιαυτὸς ἐξέλθῃ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀτόκων ὄντων χρημάτων, 921d ὁπόσα δανεισμῷ συμβάλλει τις, οὗτος τῇ δραχμῇ ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἐπωβελίαν κατατιθέτω, δίκας δὲ εἶναι τούτων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φυλὰς δικαστηρίοις.

If, on the other hand, someone who has contracted work 921c from a craftsman fails to pay him his wages properly, according to the lawful agreement made—dishonoring Zeus, protector of the city, and Athena, partners in the constitution, and dissolving great partnerships out of love of a little profit—the law is to come to the aid of the bond of the city, together with the gods. Whoever has received the work in advance and doesn't pay the wages at the agreed times is to be made to pay double; and if a year passes, then, although all other money 921d that anyone lends bears no interest, this man is to pay an obol on every drachma for each month; suits for these are to be heard in the tribal courts.[5]

921d ὡς δὲ ἐν παρέργῳ περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον δημιουργῶν ὄντων σωτηρίας, στρατηγῶν τε καὶ ὅσοι περὶ ταῦτα τεχνικοί, δίκαιον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ παράπαν ἐμνήσθημεν δημιουργῶν· ὃς τούτοις αὖ, καθάπερ ἐκείνοις, οἷον ἑτέροις οὖσιν δημιουργοῖς. ἐάν τις ἄρα καὶ τούτων

Since we've mentioned craftsmen at all, it's only fair to add a word in passing about the craftsmen of safety in war—generals and those skilled in such matters. It applies to them in the same way as to the others, since they are craftsmen of another

5 An obol was a sixth of a drachma, so this is interest of about 17 percent a month.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἀνελόμενος δημόσιον ἔργον εἴθ' ἑκὼν [921e] εἴτε προσταχθὲν καλῶς ἐξεργάσηται, τὰς τιμάς, οἳ δὴ μισθοὶ πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰσίν, ἀποδιδῷ δικαίως, ὁ νόμος αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν οὔποτε καμεῖται· ἐὰν δὲ προαμειψάμενος ἔργον τι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον καλῶν ἔργων μὴ ἀποδιδῷ, μέμψεται.

kind. If any of them undertakes a public work, whether voluntarily [921e] or under orders, and carries it out well, then whoever duly pays the honors which are the wages of fighting men, the law will never tire of praising him; but if someone has received some fine work of war in advance and fails to pay for it, the law will reproach him.

921e νόμος οὖν οὗτος ἐπαίνῳ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν μεμειγμένος κείσθω, συμβουλευτικός, οὐ βιαστικός, τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολιτῶν, [922a] τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅσοι σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεώς εἰσι συμπάσης εἴτε ἀνδρείαις εἴτε πολεμικαῖς μηχαναῖς, δευτέρους· πρώτοις γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον γέρας δεδόσθω τοῖς τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν νομοθετῶν γράμματα τιμᾶν διαφερόντως δυνηθεῖσιν.

So let this law, mixed with praise, be laid down for us on these matters, advising rather than compelling the mass of citizens [922a] to honor good men—all who save the whole city, whether by courage or by the devices of war—in second place. For the first place and the greatest honor is to be given to those who have proved able to honor above all the writings of the good lawgivers.

WILLS

The dying man's wish to leave his property freely is answered, and laws on wills and heiresses follow.

GREEK

ENGLISH

922a **ATHENIAN** τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα τῶν συμβολαίων, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄνθρωποι συμβάλλουσιν, πλήν γε ὀρφανικῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐπιμελείας τῶν ὀρφανῶν, σχεδὸν ἡμῖν διατέτακται· [922b] ταῦτα δὲ δὴ μετὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα ἀναγκαῖον ἁμῶς γέ πως τάξασθαι. τούτων δὲ ἀρχαὶ πάντων αἵ τε τῶν τελευτᾶν μελλόντων ἐπιθυμίαι τῆς διαθέσεως αἵ τε τῶν μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν διαθεμένων τύχαι· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ εἶπον, ὦ Κλεινία, βλέψας αὐτῶν πέρι πρός τε τὸ δύσκολον καὶ χαλεπόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄτακτον δυνατόν ἐστ' αὐτὸ ἐᾶν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἕκαστοι καὶ διάφορα ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐναντία τιθεῖντ' ἂν τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν ζώντων ἤθεσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν [922c] πρὶν διατίθεσθαι μέλλειν, εἴ τις ἐξουσίαν δώσει ἁπλῶς οὕτως κυρίαν εἶναι διαθήκην ἣν ἄν τις διαθῆται ὁπωσοῦν ἔχων πρὸς τῷ τοῦ βίου τέλει.

ATHENIAN The most important of the contracts people make with one another have now more or less been arranged by us, except for matters concerning orphans and the care of orphans by their guardians. [922b] These must now be arranged somehow, after what we've just said. The starting points of all these are the wishes of those about to die concerning their bequests, and the fortunes of those who have made no bequest at all. I said "must," Clinias, with an eye to how troublesome and difficult these matters are. For it isn't possible to leave this unregulated: people would lay down many provisions differing from one another and contrary to the laws, to the characters of the living, and to their own earlier characters [922c] before they came to make a will, if one simply gave them the power to make valid any will a person made, in whatever state he might be at the end of his life.

922c ἀνοήτως γὰρ δὴ καὶ διατεθρυμμένως τινὰ τρόπον ἔχομεν οἱ πλεῖστοι, ὅταν ἤδη μέλλειν ἡγώμεθα τελευτᾶν.

For most of us are in a foolish and somewhat enfeebled condition, once we think we are about to die.

CLINIAS πῶς τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις;

CLINIAS What do you mean by that, stranger?

ATHENIAN χαλεπόν ἐστ', ὦ Κλεινία, μέλλων ἄνθρωπος τελευτήσειν, καὶ μεστὸν λόγου τοῖς νομοθέταις εὖ μάλα φοβεροῦ καὶ δυσχεροῦς.

ATHENIAN A man about to die, Clinias, is difficult; he is full of talk that lawgivers find very alarming and hard to deal with.

CLINIAS πῇ;

CLINIAS How so?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
922d	**ATHENIAN** ζητῶν εἶναι κύριος ἁπάντων, εἴωθε μετ' ὀργῆς λέγειν.	**ATHENIAN** He wants to be master of everything, and he usually speaks in anger.
	CLINIAS ποῖα δή;	**CLINIAS** Saying what?
	ATHENIAN δεινόν γε, ὦ θεοί, φησίν, εἰ τὰ ἐμὰ ἐμοὶ μηδαμῶς ἐξέσται δοῦναί τε ὅτῳ ἂν ἐθέλω καὶ μή, καὶ τῷ μὲν πλείω, τῷ δ' ἐλάττονα, τῶν ὁπόσοι περὶ ἐμὲ φαῦλοι καὶ ὅσοι ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν φανερῶς, βασανισθέντες ἱκανῶς ἐν νόσοις, οἱ δ' ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ ἄλλαις παντοίαισι τύχαις.	**ATHENIAN** "It's outrageous, by the gods," he says, "if I'm not to be allowed to give my own property or not to whomever I like—more to one, less to another—according to how they've clearly treated me, bad or good, now that they've been well tested: some in my illnesses, others in my old age and all sorts of other misfortunes."
	CLINIAS οὐκοῦν, ὦ ξένε, καλῶς δοκοῦσίν σοι λέγειν;	**CLINIAS** Well, stranger, don't you think they're right?
922e	**ATHENIAN** μαλθακοὶ ἔμοιγ', ὦ Κλεινία, δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι νομοθετοῦντες γεγονέναι καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων βλέποντές τε καὶ διανοούμενοι νομοθετεῖν.	**ATHENIAN** What I think, Clinias, is that the lawgivers of old were soft, and legislated with only a small part of human affairs in view and in mind.
	CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean?
	ATHENIAN τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ὠγαθέ, φοβούμενοι, τὸν νόμον ἐτίθεσαν τὸν ἐξεῖναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διατίθεσθαι ἁπλῶς ὅπως ἄν [923a] τις ἐθέλῃ τὸ παράπαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῖς ἐν τῇ σῇ πόλει μέλλουσι τελευτᾶν ἀποκρινούμεθα ἐμμελέστερόν πως. ὦ φίλοι, φήσομεν, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἐφήμεροι, χαλεπὸν ὑμῖν ἐστιν γιγνώσκειν τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν χρήματα καὶ πρός γε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθίας γράμμα φράζει, τὰ νῦν.	**ATHENIAN** It was fear of this speech, my good friend, that made them lay down the law that anyone may dispose of his own property exactly as [923a] he likes, without restriction. But you and I will give a more fitting answer to those in your city who are about to die. Friends, we'll say, you who are truly creatures of a day, it's hard for you at present to know your own property—and yourselves too, as the Pythia's inscription says.[6]
923a	ἔγωγ' οὖν νομοθέτης ὢν οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι τίθημι οὔτε τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην, σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν τοῦ τε ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τοῦ ἔπειτα ἐσομένου, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς [923b] πόλεως εἶναι τό τε γένος πᾶν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ οὕτω τούτων ἐχόντων, οὐκ, ἐάν τις ὑμᾶς θωπείαις ὑποδραμὼν ἐν νόσοις ἢ γήρᾳ σαλεύοντας παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διατίθεσθαι πείθῃ, συγχωρήσομαι ἑκών, ὅτι δὲ τῇ πόλει τε ἄριστον πάσῃ καὶ γένει, πρὸς πᾶν τοῦτο βλέπων νομοθετήσω, τὸ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου κατατιθεὶς ἐν μοίραις ἐλάττοσι δικαίως. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἡμῖν ἵλεώ τε καὶ εὐμενεῖς ὄντες πορεύοισθε ᾗπερ κατὰ φύσιν νῦν πορεύεσθε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην· ἡμῖν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν [923c] ὑμετέρων μελήσει, κηδομένοις ὅτι μάλιστα εἰς δύναμιν, οὐ τῶν μέν, τῶν δὲ οὔ.	So I, as lawgiver, rule that neither you nor this property belong to yourselves, but to your whole family, past and future; and still more, that the whole family and its property belong to the [923b] city. This being so, if someone slips in with flattery while you're tossed about by illness or old age, and persuades you to make a will contrary to what is best, I won't willingly allow it. I will legislate with an eye to the whole—what is best for the entire city and for the family—justly ranking each individual's interest lower. Be gracious and kindly toward us, and go on your way, the way that human nature now takes you; we will take care of the rest of your [923c] affairs, looking after them as well as we possibly can—not some of them only, but all.
923c	ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραμύθιά τε καὶ προοίμια τῶν τε ζώντων, ὦ Κλεινία, καὶ τῶν τελευτώντων ἔστω, νόμος δὲ ὅδε· ὃς	Let this, Clinias, be the consolation and preamble for the living and the dying alike; and the law is as

6 The inscription 'Know yourself' stood at Apollo's temple at Delphi, where the Pythia was the god's priestess.

GREEK

ἂν διαθήκην γράφῃ τὰ αὐτοῦ διατιθέμενος, παίδων ὢν πατήρ, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ὑέων κληρονόμον ὃν ἂν ἀξιώσῃ γίγνεσθαι γραφέτω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων παίδων, ὃν ἂν μὲν ἑτέρῳ ποιεῖσθαι διδῷ δεχομένῳ, γραφέσθω τοῦτο αὐτό· [923d] ἐὰν δὲ περιγίγνηταί τις τῶν ὑέων αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπί τινι κλήρῳ πεποιημένος, ὃν κατὰ νόμον ἐλπὶς εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐκπεμφθήσεσθαι, τούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ἐξέστω τῷ πατρὶ διδόναι ὅσα ἂν ἐθέλῃ, πλὴν τοῦ πατρῴου κλήρου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν κλῆρον κατασκευῆς πάσης, καὶ ἐὰν πλείους ὦσιν, πρὸς μέρος ὁ πατὴρ ὅπῃ ἂν ἐθέλῃ νεμέτω τὰ περιόντα τοῦ κλήρου.

ENGLISH

follows. Whoever writes a will disposing of his property, if he is a father of children, is first to write down which of his sons he thinks fit to be heir; and if he gives any of his other children to be adopted by someone who accepts him, he is to write that too. [923d] If he still has a son who has not been adopted into some allotment, and who can be expected by law to be sent out to a colony, the father may give him as much of his other property as he likes, except for the ancestral allotment and all its equipment; and if there are more such sons, the father is to divide among them, in whatever shares he likes, what remains beyond the allotment.

923d ὅτῳ δ' ἂν τῶν ὑέων ὑπάρχων οἶκος ᾖ, μὴ νέμειν τούτῳ τῶν χρημάτων, θυγατρί τε ὡσαύτως, ᾗ μὲν ἂν ἐγγεγυημένος ὡς ἀνὴρ [923e] ἐσόμενος ᾖ, μὴ νέμειν, ᾗ δ' ἂν μή, νέμειν· ἐὰν δέ τῳ τῶν ὑέων ἢ καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων φανῇ κλῆρος ἐπιχώριος τῆς διαθήκης γενόμενος ὕστερον, τῷ κληρονόμῳ τοῦ τὴν διαθήκην διαθεμένου καταλειπέτω. ἐὰν δὲ ἄρρενας μὲν μὴ λείπῃ, θηλείας δέ, ὁ διατιθέμενος, ἄνδρα μὲν τῶν θυγατέρων ᾧτινι ἂν ἐθέλῃ, ὑὸν δὲ αὐτῷ καταλειπέτω, γράψας κληρονόμον· ἐὰν δὲ ὑός τῳ τελευτήσῃ παῖς ὤν, πρὶν εἰς ἄνδρας δυνατὸς εἶναι τελεῖν, εἴτε γεννητὸς ὢν εἴτε ποιητός, γραφέτω καὶ [924a] περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης τύχης ὁ τὴν διαθήκην γράφων τίνα χρὴ παῖδα αὐτῷ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τύχαις ἀμείνοσιν γίγνεσθαι.

To a son who already has a household he is not to allot any property; likewise with a daughter: if she is betrothed to a man who is to be [923e] her husband, he is not to allot her anything; if not, he may. If any son or daughter is found to have acquired an allotment in the country after the will was made, he or she is to leave the bequest to the heir of the one who made the will. If the testator leaves no male children, but only female, he is to leave to whichever of his daughters he likes a husband, and to himself a son, writing him down as heir. If someone's son, natural or adopted, dies while still a child, before he can reach manhood, the one writing the will is to write [924a] about this contingency too, naming who is to be his son in the second place, with better fortune.

924a ἐὰν δέ τις ἄπαις ὢν τὸ παράπαν διαθήκην γράφῃ, τὸ τῆς ἐπικτήτου δεκατημόριον ἐξελόμενος, ἐὰν ἐθέλῃ τῳ δωρεῖσθαι, δωρείσθω· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα παραδιδοὺς πάντα τῷ ποιηθέντι ἄμεμπτος ἵλεων ὑὸν αὐτὸν ποιείσθω σὺν νόμῳ. ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐπιτρόπων οἱ παῖδες δέωνται, ἐὰν μὲν διαθέμενος τελευτᾷ καὶ γράψας ἐπιτρόπους τοῖς παισὶν ἑκόντας τε καὶ ὁμολογοῦντας [924b] ἐπιτροπεύσειν οὐστινασοῦν καὶ ὁπόσους ἂν ἐθέλῃ, κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ γραφέντα ἡ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων αἵρεσις γιγνέσθω κυρία· ἐὰν δὲ ἢ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διαθέμενος τελευτήσῃ τις ἢ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων αἱρέσεως ἐλλιπής, ἐπιτρόπους εἶναι τοὺς ἐγγύτατα γένει πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς κυρίους, δύο μὲν πρὸς πατρός, δύο δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ἕνα δ' ἐκ τῶν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος φίλων, τούτους δ' οἱ νομοφύλακες καθιστάντων τῷ δεομένῳ τῶν ὀρφανῶν.

If someone who is entirely childless writes a will, he may set aside a tenth of the property he has acquired beyond his allotment and give it to anyone he likes; everything else he is to hand over to the one he adopts, and make him his son in a way no one can fault, and with the son's goodwill, as the law allows. If someone's children need guardians, and he dies having made a will and named as guardians for his children any people he likes, and as many as he likes, who are willing and agree [924b] to act as guardians, then the choice of guardians is to be valid as written. But if someone dies either without making any will at all, or without naming guardians, the guardians with authority are to be the nearest relatives on the father's and the mother's side—two on the father's side and two on the mother's—and one from among the dead man's friends; the guardians of the laws are to appoint these for any orphan who needs them.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
924b	καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ τῶν 924c ὀρφανῶν πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι πάντων ἐπιμελείσθων ἀεὶ κατὰ πρέσβιν καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς διελόμενοι σφᾶς αὐτούς, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τρεῖς καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄλλον ἕτεροι τρεῖς, ἕως ἂν αἱ πέντε περίοδοι γίγνωνται κύκλῳ· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλιπέτω μηδέποτε κατὰ δύναμιν.	The whole business of guardianship and of 924c orphans is to be the continual charge of the fifteen oldest of all the guardians of the laws. They are to divide themselves by seniority into groups of three, three for one year and another three for the next, until the five rounds come full circle; and this is never to lapse, as far as possible.
924c	ὃς δ' ἂν μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν διαθέμενος ἀποθάνῃ, παῖδας μὲν καταλιπὼν δεομένους ἐπιτροπῆς, τῶν αὐτῶν νόμων τούτων 924d ἡ χρεία τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ μετεχέτω· θηλείας δὲ ἂν καταλείπῃ τις ἀπροσδοκήτῳ τύχῃ χρησάμενος, συγγνώμην τῷ τιθέντι τὸν νόμον ἐχέτω, ἐὰν τῶν τριῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ δύο ἐπισκοπῶν τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῶν θυγατέρων ποιῆται, πρός τε τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀγχιστείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κλήρου σωτηρίαν, τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὅπερ ἂν πατὴρ διασκέψαιτο, ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν πολιτῶν βλέπων εἰς ἦθη τε καὶ τρόπους τὸν ἐπιτήδειον αὑτῷ μὲν υἱόν, νυμφίον 924e δ' εἶναι τῇ θυγατρί, τοῦτο δὲ παραλείπῃ διὰ τὴν ἀδύνατον σκέψιν.	If someone dies without making any will at all, leaving children who need guardianship, the same laws 924d are to apply to his children's needs. But if a man meets with an unexpected misfortune and leaves daughters, let him forgive the lawgiver if, in arranging the marriage of the daughters, he attends to two of the three considerations—closeness of kinship and the preservation of the allotment—but passes over the third, which a father would have weighed: looking among all the citizens, with an eye to character and ways, for someone suited to be a son to him and a bridegroom 924e to his daughter. This he passes over because it is impossible to examine.
924e	νόμος τοίνυν εἰς δύναμιν ὅδε περὶ τῶν τοιούτων κείσθω· ἐὰν ὁ μὴ διαθέμενος θυγατέρας λείπῃ, τοῦδε ἀποθανόντος, ἀδελφὸς ὁμοπάτωρ ἢ ἄκληρος ὁμομήτριος ἐχέτω τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ τελευτήσαντος· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ ἀδελφός, ἀδελφοῦ δὲ παῖς, ὡσαύτως, ἐὰν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὦσιν· ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ εἷς τούτων, ἀδελφῆς δὲ παῖς ᾖ, κατὰ ταὐτά· τέταρτος δὲ πατρὸς ἀδελφός, πέμπτος δὲ τούτου παῖς, ἕκτος δὲ ἀδελφῆς πατρὸς ἔκγονος. ὡσαύτως δὲ τὸ γένος ἀεὶ πορευέσθω κατ' ἀγχιστείαν, ἐάν τις παῖδας θηλείας καταλείπῃ, 925a δι' ἀδελφῶν τε καὶ ἀδελφιδῶν ἐπανιόν, ἔμπροσθε μὲν τῶν ἀρρένων, ὕστερον δὲ θηλειῶν ἑνὶ γένει.	So let this be the law on such matters, as far as it can be: If a man dies intestate and leaves daughters, then on his death his brother by the same father, or his brother by the same mother who has no allotment, is to have the daughter and the dead man's allotment. If there is no brother, but a brother's son, the same applies, provided they are suited to each other in age; if there is none of these, but a sister's son, likewise. Fourth comes the father's brother, fifth his son, sixth the son of the father's sister. And whenever someone leaves female children, the family is always to proceed in the same way by nearness of kin, going back 925a through brothers and nephews, the males first and then the females, at each degree of kinship.
925a	τὴν δὲ τούτων γάμου χρόνου συμμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀμετρίαν ὁ δικαστὴς σκοπῶν κρινέτω, γυμνοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἄρρενας, γυμνὰς δὲ ὀμφαλοῦ μέχρι θεώμενος τὰς θηλείας· ἐὰν δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπορία συγγενῶν ᾖ μέχρι μὲν ἀδελφοῦ υἱδῶν, μέχρι δὲ πάππου παίδων ὡσαύτως, τῶν ἄλλων ὅντιν' ἂν ἡ παῖς μετ' ἐπιτρόπων αἱρῆται τῶν 925b πολιτῶν ἑκούσιον ἑκουσία, κληρονόμος γιγνέσθω τοῦ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς νυμφίος.	Whether their ages make the marriage suitable or not, the judge is to decide by examining them—looking at the males naked, and at the females naked down to the navel. If the family has no relatives as near as a brother's grandsons, and likewise as near as a grandfather's children, then whichever of the other 925b citizens the girl chooses with her guardians, he willing and she willing, is to become the dead man's heir and the daughter's bridegroom.
925b	ἔτι δὲ πολλὰ πολλῶν καὶ πλείων ἀπορία τῶν τοιούτων γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἔστιν ὅτ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει· ἂν οὖν δή τις	Moreover, there may sometimes be many shortages, and greater ones, of such people in the city

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀπορουμένη τῶν αὐτόθεν ὁρᾷ τινα εἰς ἀποικίαν ἀπεσταλμένον, ᾗ δὲ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῇ κληρονόμον ἐκεῖνον γίγνεσθαι τῶν τοῦ πατρός, ἐὰν μὲν συγγενὴς ᾖ, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ νόμου ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον πορευέσθω, ἐὰν δὲ ἐκτὸς γένους, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντων ἔξω τῆς συγγενείας, κύριος [925c] ἔστω κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων καὶ τῆς παιδὸς τοῦ τελευτήσαντος αἵρεσιν γῆμαι καὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε λαβεῖν τοῦ μὴ διαθεμένου.	itself. So if a girl who can find no candidate at home sees someone who has been sent out to a colony, and she would like him to become heir to her father's property: if he is a relative, he is to proceed to the allotment according to the order of the law; if he is outside the family, provided that those in the city are outside the kinship, he is to have the right, [925c] if the guardians and the dead man's daughter choose him, to marry her and come home to take the allotment of the man who died intestate.
925c	ἄπαις δὲ ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν τὸ παράπαν ὃς ἂν μὴ διαθέμενος τελευτᾷ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐχέτω νόμον, θήλεια δὲ καὶ ἄρρην οἷον σύννομοι ἴτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους εἰς τὸν ἐξηρημωμένον ἑκάστοτε οἶκον, ὧν ὁ κλῆρος γιγνέσθω κυρίως, [925d] ἀδελφὴ μὲν πρῶτον, ἀδελφοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ δευτέρα, τρίτη δὲ ἔκγονος ἀδελφῆς, τετάρτη δὲ πατρὸς ἀδελφή, καὶ πέμπτη πατρὸς ἀδελφοῦ παῖς, ἕκτη δὲ ἀδελφῆς πατρὸς ἂν εἴη παῖς· συνοικίζειν δὲ ταύτας ἐκείνοις κατ' ἀγχιστείαν καὶ θέμιν, ὡς ἔμπροσθεν ἐνομοθετήσαμεν.	If someone dies intestate and entirely without children, male or female, in other respects the previous law is to apply to him; but a woman and a man from the family are to go, as a kind of yoked pair, into the house that has been left empty in each case, and the allotment is to become theirs with full rights: [925d] first a sister, second a brother's daughter, third a sister's daughter, fourth a father's sister, fifth a father's brother's daughter, and sixth would be a father's sister's daughter. These women are to be married to the men according to nearness of kin and what is sanctioned, as we legislated earlier.
925d	μὴ δὴ λανθανέτω τὸ τῶν τοιούτων νόμων ἡμᾶς βάρος, ὡς χαλεπῶς ἔστιν ὅτε προστάττει τῷ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος κατὰ γένος οἰκείῳ γαμεῖν τὴν συγγενῆ, μὴ δοκεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν ἃ μυρία ἐν ἀνθρώποις [925e] ἐμπόδια γίγνεται τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῦ μήτινα ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι, πρότερον δὲ οὕστινας ὁτιοῦν ἂν βουληθῆναι παθεῖν, ὁπόταν ἢ σωμάτων νοσήματα καὶ πηρώσεις ἢ διανοίας ἔν τισιν τῶν ἐπιταττομένων γαμεῖν ἢ γαμεῖσθαι γίγνηται. τούτων δὴ μηδὲν φροντίζειν τάχ' ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης δόξειέν τισιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοκοῦν.	Let's not overlook how heavy such laws can be: how harshly they sometimes command the dead man's next of kin to marry his relative, and seem not to consider the countless obstacles that arise among people [925e] to such commands, so that no one is willing to obey and some would rather suffer anything at all—when there are diseases and deformities of body or of mind in some of those ordered to marry or be married. Some might think the lawgiver gives no thought to any of this, but they would be wrong.
925e	ἔστω τοίνυν εἰρημένον ὑπέρ τε νομοθέτου καὶ ὑπὲρ νομοθετουμένου σχεδὸν οἷον κοινὸν προοίμιον, συγγνώμην μὲν τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοὺς ἐπιταττομένους δεόμενον ἔχειν, ὅτι τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελούμενος οὐκ ἄν ποτε δύναιτο διοικεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἑκάστῳ γιγνομένας συμφοράς, [926a] συγγνώμην δ' αὖ καὶ τοῖς νομοθετουμένοις, ὡς τὰ τοῦ νομοθετοῦντος εἰκότως ἐνίοτε οὐ δύνανται προστάγματα τελεῖν, ἃ μὴ γιγνώσκων προστάττει.	So let this be said on behalf of the lawgiver and of those subject to his laws, as a kind of common preamble. It asks those receiving the orders to forgive the lawgiver, because in caring for public concerns he could never at the same time manage the private misfortunes that befall each individual; [926a] and it asks forgiveness in turn for those subject to the laws, since they are sometimes, understandably, unable to carry out the lawgiver's orders, which he gives without knowing their circumstances.
926a	CLINIAS τί δή τις οὖν, ὦ ξένε, δρῶν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμμετρότατος ἂν εἴη;	CLINIAS Then what could one do, stranger, that would be most reasonable in such cases?

GREEK

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ATHENIAN διαιτητάς, ὦ Κλεινία, τοῖς τοιούτοις νόμοις καὶ νομοθετουμένοις ἀναγκαῖον αἱρεῖσθαι.

ATHENIAN It's necessary, Clinias, to choose arbitrators between such laws and those subject to them.

CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;

CLINIAS What do you mean?

ATHENIAN ἔστιν ὅτε πλουσίου πατρὸς ἀδελφιδοῦς τὴν τοῦ 926b θείου θυγατέρα ἑκὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοι λαμβάνειν, τρυφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ μείζοσι γάμοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπέχων· ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ συμφορὰν τὴν μεγίστην τοῦ νομοθέτου προστάττοντος, ἀπειθεῖν ἀναγκάζοιτ' ἂν τῷ νόμῳ, μαινόμενα κηδεύματα ἀναγκάζοντος λαμβάνειν ἢ δεινὰς ἄλλας σωμάτων ἢ ψυχῶν συμφοράς, ἃς ἀβίωτον ζῆν κεκτημένῳ.

ATHENIAN Sometimes a rich father's nephew would not willingly take his 926b uncle's daughter, since he lives in luxury and has his mind set on a grander marriage. And sometimes, too, he might be forced to disobey the law, when the lawgiver commands the greatest misfortune—forcing him to take on a marriage with madness in it, or other terrible afflictions of body or soul that make life unlivable for the one who has them.

926b ὁ δὴ νῦν λόγος ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων ὅδε νόμος κείσθω· ἐάν τινες ἄρα περὶ διαθήκης 926c ἐγκαλῶσι τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις, περί τε ἄλλων ὠντινωνοῦν καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ γάμων, ἢ μὴν παρόντα καὶ ζῶντα αὐτὸν τὸν νομοθέτην μήποτ' ἂν ἀναγκάσαι πράττειν οὕτω, μηδὲ γῆμαι μηδὲ γήμασθαι, τοὺς νῦν ἀναγκαζομένους ἑκάτερα δρᾶν, ὁ δέ τις τῶν οἰκείων ἤ τις ἐπίτροπος φῇ, διαιτητὰς φάναι καὶ πατέρας τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων καταλιπεῖν τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς καὶ ὀρφαναῖς τὸν νομοθέτην· πρὸς οὓς ἐπανιόντες 926d διαδικαζέσθων οἱ περί τινος τῶν τοιούτων ἀμφισβητοῦντες, κύρια τελοῦντες τὰ τούτων δόγματα.

So let what we are now saying about this be laid down as law, as follows: If some people 926c have complaints against the established laws about a will—on any other matter whatever, and in particular about marriages—swearing that the lawgiver himself, were he present and alive, would never have forced those who are now forced to do one or the other to act this way, to marry or be given in marriage; and some relative or guardian contends otherwise, then we declare that the lawgiver has left the fifteen guardians of the laws as arbitrators and fathers for orphan boys and girls. Those disputing over any such matter are to go to them 926d and have the case decided, carrying out their decisions as binding.

926d ἂν δέ τῳ μείζων δύναμις ἐπανατίθεσθαι δοκῇ τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν, εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐκκρίτων δικαστῶν δικαστήριον εἰσάγων αὐτοὺς διαδικαζέσθω περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων· τῷ δὲ ἡττηθέντι παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου ψόγος καὶ ὄνειδος κείσθω, πολλῶν χρημάτων νοῦν κεκτημένῳ ζημία βαρυτέρα.

But if anyone thinks too much power is being put in the hands of the guardians of the laws, he may bring them before the court of select judges and have the disputed matters decided there. The loser is to incur censure and reproach from the lawgiver —a heavier penalty, for anyone with sense, than a large sum of money.

ORPHANS AND GUARDIANS

Guardians of the laws act as fathers to orphans; guardians who mistreat them are punished.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN νῦν δὴ τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς παισὶ γένεσις οἷον δευτέρα τις 926e γίγνοιτ' ἄν. μετὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἑκάστοις εἴρηνται τροφαὶ καὶ παιδεύσεις· μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, ἔρημον πατέρων γενομένην, μηχανᾶσθαι δεῖ τίνα τρόπον ἡ τῆς ὀρφανίας τύχη τοῖς γενομένοις ὀρφανοῖς ὡς ἥκιστα ἔλεον ἕξει τῆς συμφορᾶς. πρῶτον μὲν δή φαμεν νομοθετεῖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἀντὶ

ATHENIAN Now for orphaned children there would be a kind of second 926e birth. After the first birth, we have described each child's rearing and education; after the second, which leaves them bereft of fathers, we must devise a way for the misfortune of orphanhood to leave those who have become orphans as little to be pitied for their mis-

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	γεννητόρων πατέρας οὐ χείρους, καὶ δὴ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς οἰκείων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι προστάττομεν, ἐμμελῆ τούτοις τε αὐτοῖς περὶ τροφῆς ὀρφανῶν προοιμιασάμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις.	fortune as possible. First, we say, we are legislating the guardians of the laws to be fathers to them in place of their parents, and no worse than they; and indeed we instruct them to take care of them each year as if they were their own, having first given both them and the guardians a fitting preamble about the rearing of orphans.
926e	εἷς τινα γὰρ οὖν μοι καιρὸν φαινόμεθα [927a] τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους διεξελθεῖν, ὡς ἄρα αἱ τῶν τελευτησάντων ψυχαὶ δύναμιν ἔχουσίν τινα τελευτήσασαι, ᾗ τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους πραγμάτων ἐπιμελοῦνται· ταῦτα δὲ ἀληθεῖς μέν, μακροὶ δ' εἰσὶν περιέχοντες λόγοι, πιστεύειν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις φήμαις χρεὼν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὕτω πολλαῖσιν καὶ σφόδρα παλαιαῖς οὔσαις, πιστεύειν δ' αὖ καὶ τοῖς νομοθετοῦσιν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, ἄνπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἄφρονες φαίνωνται.	For it seems to me that we went through our earlier [927a] account at an opportune moment: that the souls of the dead have a certain power after death, by which they take care of human affairs. The accounts that contain this are true, but long; one should rather trust the other traditions on such matters, which are so many and very ancient, and trust also those who lay down laws that this is so, unless they seem utterly senseless.
927a	ταύτῃ δὲ εἰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν κατὰ φύσιν, πρῶτον [927b] μὲν τοὺς ἄνω θεοὺς φοβείσθων, οἳ τῶν ὀρφανῶν τῆς ἐρημίας αἰσθήσεις ἔχουσιν, εἶτα τὰς τῶν κεκμηκότων ψυχάς, αἷς ἐστιν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν αὑτῶν ἐκγόνων κήδεσθαι διαφερόντως καὶ τιμῶσίν τε αὐτοὺς εὐμενεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀτιμάζουσιν δυσμενεῖς, ἔτι δὲ τὰς τῶν ζώντων μέν, ἐν γήρᾳ δὲ ὄντων καὶ ἐν μεγίσταις τιμαῖς—ὅπουπερ πόλις εὐνομοῦσα εὐδαιμονεῖ, τούτους οἱ παῖδες παίδων φιλοστοργοῦντες ζῶσι μεθ' ἡδονῆς· καὶ τὰ περὶ ταῦτα ὀξὺ μὲν ἀκούουσιν βλέπουσίν τε ὀξύ, τοῖς τε [927c] περὶ αὐτὰ δικαίοις εὐμενεῖς εἰσιν, νεμεσῶσίν τε μάλιστα αὖ τοῖς εἰς ὀρφανὰ καὶ ἔρημα ὑβρίζουσιν, παρακαταθήκην εἶναι μεγίστην ἡγούμενοι καὶ ἱερωτάτην—οἷς ἐπίτροπον καὶ ἄρχοντα πᾶσι δεῖ τὸν νοῦν, ᾧ καὶ βραχὺς ἐνείη, προσέχοντα, καὶ εὐλαβούμενον περὶ τροφήν τε καὶ παιδείαν ὀρφανῶν, ὡς ἔρανον εἰσφέροντα ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δύναμιν πάντως πᾶσαν εὐεργετεῖν.	If this is how things are by nature, then, first, [927b] let them fear the gods above, who are aware of the loneliness of orphans; then the souls of the departed, whose nature it is to care especially for their own descendants, and to be kindly to those who honor them and hostile to those who dishonor them; and further, the souls of those still living but in old age and held in the highest honor—where a city is well governed and flourishes, their grandchildren love them dearly and live with them gladly—and these have keen hearing and keen sight in such matters, and are kindly to those who [927c] deal justly in them, and most indignant, in turn, at those who treat orphans and the desolate with outrage, considering them the greatest and most sacred trust. To all of these every guardian and magistrate with even a little sense must pay attention, and take care over the rearing and education of orphans, and do them every kind of good in every way he can, as if making a contribution for himself and his own.
927c	ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς τῷ πρὸ τοῦ νόμου μύθῳ καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ὀρφανὸν ὑβρίσας οὐκ εἴσεται [927d] ἐναργῶς τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀργὴν νομοθέτου, ὁ δὲ ἀπειθὴς καί τινα πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἔρημον ἀδικῶν διπλῆν τινέτω πᾶσαν τὴν βλάβην ἣ περὶ τὸν ἀμφιθαλῆ γενόμενος κακός.	Whoever is persuaded by the story told before the law, and commits no outrage against an orphan, will never come to know [927d] at first hand the lawgiver's anger on such matters. But whoever disobeys and wrongs someone bereft of father or mother is to pay double the whole damage he would pay for wronging a child with both parents living.
927d	τὴν δὲ ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν ἐπιτρόποισίν τε περὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἄρχουσίν τε περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, εἰ μὲν μὴ παράδειγμά τε τροφῆς παίδων ἐλευθέρων ἐκέκτηντο	As for the rest of the legislation for guardians concerning orphans, and for magistrates concerning the supervision of guardians: if they didn't have a

GREEK	ENGLISH
αὐτοὶ τρέφοντες τοὺς αὑτῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων χρημάτων ἐπιμελούμενοι, [927e] ἔτι δὲ νόμους περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων μετρίως διειρημένους εἶχον, εἶχέν τινα λόγον ἂν ἐπιτροπικούς τινας νόμους, ὡς ὄντας ἰδίᾳ διαφέροντας πολύ, τιθέναι, ποικίλλοντας ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἰδίοις τὸν τῶν ὀρφανῶν βίον παρὰ τὸν τῶν μή· νῦν δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα οὐ πολὺ διαφέρον ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ὀρφανία κέκτηται τῆς πατρονομικῆς, τιμαῖς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμίαις ἅμα καὶ ἐπιμελείαισιν οὐδαμῶς ἐξισοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. [928a] διὸ δὴ περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὴν ὀρφανῶν πέρι νομοθεσίαν παραμυθούμενός τε καὶ ἀπειλῶν ὁ νόμος ἐσπούδακεν.	model for the rearing of free children in raising their own and managing their own property, [927e] and didn't also have laws on these very matters reasonably well set out, there would be some reason to lay down special laws on guardianship, as a quite different matter, marking off the life of orphans from that of children who aren't orphans with special practices. But as it is, in all such matters orphanhood among us is not much different from being under a father's rule, though in honor and dishonor, and in the care it receives, it is apt to fall far short of equality. [928a] That is why, on this very point, the law has put great effort into its legislation about orphans, with both encouragement and threats.
928a ἔτι δ' ἀπειλή τις ἂν τοιάδε εἴη μάλα ἔγκαιρος· ὃς ἂν θῆλυν εἴτε ἄρρενα ἐπιτροπεύῃ, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐπιτρόπου φύλαξ τῶν νομοφυλάκων καταστὰς ἐπιμελῆται, μὴ χεῖρον ἀγαπάτω τῶν αὑτοῦ τέκνων τὸν τῆς ὀρφανικῆς μετειληφότα τύχης, μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων τῶν τοῦ τρεφομένου χεῖρον χρημάτων ἐπιμελείσθω, [928b] βέλτιον δὲ ἢ τῶν αὑτοῦ κατὰ προθυμίαν. ἕνα δὲ τοῦτον νόμον ἔχων ὀρφανῶν πέρι πᾶς ἐπιτροπευέτω· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλως τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττῃ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τόνδε, ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ζημιούτω τὸν ἐπίτροπον, ὁ δὲ ἐπίτροπος τὸν ἄρχοντα εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐκκρίτων δικαστήριον εἰσάγων ζημιούτω τῷ δόξαντι τιμήματι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ διπλῆ.	There is also a threat of this sort that would be very timely: Whoever is guardian of a girl or a boy, and whichever of the guardians of the laws is appointed to supervise a guardian, is to love the child who has had the lot of an orphan no less than his own children, and to take no less care of the ward's family property than of [928b] his own—indeed, to take better care, and eagerly. Every guardian is to observe this one law about orphans. If anyone acts otherwise in these matters, contrary to this law, the magistrate is to penalize the guardian; and the guardian is to bring the magistrate before the court of select judges and have him penalized with double the fine the court decides.
928b ἐὰν δ' ἐπίτροπος ἀμελεῖν ἢ κακουργεῖν δοκῇ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὶ πολιτῶν, εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀγέτω δικαστήριον· ὅτι δ' ἂν ὄφλῃ, τετραπλασίαν [928c] μὲν τούτου τίνειν, γιγνέσθω δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ παιδός, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ τοῦ καταδικασαμένου τὴν δίκην. ἅμα δ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ τις τῶν ὀρφανῶν, ἐὰν ἡγῆται κακῶς ἐπιτροπευθῆναι, μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν ἐξηκούσης τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἔστω δίκην λαχεῖν ἐπιτροπίας· ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλῃ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τιμᾶν τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν, ἐὰν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀμελείᾳ μὲν δόξας κακῶσαι τὸν ὀρφανόν, ὅτι χρὴ [928d] τίνειν αὐτὸν τῷ παιδί, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐὰν δὲ ἀδικίᾳ, πρὸς τῷ τιμήματι, τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἀφιστάσθω, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ἕτερον νομοφύλακα ἀντὶ τούτου καθιστάτω τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ πόλει.	If relatives, or any other citizen, think a guardian is negligent or dishonest, they are to bring him before the same court. Whatever he is convicted for, he is to pay four times [928c] that amount, half to go to the child and half to the one who won the case. As soon as an orphan comes of age, if he thinks he has been badly served by his guardian, he may bring an action for mismanagement of guardianship up to five years after the guardianship has ended. If one of the guardians is convicted, the court is to assess what he must suffer or pay. If one of the magistrates is convicted, and he is judged to have harmed the orphan through negligence, the court is to assess what he must [928d] pay the child; if through injustice, then besides the penalty he is to be removed from the office of guardian of the laws, and the public authority of the city is to appoint another guardian of the laws in his place for the country and the city.

DISOWNING, INSANITY AND DIVORCE

Rules for disowning a son, declaring a father insane, divorce, remarriage and children of slaves.

GREEK

928d **ATHENIAN** διαφοραὶ πατέρων τε πρὸς αὐτῶν παῖδας γίγνονται καὶ παίδων πρὸς γεννητὰς μείζους ἢ χρεών, ἐν αἷς οἵ τε πατέρες ἡγοῖντ' ἂν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην νομοθετεῖν ἐξεῖναί σφισιν, ἐὰν βούλωνται, τὸν ὑὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐναντίον ἁπάντων ἀπειπεῖν 928e ὑὸν κατὰ νόμον μηκέτ' εἶναι, ὑεῖς τ' αὖ σφίσι πατέρας ὑπὸ νόσων ἢ γήρως διατιθεμένους αἰσχρῶς ἐξεῖναι παρανοίας γράφεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ὄντως ἐν παγκάκων ἤθεσιν ἀνθρώπων γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἡμίσεών γε ὄντων τῶν κακῶν, οἷον μὴ κακοῦ μὲν πατρός, ὑέος δέ, ἢ τοὐναντίον, οὐ γίγνονται συμφοραὶ τηλικαύτης ἔχθρας ἔκγονοι.

928e ἐν μὲν οὖν ἄλλῃ πολιτείᾳ παῖς ἀποκεκηρυγμένος οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄπολις εἴη, ταύτης δέ, ἧς οἵδε οἱ νόμοι ἔσονται, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει 929a εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἐξοικίζεσθαι τὸν ἀπάτορα—πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις οἴκοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἕνα προσγενέσθαι—διὸ δὴ δεῖ τὸν ταῦτα πεισόμενον ἐν δίκῃ μὴ ὑπὸ ἑνὸς πατρός, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ γένους ἀπορρηθῆναι παντός.

929a ποιεῖν δὲ χρὴ τῶν τοιούτων πέρι κατὰ νόμον τοιόνδε τινά· ὃν ἂν θυμὸς ἐπίῃ μηδαμῶς εὐτυχής, εἴτ' οὖν ἐν δίκῃ εἴτε καὶ μή, ὃν ἔτεκέ τε καὶ ἐξεθρέψατο, τοῦτον ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς αὑτοῦ συγγενείας, μὴ φαύλως οὕτως ἐξέστω μηδ' 929b εὐθὺς τοῦτο δρᾶν, πρῶτον δὲ συλλεξάτω τοὺς αὑτοῦ συγγενεῖς μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ὑέος ὡσαύτως τοὺς πρὸς μητρός, κατηγορείτω δὲ ἐν τούτοις, διδάσκων ὡς ἄξιος ἅπασιν ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι, δότω δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑεῖ λόγους τοὺς ἴσους ὡς οὐκ ἄξιός ἐστι τούτων οὐδὲν πάσχειν· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν πείθῃ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ συμψήφους λάβῃ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ, πλὴν πατρὸς διαψηφιζομένου καὶ μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ 929c φεύγοντος, τῶν τε ἄλλων ὁπόσοιπερ ἂν ὦσιν γυναικῶν εἴτε ἀνδρῶν τέλειοι, ταύτῃ μὲν καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐξέστω τῷ πατρὶ τὸν ὑὸν ἀποκηρύττειν, ἄλλως δὲ μηδαμῶς.

929c τὸν δ' ἀποκηρυχθέντα ἐάν τις τῶν πολιτῶν ὑὸν βούληται θέσθαι, μηδεὶς νόμος ἀπειργέτω ποιεῖσθαι—τὰ γὰρ τῶν νέων ἤθη πολλὰς μεταβολὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ μεταβάλλειν ἑκάστοτε πέφυκεν— ἀποκηρυχθέντα δὲ ἄν τις δέκα ἐτῶν

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN Quarrels arise between fathers and their sons, and between sons and their parents, that are more serious than they should be. In these, fathers would think the lawgiver ought to legislate that they may, if they wish, renounce their son publicly by herald before everyone, 928e so that by law he is no longer their son; and sons, in turn, that when their fathers are in a shameful state through illness or old age, they may indict them for insanity. These things really tend to happen among people whose characters are thoroughly bad. When only half of them are bad—say, the son but not the father, or the reverse—misfortunes born of so great a hatred don't arise.

Now in another constitution a disowned son would not necessarily be left without a city. But in this one, whose laws these will be, the man without a father must of necessity 929a emigrate to another country—for not a single household can be added to the five thousand and forty. That's why the man who is to suffer this justly must be renounced not by his father alone but by his whole family.

Such cases should be handled under a law something like this. If someone is seized by a thoroughly unhappy passion, whether justified or not, to wish to cast out of his kin the son he begot and raised, he is not to be allowed to do this casually, or 929b on the spot. First he must gather his own relatives as far as cousins, and likewise his son's relatives on the mother's side, and make his accusation before them, showing why the son deserves to be proclaimed out of the family by them all; and he must give the son an equal hearing to argue that he doesn't deserve to suffer any of this. If the father persuades them and wins the votes of more than half of all the relatives—the father, the mother and 929c the defendant not voting, but all the others, women or men, who are adults—then in this way and on these terms the father may disown his son, but in no other way.

If any citizen wants to adopt the disowned man as his son, no law is to prevent him—for the characters of the young naturally go through many

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ θετὸν [929d] υὸν ποιήσασθαι, τοὺς τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τούτων, ὅπως ἂν μετάσχωσι τῆς αὐτῆς ἀποικίας ἐμμελῶς.	changes in the course of life. But if within ten years no one has wanted to adopt the disowned man [929d] as his son, those in charge of the surplus offspring destined for the colony are to take care of such men too, so that they may take a suitable part in that same colony.
929d	ἐὰν δέ τίς τινα νόσος ἢ γῆρας ἢ καὶ τρόπων χαλεπότης ἢ καὶ σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἔκφρονα ἀπεργάζηται διαφερόντως τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ λανθάνῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν τῶν συνδιαιτωμένων, οἰκοφθορῇ δὲ ὡς ὢν τῶν αὐτοῦ κύριος, ὁ δὲ υὸς ἀπορῇ καὶ ὀκνῇ τὴν τῆς παρανοίας [929e] γράφεσθαι δίκην, νόμος αὐτῷ κείσθω πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐλθόντα διηγήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφοράν, οἱ δὲ κατιδόντες ἱκανῶς συμβουλευόντων ἐάντε δέῃ γράφεσθαι καὶ ἐὰν μὴ τὴν γραφήν, ἐὰν δὲ συμβουλεύσωσιν, γιγνέσθωσαν τῷ γραφομένῳ μάρτυρες ἅμα καὶ σύνδικοι· ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἄκυρος ἔστω τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σμικρότατον διατίθεσθαι, καθάπερ παῖς δὲ οἰκείτω τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον.	If illness, or old age, or harshness of temper, or all of these together make someone deranged beyond the ordinary, and this goes unnoticed by everyone except those who live with him, and he ruins the household on the grounds that he is master of his own property, while his son is at a loss and hesitates to bring an indictment for insanity, [929e] let there be a law for the son. First he is to go to the eldest guardians of the laws and explain his father's misfortune. They, after looking into it adequately, are to advise him whether he should bring the indictment or not; and if they advise him to, they are to act as both witnesses and advocates for the one who brings it. The man convicted is to have no authority for the rest of his life to dispose of even the smallest item of his property, and is to live out what remains of his life like a child in the household.
929e	ἐὰν δὲ ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ μηδαμῇ συμφέρωνται τρόπων ἀτυχίᾳ χρώμενοι, δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι [930a] τῶν τοιούτων ἀεὶ χρεὼν τοὺς μέσους, δέκα δὲ τῶν περὶ γάμους γυναικῶν ὡσαύτως· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν δὴ συναλλάττειν δύνωνται, ταῦτ' ἔστω κύρια, ἐὰν δ' αἱ ψυχαὶ κυμαίνωσιν μειζόνως αὐτῶν, ζητεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν οἵτινες ἑκατέρῳ συνοίσουσιν. εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους μὴ πρᾳέσιν ἤθεσιν κεχρημένους· βαθύτερα δὴ τούτοις καὶ πρᾳότερα τρόπων ἤθη σύννομα πειρᾶσθαι προσαρμόττειν. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἂν ἄπαιδες αὐτῶν ἢ ὀλιγόπαιδες ὄντες διαφέρωνται, καὶ παίδων ἕνεκα [930b] τὴν συνοίκησιν ποιεῖσθαι· ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἱκανῶν ὄντων παίδων, τῆς συγκαταγηράσεως ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀλλήλων τὴν διάζευξίν τε καὶ σύζευξιν ποιεῖσθαι χρεών.	If a husband and wife can't get along at all, because their characters are unhappily matched, ten of the guardians of the laws, men of middle age, should always look after [930a] such cases, and likewise ten of the women in charge of marriages. If they can reconcile them, let that be binding. But if their souls are too stormy, the officials should look as best they can for partners who will suit each of them. Such people are likely not to have gentle dispositions; so they should try to match them with partners of deeper and gentler character. Those of them who quarrel while childless or with few children should form their new union [930b] with children in view as well; those who have enough children should make the divorce and the new marriage for the sake of growing old together and caring for one another.
930b	ἐὰν δὲ τελευτᾷ γυνὴ καταλείπουσα παῖδας θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενας, συμβουλευτικὸς ἂν εἴη νόμος ὁ τιθέμενος, οὐκ ἀναγκαστικός, τρέφειν τοὺς ὄντας παῖδας μὴ μητρυὰν ἐπαγόμενον· μὴ δὲ ὄντων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης γαμεῖν, μέχριπερ ἂν ἱκανοὺς γεννήσῃ παῖδας τῷ [930c] τε οἴκῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει. ἢν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀποθάνῃ παῖδας ἱκανοὺς λιπών, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ μένουσα τρεφέτω· νεωτέρα δ' ἂν δοκῇ τοῦ δέοντος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὖ ὑγιαίνουσα ἄνανδρος, οἱ	If a wife dies leaving children, girls and boys, the law laid down would be advisory, not compulsory: that the husband raise the children he has without bringing in a stepmother. But if there are no children, he must marry, until he has fathered enough children for [930c] both his household and the city. If the husband dies leaving enough children, their

GREEK

προσήκοντες πρὸς τὰς τῶν γάμων ἐπιμελουμένας γυναῖκας κοινούμενοι, τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἐκείναις περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ποιούντων, ἐὰν δὲ ἐνδεεῖς τέκνων ὦσιν, καὶ παίδων ἕνεκα, παίδων δὲ ἱκανότης ἀκριβὴς ἄρρην καὶ [930d] θήλεια ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ.

930d ὅταν δὲ ὁμολογῆται μὲν τὸ γενόμενον εἶναι τῶν ποιουμένων ἔκγονον, δέηται δὲ κρίσεως τίνι τὸ γεννηθὲν ἕπεσθαι χρεών, δούλη μὲν ἐὰν συμμείξῃ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ ἢ ἀπελευθέρῳ, πάντως τοῦ δεσπότου ἔστω τῆς δούλης τὸ γεννώμενον, ἐὰν δέ τις ἐλευθέρα δούλῳ συγγίγνηται, τοῦ δεσπότου ἔστω τὸ γιγνόμενον τοῦ δούλου· ἐὰν δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ δούλης ἢ ἐκ δούλου ἑαυτῆς, καὶ περιφανὲς τοῦτ' ᾖ, τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἐκπεμπόντων [930e] σὺν τῷ πατρί, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἱ νομοφύλακες σὺν τῇ γεννησάσῃ.

ENGLISH

mother is to stay and raise them. But if she seems younger than she should be to live in good health without a husband, her relatives are to consult the women in charge of marriages, and do what seems best to them and to those women in such matters; and if they lack children, they are to do so for the sake of children too. The law's standard of enough children shall be strictly one boy and [930d] one girl.

When it is agreed that a child is the offspring of the couple in question, but a decision is needed as to which parent the child should follow: if a slave woman has intercourse with a slave, a free man or a freedman, the child is in every case to belong to the slave woman's master; if a free woman has intercourse with a slave, the child is to belong to the slave's master. If a man has a child by his own slave woman, or a woman by her own male slave, and this is plainly established, the women officials are to send the woman's child away to another country [930e] together with its father, and the guardians of the laws are to send the man's child away together with its mother.

HONORING PARENTS

Aged parents are the most powerful statues of the gods; neglecting them is punished.

GREEK

930e **ATHENIAN** γονέων δὲ ἀμελεῖν οὔτε θεὸς οὔτε ἄνθρωπος νοῦν ἔχων σύμβουλός ποτε γένοιτ' ἂν οὐδεὶς οὐδενί· φρονῆσαι δὲ χρὴ περὶ θεῶν θεραπείας τοιόνδε προοίμιον ἂν γενόμενον εἰς τὰς τῶν γεννησάντων τιμάς τε καὶ ἀτιμίας ὀρθῶς συντεταγμένον· νόμοι περὶ θεοὺς ἀρχαῖοι κεῖνται πᾶσιν διχῇ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ [931a] τῶν θεῶν ὁρῶντες σαφῶς τιμῶμεν, τῶν δ' εἰκόνας ἀγάλματα ἱδρυσάμενοι, οὓς ἡμῖν ἀγάλλουσι καίπερ ἀψύχους ὄντας, ἐκείνους ἡγούμεθα τοὺς ἐμψύχους θεοὺς πολλὴν διὰ ταῦτ' εὔνοιαν καὶ χάριν ἔχειν. πατὴρ οὖν ὅτῳ καὶ μήτηρ ἢ τούτων πατέρες ἢ μητέρες ἐν οἰκίᾳ κεῖνται κειμήλιοι ἀπειρηκότες γήρᾳ, μηδεὶς διανοηθήτω ποτὲ ἄγαλμα αὐτῷ, τοιοῦτον ἐφέστιον ἵδρυμα ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχων, μᾶλλον κύριον ἔσεσθαι, ἐὰν δὴ κατὰ τρόπον γε ὀρθῶς αὐτὸ θεραπεύῃ ὁ κεκτημένος.

931b **CLINIAS** τίνα δὴ τὴν ὀρθότητα εἶναι φράζεις;

ATHENIAN ἐγὼ ἐρῶ· καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄξιον, ὦ φίλοι, ἀκούειν τά γε δὴ τοιαῦτα.

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN No god, nor any human being with sense, would ever advise anyone to neglect their parents. We should understand that a preamble like the following, about the service of the gods, would be rightly suited to the honor and dishonor of parents. Ancient laws about the gods are established everywhere in two ways. Some [931a] of the gods we see plainly and honor; of others we set up images as statues, and we believe that when we honor these, lifeless though they are, the living gods feel great goodwill and gratitude toward us for it. So whoever has a father or mother, or their fathers or mothers, lying in his house like treasures, worn out with age, let him never imagine that any statue he could have, enshrined like that at his hearth, would be more powerful—provided that its owner cares for it in the right way.

CLINIAS And what do you say the right way is?

ATHENIAN I'll tell you. Things of this sort are well worth hearing, my friends.

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS λέγε μόνον.

CLINIAS Just tell us.

ATHENIAN Οἰδίπους, φαμέν, ἀτιμασθεὶς ἐπηύξατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέκνοις ἃ δὴ καὶ πᾶς ὑμνεῖ τέλεα καὶ ἐπήκοα γενέσθαι παρὰ θεῶν, Ἀμύντορά τε Φοίνικι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαρᾶσθαι παιδὶ θυμωθέντα καὶ Ἱππολύτῳ Θησέα καὶ ἑτέρους ἄλλοις μυρίους [931c] μυρίοις, ὧν γέγονε σαφὲς ἐπηκόους εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς τέκνα θεούς· ἀραῖος γὰρ γονεὺς ἐκγόνοις ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἄλλοις, δικαιότατα. μὴ δή τις ἀτιμαζομένῳ μὲν διαφερόντως πατρὶ πρὸς παίδων καὶ μητρὶ θεὸν ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς ἡγείσθω γίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν, τιμωμένῳ δὲ ἄρα καὶ περιχαρεῖ σφόδρα γενομένῳ, καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐχαῖς λιπαρῶς εἰς ἀγαθὰ τοῖς παισὶ παρακαλοῦντος θεούς, οὐκ ἄρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούειν ἐξ [931d] ἴσου καὶ νέμειν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἡγησόμεθα; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν ποτε δίκαιοι νομῆς εἶεν ἀγαθῶν, ὃ δή φαμεν ἥκιστα θεοῖς εἶναι πρέπον.

ATHENIAN Oedipus, we say, when he was dishonored, called down curses on his own children —curses that everyone sings of as fulfilled and heard by the gods. And Amyntor in his anger cursed his own son Phoenix, and Theseus cursed Hippolytus, and countless others cursed countless [931c] others; from which it has become clear that the gods listen to parents against their children. For a parent's curse on his offspring is like no one else's on anyone else, and most justly so. So let no one think that when a father or mother is exceptionally dishonored by their children the god naturally listens to their prayers, but that when they are honored and overjoyed, and for that reason earnestly call on the gods in prayer for good things for their children—that the gods, then, won't listen to such prayers [931d] equally and grant them to us. For then they would never be just distributors of good things—which we say is least fitting for gods.[7]

931d CLINIAS πολύ γε.

CLINIAS Very much so.

ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν διανοηθῶμεν, ὃ σμικρῷ πρότερον εἴπομεν, ὡς οὐδὲν πρὸς θεῶν τιμιώτερον ἄγαλμ' ἂν κτησαίμεθα πατρὸς καὶ προπάτορος παρειμένων γήρᾳ καὶ μητέρων τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἐχουσῶν, οὓς ὅταν ἀγάλλῃ τις τιμαῖς, γέγηθεν ὁ θεός· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπήκοος ἦν αὐτῶν. θαυμαστὸν γὰρ δήπου [931e] τὸ προγόνων ἵδρυμα ἡμῖν ἐστιν, διαφερόντως τῶν ἀψύχων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ θεραπευόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅσα ἔμψυχα, συνεύχεται ἑκάστοτε, καὶ ἀτιμαζόμενα τἀναντία, τὰ δ' οὐδέτερα, ὥστε ἂν ὀρθῶς τις χρῆται πατρὶ καὶ προπάτορι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις, πάντων πρὸς θεοφιλῆ μοῖραν κυριώτατα ἀγαλμάτων ἂν κεκτῆτο.

ATHENIAN Then let's take it, as we said a little earlier, that by the gods we could possess no statue more worthy of honor than a father and grandfather enfeebled by age, and mothers with the same standing. When someone delights them with honors, the god rejoices; otherwise he wouldn't have listened to them. For surely it's a marvelous thing [931e] we have in this shrine of our ancestors, far beyond lifeless ones. The living ones, when we care for them, join in our prayers each time, and when dishonored, they do the opposite; the lifeless ones do neither. So if someone treats his father and grandfather and all such people rightly, he would possess the most powerful of all statues for winning a lot dear to the gods.

931e CLINIAS κάλλιστ' εἶπες.

CLINIAS Beautifully said.

ATHENIAN πᾶς δὴ νοῦν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ γονέων εὐχάς, εἰδὼς πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιτελεῖς γενομένας· τούτων [932a] οὖν οὕτω φύσει διατεταγμένων, τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἔρμαιον πρόγονοι γηραιοί, ζῶντες μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων τοῦ βίου, καὶ ἀπιόντες νέοι σφόδρα ποθεινοί, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς εὖ μάλα φοβεροί.

ATHENIAN Everyone with sense fears and honors the prayers of parents, knowing that they have been fulfilled for many people many times. [932a] Since this is how things are arranged by nature, for good people aged forebears are a godsend as long as they live, to the very end of life, and when

7 Oedipus cursed his sons Eteocles and Polynices, who killed each other; Amyntor cursed his son Phoenix with childlessness.

GREEK

ENGLISH

they depart, the young miss them sorely; but to bad people they are very frightening.

932a πᾶς δὴ τιμάτω πάσαις τιμαῖς ταῖς ἐννόμοις τοὺς αὐτοῦ γεννήτορας τοῖς νῦν πεισθεὶς λόγοις· εἰ δ' οὖν τινα κατέχοι φήμη κωφὴ τῶν τοιούτων προοιμίων, νόμος ὅδε ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀρθῶς κείμενος ἂν εἴη· ἐάν τις ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει γονέων ἀμελέστερον ἔχῃ τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ μὴ τῶν ὑέων καὶ 932b πάντων τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ μειζόνως εἰς ἅπαντα ἐπιτρέπων καὶ ἀποπληρῶν ᾗ τὰς βουλήσεις, ἐξαγγελλέτω μὲν ὁ πάσχων τι τοιοῦτον, εἴτε αὐτὸς εἴτε τινὰ πέμπων, πρὸς τρεῖς μὲν τῶν νομοφυλάκων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, τρεῖς δ' αὖ τῶν περὶ γάμους γυναικῶν ἐπιμελουμένων· οἱ δ' ἐπιμελείσθωσαν, κολάζοντες τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας νέους μὲν ὄντας ἔτι πληγαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς, μέχριπερ ἂν ἐτῶν ἄνδρες μὲν 932c τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες τριάκοντα, γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν κολαζέσθωσαν ταῖς αὐταῖς κολάσεσιν.

So let everyone honor his own parents with all the honors the law allows, persuaded by what we've now said. But if a deafness to preambles of this sort should hold anyone fast, the following law would be rightly laid down for them. If anyone in this city is more neglectful of his parents than he should be, and doesn't defer to them and fulfill their wishes in everything more than those of his sons and 932b all his descendants and himself, the one who suffers such treatment is to report it, either in person or by sending someone, to three of the eldest guardians of the laws, and to three of the women in charge of marriages. They are to take the matter in hand, punishing the wrongdoers, if they are still young, with beatings and imprisonment—men up to the age of 932c thirty; women are to be punished with the same punishments up to ten years older.

932c ἐὰν δὲ πορρωτέρω τούτων τῶν ἐτῶν ὄντες τῶν αὐτῶν ἀμελειῶν περὶ γονέας μὴ ἀφιστῶνται, κακῶσι δέ τινάς τινες, εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσαγόντων αὐτοὺς εἰς ἕνα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν πολιτῶν, οἵτινες ἂν ὦσι πρεσβύτατοι ἁπάντων· ἂν δέ τις ὄφλῃ, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρὴ τίνειν ἢ πάσχειν, ἀπόρρητον μηδὲν ποιούμενοι ὅσων δυνατὸς ἄνθρωπος πάσχειν ἢ τίνειν. 932d ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδυνατῇ κακούμενος φράζειν, ὁ πυθόμενος τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐξαγγελλέτω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ κακὸς ἔστω καὶ ὑπόδικος τῷ ἐθέλοντι βλάβης. ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλος μηνύσῃ, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν τῶν κακούντων ἢ κακουμένων δοῦλος, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφείσθω, ἐὰν δέ τινος ἄλλου τῶν πολιτῶν, τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν τῷ κεκτημένῳ καταβαλλέτω· τοῖς ἄρχουσιν δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἔστω μή τις ἀδικῇ τὸν τοιοῦτον τιμωρούμενος τῆς μηνύσεως ἕνεκα. 932e

If, beyond these ages, they don't give up the same neglect of their parents, but some of them mistreat any parent, they are to bring them before a court of a hundred and one citizens, whoever are the oldest of all. If someone is convicted, the court is to assess what he must pay or suffer, excluding nothing that a human being can suffer or pay. 932d If someone who is being mistreated is unable to report it, any free person who learns of it is to report it to the officials, or else be considered a bad man and be liable to a suit for damage by anyone who wishes. If a slave informs, he is to be free: if he is a slave of those doing the mistreating or of those mistreated, he is to be set free by the officials; if he belongs to some other citizen, the public treasury is to pay his price to his owner. The officials are to take care that no one wrongs such a person in revenge for informing. 932e

POISONING AND SORCERY

Laws distinguish harm by drugs from harm by spells and set penalties for both.

GREEK

ENGLISH

932e **ATHENIAN** ὅσα τις ἄλλος ἄλλον πημαίνει φαρμάκοις, τὰ μὲν θανάσιμα αὐτῶν διείρηται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πέρι βλάψεων, εἴτε τις ἄρα πώμασιν ἢ καὶ βρώμασιν ἢ ἀλείμμασιν ἑκὼν ἐκ προνοίας πημαίνει, τούτων οὐδέν πω διερρήθη. διτταὶ γὰρ δὴ φαρμακεῖαι κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὖσαι γένος ἐπίσχουσιν τὴν διάρρησιν. ἣν μὲν

ATHENIAN As for the ways one person harms another with drugs, the fatal cases have been dealt with; but about other kinds of harm—if someone deliberately and with forethought harms another with drinks or food or ointments—nothing has yet been set out. For there are two kinds of drugging

GREEK

γὰρ τὰ νῦν διαρρήδην [933a] εἴπομεν, σώμασι σώματα κακουργοῦσά ἐστιν κατὰ φύσιν· ἄλλη δὲ ἡ μαγγανείαις τέ τισιν καὶ ἐπῳδαῖς καὶ καταδέσεσι λεγομέναις πείθει τοὺς μὲν τολμῶντας βλάπτειν αὐτούς, ὡς δύνανται τὸ τοιοῦτον, τοὺς δ' ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τούτων δυναμένων γοητεύειν βλάπτονται.

933a ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα οὔτε ῥᾴδιον ὅπως ποτὲ πέφυκεν γιγνώσκειν, οὔτ' εἴ τις γνοίη, πείθειν εὐπετὲς ἑτέρους· ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δυσωπουμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους [933b] περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιχειρεῖν πείθειν, ἄν ποτε ἄρα ἴδωσί που κήρινα μιμήματα πεπλασμένα, εἴτ' ἐπὶ θύραις εἴτ' ἐπὶ τριόδοις εἴτ' ἐπὶ μνήμασι γονέων αὐτῶν τινες, ὀλιγωρεῖν πάντων τῶν τοιούτων διακελεύεσθαι μὴ σαφὲς ἔχουσι δόγμα περὶ αὐτῶν.

933b διαλαβόντας δὲ διχῇ τὸν τῆς φαρμακείας πέρι νόμον, ὁποτέρως ἄν τις ἐπιχειρῇ φαρμάττειν, πρῶτον μὲν δεῖσθαι καὶ παραινεῖν καὶ συμβουλεύειν [933c] μὴ δεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοιοῦτο δρᾶν μηδὲ καθάπερ παῖδας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δειμαίνοντας φοβεῖν, μηδ' αὖ τὸν νομοθέτην τε καὶ τὸν δικαστὴν ἀναγκάζειν ἐξιᾶσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς τοιούτους φόβους, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα φαρμάττειν οὐκ εἰδότα τί δρᾷ, τά τε κατὰ σώματα, ἐὰν μὴ τυγχάνῃ ἐπιστήμων ὢν ἰατρικῆς, τά τε αὖ περὶ τὰ μαγγανεύματα, ἐὰν μὴ μάντις ἢ τερατοσκόπος ὢν τυγχάνῃ.

933d λεγέσθω δὴ λόγος ὅδε νόμος περὶ φαρμακείας· ὃς ἂν φαρμακεύῃ τινὰ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ μὴ θανασίμῳ μήτε αὐτοῦ μήτε ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνου, βοσκημάτων δὲ ἢ σμηνῶν εἴτ' ἄλλῃ βλάβῃ εἴτ' οὖν θανασίμῳ, ἐὰν μὲν ἰατρὸς ὢν τυγχάνῃ καὶ ὄφλῃ δίκην φαρμάκων, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω, ἐὰν δὲ ἰδιώτης, ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι, τιμάτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ δικαστήριον. ἐὰν δὲ καταδέσεσιν ἢ ἐπαγωγαῖς ἥ τισιν ἐπῳδαῖς ἢ [933e] τῶν τοιούτων φαρμακειῶν ὠντινωνοῦν δόξῃ ὅμοιος εἶναι βλάπτοντι, ἐὰν μὲν μάντις ὢν ἢ τερατοσκόπος, τεθνάτω, ἐὰν δ' ἄνευ μαντικῆς ὢν τῆς φαρμακείας ὄφλῃ, ταὐτὸν καὶ τούτῳ γιγνέσθω· περὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τούτου τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι ἂν αὐτοῖς δεῖν αὐτὸν δόξῃ πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν.

ENGLISH

found among humankind, and this holds up a clear statement. The one we just now explicitly [933a] mentioned is the kind in which bodies harm bodies according to nature. The other, by certain sorcery, incantations and so-called binding spells, persuades those who dare to do harm that they are able to do such a thing, and persuades their victims that they are being harmed, more surely than by anything else, by these people who can bewitch.[8]

Now it isn't easy to know how these and all such things really are, nor, if one did know, would it be easy to persuade others. And when people's souls are uneasy with one another [933b] about such things, it isn't worth trying to persuade them—if they ever happen to see molded wax figures somewhere, whether at doorways, or at crossroads, or on the tombs of their own parents—urging them, when they have no clear belief about these things, to disregard them all.

We should divide the law about drugging in two, according to which of the two ways someone attempts it. First we should request, advise and counsel [933c] that no one attempt to do such a thing, nor frighten most people, who are timid like children, nor again force the lawgiver and the judge to cure people of such fears. For, to begin with, whoever attempts drugging doesn't know what he is doing—in bodily matters, unless he happens to be an expert in medicine, and in matters of sorcery, unless he happens to be a seer or an interpreter of portents.

So let this account be stated as the law about drugging. Whoever drugs someone to cause harm that isn't fatal, whether to the man himself or to his people, or harm to his flocks or his bees, whether fatal or otherwise: if he happens to be a doctor and is convicted on a charge of drugging, let him be punished with death; if he is a layman, the court is to assess what he must suffer or pay. If he seems to be harming someone by binding spells, or charms, or incantations, or [933e] any sorcery of that kind whatever: if he is a seer or an interpreter of portents, let him die; if he is convicted of sorcery without having any skill in divination, the same is to apply to him too: in his case as well the court is

8 The Greek word here, *pharmakeia*, covers both poisoning and witchcraft.

GREEK

ENGLISH

to assess whatever they think he should suffer or pay.

933e ὅσα τις ἄν ἕτερος ἄλλον πημήνῃ κλέπτων ἢ βιαζόμενος, ἂν μὲν μείζω, μείζονα τὴν ἔκτισιν τῷ πημανθέντι τινέτω, ἐλάττω δὲ ζημιώσας σμικροτέραν, παρὰ πάντα δὲ τοσαύτην ἡλίκα ἂν ἑκάστοτε ζημιώσῃ τίς τινα, μέχριπερ ἂν ἰάσηται τὸ βλαβέν· δίκην δὲ ἕκαστος πρὸς ἑκάστῳ τῷ κακουργήματι [934a] σωφρονιστύος ἕνεκα συνεπομένην προσεκτεισάτω, ὁ μὲν ἀνοίᾳ κακουργήσας ἀλλοτρίᾳ, πειθοῖ διὰ νεότητα ἤ τι τοιοῦτον χρησάμενος, ἐλαφροτέραν, ὁ δὲ διὰ οἰκείαν ἄνοιαν ἢ δι' ἀκράτειαν ἡδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν, ἐν φόβοις δειλίας ἤ τισιν ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ φθόνοις ἢ θυμοῖς δυσιάτοις γιγνόμενος, βαρυτέραν, οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ κακουργῆσαι διδοὺς τὴν δίκην—οὐ γὰρ τὸ γεγονὸς ἀγένητον ἔσται ποτέ—τοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν αὖθις ἕνεκα [934b] χρόνον ἢ τὸ παράπαν μισῆσαι τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἰδόντας αὐτὸν δικαιούμενον, ἢ λωφῆσαι μέρη πολλὰ τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς.

Whatever harm one person does another by theft or by violence, if the harm is greater, he is to pay greater compensation to the one harmed, and smaller if the damage he did is less; but in every case as much as the damage done each time, until he has made good the harm. And in addition each is to pay a penalty attached to each wrong, [934a] for the sake of correction: a lighter one if he did wrong through someone else's folly, having been persuaded because of youth or something of the kind; a heavier one if he did it through his own folly, or through lack of control over pleasures or pains, gripped by cowardly fears, or by desires or envies or angers that are hard to cure. He pays the penalty not because he did wrong—for what has been done can never be undone—but so that in time [934b] to come he himself, and those who see him punished, may either hate injustice altogether or be relieved of much of this kind of affliction.

934b ὧν δὴ πάντων ἕνεκα χρὴ καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα βλέποντας τοὺς νόμους τοξότου μὴ κακοῦ στοχάζεσθαι δίκην τοῦ τε μεγέθους τῆς κολάσεως ἑκάστων ἕνεκα καὶ παντελῶς τῆς ἀξίας· ταὐτὸν δ' ἔργον δρῶντα συνυπηρετεῖν δεῖ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τὸν δικαστήν, ὅταν αὐτῷ τις νόμος ἐπιτρέπῃ τιμᾶν ὅτι χρὴ πάσχειν τὸν κρινόμενον [934c] ἢ ἀποτίνειν, τὸν δέ, καθάπερ ζωγράφον, ὑπογράφειν ἔργα ἑπόμενα τῇ γραφῇ. ὃ δὴ καὶ νῦν, ὦ Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία, ποιητέον ἡμῖν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα· τῶν κλοπαίων τε καὶ βιαίων πάντων τὰς ζημίας λεγομένας οἵας δεῖ γίγνεσθαι, λεκτέον, ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν παρείκωσιν θεοὶ καὶ θεῶν παῖδες νομοθετεῖν.

For all these reasons, and with an eye to all such things, the laws must aim, like a good archer, at both the size of the punishment in each case and, above all, at what is deserved. The judge, doing the same work, must assist the lawgiver whenever some law leaves it to him to assess what the defendant should suffer [934c] or pay; and the lawgiver, like a painter, must sketch outlines of cases that follow his written code. That is what we too must now do, Megillus and Clinias, as finely and well as we can: we must say what the penalties for all thefts and acts of violence should be, so far as the gods and the children of gods allow us to legislate.

MADNESS, ABUSE AND RIDICULE

Laws on keeping the mad at home, banning abuse, and limiting comic ridicule and begging.

GREEK

ENGLISH

934c **ATHENIAN** μαινόμενος δὲ ἄν τις ᾖ, μὴ φανερὸς ἔστω κατὰ πόλιν· οἱ προσήκοντες δ' ἑκάστων κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας φυλαττόντων [934d] αὐτούς, ὅτῳ ἂν ἐπίστωνται τρόπῳ, ἢ ζημίαν ἐκτινόντων, ὁ μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, ἐάντ' οὖν δοῦλον ἐάντ' οὖν καὶ ἐλεύθερον περιορᾷ, δευτέρου δὲ τιμήματος τέτταρα μέρη τῆς μνᾶς τῶν πέντε, τρία δ' ὁ τρίτος, καὶ δύο ὁ τέταρτος. μαίνονται μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πολλοὺς τρόπους· οὓς μὲν νῦν εἴπομεν, ὑπὸ νόσων, εἰσὶν δὲ οἳ διὰ θυμοῦ κακὴν φύσιν ἅμα καὶ

ATHENIAN If someone is mad, he is not to appear in public in the city; the relatives of each are to keep [934d] them at home in whatever way they know how, or else pay a fine: a man of the highest property class a hundred drachmas, whether it's a slave or a free person whom he neglects; one of the second, four-fifths of a mina; the third, three-fifths; and the fourth, two-fifths. Now many people are mad in many ways. Those we've just men-

GREEK

τροφὴν γενομένην, οἳ δὴ σμικρᾶς ἔχθρας γενομένης, πολλὴν φωνὴν ἱέντες κακῶς ἀλλήλους 934e βλασφημοῦντες λέγουσιν, οὐ πρέπον ἐν εὐνόμων πόλει γίγνεσθαι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς. εἷς δὴ περὶ κακηγορίας ἔστω νόμος περὶ πάντας ὅδε· Μηδένα κακηγορείτω μηδείς.

934e ὁ δὲ ἀμφισβητῶν ἔν τισι λόγοις ἄλλος ἄλλῳ διδασκέτω καὶ μανθανέτω τόν τε ἀμφισβητοῦντα καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀπεχόμενος πάντως τοῦ κακηγορεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κατεύχεσθαί τε ἀλλήλοις ἐπαρωμένους καὶ δι᾽ αἰσχρῶν 935a ὀνομάτων ἐπιφέρειν γυναικείους ἑαυτοῖς φήμας, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ λόγων, κούφου πράγματος, ἔργῳ μίση τε καὶ ἔχθραι βαρύταται γίγνονται· πράγματι γὰρ ἀχαρίστῳ, θυμῷ, χαριζόμενος ὁ λέγων, ἐμπιμπλὰς ὀργὴν κακῶν ἑστιαμάτων, ὅσον ὑπὸ παιδείας ἡμερώθη ποτέ, πάλιν ἐξαγριῶν τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τοιοῦτον, θηριούμενος ἐν δυσκολίᾳ ζῶν γίγνεται, πικρὰν τοῦ θυμοῦ χάριν ἀποδεχόμενος. μετεκβαίνειν δὲ αὖ πως 935b εἰώθασιν πάντες θαμὰ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰς τό τι γελοῖον περὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου φθέγγεσθαι· ὅ τις ἐθιζόμενος οὐδεὶς πώποτε ὃς οὐ τοῦ σπουδαίου τρόπου ἤτοι τὸ παράπαν διήμαρτεν ἢ μεγαλονοίας ἀπώλεσεν μέρη πολλά.

935b ὧν δὴ χάριν ἐν μὲν ἱερῷ τὸ παράπαν μηδεὶς τοιοῦτον φθέγξηται μηδέποτε μηδὲν μηδ᾽ ἔν τισι δημοτελέσι θυσίαις, μηδ᾽ αὖ ἐν ἄθλοις μηδ᾽ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μηδ᾽ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μηδ᾽ ἐν συλλόγῳ κοινῷ μηδενί· κολαζέτω δὲ ὁ τούτων ἄρχων ἕκαστος ἀνατί, ἢ 935c μηδέποτ᾽ ἀριστείων πέρι φιλονικήσῃ, νόμων ὡς οὐ κηδόμενος οὐδὲ ποιῶν τὰ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις λοιδορίας ἄρχων ἢ ἀμυνόμενος ὁστισοῦν μὴ ἀπέχηται τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, ὁ προστυγχάνων πρεσβύτερος ὢν τῷ νόμῳ ἀμυνέτω, πληγαῖς ἐξείργων τοὺς θυμῷ, ἑτέρῳ κακῷ, φιλοφρονουμένους, ἢ ἐνεχέσθω τῇ τεταγμένῃ ζημίᾳ. λέγομεν δὴ τὰ νῦν ὡς λοιδορίαις συμπλεκόμενος 935d ἄνευ τοῦ γελοῖα ζητεῖν λέγειν οὐ δυνατός ἐστιν χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο λοιδοροῦμεν, ὁπόταν θυμῷ γιγνόμενον ᾖ· τί δὲ δή;

935d τὴν τῶν κωμῳδῶν προθυμίαν τοῦ γελοῖα εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν ἢ παραδεχόμεθα, ἐὰν ἄνευ θυμοῦ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιχειρῶσιν κωμῳδοῦντες λέγειν; ἢ διαλάβωμεν δίχα τῷ παίζειν καὶ μή, καὶ

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tioned are mad from illness; but there are others who are so through a bad natural temper combined with a bad upbringing, who, when some small quarrel arises, raise their voices and 934e slander one another abusively—something not fitting to happen anywhere or in any way at all in a city with good laws. So let there be this single law about abuse, covering everyone: No one is to abuse anyone.

Whoever is disputing with another in some discussion is to teach and learn from his opponent and those present, refraining entirely from abuse. For when people curse each other and call down imprecations, and heap shrill abuse 935a on one another in shameful words, first of all, from words, a light thing, the heaviest hatreds and enmities arise in fact. For the speaker, gratifying a thing that deserves no gratitude, his anger, feeding his rage on a bad feast, turns savage again whatever part of his soul was once tamed by education, and becomes a beast, living in bad temper, receiving a bitter return for gratifying his anger. And then in such cases everyone 935b is apt to pass on to saying something ridiculous about his opponent. No one who gets used to this has ever failed either to miss a serious character altogether or to lose a large part of his greatness of mind.

For these reasons no one is ever to utter anything of the kind at all in a temple, or at public sacrifices, or again at games, or in the marketplace, or in a court, or in any public assembly. The official in charge of each is to punish it without being liable for doing so; or else 935c he is never to compete for a prize of distinction, as a man who doesn't care about the laws or do what the lawgiver has commanded. If anyone in other places, whether starting the abuse or retaliating, doesn't refrain from such language, any older person who comes upon it is to defend the law, driving off with blows those who indulge that other evil, anger; or else he is to be liable to the prescribed penalty. We are now saying that someone entangled in abuse 935d can't engage in it without trying to say ridiculous things, and it's this we censure, when it's done in anger. But what about this?

Do we accept the comic poets' eagerness to say ridiculous things about people, if they attempt to do this to our citizens in comedy without anger? Or shall we divide it in two, according to whether it's

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παίζοντι μὲν ἐξέστω τινὶ περί του λέγειν γελοῖον ἄνευ θυμοῦ, συντεταμένῳ [935e] δὲ καὶ μετὰ θυμοῦ, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, μὴ ἐξέστω μηδενί; τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς ἀναθετέον, ᾧ δ' ἐξέστω καὶ μὴ δέ, τοῦτο νομοθετησώμεθα. ποιητῇ δὴ κωμῳδίας ἤ τινος ἰάμβων ἢ μουσῶν μελῳδίας μὴ ἐξέστω μήτε λόγῳ μήτε εἰκόνι, μήτε θυμῷ μήτε ἄνευ θυμοῦ, μηδαμῶς μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν κωμῳδεῖν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας [936a] ἐξείργειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν αὐθημερόν, ἢ ζημιοῦσθαι μναῖς τρισὶν ἱεραῖς τοῦ θεοῦ οὗ ἂν ἀγὼν ᾖ.

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in play or not, and let someone in play say something ridiculous about someone without anger, but not let anyone do so in earnest [935e] and with anger, as we said? That point is by no means to be withdrawn; but let's legislate who is to be allowed and who not. A composer of comedy, or of iambic verse, or of lyric song, is not to be allowed, in words or in images, with anger or without, to ridicule any of the citizens in any way. If anyone disobeys, the presidents of the games are [936a] to banish him from the country altogether that same day, or else be fined three minas, sacred to the god whose contest it is.

936a οἷς δ' εἴρηται πρότερον ἐξουσίαν εἶναι περί του ποιεῖν, εἰς ἀλλήλους τούτοις ἄνευ θυμοῦ μὲν μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐξέστω, σπουδῇ δὲ ἅμα καὶ θυμουμένοισιν μὴ ἐξέστω. τούτου δὴ διάγνωσις ἐπιτετράφθω τῷ τῆς παιδεύσεως ὅλης ἐπιμελητῇ τῶν νέων· καὶ ὃ μὲν ἂν οὗτος ἐγκρίνῃ, προφέρειν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐξέστω τῷ ποιήσαντι, ὃ δ' ἂν ἀποκρίνῃ, μήτε αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύσθω [936b] μηδενὶ μήτε ἄλλον δοῦλον μήτε ἐλεύθερόν ποτε φανῇ διδάξας, ἢ κακὸς εἶναι δοξαζέσθω καὶ ἀπειθὴς τοῖς νόμοις.

Those who we said earlier have license to compose about someone may do so about one another without anger and in play, but not in earnest and in anger. The judgment of this is to be entrusted to the director of the whole education of the young. Whatever he approves, the composer may bring before the public; whatever he rejects, the composer is neither to perform himself [936b] for anyone, nor ever be found to have taught it to anyone else, slave or free; or else he is to be deemed a bad man and disobedient to the laws.

936b οἰκτρὸς δ' οὐχ ὁ πεινῶν ἤ τι τοιοῦτον πάσχων, ἀλλ' ὁ σωφρονῶν ἤ τινα ἀρετὴν ἢ μέρος ἔχων ταύτης, ἄν τινα συμφορὰν πρὸς τούτοις κεκτῆται· διὸ θαυμαστὸν ἂν γένοιτο εἴ τις ὢν τοιοῦτος ἀμεληθείη τὸ παράπαν, ὥστ' εἰς πτωχείαν τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐλθεῖν, δοῦλος ἢ καὶ ἐλεύθερος, ἐν οἰκουμένῃ καὶ μετρίως πολιτείᾳ τε καὶ πόλει. διὸ τῷ νομοθέτῃ θεῖναι [936c] νόμον ἀσφαλὲς τοιούτοις τοιόνδε τινά· Πτωχὸς μηδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνέσθω, τοιοῦτον δ' ἄν τις ἐπιχειρῇ δρᾶν, εὐχαῖς βίον ἀνηνύτοις συλλεγόμενος, ἐκ μὲν ἀγορᾶς ἀγορανόμοι ἐξειργόντων αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος ἡ τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀρχή, ἀγρονόμοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐκπεμπόντων, ὅπως ἡ χώρα τοῦ τοιούτου ζῴου καθαρὰ γίγνηται τὸ παράπαν.

The one who deserves pity isn't the man who is hungry or suffers something like that, but the one who is moderate, or has some virtue or some part of it, if on top of this he meets with misfortune. So it would be surprising if such a person, slave or free, were so completely neglected as to fall into utter beggary, in a constitution and city that are even moderately well run. That's why it's safe for the lawgiver to lay down [936c] a law like this for such cases: No one is to become a beggar in our city. If anyone tries to do such a thing, gathering a living by endless pleading, the market wardens are to drive him out of the marketplace, the board of city wardens out of the town, and the country wardens are to expel him from the rest of the territory across the border, so that the land may be entirely clear of such a creature.

936c δοῦλος δ' ἂν ἢ δούλη βλάψῃ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ὁτιοῦν, [936d] μὴ συναιτίου τοῦ βλαβέντος αὐτοῦ γενομένου κατ' ἀπειρίαν ἤ τιν' ἑτέραν χρείαν μὴ σώφρονα, ὁ τοῦ βλάψαντος δεσπότης ἢ τὴν βλάβην ἐξιάσθω μὴ ἐνδεῶς, ἢ τὸν βλάψαντ' αὐτὸν παραδότω· ἐὰν δ' ἐπαιτιώμενος ὁ δεσπότης κοινῇ τοῦ βλάψαντος τέχνῃ καὶ τοῦ βλαβέντος ἐπ' ἀποστερήσει φῇ τοῦ δούλου γεγονέναι τὴν αἰτίαν,

If a slave, male or female, damages anything at all belonging to someone else, [936d] without the injured party himself sharing the blame through inexperience or some other imprudent conduct, the master of the one who did the damage is either to make good the damage in full, or hand over the offender himself. But if the master counters with a

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διαδικαζέσθω μὲν κακοτεχνιῶν τῷ φάσκοντι βλαβῆναι, καὶ ἐὰν ἕλῃ, διπλασίαν τῆς ἀξίας [936e] τοῦ δούλου κομιζέσθω ἧς ἂν τιμήσῃ τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐὰν δὲ ἡττηθῇ, τήν τε βλάβην ἐξιάσθω καὶ τὸν δοῦλον παραδότω. καὶ ἐὰν ὑποζύγιον ἢ ἵππος ἢ κύων ἤ τι τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων σίνηταί τι τῶν πέλας, κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐκτίνειν τὴν βλάβην.	charge that the accusation arose from a scheme between the offender and the injured party to deprive him of his slave, he is to bring a suit for fraud against the man who claims to have been injured; and if he wins, he is to receive double the value [936e] of the slave as the court assesses it; if he loses, he must both make good the damage and hand over the slave. And if a draft animal or horse or dog or any other livestock damages any of a neighbor's property, the damage is to be paid for in the same way.

WITNESSES AND ADVOCATES

Rules for witnesses and false testimony, and a ban on the paid art of winning lawsuits.

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936e **ATHENIAN** ἐάν τις ἑκὼν μὴ 'θέλῃ μαρτυρεῖν, προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν δεόμενον, ὁ δὲ κληθεὶς ἀπαντάτω πρὸς τὴν δίκην, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν εἰδῇ καὶ ἐθέλῃ μαρτυρεῖν, μαρτυρείτω, ἐὰν δὲ εἰδέναι μὴ φῇ, τοὺς τρεῖς θεοὺς Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Θέμιν [937a] ἀπομόσας ἢ μὴν μὴ εἰδέναι ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῆς δίκης· ὁ δ' εἰς μαρτυρίαν κληθείς, μὴ ἀπαντῶν δὲ τῷ καλεσαμένῳ, τῆς βλάβης ὑπόδικος ἔστω κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δέ τίς τινα δικάζοντα ἀναστήσηται μάρτυρα, μαρτυρήσας μὴ διαψηφιζέσθω περὶ ταύτης τῆς δίκης. γυναικὶ δ' ἐξέστω ἐλευθέρᾳ μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν, ἐὰν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ᾖ γεγονυῖα, καὶ δίκην λαγχάνειν, ἐὰν ἄνανδρος ᾖ· ζῶντος δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐξέστω μαρτυρῆσαι μόνον.	**ATHENIAN** If someone isn't willing to give evidence, the one who needs it may summon him, and the one summoned must appear at the trial. If he knows and is willing to testify, let him testify; if he says he doesn't know, he may be released from the case after swearing by the three gods, Zeus, Apollo and Themis, [937a] that he really doesn't know. Anyone summoned as a witness who doesn't appear for the one who summoned him is to be liable by law for damages. If anyone calls one of the judges as a witness, then, having testified, he is not to vote in that case. A free woman may give evidence and speak in support of a party if she is over forty, and may bring a suit if she has no husband; but while her husband is alive she may only give evidence.[9]
937a δούλῃ δὲ καὶ δούλῳ καὶ παιδὶ φόνου [937b] μόνον ἐξέστω μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν, ἐὰν ἐγγυητὴν ἀξιόχρεων ἧ μὴν μενεῖν καταστήσῃ μέχρι δίκης, ἐὰν ἐπισκηφθῇ τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρῆσαι. ἐπισκήπτεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἑκάτερον ὅλῃ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ καὶ μέρει, ἐὰν τὰ ψευδῆ φῇ τινα μεμαρτυρηκέναι, πρὶν τὴν δίκην διακεκρίσθαι· τὰς δ' ἐπισκήψεις τὰς ἀρχὰς φυλάττειν κατασεσημασμένας ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν, καὶ παρέχειν εἰς τὴν τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν διάκρισιν. ἐὰν δέ [937c] τις ἁλῷ δὶς ψευδομαρτυρῶν, τοῦτον μηκέτι νόμος ἀναγκαζέτω μηδεὶς μαρτυρεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ τρίς, μηκέτ' ἐξέστω τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ τολμήσῃ μαρτυρῆσαι τρὶς ἑαλωκώς, ἐνδεικνύτω μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ βουλόμενος αὐτόν, ἡ δ' ἀρχὴ δικαστηρίῳ παραδότω, ἐὰν δὲ ὄφλῃ, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω.	A slave, male or female, and a child may give evidence and speak in support only in cases of [937b] murder, provided they furnish a reliable guarantor that they will remain until the trial, in case they are charged with giving false testimony. Either of the two parties may charge false testimony against all or part of the evidence, if he claims that someone has testified falsely, before the case has been decided. The officials are to keep the charges under the seals of both parties and produce them for the trial for false testimony. If [937c] someone is convicted twice of false testimony, no law is to compel him to testify any longer; if three times, he is no longer to be allowed to testify. If, having been convicted three times, he dares to testify,

9 Themis was the goddess of divine law and right order.

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anyone who wishes is to denounce him to the officials, and the officials are to hand him over to a court; and if he is convicted, let him be punished with death.

937c ὁπόσων δ' ἂν μαρτυρίαι ἁλῶσιν δίκῃ, ψευδῆ δοξάντων μαρτυρεῖν καὶ τὴν νίκην τῷ ἑλόντι πεποιηκέναι, ἐὰν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὲρ [937d] ἥμισυ μαρτυριῶν καταδικασθῶσίν τινες, τὴν κατὰ ταύτας ἁλοῦσαν δίκην ἀνάδικον γίγνεσθαι, ἀμφισβήτησιν δ' εἶναι καὶ διαδικασίαν εἴτε κατὰ ταύτας εἴτε μὴ ἡ δίκη ἐκρίθη, ὁποτέρως δ' ἂν κριθῇ, ταύτῃ γιγνέσθω τὸ τέλος τῶν ἔμπροσθεν δικῶν.

Where testimony is convicted at a trial—the witnesses being judged to have given false evidence and to have won the victory for the winning side—if more than [937d] half of such testimony is condemned, the case won on the strength of it is to be retried, and there is to be a dispute and decision as to whether or not the case was decided on the strength of this testimony; and whichever way that is decided, the outcome of the earlier suits is to follow accordingly.

937d πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων καὶ καλῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ, τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν οἷον κῆρες ἐπιπεφύκασιν, αἳ καταμιαίνουσίν τε καὶ καταρρυπαίνουσιν αὐτά· καὶ δὴ καὶ δίκη [937e] ἐν ἀνθρώποις πῶς οὐ καλόν, ὃ πάντα ἡμέρωκεν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα; καλοῦ δὲ ὄντος τούτου, πῶς οὐ καὶ τὸ συνδικεῖν ἡμῖν γίγνοιτ' ἂν καλόν; ταῦτα οὖν τοιαῦτα ὄντα διαβάλλει τις κάκη, καλὸν ὄνομα προστησαμένη τέχνην, ἣ πρῶτον μὲν δή φησιν εἶναί τινα δικῶν μηχανήν —εἶναι δ' αὐτὴ τοῦ τε δικάσασθαι καὶ συνδικεῖν ἄλλῳ— νικᾶν δυναμένην, ἄντ' οὖν δίκαια ἄντε μὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίκην ἑκάστην ᾖ πεπραγμένα· [938a] δωρεὰν δ' αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐκ τῆς τέχνης, ἂν ἀντιδωρῆταί τις χρήματα.

There are many fine things in human life, but on most of them something like blights have grown, which pollute and defile them. Take justice [937e] among human beings: how is it not a fine thing, when it has civilized all human affairs? And since this is fine, how would advocacy not be a fine thing for us too? Yet these things, fine as they are, are brought into disrepute by a certain vice that cloaks itself in the fine name of an art. It claims, first, that there is a technique for lawsuits—and that it is itself that technique, both for pleading one's own case and for helping another plead his—which can win whether or not what was done in each case was just; [938a] and that the art itself, and the speeches that come from the art, are a gift for anyone who gives money in return.

938a ταύτην οὖν ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν πόλει, εἴτ' οὖν τέχνη εἴτε ἄτεχνός ἐστίν τις ἐμπειρία καὶ τριβή, μάλιστα μὲν δὴ χρεών ἐστιν μὴ φῦναι· δεομένου δὲ τοῦ νομοθέτου πείθεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐναντία δίκῃ φθέγγεσθαι, πρὸς ἄλλην δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι χώραν, πειθομένοις μὲν σιγή, ἀπειθοῦσιν δὲ φωνὴ νόμου ἥδε· ἄν τις δοκῇ [938b] πειρᾶσθαι τὴν τῶν δικαίων δύναμιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν δικαστῶν ψυχαῖς ἐπὶ τἀναντία τρέπειν καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν πολυδικεῖν τῶν τοιούτων ἢ καὶ συνδικεῖν, γραφέσθω μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν κακοδικίας ἢ καὶ συνδικίας κακῆς, κρινέσθω δὲ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν δικαστηρίῳ, ὀφλόντος δέ, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον εἴτε φιλοχρηματίᾳ δοκεῖ δρᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἴτε φιλονικίᾳ, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν φιλονικίᾳ, τιμᾶν αὐτῷ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅσου χρὴ χρόνου τὸν τοιοῦτον μηδενὶ λαχεῖν δίκην μηδὲ συνδικῆσαι, [938c] ἐὰν δὲ φιλοχρηματίᾳ, τὸν μὲν ξένον ἀπιόντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας μήποτε πάλιν ἐλθεῖν ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, τὸν ἀστὸν δὲ τεθνάναι φιλοχρημοσύνης ἕνεκα τῆς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου

This, then—whether it's an art or an artless knack and routine—must above all never grow up in our city. When the lawgiver asks people to obey and not to speak against justice, but to go off to another country, there is silence for those who obey; but for those who disobey, the voice of the law is this. If anyone seems to be trying [938b] to turn the force of justice in the judges' souls the other way, and to multiply such lawsuits beyond reason, or to assist in them, anyone who wishes may indict him for malicious litigation or malicious advocacy. He is to be tried before the court of select judges, and if he is convicted, the court is to assess whether he seems to do this from love of money or from love of winning. If from love of winning, the court is to assess for how long such a man is not to bring a suit against anyone or assist in one; [938c] if from love of money, then a foreigner is to leave the

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παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τιμωμένης· καὶ ἐάν τις φιλονικίᾳ κριθῇ δὶς τὸ τοιοῦτον δρᾶν, τεθνάτω.	country and never come back, on pain of death, and a citizen is to die, on account of the love of money he honors so in every way. And if anyone is judged to have done such a thing twice from love of winning, let him die.

Book XII

Embassies, audits, burial, and the Nocturnal Council.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
941a	**ATHENIAN** ἐὰν ὡς πρεσβευτής τις ἢ κῆρυξ καταψευδόμενος τῆς πόλεως παραπρεσβεύηται πρός τινα πόλιν, ἢ πεμπόμενος μὴ τὰς οὔσας πρεσβείας ἐφ' αἷς πέμπεται ἀπαγγέλλῃ, ἢ πάλιν αὖ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ καὶ φίλων μὴ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ὀρθῶς ἀποπρεσβεύσας γένηται φανερὸς ἢ κηρυκεύσας, γραφαὶ κατὰ τούτων ἔστων ὡς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπιτάξεις παρὰ νόμον ἀσεβησάντων, τίμημα δὲ ὅτι χρὴ [941b] πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν, ἐὰν ὄφλῃ.	**ATHENIAN** If anyone, as envoy or herald, misrepresents his city in dealings with another city, or when sent fails to deliver the actual messages he was sent to deliver, or again is shown to have reported incorrectly, as envoy or herald, the messages from enemies or even from friends, there are to be indictments against such people for impiety, for violating the law concerning the messages and commands of Hermes and Zeus; and there is to be an assessment of what [941b] they must suffer or pay, if convicted.[1]
941b	κλοπὴ μὲν χρημάτων ἀνελεύθερον, ἁρπαγὴ δὲ ἀναίσχυντον· τῶν Διὸς δὲ υἱέων οὐδεὶς οὔτε δόλοις οὔτε βίᾳ χαίρων ἐπιτετήδευκεν τούτοιν οὐδέτερον. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ ποιητῶν μηδ' ἄλλως ὑπό τινων μυθολόγων πλημμελῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαπατώμενος ἀναπειθέσθω, καὶ κλέπτων ἢ βιαζόμενος οἰέσθω μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν ἀλλ' ἅπερ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ δρῶσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀληθὲς οὔτ' εἰκός, ἀλλ' ὅς τι δρᾷ τοιοῦτον παρανόμως, οὔτε θεὸς οὔτε παῖς ἐστίν ποτε θεῶν, [941c] ταῦτα δὲ νομοθέτῃ μᾶλλον προσήκει γιγνώσκειν ἢ ποιηταῖς σύμπασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πεισθεὶς ἡμῶν τῷ λόγῳ εὐτυχεῖ τε καὶ εἰς χρόνον ἅπαντα εὐτυχοῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα τοιῷδέ τινι μαχέσθω νόμῳ· ἐάν τίς τι κλέπτῃ δημόσιον μέγα ἢ καὶ σμικρόν, τῆς αὐτῆς δίκης δεῖ.	Theft of property is unworthy of a free person; robbery is shameless. None of the sons of Zeus has practiced either of these, delighting in fraud or force. So let no one be deceived by poets, or by any other storytellers who go astray about such matters, into believing that when he steals or uses force he is doing nothing shameful, only what the gods themselves do. That is neither true nor likely. Whoever does such a thing unlawfully is never a god or a child of gods; [941c] and the lawgiver is better placed to know these things than all the poets together. Whoever is persuaded by our argument is fortunate, and may he be fortunate for all time; but whoever disbelieves it must from then on contend with a law like this: If anyone steals any public property, great or small, the same penalty applies.
941c	μικρόν τι γὰρ ὁ κλέπτων ἔρωτι μὲν ταὐτῷ, δυνάμει δὲ ἐλάττονι [941d] κέκλοφεν, ὅ τε τὸ μεῖζον κινῶν οὐ καταθέμενος ὅλον ἀδικεῖ· δίκης οὖν οὐδέτερον οὐδετέρου ἐλάττονος ἕνεκα μεγέθους τοῦ κλέμματος ὁ νόμος ἀξιοῖ ζημιοῦν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν μὲν ἴσως ἂν ἰάσιμον ἔτ' εἶναι, τὸν δ' ἀνίατον. ξένον μὲν δὴ τῶν δημοσίων ἢ δοῦλον ἄν τίς τι κλέπτοντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἕλῃ, ὡς ἰασίμῳ ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων ὄντι, τί χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ τίνα ζημίαν [942a] ἀποτίνειν αὐτὸν ἡ κρίσις γιγνέσθω· τὸν δὲ ἀστὸν καὶ τεθραμμένον ὡς ἔσται τεθραμμένος, ἂν πατρίδα συλῶν ἢ βιαζόμενος ἁλίσκηται,	For the one who steals something small steals with the same desire, but with less power; [941d] and the one who removes something bigger that he didn't deposit does wrong in full. So the law sees fit to punish neither with a lighter penalty than the other on account of the size of the theft, but because one may perhaps still be curable and the other incurable. If anyone convicts in court a foreigner or a slave of stealing some public property, the court is to decide what he must suffer or what

1 Heralds were under the protection of Hermes, and envoys and suppliants of Zeus.

GREEK

ἐάντ' ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἐάντε μή, σχεδὸν ὡς ἀνίατον ὄντα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν.

ENGLISH

penalty [942a] he must pay, on the assumption that he is probably curable. But a citizen, raised as he will have been raised, if he is convicted of plundering his country or using violence against it, whether caught in the act or not, is to be punished with death, as more or less incurable.

MILITARY DISCIPLINE

No one should ever act without a commander; laws on evading service and prizes for valor.

GREEK

942a **ATHENIAN** στρατιῶν δὲ ἕνεκα πολλὴ μὲν συμβουλή, πολλοὶ δὲ νόμοι γίγνονται κατὰ τρόπον, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ μηδέποτε ἄναρχον μηδένα εἶναι, μήτ' ἄρρενα μήτε θήλειαν, μηδέ τινος ἔθει ψυχὴν εἰθίσθαι μήτε σπουδάζοντος μήτ' ἐν παιδιαῖς [942b] αὐτὸν ἐφ' αὑτοῦ τι κατὰ μόνας δρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἔν τε πολέμῳ παντὶ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάσῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀεὶ βλέποντα καὶ συνεπόμενον ζῆν, καὶ τὰ βραχύταθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου κυβερνώμενον, οἷον ἑστάναι θ' ὅταν ἐπιτάττῃ τις καὶ πορεύεσθαι καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ λοῦσθαι καὶ σιτεῖσθαι καὶ ἐγείρεσθαι νύκτωρ εἴς τε φυλακὰς καὶ παραγγέλσεις, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κινδύνοις μήτε τινὰ διώκειν μήθ' ὑποχωρεῖν ἄλλῳ ἄνευ τῆς [942c] τῶν ἀρχόντων δηλώσεως, ἑνί τε λόγῳ τὸ χωρίς τι τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν διδάξαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθεσι μήτε γιγνώσκειν μήτ' ἐπίστασθαι τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόον ἀεὶ καὶ ἅμα καὶ κοινὸν τὸν βίον ὅτι μάλιστα πᾶσι πάντων γίγνεσθαι—τούτου γὰρ οὔτ' ἔστιν οὔτε ποτὲ μὴ γένηται κρεῖττον οὔτε ἄμεινον οὔτε τεχνικώτερον εἰς σωτηρίαν τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ νίκην— τοῦτο ἐν εἰρήνῃ μελετητέον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν παίδων, ἄρχειν τε ἄλλων ἄρχεσθαί θ' ὑφ' ἑτέρων·

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN For military expeditions much advice is given, and many laws are made, and properly so. But the most important thing is that no one, male or female, should ever be without a commander, and that no one's soul should get into the habit of doing anything, whether in earnest or in play, [942b] on its own initiative and alone. In all war and in all peace a person should live always looking to his commander and following him, governed by him even in the smallest things—standing still when ordered, and marching, exercising, bathing, eating, getting up at night for guard duty and to carry messages; and in the midst of danger itself, neither pursuing anyone nor retreating before another without [942c] a signal from the commanders. In a word, one should train the soul by habit neither to know nor to understand at all how to do anything apart from the others, so that everyone's life may be as much as possible always collective, united and shared—for there is not, nor will there ever be, anything stronger, better or more skillful than this for safety and victory in war. This is what must be practiced in peacetime, right from childhood: ruling others and being ruled by others.

942c τὴν δ' ἀναρχίαν ἐξαιρετέον [942d] ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἁπάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπους θηρίων.

Lack of rule must be removed [942d] from the whole life of all human beings, and of the animals under human control.

942d καὶ δὴ καὶ χορείας πάσας εἰς τὰς ἀριστείας τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον βλεπούσας χορεύειν, καὶ ὅλην εὐκολίαν τε καὶ εὐχέρειαν ἐπιτηδεύειν τῶν αὐτῶν εἵνεκα, καρτερήσεις τε αὖ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ χειμώνων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ κοίτης σκληρᾶς, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν δύναμιν μὴ διαφθείρειν τῇ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων σκεπασμάτων περικαλυφῇ, τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολλύντας [942e] πίλων τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκρωτήρια ὄντα σῳζόμενά τε ἔχει μεγίστην δύναμιν παντὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐναντίως, καὶ τὸ μὲν

And indeed all choral performances should be danced with an eye to valor in war, and all agility and nimbleness should be cultivated for the same purposes; and also endurance of hunger and thirst, of cold and the opposite, and of a hard bed. Most important of all, one should not ruin the natural strength of the head and feet by wrapping them in coverings from elsewhere, destroying the growth and nature of their own [942e] caps and shoes. For these are the extremities, and when

GREEK

ENGLISH

ὑπηρετικώτατον ἅπαντι τῷ σώματι, τὸ δὲ ἀρχικώτατον, ἔχον 943a τὰς κυρίας ἁπάσας αἰσθήσεις αὐτοῦ φύσει. ἔπαινον μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἀκούειν τὸν νέον χρῆν δοκεῖν πολεμικοῦ περὶ βίου, νόμους δ' αὖ τούσδε· Στρατεύεσθαι τὸν καταλεγέντα ἢ τὸν ἐν μέρει τινὶ τεταγμένον.

they're preserved they hold the greatest power over the whole body, and the opposite when they're not; the feet are the most serviceable to the whole body, and the head the most commanding, since it holds 943a by nature all the body's principal senses. This, I think, is the praise of the military life the young man should hear; and these are the laws: Whoever has been enlisted or assigned to some unit is to serve on campaign.

943a ἐὰν δέ τις ἐκλείπῃ τινὶ κάκῃ μὴ στρατηγῶν ἀφέντων, γραφὰς ἀστρατείας εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, δικάζειν δὲ τοὺς στρατεύσαντας ἑκάστους χωρίς, ὁπλίτας τε καὶ ἱππέας καὶ τἆλλα ἐμπολέμια ἕκαστα ὡσαύτως, καὶ 943b εἰσάγειν ὁπλίτας μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἱππέας δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν συννόμους· ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλῃ, ὑπάρχειν μὲν αὐτῷ μήποτε τῆς ὅλης ἀριστείας ἀγωνιστῇ γενέσθαι μηδὲ ἀστρατείας ἄλλον γράψασθαί ποτε μηδὲ κατηγόρῳ τούτων πέρι γενέσθαι, πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἔτι προστιμᾶν αὐτῷ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν.

If anyone fails to serve through cowardice, without the generals' leave, there are to be indictments for evasion of service before the military commanders when they return from camp. Those who served are to sit as judges, each group separately—heavy infantry, cavalry, and each of the other branches likewise— 943b bringing infantrymen before infantrymen, cavalrymen before cavalrymen, and the others in the same way before their own comrades. If anyone is convicted, he is never to be allowed to compete for any prize for valor, or to indict anyone else for evasion of service, or to act as accuser in such matters; and in addition the court is to assess what further he must suffer or pay.

943b μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκδικασθεισῶν τῶν τῆς ἀστρατείας δικῶν, πάλιν ἑκάστων ἄρχοντας ποιῆσαι σύλλογον, 943c ἀριστείων δὲ πέρι κρίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθνεσιν, μὴ περὶ προτέρου πολέμου μηδὲν παρεχόμενον μήτε τεκμήριον μήτε μαρτύρων πιστώσεις λόγων, αὐτῆς δὲ περὶ τῆς στρατείας τῆς τότε γενομένης αὐτοῖς. στέφανον δὲ τὸ νικητήριον ἑκάστοις εἶναι θαλλοῦ· τοῦτον δὲ εἰς τὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν θεῶν ἱερά, ὧν ἄν τις βούληται, γράψαντα ἀναθεῖναι μαρτύριον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀριστείων κρίσιν παντὸς τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν τῶν δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων. ἐὰν δὲ στρατεύσηται 943d μέν τις, μὴ ἀπαγαγόντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἴκαδε προαπέλθῃ τοῦ χρόνου, λιποταξίου τούτων εἶναι γραφὰς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς περὶ τῆς ἀστρατείας, ὀφλοῦσίν τε τιμωρίαι ἐπέστωσαν αἵπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐτέθησαν.

After this, when the trials for evasion of service have been decided, the commanders of each branch are to convene a meeting again, 943c and anyone who wishes is to be judged for the prizes for valor among his own branch, presenting no evidence or testimony of witnesses about any earlier war, but only about the campaign that has just taken place. The prize for each is to be a crown of olive; and the winner is to dedicate it, with an inscription, in the temple of whichever of the gods of war he likes, as testimony for the judgment of prizes for valor throughout his life, and for second and third prizes. If anyone goes on campaign 943d but comes home before the time, without the commanders leading the troops home, there are to be indictments for desertion before the same people as for evasion of service, and those convicted are to incur the same penalties laid down before.

LOSING ONE'S ARMS

The Athenian distinguishes losing arms by misfortune from throwing away one's shield.

GREEK

ENGLISH

943d

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN χρὴ μὲν δὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέροντα δίκην ἀνδρὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα φοβεῖσθαι τὸ μήτε ἐπενεγκεῖν ψευδῆ τιμωρίαν, μήτ' οὖν ἑκόντα μήτ' ἄκοντα [943e] κατὰ δύναμιν —παρθένος γὰρ Αἰδοῦς Δίκη λέγεταί τε καὶ ὄντως εἴρηται, ψεῦδος δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ δίκῃ νεμεσητὸν κατὰ φύσιν—τῶν τε οὖν ἄλλων εὐλαβεῖσθαι πέρι πλημμελεῖν εἰς δίκην, διαφερόντως δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ὅπλων ἀποβολῆς, μὴ διαμαρτών τις ἄρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποβολῶν, ὡς αἰσχρὰς αὐτὰς εἰς ὄνειδος τιθείς, ἀναξίῳ ἀναξίας ἐπάγῃ δίκας. ῥᾴδιον μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς διορίσαι τούτων θάτερον, [944a] ὅμως δὲ χρὴ τὸν νόμον ἁμῶς γέ πως ὁρίζειν πειρᾶσθαι κατὰ μέρη.

ATHENIAN Every man who brings any suit against another must be afraid of bringing a false charge for punishment, whether willingly or unwillingly, [943e] as far as he can—for Justice is called, and truly called, the maiden of Reverence, and falsehood is by nature hateful to reverence and justice. So one must beware of going wrong in justice in other matters too, but especially concerning the loss of arms in war, in case someone mistakes cases where the loss was unavoidable, reproaches them as shameful, and brings undeserved suits against an undeserving man. It's by no means easy to distinguish these cases; [944a] still, the law must try, somehow or other, to draw distinctions case by case.[2]

944a μύθῳ δὴ προσχρώμενοι ἆμ' εἴπωμεν, εἰ κομισθεὶς ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων Πάτροκλος ἔμπνους ἐγένεθ', οἷον δὴ μυρίοις συνέπεσεν, τὰ δὲ πρότερα ἐκεῖνα ὅπλα, ἃ Πηλεῖ φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς παρὰ θεῶν προῖκα ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἐπιδοθῆναι Θέτιδι, ταῦτα δὲ Ἕκτωρ εἶχεν, ἐξῆν ἂν τῶν τότε ὅσοι κακοὶ ὀνειδίζειν ὅπλων ἀποβολὴν τῷ τοῦ Μενοιτίου. ἔτι δὲ ὁπόσοι κατὰ κρημνῶν ῥιφέντες ἀπώλεσαν [944b] ὅπλα, ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἢ χειμώνων ἐν κόποις ὑποδεξαμένης αὐτοὺς ἐξαίφνης πολλῆς ῥύσεως ὕδατος, ἢ μυρί' ἂν ἔχοι τις τοιαῦτα παραμυθούμενος ἐπᾴδειν, εὐδιάβολον κακὸν καλλύνων· τεμεῖν δὴ χρεὼν κατὰ δύναμιν τὸ μεῖζον καὶ τὸ δυσχερέστερον κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου.

Let's make use of a story as we explain. If Patroclus had been brought back to the tent without his arms but still breathing—as has happened to countless men—while those first arms, which the poet says the gods gave Peleus as a dowry when he married Thetis, were in Hector's hands, then the cowards of that time could have reproached the son of Menoetius with losing his arms. Then again there are those who have lost [944b] their arms by being thrown down cliffs, or at sea, or when in the chaos of a storm a great flood of water suddenly swept over them. One could offer countless such cases as soothing charms, dressing up an evil that lends itself to slander. So we must separate, as far as we can, the greater and more repugnant evil from its opposite.[3]

944b σχεδὸν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ὀνείδεσιν ἔχει τινὰ τομὴν ἡ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιφορά· ῥίψασπις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν ὀνομάζοιτ' ἂν [944c] δικαίως, ἀποβολεὺς δὲ ὅπλων. οὐχ ὁμοίως γὰρ ὅ τε ἀφαιρεθεὶς μετ' εἰκυίας βίας γίγνοιτ' ἂν ῥίψασπις ὅ τε ἀφεὶς ἑκών, διαφέρει δὲ ὅλον που καὶ τὸ πᾶν. ὧδ' οὖν δὴ λεγέσθω νόμῳ· ἐὰν καταλαμβανόμενός τις ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ ἔχων ὅπλα μὴ ἀναστρέφῃ καὶ ἀμύνηται, ἀφῇ δὲ ἑκὼν ἢ ῥίψῃ, ζωὴν αἰσχρὰν ἀρνύμενος μετὰ κάκης μᾶλλον ἢ μετ' ἀνδρείας καλὸν καὶ εὐδαίμονα θάνατον, τοιαύτης μὲν ὅπλων ἀποβολῆς [944d] ἔστω δίκη ῥιφθέντων, τῆς δὲ εἰρημένης ἔμπροσθεν ὁ δικάζων μὴ ἀμελείτω σκοπεῖν. τὸν γὰρ κακὸν ἀεὶ δεῖ κολάζειν, ἵν' ἀμείνων ᾖ, οὐ τὸν δυστυχῆ· οὐδὲν γὰρ πλέον.

In reproaches, then, the application of these names allows some distinction. One wouldn't justly call a man a "shield-thrower" in every case, [944c] but rather a "loser of arms." For a man stripped of them by reasonable force wouldn't be a shield-thrower in the same way as one who let them go willingly; the two differ entirely and altogether. So let it be stated in the law as follows. If someone is overtaken by the enemy while armed, and doesn't turn and defend himself, but willingly lets his arms go or throws them away, choosing a shameful life with cowardice rather than a fine and happy death with courage, then for such loss of arms [944d] let there be a suit for throwing them

2 Justice (Dike) and Reverence (Aidos, the sense of shame) are spoken of as goddesses.
3 In the *Iliad* Patroclus fought in the armor of his friend Achilles, son of Peleus; Hector killed him and stripped it from his body. Menoetius was Patroclus' father.

GREEK

ENGLISH

away; but the judge must not neglect to consider the kind described before. For one must always punish the bad man, so that he may become better, not the unfortunate one; there is nothing to be gained by that.[4]

944d ζημία δὴ τῷ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀμυντηρίων ὅπλων εἰς τοὐναντίον ἀφέντι δύναμιν τίς ἄρα γίγνοιτ' ἂν πρόσφορος; οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ δρᾶν τοὐναντίον ὥς ποτε θεόν φασι δρᾶσαι, Καινέα τὸν Θετταλὸν ἐκ γυναικὸς μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἀνδρὸς φύσιν· ἦν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ῥιψάσπιδι τρόπον τινὰ πρέπουσα πασῶν [944e] μάλιστα ἡ 'κείνῃ τῇ γενέσει ἐναντία γένεσις, εἰς γυναῖκα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς μεταβαλοῦσα, τιμωρία τούτῳ γενομένη.

What penalty, then, would be appropriate for a man who has thrown away weapons meant for defense, and turned their power to the opposite effect? It isn't possible for a human being to do the reverse of what they say a god once did, when he changed Caeneus of Thessaly from a woman's nature into a man's. For in a way the most fitting punishment of all [944e] for a man who threw away his shield would have been the birth opposite to that one, a change from man into woman.[5]

944e νῦν δ' ὅτι τούτων ἐγγύτατα φιλοψυχίας ἕνεκα, ἵνα τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον μὴ κινδυνεύῃ, ζῇ δὲ ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον ὢν κακὸς ὀνείδει συνεχόμενος, ἔστω νόμος ὅδε ἐπὶ τούτοις· Ἀνὴρ ὃς ἂν ὅφλῃ δίκην ὡς αἰσχρῶς ἀποβαλὼν ὅπλα πολεμικά, τούτῳ μήτ' οὖν τις στρατηγὸς μήτ' ἄλλος ποτὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον [945a] ἀρχόντων ὡς ἀνδρὶ στρατιώτῃ χρήσηται μηδ' εἰς τάξιν κατατάξῃ μηδ' ἡντινοῦν· εἰ δὲ μή, κατευθύνειν αὐτοῦ τὸν εὔθυνον, ἂν μὲν ᾖ τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος ὁ τάξας τὸν κακόν, χιλίας, ἂν δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου, πέντε μνᾶς, ἂν δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, τρεῖς μνᾶς, ἂν δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου, μνᾶν.

As it is, since he loved his life so much that he would not risk it for the rest of his days, but would live as long as possible as a coward, bound up with disgrace, let this law, the nearest thing to that punishment, apply to such cases: A man convicted of shamefully throwing away his arms of war is never to be employed as a soldier by any general or any other military [945a] commander, or posted to any rank at all. Otherwise, the auditor is to penalize the officer at his audit: if the one who posted the coward belongs to the highest property class, a thousand drachmas; if to the second, five minas; if to the third, three minas; if to the fourth, one mina.

945a ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν τὴν δίκην πρὸς τῷ ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν ἀνδρείων κινδύνων κατὰ φύσιν τὴν αὑτοῦ προσαποτεισάτω μισθόν, χιλίας μέν, ἂν τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος ᾖ, πέντε δέ, τοῦ δευτέρου, τρεῖς δέ, [945b] ἂν τοῦ τρίτου, μνᾶν δὲ ὡσαύτως, καθάπερ οἱ πρόσθεν, τοῦ τετάρτου μέρους.

The man convicted, in addition to being released from the dangers of brave men, in keeping with his own nature, is to pay a fee for it besides: a thousand drachmas, if he belongs to the highest property class; five minas, if to the second; three, [945b] if to the third; and likewise one mina, as with the others before, if to the fourth.

THE AUDITORS

The city chooses its best men as auditors of officials and honors them in life and death.

GREEK

ENGLISH

945b **ATHENIAN** εὐθύνων δὴ πέρι τίς ἡμῖν λόγος ἂν εἴη πρέπων ἀρχόντων γενομένων τῶν μὲν κατὰ τύχην κλήρου καὶ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν, τῶν δ' εἰς πλείονα ἔτη καὶ ἐκ προκρίτων; τῶν δὴ τοιούτων εὐθυντὴς τίς ἱκανός, ἄν τίς τί εἴπῃ σκολιὸν αὐτῶν ἢ καμφθεὶς ὑπὸ βάρους μὲν τὴν

ATHENIAN About auditors, what account would be fitting for us to give, since some officials hold office by the chance of the lot and for a year, and others for more years and from preselected candidates? Who will be a competent auditor of such

4 "Shield-thrower" (*rhipsaspis*) was a standard Greek insult for a coward who dropped his shield to run away.
5 In myth the girl Caenis was turned by Poseidon into a man, Caeneus.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἀρχὴν πράξῃ, τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἐνδείᾳ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίαν; ῥᾴδιον μὲν [945c] οὐδαμῶς εὑρεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἄρχοντα ὑπερβάλλοντα πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὅμως δὲ πειρατέον εὐθυντάς τινας ἀνευρίσκειν θείους. ἔχει γὰρ οὖν οὕτω. πολλοὶ καιροὶ πολιτείας λύσεώς εἰσιν, καθάπερ νεὼς ἢ ζῴου τινός, οὓς ἐντόνους τε καὶ ὑποζώματα καὶ νεύρων ἐπιτόνους, μίαν οὖσαν φύσιν διεσπαρμένην, πολλαχοῦ πολλοῖς ὀνόμασιν προσαγορεύομεν· εἷς δὲ οὗτος οὐ σμικρότατος καιρὸς τοῦ σῴζεσθαί τε καὶ διαλυθεῖσαν [945d] οἴχεσθαι πολιτείαν.

people, if any of them says anything crooked, or conducts his office bent by its weight and by his own lack of strength to match the office's dignity? It's by no means easy [945c] to find a ruler over the rulers who surpasses them in virtue; still, we must try to find some auditors who are divine. For this is how things are. There are many critical points at which a constitution comes apart, as with a ship or a living creature—what we call stays, and undergirding cables, and the tendons of sinews, a single nature scattered in many places under many names. And this is not the least critical point for a constitution's being preserved, or dissolving [945d] and being gone.

945d ἂν μὲν γὰρ οἱ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐξευθύνοντες βελτίους ὦσιν ἐκείνων, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν δίκῃ ἀμέμπτῳ τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως, ἡ πᾶσα οὕτω θάλλει τε καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖ χώρα καὶ πόλις· ἐὰν δ' ἄλλως τὰ περὶ τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν ἀρχόντων γίγνηται, τότε λυθείσης τῆς τὰ πάντα πολιτεύματα συνεχούσης εἰς ἓν δίκης, ταύτῃ πᾶσα ἀρχὴ διεσπάσθη χωρὶς ἑτέρα ἀπ' ἄλλης, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτι νεύουσαι, [945e] πολλὰς ἐκ μιᾶς τὴν πόλιν ποιοῦσαι, στάσεων ἐμπλήσασαι ταχὺ διώλεσαν. διὸ δὴ δεῖ πάντως τοὺς εὐθύνους θαυμαστοὺς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εἶναι. τεκταινώμεθα δή τινα τρόπον αὐτῶν τοιάνδε γένεσιν.

If those who audit the officials are better than they are, and do it with blameless justice and blamelessly, then the whole country and city thrive and prosper. But if the auditing of officials is done in some other way, then, once the justice that holds all the parts of the constitution together into one has been dissolved, every office is torn apart from every other; and, no longer tending toward the same end, [945e] they make one city into many, fill it with factions, and swiftly destroy it. That's why the auditors must by all means be marvelous in every virtue. So let's contrive a way for them to come into being, something like this.

945e κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον μετὰ τροπὰς ἡλίου τὰς ἐκ θέρους εἰς χειμῶνα συνιέναι χρεὼν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν εἰς Ἡλίου κοινὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τέμενος, τῷ θεῷ ἀποφανουμένους [946a] ἄνδρας αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὃν ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἡγῆται πάντῃ ἄριστον εἶναι, πλὴν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἔλαττον πεντήκοντα γεγονότα ἐτῶν.

Every year, after the summer solstice, the whole city must gather in the precinct shared by the Sun and Apollo, to present to the god [946a] three men from among themselves, each man nominating whomever he thinks best in every respect, other than himself, and no younger than fifty.

946a τῶν δὲ προκριθέντων οὓς ἂν πλεῖστοι ἐνέγκωσι, τούτους ἐκλέξαι μέχρι τῶν ἡμίσεων, ἐὰν ἄρτιοι γίγνωνται, περιττοὶ δὲ ἐὰν ὦσιν, ἕνα ἀφελεῖν, ᾧ ἂν ἐλάχισται γένωνται, καταλιπεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν πλήθει τῶν ψήφων ἀποκρίναντας, ἐὰν δέ τισιν ἴσαι γίγνωνται καὶ τὸν ἥμισυν ἀριθμὸν πλείω ποιῶσιν, ἀφελεῖν τὸ πλέον ἀποκρίναντας [946b] νεότητι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐγκρίναντας φέρειν αὖθις, μέχριπερ ἂν τρεῖς λειφθῶσιν ἄνισοι· ἐὰν δὲ ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖν δυοῖν ἴσαι γίγνωνται, τῇ ἀγαθῇ μοίρᾳ καὶ τύχῃ ἐπιτρέψαντας, κλήρῳ διελόντας τὸν νικῶντα καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον στεφανῶσαι θαλλῷ, καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἀποδόντας πᾶσιν ἀνειπεῖν ὅτι Μαγνήτων ἡ κατὰ θεὸν πάλιν τυχοῦσα σωτηρίας πόλις, ἀποφήνασα αὐτῆς Ἡλίῳ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τρεῖς, ἀκροθίνιον [946c] Ἀπόλλωνι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀνατίθησι κοινὸν καὶ Ἡλίῳ, ὅσονπερ ἂν ἔπωνται χρόνον τῇ κρίσει.

Of those nominated, they are to select those who receive the most votes, down to half their number, if the number is even; if it's odd, they are to drop the one who received the fewest votes, and keep half, eliminating the rest by number of votes. If some receive equal votes and make the number greater than half, they are to remove the excess by eliminating [946b] the youngest, keep the rest, and vote again, until three are left with unequal votes. If all three, or two of them, tie, they are to leave it to good fortune and chance, determine by lot the winner, the second and the third, crown them with olive, and, having given them all their prizes, proclaim that the city of the Magnesians, having regained its safety by the god's grace, presents to the Sun its three best men, and dedicates them as

GREEK

ENGLISH

first fruits [946c] to Apollo, in accordance with the ancient custom, and jointly to the Sun, for as long as they live up to the verdict.

946c τούτους δὲ πρώτῳ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ δώδεκα εὐθύνους ἀποδεῖξαι, μέχριπερ ἂν ἑκάστῳ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη συμβῇ γενόμενα, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ τρεῖς ἀεὶ προσγιγνέσθων κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· οὗτοι δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας δώδεκα μέρη διελόμενοι πάσαις βασάνοις χρώμενοι ἐλευθέραις ἐλεγχόντων. οἰκούντων δέ, ὅσον ἂν 946d εὐθύνωσιν χρόνον, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἡλίου τεμένει, ἐν ᾧπερ ἐκρίθησαν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος, τὰ δὲ καὶ κοινῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων κρίναντες τοὺς ἄρξαντας τῇ πόλει, ἀποφηνάντων, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν γράμματα καταθέντες, περὶ ἑκάστης ἀρχῆς ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν κατὰ τὴν τῶν εὐθύνων γνώμην.

In the first year they are to appoint twelve of these as auditors, to serve until each reaches the age of seventy-five; after that three are to be added each year. They are to divide all the offices into twelve parts, and examine them using every means of scrutiny fit for free people. For as long as [946d] they serve as auditors, they are to live in the precinct of Apollo and the Sun in which they were chosen. After judging, some individually and others jointly, those who have held office in the city, they are to post written statements in the marketplace declaring, for each office, what it must suffer or pay in the auditors' judgment.

946d ἥτις δ' ἂν τῶν ἀρχῶν μὴ ὁμολογῇ κεκρίσθαι δικαίως, εἰς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαστὰς εἰσαγέτω τοὺς εὐθύνους, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἀποφύγῃ τις τὰς εὐθύνας, αὐτῶν τῶν 946e εὐθύνων κατηγορείτω, ἐὰν ἐθέλῃ· ἐὰν δὲ ἁλῷ, ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ τῳ θανάτου τετιμημένον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων, ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη, ἁπλῶς θνῃσκέτω, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τιμημάτων ὧν ἂν δυνατὸν ᾖ διπλῆν τεῖσαι, διπλασίαν τινέτω. τὰς δ' εὐθύνας αὐτῶν τούτων ἀκούειν χρὴ τίνες ἔσονται καὶ τίνα τρόπον.

Any official who doesn't accept that he has been judged justly may take the auditors before the select judges; and if he is acquitted of the auditors' charges, he may, if he wishes, accuse the [946e] auditors themselves. But if he is convicted, then if the auditors had assessed a penalty of death for him, he is simply to die, as he must; of the other penalties, those that can be paid double he is to pay double. And we must hear how the audits of these auditors themselves are to be conducted, and by whom.

946e ζῶσι μὲν οὖν τούτοις τοῖς παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἀριστείων ἠξιωμένοις [947a] προεδρίαι τ' ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι πάσαις ἔστωσαν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας κοινῇ θυσιῶν καὶ θεωριῶν καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἑτέρων κοινωνῶσιν ἱερῶν, ἐκ τούτων τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς θεωρίας ἑκάστης ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ τούτους μόνους δάφνης στεφάνῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κεκοσμημένους εἶναι, καὶ ἱερέας μὲν πάντας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἡλίου, ἀρχιέρεων δὲ ἕνα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν πρῶτον κριθέντα τῶν γενομένων ἐκείνῳ τῷ [947b] ἐνιαυτῷ τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τοὔνομα ἀναγράφειν τούτου κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ὅπως ἂν γίγνηται μέτρον ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ χρόνου, ἕως ἂν ἡ πόλις οἰκῆται.

While they live, those men who have been judged worthy of the prize by the whole city [947a] are to have front seats at all the festivals. Moreover, for the sacrifices, sacred delegations and other rites that the Greeks share in common, the leaders of each delegation are to be sent out from among them; and they alone of those in the city are to be adorned with a crown of laurel. They are all to be priests of Apollo and the Sun, and each year one of them is to be high priest—the one judged first among those who became priests in that [947b] year—and his name is to be recorded each year, so that it may serve as a measure for counting time, as long as the city is inhabited.

947b τελευτήσασι δὲ προθέσεις καὶ ἐκφορὰς καὶ θήκας διαφόρους εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν· λευκὴν μὲν τὴν στολὴν ἔχειν πᾶσαν, θρήνων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν χωρὶς γίγνεσθαι, κορῶν δὲ χορὸν πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἀρρένων ἕτερον περιισταμένους τῇ κλίνῃ ἑκατέρους οἷον ὕμνον πεποιημένον [947c] ἔπαινον εἰς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν μέρει ἑκατέρους ᾄδειν, εὐδαιμονίζοντας ᾠδῇ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας· ἕωθεν δ' εἰς τὴν θήκην φέρειν αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν

When they die, their laying out, funeral procession and burial are to be different from those of other citizens. The clothing is to be all white, and there is to be no dirge or wailing. A chorus of fifteen girls, and another of boys, are to stand around the bier, each in turn singing a praise of the priests composed like a hymn, [947c] calling them blessed in song throughout the day. At dawn a

GREEK

κλίνην ἑκατὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, οὓς ἂν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐπιόψωνται, πρώτους δὲ προϊέναι τοὺς ἠιθέους τὴν πολεμικὴν σκευὴν ἐνδεδυκότας ἑκάστους, σὺν τοῖς ἵπποισι μὲν ἱππέας, σὺν δὲ ὅπλοις ὁπλίτας, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὡσαύτως, παῖδας δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κλίνην ἔμπροσθεν τὸ πάτριον μέλος ἐφυμνεῖν, [947d] καὶ κόρας ἑπομένας ἐξόπισθεν ὅσαι τ' ἂν γυναῖκες τῆς παιδοποιήσεως ἀπηλλαγμέναι τυγχάνωσιν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἱερέας τε καὶ ἱερείας ὡς καθαρεύοντι τῷ τάφῳ ἕπεσθαι, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴργωνται τάφων, ἐὰν καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθίας οὕτω τε καὶ ταύτῃ σύμψηφον ᾖ.

947d θήκην δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς αὐτοῖς εἰργασμένην εἶναι ψαλίδα προμήκη λίθων ποτίμων καὶ ἀγήρων εἰς δύναμιν, ἔχουσαν κλίνας παρ' ἀλλήλας λιθίνας [947e] κειμένας, οὗ δὴ τὸν μακάριον γεγονότα θέντες, κύκλῳ χώσαντες, πέριξ δένδρων ἄλσος περιφυτεύσουσι πλὴν κώλου ἑνός, ὅπως ἂν αὔξην ὁ τάφος ἔχῃ ταύτην τὴν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐπιδεῆ χώματος τοῖς τιθεμένοις· κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα μουσικῆς αὐτοῖς καὶ γυμνικὸν ἱππικόν τε θήσουσιν. τὰ μὲν δὴ γέρα ταῦτα τοῖς τὰς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῦσιν· ἂν δέ τις τούτων, πιστεύων τῷ κεκρίσθαι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἐπιδείξῃ κακὸς γενόμενος ὕστερον τῆς κρίσεως, γράφεσθαι μὲν τὸν βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ὁ νόμος προσταττέτω, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν [948a] ἐν δικαστηρίῳ γιγνέσθω τοιῷδέ τινι τρόπῳ.

948a πρῶτον μὲν νομοφύλακες ἔστωσαν τούτου τοῦ δικαστηρίου, ἔπειτα αὐτῶν τούτων οἱ ζῶντες, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν δικαστήριον, γραφέσθω δὲ ὁ γραφόμενος, ὃν ἂν γράφηται, λέγουσαν τὴν γραφὴν ἀνάξιον εἶναι τὸν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀριστείων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ὁ φεύγων ἁλῷ, στερέσθω τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τάφου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δοθεισῶν αὐτῷ τιμῶν, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ διώκων μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν [948b] ψήφων, τινέτω ὁ μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος δώδεκα μνᾶς, ὀκτὼ δὲ ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου, τρίτου δὲ ἕξ, τετάρτου δὲ δύο.

ENGLISH

hundred of the young men from the gymnasiums, chosen by the dead man's relatives, are to carry the bier itself to the tomb. In front go the unmarried young men, each wearing his military equipment—cavalry with their horses, heavy infantry with their arms, and the others likewise—while boys around the bier itself, in front of it, sing the traditional song, [947d] and girls follow behind, together with any women who are past childbearing. After them priests and priestesses are to follow, as to a tomb that is pure, even if they are barred from other tombs—provided the Pythia's response also agrees with this, and in this way.

Their tomb is to be built underground: an oblong vault of choice stone, as enduring as possible, with stone couches laid side by side. [947e] There they will lay the one who has become blessed, heap up earth in a circle around it, and plant a grove of trees all round, except on one side, so that the tomb may have room to grow in that direction for all time, as those laid there need more mound. And every year they will hold a contest in music, athletics and horsemanship in their honor. These, then, are the rewards for those who pass their audit. But if any of them, relying on having been judged, shows his human nature by becoming bad after the judgment, the law is to direct that anyone who wishes may indict him, and the trial [948a] is to take place in court in some such way as this.

First, the guardians of the laws are to sit on this court, then the living members of the auditors themselves, and in addition the court of select judges. The prosecutor is to write his indictment against whomever he indicts, stating that so-and-so is unworthy of the prize and of the office. If the defendant is convicted, he is to be deprived of his office, of the tomb, and of the other honors given him; if the prosecutor doesn't obtain a fifth of the [948b] votes, he is to pay twelve minas if he belongs to the highest property class, eight if to the second, six if to the third, and two if to the fourth.

OATHS IN THE COURTS

Since belief in the gods has weakened, parties to lawsuits are no longer to swear oaths.

GREEK

948b **ATHENIAN** Ῥαδαμάνθυος δὲ περὶ τὴν λεγομένην κρίσιν τῶν δικῶν ἄξιον ἄγασθαι, διότι κατεῖδεν τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους ἡγουμένους ἐναργῶς εἶναι θεούς, εἰκότως,

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN Rhadamanthus deserves admiration for the way he is said to have decided cases, because he saw that the people of that time clearly

GREEK

ἅτε κατὰ τὸν τότε χρόνον τῶν πολλῶν ἐκ θεῶν ὄντων, ὧν εἷς ἦν αὐτός, ὥς γε λόγος. ἔοικεν δὴ δικαστῇ μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὶ διανοούμενος δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, θεοῖς δέ, ὅθεν ἁπλαῖ καὶ ταχεῖαι δίκαι ἐκρίνοντ' αὐτῷ· διδοὺς γὰρ περὶ ἑκάστων τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων [948c] ὅρκον τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἀπηλλάττετο ταχὺ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς.

948c νῦν δὲ δὴ ὅτε μέρος τι μέν, φαμέν, ἀνθρώπων τὸ παράπαν οὐχ ἡγοῦνται θεούς, οἱ δὲ οὐ φροντίζειν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς διανοοῦνται, τῶν δὲ δὴ πλείστων ἐστὶ καὶ κακίστων ἡ δόξα ὡς σμικρὰ δεχόμενοι θύματα καὶ θωπείας πολλὰ συναποστεροῦσι χρήματα καὶ μεγάλων σφᾶς ἐκλύονται κατὰ πολλὰ ζημιῶν, οὐκέτι δὴ τοῖς νῦν ἀνθρώποις ἡ Ῥαδαμάνθυος [948d] ἂν εἴη τέχνη πρέπουσα ἐν δίκαις. μεταβεβληκυιῶν οὖν τῶν περὶ θεοὺς δοξῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μεταβάλλειν δεῖ καὶ τοὺς νόμους· ἐν γὰρ λήξεσιν δικῶν τοὺς μετὰ νοῦ τιθεμένους νόμους ἐξαιρεῖν χρὴ τοὺς ὅρκους τῶν ἀντιδικούντων ἑκατέρων, καὶ τὸν λαγχάνοντά τῳ τινα δίκην τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα γράφειν, ὅρκον δὲ μὴ ἐπομνύναι, καὶ τὸν φεύγοντα κατὰ ταὐτὰ τὴν ἄρνησιν γράψαντα παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀνώμοτον.

948d δεινὸν γάρ που, δικῶν γ' ἐν πόλει πολλῶν [948e] γενομένων, εὖ εἰδέναι σμικροῦ δεῖν τοὺς ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν ἐπιωρκηκότας, ἐν συσσιτίοις τε ἀλλήλοις εὐχερῶς συγγιγνομένους καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις συνουσίαις τε καὶ ἰδιωτικαῖς συγγενήσεσιν ἑκάστων. νόμος δὴ κείσθω δικαστὴν μὲν ὀμνύναι δικάζειν μέλλοντα, καὶ τὸν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ κοινῷ καθιστάντα [949a] δι' ὅρκων ἢ διὰ φορᾶς ψήφων ἀφ' ἱερῶν φέροντα δρᾶν ἀεὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ κριτὴν αὖ χορῶν καὶ πάσης μουσικῆς καὶ γυμνικῶν τε καὶ ἱππικῶν ἄθλων ἐπιστάτας καὶ βραβέας καὶ ἁπάντων ὁπόσα μὴ φέρει κέρδος κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν τῷ ἐπιορκοῦντι· τῶν δὲ ὁπόσα ἐξαρνηθέντι καὶ ἐξομοσαμένῳ κέρδος μέγα φανερὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ταῦτα δὲ διὰ δικῶν ὅρκων χωρὶς κρίνεσθαι σύμπαντας τοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις.

949a καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐν δίκῃ τοὺς προέδρους μὴ [949b] ἐπιτρέπειν μήτε ὀμνύντι λέγειν πιθανότητος χάριν μήτε ἐπαρώμενον ἑαυτῷ καὶ γένει μήτε ἱκετείαις χρώμενον ἀσχήμοσιν μήτε οἰκτοις γυναικείοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον μετ' εὐφημίας

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believed that there are gods—reasonably enough, since in that time many were descended from gods, and he himself was one of them, as the story goes. It seems he thought that no human being should be trusted as judge, but only gods; and so his cases were decided simply and swiftly. For he would give the disputing parties an oath on each point in dispute [948c] and be finished with them quickly and safely.[6]

But now, when some people, as we say, don't believe in gods at all, others think the gods don't care about us, and the belief of most people, and the worst, is that in return for small sacrifices and flatteries the gods will help them steal large sums and will free them from heavy penalties in many cases, Rhadamanthus's [948d] method would no longer be suitable in lawsuits for people today. Since people's beliefs about the gods have changed, the laws must change too. When lawsuits are filed, laws laid down with sense must remove the oaths of both parties. Whoever brings a suit against someone must write down his charges, but not swear an oath to them; and the defendant, likewise, must write down his denial and hand it to the officials unsworn.

For surely it's a terrible thing, when there are many lawsuits in a city, [948e] to know full well that nearly half the people have perjured themselves, while they mix easily with one another at the common meals and in other gatherings and in their private dealings with each other. So let it be the law that a judge must swear an oath when he is about to judge; and whoever appoints officials for the community must always do so either under oath or by votes carried from the altars; [949a] and so too the judge of choruses and of all music, and the supervisors and umpires of athletic and equestrian contests, and in all matters where, in human opinion, perjury brings no gain to the perjurer. But in all cases where a large and obvious gain seems likely for someone who denies a charge on oath, all those who bring charges against one another are to be judged by trials without oaths.

And in general, in a trial the presiding officials are not [949b] to allow anyone to speak under oath to make his case persuasive, or to call down curses on himself and his family, or to use unseemly sup-

6 Rhadamanthus, son of Zeus and brother of Minos, was a legendary Cretan lawgiver and a judge of the dead.

GREEK

διδάσκοντα καὶ μανθάνοντα ἀεὶ διατελεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, καθάπερ ἔξω τοῦ λόγου λέγοντος, τοὺς ἄρχοντας πάλιν ἐπανάγειν εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀεὶ λόγον. ξένῳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς ξένους, καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, δέχεσθαί τε ὅρκους παρ' [949c] ἀλλήλων, ἂν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ διδόναι κυρίως—οὐ γὰρ καταγηράσουσιν οὐδ' ἐννεοττεύοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοιούτους ἄλλους κυρίους τῆς χώρας παρέξονται συντρόφους —δικῶν τε περὶ λήξεως τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πᾶσι τὴν κρίσιν.

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plications or undignified laments; he is to keep always to explaining and learning what is just, in respectful language. Otherwise the officials are to treat him as speaking off the subject, and always bring him back to the question at issue. Between foreigners, as things are now, it is to be allowed to accept oaths from [949c] one another, if they wish, and to give them with binding effect—for they won't grow old in the city, and for the most part won't nest in it and produce others like themselves, raised there, to be masters of the country—and for suits they file against each other the same procedure is to apply to them all.

949c ὅσα τις ἐλεύθερος ἀπειθεῖ τῇ πόλει, μήτ' οὖν πληγῶν ἄξια μηδ' αὖ δεσμῶν μηδὲ θανάτου, περὶ δὲ χορείας τινῶν φοιτήσεων ἢ πομπεύσεων ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων κοινῶν [949d] κοσμήσεων ἢ λητουργιῶν, ὁπόσα περὶ θυσίας εἰρηνικῆς ἢ πολεμικῶν εἰσφορῶν εἵνεκα, πάντων τῶν τοιούτων τὴν πρώτην ἀνάγκην ἰατὴν εἶναι τῆς ζημίας, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις ἐνεχυρασίαν τούτοις οἷς ἂν πόλις ἅμα καὶ νόμος εἰσπράττειν προστάττῃ, τῶν δὲ ἀπειθούντων ταῖς ἐνεχυρασίαις πρᾶσιν τῶν ἐνεχύρων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ νόμισμα γίγνεσθαι τῇ πόλει· ἐὰν δὲ ζημίας δέωνται πλείονος, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἑκάστας τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι τὰς πρεπούσας ζημίας ἐπιβαλλούσας [949e] εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ἕως ἂν ἐθελήσωσι δρᾶν τὸ προσταχθέν.

Where a free person disobeys the city in matters that don't merit beatings or imprisonment or death—concerning attendance at choral performances, or processions, or other such public [949d] ceremonies or public services, whether for sacrifice in peacetime or for contributions in war—in all such cases the first compulsion is to be a fine, as a remedy. For those who don't comply, there is to be seizure of goods by those whom the city and the law direct to collect; and for those who defy the seizure, a sale of the goods seized, with the money going to the city. If they need a greater penalty, each of the offices is to impose the appropriate penalties on the disobedient and [949e] bring them before the court, until they are willing to do what they've been ordered.

TRAVEL ABROAD AND FOREIGN VISITORS

Rules for citizens traveling as observers and for receiving four kinds of visitor.

GREEK

949e **ATHENIAN** πόλει δέ, ἥτις ἂν μήτε χρηματίζηται πλὴν τὸν ἐκ γῆς χρηματισμὸν μήτ' ἐμπορεύηται, περὶ ἀποδημίας ἑαυτῶν ἔξω τῆς χώρας καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχῆς ἄλλοθεν ἀνάγκη βεβουλεῦσθαι τί χρὴ δρᾶν· συμβουλεύειν οὖν τὸν νομοθέτην δεῖ τούτων πέρι πρῶτον πείθοντα εἰς δύναμιν. πέφυκεν δὲ ἡ πόλεων ἐπιμειξία πόλεσιν ἤθη κεραννύναι παντοδαπά, [950a] καινοτομίας ἀλλήλοις ἐμποιούντων ξένων ξένοις· ὃ δὴ τοῖς μὲν εὖ πολιτευομένοις διὰ νόμων ὀρθῶν βλάβην ἂν φέροι μεγίστην πασῶν, ταῖς δὲ πλείσταις πόλεσιν, ἅτε οὐδαμῶς εὐνομουμέναις, οὐδὲν διαφέρει φύρεσθαι δεχομένους τε αὐτοῖς ξένους καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐπικωμάζοντας πόλεις, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσῃ τις ἀποδημίας ὁπῃοῦν καὶ ὁπότε, εἴτε νέος εἴτε καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὤν.

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN Now a city that makes no money except what comes from the land, and does no trading, must have worked out what to do about its own people traveling abroad outside the territory, and about receiving foreigners from elsewhere. So the lawgiver must advise on these matters, first trying to persuade as far as he can. It is in the nature of contact between cities to blend characters of every sort, [950a] as strangers plant novelties in strangers. For those who are governed well under correct laws this would do the greatest harm of all; but for most cities, since they are in no way well governed, it makes no difference if they mix, receiving foreigners among themselves and going

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off on sprees to other cities in turn, whenever anyone, young or older, feels like traveling abroad, anywhere and at any time.

950a τὸ δ' αὖ μήτε ἄλλους δέχεσθαι μήτε αὐτοὺς ἄλλοσε ἀποδημεῖν ἅμα μὲν οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τό γε [950b] παράπαν, ἔτι δὲ ἄγριον καὶ ἀπηνὲς φαίνοιτ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, ὀνόμασίν τε χαλεποῖς ταῖσιν λεγομέναις ξενηλασίαις χρωμένους καὶ τρόποις αὐθάδεσι καὶ χαλεποῖς, ὡς δοκοῖεν ἄν· χρὴ δὲ οὔποτε περὶ σμικροῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὸ δοκεῖν ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἢ μὴ δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὅσον οὐσίας ἀρετῆς ἀπεσφαλμένοι τυγχάνουσιν οἱ πολλοί, τοσοῦτον καὶ τοῦ κρίνειν τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι πονηροὶ καὶ χρηστοί, θεῖον δέ τι καὶ εὔστοχον ἔνεστι καὶ τοῖσιν κακοῖς, ὥστε πάμπολλοι [950c] καὶ τῶν σφόδρα κακῶν εὖ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς δόξαις διαιροῦνται τοὺς ἀμείνους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς χείρονας. διὸ καλὸν ταῖς πολλαῖς πόλεσι τὸ παρακέλευμά ἐστιν, προτιμᾶν τὴν εὐδοξίαν πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν.

On the other hand, to receive no one else and never to go abroad oneself is, first, not entirely [950b] possible; and besides, it would look savage and harsh to the rest of mankind: people would think we were using that ugly term, "expulsion of foreigners," and arrogant, harsh ways. And one must never make light of whether one seems good to others or not. The many are not as far from judging who among other people is wicked and who is decent as they are from the reality of virtue. There is something divine and sure of aim even in bad people, so that a great many, [950c] even of the very bad, draw the line well, in their words and opinions, between the better sort of people and the worse. That is why it is a fine exhortation that many cities hold, to value a good name among the many.[7]

950c τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὀρθότατον καὶ μέγιστον, ὄντα ἀγαθὸν ἀληθῶς οὕτω τὸν εὔδοξον βίον θηρεύειν, χωρὶς δὲ μηδαμῶς, τόν γε τέλεον ἄνδρα ἐσόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ κατὰ Κρήτην οἰκιζομένῃ πόλει πρέπον ἂν εἴη δόξαν πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὅτι [950d] καλλίστην τε καὶ ἀρίστην παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετήν· πᾶσα δ' ἐλπὶς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων, ἅνπερ κατὰ λόγον γίγνηται, μετ' ὀλίγων ἥλιον ὄψεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἐν ταῖς εὐνόμοις πόλεσι καὶ χώραις. ὧδε οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ἀποδημίας εἰς ἄλλας χώρας καὶ τόπους καὶ περὶ ὑποδοχῆς ξένων.

The most correct and most important thing is to be truly good and so to hunt for a life of good repute, and never to seek it apart from that, at least if one is to be a complete man. And so it would also befit the city being founded in Crete to acquire among the rest of mankind the [950d] finest and best possible reputation for virtue. There is every reason to hope, in all likelihood, if things go as planned, that the sun and the other gods will see it among the few well-governed cities and lands. So here is what must be done about traveling abroad to other lands and places, and about receiving foreigners.

950d πρῶτον μὲν νεωτέρῳ ἐτῶν τετταράκοντα μὴ ἐξέστω ἀποδημῆσαι μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς, ἔτι τε ἰδίᾳ μηδενί, δημοσίᾳ δ' ἔστω κήρυξιν ἢ πρεσβείαις ἢ καί τισι θεωροῖς· [950e] τὰς δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ στρατείας ἀποδημίας οὐκ ἐν ἐκδημίαις πολιτικαῖς ἄξιον ἀγορεύειν ὡς τούτων οὔσας. Πυθώδε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν τῷ Διὶ καὶ εἰς Νεμέαν καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν χρὴ πέμπειν κοινωνοῦντας θυσιῶν τε καὶ ἀγώνων τούτοις τοῖς θεοῖς, πέμπειν δὲ εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι πλείστους ἅμα καὶ καλλίστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους, οἵτινες εὐδόκιμον τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἱεραῖς τε καὶ εἰρηνικαῖς συνουσίαις ποιήσουσι [951a] δοκεῖν, τοῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀντίστροφον ἀποδιδόντες δόξης παρασκευήν, ἐλθόντες δὲ οἴκαδε διδάξουσι τοὺς νέους ὅτι δεύτερα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ νόμιμα τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας.

First, no one under forty may travel abroad anywhere, in any way whatever; further, no one may go privately, but only publicly, as heralds or envoys or as certain official observers at festivals. [950e] Trips abroad in war and on campaign don't deserve to be spoken of among civic journeys, as if they were of this kind. To Pytho for Apollo, to Olympia for Zeus, and to Nemea and the Isthmus, we must send people to share in the sacrifices and games of these gods; and we must send as many as possible, and the finest and best, who will make the city [951a] seem glorious in sacred and peaceful gatherings, giving it a counterpart to its glory in war; and when they come home they will teach

7 Sparta was known for its periodic expulsions of foreigners (*xenēlasia*).

GREEK

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the young that other people's customs regarding constitutions are second-rate.[8]

951a θεωροὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκπέμπειν χρεὼν τοιούσδε τινὰς τοὺς νομοφύλακας παρεμένους· ἄν τινες ἐπιθυμῶσι τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πράγματα θεωρῆσαι κατά τινα πλείω σχολήν, ἀπειργέτω μηδεὶς τούτους νόμος. οὔτε [951b] γὰρ ἄπειρος οὖσα πόλις ἀνθρώπων κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δύναιτ' ἄν ποτε, ἀνομίλητος οὖσα, ἥμερος ἱκανῶς εἶναι καὶ τέλεος, οὐδ' αὖ τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν ἄνευ τοῦ γνώμῃ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον ἔθεσιν. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄνθρωποι ἀεὶ θεῖοί τινες—οὐ πολλοί—παντὸς ἄξιοι συγγίγνεσθαι, φυόμενοι οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐν εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ἢ καὶ μή, ὧν κατ' ἴχνος ἀεὶ χρὴ τὸν ἐν ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν οἰκοῦντα, ἐξιόντα κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ γῆν, ζητεῖν [951c] ὃς ἂν ἀδιάφθαρτος ᾖ, τὰ μὲν βεβαιούμενον τῶν νομίμων, ὅσα καλῶς αὐτοῖς κεῖται, τὰ δ' ἐπανορθούμενον, εἴ τι παραλείπεται.

But other observers must be sent out, of the following sort, with the permission of the guardians of the laws. If any citizens wish to observe the affairs of other people at greater leisure, let no law hold them back. For [951b] a city without experience of bad and good men, never mixing with others, could never be sufficiently civilized and complete; nor could it keep its laws safe without grasping them by understanding and not by habit alone. Among the many there are always some divine people (not many) whose company is worth anything; and they are born no more in well-governed cities than in badly governed ones. The man who lives in a well-governed city, if [951c] he is incorruptible, should always go out by sea and land to track them down, confirming those of his own customs that are well established and correcting any that fall short.

951c ἄνευ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς θεωρίας καὶ ζητήσεως οὐ μένει ποτὲ τελέως πόλις, οὐδ' ἂν κακῶς αὐτὴν θεωρῶσιν.

For without this observation and inquiry a city never remains complete, nor will it if they carry out the observation badly.

CLINIAS πῶς οὖν ἂν γίγνοιτ' ἀμφότερα;

CLINIAS Then how could both be achieved?

ATHENIAN τῇδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεωρὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν γεγονὼς ἔστω πλειόνων ἐτῶν ἢ πεντήκοντα, ἔτι δὲ τῶν εὐδοκίμων τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔστω γεγενημένος, [951d] εἰ μέλλει τὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων δεῖγμα εἰς τὰς ἄλλας μεθήσειν πόλεις· πλέον δὲ ἑξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν μηκέτι θεωρείτω. θεωρήσας δὲ ὁπόσ' ἂν ἔτη βουληθῇ τῶν δέκα καὶ ἀφικόμενος οἴκαδε, εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ἴτω τὸν τῶν περὶ νόμους ἐποπτευόντων· οὗτος δ' ἔστω νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων μεμειγμένος, ἑκάστης μὲν ἡμέρας συλλεγόμενος ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀπ' ὄρθρου μέχριπερ ἂν ἥλιος ἀνάσχῃ, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ἱερέων τῶν τὰ ἀριστεῖα εἰληφότων, ἔπειτα τῶν νομοφυλάκων [951e] τοὺς ἀεὶ πρεσβεύοντας δέκα. ἔτι ὁ περὶ τῆς παιδείας πάσης ἐπιμελητὴς ὅ τε νέος οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης ἀπηλλαγμένοι.

ATHENIAN Like this. First, an observer of this kind must be over fifty years old, and moreover he must have been one of those with a good name, in war as well as in other respects, [951d] if he is going to send out a sample of the guardians of the laws to the other cities. Once over sixty, let him no longer travel as an observer. When he has observed for as many of the ten years as he wishes and has come home, let him go to the council of those who oversee the laws. This council is to be a mixture of young and old, and must meet every day without fail from dawn until the sun is up. It is made up, first, of the priests who have received the awards of distinction; next, of the guardians of the laws, [951e] the ten eldest at any given time; and also the director of education, both the current one and those who have retired from that office.[9]

951e ἕκαστος δὲ τούτων μὴ μόνος, ἀλλ' ἴτω μετὰ νέου ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μέχρι τετταράκοντα, τὸν ἀρέσκοντα αὑτῷ προσλαμβάνων. τὴν δὲ συνουσίαν εἶναι τούτοις καὶ [952a] τοὺς λόγους περὶ νόμων ἀεὶ τῆς τε οἰκείας πόλεως πέρι,

Each of these is not to come alone, but with a young man between thirty and forty, choosing one he likes. Their meetings and [952a] discussions are always to be about laws and about their own city,

8 Official observers (*theōroi*, literally "spectators") were a city's delegates to religious festivals abroad; Pytho is Delphi.
9 This is the body later called the Nocturnal Council (961a–b), though here it meets at dawn.

GREEK

καὶ ἐὰν ἄλλοθι πυνθάνωνταί τι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαφέρον, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ μαθημάτων, ὁπόσ' ἂν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σκέψει δοκῇ συμφέρειν μαθοῦσι μὲν εὐαγέστερον γίγνεσθαι, μὴ μαθοῦσι δὲ σκοτωδέστερα τὰ περὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἀσαφῆ.

952a ἃ δ' ἂν τούτων ἐγκρίνωσιν οἱ γεραίτεροι, τοὺς νεωτέρους πάσῃ σπουδῇ μανθάνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἀνάξιος δοκῇ τῶν παρακεκλημένων εἶναι, τῷ παρακαλοῦντι μέμφεσθαι τὸν 952b σύλλογον ὅλον· τοὺς δ' εὐδοκιμοῦντας τούτων τῶν νέων φυλάττειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, ἀποβλέποντας εἰς αὐτοὺς διαφερόντως τε τηροῦντας, καὶ τιμᾶν μὲν κατορθοῦντας, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐὰν ἀποβαίνωσι χείρους τῶν πολλῶν.

952b εἰς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν σύλλογον ὁ θεωρήσας τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις νόμιμα ἀφικόμενος εὐθὺς πορευέσθω, καὶ εἴ τινα φήμην τινῶν περὶ θέσεως νόμων ἢ παιδείας ἢ τροφῆς ηὗρεν τινας ἔχοντας φράζειν, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς νενοηκὼς ἄττα ἥκοι, κοινούτω τῷ συλλόγῳ ἅπαντι· 952c καὶ ἐάντε μηδὲν χείρων μηδέ τι βελτίων ἥκειν δόξῃ, χάριν γοῦν τῆς σφόδρα προθυμίας αἰνείσθω, ἐὰν δὲ πολὺ βελτίων, πολύ τ' ἐπαινείσθω μᾶλλον ζῶν, τελευτήσαντά τε τιμαῖς αὐτὸν προσηκούσαις ἡ τῶν συλλεγομένων τιμάτω δύναμις. ἐὰν δὲ διεφθαρμένος ἀφικέσθαι δόξῃ, μηδενὶ συγγιγνέσθω μήτε νέῳ μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ προσποιούμενος εἶναι σοφός· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν πείθηται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἰδιώτης ζήτω, ἐὰν δὲ 952d μή, τεθνάτω, ἐάν γ' ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἁλῷ πολυπραγμονῶν τι περὶ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους.

952d ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιον ὄντα εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσάγειν ἀρχόντων μηδεὶς εἰσάγῃ, ὄνειδος ἀποκείσθω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀριστείων διαδικασίαν.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐκδημῶν οὕτω καὶ τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐκδημείτω, τὸν δ' εἰσεπιδημήσαντα μετὰ τοῦτον χρὴ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. τέτταρες δ' εἰσὶ ξένοι ὧν δεῖ πέρι λόγον τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι· ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτός τε καὶ διὰ τέλους ἀεὶ θερινὸς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ 952e διατελῶν ταῖς φοιτήσεσιν, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ὀρνίθων διαπορευόμενοι—καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀτεχνῶς οἷον πετόμενοι χρηματισμοῦ χάριν ἐμπορευόμενοι ἔτους ὥραν πέτονται πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις— ὃν ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι καὶ δημοσίοις οἰκοδομήμασιν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῇ πόλει ὑποδέχεσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄρχοντας τεταγμένους, 953a φυλάττοντας μὴ νεωτερίζῃ τίς τι τῶν τοιούτων

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and about anything different they may learn about such matters elsewhere, and also about those branches of study that seem to help in this inquiry: those who learn them see matters of law more clearly, while to those who don't, these things seem darker and obscure.

Whatever of these studies the elders approve, the younger members are to learn with all diligence. And if one of those invited seems unworthy, the whole 952b council is to blame the one who invited him. Those of these young men who are well regarded the rest of the city is to watch over, keeping its eyes on them and observing them closely; it is to honor them when they succeed, but dishonor them more than the others if they turn out worse than most people.

To this council, then, the man who has observed the customs of other peoples is to go straight on his return. If he has found people able to tell him some report about lawmaking or education or upbringing, or if he comes back with ideas of his own, let him share them with the whole council. 952c If he seems to have come back neither worse nor better, let him at least be commended for his great zeal; if much better, let him be praised much more while he lives, and when he dies let the council, with its authority, honor him with fitting honors. But if he seems to have come back corrupted, he is not to associate with anyone, young or old, claiming to be wise. If he obeys the officials, let him live as a private person; if 952d not, let him die, if he is convicted in court of meddling in education and the laws.

And if he deserves to be brought to court and none of the officials brings him, let it be laid up as a reproach against the officials when the awards of distinction are decided.

That, then, is how the man who goes abroad should go, and what kind of man he should be. Next, the visitor who comes here from abroad must be made welcome. There are four kinds of visitor we must say something about. The first comes regularly and for good, mostly in summer, 952e like birds of passage; and most of these, just as if they had wings, fly across the sea for trade and profit at that season of the year to other cities. Such a visitor must be received by the officials appointed for the purpose in the markets, harbors

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ξένων, καὶ δίκας αὐτοῖς ὀρθῶς διανέμοντας, ἀναγκαῖα μέν, ὡς ὀλίγιστα δ' ἐπιχρωμένους.

and public buildings outside the city but near it; [953a] they must watch that none of these foreigners introduces any innovation, and dispense justice to them correctly, dealing with them as far as necessary but as little as possible.

953a ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, ὄμμασιν ὄντως θεωρὸς ὅσα τε μουσῶν ὠσὶν ἔχεται θεωρήματα· τῷ δὴ τοιούτῳ παντὶ χρὴ καταλύσεις πρὸς ἱεροῖς εἶναι φιλοξενίαις ἀνθρώπων παρεσκευασμένας, χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἱερέας τε καὶ νεωκόρους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τημελεῖν, ἕως ἂν τὸν μέτριον ἐπιμείναντες χρόνον, ἰδόντες τε καὶ ἀκούσαντες ὧν χάριν ἀφίκοντο, [953b] ἀβλαβεῖς τοῦ δρᾶσαί τε καὶ παθεῖν ἀπαλλάττωνται. δικαστὰς δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἱερέας, ἐὰν ἀδικῇ τις αὐτῶν τινα ἤ τιν' ἄλλον ἀδικῇ τις τούτων ὅσα ἐντὸς δραχμῶν πεντήκοντα, ἐὰν δέ τι μεῖζον ἔγκλημα αὐτοῖς γίγνηται, πρὸς τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις εἶναι δεῖ δίκας τοῖς τοιούτοις.

The second is an observer in the true sense, with his eyes, and of all the spectacles of the Muses that belong to the ears. For every visitor of this kind there must be lodgings near temples, prepared for the hospitable reception of people, and the priests and temple-keepers must look after and care for them, until, having stayed a reasonable time and seen and heard what they came for, [953b] they depart without having done or suffered harm. Their judges are to be the priests, if one of them wrongs someone or someone wrongs one of them in a matter up to fifty drachmas; if some larger charge arises, their cases must go before the market wardens.

953b τρίτον δὲ ξένον ὑποδέχεσθαι χρὴ δημοσίᾳ τὸν κατά τι δημόσιον ἐξ ἄλλης χώρας ἀφιγμένον· ὃν στρατηγοῖς τε καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ ταξιάρχοις ὑποδεκτέον ἐστὶν μόνοις, τήν τ' ἐπιμέλειαν [953c] τῶν τοιούτων μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων ποιητέον ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὅτῳ τις ἂν αὐτῶν τὴν κατάλυσιν ξενωθεὶς ποιήσηται μόνῳ. τέταρτος δέ, ἄν ποτέ τις ἀφίκηται, σπάνιος μέν, ἂν δ' οὖν ποτέ τις ἔλθῃ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρῶν ἀντίστροφος ἐξ ἄλλης χώρας, πρῶτον μὲν ἔλαττον ἐτῶν μηδὲν πεντήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔστω, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ ἀξιῶν τι καλὸν ἰδεῖν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν διαφέρον ἐν καλλοναῖς ἢ καὶ δεῖξαί τι κατὰ [953d] ταὐτὰ ἄλλῃ πόλει.

Third, we must receive at public expense the visitor who has come from another land on some public business. He is to be received by the generals, cavalry commanders and infantry commanders alone, and the care [953c] of such a visitor, together with the prytanes, is to belong solely to the one at whose house he is hosted and lodges. The fourth, if one ever comes, is rare; but if one of these ever does come from another land, a counterpart to our own observers, he must first be not less than fifty years old, and in addition claim to be seeing something fine that surpasses in beauty what is found in other cities, or else to be showing something of the [953d] same kind to another city.

953d ἴτω μὲν νῦν πᾶς ἀκέλευστος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων καὶ σοφῶν θύρας, τοιοῦτος ἕτερος αὐτὸς ὤν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελουμένου πάσης οἴκησιν ἴτω πιστεύων ἱκανῶς εἶναι ξένος τῷ τοιούτῳ ξένῳ, ἢ τὴν τῶν νικηφόρων τινὸς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, συνὼν δὲ τούτων τισὶν τὸ μὲν διδάξας, τὸ δὲ μαθὼν ἀπαλλαττέσθω, φίλος παρὰ φίλων δώροις καὶ τιμαῖς πρεπούσαις τιμηθείς. τούτοις δὴ τοῖς νόμοις ὑποδέχεσθαί τε χρὴ πάντας ξένους [953e] τε καὶ ξένας ἐξ ἄλλης χώρας καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκπέμπειν, τιμῶντας ξένιον Δία, μὴ βρώμασι καὶ θύμασι τὰς ξενηλασίας ποιουμένους, καθάπερ ποιοῦσιν νῦν θρέμματα Νείλου, μηδὲ κηρύγμασιν ἀγρίοις.

Every such visitor may go unbidden to the doors of the rich and wise, being himself another of that kind. Let him go to the house of the director of education, confident that he is a fit guest for such a host, or to the house of one of those who have won prizes for virtue; and after spending time with some of these, teaching one thing and learning another, let him depart, a friend from friends, honored with fitting gifts and honors. These are the laws by which we must receive all foreigners, [953e] men and women, from other lands, and send out our own, honoring Zeus the god of strangers: not driving foreigners out by rules about food and sacrifices, as the nurslings of the Nile now do, nor by savage proclamations.[10]

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953e	ἐγγύην, ἣν ἂν ἐγγυᾶταί τις, διαρρήδην ἐγγυάσθω, τὴν πρᾶξιν πᾶσαν διομολογούμενος ἐν συγγραφῇ καὶ ἐναντίον μαρτύρων μὴ ἔλαττον τριῶν, ὅσα ἐντὸς χιλίων, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ [954a] χιλίας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε. ἐγγυητὴς μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ προπωλῶν ὁτιοῦν τοῦ μὴ ἐνδίκως πωλοῦντος ἢ καὶ μηδαμῶς ἀξιόχρεω· ὑπόδικος δ' ἔστω καὶ ὁ προπωλῶν καθάπερ ὁ ἀποδόμενος.	Any guarantee a person gives, he is to give in express terms, setting out the whole transaction in a written contract before not fewer than three witnesses if it is under a thousand drachmas, and above [954a] a thousand not fewer than five. Anyone who sells on another's behalf is also a guarantor, for one who sells without lawful title or who cannot pay at all; and the one who sells on another's behalf is to be liable to prosecution just like the seller.
954a	φωρᾶν δὲ ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις παρ' ὁτῳοῦν, γυμνὸς ἢ χιτωνίσκον ἔχων ἄζωστος, προομόσας τοὺς νομίμους θεοὺς ἧ μὴν ἐλπίζειν εὑρήσειν, οὕτω φωρᾶν· ὁ δὲ παρεχέτω τὴν οἰκίαν, τά τε σεσημασμένα καὶ τὰ ἀσήμαντα, φωρᾶν. ἐὰν δέ τις [954b] ἐρευνᾶν βουλομένῳ φωρᾶν μὴ διδῷ, δικάζεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἀπειργόμενον, τιμησάμενον τὸ ἐρευνώμενον, ἂν δέ τις ὄφλῃ, τὴν διπλασίαν τοῦ τιμηθέντος βλάβην ἐκτίνειν. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποδημῶν οἰκίας δεσπότης τυγχάνῃ, τὰ μὲν ἀσήμαντα παρεχόντων οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐρευνᾶν, τὰ δὲ σεσημασμένα παρασημηνάσθω καὶ ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃ φύλακα καταστησάτω πέντε ἡμέρας ὁ φωρῶν· ἐὰν δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἀπῇ, τοὺς ἀστυνόμους παραλαβὼν οὕτω φωράτω, λύων καὶ τὰ σεσημασμένα, [954c] πάλιν δὲ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ τῶν ἀστυνόμων κατὰ ταὐτὰ σημηνάσθω.	If anyone wishes to search someone's house for stolen goods, he is to do it naked, or in a short tunic without a belt, first swearing by the customary gods that he truly expects to find them; and the other must let him search the house, both the sealed things and the unsealed ones. If anyone [954b] refuses a man who wants to search, the one prevented may sue, stating the value of what he is looking for; and if the other is convicted, he must pay twice the assessed value in damages. If the master of the house happens to be abroad, the people living there are to let him search the unsealed things, while the searcher is to put his own seal beside the seals on the sealed ones and set any guard he likes for five days. If the master is away longer, the searcher is to bring in the city wardens and search that way, opening the sealed things too, [954c] and then seal them up again in the same way with the household and the city wardens.
954c	τῶν ἀμφισβητησίμων χρόνου ὅρος, ὃν ἐάν τις ᾖ κεκτημένος, μηκέτ' ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐξεῖναι. χωρίων μὲν οἰκήσεών τε τῇδε οὐκ ἔστ' ἀμφισβήτησις· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅτι ἄν τις ἐκτημένος ᾖ, ἐὰν μὲν κατὰ ἄστυ καὶ κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ ἱερὰ χρώμενος φαίνηται καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπιλάβηται, φῇ δὲ ζητεῖν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀποκρυπτόμενος φανερὸς ᾖ, ἐὰν [954d] οὕτω τις ἐνιαυτὸν ὁτιοῦν ἐκτημένος, ὁ δὲ ζητῶν διαγένωνται, μὴ ἐξέστω τοιούτου κτήματος ἐπιλαβέσθαι μηδέν' ἀπελθόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ κατ' ἄστυ μὲν μὴ μηδὲ κατ' ἀγορὰν χρῆται, κατ' ἀγροὺς δὲ φανερῶς, μὴ προστυχὴς δὲ ἐν πέντε ἔτεσιν γένηταί τις, τῶν πέντε ἐξελθόντων ἐτῶν, μηκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἐξέστω τούτῳ τοῦ τοιούτου ἐπιλαβέσθαι.	For disputed property there is to be a time limit, after which, once someone has held it that long, no dispute is allowed. Over land and houses there can be no dispute here. As for other things someone may possess: if he is seen using the thing in town, in the market and at temples, and no one lays claim to it, but someone says he has been searching for it all this time, while the holder plainly wasn't hiding it, then if [954d] a year goes by like this, the one holding the thing and the other searching, no one may lay claim to such property once the year has passed. If he uses it not in town or in the market but openly in the countryside, and no one comes across it within five years, then once the five years have passed, the claimant may

10 "The nurslings of the Nile" are the Egyptians, known among Greeks for keeping foreigners at a distance.

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		no longer lay claim to such property for the rest of time.
954d	ἐὰν δὲ κατ᾽ οἰκίας ἐν ἄστει τέ τις χρῆται, τριετῆ τὴν προθεσμίαν [954e] εἶναι, ἐὰν δὲ κατ᾽ ἀγροὺς ἐν ἀφανεῖ κεκτῆται, δέκα ἐτῶν, ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐν ἀλλοδημίᾳ, τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου, ὅταν ἀνεύρῃ που, μηδεμίαν εἶναι προθεσμίαν τῆς ἐπιλήψεως.	If someone uses it in town but indoors, the time limit [954e] is to be three years; if he keeps it in the country out of sight, ten years; if abroad, for all time: whenever the owner finds it anywhere, there is to be no time limit on laying claim to it.
954e	ἐάν τίς τινα δίκῃ παραγενέσθαι κωλύσῃ βίᾳ, εἴτε αὐτὸν εἴτε μάρτυρας, ἐὰν μὲν δοῦλον εἴτε αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἀλλότριον, ἀτελῆ καὶ ἄκυρον γίγνεσθαι τὴν δίκην, ἐὰν δὲ ἐλεύθερον, [955a] πρὸς τῷ ἀτελῆ, δεθῆναι μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, ὑπόδικον δὲ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῷ ἐθέλοντι γίγνεσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἀνταγωνιστὴν γυμναστικῆς ἢ μουσικῆς ἤ τινος ἀγῶνος ἑτέρου διακωλύῃ τις βίᾳ μὴ παραγίγνεσθαι, φραζέτω μὲν ὁ ἐθέλων τοῖς ἀθλοθέταις, οἱ δ᾽ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλεύθερον ἀφιέντων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἀγωνίζεσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ ἀδυνατήσωσιν, ἐὰν μὲν ὁ κωλύων ἀγωνίζεσθαι νικήσῃ, τά τε νικητήρια τῷ διακωλυθέντι [955b] διδόναι καὶ νικήσαντα γράφειν ἐν ἱεροῖς οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, τῷ δὲ διακωλύσαντι μὴ ἐξέστω μηδὲν ἀνάθημα μηδ᾽ ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ τοιούτου ἀγῶνός ποτε γενέσθαι, βλάβης δὲ ὑπόδικος γιγνέσθω, ἐάντε ἡττῆται ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐάντε καὶ νικᾷ.	If anyone uses force to prevent someone from attending a trial, whether the party himself or his witnesses, then if it is a slave, his own or another's, the trial is to be void and invalid; if it is a free man, [955a] besides the trial being void, the offender is to be imprisoned for a year and liable to prosecution for kidnapping by anyone who wishes. If anyone uses force to prevent a rival in athletics or music or any other contest from taking part, whoever wishes is to report it to the organizers of the games, and they are to set the one who wants to compete free to enter the contest. If they can't, and the one who prevented him from competing wins, they are to give the prize to the one who was prevented [955b] and record him as winner in any temples he wishes; and the one who prevented him may never have any dedication or inscription for such a contest, and is to be liable for damages, whether he loses the contest or wins it.
955b	ἐάν τις κλεμμάδιον ὁτιοῦν ὑποδέχηται γιγνώσκων, τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπεχέτω δίκην τῷ κλέψαντι· φυγάδος δὲ ὑποδοχῆς θάνατος ἔστω ζημία. τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον τε καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομιζέτω πᾶς τῇ πόλει· [955c] ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ ποιῆται πρός τινας εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ, θάνατος ἔστω καὶ τούτῳ ζημία· ἐὰν δέ τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον πρός τινας ἑαυτῷ ποιῆται, τοὺς αἰτίους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως εἰσαγόντων εἰς δικαστήριον, ὀφλόντι δὲ θάνατος ἔστω δίκη.	If anyone knowingly receives any stolen property whatever, he is to be liable to the same penalty as the thief. The penalty for harboring an exile is to be death. Everyone is to regard as friend and enemy the same people as the city does. [955c] If anyone makes peace or war privately with anyone, without the community, the penalty for him too is to be death. If some section of the city makes peace or war with anyone on its own account, the generals are to bring those responsible for this act to court, and the penalty for anyone convicted is to be death.
955c	τοὺς τῇ πατρίδι διακονοῦντάς τι δώρων χωρὶς χρὴ διακονεῖν, πρόφασιν δ᾽ εἶναι μηδεμίαν μηδὲ λόγον ἐπαινούμενον, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς μὲν δεῖ δέχεσθαι δῶρα, ἐπὶ δὲ φλαύροις [955d] οὔ· τὸ γὰρ γνῶναι καὶ γνόντα καρτερεῖν οὐκ εὐπετές, ἀκούοντα δὲ ἀσφαλέστατον πείθεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, μηδὲν ἐπὶ δώροισιν διακονεῖν. ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἁπλῶς τεθνάτω ἁλοὺς τῇ δίκῃ.	Those who perform any service for their country must do it without gifts. There is to be no excuse, and no approved argument, that one may accept gifts for good services but not for [955d] bad ones: it isn't easy to know which is which, and, knowing, to hold firm. The safest thing is to listen and obey the law: perform no service for gifts. Whoever disobeys is, if convicted in court, simply to be put to death.

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955d χρημάτων εἰσφορᾶς πέρι τῷ κοινῷ, τετιμῆσθαι μὲν ἕκαστον τὴν οὐσίαν ἕνεκα πολλῶν χρεὼν καὶ τὴν ἐπέτειον ἐπικαρπίαν ἐν γράμμασιν ἀποφέρειν ἀγρονόμοις φυλέτας, ὅπως ἂν δυοῖν οὔσαιν ταῖν εἰσφοραῖν, ὁποτέρᾳ τὸ δημόσιον 955e ἂν χρῆσθαι βούληται, χρῆται, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον βουλευομένων, ἐάντε τοῦ τιμήματος ὅλου μέρει ἐάντε τῆς γενομένης ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκάστοτε προσόδου, χωρὶς τῶν εἰς τὰ συσσίτια τελουμένων.

As to contributions of money to the community: for many reasons each person must have his property assessed, and the members of each tribe must report their year's produce in writing to the country wardens, so that, there being two kinds of levy, the treasury may use whichever 955e it wishes, deciding each year whether it will be a portion of the whole assessment or of the income arising in that year, apart from what is paid toward the common meals.

955e θεοῖσι δὲ ἀναθήματα χρεὼν ἔμμετρα τὸν μέτριον ἄνδρα ἀνατιθέντα δωρεῖσθαι. γῆ μὲν οὖν ἑστία τε οἰκήσεως ἱερὰ πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν· μηδεὶς οὖν δευτέρως ἱερὰ καθιερούτω θεοῖς. χρυσὸς δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἰδίᾳ τε 956a καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἐστιν ἐπίφθονον κτῆμα, ἐλέφας δὲ ἀπολελοιπότος ψυχὴν σώματος οὐκ εὐαγὲς ἀνάθημα, σίδηρος δὲ καὶ χαλκὸς πολέμων ὄργανα· ξύλου δὲ μονόξυλον ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις ἀνατιθέτω, καὶ λίθου ὡσαύτως πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἱερά, ὑφὴν δὲ μὴ πλέον ἔργον γυναικὸς μιᾶς ἔμμηνον. χρώματα δὲ λευκὰ πρέποντ' ἂν θεοῖς εἴη καὶ ἄλλοθι καὶ ἐν ὑφῇ, βάμματα δὲ μὴ προσφέρειν ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τὰ πολέμου 956b κοσμήματα. θειότατα δὲ δῶρα ὄρνιθές τε καὶ ἀγάλματα ὅσαπερ ἂν ἐν μιᾷ ζωγράφος ἡμέρᾳ εἷς ἀποτελῇ· καὶ τἆλλα ἔστω κατὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναθήματα μεμιμημένα.

A moderate man should present the gods with moderate offerings. Now the land and the hearth of one's home are sacred to all the gods, for everyone; so let no one consecrate these to the gods a second time. Gold and silver, in other cities, whether in private hands 956a or in temples, are possessions that arouse envy; ivory, from a body the soul has left, is not a pure offering; and iron and bronze are instruments of war. Of wood, let anyone dedicate whatever he wishes, provided it is made of a single piece, and likewise of stone, for the common temples; and of weaving, not more than one woman's work in a month. White would be a fitting color for the gods, in weaving as elsewhere; dyes should not be used except for the ornaments of 956b war. The most divine gifts are birds, and images such as a single painter can finish in one day; and let other offerings be modeled on these.

COURTS AND JUDGMENTS

Three levels of courts, and rules for enforcing the year's judgments.

GREEK

ENGLISH

956b **ATHENIAN** ὅτε δὲ μέρη διείρηται τῆς πόλεως συμπάσης, ὅσα τε καὶ ἃ δεῖ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ νόμοι περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων εἰς δύναμιν τῶν μεγίστων πέρι πάντων εἴρηνται, τὸ λοιπὸν δὴ δίκας ἂν εἴη χρεὼν γίγνεσθαι. δικαστηρίων δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἱρετοὶ δικασταὶ γίγνοιντ' ἄν, οὓς ἂν ὁ φεύγων τε 956c καὶ ὁ διώκων ἕλωνται κοινῇ, διαιτηταὶ δικαστῶν τοὔνομα μᾶλλον πρέπον ἔχοντες· δεύτεροι δὲ κωμῆταί τε καὶ φυλέται, κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον μέρος διῃρημένοι, ἐν οἷς, ἂν μὴ διακριθῶσιν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις, περὶ ζημίας μείζονος ἰόντων ἀγωνιούμενοι, ὁ δὲ φεύγων, ἂν ἡττηθῇ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ πεμπτημόριον ἀποτινέτω τοῦ τιμήματος τῆς γραφείσης δίκης.

ATHENIAN Now that the parts of the whole city have been distinguished, how many there should be and what they are, and laws about contracts have been stated, as far as possible, on all the most important points, the next thing would be the lawsuits. Of the courts, the first would consist of chosen judges, whom defendant 956c and prosecutor choose jointly; "arbitrators" would be a more fitting name for them than "judges." The second would consist of fellow villagers and tribesmen, divided into twelve sections. If the parties aren't reconciled before the first court, they are to go before these and contend for a larger penalty; and the defendant, if he loses the second time, is to

GREEK

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pay an additional fifth of the damages assessed in the written charge.

956c ἐὰν δ' ἐγκαλῶν τις τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ τρίτον ἀγωνίζεσθαι βούληται, [956d] ἀγέτω μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς τὴν δίκην, ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν ἡττηθῇ, τὴν ἡμιολίαν τοῦ τιμήματος ἀποτινέτω. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ διώκων ἡττηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἠρεμῇ, εἰς δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους ἴῃ, νικήσας μὲν δὴ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἀπολαμβανέτω, νικηθεὶς δὲ ἀποτινέτω ταὐτὸν μέρος τῆς δίκης. ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὸ τρίτον ἔλθωσιν δικαστήριον ἀπειθήσαντες ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν δίκαις, ὁ μὲν φεύγων ἡττηθείς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὴν ἡμιολίαν, ὁ δὲ διώκων τὴν ἡμίσειαν τοῦ τιμήματος [956e] ἀποτινέτω.

If someone, finding fault with the judges, wishes to contend a third time, [956d] let him take the case to the select judges; and if he loses again, let him pay one and a half times the assessment. If the prosecutor, defeated in the first court, won't let it rest but goes on to the second, then if he wins he is to receive the extra fifth, and if he loses he is to pay the same fraction of the suit. If they go on to the third court, having refused to accept the earlier verdicts, the defendant, if he loses, is to pay one and a half times, as has been said, and the prosecutor is to [956e] pay half the assessment.

956e κληρώσεις δὲ δικαστηρίων καὶ πληρώσεις, καὶ ὑπηρεσιῶν ἑκάσταις τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις, καὶ χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα γίγνεσθαι χρεών, καὶ διαψηφίσεων πέρι καὶ ἀναβολῶν, καὶ πάνθ' ὁπόσα τοιαῦτα ἀναγκαῖα περὶ δίκας γίγνεσθαι, προτέρων τε καὶ ὑστέρων λήξεις, ἀποκρίσεών τε ἀνάγκας καὶ παρακαταβάσεων, καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ σύμπαντα, εἴπομεν μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, καλὸν δὲ τό γε ὀρθὸν καὶ [957a] δὶς καὶ τρίς. πάντα δ' οὖν ὁπόσα σμικρὰ καὶ ῥᾴδια νόμιμα εὑρίσκειν, πρεσβύτου νομοθέτου παραλιπόντος, τὸν νέον ἀναπληροῦν χρὴ νομοθέτην.

The allotment of courts and the filling of them; the appointment of attendants for each of the offices; the times at which each step must be taken; voting and adjournments; and all such things that necessarily attend lawsuits: the order of filing earlier and later suits, the obligation to answer charges and to pay deposits, and everything else akin to these—we have spoken of them before as well, but what is right is well said [957a] even twice or three times. In any case, all the minor, easily worked out regulations that the old lawgiver has left out, the young lawgiver must fill in.

957a τὰ μὲν ἴδια δικαστήρια ταύτῃ πῃ γιγνόμενα μέτρον ἂν ἔχοι· τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ κοινὰ καὶ ὅσοις ἀρχὰς δεῖ χρωμένας τὰ προσήκοντα ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν διοικεῖν, ἔστ' ἐν πολλαῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ ἀσχήμονα ἐπιεικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα νομοθετήματα, ὅθεν νομοφύλακας [957b] χρὴ τὰ πρέποντα τῇ νῦν γεννωμένῃ πολιτείᾳ κατασκευάζειν συλλογισαμένους καὶ ἐπανορθουμένους, ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις διαβασανίζοντας, ἕως ἂν ἱκανῶς αὐτῶν ἕκαστα δόξῃ κεῖσθαι, τότε δὲ τέλος ἐπιθέντας, ἀκίνητα οὕτως ἐπισφραγισαμένους, χρῆσθαι τὸν ἅπαντα βίον. ὅσα δὲ περί τε σιγὴν δικαστῶν καὶ εὐφημίας καὶ τοὐναντίον, καὶ ὅσα παραλλάττει τῶν πολλῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν δικαίων καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν, [957c] τὰ μὲν εἴρηται, τὰ δ' ἔτι πρὸς τῷ τέλει ῥηθήσεται.

Private courts organized along these lines would be adequate. As for public and common courts, and those that officials must use in administering the business of each office, there are in many cities not a few regulations, and not unseemly ones, made by decent men. From these the guardians of the laws [957b] must construct what befits the constitution now being born, collecting and correcting them and testing them thoroughly in practice, until each point seems satisfactorily laid down; then they are to finish the work, seal the regulations as unchangeable, and use them for the rest of their lives. As for the silence of judges and restraint of speech, and the opposite, and all the ways in which our notions of what is just and good and fine differ from the many that prevail in other cities, [957c] some of this has been said, and some will be said toward the end.

957c πρὸς ἃ πάντα χρὴ τὸν μέλλοντα δικαστὴν ἴσον ἔσεσθαι κατὰ δίκην βλέπειν τε καὶ κεκτημένον γράμματα αὐτῶν πέρι μανθάνειν· πάντων γὰρ μαθημάτων κυριώτατα τοῦ τὸν μανθάνοντα βελτίω γίγνεσθαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους κείμενα, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς εἴη τεθέντα, γίγνοιτ' ἄν, ἢ μάτην

Anyone who is to be an impartial judge according to justice must keep his eyes on all these things, and must acquire writings about them and study them. For of all studies, the laws laid down, if they were laid down correctly, would be the most

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τοὔνομα νῷ προσῆκον κεκτῆτ' ἂν ὁ θεῖος ἡμῖν καὶ θαυμαστὸς νόμος.

καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λόγων ὅσοι τε ἐν ποιήμασιν ἔπαινοι καὶ [957d] ψόγοι περί τινων λέγονται καὶ ὅσοι καταλογάδην, εἴτ' ἐν γράμμασιν εἴτε καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πάσαις συνουσίαις διὰ φιλονικίας τε ἀμφισβητοῦνται καὶ διὰ συγχωρήσεων ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ μάλα ματαίων, τούτων πάντων ἂν βάσανος εἴη σαφὴς τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου γράμματα, ἃ δεῖ κεκτημένον ἐν αὑτῷ, καθάπερ ἀλεξιφάρμακα τῶν ἄλλων λόγων, τὸν ἀγαθὸν δικαστὴν αὐτόν τε ὀρθοῦν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν [957e] ἀγαθοῖς μονὰς τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἐπαύξησιν παρασκευάζοντα, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἐξ ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀκολασίας καὶ δειλίας καὶ συλλήβδην πάσης ἀδικίας εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν μεταβολήν, ὅσοις ἰάσιμοι δόξαι τῶν κακῶν· οἷσιν δὲ ὄντως ἐπικεκλωσμέναι, [958a] θάνατον ἴαμα ταῖς οὕτω διατεθείσαις ψυχαῖς διανέμοντες, ὃ δικαίως εἴη πολλάκις ἂν εἰρημένον, ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου γίγνοιντ' ἂν τῇ πάσῃ πόλει τοιοῦτοι δικασταὶ καὶ δικαστῶν ἡγεμόνες.

ENGLISH

powerful in making the learner better; otherwise it would be for nothing that our divine and wonderful law has a name akin to intelligence.[11]

And indeed, as for other discourses—the praise and [957d] blame of people spoken in poems, and in prose, whether written down or in all the other daily gatherings, where people dispute out of love of victory and sometimes make very foolish concessions—the lawgiver's writings would be a clear touchstone for all of them. The good judge must possess these writings within himself as antidotes to the other discourses, and set himself and the city straight: for the [957e] good, securing the permanence and growth of what is just; for the bad, as far as possible, a change away from ignorance, licentiousness, cowardice, and in short all injustice, in those whose badness seems curable. But for those on whom it has truly been spun as their fate, [958a] such judges and leaders of judges would assign death as the cure for souls in that condition —a thing that could justly be said many times— and would deserve praise from the whole city.

958a ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δίκαι τέλος ἐκδικασθεῖσαι σχῶσι, ταῖς πράξεσι νόμους αὐτῶν χρεὼν γίγνεσθαι τούσδε· πρῶτον μὲν ἡ δικάζουσα ἀρχὴ τὰ τοῦ ὀφλόντος τῷ νικήσαντι χρήματα πάντα ἀποδιδότω, χωρὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κεκτῆσθαι, [958b] μετὰ τὴν διαψήφισιν ἑκάστην εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυκος, ἀκουόντων τῶν δικαστῶν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ τῶν δικασίμων μηνῶν ἐχόμενος γένηται μήν, ἐάν τις μὴ ἀπαλλάττῃ τὸν νικήσαντα ἑκόντα ἑκών, ἡ δικάσασα ἀρχὴ συνεπομένη τῷ νικῶντι τὰ τοῦ ὀφλόντος παραδιδότω χρήματα. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσιν ὀπόθεν, ἐλλείπῃ δὲ μὴ ἔλαττον δραχμῆς, μὴ πρότερον εἶναι τούτῳ δίκας πρὸς ἄλλον μηδένα, πρὶν ἂν ἐκπληρώσῃ τὸ χρέος [958c] ἅπαν τῷ νικήσαντι· ἄλλοις δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔστωσαν δίκαι κυρίως.

When the year's lawsuits have been tried to a conclusion, the following laws must govern the enforcement of the judgments. First, the office that tried the case is to award the winner all the property of the loser, except what the loser must necessarily keep, [958b] immediately after each vote, by proclamation of a herald, in the hearing of the judges. When the month following the court months arrives, if someone has not satisfied the winner by an agreement acceptable to both, the office that tried the case is to go along with the winner and hand over the loser's property to him. If they don't have the means to pay, and the shortfall is not less than a drachma, the loser is to have no right to sue anyone else until he has paid off the whole debt [958c] to the winner; but others are to have valid suits against him.

958c ἐὰν δέ τις ἀφῃρῆται τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν καταδικάσασαν καταδικασθείς, εἰσαγόντων μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων δικαστήριον οἱ ἀφαιρεθέντες ἀδίκως, ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλῃ τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην, ὡς ὅλην τὴν πόλιν καὶ νόμους φθείρων θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω.

If someone who has been condemned obstructs the office that condemned him, those unjustly obstructed are to bring him before the court of the guardians of the laws; and if anyone is convicted on such a charge, he is to be punished with death, as one who is destroying the whole city and its laws.

11 Plato plays on *nomos* (law) and *nous* (intelligence).

FUNERALS

Laws on graves and funerals, based on the belief that the soul, not the body, is the self.

GREEK

ATHENIAN ἀνδρὶ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο γεννηθέντι καὶ ἐκτραφέντι, καὶ γεννήσαντι καὶ ἐκθρέψαντι τέκνα, καὶ συμμείξαντι συμβόλαια 958d μετρίως, διδόντι τε δίκας εἴ τινα ἠδικήκει καὶ παρ' ἑτέρου ἐκλαβόντι, σὺν τοῖς νόμοις ἐν μοίρᾳ γηράσαντι τελευτὴ γίγνοιτ' ἂν κατὰ φύσιν.

958d περὶ τελευτήσαντας δή, εἴτε τις ἄρρην εἴτε τις θῆλυς ᾖ, τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ θεῖα νόμιμα τῶν τε ὑπὸ γῆς θεῶν καὶ τῶν τῇδε, ὅσα προσήκει τελεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς γίγνεσθαι κυρίους φράζοντας· θήκας δ' εἶναι τῶν χωρίων ὁπόσα μὲν ἐργάσιμα μηδαμοῦ, μήτε τι μέγα μήτε 958e τι σμικρὸν μνῆμα, ἃ δὲ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον φύσιν ἔχει, τὰ τῶν τετελευτηκότων σώματα μάλιστα ἀλυπήτως τοῖς ζῶσι δεχομένη κρύπτειν, ταῦτα ἐκπληροῦν, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ὅσα τροφὴν μήτηρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ πρὸς ταῦτα πέφυκεν βούλεσθαι φέρειν, μήτε ζῶν μήτε τις ἀποθανὼν στερείτω τὸν ζῶνθ' ἡμῶν.

958e χῶμα δὲ μὴ χοῦν ὑψηλότερον πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἔργον, ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἀποτελούμενον· λίθινα δὲ ἐπιστήματα μὴ μείζω ποιεῖν ἢ ὅσα δέχεσθαι τῶν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐγκώμια βίου μὴ πλείω τεττάρων ἡρωικῶν 959a στίχων. τὰς δὲ προθέσεις πρῶτον μὲν μὴ μακρότερον χρόνον ἔνδον γίγνεσθαι τοῦ δηλοῦντος τόν τε ἐκτεθνεῶτα καὶ τὸν ὄντως τεθνηκότα, εἴη δ' ἂν σχεδόν, ὡς τἀνθρώπινα, μέτρον ἔχουσα τριταία πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα ἐκφορά.

959a πείθεσθαι δ' ἐστὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ χρεὼν τά τε ἄλλα καὶ λέγοντι ψυχὴν σώματος εἶναι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρουσαν, ἐν αὐτῷ τε τῷ βίῳ τὸ παρεχόμενον ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τοῦτ' εἶναι μηδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ψυχήν, 959b τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἐνδαλλόμενον ἡμῶν ἑκάστοις ἕπεσθαι, καὶ τελευτησάντων λέγεσθαι καλῶς εἴδωλα εἶναι τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα, τὸν δὲ ὄντα ἡμῶν ἕκαστον ὄντως, ἀθάνατον εἶναι ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον, παρὰ θεοὺς ἄλλους ἀπιέναι δώσοντα λόγον, καθάπερ ὁ νόμος ὁ πάτριος λέγει—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθῷ θαρραλέον, τῷ δὲ κακῷ μάλα φοβερόν—βοήθειάν τε αὐτῷ μήτινα μεγάλην εἶναι τετελευτηκότι· ζῶντι γὰρ ἔδει βοηθεῖν πάντας τοὺς προσήκοντας, ὅπως ὅτι δικαιότατος ὢν καὶ 959c ὁσιώτατος ἕζη τε ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας ἀτιμώρητος ἂν κακῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐγίγνετο τὸν μετὰ τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον.

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN Next: when a man has been born and brought up, has begotten and raised children, has engaged in dealings 958d with moderation, paying the penalty if he has wronged anyone and receiving it from another, and has grown old in due course together with the laws, his end would come in accordance with nature.

Concerning the dead, then, whether male or female: as for the religious rites owed to the gods below and to those of this world, whatever should be performed, the interpreters are to have authority to direct them. There are to be no graves anywhere on land that can be cultivated, no monument either large 958e or small; they are to fill those places whose nature suits this purpose alone, receiving and hiding the bodies of the dead with the least harm to the living. What the earth, as our mother, is by nature disposed to bear as food for human beings, let no one, living or dead, take away from any of us who are alive.

No one is to heap up a mound higher than five men can build in five days; and stone slabs are to be no larger than is needed to hold an encomium on the dead man's life of not more than four lines of heroic 959a verse. As for laying out the body, first, it is not to be kept indoors longer than the time that shows who has only fainted and who is really dead; so, humanly speaking, carrying it out to the tomb on the third day would be about right.

We must believe the lawgiver in other matters, and above all when he says that the soul is altogether superior to the body; that in life itself what makes each of us what we are is nothing but the soul, 959b while the body accompanies each of us as a semblance; and that when we die, the bodies of the dead are rightly called images, while the real self of each of us, which is called the immortal soul, departs to the other gods to give an account, as the ancestral law says—which gives courage to the good, but is very frightening to the bad. It says too that there's no great help for a man once he's dead. It was while he lived that all his relatives should have helped him, so that he might live his life as just and 959c holy as possible, and after

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἐκ δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων οὐδέποτε οἰκοφθορεῖν χρή, διαφερόντως νομίζοντα τὸν αὑτοῦ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τῶν σαρκῶν ὄγκον θαπτόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὑὸν ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἢ ὅντινά τις μάλισθ' ἡγεῖται ποθῶν θάπτειν, οἴχεσθαι περαίνοντα καὶ ἐμπιμπλάντα τὴν αὑτοῦ μοῖραν, τὸ δὲ παρὸν δεῖν εὖ ποιεῖν, [959d] τὰ μέτρια ἀναλίσκοντα ὡς εἰς ἄψυχον χθονίων βωμόν· τὸ δὲ μέτριον νομοθέτης ἂν μαντεύσαιτο οὐκ ἀσχημονέστατα. ἔστω δὴ νόμος οὗτος· τῷ μὲν δὴ τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος εἰς τὴν πᾶσαν ταφὴν ἀναλισκόμενα μὴ πλέον πέντε μνῶν, τῷ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τρεῖς μναῖ, καὶ δύο τῷ τοῦ τρίτου, μνᾶ δὲ τῷ τοῦ τετάρτου μέτρον ἂν ἔχοι τῶν ἀναλωμάτων.

death, in the life after this one, go unpunished for evil wrongs.

Since this is so, no one should ever ruin his household with spending, in the belief that this mass of flesh being buried is especially his own. Rather, he should think that his son or brother, or whoever it is he most believes he is burying with longing, has gone away, completing and fulfilling his own destiny, and that one should do well by what remains, [959d] spending moderately, as on a lifeless altar of the gods below. What is moderate the lawgiver might divine not at all unfittingly. So let this be the law: for a man of the highest property class, total spending on the whole funeral is not to exceed five minas; for one of the second, three minas; two for one of the third; and one mina for one of the fourth would be the right measure of expense.

νομοφύλαξι δὲ πολλά τε ἄλλα ἀνάγκη πράττειν καὶ πολλῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τούτων δ' οὐχ ἥκιστα, ὅπως ἂν παίδων τε καὶ [959e] ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐπιμελούμενοι ζῶσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἁπάντων νομοφύλαξ εἷς γέ τις ἐπιστατῇ, ὃν ἂν οἱ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐπίσκοπον οἰκεῖοι παραλάβωσιν, ᾧ καλόν τ' ἔστω καλῶς καὶ μετρίως τὰ περὶ τὸν τετελευτηκότα γιγνόμενα καὶ μὴ καλῶς αἰσχρόν. πρόθεσις δὲ καὶ τἆλλα ἔστω μὲν κατὰ τὸν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα νόμον γιγνόμενα, τῷ δὲ πολιτικῷ νομοθετοῦντι παραχωρεῖν χρὴ τὰ τοιάδε· δακρύειν [960a] μὲν τὸν τετελευτηκότα ἐπιτάττειν ἢ μὴ ἄμορφον, θρηνεῖν δὲ καὶ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας φωνὴν ἐξαγγέλλειν ἀπαγορεύειν, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν προάγειν τῶν ὁδῶν κωλύειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς πορευόμενον φθέγγεσθαι, καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἶναι.

The guardians of the laws must necessarily do many other things and look after many matters, and not least this: they are to spend their lives caring for children and [959e] men and people of every age. In particular, at the end of each person's life, at least one guardian of the laws is to preside, whomever the dead man's household call in as overseer. It is to be to his credit if what is done for the dead man is done well and moderately, and to his shame if not well. The laying out and the rest are to be done according to the law on such matters; but we must allow the statesman who legislates the following. To order people [960a] to weep for the dead, or not to, would be unseemly; but he is to forbid wailing and letting the sound be heard outside the house, and to prevent carrying the corpse out into the open streets and lamenting while going along the streets, and to require them to be outside the city before daybreak.

ταῦτα δὴ κείσθω τε οὕτω περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα νόμιμα, καὶ ὁ μὲν πειθόμενος ἔστω ζημίας ἐκτός, ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν ἑνὶ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ὑπὸ πάντων ζημιούσθω [960b] τῇ δοξάσῃ πᾶσι κοινῇ ζημίᾳ. ὅσαι δ' ἄλλαι γίγνονται περὶ τελευτήσαντας ταφαὶ εἴτε καὶ ἄταφοι πράξεις, περὶ πατροφόνων καὶ ἱεροσύλων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων, εἰρημέναι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν κεῖνται διὰ νόμων, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἡ νομοθεσία τέλος ἂν ἡμῖν ἔχοι· τῶν πάντων δ' ἑκάστοτε τέλος οὐ τὸ δρᾶσαί τι σχεδὸν οὐδὲ τὸ κτήσασθαι κατοικίσαι τ' ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γεννηθέντι σωτηρίαν ἐξευρόντα τελέως ἀεί, τότ' ἤδη νομίζειν πᾶν ὅσον δεῖ πραχθῆναι πεπρᾶχθαι, πρότερον [960c] δ' ἀτελὲς εἶναι τὸ ὅλον.

Let these, then, be the rules on such customs. Whoever obeys is to be free of penalty; whoever disobeys a single guardian of the laws is to be punished by all of them [960b] with whatever penalty they all jointly decide. Other kinds of burial, or the refusal of burial, for parricides, temple robbers and all such people, have been stated and laid down in the laws earlier, so our legislation would be nearly at its end. But in every case the end is hardly the doing of something, or acquiring or founding it. Only when one has discovered a means of preserving what has come into being, completely and for all time, can one think that

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		everything that needed doing has been done; before 960c that, the whole is incomplete.

HOW TO MAKE THE LAWS LAST

The Athenian asks how the laws can be made irreversible, like the thread spun by the Fates.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
960c	**CLINIAS** καλῶς, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις· πρὸς ὅτι δὲ τὸ νῦν αὖ ῥηθὲν εἴρηται, φράζ' ἔτι σαφέστερον.	**CLINIAS** You're right, stranger. But tell us still more clearly what you meant by what you just said.
	ATHENIAN ὦ Κλεινία, πολλὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καλῶς ὕμνηται, σχεδὸν δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὰ τῶν Μοιρῶν προσρήματα.	**ATHENIAN** Clinias, many sayings of old have been finely sung, and not least, I think, the names of the Fates.
	CLINIAS ποῖα δή;	**CLINIAS** Which ones?
	ATHENIAN τὸ Λάχεσιν μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, Κλωθὼ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, τὴν Ἄτροπον δὴ τρίτην σώτειραν τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀπηκασμένα τῇ τῶν κλωσθέντων τῷ πυρὶ τὴν ἀμετάστροφον 960d ἀπεργαζομένων δύναμιν· ἃ δὴ καὶ πόλει καὶ πολιτείᾳ δεῖ μὴ μόνον ὑγίειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνομίαν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ σωτηρίαν τῶν νόμων. ἡμῖν δ' ἔτι μοι φαίνεσθαι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἐλλεῖπον τοῖς νόμοις εἶναι, πῶς χρὴ τὴν ἀμετάστροφον αὐτοῖς ἐγγίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν δύναμιν.	**ATHENIAN** That Lachesis is the first, Clotho the second, and Atropos the third, the preserver of what has been allotted. These names are likenesses of the power that makes spun thread, set by fire, irreversible. 960d City and constitution must provide the same: not only health and preservation for bodies, but good order in souls, or rather the preservation of the laws. And this, it seems to me, is still missing from our laws: how an irreversible power is to be implanted in them by nature.[12]
960d	**CLINIAS** οὐ σμικρὸν λέγεις, εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ δυνατὸν εὑρεῖν ὅπῃ γίγνοιτ' ἂν παντὶ κτῆμά τι τοιοῦτον.	**CLINIAS** It's no small thing you're talking about, if it really is impossible to find how anything at all could acquire such a possession.
960e	**ATHENIAN** ἀλλ' ἔστι μὴν δυνατόν, ὥς γέ μοι τὰ νῦν παντάπασι καταφαίνεται.	**ATHENIAN** But it is possible; at least, it now appears to me with perfect clarity that it is.
	CLINIAS μὴ τοίνυν ἀφιστώμεθα μηδενὶ τρόπῳ, πρὶν ἂν τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐκπορισώμεθα τοῖς εἰρημένοις νόμοις· γελοῖον γὰρ τό γε μάτην πονήσαντα ὁτιοῦν εἰς μηδὲν βέβαιον καταβαλεῖν.	**CLINIAS** Then let's by no means give up until we've provided this very thing for the laws we've described. It's ridiculous to labor at anything in vain and leave it resting on nothing firm.
	ATHENIAN ὀρθῶς παρακελεύῃ, καὶ ἐμὲ τοιοῦτον εὑρήσεις ἄλλον.	**ATHENIAN** You're right to urge that, and you'll find I'm of the same mind.
	CLINIAS καλῶς δὴ λέγεις. τίς οὖν δή, φῄς, σωτηρία γίγνοιτ' ἂν καὶ τίνα τρόπον πολιτείᾳ τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἡμῖν;	**CLINIAS** Well said. So what, you say, would the preservation of our constitution and our laws be, and how would it work?
961a	**ATHENIAN** ἆρ' οὐκ εἴπομεν ὅτι δεῖ σύλλογον ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι τοιόνδε τινά; δέκα μὲν τῶν νομοφυλάκων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἀεί, τοὺς δὲ τἀριστεῖα εἰληφότας ἅπαντας δεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ συλλέγεσθαι τούτοις,	**ATHENIAN** Didn't we say that we must have a council of the following kind in our city? The ten eldest guardians of the laws at any given time, and

12 The three Fates: Lachesis ("allotter"), Clotho ("spinner") and Atropos ("unturnable"); the Greek of this sentence is uncertain.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐκδημήσαντας ἐπὶ ζήτησιν εἴ τί που πρὸς τὴν νομοφυλακίαν γίγνοιτο ἓν καίριον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ σωθέντας οἴκαδε, δόξαι, τούτοις αὐτοῖς διαβασανισθέντας, τοῦ συλλόγου ἀξιοκοινωνήτους εἶναι· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἕνα ἕκαστον δεῖν προσλαμβάνειν τῶν [961b] νέων, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριάκοντ' ἔτη γεγονότα, πρῶτον δὲ αὐτὸν κρίναντα ἐπάξιον εἶναι φύσει καὶ τροφῇ, τὸν νέον οὕτως εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσφέρειν, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, προσλαμβάνειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπόρρητον εἶναι τὴν γεγονυῖαν κρίσιν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις δὴ καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποκριθέντι· δεῖν δὲ ὄρθριον εἶναι τὸν σύλλογον, ἡνίκ' ἂν τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ μάλιστ' ᾖ τις σχολὴ παντί.

all those who have received the awards of distinction, must meet together in the same place; and so must those who have traveled abroad to find out whether they might hear anything timely bearing on the guarding of the laws, and who, having come home safely, were judged, after a thorough examination by these same members, worthy to share in the council. Besides these, each member must bring along one of the [961b] young men, not less than thirty years old: he first judges for himself that the young man is worthy by nature and upbringing, and then introduces him to the others. If the others approve as well, he is admitted; if not, the decision is to be kept secret from everyone else, and above all from the rejected man himself. And the council must meet at dawn, when everyone is most free of other business, private and public.

961b τοιοῦτόν τί που λεχθὲν ἡμῖν ἦν ἐν τοῖς [961c] ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις;

Something like that was said in our [961c] earlier discussion, wasn't it?

961c **CLINIAS** ἦν γὰρ οὖν.

CLINIAS It certainly was.

THE COUNCIL AS THE CITY'S ANCHOR

The Nocturnal Council, like intelligence in the head, must know the city's single aim.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN τούτου δὴ πέρι τοῦ συλλόγου πάλιν ἀναλαβὼν λέγοιμ' ἂν τὸ τοιόνδε. φημί, εἴ τις τοῦτον βάλοιτο οἷον ἄγκυραν πάσης τῆς πόλεως, πάντα ἔχουσαν τὰ πρόσφορα ἑαυτῇ, σῴζειν ἂν σύμπαντα ἃ βουλόμεθα.

ATHENIAN Taking up this council again, then, here is what I would say. I say that if one were to cast it like an anchor for the whole city, with everything that suits it, it would preserve everything we want.

CLINIAS πῶς δή;

CLINIAS How so?

ATHENIAN τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμέτερος ἂν καιρὸς γίγνοιτο ὀρθῶς φράζοντας μηδὲν ἀπολείπειν προθυμίας.

ATHENIAN Now is our moment to explain things correctly and spare no effort.

CLINIAS καὶ μάλα καλῶς εἶπες, ποίει θ' ὥσπερ καὶ διανοῇ.

CLINIAS Very well said. Go ahead, just as you intend.

961d **ATHENIAN** χρὴ τοίνυν, ὦ Κλεινία, παντὸς πέρι νοῆσαι σωτῆρα τὸν εἰκότα ἐν ἑκάστοις τῶν ἔργων, ὡς ἐν ζῴῳ ψυχὴ καὶ κεφαλή, τό γε μέγιστον, πεφύκατον.

ATHENIAN Well then, Clinias, we must recognize for everything a preserver proper to it in each of its works: in a living creature, it is the soul and the head, above all, that by nature play this part.

CLINIAS πῶς αὖ φῄς;

CLINIAS What do you mean now?

ATHENIAN ἡ τούτοιν ἀρετὴ δήπου παντὶ παρέχει ζῴῳ σωτηρίαν.

ATHENIAN Surely it's the virtue of these two that preserves every living creature.

CLINIAS πῶς;

CLINIAS How?

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ATHENIAN ψυχῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις νοῦς ἐγγιγνόμενος, κεφαλῇ δ' αὖ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄψις καὶ ἀκοή· συλλήβδην δὲ νοῦς μετὰ τῶν καλλίστων αἰσθήσεων κραθείς, γενόμενός τε εἰς ἕν, σωτηρία ἑκάστων δικαιότατ' ἂν εἴη καλουμένη.	ATHENIAN When intelligence arises in the soul, in addition to its other qualities, and in the head, in addition to its other parts, sight and hearing. In short, intelligence blended with the finest senses and become one with them would most justly be called the preservation of each creature.
	CLINIAS ἔοικε γοῦν.	CLINIAS It seems so, at any rate.
961e	ATHENIAN ἔοικε γάρ. ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ τί νοῦς μετ' αἰσθήσεων κραθεὶς σωτηρία πλοίων ἔν γε χειμῶσιν καὶ ἐν εὐδίαις γίγνοιτ' ἄν; ἆρ' οὐκ ἐν νηὶ κυβερνήτης ἅμα καὶ ναῦται τὰς αἰσθήσεις τῷ κυβερνητικῷ νῷ συγκερασάμενοι σῴζουσιν αὑτούς τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ναῦν;	ATHENIAN It does. But what would intelligence, blended with the senses, be concerned with, so as to be the preservation of ships, in storms and in fair weather? Isn't it that in a ship the helmsman and sailors together, blending their perceptions with the helmsman's intelligence, preserve both themselves and everything about the ship?
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	CLINIAS Of course.
	ATHENIAN οὐδὲν δὴ πολλῶν δεῖ τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδειγμάτων· ἀλλ' οἷον περὶ στρατοπέδων νοήσωμεν τίνα θέμενοι στρατηγοὶ σκοπὸν καὶ ἰατρικὴ ὑπηρεσία πᾶσα [962a] στοχάζοιτ' ἂν τῆς σωτηρίας ὀρθῶς. ἆρ' οὐχ ἡ μὲν νίκην καὶ κράτος πολεμίων, ἡ δὲ ἰατρῶν τε καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ὑγιείας σώματι παρασκευήν;	ATHENIAN We don't need many examples of this sort. But let's consider, say, in armies, what target generals would set themselves, and what the whole medical service would, [962a] if they are to aim correctly at preservation. Isn't it, for the generals, victory and mastery over the enemy, and for the doctors and their assistants, producing health in the body?
962a	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	CLINIAS Of course.
	ATHENIAN ἰατρὸς δὴ τὸ περὶ σῶμα ἀγνοῶν, ὃ προσείπομεν ὑγίειαν νῦν, ἢ νίκην στρατηγὸς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα δὴ διήλθομεν, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν νοῦν περί τι τούτων ἂν ἔχων φαίνοιτο;	ATHENIAN Then if a doctor were ignorant of what concerns the body, what we just called health, or a general of victory, or any of the others we went through of their own aims, could he possibly be seen to have intelligence about any of these things?
	CLINIAS καὶ πῶς;	CLINIAS How could he?
	ATHENIAN τί δὲ δὴ περὶ πόλιν; εἴ τις τὸν σκοπὸν οἷ βλέπειν δεῖ τὸν πολιτικὸν φαίνοιτο ἀγνοῶν, ἆρα ἄρχων μὲν [962b] πρῶτον δικαίως ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο, εἶτα σῴζειν ἂν δυνατὸς εἴη τοῦτο οὗ τὸν σκοπὸν τὸ παράπαν μηδ' εἰδείη;	ATHENIAN And what about a city? If someone were plainly ignorant of the target the statesman must look to, could he, [962b] first, rightly be called a ruler at all? And then, would he be able to preserve a thing whose target he didn't know in the least?
962b	CLINIAS καὶ πῶς;	CLINIAS How could he?
	ATHENIAN δεῖ δὴ καὶ τὰ νῦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἴπερ μέλλει τέλος ὁ κατοικισμὸς τῆς χώρας ἡμῖν ἕξειν, εἶναί τι τὸ γιγνῶσκον ἐν αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο ὃ λέγομεν, τὸν σκοπόν, ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ πολιτικὸς ὢν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει, ἔπειτα ὅντινα τρόπον δεῖ μετασχεῖν τούτου καὶ τίς αὐτῷ καλῶς ἢ	ATHENIAN So now too, it seems, if our settlement of the territory is to be complete, there must be something in it that knows, first, what we are talking about, the target—whatever our political target happens to be—and next, in what way to attain it,

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	μὴ συμβουλεύει, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δ' ἔσται [962c] τοῦ τοιούτου κενή τις πόλις, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἄνους οὖσα καὶ ἀναίσθητος εἰ πράξει τὸ προστυχὸν ἑκάστοτε ἐν ἑκάσταις τῶν πράξεων.	and who gives good advice about it or bad: first among the laws themselves, then among people. If a city [962c] is empty of any such thing, it's no wonder if, lacking intelligence and perception, it acts at random every time, in each of its actions.
962c	**CLINIAS** ἀληθῆ λέγεις.	**CLINIAS** That's true.
	ATHENIAN νῦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐν τίνι ποτὲ τῶν τῆς πόλεως μερῶν ἢ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔστιν ἱκανὸν κατεσκευασμένον ὁτιοῦν τοιοῦτον φυλακτήριον; ἔχομεν φράζειν;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, in which part or institution of our city is any safeguard of this kind adequately provided for? Can we say?
	CLINIAS οὐ δῆτα, ὦ ξένε, σαφῶς γε· εἰ δ' οὖν τοπάζειν δεῖ, δοκεῖ μοι τείνειν ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ὃν εἶπες νυνδὴ νύκτωρ δεῖν συνιέναι.	**CLINIAS** Not clearly, stranger. But if I must guess, it seems to me this argument is heading toward the council you said just now must meet at night.

THE UNITY OF VIRTUE

The council's members must understand how the four virtues are one.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
962d	**ATHENIAN** κάλλισθ' ὑπέλαβες, ὦ Κλεινία, καὶ δεῖ δὴ τοῦτον, ὡς ὁ νῦν παρεστηκὼς ἡμῖν λόγος μηνύει, πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν· ἧς ἄρχει τὸ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι πρὸς πολλὰ στοχαζόμενον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἓν βλέποντα πρὸς τοῦτο ἀεὶ τὰ πάντα οἷον βέλη ἀφιέναι.	**ATHENIAN** You've understood perfectly, Clinias. And this council, as our present argument shows, must possess all virtue. The first principle of virtue is not to wander, aiming at many things, but to look to one thing and always shoot everything at it, like arrows.
	CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Absolutely.
	ATHENIAN νῦν δὴ μαθησόμεθα ὅτι θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν πλανᾶσθαι τὰ τῶν πόλεων νόμιμα, ὅτι πρὸς ἄλλο ἄλλη βλέπει τῶν νομοθεσιῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἑκάστῃ. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν τὸ τοῖς μὲν τὸν ὅρον εἶναι τῶν δικαίων [962e] ὅπως ἄρξουσί τινες ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἴτ' οὖν βελτίους εἴτε χείρους τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, τοῖς δ', ὅπως πλουτήσουσιν, εἴτ' οὖν δοῦλοί τινων ὄντες εἴτε καὶ μή, τῶν δ' ἡ προθυμία πρὸς τὸν ἐλεύθερον δὴ βίον ὡρμημένη· οἱ δὲ καὶ σύνδυο νομοθετοῦνται, πρὸς ἄμφω βλέποντες, ἐλεύθεροί τε ὅπως ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἔσονται δεσπόται, οἱ δὲ σοφώτατοι, ὡς οἴονται, πρὸς ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα, εἰς ἓν δὲ οὐδὲν διαφερόντως τετιμημένον ἔχοντες φράζειν εἰς ὃ τἆλλ' αὐτοῖς δεῖ βλέπειν.	
963a	**CLINIAS** οὐκοῦν τό γ' ἡμέτερον, ὦ ξένε, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴη πάλαι τιθέμενον; πρὸς γὰρ ἓν ἔφαμεν δεῖν ἀεὶ πάνθ' ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν νόμων βλέποντ' εἶναι, τοῦτο δ' ἀρετήν που συνεχωροῦμεν πάνυ ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι.	**CLINIAS** Then our own position, stranger, would have been laid down correctly long ago, wouldn't it? We said that everything in our laws must always look to one thing, and we agreed, I think, that it was quite right to call this virtue.
	ATHENIAN ναί.	**ATHENIAN** Yes.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	CLINIAS τὴν δέ γε ἀρετὴν τέτταρα ἔθεμέν που.	**CLINIAS** And we took virtue to be four things, I think.
	ATHENIAN πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**ATHENIAN** Certainly.
	CLINIAS νοῦν δέ γε πάντων τούτων ἡγεμόνα, πρὸς ὃν δὴ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τούτων τὰ τρία δεῖ βλέπειν.	**CLINIAS** And intelligence to be the leader of them all, to which everything else, and the other three of these, must look.
	ATHENIAN κάλλιστ' ἐπακολουθεῖς, ὦ Κλεινία. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὴ συνακολούθει. νοῦν γὰρ δὴ κυβερνητικὸν μὲν καὶ ἰατρικὸν [963b] καὶ στρατηγικὸν εἴπομεν εἰς τὸ ἓν ἐκεῖνο οἷ δεῖ βλέπειν, τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν ἐλέγχοντες ἐνταῦθ' ἐσμὲν νῦν, καὶ καθάπερ ἄνθρωπον ἐπανερωτῶντες εἴποιμεν ἄν· "ὦ θαυμάσιε, σὺ δὲ δὴ ποῖ σκοπεῖς; τί ποτ' ἐκεῖνό ἐστι τὸ ἕν, ὃ δὴ σαφῶς ὁ μὲν ἰατρικὸς νοῦς ἔχει φράζειν, σὺ δ' ὢν δὴ διαφέρων, ὡς φαίης ἄν, πάντων τῶν ἐμφρόνων, οὐχ ἕξεις εἰπεῖν;" ἢ σύ γε, Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία, ἔχετον διαρθροῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράζειν πρὸς ἐμὲ τί ποτέ φατε εἶναι τοῦτο, [963c] καθάπερ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς συχνῶν διωριζόμην;	**ATHENIAN** You're following beautifully, Clinias. Follow the rest along with me too. We said that the intelligence of the helmsman, the doctor [963b] and the general looks to that one thing to which each must look; and now we've reached the point of examining the statesman's. Questioning it as though it were a person, we might say: "My remarkable friend, and where are you aiming? What is that one thing? The doctor's intelligence can state it clearly; will you, who are superior, as you'd claim, to all men of sense, be unable to say?" Or can you two, Megillus and Clinias, spell it out on its behalf and tell me what you say it is, [963c] just as I have often given you definitions of other things?
963c	**CLINIAS** οὐδαμῶς, ὦ ξένε.	**CLINIAS** Not at all, stranger.
	ATHENIAN τί δ' ὅτι δεῖ προθυμεῖσθαί τε συνιδεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν οἷς;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, what about the need to be eager to see it as a whole, and in which things it is found?
	CLINIAS οἷον ἐν τίσι λέγεις;	**CLINIAS** In which things, for example?
	ATHENIAN οἷον ὅτε τέτταρα ἐφήσαμεν ἀρετῆς εἴδη γεγονέναι, δῆλον ὡς ἓν ἕκαστον ἀνάγκη φάναι, τεττάρων γε ὄντων.	**ATHENIAN** For example, when we said there were four forms of virtue, clearly we must say that each is one, since there are four.[13]
	CLINIAS τί μήν;	**CLINIAS** Of course.
	ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν ἕν γε ἅπαντα ταῦτα προσαγορεύομεν. ἀνδρείαν γάρ φαμεν ἀρετὴν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν ἀρετήν, [963d] καὶ τὰ δύο τἆλλα, ὡς ὄντως ὄντα οὐ πολλὰ ἀλλ' ἓν τοῦτο μόνον, ἀρετήν.	**ATHENIAN** And yet we call them all one. We say that courage is virtue, and wisdom is virtue, [963d] and the other two as well, as if they were really not many but this one thing only, virtue.
963d	**CLINIAS** πάνυ μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Certainly.
	ATHENIAN ἦι μὲν τοίνυν διαφέρετον αὐτοῖν τούτω τὼ δύο καὶ δύ' ὀνόματα ἐλαβέτην καὶ τἆλλα, οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν· ᾗ δὲ ἓν ἀμφοῖν ἐπωνομάσαμεν, ἀρετήν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐκ εὐπετὲς ἔτι.	**ATHENIAN** Now how these two differ from each other and have received two names, and the others too, is not hard to say. But how we have given the one name, virtue, to both, and to the others, is no longer so easy.

13 "Forms" (*eidē*) here may simply mean "kinds."

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS πῶς λέγεις;

CLINIAS What do you mean?

ATHENIAN οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν ὃ λέγω δηλῶσαι. διανειμώμεθα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὴν ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν.

ATHENIAN What I mean isn't hard to show. Let's divide the questioning and answering between us.

CLINIAS πῶς αὖ φράζεις;

CLINIAS What are you proposing now?

963e ATHENIAN ἐρώτησόν με τί ποτε ἓν προσαγορεύοντες ἀρετὴν ἀμφότερα, δύο πάλιν αὐτὰ προσείπομεν, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρείαν, τὸ δὲ φρόνησιν. ἐρῶ γάρ σοι τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι τὸ μέν ἐστιν περὶ φόβον, οὗ καὶ τὰ θηρία μετέχει, τῆς ἀνδρείας, καὶ τά γε τῶν παίδων ἤθη τῶν πάνυ νέων· ἄνευ γὰρ λόγου καὶ φύσει γίγνεται ἀνδρεία ψυχή, ἄνευ δὲ αὖ λόγου ψυχὴ φρόνιμός τε καὶ νοῦν ἔχουσα οὔτ' ἐγένετο πώποτε οὔτ' ἔστιν οὐδ' αὖθίς ποτε γενήσεται, ὡς ὄντος ἑτέρου.

ATHENIAN Ask me why, although we call both of them by one name, virtue, we then called them two again, courage and wisdom. I'll tell you the reason: one of them, courage, is concerned with fear; wild animals share in it too, and so do the characters of very young children. For a soul becomes courageous without reason, by nature; but without reason a soul that is wise and has intelligence never came to be, is not, and never will be, since that is a different thing.

CLINIAS ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

CLINIAS That's true.

964a ATHENIAN ἦι μὲν τοίνυν ἐστὸν διαφόρω καὶ δύο, σὺ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀπείληφας τῷ λόγῳ· ᾗ δὲ ἓν καὶ ταὐτόν, σὺ πάλιν ἀπόδος ἐμοί. διανοοῦ δὲ ὡς ἐρῶν καὶ ὅπῃ τέτταρα ὄντα ἕν ἐστι, καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ ἀξίου, σοῦ δείξαντος ὡς ἕν, πάλιν ὅπῃ τέτταρα. καὶ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο σκοπῶμεν τὸν εἰδότα ἱκανῶς περὶ ὡντινωνοῦν οἷς ἔστιν μὲν ὄνομα, ἔστιν δὲ αὖ καὶ λόγος, πότερον μόνον ἐπίστασθαι τοὔνομα χρεών, τὸν δὲ λόγον ἀγνοεῖν, ἢ τόν γε ὄντα τι καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων [964b] μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν αἰσχρόν.

ATHENIAN You've now received from me in argument how they differ and are two. Now pay me back by saying how they are one and the same. Bear in mind that you're going to say how, being four, they are one; and then require me, once you've shown how they are one, to show again how they are four. And after that, let's consider whether someone who adequately knows about any things that have a name and also an account should know only the name and be ignorant of the account; or whether, for anyone who is of any worth, it's shameful to be ignorant of all such things concerning matters outstanding [964b] in greatness and beauty.

964b CLINIAS ἔοικεν γοῦν.

CLINIAS It seems so, at any rate.

ATHENIAN μεῖζον δή τι νομοθέτῃ τε καὶ νομοφύλακι, καὶ ὃς ἀρετῇ πάντων διαφέρειν οἴεται καὶ νικητήρια τούτων αὐτῶν εἴληφεν, ἢ ταῦτα αὐτὰ περὶ ὧν νῦν λέγομεν, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φρόνησις;

ATHENIAN Now for a lawgiver and guardian of the laws, and for one who thinks he surpasses everyone in virtue and has won prizes for these very things, is there anything more important than the very things we are now discussing: courage, moderation, justice, wisdom?

CLINIAS καὶ πῶς;

CLINIAS How could there be?

ATHENIAN τούτων δὴ πέρι τοὺς ἐξηγητάς, τοὺς διδασκάλους, τοὺς νομοθέτας, τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς φύλακας, τῷ δεομένῳ [964c] γνῶναί τε καὶ εἰδέναι, ἢ τῷ δεομένῳ κολάζεσθαί τε καὶ ἐπιπλῆξαι ἁμαρτάνοντι, πότερον οὐ διδάσκοντα ἣν δύναμιν ἔχει κακία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ πάντως δηλοῦντα, διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἢ ποιητήν

ATHENIAN Then on these matters, should the interpreters, the teachers, the lawgivers, the guardians of everyone else, when dealing with someone who needs [964c] to learn and know, or someone who does wrong and needs to be punished and rebuked —should they not surpass everyone else in teach-

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	τινα ἐλθόντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἢ παιδευτὴν νέων φάσκοντ' εἶναι βελτίω φαίνεσθαι τοῦ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν νενικηκότος; εἶτα ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει ὅπου μὴ λόγῳ ἔργῳ τε ἱκανοὶ φύλακες εἶεν, ἀρετῆς πέρι γιγνώσκοντες ἱκανῶς, θαυμαστόν τι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν πάσχειν [964d] ἃ πολλαὶ πάσχουσι τῶν νῦν πόλεων;	ing what power vice and virtue have, and in making it wholly clear? Or should some poet who comes into the city, or someone who claims to be an educator of the young, seem better than the one who has won the prize for all virtue? And then, in a city like that, where there are no guardians competent in word and deed, with adequate knowledge about virtue, would it be any wonder if this city, being unguarded, suffered [964d] what many cities of today suffer?
964d	**CLINIAS** οὐδέν γε, ὡς εἰκός.	**CLINIAS** No wonder at all, it seems likely.
	ATHENIAN τί οὖν; ὃ λέγομεν νῦν ποιητέον ἡμῖν, ἢ πῶς; τοὺς φύλακας ἀκριβεστέρους τῶν πολλῶν περὶ ἀρετῆς ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ κατασκευαστέον; ἢ τίνα τρόπον τῇ τῶν ἐμφρόνων κεφαλῇ τε καὶ αἰσθήσεσιν ὁμοιωθήσεται ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις, ὡς τοιαύτην τινὰ φυλακὴν κεκτημένη ἐν αὑτῇ;	**ATHENIAN** Well then? Must we do what we are now saying, or what? Must we make our guardians more exact than the many about virtue, in deed and in word? Otherwise, how will our city resemble the head and senses of wise people, as one that possesses some such safeguard within itself?
	CLINIAS πῶς οὖν δὴ καὶ τίνα τρόπον, ὦ ξένε, ἀπεικάζοντες αὐτὸ τοιούτῳ τινὶ λέγομεν;	**CLINIAS** What do you mean, stranger, and in what way are we comparing it to something like that?
964e	**ATHENIAN** δῆλον ὡς αὐτῆς μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὔσης τοῦ κύτους, τῶν δὲ φυλάκων τοὺς μὲν νέους οἷον ἐν ἄκρᾳ κορυφῇ, ἀπειλεγμένους τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους, ὀξύτητας ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντας, περὶ ὅλην κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν ὁρᾶν, φρουροῦντας δὲ παραδιδόναι μὲν τὰς αἰσθήσεις ταῖς μνήμαις, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις δὲ ἐξαγγέλους γίγνεσθαι πάντων τῶν κατὰ πόλιν, [965a] τοὺς δὲ νῷ ἀπηκασμένους τῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἄξια λόγου διαφερόντως φρονεῖν, τοὺς γέροντας, βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ ὑπηρέταις χρωμένους μετὰ συμβουλίας τοῖς νέοις, οὕτω δὴ κοινῇ σῴζειν ἀμφοτέρους ὄντως τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. πότερον οὕτω λέγομεν ἢ πως ἄλλως δεῖν κατασκευάζεσθαι; μῶν ὁμοίους πάντας κεκτημένους καὶ μὴ διηκριβωμένους ἔστιν οὓς τραφέντας τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένους;	**ATHENIAN** Clearly, with the city itself as the trunk. Of the guardians, the young, selected as the most gifted by nature, with sharpness in every part of their souls, are placed as it were at the very top of the head and look out over the whole city all around; as they keep watch they hand over their perceptions to their memories and act as messengers to their elders of everything that goes on in the city. [965a] The old, likened to intelligence because they are outstandingly wise about many things worth mentioning, deliberate, and use the young as their assistants, together with their counsel. In this way the two groups together really do preserve the whole city. Is this how we say it must be organized, or in some other way? Surely not with all of them alike, and none given a specially exact upbringing and education?
965a	**CLINIAS** ἀλλ', ὦ θαυμάσιε, ἀδύνατον.	**CLINIAS** No, my remarkable friend, that's impossible.
965b	**ATHENIAN** ἰτέον ἄρα ἐπί τινα ἀκριβεστέραν παιδείαν τῆς ἔμπροσθεν.	**ATHENIAN** Then we must go on to an education more exact than the earlier one.
	CLINIAS ἴσως.	**CLINIAS** Perhaps.
	ATHENIAN ἆρ' οὖν ἧς δὴ νῦν σχεδὸν ἐφηψάμεθα, τυγχάνοι ἂν οὖσα ἧς χρείαν ἔχομεν αὖτη;	**ATHENIAN** Well, would the one we just touched on turn out to be the one we need?
	CLINIAS παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.	**CLINIAS** Absolutely.

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	ATHENIAN οὐκοῦν ἐλέγομεν τόν γε πρὸς ἕκαστα ἄκρον δημιουργόν τε καὶ φύλακα μὴ μόνον δεῖν πρὸς τὰ πολλὰ βλέπειν δυνατὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἓν ἐπείγεσθαι γνῶναί τε, καὶ γνόντα πρὸς ἐκεῖνο συντάξασθαι πάντα συνορῶντα;	**ATHENIAN** Didn't we say that the supreme craftsman and guardian in any field must not only be able to look to the many things, but must press on to know the one, and, knowing it, organize everything in relation to it, taking it all in at a glance?
	CLINIAS ὀρθῶς.	**CLINIAS** Right.
965c	**ATHENIAN** ἆρ' οὖν ἀκριβεστέρα σκέψις θέα τε ἂν περὶ ὁτουοῦν ὁτῳοῦν γίγνοιτο ἢ τὸ πρὸς μίαν ἰδέαν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀνομοίων δυνατὸν εἶναι βλέπειν;	**ATHENIAN** Could there be a more exact way of examining and viewing anything at all than being able to look from the many dissimilar things to one form?
	CLINIAS ἴσως.	**CLINIAS** Perhaps.
	ATHENIAN οὐκ ἴσως, ἀλλ' ὄντως, ὦ δαιμόνιε, ταύτης οὐκ ἔστιν σαφεστέρα μέθοδος ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.	**ATHENIAN** Not "perhaps," my good friend, but really: there is no clearer method than this for any human being.
	CLINIAS σοὶ πιστεύων, ὦ ξένε, συγχωρῶ δή, καὶ ταύτῃ πορευώμεθα λέγοντες.	**CLINIAS** I trust you, stranger, and I agree; let's proceed along this line in our discussion.
	ATHENIAN ἀναγκαστέον ἄρ', ὡς ἔοικεν, καὶ τοὺς τῆς θείας πολιτείας ἡμῖν φύλακας ἀκριβῶς ἰδεῖν πρῶτον τί ποτε διὰ [965d] πάντων τῶν τεττάρων ταὐτὸν τυγχάνει, ὃ δή φαμεν ἕν τε ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἐν φρονήσει ἓν ὄν, ἀρετὴν ἑνὶ δικαίως ἂν ὀνόματι προσαγορεύεσθαι. τοῦτο, ὦ φίλοι, εἰ μὲν βουλόμεθα, τὰ νῦν οἱόνπερ σφόδρα πιέσαντες μὴ ἀνῶμεν, πρὶν ἂν ἱκανῶς εἴπωμεν τί ποτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὃ βλεπτέον, εἴτε ὡς ἓν εἴτε ὡς ὅλον εἴτε ἀμφότερα εἴτε ὅπως ποτὲ πέφυκεν· ἢ τούτου διαφυγόντος ἡμᾶς, οἰόμεθά ποτε [965e] ἡμῖν ἱκανῶς ἕξειν τὰ πρὸς ἀρετήν, περὶ ἧς οὔτ' εἰ πολλά ἐστ' οὔτ' εἰ τέτταρα οὔθ' ὡς ἓν δυνατοὶ φράζειν ἐσόμεθα;	**ATHENIAN** Then it seems we must compel the guardians of our divine constitution too to see exactly, first of all, what it is that is the same throughout [965d] all four, which we say is one in courage, moderation, justice and wisdom, and so is justly called by one name, virtue. If we like, my friends, let's get a firm grip on this now and not let go until we have said adequately what it is that we must look to, whether as one, or as a whole, or both, or however it is by nature. Or, if this escapes us, do we think we will ever [965e] be adequately equipped for virtue, when we won't be able to say whether it is many, or four, or one?
965e	οὔκουν ἐάν γε ἡμῖν συμβούλοις πειθώμεθα, ἄλλως δέ πως μηχανησόμεθα ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγγεγονέναι τοῦθ' ἡμῖν· εἰ δ' ἄρα τὸ παράπαν δοκεῖ ἐᾶν, ὁρᾶν δὴ χρεών.	No, not if we take our own advice: we will contrive somehow or other to have this come about in our city. But if you think we should let it drop altogether, we must consider that.
	CLINIAS ἥκιστα, νὴ τὸν ξένιον, ὦ ξένε, θεόν, ἐατέον που τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς ἡμῖν ὀρθότατα λέγειν. ἀλλὰ δὴ πῶς τις τοῦτ' ἂν μηχανῷτο;	**CLINIAS** By the god of strangers, stranger, we must certainly not let such a thing drop, since you seem to us to be quite right. But how could one contrive it?
966a	**ATHENIAN** μήπω τὸ πῶς ἂν μηχανησαίμεθα λέγωμεν· εἰ δεῖ δὲ ἢ μή, πρῶτον βεβαιωσώμεθα τῇ συνομολογίᾳ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς.	**ATHENIAN** Let's not say yet how we could contrive it. First let's settle, by agreeing among ourselves, whether it must be done or not.
	CLINIAS ἀλλὰ μὴν δεῖ γε, εἴπερ δυνατόν.	**CLINIAS** Well, it certainly must, if it's possible.

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	ATHENIAN τί δὲ δή; περὶ καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ταὐτὸν τοῦτο διανοούμεθα; ὡς πόλλ' ἔστιν μόνον ἕκαστον τούτων τοὺς φύλακας ἡμῖν γνωστέον, ἢ καὶ ὅπως ἕν τε καὶ ὅπῃ;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, do we think the same about the fine and the good? Must our guardians know only that each of these is many, or also how and in what way it is one?
	CLINIAS σχεδὸν ἔοικ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖν καὶ ὅπως ἓν διανοεῖσθαι.	**CLINIAS** It seems almost unavoidable that they must also understand how it is one.
966b	**ATHENIAN** τί δ', ἐννοεῖν μέν, τὴν δὲ ἔνδειξιν τῷ λόγῳ ἀδυνατεῖν ἐνδείκνυσθαι;	**ATHENIAN** And what if they understand it, but can't demonstrate it in words?
	CLINIAS καὶ πῶς; ἀνδραπόδου γάρ τινα σὺ λέγεις ἕξιν.	**CLINIAS** How could that do? That's the condition of a slave you're describing.
	ATHENIAN τί δέ; περὶ πάντων τῶν σπουδαίων ἆρ' ἡμῖν αὐτὸς λόγος, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὄντως φύλακας ἐσομένους τῶν νόμων ὄντως εἰδέναι τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν, καὶ λόγῳ τε ἱκανοὺς ἑρμηνεύειν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις συνακολουθεῖν, κρίνοντας τά τε καλῶς γιγνόμενα καὶ τὰ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν;	**ATHENIAN** Well then, does the same account hold for us about all serious matters: that those who are to be real guardians of the laws must really know the truth about them, and must be able to express it adequately in speech and follow it in action, judging what is done well and what is not in accordance with nature?
	CLINIAS πῶς γὰρ οὔ;	**CLINIAS** Of course.

KNOWING THE GODS

Guardians must grasp the priority of soul and the order of the stars, the grounds of belief.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
966c	**ATHENIAN** μῶν οὖν οὐχ ἓν τῶν καλλίστων ἐστὶν τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὃ δὴ σπουδῇ διεπερανάμεθα, ὡς εἰσίν τε καὶ ὅσης φαίνονται κύριοι δυνάμεως, εἰδέναι τε εἰς ὅσον δυνατόν ἐστιν ταῦτ' ἄνθρωπον γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πλείστοις τῶν κατὰ πόλιν συγγιγνώσκειν τῇ φήμῃ μόνον τῶν νόμων συνακολουθοῦσιν, τοῖς δὲ φυλακῆς μεθέξουσιν μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ὃς ἂν μὴ διαπονήσηται τὸ πᾶσαν πίστιν λαβεῖν τῶν οὐσῶν περὶ θεῶν; τὴν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτροπὴν εἶναι τὸ μηδέποτε 966d τῶν νομοφυλάκων αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν μὴ θεῖον καὶ διαπεπονηκότα πρὸς αὐτά, μηδ' αὖ τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἔγκριτον γίγνεσθαι;	**ATHENIAN** Now isn't one of the finest things the subject of the gods, which we went through so earnestly: to know that they exist and how great a power they evidently wield, as far as a human being can know these things? And while we pardon most people in the city if they merely follow the voice of the laws, we should entrust nothing to those who are to share in the guardianship unless they have labored to acquire every proof there is about the gods. And this refusal to entrust would mean never 966d choosing as a guardian of the laws, or admitting among those distinguished for virtue, anyone who is not divine and has not labored over these things.
966d	**CLINIAS** δίκαιον γοῦν, ὡς λέγεις, τὸν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀργὸν ἢ ἀδύνατον ἀποκρίνεσθαι πόρρω τῶν καλῶν.	**CLINIAS** It's only just, as you say, that anyone who is lazy or incapable in such matters should be kept far away from what is fine.
	ATHENIAN ἆρα οὖν ἴσμεν ὅτι δύ' ἐστὸν τὼ περὶ θεῶν ἄγοντε εἰς πίστιν, ὅσα διήλθομεν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν;	**ATHENIAN** Do we know, then, that of the things we went through earlier, there are two that lead to belief about the gods?

GREEK

ENGLISH

CLINIAS ποῖα;

CLINIAS Which?

ATHENIAN ἓν μὲν ὃ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλέγομεν, ὡς πρεσβύτατόν [966e] τε καὶ θειότατόν ἐστιν πάντων ὧν κίνησις γένεσιν παραλαβοῦσα ἀέναον οὐσίαν ἐπόρισεν· ἓν δὲ τὸ περὶ τὴν φοράν, ὡς ἔχει τάξεως, ἄστρων τε καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων ἐγκρατὴς νοῦς ἐστιν τὸ πᾶν διακεκοσμηκώς. ὁ γὰρ ἰδὼν ταῦτα μὴ φαύλως μηδ' ἰδιωτικῶς, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄθεος ἀνθρώπων ποτὲ πέφυκεν, ὃς οὐ τοὐναντίον ἔπαθεν ἢ τὸ προσδοκώμενον ὑπὸ [967a] τῶν πολλῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ διανοοῦνται τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειρισαμένους ἀστρονομίᾳ τε καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναγκαίαις ἄλλαις τέχναις ἀθέους γίγνεσθαι, καθεωρακότας ὡς οἷόν τε γιγνόμενα ἀνάγκαις πράγματ' ἀλλ' οὐ διανοίαις βουλήσεως ἀγαθῶν πέρι τελουμένων.

ATHENIAN One is what we said about the soul: that it is the oldest [966e] and most divine of all the things to which motion, taking on birth, has given ever-flowing existence. The other concerns the orderly motion of the stars and of everything else under the control of the intelligence that has ordered the universe. For no human being who has viewed these things neither carelessly nor like a layman has ever been so godless by nature as not to be affected in the opposite way from what the many [967a] expect. They think that those who deal with such matters through astronomy and the other arts necessarily linked with it become godless, having seen, as they suppose, that things happen by necessity and not through the thought of a will aiming at the fulfillment of good things.

967a **CLINIAS** τὸ δὲ δὴ πῶς ἔχον ἂν εἴη;

CLINIAS And what would the real situation be?

ATHENIAN πᾶν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τοὐναντίον ἔχει νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε ἄψυχα αὐτὰ οἱ διανοούμενοι διενοοῦντο. θαύματα μὲν οὖν [967b] καὶ τότε ὑπεδύετο περὶ αὐτά, καὶ ὑπωπτεύετο τὸ νῦν ὄντως δεδογμένον, ὅσοι τῆς ἀκριβείας αὐτῶν ἥπτοντο, ὅπως μήποτ' ἂν ἄψυχα ὄντα οὕτως εἰς ἀκρίβειαν θαυμαστοῖς λογισμοῖς ἂν ἐχρῆτο, νοῦν μὴ κεκτημένα· καί τινες ἐτόλμων τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ παρακινδυνεύειν καὶ τότε, λέγοντες ὡς νοῦς εἴη ὁ διακεκοσμηκὼς πάνθ' ὅσα κατ' οὐρανόν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἁμαρτάνοντες ψυχῆς φύσεως ὅτι πρεσβύτερον εἴη σωμάτων, [967c] διανοηθέντες δὲ ὡς νεώτερον, ἅπανθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος ἀνέτρεψαν πάλιν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον· τὸ γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων, πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐφάνη, τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν φερόμενα, μεστὰ εἶναι λίθων καὶ γῆς καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀψύχων σωμάτων διανεμόντων τὰς αἰτίας παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου.

ATHENIAN As I said, the situation now is the complete opposite of what it was when those who thought about the heavenly bodies thought them soulless. Even then wonder [967b] crept in about them, and those who went into their precise workings suspected what is now truly accepted: that if they were soulless and had no intelligence, they could never use such wonderful calculations with such precision. And some even then dared to venture this very claim, that it was intelligence that had ordered everything in the heavens. But these same people, going wrong again about the nature of soul, that it is older than bodies, [967c] and thinking it younger, overturned everything again, so to speak, and themselves much more so. For everything before their eyes, all that moves in the heavens, seemed to them to be full of stones and earth and many other soulless bodies, which dispensed the causes of the whole cosmos.[14]

967c ταῦτ' ἦν τὰ τότε ἐξειργασμένα πολλὰς ἀθεότητας καὶ δυσχερείας τῶν τοιούτων ἅπτεσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ λοιδορήσεις γε ἐπῆλθον ποιηταῖς, τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας κυσὶ ματαίαις ἀπεικάζοντας [967d] χρωμέναισιν ὑλακαῖς, ἄλλα τε αὖ ἀνόητ' εἰπεῖν· νῦν δέ, ὅπερ εἴρηται, πᾶν τοὐναντίον ἔχει.

These were the views that at that time produced much godlessness and made such studies distasteful; and in particular the poets came out with abuse, likening philosophers to dogs [967d] barking in vain, and saying other foolish things besides. But now, as I said, the situation is the complete opposite.

14 Chiefly Anaxagoras, who made intelligence (*nous*) the orderer of the cosmos.

GREEK	ENGLISH
967d **CLINIAS** πῶς;	**CLINIAS** How so?
ATHENIAN οὐκ ἔστιν ποτὲ γενέσθαι βεβαίως θεοσεβῆ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὃς ἂν μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ταῦτα νῦν δύο λάβῃ, ψυχή τε ὡς ἔστιν πρεσβύτατον ἁπάντων ὅσα γονῆς μετείληφεν, ἀθάνατόν τε, ἄρχει τε δὴ σωμάτων πάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοισι δή, τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον πολλάκις, τόν τε εἰρημένον [967e] ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις νοῦν τῶν ὄντων τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀναγκαῖα μαθήματα λάβῃ, τά τε κατὰ τὴν μοῦσαν τούτοις τῆς κοινωνίας συνθεασάμενος, χρήσηται πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἠθῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ νόμιμα συναρμοττόντως, ὅσα τε λόγον ἔχει, τούτων δυνατὸς [968a] ᾖ δοῦναι τὸν λόγον· ὁ δὲ μὴ ταῦθ' οἷός τ' ὢν πρὸς ταῖς δημοσίαις ἀρεταῖς κεκτῆσθαι σχεδὸν ἄρχων μὲν οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο ἱκανὸς ὅλης πόλεως, ὑπηρέτης δ' ἂν ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν.	**ATHENIAN** No mortal can ever become firmly reverent toward the gods unless he grasps the two things now being stated: that soul is the oldest of all things that have had birth, and is immortal, and rules over all bodies; and, besides, as has now been said many times, the intelligence of the things that are, which we said is [967e] in the stars. He must also learn the studies that necessarily come before these, and, having seen what they have in common with the art of the Muses, apply them harmoniously to the practices and customs of character; and he must be able, for whatever has an account, [968a] to give the account. Someone unable to acquire these things in addition to the ordinary civic virtues would hardly ever be an adequate ruler of a whole city, but rather an assistant to other rulers.
968a ὁρᾶν δὴ χρεὼν νῦν, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, ἤδη πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις νόμοις ἅπασιν ὅσους διεληλύθαμεν εἰ καὶ τοῦτον προσοίσομεν, ὡς φυλακὴν ἐσόμενον κατὰ νόμον χάριν σωτηρίας τὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων νυκτερινὸν σύλλογον, [968b] παιδείας ὁπόσης διεληλύθαμεν κοινωνὸν γενόμενον· ἢ πῶς ποιῶμεν;	So now, Clinias and Megillus, we must consider whether, to all the laws we have gone through, we will add this one too: that the Nocturnal Council of officials, [968b] having shared in all the education we have described, is to be a guard established by law for the sake of preservation. Or what shall we do?
968b **CLINIAS** ἀλλ', ὦ λῷστε, πῶς οὐ προσοίσομεν, ἄν πῃ καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ δυνηθῶμεν;	**CLINIAS** My good friend, how could we not add it, if we can manage it even to a small degree?
ATHENIAN καὶ μὴν πρός γε τὸ τοιοῦτον ἁμιλληθῶμεν πάντες. συλλήπτωρ γὰρ τούτου γε ὑμῖν καὶ ἐγὼ γιγνοίμην ἂν προθύμως—πρὸς δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἑτέρους ἴσως εὑρήσω—διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ σκέψιν γεγονυῖάν μοι καὶ μάλα συχνήν.	**ATHENIAN** Then let's all strive toward such a goal. I too would gladly help you in this—and perhaps I'll find others besides me—because of my experience and study of such matters, which has been very considerable.
CLINIAS ἀλλ', ὦ ξένε, παντὸς μὲν μᾶλλον ταύτῃ πορευτέον ᾗπερ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς σχεδὸν ἄγει· τίς δὲ ὁ τρόπος ἡμῖν [968c] γιγνόμενος ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἄν, τοῦτο δὴ τὰ νῦν λέγωμέν τε καὶ ἐρευνῶμεν.	**CLINIAS** Well, stranger, we must by all means go along the path on which the god himself seems to be leading us. But how it could [968c] be done correctly—that is what we should now discuss and investigate.
968c **ATHENIAN** οὐκέτι νόμους, ὦ Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία, περὶ τῶν τοιούτων δυνατόν ἐστιν νομοθετεῖν, πρὶν ἂν κοσμηθῇ—τότε δὲ κυρίους ὧν αὐτοὺς δεῖ γίγνεσθαι νομοθετεῖν—ἀλλὰ ἤδη τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάζον διδαχὴ μετὰ συνουσίας πολλῆς γίγνοιτ' ἄν, εἰ γίγνοιτο ὀρθῶς.	**ATHENIAN** It isn't possible any longer, Megillus and Clinias, to lay down laws on such matters before the council has been organized—then is the time to legislate what its members are to have authority over. At this stage, what would set these things up would be teaching, with much time spent together, if it is to be done correctly.
CLINIAS πῶς; τί τοῦτο εἰρῆσθαι φῶμεν αὖ;	**CLINIAS** How so? What should we take this remark to mean?

GREEK

ATHENIAN πρῶτον μὲν δήπου καταλεκτέος ἂν εἴη κατάλογος [968d] τῶν ὅσοι ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὴν τῆς φυλακῆς φύσιν ἂν εἶεν ἡλικίαις τε καὶ μαθημάτων δυνάμεσιν καὶ τρόπων ἤθεσιν καὶ ἔθεσιν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἃ δεῖ μανθάνειν οὔτε εὑρεῖν ῥᾴδιον οὔτε ηὑρηκότος ἄλλου μαθητὴν γενέσθαι. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ χρόνους, οὕς τε καὶ ἐν οἷς δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν ἕκαστα, μάταιον ταῦτ' ἐν γράμμασιν λέγειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῖς μανθάνουσι [968e] δῆλα γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὅτι πρὸς καιρὸν μανθάνεται, πρὶν ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ἑκάστῳ που μαθήματος ἐπιστήμην γεγονέναι. οὕτω δὴ πάντα τὰ περὶ ταῦτα ἀπόρρητα μὲν λεχθέντα οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς λέγοιτο, ἀπρόρρητα δὲ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν προρρηθέντα δηλοῦν τῶν λεγομένων.

968e CLINIAS τί οὖν δὴ ποιητέον ἐχόντων τούτων οὕτως, ὦ ξένε;

ATHENIAN τὸ λεγόμενον, ὦ φίλοι, ἐν κοινῷ καὶ μέσῳ ἔοικεν ἡμῖν κεῖσθαι, καὶ εἴπερ κινδυνεύειν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐθέλομεν συμπάσης, ἢ τρὶς ἕξ, φασίν, ἢ τρεῖς κύβους βάλλοντες, [969a] ταῦτα ποιητέον, ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν συγκινδυνεύσω τῷ φράζειν τε καὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι τά γε δεδογμένα ἐμοὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τε καὶ τροφῆς τῆς νῦν αὖ κεκινημένης τοῖς λόγοις· τὸ μέντοι κινδύνευμα οὐ σμικρὸν οὐδ' ἑτέροις τισὶν προσφερὲς ἂν εἴη. σοὶ δὴ τοῦτό γε, ὦ Κλεινία, μέλειν παρακελεύομαι· σὺ γὰρ τὴν Μαγνήτων πόλιν, ἢ ᾧ ἂν θεὸς ἐπώνυμον αὐτὴν ποιήσῃ, κλέος ἀρῇ μέγιστον κατασκευάσας αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς, ἢ τό γε ἀνδρειότατος [969b] εἶναι δοκεῖν τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγιγνομένων οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ ποτέ.

969b ἐάν γε μὴν οὗτος ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος γένηται σύλλογος, ὦ φίλοι ἑταῖροι, παραδοτέον τούτῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἀμφισβήτησίς τε οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδεμία οὐδενὶ τῶν νῦν παρὰ ταῦθ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν νομοθετῶν, ὄντως δὲ ἔσται σχεδὸν ὕπαρ ἀποτετελεσμένον οὗ σμικρῷ πρόσθεν ὀνείρατος ὡς τῷ λόγῳ ἐφηψάμεθα, κεφαλῆς νοῦ τε κοινωνίας εἰκόνα τινά πως συμμείξαντες, ἐὰν ἄρα ἡμῖν οἵ τε ἄνδρες ἀκριβῶς ἐκλεχθῶσι, παιδευθῶσί τε [969c] προσηκόντως, παιδευθέντες τε ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς χώρας κατοικήσαντες, φύλακες ἀποτελεσθῶσιν οἵους ἡμεῖς οὐκ εἴδομεν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν βίῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν σωτηρίας γενομένους.

ENGLISH

ATHENIAN First, surely, a list would have to be drawn up [968d] of those who would be suited to the nature of guardianship by age, capacity for learning, character and habits. After that, what they must learn is neither easy to discover nor easy to learn from someone else who has discovered it. And besides, as to the times—when and for how long each subject should be taken up—it would be pointless to state these in writing; for not even to the learners themselves [968e] would it be clear what is being learned at the right time until knowledge of the subject has come to be within the soul of each of them. So it wouldn't be right to call everything about these matters secret; rather, it cannot be told in advance, because telling it in advance makes nothing of what is said clear.

CLINIAS Then what must we do, stranger, since this is how things stand?

ATHENIAN As the saying goes, my friends, the prize seems to lie there in the middle for all of us; and if we are willing to stake the whole constitution, throwing, as they say, either three sixes or three ones, [969a] then that is what we must do. I will share the risk with you by stating and explaining my views about the education and upbringing that our discussion has now set in motion once again. The risk, though, would be no small one, and not comparable to any other. This, Clinias, I urge you to take care of. For you will win the greatest glory for the city of the Magnesians, or whatever name the god gives it, if you set it up correctly; or at any rate you will never escape being thought the most courageous [969b] of all who come after.[15]

If this divine council comes into being for us, my dear friends, the city must be handed over to it; and virtually none of today's lawgivers would dispute this. Then what we touched on in our argument a little earlier, as in a dream, will really be almost fulfilled as a waking reality, when we sketched a sort of image of how head and intelligence are joined together—if, that is, the men are carefully selected, properly [969c] educated, and, once educated, settled in the citadel of the land, and become guardians such as we have never before seen in our lives for excellence in preserving.

15 Three sixes or three ones was the best or worst throw with three dice, that is, all or nothing.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
969c	**MEGILLUS** ὦ φίλε Κλεινία, ἐκ τῶν νῦν ἡμῖν εἰρημένων ἁπάντων ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐατέον τῆς κατοικίσεως ἢ τὸν ξένον τόνδε οὐκ ἀφετέον, ἀλλὰ δεήσεσιν καὶ μηχαναῖς πάσαις κοινωνὸν ποιητέον ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως κατοίκισιν.	**MEGILLUS** My dear Clinias, from everything we've now said, either we must give up founding the city, or we must not let this stranger go, but by entreaties and every means we can contrive make him our partner in founding it.
969d	**CLINIAS** ἀληθέστατα λέγεις, ὦ Μέγιλλε, καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω ταῦθ' οὕτως καὶ σὺ συλλάμβανε.	**CLINIAS** You're absolutely right, Megillus. I'll do just that, and you help me.
	MEGILLUS συλλήψομαι.	**MEGILLUS** I will.