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GRAY'S WORKS

VOL. IV.





Sonnet.

In vain to me the smiling Mornings shine,  
And redning Phœbus lifts his golden Fire:

The Birds in vain their amorous Descant joyn;  
Or cheerful Fields resume their green Attire:

These ~~same~~ alas! for other Notes repine,  
at different Object do these Eyes require.

My lonely Anguish melts no Heart, but mine;

And in my Breast the imperfect Joys expire.

Yet Morning smiles the busy Race to cheer,

And new-born Pleasure brings to happier Men:

The Fields to all their wonted Tribute bear:

To warm their little Loves the Birds complain:

I fruitless mourn to him, that cannot hear,

And weep the more, because I weep in vain. \* at Stoke Newington



THE WORKS  
OF  
THOMAS GRAY

In Prose and Verse

EDITED BY

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IN FOUR VOLS.—VOL. IV.

*NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES AND PLATO*

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NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES

VOL. IV.

B

[The original of these notes was contained in a separate manuscript, dated July 1747, in the possession of Mathias, which was presented to him by Richard Stonehewer, one of Gray's executors. They were published by Mathias in 1814, and have never since been reprinted. It has been thought best to print the Greek, in this instance, as Gray wrote it.—ED.]

## ACHARNENSES.

Olymp. 88. 3.

It<sup>1</sup> appears from several passages in the drama itself and in the Scholia, that it was played in this olympiad and year, Archont. Euthydemo, and consequently the year before his Equites. In the sixth line he mentions the fine imposed on Cleon, of five talents; so that it is not true, that his Equites was the occasion of that disgrace (see v. 300), as the author of his life has written, and the Scholia here say.

v. 11. This Theognis, satirized as a bad writer of tragedy, and from his coldness nicknamed *Χίων*, was twenty-two years afterwards one of the thirty tyrants. Moschus, Dexitheus, and Chæris, mentioned here, were tibicines of this time.

47. Euripides, in his *Iphigenia in Tauris*, is here ridiculed.

66. The allowance to an Athenian embassy consisted of two drachmæ a day to each person employed.

119. The *Medea* of Euripides is here parodied. I

<sup>1</sup> It was not any oligarchy, or tyranny, which retrenched the chorus in the Athenian comedy, or prohibited the representation of real characters, as Platonius asserts, in his observations entitled *Περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμωδιῶν*.—[GRAY.]

read, *εξυρημενε*, which improves the parody of Euripides.—Effeminate persons began to shave their chins even in these times. (V. Athenæum, L. 13. p. 565. and Thesmoph. v. 225.)

233. The action against Pisistratus at Pallene, one of the *Δημοι* of Attica, is mentioned by Andocides, de *Mysteriis*, whose great-grandfather Leogoras was *Στρατηγος* there.

346-47.—

*Ανασειειν βοην,*

*Ολιγον τ' απεθανον ανθρακες Παρνασσιοι. κτλ.*

Should we not read *Παρνηθιοι*?

387. &c. Hieronimus a tragick and lyrick poet.—Euripides and Cephisophon ridiculed.—The *Æneus*, *Phoenix*, *Philoctetes*, *Bellerophon*, *Telephus*, *Thyestes*, and *Ino* of Euripides, are laughed at, where he had introduced the principal characters in poor apparel to move compassion. The sententious pertness of his personages, and the inactiveness and folly of his chorusses, are all noticed. The poverty of his mother is alluded to.

442.—*Τους δ' αν Χορευτας ηλιθιους παρεσταναι, &c.*

Euripides is here satirized for making his chorusses take little part in the action of the drama, but either telling long fables, or impertinently questioning and answering the characters.

504.—*Ουτε γαρ φοροι 'Ηκουσι, &c.*

The time, when the contributions of the allies were brought to Athens, was during the *Dionysia τα κατ' αστυ*, (see *Isocrat. de Pace*, 175,) in spring time in the month *Elaphebolion*; the *Lenæa* were celebrated in winter pretty late, two months before the other, and in the country, at which time this piece was played.



529. Περικλεῆς οὐλύμπιος

Ἡστραπτεν, ἐβροντα, ξινεκυκα την Ελλάδα, &c.

The fine fragment from the *Δημοί* of Europolis on Pericles.

602. Μισθοφορουντας τρεις δραχμας, &c.

He seems to mean that they sent their *Στρατηγοί* on various useless embassies, who gladly accepted them, as well to be out of the way of danger, as to earn the publick allowance, two or three drachmæ a day, and to be out of the power of their creditors.

628. Ἐξ οὐγε χοροισιν εφεστηκε τρυγικοις ὁ διδασκαλος ἡμων, &c.

*Τρυγωδία* seems always to mean comedy here. See above, v. 498 and 499. Is this *Parabasis* to be understood of Aristophanes himself, or of Callistratus the actor, in whose name he seems to have exhibited all his dramas, before the Equites? Some of the Scholia take it of the latter (see v. 654); they also rightly understand in a ridiculous light what is here said of the Persian king, which the writer of the Poet's life, and Mad. Dacier also, seriously report as a fact.

703. Is this the Thucydides, son of Melesias, who underwent the ostracism, or, as Idomeneus says (see Schol. ad Vespas, v. 941), perpetual banishment, and that he fled into Persia, Ol. 83, 4, nineteen years before this? Cephisodemus seems to have been his accuser.

875. *Νασσας, Κολοιους, &c.* Is *Κολοιος* the jay, or the jackdaw, or the magpye? It was, as it appears, an eatable bird. It appears also, that the Greeks eat hedge-hogs, foxes, locusts, moles, otters, and cats. (see Athenæus, L. 17, p. 300.) The Megareans brought

salt, swine, garlick, &c., to sell at the Athenian markets, and bought corn there, &c. The Bœotians (see Irene v. 1003 and 4.) sold them water-fowl and wild-fowl of various sorts, manufactures of rushwork, as mats, wicks for lamps, &c., and fish from their lakes, particularly excellent eels.

883. The *Ὀπλων Κρισις* of Æschylus is here parodied.

1000. It is certain that this comedy was played during the Lenæa, and many parts of it seem a representation of the festival itself, as v. 238, where Dicaeopolis and his family perform sacrifice to Bacchus, and here is the Certamen Bibendi, used in the *Χοαι*: but we are not told that this ceremony was used except on the second day of the Anthesteria. Hence it seems probable, that it was used alike in the Lenæa.

1029. *Ὁ δὲ δημοσιευὼν τυγχάνω*. The publick elected and gave a salary to certain physicians (see Aves, v. 585, and Plutus, v. 408) who took no fees from particular people.

It appears from some of the scenes in this comedy, that the Prytanes were present in the publick assemblies, seated in the place of honour; that they kept order there, and commanded the archers to apprehend any one who made a disturbance; and that they produced ambassadors to the people, and dismissed the assembly. Ambassadors were entertained in the Prytaneum at the invitation of the senate.

## EQUITES.

Olymp. 88. 4. In Lenæis, Mense Posideone.

v. 9. Olympus, the scholar of Marsyas, invented the symphony of flutes. 19. Alludes to Euripides. 61. *Αδει δε χρησμούς.* Alluding to the Sibyll's oracles.

123. Alluding to the oracles of Bacis. The Scholiast says there were three of that name.

282. It seems, that Cleon, for his success at Sphacteria, had a publick maintenance allowed him in the Prytaneum.

399. The sottishness of Cratinus.—Morsimus, the son of Philocles, wrote Tragedy. 404. The *Τεθριπποι* of Simonides cited.

504. This was the first drama which Aristophanes brought upon the stage in his own name, (see *Vespæ*, v. 1013.) and he himself played the character of Cleon in it.

517. *Ειδως ἂ παθεν Μαγνης ἄμα ταις πολιαις κατιουσαις, &c.*

Magnes, the comick poet, had great success in his plays, named, *Βαρβιτιδες*, *Ορνιθες*, *Ψῆνες*, *Βατραχοι*, *Λυδοι*, but was hissed off the stage in his decline.

523. *Κρατινου μεμνημενος.* Cratinus—his ancient glory is declared; but he afterwards grew negligent, drunken, and despised in his old age. Connas, the tibicen, lost his former reputation.

524. The passage cited from the Pytine of Cratinus in the Scholia must either not be in that drama, or the poet must allude here to some other similar passage; as the Pytine was not played till the following year, and (as the Scholia say afterwards) written upon the provocation here given by Aristophanes.

534. Crates; his various success. Aristophanes assigns his reasons for not before exhibiting any drama in his own name.

586. The comick chorus (as the Scholiast informs us, and see also Aves, v. 298) consisted of twenty-four persons, the tragick chorus but of fifteen. They were (sometimes) composed of men, women, and children, mixed, as in the Vespæ, &c. Casaubon, in his notes to v. 495, gives an account of the Parabasis and of its seven parts, namely, the Κομματιον, Παραβασις (propriè dicta), Μακρον or Πινγος, Στροφή, Επιρρημα, Αντιστροφή, και Αντεπιρρημα.

596. The humour of these lines, and of the naval expedition of the horses, is hardly intelligible at present.

701. Προεδρια was an honour conferred on principal citizens for their services: every one was obliged to give them place in the assembly, the senate, the theatre, &c. Cleon had this honour after his success at Sphacteria.

782. Την εν Σαλαμίνι. It is plain what part he means: but why does he call it so?

790. Ετος ογδοον. Must be understood of the eighth year only beginning.

810. Ω πολις Αργους. The sharpness of this parody of Euripides consists in this: Cleon, under a pretence of an embassy to Argos, was suspected of carrying on a

private correspondence with the Spartans, on the subject of restoring the prisoners he had made at Sphacteria. (See v. 463.)

851. Here is a good account of the ostracism, in the Scholia, but with some errors. It is said to be in use with the Argives, Megareans and Milesians ; but Phæax in his oration on the subject, spoken probably not many years after this, affirms the contrary ; *Μονοι γαρ αυτου των Ἑλληνων χρωμεθα, και ουδεμια των αλλων πολιων εθελει μιμησασθαι* ; and it is not likely, that those cities should have adopted it, after it ceased to be in use at Athens, which took place Olymp. 91. 1. In enumerating several great men exostracised, he mentions Alcibiades, who never was so.

908. The ships were delivered to the Trierarchs, by the *Στρατηγοι* (who seem to have appointed them) and belonged to the publick ; but the Trierarch, at his own expense, repaired and furnished them with all necessaries. The *Εισφοραι* were paid by the richer citizens, a catalogue of whom seems to have been drawn by the *Στρατηγοι*.

947. The custom of the steward, or head-servant, keeping his master's seal.

950. *Θριον εξωπτημενον*. There are three receipts, in the Scholia, of Greek cookery, to make a *Θριον*. The 1st was in this manner : they boiled rice, or fine flour in grains (called *Χονδρος*) till it was tender ; then they kneaded it up with new cheese, and eggs, wrapped up the whole in a fig-leaf, and boiled it in a soup of broth of meat ; then fried it brown in honey, and served it up to table with the honey in the dish. 2. A second

sort was made of flour, lard, or the fat of a kid, milk, and yolks of eggs, boiled in a fig-leaf. 3. The third sort was, the brains of any animal with garum (the pickle of fish) and cheese; the whole put in a fig-leaf, and baked over the fire.

959. Μολγον—μυρρινου—Σμικυθην και Κυριον—obscure passages. The Scholia assist us very little here.

1046. Πεντεσυριγγον ξυλον. This wooden machine had five holes in it to receive the hands, feet, and neck of the prisoners, serving at once for the pillory and for the stocks.

1300. It is false to say, that the Athenians had no connection with, or thoughts of, Carthage, (see Isocrates de Pace, 177.) whatever the commentators may say; their ambition extended itself in proportion to their conquests, and if their Sicilian expedition had succeeded, they had actually thoughts of attacking that great republic: Thucydides at least tells us, that this was Alcibiades's view. L. 6. c. 15.

1375. Συνερκτικος γαρ εστι, &c. This imitates the turn of phrase then in use among the young gentlemen of Athens, who had deserted the country, and the more manly exercises of agriculture, hunting, &c., and divided their time between the effeminate pleasures of the city and the publick assemblies, in which they valued themselves upon their eloquence, and the new art of speaking, then, perhaps, taught by the sophists. The terms they use (as the Scholiast observes) bear a double meaning; and he rightly explains the sense of καταδακτυλιζειν. There is no doubt, but that this line is spoken by the chorus to Demus, who represents the people.

## VESPÆ.

Olymp. 89. 2. In Lenæis.

v. 139. *Ιπνος* is not the kitchen (as the Scholiast would have it) but the stove for heating the bath. *Πυελος* is the labrum, or bathing-tub. *Τρηγμα*, the hole in it at the bottom to let out the water. *Καπνη*, the funnel, or vent for the smoke. *Τηλια*, a cap or cover to close the vent.

157. Read, *Δικασοντα με*.

158. *Ὁ γαρ Θεος*, &c. It seems to be the old man who says this, not his son; and Bdelycleon answers; *Απολλον αποτροπαιε*, &c.

240. *Ως εσται Λαχητι νυνη* (i.e. *δικη*.) &c. Laches, who had been recalled from his command in Sicily two years before this, Ol. 88. 3 (Thucyd. L. 3. c. 115.) seems to have been accused this year by Cleon and his party.

287. *Ανηρ παχυς ήκει των προδοντων Τάπι Θρακης*, &c. Without doubt this relates to Thucydides, who was *Στρατηγος* in Thrace, and condemned to banishment this very year, for his treachery or neglect in the loss of Amphipolis.

322. *Αλλ' ω Ζεῦ*, &c. This is undoubtedly a parody of some tragick chorus, perhaps of Æschylus or of Euripides, though the Scholiast is silent.

388. *Ω Λυκε*, &c. The fane of Lycus adjoining to

all courts of justice, fenced in, and covered at the top with mats.

415. *Ταυτα δητ' ου δεινα*, &c. This should be spoken by the chorus.

576. When boys underwent the *Δοκιμασια*, their puberty was publicly examined (as it seems) in the court of *Heliaea*.

598. *Τάμβαδι ἡμων περικωνει*. The manner of blacking shoes (as it seems) was with a sponge and tar.

606. The custom of washing and anointing their feet, as soon as they came home, which was in poorer families the office of the daughters.

655. The publick revenue of Athens comprehending the contributions of the allied cities (which may be set at six hundred talents yearly, as Thucydides observes, L. 2. c. 13.); the tolls and customs from the markets, and ports, and mines; the *Prytanea*, or sums deposited by such as had suits in any court (v. *Nubes*, v. 1134, and 1193, and *Kuster ad v. 1182.*); and the confiscations, &c., here computed at two thousand talents per annum (£387,500), out of which one hundred and fifty talents were expended on the six thousand *Δικασται* kept in pay (see *Isocrates de Pace*, 185.) at three oboli a-day, which in ten months (for the rest of the year consisted in holidays, during which the courts did not sit) amounted to that sum. Qu. what are the *Εκατοσται*, and *Μισθοι* mentioned as branches of the revenue here? (v. *Xenoph. de Athen. Republ.* 404.)

688. *Το σημειον*, the sign given to enter the court, and take their places (v. *Thesmoph.* v. 285.); mentioned



also by Andocides de *Mysteriis*; το σημειον καθελγ, p. 6.—The *Συνηγοροι*, or orators, received a drachma in each cause (as it seems) from the publick.

700. *Ωσπερ αλευρον*. The metaphor seems to be taken from some weakly young animal brought up by the hand, by distilling milk or pap into its mouth, gradually through a lock of wool. The Scholiast on v. 700 comes nearer the true meaning, than on v. 699.

705. A thousand cities paid tribute to the Athenians at this time. Genuine citizens were now above twenty thousand.

716. In the Schol. on this verse for *Ἰππαρχου* read *Ἰσαρχου*: but I do not find any revolt in Eubœa till eleven years afterwards; nor can there be any allusion here to the distribution of corn under Lysimachides, which took place twenty-three years before.

787. The obolus, a silver coin. Custom of putting money in the mouth. (Aves, 503.)

800. *Ωσπερ Ἐκαταιον*. A little chapel or tabernacle of Hecate was erected before every man's door. (Ranæ, 369.)

840. *Χοιροκομειον Ἐστιας*. Libations and prayers were always begun to Vesta. (v. Avcs, v. 865, and Plato's *Cratylus*, p. 401.)

870. Apollo *Αγνιευς* was represented by a small obelisk before the doors of houses. (v. *Thesmoph.* 485.)

909. It is Bdeleycleon who sustains the part of the *Thesmothetes*. The servant speaks for the accuser. From *Ὁ βδελυρος οὔτος ου μετεδωκ' αιτου̐ντι μοι*, are his words in the character of the Cydathenæan dog, who represents a sycophant informer, who prosecutes

Labes (the dog defendant) because he would not give him a share of the Sicilian cheese which he had stolen. *Ἐὼ κοινῶ γέμοι*, I suppose means, the dog of the publick; or this last line may be spoken by the judge himself, who represents the people, and is angry, that he had no part in the spoil. In the Scholia, for *Χαρητα* read *Λαχητα*.

930. *Αὐτος καθελου*—as far as *ουδεπω*, v. 934, is said by Bdelycleon; and Philocleon adds, (as the Scholiast also reads) *Τουτον δε γ' οὐμ' εγω*, &c., meaning the defendant.

954. *Εγω δ' εβουλομην αν*, &c., seems obscure, nor do I perceive who says this. *Ακουσον ω δαιμονιε*, v. 956. belongs to Bdelycleon, who from Thesmothetes turns advocate for Labes.

981. *Τηνδι λαβων*, &c. The account in the Scholiast of the manner of voting, is to me unintelligible; and Florens Christianus (who does little more than translate the Scholia) is as much so. It seems that the calculi put into the *ὑστερος καδισκος* acquitted the prisoner. The matter is better explained in the Schol. on v. 985.

1014. Eurycles, an *εγγαστριμυθος* or ventriloquist, and prophet at Athens. *Εἰς αλλοτριας γαστερας*, I imagine, means fetching his voice out of another person's belly; for persons, who have this faculty, often seem to do so.

1025. Aristophanes—how he demolished Cleon in his Equites: his *Nubes*, written against the school of Socrates, exploded: he reckons it his best piece: ancient Scholia, sung after meals, on Harmodius: the beginning

of another by Alcæus : *Ἀδμητου λογος* : the Paræria of Praxilla : Æsopic and Sybaritic tales.

1037. The office of the Polemarch. See the Schol. on this verse.

1052. The custom of putting apples (qu. whether the citron fruit ?) among chests of clothes.

1221. This is the beginning of the Scholion on Harmodius and Aristogēiton, to which Philocleon answers, as continuing the song, *Ουκ οὕτω πανοῦργος*, &c., meaning Cleon, whom Bdelycleon personates. Observe the way of singing successively (see *Nubes*, v. 1367), and continuing the same Scholion, giving a myrtle branch from one to another.

1275. *Εἰσι τινες οἱ*, &c. This obscure antistrophe relates to some transaction between Cleon and the poet, of which we know little.

1300. Didymus and others take these lines for nonsense.

1408. I know not why this character is called Euripides : it seems a mistake.

1418. Example of a Sybaritic tale.

1481. Besides Phrynichus, son of Melanthus the tragick poet, (who must have been dead fifty years at least before this) and Phrynichus, the comick son of Polyphradmon (or Eunomides, see *Ranæ*, v. 13.) and contemporary with Aristophanes, there was a third Phrynichus, a famed actor of tragedy mentioned here in the Scholion on v. 1293, and by Andocides de *Mysteriis*, p. 7, as a relation of his own. (See also *Aves*, Schol. on 750.)

1491. Carcinus, the son of Thorycias, had three

sons, all players, Xenotimus, Demotimus, and the youngest Xenocles, a tragick poet.

1507. The chorus here give way to the three sons of Carcīnus, or to such as imitated them, who dance a vaulting dance.

1524. For ἦμαs read ἶμαs. The chorus came on, but never went off, dancing.

## NUBES.

OL. 89. 1. In Dionysiis *τοῖς κατ' αστυ*, Mens. Elaphebol. after the Vespæ.

The Nubes was played Ol. 89. 1. and damned; it was altered and repeated Ol. 89. 2, but still with ill success. It was again altered, and published two or three years after, but never played again.

v. 10. *Σισυρα*, a kind of frieze (Ecclesiaz: 347) or thick woollen garment, used as a great coat, and also to cover beds, as here, like a blanket.

37. *Δημαρχος*, an officer presiding over each *Δημος*, instituted (as Aristotle says) by Clisthenes; for before that time they were called *Ναυκλαροι*. They had a register of all the debts of their *Δημοται*, and obliged them to give their creditors security, when demanded.

178. *Διαβητην*. The Scholiast here exactly describes a pair of compasses. (Vid. Platon. Philebus, p. 567.)

180. Thales the Milesian.

256. The sacrifice of Athamas, in a tragedy of Sophocles.

267. *Κυνῆ*, a leather cap, or calotte, with which they covered their head against the rain

335. Bombast expressions of dithyrambick writers, Cinesias, Philoxenus, and Cleomenes, as the Scholiast says.

503. Chærephon ; his leanness and paleness.

524. The *first* Nubes exploded : Aristophanes regarded it as his best work. His *Δαιταλεις*, the first comedy of his brought upon the stage, but under another person's name, Philonides or Callistratus ; its success.

534. The Choephoroi of Æschylus.

549. His abuse of Cleon in the Equites. Eupolis's Maricas, a bad imitation of the Equites. Phrynichus, the comick writer. Hermippus, his drama against Hyperbolus. The simile of the eel-catchers in the Equites was famous.

586. It is not necessary that we should understand this of Cleon's expedition to Thrace, where he was killed and the Athenians defeated, as the Scholia and Spanheim would have us understand it ; it is meant of his *Στρατηγια*, in the year he took *Σφακτηρια*, which, however successful in that particular, is always represented by the poet, here and elsewhere, as the misfortune and error of the publick, on account of the signal depravity of manners, rapacity, and mad conduct of Cleon. It appears, even from v. 591, that Cleon was actually alive at the time when this was written. Hyperbolus was chosen Hieromnemon in this year, to go to Thermopylæ and Delphi. Mad. Dacier's explanation of v. 625, is the best we can find.

765. A remarkable description of a burning-glass. The Scholia here tells us, that at this time they called rock-crystal *Υαλος*, which may possibly be, as he here calls it, *Λιθος*. Not that artificial glass, from Egypt and the east, was unknown to them : Herodotus mentions it in his account of the Ethiopians, &c. ; however

it appears, that they did not put it to this use of collecting the sunbeams, till they had heated it first, and rubbed it with oil : it seems to have been then newly invented. Spanhemius, at v. 619 and 626, does not imagine this confusion of the year to be owing to the irregularities before the invention of Meto's cycle, (which was not received into publick use), but to some attempt, perhaps of the magistracy, at this time to introduce that cycle, which, however, did not obtain : the months still continuing of thirty, and the year of three hundred and sixty, days.

919. The Telephus of Euripides.

961. The Greek children from ten years old to thirteen were sent to the *Γραμματιστής*, who taught them to read and write, then to the *Κιθαριστής*, and next to the *Παιδοτριβής*.

964. The odes of Lamprocles son of Midon an Athenian, and of Cydides of Hermione.

967. Phrynis, the musician of Mitylene, scholar of Aristoclitus, corrupted and softened the ancient musick.

981. Schol. Cecides, was an ancient dithyrambick.

1047. All natural warm baths were sacred to Hercules.

1264. Carcinus introduced in his tragedies, certain deities deploring and lamenting themselves. A parody of two lines in the Licymnius of Xenocles.

1359. Scholia of Simonides. Speeches from Æschylus and Euripides were sung at entertainments.

## P A X.

Acted in the Dionysia *τα κατ' αστυ*, Ol. 90. 2. Archonte Archià.  
Bentley and Malalam.

v. 81. This whole whim of making Trygæus fly to heaven, mounted on the back of a monstrous beetle, is a ridiculous imitation of the Bellerophon of Euripides, who is introduced in like sort taming Pegasus for the same purpose, and seating himself on his back. This *Ἡσυχος, ἡσυχος, ηρεμα, κανθων*, is a parody of that scene which begun, *Αγ' ω φιλον μοι Πηγασου πτερον*: and so, from the elevated expression, I imagine the rest to be, as far as v. 155. The reason why he himself chooses to go to heaven on a beetle, he himself gives us out of Æsop's fables;

*Εν τωισιν Αισωπου λογοις εξηγρηθη  
Μονος πετεινων εις Θεους αφιγμενος*

and he adds another, which shews his œconomy and prudence; for he says, that had he used any other vehicle, he must have carried twice the provision, whereas this animal will feed on what he himself had digested.

146. The Bellerophon of Euripides introduced lame after his fall.

218. *Ην εχωμεν την Πυλον*. This seems to allude



to the Athenians refusing to restore Pylus after the ratification of the truce, Ol. 89. 4. See Thucyd. L. 5. 35.

236. *Τας γναθους αλγησετε*, i.e. In eating the *Μυττωτος* which he is cooking for them.

342. The best account of the *Κοτταβισμος* is in the Scholia, and at v. 1241.

363. Prisoners condemned to death were executed one only in a day, and drew lots who should die first.

373. Those who would be initiated at Eleusis sacrificed a pig, which cost three drachmæ. (See also Plat. Rep. L. 2. 378.)

413. The eclipse of the sun, Ol. 88. 4, mentioned by Thucydides; and in the Nubes, v. 584.

449. *Κεῖ τις στρατηγειν*, &c. This (as the Scholiast says) is a reflection perhaps on Alcibiades, but undoubtedly on Lamachus, who was always strenuous for continuing the war.

456. Mars and Enyalius were two different divinities. (See Sophocles, Ajax, v. 179.)

465. The Bœotians refused to come into the truce with Athens. See Thucyd. L. 5. 17.

530. The musick of Sophocles praised. Euripides's little sentences and short replies.

642. *'Αττ' αν διαβαλοι*, &c. This alludes to sick stomachs, which are most inclined to eat what is most prejudicial to them.

697. Simonides and Sophocles, now an old man; their avarice.

699. This is not to be literally understood; for Cratinus was alive seven years after the invasion of

Attica by the Spartans, but he had given himself up to drinking, and declined in his parts and reputation.

712. The senate seemed to have named the *Θεωροῦ*, that is, the Areopagus, as I imagine.

728. The chorus here (as in *Acharnens.* v. 626.) pull off their *ἱματια*, or mantles, or upper garments, that they may dance the *Parabasis*, or the *anapæstic* digression, with more ease.

735. Aristophanes banished (as he says) low ribaldry from the stage, and made comedy an art; he attacked without fear the most powerful men, particularly Cleon. Carcinus and his sons, Morsimus and Melanthius, tragick poets, satirized. Ion of Chius, his hymn on the morning star: now lately dead. See the account of him in the *Scholia*.

756. These verses are repeated from the *Nubes*, which proves that drama to have been exploded.

884. *Ariphrades*: his strange lust.

951. *Chæris*, the *tibicen*. *Morychus* and *Melanthius*; their gluttony. Parody from the *Medea* of the latter. *Stilbides* and *Hierocles* of *Oreus*, professed prophets. *Bacis*; three of that name (*Schol.*), a *Bœotian*, an *Athenian*, and an *Arcadian*. *Sibylla*, her prophecies.

966. Ceremonies in sacrificing: extinguishing a lighted torch in the water, with which they washed; carrying the vessel with barley, a garland, and knife in it, round the altar to the right; throwing whole barley among the people, &c. It appears (see *Thesmoph.* v. 402. and *Aves*, 795) that women were present in the theatres, which is amazing, when one considers the extreme indecency, not of words alone, but of actions,

in these spectacles. The preceding scene at v. 881, is a more than common instance of it. See also *Lysistrata*, v. 1095.

Possibly the chorus, not the audience, might be in part composed of women, for it is they who are called *οἱ Θεωμενοι*. The sacrificer asked before the libation, *Τις τῆδε*; and the standers-by replied *Πολλοὶ κρῖνοι*: then they sprinkled them with the holy water, and begun the prayer; after which they cut the victim's throat: (1018. he calls it *τον οὖν*. Is this a general name for all victims, or should one read *το θῦμα*? it appears to be a sheep, not a hog: the Schol. at verse 1019 sacrifice to Peace without any victim in the festival called *Συνοικεσία*.) Then having dressed the victim and piled wood on the altar, they offered up the two, sprinkling them with wine and oil and barley flour (*τα θυληματα*). The *Μαντεῖς* wore laurel-crowns.

1056. *Ἀγε νῦν ἀπαρχοῦ*, &c. The *Ἀπαργμα* seems to be the first cut, due to the *Μαντις*. After the offering they dressed the inward parts and the tongue, made their libation, and then eat them.

1240. A cuirass was worth ten minæ; a trumpet, sixty drachmæ; a helmet, one mina.

1253. *Συρμαία*, an Egyptian purge. See *Thesmoph.* 864. In this play one would imagine, that the scene must change at v. 179, (where *Trygæus* arrives at the gates of heaven mounted on his winged steed), and from thence to v. 829, it lies in heaven: but how the chorus get thither I cannot imagine, as they have no hippo-canthari (or horse-beetles) to carry them to that place.

## OBSERVATION.

Bentley dates the time of the action of this play as above, Ol. 90. 2. Palmerius dates it a year sooner, Ol. 90. 1.; Sam. Petitus two years earlier, Ol. 89. 3. Archonte Alcæo; and I cannot but think the last to be in the right. What the two former chiefly go upon, are these lines:

Οἱ σου τρυχομεθ' ἤδη  
Τρια καὶ δεκ' ἐτη—

This, I think, Petitus has answered by saying, that the poet himself, v. 605, places the beginning of the war three years higher than the common account, that is, from the declaration against Megara, Ol. 86. 2. Archonte Antilochida, which was the first cause of the Peloponnesian war. So that this drama appeared during the Dionysia, which immediately preceded the truce, (mentioned by Thucydides, L. 5. c. 20) when it was on the point of being concluded, and before the Spartan prisoners, taken at Sphacteria, were restored, as the following lines seem to intimate;

Ἀρ' οὐσθ', ὅσοι γ' αὐτῶν ἐχόνται τοῦ ξύλου  
Μονοὶ προθυμοῦντ'. ἀλλ' ὁ χαλκεὺς οὐκ εἶ :

which the Scholiast rightly explains of these captives, though Palmerius makes light of their interpretation, and tries to give the passage quite another sense, understanding the words, ἐχόνται τοῦ ξύλου, of the Γεωργοὶ, and ὁ χαλκεὺς of the armourer, who lived by the war; not reflecting that the words undoubtedly relate to the Lacedæmonians, among whom these arts belonged only to slaves, whose inclinations could have no influence in determining the state either to war or to peace. And besides in the lines 270 and 280, and 311, (Ἐνλαβεῖσθ'

*εκεινον τον Κερβερον, &c.*), there could be no manner of humour, if we imagine Brasidas and Cleon to have been dead three years. Whereas Ol. 89. 3. in spring-time, it was but a few months from the battle of Amphipolis, which happened at the end of the summer before. As to that line, 294, *Πριν ἕτερον αυ δοιδυκα, &c.* it may as well be understood of Lamachus, Hyperbolus, or any other favourer of the war, as of Alcibiades; or if it be applied to him, what occasion is there to think it is meant of his *Στρατηγια* in Peloponnesus (Ol. 90. 1)? What is said of the Argives at v. 474, and 492, is only a reproach for the neutrality which they had observed during the war; or their inclinations might well be suspected even at this time, before they had actually formed a new confederacy against Sparta, as it afterwards happened. For what could be more natural, than that a powerful state, which by long peace had been for many years acquiring new strength, while their ancient enemies had been continually weakening themselves by war, should (at a time when their truce with Sparta was on the point of expiring) attempt to form a league by drawing their discontented allies from them, and setting themselves at the head of a new confederacy, which necessarily must kindle a new war in Greece. As to the aversion the Bœotians and Megarensians had to peace (mentioned v. 465 and 480) see Thucydides, L. 5. 17. As to v. 210. *Εκεινον πολλακις σπονδας ποιουντων*, it alludes to the Spartan offer of a truce, Ol. 88. 4, which was rejected; and the suspension of arms agreed upon Ol. 89. 1, and ill-observed, the Lacedæmonians continuing their conquests in Thrace.

## AVES.

This Comedy was acted Ol. 91. 2. Archonte Chabria in Dionysiis  
*τοῖς κατ' ἀστυ*. It was judged the second best; the Com-  
astæ of Ameipsias being the first.

### THE PLAN<sup>1</sup> OF THE AVES.

Euelpides and Pisthetærus, two ancient Athenians, thoroughly weary of the folly, injustice, and litigious temper of their countrymen, determine to leave Attica for good and all; and having heard much of the fame of Epops, king of the birds, who was once a man under the name of Tereus, and had married an Athenian lady, they pack up a few necessary utensils, and set out for the court of that prince under the conduct of a jay and a raven, birds of great distinction in augury, without whose direction the Greeks never undertook any thing of consequence. Their errand is to enquire of the birds, who are the greatest travellers of any nation, where they may meet with a quiet easy settlement, far from all prosecutions, law-suits, and sycophant informers, to pass the remainder of their lives in peace and liberty.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the reader may be inclined to think with the editor, that the plan, or detailed argument, of the Aves is drawn up with such peculiar vivacity, pointed humour, and originality of manner, as to be a model of its kind.—[MATHIAS.]

## Act 1. Sc. 1.

The scene is a wild unfrequented country, which terminates in mountains : there the old men are seen, accompanied by two slaves who carry their little baggage, fatigued and fretting at the carelessness of their guides, who, though they cost them a matter of a groat in the market, are good for nothing but to bite them by the fingers, and lead them out of the way. They travel on however, till they come to the foot of the rocks, which stop up their passage, and put them to their wit's end. Here the raven croaks, and the jay chatters, and looks up into the air, as much as to say, that this is the place : upon which they knock with a stone, and with their heels, (as though it were against a door,) against the side of the mountain.

## Act 1. Scene 2.

Trochilus, a bird that waits upon Epops, appears above ; he is frightened at the sight of two men, and they are much more so at the length of his beak and the fierceness of his aspect. He takes them for fowlers ; and they insist upon it, that they are not men, but birds. In their confusion, their guides, whom they held in a string, escape and fly away. Epops, during this, within is asleep, after having dined upon a dish of beetles and berries : their noise wakens him, and he comes out of the grove.

## Scene 3.

At the strangeness of his figure they are divided between fear and laughing. They tell him their errand,

and he gives them the choice of several cities fit for their purpose, one particularly on the coast of the Red Sea, all which they refuse for many comical reasons. He tells them the happiness of living among the birds ; they are much pleased with the liberty and simplicity of it ; and Pisthetærus, a shrewd old fellow, proposes a scheme to improve it, and make them a far more powerful and considerable nation.

#### Scene 4.

Epos is struck with the project, and calls up his consort, the nightingale, to summon all his people together with her voice. They sing a fine ode : the birds come flying down, at first one by one, and perch here and there about the scene ; and at last the chorus in a whole body, come hopping, and fluttering, and twittering in.

#### Scene 5.

At the sight of the two men, they are in great tumult, and think that their king has betrayed them to the enemy. They determine to tear the two old men to pieces, draw themselves up in battle-array, and are giving the word to fall on. Euelpides and Pisthetærus, in all the terrours of death, after upbraiding each the other for bringing him into such distress, and trying in vain to escape, assume courage from mere despair, seize upon the kitchen-furniture which they had brought with them, and armed with pipkins for helmets, and with spits for lances, they present a resolute front to the enemy's phalanx.



## Act 1. Scene 6.

On the point of battle Epops interposes, pleads hard for his two guests, who are, he says, his wife's relations, and people of wonderful abilities, and well-affected to their commonwealth. His eloquence has its effect; the birds grow less violent, they enter into a truce with the old men, and both sides lay down their arms. Pisthetærus, upon the authority of Æsop's fables, proves to them the great antiquity of their nation; that they were born before the creation of the earth, and before the gods, and once reigned over all countries, as he shows from several testimonies and monuments of different nations: that, the cock wears his tiara erect, like the Persian king, and that all mankind start out of their beds at his command; that, when the kite makes his first appearance in the spring, every one prostrate themselves on the ground before it; that, the Egyptians and Phœnicians set about their harvest, as soon as the cuckoo is heard; that, all kings bear an eagle on their sceptre, and many of the gods carry a bird on their head; that, many great men swear by the goose, &c. &c. When he has revived in them the memory of their ancient empire, he laments their present despicable condition, and the affronts put upon them by mankind. They are convinced of what he says, applaud his oration, and desire his advice.

## Act 1. Scene 7.

He proposes that they shall unite, and build a city in the mid-air, whereby all commerce will effectually be stopped, between heaven and earth: the gods will no longer be able to visit at ease their Semeles and Alc-

mænas below, nor feast on the fume of sacrifices daily sent up to them, nor men enjoy the benefit of the seasons, nor the fruits of the earth, without permission from those winged deities of the middle region. He shows how mankind will lose nothing by this change of government; that the birds may be worshipped at a far less expense, nothing more than a few berries or a handful of corn; that they will need no sumptuous temples; that by their great knowledge of futurity they will direct their good votaries in all their expeditions, so as they can never fail of success; that the ravens, famed for the length of their lives, may make a present of a century or two to their worshippers; and besides the birds will ever be within call, when invoked, and not sit pouting in the clouds, and keeping their state so many miles off. The scheme is highly admired, and the two old men are to be made free of the city, and each of them is to be adorned with a pair of wings at the publick charge. Epop invites them to his nest-royal, and entertains them nobly. The nightingale in the mean time joins the chorus without, and the Parabasis begins. They sing their own nobility and ancient grandeur, their prophetick skill, the benefits they do mankind already, and all the good which they design them; they descant upon the power of musick, in which they are such great masters, and intermix many strokes of satire; they shew the advantages of flying, and apply it to several whimsical cases; and they invite all such, as would be free from the heavy tyranny of human laws, to live among them, where it is no sin to beat one's father, or to lie with one's mother, &c. &c.

## Act 2. Scene 1.

The old men now become birds, and magnificently fledged, after laughing a while at the new and awkward figure they make, consult about the name which they shall give to their rising city, and fix upon that of *Nephelococcygia*: and while one goes to superintend the workmen, the other prepares to sacrifice for the prosperity of the city, which is growing apace.

## Scene 2.

They begin a solemn prayer to all the birds of Olympus, putting the swan in the place of Apollo, the cock in that of Mars, and the ostrich in that of the great mother Cybele, &c.

## Scene 3.

A miserable poet, having already heard of the new settlement, comes with some lyrick poetry which he has composed on this great occasion. *Pisthetærus* knows his errand from his looks, and makes them give him an old coat; but not contented with that, he begs to have the waistcoat to it, in the elevated style of *Pindar*; they comply, and get rid of him.

## Scene 4.

The sacrifice is again interrupted by a begging prophet, who brings a cargo of oracles, partly relating to the prosperity of the city of *Nephelococcygia*, and partly to a new pair of shoes, of which he is in extreme want. *Pisthetærus* loses patience, and cuffs him and his religious trumpery off the stage.

## Scene 5.

Meto, the famous geometrician, comes next and offers a plan, which he has drawn, for the new buildings, with much importance and impertinence: he meets with as bad a reception as the prophet.

## Act 2. Scene 6 and 7.

An ambassador, or licensed spy from Athens, arrives, and a legislator with a body of new laws. They are used with abundance of indignity, and go off threatening every body with a prosecution. The sacred rites being so often interrupted, they are forced to remove their altar, and finish them behind the scenes. The chorus rejoice in their own increasing power; and (as about the time of the Dionysia it was usual to make proclamation against the enemies of the republick) they set a price upon the head of a famous poulterer, who has exercised infinite cruelties upon their friends and brethren: then they turn themselves to the judges and spectators, and promise, if this drama obtain the victory, how propitious they will be to them.

## Act 3. Scene 1.

Pisthæterus returns, and reports, that the sacrifice appears auspicious to their undertaking: a messenger then enters with an account how quick the works advance, and whimsically describes the employments allotted to the several birds, in different parts of the building.

## Scene 2.

Another messenger arrives in a violent hurry, to tell

how somebody from heaven has deceived the vigilance of the jack-daws, who were upon guard, and passed through the gates down into the lower air; but that a whole squadron of light-winged forces were in pursuit of this insolent person, and hoped to fetch him back again. The birds are in great perturbation, and all in a flutter about it.

### Scene 3.

This person proves to be Iris, who in her return is stopped short, and seized by order of Pisthetærus. He examines her, where is her passport? Whether she had leave from the watch? What is her business? Who she is? in short, he treats her with great authority. She tells her name, and that she was sent by Jove with orders to mankind, that they should keep holiday, and perform a grand sacrifice: she wonders at their sauciness and madness, and threatens them with all her father's thunder. The governour of Nephelococcygia returns it with higher menaces, and with language very indecent indeed for a goddess and a maid to hear: however, with much-ado, she carries off her virginity safe, but in a terrible passion.

### Act 3. Scene 4.

The herald, who had been dispatched to the lower world, returns with an account that all Athens was gone bird-mad; that it was grown a fashion to imitate them in their names and manners; and that shortly they might expect to see a whole convoy arrive, in order to settle among them. The chorus run to fetch

a vast cargo of feathers and wings to equip their new citizens, when they come.

Scene 5.

The first, who appears, is a profligate young fellow, who hopes to enjoy a liberty, which he could not enjoy so well at home, the liberty of beating his father. Pisthetærus allows it indeed to be the custom of his people ; but at the same time informs him of an ancient law preserved among the storks, that they shall maintain their parents in their old age. This is not at all agreeable to the youth : however in consideration of his affection for the Nephelococcygians, Pisthetærus furnishes him with a feather for his helmet, and a cock's spur for a weapon, and advises him, as he seems to be of a very military turn, to go into the army in Thrace.

Scene 6.

The next is Cinesias, the dithyrambick writer, who is delighted with the thought of living among the clouds, amidst those airy regions, whence all his poetical flights are derived ; but Pisthetærus will have no such animal among his birds : he drives him back to Athens with great contempt.

Act 3. Scene 7.

He then drives away also (but not without a severe whipping) an informer, who, for the better dispatch of business, and to avoid highwaymen and bad roads, comes to beg a pair of wings to carry him round the islands and cities subject to Athens, whose inhabitants

he is used to swear against for an honest livelihood, as did, he says, his fathers before him. The birds, in the ensuing chorus, relate their travels, and describe the strange things and strange men they have seen in them.

#### Act 4. Scene 1.

A person in disguise, with all the appearance of caution and fear, comes to enquire for Pisthetærus, to whom he discovers himself to be Prometheus, and tells him (but first he makes them hold a large umbrella over his head for fear Jupiter should spy him) that the gods are all in a starving miserable condition: and, what is worse, that the barbarian gods (who live no one knows where, in a part of heaven far beyond the gods of Greece) threaten to make war upon them, unless they will open the ports, and renew the intercourse between mankind and them, as of old. He advises Pisthetærus to make the most of this intelligence, and to reject all offers boldly, which Jupiter may make him, unless he will consent to restore to the birds their ancient power, and give him in marriage his favourite attendant, Basilæa.<sup>1</sup> This said, he slips back again to heaven, as he came. The chorus continue an account of their travels.

#### Act 4. Scene 2.

An embassy arrives from heaven consisting of Hercules, Neptune, and a certain Triballian god. As they approach the city walls, Neptune is dressing and scold-

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Sovereignty.

ing at the outlandish divinity, and teaching him how to carry himself a little decently. They find Pisthetærus busy in giving orders about a dish of wild fowl (i.e. of birds which had been guilty of high misdemeanours, and condemned to die by the publick) which are dressing for his dinner. Hercules, who before was for wringing off the head of this audacious mortal without farther conference, finds himself insensibly relent, as he snuffs the savoury steam. He salutes Pisthetærus, who receives them very coldly, and is more attentive to his kitchen than to their compliment; Neptune opens his commission; owns that his nation (the gods) are not the better for this war, and on reasonable terms would be glad of a peace. Pisthetærus, according to the advice of Prometheus, proposes (as if to try them) the first condition, namely, that of Jupiter's restoring to the birds their ancient power; and, if this should be agreed to, he says, that he hopes to entertain my lords the ambassadors at dinner. Hercules, pleased with this last compliment, so agreeable to his appetite, comes readily into all he asks; but is severely reprov'd by Neptune for his gluttony. Pisthetærus argues the point, and shews how much it would be for the mutual interests of both nations; and Neptune is hungry enough to be glad of some reasonable pretence to give the thing up. The Triballian god is asked his opinion for form: he mutters somewhat, which nobody understands, and so it passes for his consent. Here they are going in to dinner, and all is well; when Pisthetærus bethinks himself of the match with Basilèa. This makes Neptune fly out again: he



will not hear of it ; he will return home instantly ; but Hercules cannot think of leaving a good meal so ; he is ready to acquiesce in any conditions. His colleague attempts to shew him that he is giving up his patrimony for a dinner ; and what will become of him after Jupiter's death, if the birds are to have everything during his life-time. Pisthetærus clearly proves to Hercules that this is a mere imposition ; that by the laws of Solon a bastard has no inheritance ; that if Jove died without legitimate issue, his brothers would succeed to his estate, and that Neptune speaks only out of interest. Now the Triballian god is again to determine the matter ; they interpret his jargon as favourable to them ; so Neptune is forced to give up the point, and Pisthetærus goes with him and the barbarian to heaven to fetch his bride, while Hercules stays behind to take care that the roast meat is not spoiled.

Act 5. Scene the first and last.

A messenger returns with the news of the approach of Pisthetærus and his bride ; and accordingly they appear in the air in a splendid machine, he with Jove's thunderbolt in his hand, and by his side Basilèa magnificently adorned : the birds break out into loud songs of exultation as they descend, and conclude the drama with their Hymenæal.

The end of the Plan of the Aves.

## NOTES ON THE AVES.

103. The birds of the drama had only the head, wings, and beak of the fowl which they represented.

115. Why is Tereus said to have been in debt?

126. This is the Aristocrates, who afterwards was one of the four hundred, mentioned by Thucydides, L. 8. 89, and by Lysias in his oration against Eratosthenes.

v. 31. Acestor, called Sacas, a tragick poet, pretended to be a citizen of Athens.

151. Melanthius, the poet, had a leprosy.

180. Πολος. This word was used at this time for the whole heavens. Χαος, the void space of air. (v. 1218.)

223. Αυλει τισ. These words are not in the drama, but are a *Παραπιγραφη*, a direction written on the side to signify, that an air is played on the flute, in imitation of the nightingale.

276. The second Tyro of Sophocles. Philocles called Halmion, the son of Philopeithes, and a sister of Æschylus, wrote comedy. Philocles, the tragick poet, was the son of Astydamus, the son of Morsimus, the son of the former Philocles. Another of the same name and profession, his contemporary.

285. Callias, his luxury and poverty noted. Palmerius here gives a genealogy of the family.

293. Schol. The Διαυλος was to run twice the length of the Stadium; the Δολιχος, seven times.

298. Here the twenty-four persons, who form the comick chorus, are all enumerated, as they enter under the form of as many birds. They are, as follow: a partridge, a godwit, a guinea-hen, a male and female halcyon, an owl, a woodpecker, a turtle, a tit-lark, a pigeon, a hawk, a stock-dove, a cuckow, a dive-dapper, and ten more, of which I know not the English names; an Ελεās, an Ὑποθυμῖς, a Νερτος, an Ερυθροπους, a Κεβληπυρις, a Φηνη, an Αμπελις, a Πορφυρις, a Δρνοψ, and Κερχνῆς. There are also several mute personages, perched here and there to adorn the scene; a flamingo, a Median bird, (perhaps a kind of pheasant), though it appears that this bird, under the name of Φασιανικος from v. 68, was known at that time, a hoopee, a Κατωφαγᾶς.

437. Schol. The Andromache and the Phænissæ of Euripides were not acted till after the Aves.

471. Silly fable of Æsop. 485. The cock, called the Persian bird.

494. The festival was on the tenth day after the child's birth, at which time they named it. See v. 924.

501. The custom of rolling on the ground, when they first saw a kite in the spring-time. In Egypt, and in Phœnicia, they began their harvest as soon as the cuckow is heard.

510. The figure of a bird was placed on the top of royal sceptres (Schol. on v. 1354.) the Scholiasts say, an eagle. The statues of Minerva were with an owl,

those of Jupiter with an eagle, of Apollo with a hawk on their heads, &c.

519. In sacrifices they first laid the inwards of the victim upon the hands of the deity, and then eat them.

521. The *Nemesis* of Cratinus was written long after this play.

653. The fable of Archilochus, attributed, like all other such fables, to Æsop.

670. Progne (for it was she, not Philomel, according to our poet, who was transformed to a nightingale) was represented by some famous *Αυλητρις* of those times, who accompanied the chorus with her flute.

716. *Χλαινα*, a winter garment. *Ληδος* or *Ληδαριον*, one for the summer.

750. Phrynichus, the tragick poet, was said to borrow his musick from the nightingale.

760. They used artificial spurs for fighting-cocks, as now, called *Πληκτρα*. (Schol. on v. 1365.)

780. Hence I should imagine that these spectacles were exhibited in the forenoon. There was a place in the theatre assigned to the senate, called *Το Βουλευτικον*, and another to the youth under age, named *Εφηβικον*.

800. The myrmidons of Æschylus. 808. The eagle and arrow from Æschylus, who calls it a Lybian fable.

843. Schol. The *Palamedes* of Euripides was acted a little before this, which joined to Ælian's testimony, Var. Hist. Lib. 2. 8, proves the falseness of that story concerning the application of some lines in that drama to the death of Socrates, which did not happen till sixteen years after. This passage in the Scholiast

supports Ælian, and makes the emendation of S. Petitus (ad Thesmophoruzas) of no account.

880. Alludes to the custom at Athens of praying jointly for their own state and that of Chios.

920. The style of the dithyrambick poets, Simonides and Pindar, &c., laughed at.

934. Σπολας, an upper garment made of skins.

942. In the fragment of Pindar, for Στρατων, read Στρατος; after ακλεης εβα, something is wanting.

967. Ουδεν οιον εστι, means here, nothing hinders.

995. Meto, the geometrician, ridiculed.

1023. Επισκοποι, a sort of deputies sent from Athens to inspect the allied cities, like the Spartan Ἀρμοσται, as the Scholiast says.

1025. Φαυλον βιβλιον Τελεου. The Scholiast says nothing upon this, nor any one else. Teleas, a bad author.

1036. Εαν ο Νεφελοκοκκυγιεις, &c. This is the beginning of a new law made on the occasion.

1073. I should imagine that the proclamation against Diagoras was made this very year during the Dionysia. (See Andocides de Mysteriis, p. 13), or that perhaps might be the time, when such proclamations against the publick enemies were made during these assemblies.

1114. Μηνισκοι. These were plates of brass with which they shaded the heads of statues to guard them from the weather and the birds.

1149. Ὑπαγωγεις. The name of a trowel, or some such instrument, but of a forked form, I imagine, like a swallow's tail. Ὡσπερ παιδια alludes to some children's play.

1157. I read, Πελεκωντων, instead of Πελεκαντων.

1200. The part of Iris, played by some courtezan, which is not, as in the Irene and others, a mute personage.

1282. Εσωκρατουν. It seems, that it was now a sort of fashion in Athens, to imitate Socrates in his dress and manner, and to talk philosophy.

1294. This cannot relate (as Palmerius, deceived by the pseudo-Plutarch who wrote the life of Lycurgus, imagines) to that orator, who probably was not born at the time when this comedy was written. 1296. Χαερεφο, called Νυκτερις.

1338. A parody of the Cœnomaus of Sophocles.

1374. Cynesias, a bad dithyrambick writer, called Φιλυρινος, and why: he was lame. Parody of Alcæus and Simonides.

1485-93. Schol. The heroes who are supposed to walk in the night, and strike with blindness, or with some other mischief, any who met them. The persons, who past by their fanes, always kept silence.

1493. Τα επιδεξια. The nobler parts, the head and the eyes.

1508. Σκιαδιόν, an umbrella, used by the Κανηφοροι, to keep off the sun in processions.

1655. The law by which a father could not give his natural son by will more than five minæ.

1675. Disputes between plenipotentiaris, determined by the majority.

1728. Alludes to the Troades of Euripides.

1762. The hymn of Archilochus to Hercules Callicus.

## THESMOPHORIAZUSÆ.

Acted Ol. 92. 1. Archon: Callia. V. Palmerium. What Petitus says here, is all wrong.

3. Τον σπλῆνα κομιδῆ μ' εκβαλειν, I imagine he means with coughing; for it is a cold winter's morning.

109. It cannot be the Chorus who accompany Agatho in his hymn here; if it were, they must hear all the distress of Euripides, and see Mnesilochus dressed up to deceive themselves. Therefore, it must be some of Agatho's admirers, like himself, dressed up in female habits; or it may be a chorus whom he is instructing to perform in some tragedy of his own; or perhaps, the Muses who (as the servant says, v. 40) are come to make a visit to his master.

Agatho, the tragick poet, is derided for his effeminacy and affectation. Euripides, his abuse of women.

142. The Lycurgia of Æschylus parodied.

175. Philocles, Xenocles, Theognis, the dramattick poets, ridiculed.

201. The Alcestis of Euripides parodied. He is *said* to have preached up atheism in his tragedies.

260. Κροκωτος, a woman's vest, or under-garment, which they girt with the Στροφιων under their breast. (So in Catullus, "et tereti *Strophio* luctantes vincta

papillas.") On their head they wore the *Κεκρυφαλος*, bound about with a *Μιτρα* or broad fillet. On some occasions they used a *Κεφαλη περιθετος*, or *Φενακη*, (see *Plutus*, Schol. on v. 271.) like a *tower* (*tot compagibus altum adificat caput*, *Juv. Sat. 6. v. 501.*) or a peruke with the head-dress fastened on it. Over their vest they threw the *Εγκυκλος*, a broad flowing robe. In v. 270, *Χαλαρα γούν χαιρεις φορῶν*; is said by *Mnesilochus*: *Agatho* answers in the next line; *Συ τουτο*, &c.

554. The *Melanippe* and *Hippolytus* of *Euripides*: his *Palamedes* represented as writing on the fragments of oars, and throwing them into the sea.

654. *Ισθμον τιν' εχεις*. *Kusterus* is mistaken here: there are instances, in *Thucydides* and elsewhere, of ships drawn by land over the isthmus of *Corinth*.

811. *Ναυσιμαχης μεν*—and 815. *Αλλ' Ευβουλης*. The explanation which *Palmerius* gives of these two passages from history is very good and ingenious. *Aristomache* and *Stratonice* are, as I fancy, the names of two famous courtezans.

818. *Ζευγει ες πολιν—ελθοι*. To whom does this relate? The *Cleophon* (*V. Isocrat. de Pace*, 174.) here mentioned, and in the *Ranæ*, was put to death *Ol. 93. 4.* during the siege of *Athens* by the party who had a mind to settle an oligarchy there. See his history in *Lysias*, *Orat. in Agoratum*, p. 234. and *Orat. in Nicomachum*, p. 476.

847. *Lamachus* was slain in *Sicily* about two years before this, and *Hyperbolus* was murdered at *Samos* in this very year.

855. That tragedy bad and insipid. Parody of the



Helena, and of the Andromeda. Echo introduced into it answering to the lamentations of Andromeda.

883. Proteas, the son of Epicles, is twice mentioned by Thucydides, as *Στρατηγος* commanding at sea, particularly Ol. 87. 2. : and he died, as it appears here, about Ol. 89. 3.

1069. The Andromeda of Euripides was played the year before this.

## LYSISTRATA.

In Lenæis, Mense Posideone. Archonte Callia.

v. 2. The feasts of Pan, of Venus Colias, and of Genetyllis, celebrated by the women with tympana, &c., like the Bacchanalian ceremonies.

58. Ουδέ Παραλων, ουδ' εκ Σαλαμῖνος. This alludes to the two ships so called, which were the fleetest sailors of all the Athenian navy.

64. Τα 'κατιον. qu. Τοῦκατειον? i.e. το 'Εκατειον. The statue of Hecate, which was consulted by some persons about the success of any undertaking.

109. Ολισβος. A Milesian manufacture of leather.

150. Linen tunicks of Amorgos, transparent.

174. The thousand talents in the Acropolis, called το Αβυσσον.

229. Τα Περσικα. Persian slippers, worn by the Athenian women.

The double chorus in this play is remarkable, one of old men, the other of women.

598. Αλλ' ὅστις εστι, &c. There seems to be something wanting here.

633. Και φορησω το ξιφος. This alludes to the Scolion of Harmodius and Aristogēiton. Εν μυρτον κλαδι το ξιφος φορησω, &c., preserved by Athenæus, L. 15. p. 695.

643. Ἑρριφορονν. A double meaning, quasi dixisset, αρρενοφόρειν. Ἄλετρις also.

678. Ἴππικωτατον γαρ, &c. This alludes to what they called Κελητιζειν.

736. Αμοργις, ἢ λινοκαλαμη, a fine kind of flax, ὑπερ την βυσσον, η την καρπασον. σχ.

760. Οφίς οικουρος, The serpent which lived in Minerva's temple. Owls also roosted there.

801. Την λοχημν. It appears that men wore no drawers or breeches under their tunick.

981. Conisalus, a deity of Athens, like Priapus.

1043. It is remarkable, that no one is abused by name here, except a very few infamous and low people. Pisander indeed is mentioned ; so that this drama must have been either before or after the oligarchy of the Four Hundred.

1150. Αφατος και καλος. Perhaps this should be, Αφατον, ὡς καλος : I do not understand this, as Palmerius does. They excuse themselves upon the great beauty of Attica, which would tempt any man to enjoy it. The next verse, Ὑμας δ' αφησειν, &c., no body explains.

1171. Τον Εχινοῦντα, και τον Μηλιᾶ κολπον. These places are named for the sake of the double meaning. The Scholiasts ad Vespas tell us, that Εχινος is used for the belly of an ox : Μηλον for any round protuberance, like the breasts, or hinder parts of a woman.

1191. All this is very obscure, like the chorus, 1042, and upon the same subject. During this short interval the Spartans and Athenian plenipotentiaries have been entertained by Lysistrata. It is the chorus of women,

and not she, who say all this from v. 1191 to 1218. Who the servant is chasing away, I do not perceive, unless it be the crowd of people who come to receive corn at the door.

The chorus in the end, and in several scenes of the play, are remarkable examples of the true Spartan Dorick.

## RANÆ.

Ol. 93. 3. In Lenæis, Mense Posidæone. Archonte Callia  
post Antigenem.

Spanheim, in his introduction to his notes, has shewn, contrary to what Palmerius, Petitus, and others imagined, that there were comedies, as well as tragedies, performed four times in the year in the Panathenæa, the Lenæa, the Dionysia *κατ' αοστν*, and the Anthes-teria : that during this last festival they were exhibited in the Piræus, in the theatre built there ; and that the Lenæa were kept as well in the city, as in the country, in a place called the Lenæum.

v. 14. Phrynichus, Ameipsias, and Lyeis, comick writers, are here satirized for their low and common-place jokes.

48. Clisthenes, the son of Symbirtius, if not *Στρατηγος*, as the Scholiasts say, at Arginusæ, was at least a Trierarch.

53. The *Andromeda* of Euripides. That poet was lately dead.

73. Iophon, the son of Sophocles and Nicostrata, wrote tragedy with applause in his father's life-time ; he was suspected of exhibiting his father's dramas in his own name. The *Cœneus* of Euripides parodied. Sophocles was dead not long since. The simplicity

and easiness of his nature opposed to the cunning of Euripides. Agatho was now at the court of Archelaus.

79. It is plain, that Sophocles was just dead, and that Iophon, his son, had not yet published anything since his death.

86. Xenocles, the son of Carcinus, and Pythangelus, tragick writers, are mentioned with contempt. That kind of poets were then very numerous at Athens. The Alcmena of Euripides, and his Alexandra, and Hippolytus, also the Melanippe of Sophocles are alluded to.

104. Read *ὡς και μοι δοκει*, instead of *σοι*.

126. This is the usual effect of the cicuta, as Plato describes it in his Phædo.

131. The three *Λαμπαδηδρομιαι* celebrated in the Ceramicus, to Minerva, to Vulcan, and to Prometheus.

141. It is sure from the Vespæ, and from other plays, that in Cleon's time the *Μισθος δικαστικος* was three oboli: probably after his death, or when the republick began to decline, it might be again reduced to two oboli.

193. *Περι των κρεων*. The Scholia and the Commentators make out nothing here to one's satisfaction.

233. Schol. The strings of the lyre were made of the sinews of animals, and more anciently, as now, of their intestines; whence they were called *Χορδαι*.

235. *Υπολυριον*. The bridge or some part of the lyre, made of a reed, afterwards of horn, as it seems. It is remarkable that the chorus of frogs does not appear, but is heard only, and that in a single scene, though the play takes its name from them. The true

chorus of the drama consists of the ghosts of the initiated, the *Μυσταί*, and enters not before v. 319.

295. A description of the phantom, called Empusa.

305. Hegelochus was an actor in the *Orestes* of Euripides. From this story of him, it should seem, that in pronouncing words joined by a synalæpha, they did not use totally to drop the vowel in the end of the first, but liquefied it, as it were, into the following. Otherwise, I do not conceive what difference there could be between the sound of *γαλην' ὀρώ*, and *γαλην ὀρώ*.

323. The profanation of the mysteries by Diagoras.

369. Alluding to Cynesias, the dithyrambick writer.

370. *Ἡ τοὺς μισθοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν*, &c. seems to mean some attempt made by an orator (the Schol. on v. 103. of the *Ecclesiastuzæ*, say Archinus) to reduce the expense of the Choregi by limiting the sum they gave to their poets: and the two distinct persons (as Aristotle says in the Schol. 406.) under this Archon, were ordered to furnish the tragick and the comick chorus, which before were at the expense of one. This drama then was played a little before that order; and as the publick had suffered greatly by the war the chorusses were but poorly furnished out. From v. 412, it appears that the chorus consisted of both sexes.

431. The Callias, who was now Archon, could not be the son of Hipponicus, as he is here ridiculed by name; unless the change of his father's name into Hippobinus might save the poet from the law. (See also v. 504.)

475. Alludes to the Theseus of Euripides.

478. *Ταρτησια, παρ' ὑπονοιαν* for *Ταρταρια*. *Μυραινα* is to be understood, as some dæmon very dismal, derived from *Μυρεσθαι*; at the same time to raise laughter; the obvious meaning being nothing, but lampreys caught and salted on the Spanish coast, and imported by the Phœnicians perhaps into Greece.

490. These two uses of a sponge are easily comprehended from the Scholia.

504. The temple of Hercules *Αλεξικακος* at Melite, a *Δημος* of Attica. Initiated there in the lesser mysteries—founded during the plague. Statue by Ageladas the Argive, the scholar of Phidias. Callias had a house at Melite.

511. A manner of civilly refusing a thing: *Επαινω. καλλιστα. πανν καλως.*

546. See the history of Theramenes. Schol.

631. The horrid manner of torturing slaves, viz. *Εν κλιμακι δησας*, binding them down with their back on a pair of stairs, as it seems, or on a ladder; hanging them up by the arms; scourging them with the *ὑστριξ*, a whip made of leather with the bristles on it; stretching them on the wheel; pouring vinegar up the nostrils; pressing, by laying a weight of bricks on them, &c. &c.!!!

674. The iambicks of Ananias. The Laocoon of Sophocles. The Antæus of Phrynichus.

700. The poet's advice, given in this place, was actually followed the year after this, when, upon the battle of Ægos-Potami, and the siege of Athens, a decree was made upon the motion of Patroclides (still preserved in the oration of Andocides de *Mysteriis*), to



restore the *Ἀτιμοὶ* to all the privileges from which they had been degraded. It seems from what he says, v. 701, that when the government of the Four Hundred was destroyed, many had been thus degraded for having a hand in those transactions.

730. The Athenian gold coin had been debased the year before this. Copper was first coined this very year, and again cried down thirteen years afterwards.

775. This may probably enough be borrowed from the Athenian customs, namely, that the principal artist in each kind, should have a maintenance in the Prytanæum, and be seated *ἐν Θρονῷ*, in a chair of distinction on some occasions.

800. The modesty and candour of Sophocles, and the envious and contentious nature of Euripides.

803. *Νυνὶ δ' ἐμελλεν*, I take to be a solecism, used by Clidemides, or some bad orator or poet.

913. The Scholia here seem to say, that there were dramas played during the celebration of the Eleusinea; and above, v. 357, they tell us, that the scene of this play lay at Eleusis. (v. 395.) Quære, Whether any rites in honour of Ceres were joined with those of Bacchus during the Lenæa?

961. The Median hangings were wrought with grotesque and monstrous animals.

1079. *Ὡς τε γὰρ καὐτον σε κατ' συνεβαλε*. It should seem that love was the cause of the death of Euripides, and one would think, from the expression and from the Scholia, that his wife had not only been false to him, but that she destroyed him.

1106. *Τῷ θαλαμακι*. This seems to prove, that the

three orders of rowers were placed directly over one another.

1100 and 1145. Reading and the arts of speaking were more universal among all orders of people than in these times; which the poet satirizes, as corrupting and enervating the minds of men, and especially of the younger sort; and he attributes it to the philosophers, to the sophists, and to the tragick writers, particularly Euripides.

1209. Στοιβη, a botch-word inserted only to fill up: literally, the stuffing of a mattress.

1231. Ληκυθιον. I have no clear idea of this Ληκυθιον, on which so much of this scene turns; nor of the *Ιηκοπον ου πελαθεις επ' αρωγαν* which answers to it, or the *Φλαττοθρατ*, which two last seem to relate to the musick and the rhythm introduced by Æschylus in his chorusses, and not to the sense of the verses.

1349. *Ει—ει—ειλισσετε*. This shews that in the ancient musick they dwelt not on words alone, and repeated them, as we do, but also on syllables; or, does it only express the lengthening out of the vowels?

1580. It is here said, from Aristotle, that Cleophon, after the battle of Arginusæ, in the archonship of Callias, came into the assembly drunk and in armour, and rejected the peace, then offered by Lacedæmon. But Lysias (in his oration contra Agoratum) tells us that this happened not till the following year after the battle of Ægos-Potami, when the siege of Athens was actually formed. I cannot but believe the latter, as a contemporary author.

## ECCLESIAZUSÆ.

See Palmerius.

v. 2. Καλλιστ' εν ευσκοποισιν εξειρημενον. So I should read, rather than εξητημενον, of which I do not see the sense, and understand with the Scholiasts, "Thou noblest invention of wise artists." For though this expression be somewhat obscure, it is far preferable to Tanaquil Faber's emendation, εν ευσκοποισιν εξητημενον, which is neither sense nor Greek.

14. Στοα, all repositories of corn were so called.

22. Ἄς Σφνρομαχος ποτ' ειπεν, &c. The allusion in these lines is too obscure at this distance of time. The Scholiasts say that it relates to a decree assigning the courtezans and the women of reputation a different place at some public spectacles (qu. whether in the theatre, as Faber says?); but the verses do not express any such matter.

63. It was the custom of the men to anoint the whole body with oil, and dry it in before the sun, and of the women to shave themselves all over.

v. 74. Λακωνικαι, was the name for the usual chausure of the men, and Περσικαι, that of the women.

102. Agyrrius, the Στρατηγος, at Lemnos, retrenched the expense of the Choregi to their poets, and appointed the sum to be given to the people at

their assemblies. (v. 184, 284, 292, 302, 380, and Plutus, v. 330.)

128. Γαλή, a weasel, carried round the place of publick assemblies, ὡς καθαρσιον τι. They came to their Εκκλησιαι with a staff (Βακτηρια) in their hands.

156. The oath peculiar to women, Μα τω Θεω, i.e. Ceres and Proserpina.

193. Το συμμαχικον. Petitus from this passage and from a necessary emendation he makes in the Scholia here, seems to fix rightly the time of this drama to Ol. 96. 4. Archonte Demostrato.

203. What particular fact is here meant, one cannot say at present; but Faber is mistaken in thinking that it cannot be the famous Thrasybulus, for it appears (from Lysias's Apology for Mantheus, p. 307), that he was living, and present in the action before Corinth this very year; his death did not happen till three years after. In spite of all his invaluable services to the publick, the orators and comick writers of those times did not cease to make very free with his character. (See v. 356 of this drama.) There is a remarkable passage of this kind in the oration of Lysias in Ergoclem, p. 456 and 7, which I take to relate to this very Thrasybulus, and to be spoken a little while after his death.

256. Ὑποκρουειν, I imagine, signifies, to stamp with their feet, a noise made in great assemblies to express their dislike. See Acharnens. v. 38. Sometimes it was done merely for the purpose of interrupting. See v. 592 of this play.

318. The Ἡμιδιπλοιδιον and Κροκωτος seem to be

both the same, namely, a woman's vest, or under-garment of a light red colour. *Κοθορνος* and *Περσικη* are the same, a woman's proper chausure.

531. Here the *Κροκωτος* is called by the name of *ιματιον*.

534. *Επιθεισα ληκυθον*. On a dead body.

568. If this scheme be meant as a satire on Plato's Republick, that work must have been written when the philosopher was not thirty-six years of age.

974. Alludes to the manner of introducing causes into the courts of justice, according to the age of the plaintiffs; first those (as I imagine) above sixty years of age, and so downwards. After which, if there were several, they cast lots whose should be heard first.

1017. A woman could not deal, of her own authority, with any person for more than the value of a medimnus of corn.

1023. The manner of laying out the dead.

1081. The decree of Cannonus is mentioned by Xenophon in his Greek History, L. 1. as ascertaining the punishment of persons accused of crimes against the publick, and allowing the means of making their defence. It is probable that, in some paragraph of that *psephisma*, it was ordered that the prisoner should appear on that occasion, holden between two of the *Τοξοται*, or perhaps of the *Ἐνδεκα*.

1124. The number of citizens was now above thirty thousand.

## PLUTUS.

The *Plutus* was first played Ol. 92. 4. and it was altered and revived Ol. 97. 4. The drama, which we now have, is compounded of both these.

### THE PLAN.

Act 1. Scene 1. The prologue between Chremylus and Cario, as far as v. 58. Sc. 2. Cario goes out and returns at v. 229.

Act 2. Sc. 1. Cario returns with the chorus of old countrymen at v. 253. Sc. 2. Chremylus re-enters and salutes the chorus v. 322. Sc. 3. Conversation with Blepsidemus. Sc. 4. Poverty rushes out of Chremylus's house, and disputes with the two old men: they drive her away, and prepare to carry *Plutus* to the temple of *Æsculapius*. Here should be the *Parabasis*, but there is none. The chorus remain silent on the stage for a time; till

Act 3. Sc. 1. Cario returns with the news of the cure of *Plutus*. This interval is supposed to be a whole night. Sc. 2. Cario recounts the matter to Chremylus's wife. Sc. 3. *Plutus*, being now restored to sight, returns home with Chremylus. Here also is a short interval; till

Act 4. Sc. 1. Cario comes out, and describes the change which had happened on the entrance of *Plutus*.

Sc. 2. The honest old man comes to pay his vows to the god. Sc. 3. A sycophant comes to complain of his sudden poverty. Sc. 4. A wanton old woman enters, who has lost her love : she appears, returning from a drunken frolick. Here all, but the chorus, enter Chremylus's house.

Act 5. Sc. 1. Mercury comes begging to the gate ; Cario at last takes him into his service. Sc. 2. The priest of Jupiter comes for charity. Sc. 3. The procession conducts Plutus to the Acropolis.

## NOTES ON THE PLUTUS.

v. 179. *Ἐρᾶ δε Λαῖς*, &c. It is probable enough, as Athenæus shews from an oration of Lysias, L. 13. p. 586, that this should be read *Ναῖς*: but the Scholiast attempts to shew that the time would not permit it to be *Λαῖς*, as she was only seven years of age, when Chabrias was Archon; and consequently under Diocles, Ol. 92. 4, she could be but thirteen or fourteen. This I take to be the meaning of the Scholiast, though the words, as they are now read, seem to say, that from Chabrias to Diocles was a space of fourteen years, whereas it was but six in reality; and the Scholiast adds, that at this age she could not be much in vogue. If the author of this note knew, that the verse was in the *Plutus*, when it was first acted, he is in the right, and confirms the emendation of Athenæus; but if (see v. 303) it were only in the second *Plutus*, *Lais* was then thirty-three years old, and might be still in admiration. The Scholiast says, *Epimandra*, *Timandra*, or *Damasandra*, the mother of the younger *Lais*, as Athenæus calls her, L. 13, p. 574, supposing her to have this daughter at fourteen years of age, must be twenty-one, when *Hyccara* was taken by *Nicias*, and consequently was thirty-two, at the time of *Alcibiades's* death, whose mistress she was, as *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* relate. I



should understand the Scholiasts here of the mother, not of the daughter, though they are confused and erroneous.

180. Timotheus was now making his appearance in the world, Conon his father being yet alive. What building of his is alluded to here, one cannot say, or whether it relate to him at all. The fact is obscure, the expression broken, and the Scholiast trifling.

253. The Scholia here explain all the marks used by the grammarians in dramas with their names.

268. Ω χρισον, &c. This is ironical, and not as the Scholia interpret it.

278. It suffices to know that such Athenians, as were appointed judges, drew lots (see v. 973, and Ecclesiast. v. 677.) in which of the courts they were to sit, and that at their entrance the Κηρυξ, or crier of each court, by order of the presiding magistrate, delivered to every one a Συμβολον and, upon his carrying it to the Πρυτανis in waiting, he received his daily pay, Μισθος δικαστικος. This was done, as I imagine, every morning to prevent corruption in the judges, who did not know, till then, in what court or cause they were to give sentence. The other ceremony mentioned in the Scholia was only annual, when the tribes assembled, and each drew lots by itself for a certain number who were to sit as judges that year. There is much confusion in these Scholia, collected out of very different authors. Potter does not allow this to have been the practice in the best times, at least not in the greater courts, where the judges were fixed and certain after their first election ; in the lesser, he says, it might have

been. The passage, however, from Aristotle's polity of Athens is to be observed.

278. Schol. The key-stone of the entrance into each particular court was painted of a certain colour. The judge, having received his staff, went to that court which was distinguished by the same colour with his staff, and marked with the same letter which was inscribed on the head of it (*ὅπερ ἐν τῇ βαλανῶ*) and at his entrance he received from the presiding magistrate a *Συμβολον*, as above. I doubt of what the Scholia say, that there were as many courts as tribes; and that the tribes at first drew lots, in which court each should judge, and the tribules drew among themselves who should be judges, and who not.

290. Philoxenus, the dithyrambick: his Galatea parodied. The origin of that piece in the Scholia, which appears to have been a drama.

330. The Scholia, and Kuster, and Spanheim too, confound the *Μισθος δικαστικος* with the *Εκκλησιαστικος*: the words are to be understood of the latter.

385. The picture of the Heraclidæ by Pamphilus the painter, the master of Apelles.

408. The publick salary to physicians was no longer in use.

596. The suppers of Hecate were distributed monthly, every new moon, to the poor by every rich housekeeper.

601. The Phænissæ of Euripides parodied.

663. The ceremonial of sleeping in the temple of Æsculapius.

690. The serpents, *Οφεις παρειαι*, which frequented

it, as they did the temple of Minerva (Lysistr. v. 760) and those of Bacchus (see Schol. v. 690 and 733 Plut.), and of Trophonius. See Pausanias in Epidauro et Lebadea.

701. Iaso and Panacea, the attendants and daughters of Æsculapius by Lampetia.

725. *Επωμοσια*. The Scholia do not well explain this, but confound it with *Υπωμοσια*, and cite a passage from Hyperides, wherein this latter word is used.

768. *Καταχυσματα*, nuts, figs, almonds, dates, &c., which they strewed on the head of a new-bought slave, when they had first seated him on the hearth of the house into which he entered, and which his fellow-servants picked up and eat.

796. *Φορτος*, impertinence, tiresome absurdity. The art in use with the comick writers to win the common people by throwing nuts and dried fruits among them.

820. *Τριππυς*; a sacrifice of a hog, a ram, and a he-goat. *Εντελης θυσια*. See Schol.

885. Rings, worn as amulets, or preservatives from fascination, bites of venomous creatures, &c. *Δακτυλιοι φαρμακιται φυσικοι*

905. Merchants were exempt from the *Εισφορα*, or extraordinary taxation.

984. A man's pallium (*ιματιον*) cost twenty drachmæ; his shoes, cost eight.

1127. The fourth day of every month was sacred to Mercury, the first and seventh, to Apollo, the eighth to Theseus. Libations to most gods were made with pure wine; to Mercury with wine and water equally mixed.

1195. Schol. The Ποταμοι of Stratis<sup>1</sup> were published before the Ecclesiazusæ or the Plutus of Aristophanes: I read the last lines here cited,

Μη λαβοντες λαμπαδας,  
Μηδ' αλλο μηδεν εχομενοι Φιλυλλιον

instead of εχομενον. Philyllius is often cited by Athenæus, and hence he appears to have lived contemporary with Stratis.

<sup>1</sup> In the Scholiast we read the name uniformly written Στρατις, and in Athenæus Στραττις.—[MATHIAS.]

NOTES ON PLATO

[Published by Mathias in 1814 from a MS. in Gray's handwriting, in the possession of Richard Stonehewer, and never since reprinted. The notes are by Gray.—Ed.]

## BRIEF NOTICES OF SOCRATES AND OF HIS FRIENDS.

### SOCRATES.

ALL which Socrates possessed was not worth three minæ, in which he reckons a house he had in the city.<sup>1</sup> Critobulus often prevailed upon him to accompany him to the comedy.<sup>2</sup> Xantippe, his wife, the most ill-tempered of women: he made use of her to exercise his philosophy.<sup>3</sup> He amused himself by dancing when he was fifty years old: his face remarkably ugly, and resembling that of the Sileni or satyrs, with large prominent eyes, a short flat nose turned up, wide nostrils, great mouth, &c. nicknamed *ὁ Φροντιστής*.<sup>4</sup> He rarely went out of the walls of Athens;<sup>5</sup> was never out of Attica, but when he served in time of war, and once to the Isthmian games.<sup>6</sup> He was seventy years old, when he died.<sup>7</sup> He left three sons, the eldest a youth, the two youngest children. His intrepid and cheerful behaviour at his trial and death.<sup>8</sup> Compared to a torpedo.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon *Æconomic*.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. Eod.*

<sup>3</sup> *Id. Sympos.*

<sup>4</sup> *Eod.*

<sup>5</sup> Plato, *Phædrus*, p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. Crito.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Plato, *Apolog.* and *Phædo*; Xenophon, *Memorabil.*

<sup>9</sup> Plato, *Menon.* p. 80.

Called Prodicus, the sophist, his master.<sup>1</sup> Learns, at near fifty years of age, to play on the lyre of Connus, son of Metrobius.<sup>2</sup> His mother, Phænarete, married Chæredemus, and had by him a son named Patrocles.<sup>3</sup> Seldom used to bathe, and commonly went barefooted.<sup>4</sup> He could bear great quantities of wine without being overpowered by it, but did not choose to drink voluntarily.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Menon. p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Id. Euthydem. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Id. Euthyd. p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> Plat. Sympos.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 214, 220.



## THE COMPANIONS OF SOCRATES.

### CRITOBŪLUS.

A man of fortune ; his estate was worth above eight talents, which in Athens was very considerable. Had served the offices of gymnasiarch, choregus, &c. the most expensive of the city. Of an amorous disposition ; negligent of œconomy ; a lover of dramattick spectacles ; he married a very young inexperienced woman, with whom he conversed very little :<sup>1</sup> he was present at the entertainment given by Callias to Autolycus, Socrates, and others, and at that time was newly married. Ol. 89. 4. He was remarkable for his beauty ; his fine panegyrick on it : was passionately fond of Clinias. Crito, his father, introduced him to the acquaintance of Socrates, that he might cure him of this passion.<sup>2</sup>

### ISCHOMACHUS.

He was called in Athens, by way of pre-eminence, *ὁ καλὸς κ' ἀγαθὸς* ; he married a young maid under fifteen years of age, whom he educated and instructed himself. His first serious conversation with her, related by him to Socrates, on the duties of a mistress of a family. The order and arrangement of his house de-

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Œconomic*.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* *Sympos.*

scribed: his morning exercises, walk to his villa, and ride from thence. He was a remarkably good horseman, of a vigorous constitution, and lasting health; was one of the richest men in Athens. His instruction and treatment of his slaves; his knowledge in agriculture. His father before him was a great lover of that art.<sup>1</sup> He meddled not much in publick affairs:<sup>2</sup> was believed, while he lived, to be worth above seventy talents; but at his death he left not twenty, to be divided between his two sons.<sup>3</sup>

## CALLIAS.

His genealogy :.....Phænippus

Callias<sup>4</sup> ὁ Δαδοῦχος.

Hipponicus<sup>5</sup>

Callias<sup>6</sup>

Hipponicus<sup>7</sup>

Callias—Hipparete—Alcibiades.

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, Economicus.

<sup>2</sup> Id. Eod.

<sup>3</sup> Lysias, Orat. de bonis Aristophanis, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> Dictus ὁ Λακκοπλουτος. Herod. 5. Plutarch in Aristide. Scol. in Demosthen. p. 393. Victor Celete Ol. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Dictus Ammon. Athenæus, L. 12. Plutarch de Malign. Herodoti.

<sup>6</sup> ὁ Λακκοπλουτος, uti et avus. Plut. in Aristide. Herodot. 7. Demosth. de Fals. Legat.

<sup>7</sup> Qui ad Delium occubuit, Ol. 89. 1. Thucyd.—Plut. Alcib. Andocides in Alcibiadem.

Callias was in love with Autolycus, the son of Lyco, who gained the victory (while yet a boy) in the Pancratiun during the greater Panathenæa, Ol. 89. 4, upon which occasion Callias gave an entertainment to his friends<sup>1</sup> at his house in the Piræus. He had been scholar to the sophists Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus; was very wealthy; and had learned the art of memory from Hippias of Elis, at the recommendation of Antisthenes. He was Προξενος of the Lacedæmonians who came to Athens; was hereditary priest of the Eleusinian deities, ὁ Δαδοῦχος; was remarkable for his nobility and the gracefulness of his person;<sup>2</sup> he had two sons, who were instructed by Evenus, the Parian sophist;<sup>3</sup> he entertained Protagoras, Prodicus, and Hippias, and other sophists, their companions, in his house, Ol. 90. 1.<sup>4</sup>

#### NICERATUS.

He was son to the famous Nicias; was present at the symposium of Callias, Ol. 89. 4, and then newly married. He could repeat by heart the whole Iliad and Odyssee, and had been scholar to Stesimbrotus and Anaximander. He was very wealthy and somewhat covetous; was fond of his wife, and beloved by her;<sup>5</sup> was scholar to Damon, the famous musician, who had been recommended to his father by Socrates;<sup>6</sup> and finally, he was put to death by order of the Thirty, with his uncle Eucrates.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, Symposium; Athenæus, L. 5, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.      <sup>3</sup> Plato, Apolog.      <sup>4</sup> Plato, Protagoras.

<sup>5</sup> Xenophon, Sympos.      <sup>6</sup> Plato in Lachete.

<sup>7</sup> Xenophon, Gr. Hist. L. 2. Andocides de Mysteriis.

## ANTISTHENES.

He was extremely poor, but with a contempt of wealth; was present in the symposium of Callias, where he proved that riches and poverty are in the mind alone, and not in externals. His way of life was easy and contented: he passed whole days in the company of Socrates, who taught him (he says) to be mentally rich. He was much beloved in the city, and his scholars were esteemed by the publick. He recommended Prodicus and Hippias the Elean to Callias;<sup>1</sup> bore great affection to Socrates, and was present at his death.<sup>2</sup>

## CHÆREPHON.

A man of warmth and eagerness of temper;<sup>3</sup> he was a friend to the liberties of the people; he fled to and returned with Thrasybulus; he died before Socrates's trial; for he is mentioned in Socrates's Apology, as then dead, and in the Gorgias, as then living: his death must therefore have happened between Ol. 93. 4. and Ol. 95. 1. He consulted the Delphian oracle to know if any man were wiser than Socrates. His brother, Chærecrates, survived him.<sup>4</sup>

## EPIGENES.

He was the son of Antipho of Cephisia:<sup>5</sup> and was present at the death of Socrates.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, Sympos.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Charmidem, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Plato, Apol.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, Phæd.

<sup>4</sup> Apol. Socrat.

<sup>6</sup> Phædo.

## APOLLODORUS.

He was brother to Aiantodorus:<sup>1</sup> was a man of small abilities, but of an excellent heart, and remarkable for the affection he bore to Socrates;<sup>2</sup> he was present in the prison at the time of his death.<sup>3</sup> He lived at Phalerus, of which Δημος he was;<sup>4</sup> was but a boy when Socrates was fifty-three years old, and must therefore have been under thirty-seven, at the time of Socrates's death. He was called Μανικος from the warmth of his temper.

## PHÆDO.

He was an Elean. See his account of Socrates's last moments.<sup>5</sup>

## SIMMIAS.

He was a Theban, and a young man at the time of Socrates's death (as was Cebes), at which they were both present. He had received some tincture of the Pythagorean doctrines from Philolaus of Crotona; and was inquisitive and curious in the search of truth, far above all prejudice and credulity.<sup>6</sup>

## CEBES.

He was a Theban. (Vid. Simmiam.)

## HERMOGENES.

He was a man of piety, and believed in divination. He was present in Callias's symposium; was a person

<sup>1</sup> Apol. Socrat.

<sup>2</sup> Phædo.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Plato, Sympos.

<sup>5</sup> Plato, Phædo.

<sup>6</sup> Plato, Phædo.

of great honesty, mild, affable, and soberly cheerful :<sup>1</sup> not rich, and a man of few words ;<sup>2</sup> was son to Hipponicus and brother to Callias.<sup>3</sup> He was present at the death of Socrates.<sup>4</sup>

#### CHARMIDES.

He had a considerable estate in lands before the Peloponnesian war, which he thence entirely lost, and was reduced to great poverty. He was present at the symposium of Callias, where he discoursed on the advantages and pleasures of being poor. He ran at the stadium, at Nemea, contrary to Socrates's advice.<sup>5</sup> He was of extreme beauty when a youth.<sup>6</sup>

#### ÆSCHYLUS.

He was of Phlius, and was introduced by Antisthenes to Socrates.

#### CRITO.

He was father to Critobŭlus ; was of Alopecæ, and about the same age with Socrates.<sup>7</sup> He made the proposal to contrive the escape of Socrates out of prison, and to send him into Thessaly ;<sup>8</sup> he attended him daily in his confinement, and at the time of his death ; he received his last orders : he closed his eyes, and took care of his funeral.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Sympos.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 391 and 408.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, Cratylus.

<sup>4</sup> Plato, Phædo.

<sup>5</sup> Plato, Theages.

<sup>6</sup> Plato, Charmid.

<sup>7</sup> Plato, Apolog.

<sup>8</sup> Id. Crito.

<sup>9</sup> Id. Phædo.

# PLATO.

## PHÆDRUS.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΛΟΥ.

THIS is supposed to be the first Dialogue which Plato wrote; *εχει γαρ* (says Laertius<sup>1</sup>) *μειρακιωδες τι το προβλημα: Δικαιαρχος δε και τον τροπον της γραφης ολον επιμεμφεται, ως φορτικον.* Dionysius Halicarnassensis<sup>2</sup> calls it one of his most celebrated discourses; and from it he produces examples both of the beauty and of the blemishes of Plato's style, of the *χαρακτηρ ισχνος και αφελης*, which is all purity, all grace and perspicuity; and of the *υψηλος*, wherein he sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. L. 3, c. 38. (c. 25 edit. Kraus. Lipsiæ, 1759).

<sup>2</sup> *Περι της Δημοσθενους δεινότητος.* p. 270. V. 2, ed. Hudsoni. He attributes the first to Plato's education in the company of Socrates; the latter to his imitation of Gorgias and Thucydides. Vid. et Epist. ad Cn. Pompeium, p. 202.

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platonis Opera, Edit. Serrani H. Steph. 1578, Vol. 3.

Vol. 3. p. 227. *Ακουμενω.*] Acumenus was father to Eryximachus, both of them physicians of note, and friends of Socrates.

Ib. *Εν τοιςδρομοις.*] Places in the Gymnasia, where people exercised themselves by walking a great pace, or by running. See Plato's Euthydemus, p. 273. *Περιεπατειτην εν τω καταστεγω Δρομω, &c.*

rises to a true sublimity, and sometimes falls into an ungraceful redundancy of words and of ill-suited figures ungraceful and obscure.

There is a good analysis of the Phædrus by Mr. Abbé Sallier,<sup>1</sup> wherein he shews its true subject and intention. It is upon eloquence and is designed to demonstrate, that no writer, whether legislator, orator, historian, or poet, can do any thing excellent without a

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c. V. 9, p. 49. See also another analysis by Mr. Hardion in his tenth Dissertation on the eloquence of Greece. Ib. V. 16, p. 378, des Mémoires.

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NOTES.

P. 227. Του Ολυμπιου.] The vast temple of Jupiter, begun by Pisistratus, but never finished till the time of the emperor Hadrian.

Ib. Προσηκουσα γε σοι.] Socrates professed the art of love. See Xenoph. Sympos.

Ib. Πρεσβυτερω.] He was then threescore and upwards.

Ib. Κατα'Ηροδικον.] Herodicus of Selymbria, ὁ παιδοτριβης. See Plat. Protagoras, p. 316. There was also Herodicus, the Leontine, a physician, and brother to the famous Gorgias (See Plat. Gorg. 448 and 456.): the first was also a physician, and the first who regulated the exercises of youth by the rules of medicine. See de Republicâ, L. 3, p. 406, *fusè*.

228. Εθρουπτετο.] He played the coquet; he denied, only to be courted to do what he wished.

Ib. Αυτου δεηθητι, ὁπερ ταχα παντως ποιησει.] Read, ποιηση, and make no other correction: i.e. "Be now intreated to do, what you will do presently without any intreaty at all."

229. Της Αγραιας.] The district, or δημοσ, was called Αγραι, in which stood the temple of Diana Αγραοτερα. Pausanias, Attic. L. 1, p. 45. ed. Kuhnii.

Ib. Συν Φαρμακεια.] Orithyia and Procris were the daughters of Erectheus. Who Pharmaceia was, I do not find.

Ib. Διαν δε δεινον.] Such disquisitions were the common employments of the sophists and grammarians.



foundation of philosophy. The title prefixed to it, *Περὶ Καλοῦ*, cannot be genuine; it has no other relation to it, than that beauty is accidentally the theme of Socrates's second little oration, which is contained in this dialogue; not that it is, directly, even the subject of that, for the tendency of it is to prove, *Ὡς εραστῆ μαλλον, ἢ τω μὴ ἐρῶντι δεῖ χαριζεσθαι*, as the two preceding orations were to shew the contrary. These are what Laertius calls

## NOTES.

P. 230. Typhon or Typhœus, the youngest son of Earth and Tartarus. Hesiod, *Theogon.* v. 821. has given a fine description of this portentous form.

Ib. *Ἀχελωου.*] The Achelœus was looked upon in Greece as the principal of all rivers, and his name was used for all fresh water in general: he was usually worshipped in common with Pan and the Nymphs, as here.

Ib. *Καρπον προσειοντες.*] Read *προσειοντες*, shaking it before them.

231. *Ὡν δεομαι.*] What he desired, will appear but too plainly in the course of these little orations, and must appear a most strange subject of conversation for Socrates, to all who are unacquainted with the manners of Greece. The President de Montesquieu has observed, but too justly, on the nature of *their* love and gallantry. *Esprit des Loix*, V. 1. See also Xenoph. *Economic.* and *Symposium*; and the *Symposium* of Plato; see also de *Legib.* L. 1. p. 636.

Ib. *Τον νομον.*] There were, indeed, laws of great severity in Athens against this vice; but who should put them in force in such general and shocking depravity?

234. This praise he cannot help bestowing on Lysias's composition, namely, *Ὅτι σαφῆ, καὶ στρογγυλὰ, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποτερονενται.*

235. *Ὡσπερ ὁι ἐνεα.*] The Archons took an oath to do this, if they were guilty of corruption, before they took their seats in the *Στοὰ Βασιλειος*. See Jul. Pollux, L. 8, c. 13. Plutarch in Solon; and Heraclides in *Politis*.

Προβλήματα μειρακιώδη, though he may mean it of the whole dialogue, which is something juvenile and full of vanity. Dionysius very justly says, *Ἦν γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῇ Πλατωνος φύσει, πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐχούσῃ, τὸ φιλοτιμον, and before, Πλατῶν τὸ φορτικώτατον καὶ ἐπαχθίστατον τῶν ἐργῶν προελομένος, αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων, &c.*

The Socratic Dialogues are a kind of dramas, wherein the time, the place, and the characters are

## NOTES.

P. 235. *Παρα γὰρ ἐμαντοῦ οὐδεν.*] It is observable, that Socrates, whenever he would discourse affirmatively on any subject, or when he thought proper to raise and adorn his style, does it not in his own person, but assumes the character of another. Thus, for instance, he relates the beautiful fable between Virtue and Pleasure after Prodicus; he treats of the miseries of human life in the words of the same sophist; he describes the state of souls after death from the information of Gobryas, one of the Magi; he makes a panegyrick on wine in the style of Gorgias; and here he does not venture to display his eloquence, till the Nymphs and the Muses have inspired him. This is consistent with that character of simplicity and of humility which he assumed.

236. *Κνψελιδῶν.*] See Pausanias, L. 5, p. 378.

Ib. *Ὅμοιας λαβῆς.*] A metaphor taken from wrestling: you give me a good hold of you. So in Lib. de Republ. 8, p. 544. *Πάλιν τοιούτων, ὡς περ παλαιστής, τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρέχει.*

Ib. *Τῶν Κωμῶδων.*] The repetition of a person's words by way of reproach.

Ib. *Ποιητῆν.*] Used for one who composes any thing, whether prose or verse. So above, p. 234. *Ὡς τὰ δεόντα εἰρηκότος τοῦ Ποιητοῦ.—Ὀμνυμι γὰρ σοι: what follows should be written thus, Τίνα μὲντοι; τίνα θεῶν; εἰ βούλει, τὴν πλατανὴν ταυτήνι.*

237. *Ἀγετε δὴ, ὦ Μοῦσαι.*] Thus far, says Dionysius, *παντὰ χαριῶν μεστὰ: hence begins a style more turbid and obscure, and disagreeably poetical.*

almost as exactly marked as in a true theatrical representation. Phædrus here is a young man particularly sensible<sup>1</sup> to eloquence and to fine writing, and thence a follower and an admirer of the famous Lysias, whose

<sup>1</sup> V. p. 242, et passim. He was an Athenian, son to Pythocles, of the district of Myrrhinus, and tribe Pandionis. V. the Sympos. p. 176.

## NOTES.

P. 237. Κρατουσης τω κρατει, σωφροσυνη ονομα.] Write thus, Κρατουσης, τω κρατει σωφροσυνη ονομα, which answers to και αρξασης εν ήμιν, τη αρχη ύβρις επωνομασθη.

238. Παθος πεπονθειναι.] The word, which Serranus would insert here, (θειον) παθος, is not in Dionysius.

Ib. Ευροια.] An easy fluency and volubility of expression. So Diogenes Laertius in Timone Phliasio, Lib. 9, c. 114. Αλλα και ευρους, ως μηδε αριστάν συγχωρειν : i.e. he wrote with that ease and fluency, that he could not find time to dine ; that is, he found no interval, no interruption in the course of his writing, to bestow on the necessities of nature : though, perhaps, the true reading is, ως μηδε αριστοις, so as to vie with the best.

I mention this passage, because Meric Casaubon was *wise enough* to understand ευρους of a looseness, to which Timon was subject, and distinguishes very accurately between ευροια and διαβροια. D. Laert. L. 9, c. 114.

241. Οστρακου μεταπεσοντος.] A proverb, taken from a play in use among children, called Οστρακινδα, described by Jul. Pollux, L. 9, c. 154, ed. Jungermanni, and by Eustathius. They were divided into two parties, which fled or pursued each other alternately, as the chance of a piece of broken potsherd, thrown up into the air, determined it : the boy who threw it cried out Νυξ ή Ήμερα ; if the black (or pitched) side came uppermost, his party ran away, and the other gave them chase ; if the white one, the others ran, and they pursued them. Hence Οστρακου Περιστροφη was used to describe a total reverse of fortune. Erasmus, in his Adagia, has not explained it well. See Plato de Republ. L. 7, p. 521.

reputation was then at its height in Athens. He has sat the greatest part of the morning at the house of Epicrates, near the Olympium, to hear Lysias recite a discourse; and, having procured a copy of it, is meditating upon it with pleasure, as he walks without the city walls, where Socrates meets him. To avoid the heat of the day they retire to the shade of an ancient plane-tree, that overshadows a fane of Achelous and the nymphs on the banks of a rivulet, which discharges

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242. *Σιμμίαν Θηβαῖον.*] See Diog. Laertius, L. 2, c. 124. He is mentioned in the thirteenth Epistle, and is an interlocutor in the Phædo.

Ib. *Οὐ πολέμον γε ἀγγελλεις.*] These words belong to Phædrus, as H. Stephans observes. It is a proverb: you are the messenger of no bad news. See *De Legibus*, L. 3, p. 702.

Ib. *Ἐδυσωπουμένην.*] A fragment of Ibycus: *Μη τι παρὰ Θεοῖς ἀμπλακῶν, τιμὰν πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀμειψῶ.*

243. The beginning of a Palinodia of Stesichorus on Helen. *Οὐκ ἐστ' ἐτυμος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, Οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν εὐσσελμοῖς, Οὐδ' ἴκειο Περγάμα Τροίας,* which is alluded to at the end of the third Epistle, *τὴν παλινωδιὰν αὐτοῦ μμησαμένος.* Plat. V. 3, p. 319.

244. *Δια τε ὀρνιθῶν ποιοιμένην,* and afterwards *ποριζομένην,* as H. Steph. corrects it.

Ib. *Οἰονοηστικὴν.*] He derives it from *οἶος* and *νοῦς*, as attained by human experience alone. A very bad etymology.

Ib. *Ἐξάντην.*] Serranus translates, *indemnem, incolumem,* i.e. placed aloft, as it were, out of the reach of danger and envy. See Constantini Lexicon.

246. *Ἡ ψυχὴ πάσα.*] This is, indeed, an example of those *Ἀλληγορίαι μακρῆαι, οὐτε μετρον ἔχουσαι, οὐτε καιρῶν,* of which Dionysius Halicarnassensis complains in Plato; (*Dion. Halic. Vol. 2, p. 272, ed. Oxon.*); and which, indeed, Plato himself calls in this very Dialogue (p. 265) *ἄμυθικὸς ὕμνος.*

Ib. *Ἀθανάτων τι ζῶων.*] He defines God so, *ἔχον μὲν ψυχρὴν, ἔχον δὲ σῶμα.*

itself at a little distance into the Ilyssus. The spot lay less than a quarter of a mile above the bridge, which led over the river to the temple of Diana Agræa.

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P. 246. *Κεκοινωνηκε δε πη.*] I imagine he means, that the soul of man approaches in perfection to the corporeal part of the Gods. The translation has no affinity to the text here; *ἡ αχρωματος και ασχηματιστος και αναφης ουσια*, the true substance and essence of things, of which the properties are only the consequences; this is the *το οντως ον* of Plato.

Ib. *Ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ καλός.*] The rational and intellectual faculties of the soul.

Ib. *Ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐναντιῶν.*] The appetites and passions.

250. *Μνουμενοὶ τε και ἐσπτενοντες.*] An allusion to the Attick mysteries of Ceres. See Meursius and Potter. So in the seventh Epistle, p. 333.

251. *Καυλὸς ὑπο πᾶν.*] Perhaps we should read *ἐπι*.

253. *Ὅσπερ αἱ Βακχαι.*] What Bacchanalian ceremony is here alluded to? See the Ion: *Ὅσπερ αἱ Βακχαι ἀρυττονται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι και γαλα κατεχομεναι, &c.*

256. *Φιλοσοφίαν.*] Polemarchus, the elder brother of Lysias, was a friend of Socrates, and a philosopher: so Plutarch calls him, "De esu Carnium." Polemarchus had another brother, called Euthydemus. Polemarchus was murdered by the Thirty Tyrants, Ol. 94. 1. See Lysias in Eratosthenem, p. 196.

257. *Γλυκὺς ἀγκῶν.*] Erasmus explains it in his Adagia, (*Εὐφήμα φωνεῖ*) as though in a part of a river, where there was a long and dangerous winding, the sailors used this piece of flattery by way of propitiating the Nile: but this does not fully clear up the passage here. That this proverb was so used may appear from these words of Athenæus, L. 12, p. 516. *Τὸν τοπον καλοῦσι Γυναικῶν ἀγκῶνα, γλυκὺν ἀγκῶνα*: which last may mean, a specious term to cover their ignominy; Casaubon does not explain it: here it seems applied to such as speak one thing, and mean another.

258. *Ἐδοξε πού.*] He alludes to the form of a Psephisma, *Ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ Τισαμενὸς εἶπε, &c.* as H. Stephanus observes.

Here they pursue their conversation during the hours of noon, till the sun grows lower and the heat becomes more mild.

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P. 258. Δαρείου δυναμιν.] See Epist. 7, p. 332.

Ib. Ερωτᾶς, εἰ δεομεθα; τινος μὲν οὖν, &c.] I do not see the transition, and I imagine that some words are wanting here; and also, after κεκληνται.

259. Νυσταζοντας.] The Greeks usually slept at noon in summer, as it is still the custom in Italy and Spain, and in other hot countries. Xenoph. Græc. Hist. L. 5. p. 557.

Ib. Ασικτον και αποικτον.] The cicada is an animal with wings, the size of a man's thumb, of a dark brown colour, which sits on the trees and sings, that is, makes a noise like a cricket; but much more shrill, and without any intervals, which grows louder as the sun grows hotter. Some supposed it to live on the air, others on dew only. Vid. Meleagrum, Niciam, et alios in Anthologiâ, L. 3. p. 265, ed. H. Steph. and Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 28, c. 26.

Ὁ θεσπεσιος οὐμμελης ἀχετας

Θαλπеси μεσημβρινοῖς ὑφ' ἡλίου μανεισ βοᾶ.

Aristophan. Aves, v. 1095.

It does in reality live on the exsudations of plants, having a proboscis, like flies, to feed with; but is capable of living a long time, like many of the insect race, without any nourishment at all. The tettigometra, which is this creature in its intermediate state between a worm and a fly, was esteemed a delicacy to eat by the Greeks. See Aldrovand. de Insectis, and Reaumur, Hist. des Insectes, V. 5, Dissert. 4.

Ib. Πρεσβυτατη.] Hesiod names the Muses in the same order in which their names are inscribed on the books of Herodotus; and says, that Calliope was ἀπασεων προφερεστατη. Theogon, v. 75. See also Cicronem in Bruto, and Quintilian, L. 3. c. 1.

260. Φησιν ὁ Λακων.] Perhaps Alcman; though the words do not seem to be poetry.

261. Gorgias came to Athens on an embassy from the

We may nearly fix the year when this conversation is supposed to have happened. Lysias was now at Athens; he arrived there from Thurii in Italy in the

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Leontines, Ol. 88. 2. (See Diod. Sic. L. 12, p. 313.) when Socrates was about forty-three years old. (V. Ciceronem in Bruto, et Quintil. L. 3. c. 1.) Tisias and Corax of Syracuse, and Gorgias the Leontine, first composed treatises on the art of speaking.

P. 261. *Ουκ αρα μονον.*] “Socrates apud Platonem in Phædro palam, non in judiciis modo et concionibus, sed in rebus privatis etiam et domesticis, rhetoricen esse demonstrat.” (Quintil. L. 2, c. 21.) Plato here makes knowledge, that is, the perception of truth, the foundation of eloquence. *Περι παντα τα λεγομενα μια τις τεχνη, ειπερ εστιν, αυτη αν ειη, ητις οια τ' εσται, παν παντι ομοιουν των δυνατων, και ος δυνατον και, αλλου ομοιουντος και αποκρυπτομενου, εις φως αγειν.* This has some resemblance to Locke's definition of knowledge: “It is (says he) the perception of the connection and agreement, or of the disagreement and repugnancy, of any of our ideas.” Locke's Essay, B. 4. ch. 1.

261. *Ελεατικον Παλαμηδην.*] Quintilian informs us, that the person here meant is Alcidas of Elea. Laertius takes it to be meant of Zeno Eleates, who is looked upon as the inventor of disputation (*η διαλεκτικη*) and of logick, and who was at Athens when Socrates was not above eight years old, that is, above fifty years earlier than the time of this dialogue; but his contemporary Empedocles was the first who cultivated rhetoric as an art, and taught it to Gorgias who published a book on that subject.

N. B. Athenæus (L. 13. p. 592.) mentions Alcidas, *ο Λαιτης*, (read *ο Ελεατης*, not *Ελαιτης*, as Casaubon corrects it from Suidas); he says, that Alcidas was scholar to Gorgias, and had written Encomia on Lagis and Nais, two famous courtezans from Athens; whence, it seems, that he must have flourished about this time, and perhaps near twenty years after. There is the right reading of it in Athenæus, L. 9. p. 397, *'Ο Ελεατικος Παλαμηδης ονοματολογος εφη*, &c. which is a name he bestows on Ulpan of Tyre, an indefatigable hunter after words. Casau-

forty-seventh year of his age, Ol. 92. 1. Euripides is also mentioned as still in the city: he left it to go into Macedonia, Ol. 92. 4, and, consequently, it must have

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bon has not explained this. See also Laertius in Protagoras, L. 9. 54. We have still an oration of Alcidas in the person of Ulysses against Palamedes. It may be also observed, that Laertius (L. 9. c. 25.) when he mentions Zeno Eleates, cites by mistake the Sophistes, instead of the Phædrus of Plato. Isocrates, in his oration on Helena, indeed says, that Zeno in his disputations would shew the same things to be possible and impossible.

P. 262. *Εστιν ουν ὁπως τεχνικος κτλ.*] Read *μεταβιβαζων—απαγειν*—to answer to *διαφευγειν*.

264. *Χαλκῆ.*] Epitaph on Midas, by some attributed to Homer and by others to Cleobulus of Lindias. See Vit. Homeri, Herodoti ut dicitur, (V. Herodot. Edit. Gronov. 1715, p. 559.) and D. Laertius in Cleobulo, L. 1, c. 89.

265. Definition of a general complex idea, *Εκ πολλων ιων αισθησεων εις ἓν λογισμῳ ξυναιρουμενον.*—*Εις μιαν τε ιδεαν συνορῶντα αγειν τα πολλαχη διεσπαρμενα.*

266. Almost all these persons are mentioned by Quintilian L. 3, 1., as having written arts of rhetorick, and were all now flourishing, Ol. 92, except Tisias of Syracuse, Evenus of Paros, Protagoras of Abdera, and Licymnius.

Ib. See Quintilian, L. 4. c. 1. 2. 3. and L. 5. c. 1. 4. and L. 8. c. 5. for an explanation of the terms, *Προοιμιον, Διηγησιν, Μαρτυριας, Τεκμηρια, Πιστωσιν, Ελεγκος, Διπλασιολογια, Γνωμο- λογια, Εικονολογια, Ευεπεια, Επανοδος* or *Ανακεφαλαιωσις.*

267. *Οικτρογονν επι γηρας και πενιαν ἔλκομενων.*] An allusion to some poet: he means that Thrasymachus had gained great wealth by his art.

268. *Διεστηκος το ητριον.*] A metaphor from an unequal and ill-woven texture.

269. *Μελιγερην Αδραστον.*] An allusion to Tyrtæus:

*Ουδ' ει Τανταλιδεω Πελοπος βασιλευτερος ειη,  
Γλωσσαν δ' Αδρηστου μελιχογηρην εχει.*



happened in some year of that Olympiad, probably the 2d or 3d, and Plato must have written it in less than ten years afterwards, for his *Lysis* was written before

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so that perhaps we should read in this place *μειλιχογηρυν* for *μελιγηρυν*.

P. 270. *Νοῦ τε και νοιας.*] He (i.e. Anaxagoras) attributed the disposition of the universe to an intelligent cause, or mind, whence he himself was called *Νοῦς*. He was nearly of the same age with Pericles, and came to Athens Ol. 75. 1, where he passed about thirty years.

Ib. *Ἰπποκρατει.*] That famous physieian was then about fifty years of age; and his works were universally read.

272. *Αλλα του πιθανου.*] See the allusion to this passage in Quintilian, L. 2, c. 15.

273. *Η αλλος οστις δη ποτ'ων τυγχανει, και οποθεν χαιρει ονομαζομενος.*] The art, which bore the name of *Tisias*, was not certainly known to be genuine. He says this in allusion to the custom of invoking the gods by several names. See Callim. Hymn. ad Jovem. Hor. Od. Sæcul. &c. &c. See also Plato in Protagoras, p. 358. and in Cratylus, p. 400. and in Euthydemus, p. 288.

274. *Θεῦθ.*] The Egyptian deity, Mercury, to whom the bird Ibis was sacred. Vid. Platon. Philebum, Edit. Serrani, vol. 2. p. 18. *Επειδη φωνη απειρον, &c.*

275. This discourse of *Thamus* (or *Jupiter Ammon*) on the uses and inconveniences of letters is excellent; he gives a lively image of a great scholar, that is, of one who searches for wisdom in books alone: *Τουτο των μαθοντων ληθην μεν εν ψυχαις παρεξει μνημης αμελητησια, ατε δια πιστιν γραφης εξωθεν ὑπ' αλλοτριων τυπων, ουκ ενδοθεν αυτοις ὑφ' αυτων, αναμνησκομενους· ουκουν μνημης, αλλ' ὑπομνησεως, φαρμακον εὔρες· σοφιας δε τοις μαθηταις δοξαν, ουκ αληθειαν, ποριζεις. πολληκοοι γαρ σοι γενομενοι ανευ διδαχης, πολυγνωμονες ειναι δοξωσι, αγνωμονες, ὡς επι το πληθος, οντες και χαλεποι ξυνειναι· δοξοσοφοι γεγονοτες αντι σοφων.*

Ib. *Δρυος και πετρας.*] An allusion to that saying, *Απο δρυος, η απο πετρης.* Hom. Il. v. 126.

the death of Socrates, which was Ol. 95. 1, but the Phædrus was still earlier, being his first composition ; so he was between twenty and twenty-nine years of age.

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P. 276. *Αδωνιδος κηποι.*] Corn and seeds of various kinds, sown in shallow earth to spring up soon, which were carried in the procession on the feast of Adonis. Theocritus, Idyll. 15. v. 113.

*Παρ δ' απαλοι κâποι πεφυλαγμενοι εν ταλαρισκοις  
Αργυρειοις*

and the Schol. on the passage : see also the Emperor Julian in his *Cæsares* : “*Κηποι, ους âι γυναικες τω της Αφροδιτης ανδρι φυτευουσιν οστρακιαις επαμησαμενοι γην λαχανιαν· χλωρησαντα δε ταυτα προς ολιγον αυτικα απομαραινεται.* Julian. *Op.* Edit. Lipsiæ, 1696, pag. 329.

Ib. *Αντι τουτων οis λεγων.*] Do not, with Serranus, correct it to *εν τι* ; yet read *οia λεγω.*

278. *Νυμφων νâμα και Μουσων.*] The Ilyssus was consecrated to the Muses, who had an altar on its banks under the title of *Μουσαι Ειλισσιαδες*, possibly near the scene of this dialogue.

Ib. *Ισοκρατην τον καλον.*] Isocrates was now about twenty-five years of age, and had a share in the friendship both of Socrates and of Plato. Laertius, L. 3. c. 8.

279. *Πλεον η παιδων.*] Subauditur, *οi αλλοι ανδρες* ; the same ellipsis is used in Plato's 4th Epist.

## LYSIS.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΙΑΣ.

THERE is no circumstance in this dialogue to inform one at what time it is supposed to have happened ; but it is certain that Plato wrote it when he was yet a young man, before Ol. 95. 1, for Socrates heard it read. The scene of it is in a Palæstra, then newly built, a little without the walls of Athens near the fountain of Panops, between the Academia and the Lycaëum. The interlocutors are Socrates, Hippothales, and Ctesippus,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Νεανίσκος τις Παιανίευσ, μάλα καλός τε κργαβός, την φύσιν όσον μεν, ύβριστής δε, δια το νεός είναι.* In Euthydemo, Plat. Op. V. 1. p. 273. Both Ctesippus and Menexenus were present at Socrates's death. (In Phædone.)

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 203.

From 204 to 211.] Thus far the dialogue is very easy and elegant, particularly the short conversation with Lysis, which is an example how children of fortune and family ought to be treated, in order to correct that arrogance which those advantages are apt to inspire, and to win them gradually to reflection and good sense.

P. 204, Μικκός.] Perhaps the same person who is mentioned by Suidas, as a Mytilenean, who settled at Athens, and father to Alcæus the comick poet, who flourished Ol. 97. 4. V. Schol. ad Plutum Aristophan. in Argumento. We see the sophists

two young men of Athens ; Lysis, a boy of noble birth and fortune, beloved by Hippothales, and Menexenus,<sup>1</sup> also a boy, and cousin to Ctesippus, and friend to Lysis. The characters are, as usual, elegantly drawn ; but what is the end or meaning of the whole dialogue, I do not pretend to say. It turns upon the nature and definition of friendship. Socrates starts a hundred notions about it, and confutes them all himself ; no-

<sup>1</sup> The discourse with Menexenus is intended to correct a boy of a bolder and more forward nature than Lysis, by shewing him that he knows nothing ; and leaves him in the opinion of his own ignorance. The second title of the dialogue is a false or an incorrect one, for friendship is only by accident a part of it ; the intent of the whole seems to be, to shew in what manner we should converse with young people according to their different dispositions.

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frequented the Palæstræ, as the publick resort of the youth, and taught their art there.

P. 204. Παραταθησεται.] Enecabitur, conficietur.

Ib. Ως Ἑρμαία ἀγορῶσιν ἀναμεμῆμενοι, ἐν ταύτῳ εἰσιν οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες.] A festival celebrated in all the places of education for boys. We see here how little the severe laws of Solon on this head were observed, which particularly forbade grown persons to be admitted on that occasion. Æschin. Orat. in Timarchum in principio.

Ib. Παιδοτριβῆς.] The master of the Palæstra, who taught them their exercise.

207. Ἐπηλυγασαμένος προσεστη, read προσεστη, as in p. 210, ἀνεμνησθην ὅτι καὶ προσεστως, &c.

208. Παιδαγωγός.] Commonly some old slave who waited on them to the schools and to the Palæstræ.

211. Ορνυγα.] The passion of the Athenians for fighting quails and game-cocks is well known. See Plutarch in Alcibiade.

213. Either leave out οὐκ in that passage, ὅτε ἠκροῶτο οὐκ οὕτως εχειν, or read perhaps, οὐκ ἦσυχως.

thing is determined, the dialogue is interrupted, and there is an end. Perhaps a second dialogue was designed on the same subject, and never executed. As to all the mysteries which Serranus has discovered in it, they are mere dreams of his own.

The first part of this dialogue is of that kind called *Μαιευτικός*, and the second part, *Πειραστικός*.

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P. 214. *Των σοφωτατων.*] Empedocles, perhaps, who ascribed the first formation of things to this friendship: *Αλλοτε μεν φιλοτητι συνερχομεν εις εν απαντα*, &c. D. Laert. L. 8. c. 76. or Anaxagoras, who taught *εκ των ομοιομερων μικρων σωματων το παν συγκεκρᾶσθαι*. Laert. L. 2. c. 8.

219. *Κωνειον πεπωκοτα.*] A quantity of wine, drunk after the cicuta, was believed to prevent its mortal effects.

223. *Ην οψε.*] It was a law of Solon, *τα διδασκαλεία κλειετωσαν προ ηλιου δυνοντος*. (Æschines.)

## ALCIBIADES I.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΦΤΥΣΕΩΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ.

THE title expressing the subject of this dialogue (like that of *Lysis*) is wrong. Dacier rightly observes, that the titles are commonly nothing to the purpose; but he is strangely mistaken in saying, they are of modern invention, and that Diogenes Laertius makes no mention

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Edit. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 103.

P. 104. Μεγακλεα επιτροπον.] Megacles (the father of Dinomache, the mother of Alcibiades), and Agariste, the mother of Pericles, were brother and sister. Alcibiades was not above three years old, and his brother Clinias was still younger, when they lost their father at the battle of Coronea, Ol. 83. 1.

106. Ιεναι επι το βημα.] Boys when they had undergone the Δοκιμασια before the Thesmothetæ who presided in the court of Heliaea, (V. Lysiam in Diogeiton. p. 508 and 515., Aristophan. in *Vespis*, v. 576., and Antiphont. de cæde Choreutæ, p. 143, ed. H. Steph. fol.), and were enrolled among the men, though they were for a year excused from all Δειτοῦργιαι, seem to have been at liberty (at *this* time of the republick) to vote and speak in the assembly of the people. Therefore, Potter (*Archæolog.* L. 1, c. 17.) is not correct when he affirms that they could not speak there, who were under thirty years of age. They could not indeed be chosen into the senate, &c. till that age.

Ib. Γραμματα και κιθαριζειν.] The usual education of the Athenian children from seven years old to fifteen. See Æschines de *Axioco*, p. 94, ed. Le Clerc, and Aristoph. in *Nubibus*, v. 961.

of them. That author actually mentions them all, and from his account they appear to be more ancient than Thrasyllus, who lived probably under Augustus and Tiberius, and who seemingly took them to be all of Plato's own hand.

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P. 113. Σου ταδε κινδυνευεις.] These are the words of Phædra in the Hippolytus of Euripides, v. 352. Σου ταδ' ουκ εμου κλυεις, which was played full three years after the time of this dialogue; but this is only a slight anachronism, and I wish that Plato had never been guilty of any greater.

Ib. Σκεναριω ν.] It is here used for clothes.

118. Πυθοκλειδη.] He was a musician of great note, as well as Damon. See Aristotle, cited by Plutarch in his life of Pericles. Some attribute to Pythocles the invention of the Mixo-Lyidian harmony, used in tragedy; but Aristoxenus ascribes it to Sappho. See Plutarch de Musicâ, and Burette's notes in the Mémoires de L'Acad. des Inscriptions, &c. vol. 13. p. 234.

Ib. Ηλιθιω εγενεσθην.] He speaks of Xanthippus and Paralus, as already dead, though in reality they were living two years after the time of this dialogue.

119. Pythodorus, son of Isolochus and scholar to Zeno of Elea. Qu?—Whether he were the same who was Archon Ol. 94. 1. ?

120. Μειδιαν.] He is mentioned by Aristophanes in Avibus.

Ib. Ανδραποδωδη τριχα.] This is explained by Potter, L. 1. c. 10.

121. 'Ων αι γυναικες.] One office of the Ephori was, to watch over the chastity of the queen.

122. Ουδενι μελει. Of old the court of Areopagus were inspectors of the education of youth. The members of it divided that care among them, and each of them in his province took note of such fathers as gave not their children an education suitable to their fortune and way of life, as Isocrates shews at large in his beautiful Areopagitic oration. At what time their vigilance on this head began to decline, I cannot fix; but it was probably towards the beginning of the administration of Pericles,

The true subject certainly is, to demonstrate the necessity of knowing one's self, and that, without this foundation, all other acquisitions in science are not only useless, but pernicious.

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when the authority of that venerable body was lessened and restrained by Ephialtes, that is, before Ol. 80. 1 ; yet I find the form of the thing still continued, though not the force of it : for Æschines speaking of the discipline young men were subject to, from about the age of eighteen to twenty, has these words ; Πας ὁ του μειρακισκου χρονος εστιν ὑπο Σωφρονιστας, και την επι τους νεους ἀμειρακισκου της εξ Αρειου παγον βουλης. (Æschin. in Axiocho, p. 96.) The Sophronistæ here mentioned, are distinct from the Areopagites, being the name of a magistracy thus described in Etymolog. Magn. Σωφρονισται, αρχοντες τινες χειροτονητοι, δεκα τον αριθμον ἑκαστης φυλλης, επεμελοῦντο δε της των εφηβων σωφροσυνης.

P. 122. Πολλας γαρ ηδη γενεας.] We are not told, I believe, by any other writer, that the use of money was so early introduced into Lacedæmon ; but the following passage of Posidonius in Athenæus, may help to explain it ; Λακεδαιμονιοι ὑπο των εθων κωλυομενοι εισφερειν εις την Σπартην, (ὡς ὁ αυτοιστορει Ποσειδωνιος), και κτᾶσθαι χρυσον και αργυρον, εκτῶντο μεν ουδεν ἦττον, παρακατετιθετο δε τοις ὄμοροις Αρκασιν, ειτα πολεμιοις αυτοις εσχον αντιφιλων, ὅπως ανυπειθυνον το απιστον δια την εχθραν γενηται· τω μεν ουν εν Δελφοις Απολλωνι τον προτερον εν τη Λακεδαιμονι χρυσον και αργυρον ιστοροῦσιν ανατεθηναι. κτλ. Athen. L. 6. p. 233, and we may consult also Plato's Hip. Maj. p. 283, and De Republicâ, L. 8, p. 548. Plutarch says, that money was not even allowed for the uses of the publick, till after the siege of Athens and its surrendering to Lysander, when that point was carried after a great struggle ; though, at the same time, it was made capital to apply it to private occasions. This happened twenty seven years after the date of this dialogue.

Ib. Γενεθλια.] The birthday of the Persian king was yearly observed by all Asia.

Ib. Και Μεσσηνης.] Messenia was a country far surpassing



The time of this dialogue is towards the end of Alcibiades's nineteenth year, which (as Dodwell reckons) is Ol. 87. 1. Socrates was then about thirty-nine years old.

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Laconia in fertility, and equal to the best in Greece: Euripides describes them both. See ap. Strabonem, L. 8, p. 367, and Pausanias, L. 4, p. 285.

P. 122. *Των τε αλλων και των Ειλωτικων.*] The Spartans, therefore, made use of other slaves besides the Heilotæ.

123. *Δεινομαχης.*] The value of an Athenian matron's wardrobe and ornaments was about fifty minæ, (£161. 9s. 2d.)

Ib. *Γης πλεθρα Ερχιασιν.*] Three hundred *Πλεθρα* of land was a great estate for an Athenian: a plethrum is one hundred feet square. Observe, that the lands of Alcibiades did not lie in that *Δημος* to which he belonged, for he was of Scambonidæ.

Ib. *Βασιλικος φορος.*] Herodotus, L. 6, enumerates the privileges and prerogatives of the Spartan kings, but makes no mention of this revenue, which was probably instituted after his time.

124. Observe that Agis did not come to the crown till five years after this conversation.

## ALCIBIADES II.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΤΥΧΗΣ.

THIS is a continuation of the same subject; for what is said on prayer is rather accidental, and only introductory to the main purpose of the dialogue. It is nothing inferior in elegance to the former. Some have attributed it to Xenophon, but it is undoubtedly Plato's, and designed as a second part to the former.

I could be glad if it were as easy to fix the time of it, as Dacier would persuade us, who boldly fixes it Ol. 93. 1, but there are facts alluded to in it, that will

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 138.

Vol. 2. p. 138. Χαλκω διελεσθαι.] See Æschylus Sept. cont. Theb.

141. Τα παιδικα.] Craterus conspired with Hellenocrates and Decamnichus to murder that prince, (Archelaus of Macedonia) as he was hunting. Aristotle calls him Cratæus, and gives a fuller account of this conspiracy than any other author. Aristot. Politic. L. 5. c. 10. Archelaus had promised him one of his daughters in marriage, for he had two, but gave one to the king of Elimea and the other to his own son Amyntas. Hellenocrates was a Larissæan who had likewise been subservient to the king's pleasures.

143. Αυτικα μαλα παρασταιη—ειπειν—βουλομενον, &c.] All words importing the present time, and not to be in any way interpreted of the past, as Dacier pretends.

neither be reconciled to that date, nor indeed to one another; and besides, it is better to allow Plato to be guilty of these inaccuracies in chronology, than of those improprieties of character which must be the consequences of Dacier's supposition. It is plain, that Socrates continues, as in the preceding discourse, to treat Alcibiades with a certain gentle superiority of understanding, and that he prescribes to (and instructs) him in a manner extremely proper to form the mind

## NOTES.

P. 144. What Plato would prove in this place is excellent, namely; *Το των αλλων επιστημων κτημα, εαν τις ανευ του βελτιστου κεκτημενος η, ολιγακις μεν ωφελειν, βλαπτειν δε τα πλειω τον εχοντα αυτα.* See also de *Repub.* L. 6. p. 506. and de *Legibus*, L. 2. p. 661.

145. *Αυτη δ' ην.*] This relates to what he had proved in the former dialogue, (*Alcibiad.* 1. p. 116.) which would be absurd if that conversation had passed twenty years before.

147. A line from Homer's *Margites*; *Πολλ' ηπιστατο εργα, κακως δ' ηπιστατο παντα.*

148. A Spartan prayer: *τα καλα διδοναι επι τοις αγαθοις.*

*Ib.* *Οι πλειστας μεν θυσιας.*] The Athenians were remarkably sumptuous in their temples and publick worship, beyond any other people: two months in the year were taken up entirely in these solemnities. See *Aristophan.* in *Vespis*, *Schol.* ad v. 655, and *Xenoph.* de *Republ. Athen.* p. 699.

149. *Ευφημα.*] Proclamation was always made in the beginning of sacrifices in this form: *Ευφημείτε, ευφημείτε,* and then followed a solemn prayer.

*Ib.* *Κακον τοκιστην.*] Perhaps we should read, *Δικαστην.*

150. *Ουτος εστιν ω μελει περι σου.*] Socrates may either mean the Divinity here, as in the former dialogue, *Alcibiad.* 1. p. 135. *Εαν βουλησιν. Σωκ: Ου καλως λεγεις. Αλκιβ: Αλλα πως χρη λεγειν; Σωκ: 'Οτι εαν Θεος εθελη:* for it was the character of Socrates to assume nothing to himself: he ascribes all to the

of a youth just entering into the world, but ill-bred and impertinent to a man of forty years of age, who had passed through the highest dignities of the state and through the most extraordinary reverses of fortune. Plato himself may convince us of this, by what he makes Socrates say in the first Alcibiades; p. 127. *Ἀλλὰ χρη θάρρῆϊν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτο ἦσθου πεπονθως πεντηκονταετης, χαλεπον ἦν αν σοι επιμεληθῆναι σαυτοῦ· νυν δε, ἦν εχεις ἡλικιαν, αὐτη εστιν εν ἡ δει αυτο αισθανεσθαι.*

The principal difficulties are, that he speaks of Pericles as yet living, who died Ol. 87. 4, and of the

## NOTES.

dæmon who directed him, whom he calls his *Ἐπιτροπος*: or Socrates may here mean himself, as I rather think. Some Christian writers would give a very extraordinary turn to this part of the dialogue, as though Plato meant to prove the necessity of a Revelation: but I spy no such mysteries in it. Socrates has proved that we are neither fit to deal with mankind, till we know them by knowing ourselves; nor to address ourselves to the Divine Power, till we know enough of his nature to know what we owe him: what that nature is, he defers examining till another opportunity, which is done to raise the curiosity and impatience of the young Alcibiades, and to avoid that prolixity, into which a disquisition so important would have naturally led him.

P. 151. *Στεφανον.*] Alcibiades, as going to perform sacrifice, had a chaplet of flowers on his head, which was the custom for all present at such solemnities.

*Ιβ. ὁ Κρεων.*] From the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, v. 886.

*Οἰωνον εθεμην καλλιδικα σοι στεφη·*

*Εν γαρ κλυδωνι κειμεθ', ὡσπερ οισθα συ.*

*Ιβ. Των σων εραστων.*] He here continues the same style to Alcibiades, which would be absurd to a man of forty years of age.

murder of Archelaus king of Macedon as a fact then recent, which did not happen<sup>1</sup> till Ol. 95. 1, the same year with Socrates's death, and near five years after that of Alcibiades.

<sup>1</sup> According to Diodorus Siculus, L. 16. p. 266. who, though he may have rightly fixed the period of the reign of Archelaus, contradicts himself as to the duration of it. He says, that he reigned seven years, yet mentions him as king of Macedon (L. 13. p. 175.) ten years before his death. Ol. 92. 3. According to the Marmor Parium, he must have reigned still longer, for there he is said to have come to the throne, Ol. 90. 1. ; but that date is certainly false, as Thucydides speaks of his father Perdiccas, yet living four years afterwards. But let Diodorus be mistaken or not, it is sure, from this passage of Thucydides, that Archelaus came not to the crown till at least thirteen years after the death of Pericles. See also Athenæus, L. 5. p. 217.

## THEAGES.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ.

DEMODOCUS of Anagyrus, an old Athenian who had passed with reputation through the highest offices of the state, and now, after the manner of his ancestors, lived chiefly on his lands in the country, (Euthydem. p. 291.) employed in agriculture and rustick amusements, brings with him to Athens his son<sup>1</sup> Theages, a youth impatient to improve himself in the arts then in vogue, and to shine among his companions who studied

<sup>1</sup> He actually became a friend and disciple of Socrates, and is mentioned by him as such, together with a brother of his called Paralus, in his Apology, p. 33. Theages was probably dead at the time of the condemnation of Socrates; he is mentioned as of a weak and unhealthy constitution. See De Republ. L. 6. p. 496.

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 121.

P. 124. *Τον νεωστί Αρχοντα.*] Archelaus was then just come to the throne, and consequently this year, in which Diodorus first mentions him, was, it is probable, the first of his reign. (V. Alcibiad. II.) Bacis, a prophet, often cited by Herodotus. The Scholiast on Aristophan. Equites, v. 123, says, there were three of the name. (Clemens Alexandr. Strom. L. 1, p. 398.)

Ib. *Αμφιλυτον.*] The name of this Athenian prophet I do not elsewhere meet with.

eloquence,<sup>1</sup> and practised politicks, as soon as ever their age would permit them to appear in the popular assemblies.

Socrates, at the father's desire, enters into conversation with the young man, and decoys him by little and little into a confession that he wanted to be a great man, and to govern his fellow citizens. After diverting himself with the *naïveté* of Theages, he proposes ironically several sophists of reputation, and several famous statesmen, who were fit to instruct him in this grand art: but as it does not appear that the disciples of those sophists, or even the sons of those statesmen, have been

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes ridicules this turn of the age in which he lived, in many places, particularly in *Equitib.* v. 1375. Reading, and the knowledge of the Belles Lettres, having more generally diffused itself through the body of the people, than it had done hitherto, had an ill effect on the manners of a nation naturally vain and lively. Every one had a smattering of eloquence and of reasoning, and every one would make a figure and govern; but no one would be governed: the authority of age and of virtue was lost and overborne, and wit and a fluency of words supplied the place of experience and of common sense. See the character of Hippocrates in the *Protagoras*, p. 312: and Plato himself gives this as the characteristick of the Athenians in his time, 'Ἡ παντων εις παντα σοφιας δοξα, και παρανομα. See de Legib. L. 3, p. 701.

## NOTES.

P. 125. *Εις διδασκαλον.*] Perhaps *Διδασκαλειον*.—This poem of Anacreon on Callicrete, the daughter of Cyane, is now lost. Dacier seriously imagines that she was a female politician, like Aspasia; but it is more agreeable to Anacreon's gallantry, that we should suppose the seat of tyranny was only in her face.

128. *Δαιμονιον.*] See Mr. Foster's note on the *Euthyphro*, ad p. 22, and Fraguier's Discourse on Socrates, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* V. 6.

much the better for their lessons, both Demodocus and Theages intreat and insist that Socrates himself would admit him to his company, and favour him with his instructions. The philosopher very gravely tells them stories of his demon, without whose permission he undertakes nothing, and upon whom it entirely depends, whether his conversation shall be of any use, or not, to his friends; but at last he acquiesces, if Theages cares to make the experiment.

The scene of the dialogue is in the portico (described by Pausanias, L. 1. c. 3.) of Jupiter the Deliverer, in the Ceramicus, the principal street of Athens; and the time Ol. 92. 3-4, during the expedition of Thrasyllus, in which he was defeated at Ephesus by the Persians, and other allies of Sparta. Socrates was then sixty years old.

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NOTES.

P. 129. Κλειτομαχον ερεσθαι.] This assassination of Nicias, the son of Heroscamander, by Philemon and Timarchus, and the condemnation of the latter with Euathlus, who had given him shelter, is not recounted in any other author.

130. Θουκυδιδην.] Thucydides, the son of Melesias, was at the head of the Athenian nobility and of the party which opposed Pericles and Ephialtes: he was a near relation to Cymon, and banished by Ostracism about Ol. 83. 4, when Socrates was twenty-six years old. He had two sons, Melesias and Stephanus, the eldest of which was father to the Thucydides here mentioned.

130. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, surnamed the Just, had a son, called after his grandfather, Lysimachus, whose son was also called Aristides, which interchange of names was common at Athens.



## EUTHYPHRO.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ 'ΟΣΙΟΥ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 2.

SOCRATES,<sup>1</sup> about the time that an accusation had been preferred against him for impiety in the court of the *Βασιλευς*,<sup>2</sup> walking in the portico, where that magistrate used to sit in judgment, meets with Euthyphro, a person deeply versed in the knowledge of religious affairs,

<sup>1</sup> Ol. 95. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Impeachments for murder were laid in the court of the *Βασιλευς*, but not tried till four months after in the court of Areopagus, where the *Βασιλευς* had himself a vote. The cause was judged in the open air, for all such as were (*δμοβροφιοι*) under the same roof with the defendant were thought to partake of his guilt. The accuser gave him immediate notice not to approach the forum, the assembly, the temples, or the publick games, (*προσηγορευει ειργεσθαι των νομμων*) and in that state he continued, till he was acquitted of the crime. See Antipho, Orat. de caede Herodis, and de caede Choreutæ. Informations might also (as it seems) be laid in the court of Heliaea before the Thesmothetæ.

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#### NOTE.

Mr. Foster having published and made remarks on this and some other pieces of Plato, it is unnecessary for me to dwell long upon them.

P. 2. The *Βασιλειος Στοα* was in the Ceramicus on the right hand, as you come from the gate which led to the Piræus.

as sacrifices, oracles, divinations, and such matters, and full of that grave kind of arrogance which these mysterious sciences use to inspire. His father, having an estate in the isle of Naxus, had employed among his own slaves a poor Athenian who worked for hire. This man, having drunk too much, had quarrelled with and actually murdered one of the slaves. Upon which, the father of Euthyphro apprehended and threw him into a jail, till the *Ἐξηγηται*<sup>1</sup> had been consulted, in order to know what should be done. The man, not having been taken much care of, died in his confinement: upon which Euthyphro determines to lodge an indictment against his own father for murder. Socrates, surprised at the novelty of such an accusation, inquires into the sentiments of Euthyphro with regard to piety and the service of the gods, (by way of informing himself on that subject against the time of his trial) and by frequent questions, intangling him in his own concessions, and forcing him to shift from one principle and definition to another, soon lays open his ignorance, and shews that all his ideas of religion were

<sup>1</sup> The *Ἐξηγηται* at Athens, like the Pontifices at Rome, were applied to, when any prodigy had happened or any violent death, to settle the rights of expiation or to propitiate the manes of the dead. Harpocration and Suidas have these words, *Ἐξηγητης, ὁ ἐξηγουμενος τα ἱερα' εστι δε και ἄ προς τους κατοικομενους νομιζομενα ἐξηγοῦντο τοις δεομενοις*. So Demosthenes contra Everg. of a woman supposed to be murdered: *Ἐπειδη τοινυν ετέλευτησεν, ηλθον ὡς τους Ἐξηγητας, ἵνα εἰδειν ὁ τι με χρη ποιειν περι τουτων*: and the prosecution of the murderer made a necessary part of this expiation. See Theophrasti Charact: *περι Δεισιδαιμονιας*, c. 16, and Plato de Republ. L. 4, p. 427, where he calls the Delphian Apollo, *Ἐξηγητης πατριος*.

founded on childish fables and on arbitrary forms and institutions.

The intention of the dialogue seems to be, to expose the vulgar notions of piety, founded on traditions unworthy of the divinity, and employed in propitiating him by puerile inventions and by the vain ceremonies of external worship, without regard to justice and to those plain duties of society, which alone can render us truly worthy of the deity.

## APOLOGIA SOCRATIS.

PLATO was himself present at the trial of Socrates, being then about twenty-nine years of age; and he was one of those who offered to speak in his defence, (though the court would not suffer him to proceed), and to be bound as a surety for the payment of his fine: yet we are not to imagine, that this oration was the real defence which Socrates made. Dionysius says, that it was *δικαστηριου μεν η αγορᾶς ουδε θυρας ιδων, κατ' αλλην δε τινα βουλησιν γεγραμμενος*, and what that design was, he explains himself by saying, that, under

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 17.

P. 18. It is remarkable that he should mention this comedy of Aristophanes, as having made a deep impression on the people; and yet it was brought on the stage twenty years before, where it was exploded; and afterwards it was produced again, but still in vain: (Vid. Prolegom. ad Nubes, and v. 524.) though the author regarded it as his best play.

23. Qr? Whether Anytus were the same person who was colleague to the great Thrasybulus, and had a principal share in restoring the democraey, mentioned by Lysias in Agoratum, p. 260, 263, by Xenophon, Hist. Græc. L. 2, p. 468, and by Isocrates, in Exc. adv. Callimachum? Melitus, who is mentioned as a bad tragick poet in the Ranæ of Aristophanes, v. 1337, and whose person is described in the Euthyphro, was not probably the same with that Melitus, who was among the accusers

the cover of an apology, it is a delicate satire on the Athenians, a panegyrick on Socrates, and a pattern and character of the true philosopher. (Dion. Halicarnass. de vi Demosthen. p. 289, and de Art. Rhetor. p. 83. Vol. 2. edit. Huds. Oxon. 1704.) Nevertheless, it is founded on truth; it represents the true spirit and disposition of Socrates, and many of the topicks used in it are agreeable to those which we find in Xenophon,<sup>1</sup> and which were doubtless used by Socrates himself; as where he mentions his dæmon, and the reasons he had for preferring death to life, his account of the oracle given to Chærepho, and the remarkable allusion to Palamedes,<sup>2</sup> &c. the ground-work is manifestly the same, though the expressions are different. In one

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon was absent at the time of the trial, Ol. 95. 1, in Asia; and the account, which he gives, he had from Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus, a great friend of Socrates: we see from him, that many persons had written narrations of the behaviour of Socrates on the occasion.

<sup>2</sup> This doubtless gave occasion to what Ælian and others have said, (Var. Hist. and Diog. Laert. L. 2, s. 44.) that Euripides, in some lines of his Palamedes, alluded to Socrates's death; whereas that drama was played Ol. 91. 1, and Euripides died Ol. 93. 2, seven years before Socrates.

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of Andocides, the year before this, for Socrates speaks of him as a youth not known in the world before this accusation of his (See Euthyphr.); nor with the Melitus who was deputed by the Athenians to go to Sparta, Ol. 94. 1: these two last facts seem to belong to one and the same person.

P. 24. Πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν.] Hence it appears that, in whatever court Socrates was tried, the judges were extremely numerous.

26. Δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχηστράς.] The price of a seat in the theatre was at most one drachma.

thing only they seem directly to contradict each other : Xenophon says, he neither offered himself any thing in mitigation of his punishment, nor would suffer his friends to do so, looking upon this as an acknowledgment of some guilt : *ουτε αυτον υπετιμησατο, ουτε τους φιλους εισεν· αλλα και ελεγεν, οτι το υποτιμασθαι ομολογουντος ειη αδικειν.* If the word *υποτιμασθαι* means that he would not submit to ask for a change of his sentence

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P. 32. *Εβουλευσα δε.*] Socrates was in the senate of Five Hundred, Ol. 93. 3, being then sixty-five years of age. The Prytanes presided in the assemblies of the people, were seated in the place of honour, and attended by the *Τοξοται*, who, by their orders, seized any persons who made a disturbance ; they introduced ambassadours, gave liberty of speaking to the orators, and of voting to the people ; and (as it appears) any one of them could put a negative on their proceedings, since Socrates alone, at the trial of the *Στρατηγοι*, insisted, that the question was contrary to law, and would not suffer it to be put to the assembly.

Ib. *Θολος.*] A building in the Ceramicus near the *Βουλευτηριον των Πεντακοσιων*, where the Prytanes assembled to perform sacrifice and to banquet. (Pausanias, L. 1, p. 12, and Jul. Pollux in fin. L. 8.) Who were Nicostratus and Theodotus, the sons of Theodotides ?

34. *Εις μεν, μειρακιον ηδη· δυω δε, Παιδια.*] Socrates had three sons, (D. Laert. L. 2, s. 26.) Lamprocles, Sophroniscus, and Menexenus, the first by Xanthippe, the two others (as it is said) by Myrto, grand-daughter to the famous Aristides. Some say, he married the latter first ; but that is impossible, because he had Lamprocles, his eldest son, by Xanthippe ; and she certainly survived him ; therefore, if Myrto were his wife, he must have had two wives together. This is indeed affirmed in a treatise on nobility ascribed to Aristotle, and by Aristoxenus and Callisthenes his scholars, as well as by Demetrius Phalereus, and others. It is a very extraordinary thing, that such men should

into banishment, or perpetual imprisonment, so far it is agreeable to Plato, p. 37. but if it means, that he would not suffer any mulct himself, nor permit his friends to mention it, we see the contrary, p. 38, where he fines himself one mina (all he was worth), and where his friends Crito, Critobūlus, Plato, and Apollodorus, offer thirty minæ (£96. 17s. 6d.) which was, I suppose, all they could raise, to save him. Now this being a fact,

## NOTES.

be deceived in a fact which happened so near their own time ; yet Panætius, in his life of Socrates, expressly refuted this story ; and it is sure, that neither Xenophon, nor Plato, nor any other of his contemporaries, mentions any wife but Xanthippe.

P. 35. *Αριστα είναι και ὑμιν.*] Here is an interval ; and we see that Melitus, Anytus, and Lyco, having gone through their accusations, and Socrates having made his defence, and some of his friends, perhaps, having also supported it, the judges proceeded to vote guilty, or not guilty. The former suffrages exceeded the latter by three, by thirty, or by thirty and three, for the MSS. differ in the number. Justus of Tiberias (Laert. L. 2. s. 41.) says by 281, which is doubtless false ; and he adds that 361 condemned him to death.—I imagine, from what occurs afterwards, that Melitus and Anytus spoke a second time, after Socrates had finished his defence, before the court had voted. Xenophon tells us, that some of Socrates's friends actually pleaded for him. *Εἰρήθη πλειονα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, και τῶν συναγορευόντων φίλων αὐτοῦ.* Xenoph. Apolog. Sect. 22.

36. *Κἄν ὠφέλε χιλίας.*] I do not see how Socrates should know this, unless a small number of the judges, immediately after his defence, had risen to give their vote against him, and the rest deferred voting, till after Lyco and Anytus had spoken a second time in support of Melitus. In all publick accusations (some sorts of *Εισαγγελίαι* excepted) this was the case, if the accuser did not get a fifth of the votes. The next question regards the *Τιμημα*, which the court had it in their power to mitigate, if

at that time easily proved or disproved, I am of opinion that Plato never would have inserted into his discourse a manifest falsity, and, therefore, we are to take Xenophon's words in that restrained sense which I have mentioned.

Potter says, that from the nature of the crime (*Ασεβεία*), it is evident that the trial was before the court of Areopagus: but I take the contrary to be

## NOTES.

they were persuaded or moved by the plea of the criminal. See Lysias in Epicratem, p. 454.

P. 37. *Μη μιαν μονον.*] Here we see that capital causes were decided in a single day.

38. *Αξιοχρεω.*] Here follows a second interval, during which the court voted, and condemned him to die.

39. *Τιμωριαν.*] Do not imagine with Dacier, in this place, that he is threatening them with plagues and divine judgments: he only means that for one Socrates a hundred shall spring up to tell the Athenians their faults, which was very true; as the Socratick school was continually increasing.

N.B. It may be observed, that Socrates was one of the senate of Five Hundred, and was one of the Prytanes on the trial of the *Στρατηγοι*: this is certain, both from Plato, in this piece, and from Xenophon, Hist. Græc. L. 1. p. 449, and from Æschines in Axiocho, p. 101. This last writer tells us, that the matter was carried the next day by the choice of certain *Προεδροι εγκαταθετοι*, to take the votes; whence it should seem that it was not, at that time of the republick, the constant custom to elect *Προεδροι* for this purpose, as it afterwards was out of the nine tribes, which were not Prytanes; (See Potter, L. 1. 17.) but that the Prytanes alone, or some chosen from among them, exercised this office. Xenophon, in his Apomnemnon, L. 4. c. 4, seems to speak of the same trial, and says, that Socrates was *Επιστατης* in the assembly: if so, it was his particular province to give the people liberty of voting; but it is certain that he was not an *Επιστατης* chosen out of the *Προεδροι*, as was usual



evident from the style both here and in Xenophon. He always addresses his judges by the name of *ἄνδρες*, or *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*, whereas the form of speaking either to the <sup>1</sup> Areopagites or to the senate <sup>2</sup> of Five Hundred, was constantly *ὦ Βουλῆ*: and in the courts <sup>3</sup> of justice, *ἄνδρες Δικασταί*, or sometimes *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*, or *ἄνδρες* alone: he therefore was judged in some of these courts.

<sup>1</sup> See Lysias's Apolog. in Simonem, and his Oration, Pro sacrâ Olivâ.

<sup>2</sup> See Lysias in Philonem, pro Mantitheo, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. in Epicratem in principio et sub fin. : et pro Euphiletō, et passim.

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NOTE.

in the time of Demosthenes: he might indeed be *Ἐπιστάτης* of the Prytanes, an honour which continued but one day. See also Xenophon in Apomnem: L. 1. c. 1, where a clearer account is given of the same fact, where he is called *Βουλευτής* and *Ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ Δημῷ*. See also Plato's Gorgias, p. 473, and Corsinus Fast. Attic. v. 1. Diss. 6. de Προέδρων καὶ Ἐπιστάτων Electione.

CRITO.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΟΥ.

or (as the second Basil edition more justly entitles it)

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

OL. 95. 1.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 43.

THIS beautiful dialogue (besides Dacier's translation and Foster's notes) has been translated and illustrated by the Abbé Sallier, keeper of the printed books in the French king's library; see Vol. 14. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, p. 38.

## PHÆDO.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 57.

THIS famous dialogue was supposed by Panætius<sup>1</sup> the stoick, a great admirer of Plato, not to be genuine, or at least interpolated, rather, as it seems, from his own persuasion<sup>2</sup> of the soul's mortality, than from any thing in the piece itself unlike the manner or the tenets of the philosopher, to whom it has always been ascribed. The whole course of antiquity has regarded it as one of his principal works; and (what seems decisive) Aristotle<sup>3</sup> himself cites it, as a work of his master.

The historical part of it is admirable, and, though written and disposed with all the art and management of the best tragick writer, (for the slightest circumstance in it wants not its force and meaning) it exhibits nothing to the eye but the noble simplicity of nature.

<sup>1</sup> Anthologia, L. 1. 44.                      <sup>2</sup> Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. L. 1. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Meteorolog. L. 2. 2.

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 58. Κατ' ἐνιαυτον.] This annual solemnity should be distinguished from the great Delian festival described by Thucydides, (See Taylor's Comment on the Marmor Sandvicense,) which returned only once in four years, and which, after a long intermission, was revived Ol. 88. 3.

Every intelligent reader will feel what those who were eye-witnesses are said to have felt, namely, *αἰθητινὰ κρᾶσιν, ἀπο τε τῆς ἡδονῆς συγκεκραμμένην ὄμου καὶ τῆς λυπῆς*. The innocence, the humanity, the cheerfulness, and the unaffected intrepidity of Socrates, will draw some tears from him (as it did many from them) as for the loss of a father; and will, at the same time, better than any arguments, shew him a soul, which, if it were not so, at least deserved to be immortal.

The reasoning part is far inferior, sometimes weak, sometimes false, too obscure, too abstracted, to convince us of any thing; yet with a mixture of good sense and with many fine observations. The fabulous account of a future state is too particular and too fantastick an invention for Socrates to dwell upon at such a time, and has less decorum and propriety in it than the other parts of the dialogue.

Socrates attempts in this dialogue to prove, that true philosophy is but a continual preparation for death; its daily study and practice being to wean and separate the body from the soul, whose pursuit of truth is perpetually stopped and impeded by the numerous avocations, the little pleasures, pains, and necessities of its companion. *That*, as death is but a transition from its opposite,<sup>1</sup> life (in the same manner as heat is from cold,

<sup>1</sup> This was an idea of Pythagoras. *Ἐν βίῳ ἀρχὴ τελευτῆς· ἐν ζῳῇ δὲ γένεσις φθορᾶς*. Diog. Laert. l. 8. s. 22.

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NOTE.

[P. 61. Φιλολαου.] We see that Philolaus of Crotona had been at Thebes, and that Simmias and Cebes had both received from him some tincture of the Pythagorean doctrines.

weakness from strength, and all things, both in the natural and in the moral world, from their contraries) so life is only a transition from death ; whence he would infer the probability of a metempsychosis. *That*, such propositions,<sup>1</sup> as every one assents to at first, being self-evident, and no one giving any account how such parts of knowledge, on which the rest are founded, were originally conveyed to our mind, there must have been a pre-existent state, in which the soul was acquainted with these truths, which she recollects and assents to on their recurring to her in this life. *That*, as truth is eternal and immutable, and not visible to our senses but to the soul alone ; and as the empire, which she exercises over the body, bears a resemblance to the power of the Divinity, it is probable that she, like her object, is everlasting and unchangeable, and, like the office she bears, something divine. *That*, it cannot be, as some have thought, merely a harmony resulting from a disposition of parts in the body, since it directs, commands, and restrains the functions of that very body. *That*,

<sup>1</sup> Socrates has explained the same doctrine in the Meno, p. 81, &c. but rather as conjectural than demonstrable, for he adds, in the conclusion, p. 86. Τα μεν γε αλλα ουκ αν πανυ υπερ του λογου διῶσχυρισαιμην, &c.

## NOTES.

P. 97. Hence it is clear that Socrates never was the scholar of Anaxagoras, (whatever Laertius and others have said) though he had read his works with application.

\* See who Echeocrates was, in Plato's 9th Epistle, Op. Vol. 3. p. 358. The Phliasians were ever the faithful allies of Sparta, and (though the Peloponnesian war was now at an end) it is no wonder if they had not any great intercourse with Athens.

the soul, being the cause of life to the body, can never itself be susceptible of death ; and *that*, there will be a state of rewards and punishments, the scene of which he takes pains in describing, though he concludes, that no man can tell exactly where or what it shall be.

Dacier's superstition and folly are so great in his notes on the Phædo, that they are not worth dwelling upon.

## ERASTÆ.

ΕΡΑΣΤΑΙ ΣΕΥ ΑΝΤΕΡΑΣΤΑΙ :

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ.

THE scene lies in the school of Dionysius the grammarian,<sup>1</sup> who was Plato's own master. The design is to shew, that philosophy consists not in ostentation, nor in that insight (which the sophists affected) into a variety of the inferior parts of science, but in the knowledge of one's self, and in a sagacity in discovering the characters and dispositions of mankind, and of correcting and of modelling their minds to their own advantage.

The dialogue is excellent, but too short for such a subject. The interlocutors are not named, nor is there any mark of the time when it happened.

<sup>1</sup> Γραμματιστής, of whom children learned to read and write. Vid. Charmidem. p. 161.

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### NOTE ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 132.

P. 135. The price of a slave skilled in carpenter's work, was five or six minæ, about £19. 7s. 6d. ; of an architect, 10,000 drachmæ, i.e. above £322. 17s. 0d.

## LACHES.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ.

THE persons in this dialogue are men of distinguished rank and figure in the state of Athens.

1. Lysimachus,<sup>1</sup> son to the famous Aristides, surnamed, The Just.

2. Melesias, son to that Thucydides who was the great rival of Pericles in the administration.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Menonē. p. 93. 94. Both he and Melesias were persons little esteemed, except on their father's account.

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 178.

P. 178. *Τον Ανδρα.*] Stesilaus, as it afterwards appears, an Athenian.

179. *Παπῶ οντε.*] Perhaps we should read, *Παπῶν καὶ οὗτος ὀνομ' ἐχων, τοῦμου πατρός.*

180. *Οὐτα δημοτήν.*] Both Socrates and Lysimachus were of Alopecæ.

*Ἰβ. Δαμῶνα.*] Damon the sophist and musician, scholar to Agathocles (see the Protagoras, p. 316.) who excelled in the same professions, had been banished by the faction opposite to Pericles, on account of his intimacy with that great man, in whose education Plutarch (in Vit. Pericl.) would make one imagine he had a principal share; but, in reality, their intimacy did not begin till Pericles was an old man, as Plato (in Alcib. I. p. 118.) expressly tells us; and accordingly we find here, that Laches had as yet never seen Damon, who probably, after the ten years of his ostracism were expired, was returned to Athens, while Laches commanded in Sicily.



3. Nicias,<sup>1</sup> so often the general in the Peloponnesian war, celebrated for his goodness, for his conduct, and for his success, till the fatal expedition to Syracuse in which he perished.

4. Laches, son of Melanopus of the district Æxone, and tribe Cecropis,<sup>2</sup> commander of the fleet sent to the assistance of the Leontines in Sicily, Ol. 88. 2, in which expedition he defeated the Locrians, reduced Messene, Mylæ, and other places, and after his recall, seems to have been<sup>3</sup> prosecuted by Cleon for corruption in this very year; whence it appears, that he was in the battle of Delium.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides passim.—Plutarch: in Vitâ Niciæ—Lysias contra Poliuchum, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides in multis locis. Laches was also among the commanders of the troops sent into Peloponnesus to assist the Argives. Ol. 90. 3. (See Diodorus, L. 12. p. 126. edit. Rhodomanni, 1604.

<sup>3</sup> Aristophanes in Vespis, et Scholia; which drama was played Ol. 89. 2; see verse 890, where he is called *Λαβης ὁ Αἰζῶνευς*, as Cleon is called, *Κυων ὁ Κυδαθηναίευς*.

<sup>4</sup> He was one of the generals of the Athenians in the battle near Mantinea, Ol. 90. 3, and was slain in that action. See Thucydides, L. 5. p. 334, and Androtion in Schol. ad Aves Aristophanis, v. 13.

## NOTES.

P. 180. *Πατρικος φιλος.*] Sophroniscus, therefore, though in low circumstances, was a man of good character, and known to the principal citizens.

182. *Οὐ γαρ ἀγῶνος.*] The war with Sparta. It is plain, that this was not one among the usual exercises of their gymnasia, and the teachers of it were but lately introduced in Athens.

183. *Τραγωδίας ποιητης.*] A satiro on the Athenians who were devoted to these entertainments. See de Republ. L. 2. p. 376, L. 3. p. 390, and L. 8. p. 568.



therefore invite Nicias and Laches, men of distinguished abilities and bravery, but some years younger than themselves, to a conference on that subject; and after having been spectators together of the feats of arms exhibited by Stesilaus, a professed master in the exercise of all weapons, they enter into conversation. Socrates, who happened to be present, is introduced by Laches to Lysimachus, as a person worthy to bear a part in their consultation. The first question is occasioned by the spectacle which they had just beheld, namely, "whether the management of arms be an exercise fit to be learned by young men of quality?" Nicias is desired first to deliver his opinion, which is, that it may give grace and agility to their persons, and courage and confidence to their minds; that it may make them more terrible to their enemies in battle, and more useful to their friends; and at the same time may inspire them with a laudable ambition to attain the higher and more noble parts of military

## NOTES.

P. 189. *Εἰ δὲ νεώτερος, &c.*] Socrates does not seem to have attained a great reputation and esteem till about this time of his life, when Aristophanes also first introduced him on the stage, *Ol. 89. 1*, in his *Νεφέλαι*.

194. *Τῶν δεινῶν καὶ θαρράλεων.*] Which he afterwards defines, *Δεῖνα μὲν, ἃ καὶ δεὸς παρέχει. θαρράλεα δὲ, ἃ καὶ μὴ δεὸς παρέχει.*

195. *Ποτερον ὁμολογεῖς μαντικῆς εἶναι.*] Dacier explains well this piece of raillery on the supposed timidity and superstition of Nicias's character: but when he carries it still farther, and supposes it a part of Nicias's religion to believe in the bravery of the Crommyonian wild-sow (*p. 196.*), he grows insipid, and interprets the meaning of Socrates quite wrong.

knowledge. Laches has a direct contrary opinion of it: he argues from his own experience, that he never knew a man, who valued himself upon this art, that had distinguished himself in the war; that, the Lacedæmonians, who valued and cultivated military discipline beyond all others, gave no encouragement to these masters of defence; that, to excel in it, only served to make a coward more assuming and impudent, and to expose a brave man to envy and calumny, by making any little failing or oversight more conspicuous in him.

Socrates is then prevailed upon to decide the difference, who artfully turns the question of much greater importance for a young man of spirit to know, namely, "what is valour, and how it is distinguished from a brutal and unmeaning fierceness." By interrogating Laches and Nicias, he shews, that such as had the highest reputation for courage in practice, were often very deficient in the theory; and yet none can communicate a virtue he possesses, without he has himself a clear idea of it. He proves, that valour must have

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NOTES.

P. 197. *Λαμαχον.*] See his character in Plutarch in Nicias's life, and in Thucydides, and in Aristophanes in Acharnens: he was remarkable for his bravery and his poverty; he went to Sicily with Nicias and Alcibiades, as their colleague, Ol. 91. 1, and died there.

Ib. *Καλλιστα τα τοιαντα ονοματα διαιρειν.*] Prodicus is accordingly introduced in the Protagoras, p. 337, accurately distinguishing the sense of words, and defining all the terms he uses; and again in the Protagoras, p. 358, and in the Meno, p. 75, and in the Charmides, p. 163. See also the Euthydemus, p. 277, and this seems to have been the subject of his *Επιδειξις πενητηκονταδραχμος*. Vid. Cratylum, p. 384.

good sense for its basis ; that it consists in the knowledge of what is, and what is not, to be feared ; and that, consequently, we must first distinguish between real good and evil ; and that it is closely connected with the other virtues, namely, justice, temperance, and piety, nor can it ever subsist without them. The scope of this fine dialogue is to shew, that philosophy is the school of true bravery.

The time of this dialogue is not long after the defeat of the Athenians at Delium, Ol. 89. 1, in which action Socrates had behaved with great spirit, and thence recommended himself to the friendship of Laches.

## NOTES.

P. 197. Αληθως Αιξωνα.] Βλασφημιον scilicet. Vid. Harpocration in Αιξωνας.

201. Αιδως.] The verse is in the Odyssey, P. v. 347 :

Αιδως ουκ αγαθη κεχρημενω ανδρι προικτη.

Plato here reads—ανδρι παρειναι. And so again in the Charmides, p. 161.

Ib. Ηξω παρα σε.] Accordingly Aristides and Thucydides were actually under the care of Socrates from this time ; (see the Theages sub fin.) but they soon left him.

## HIPPARCHUS.

Η, ΦΙΛΟΚΕΡΔΗΣ.

THE intention of the dialogue is to shew, that all mankind in their actions equally tend to some imagined good, but are commonly mistaken in the nature of it ;

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Edit. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 225.

P. 225. Ἴνα τι και ἡμεις των σοφων ῥηματων.] Ἰσοκωλα και ὁμοιοτελευτα.

228. Πολιτη τω εμω.] Thucydides affirms the express contrary to Plato, that Hipparchus never reigned at all. Ουκ Ἴππαρχος, ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοι οἰονται, ἀλλ' Ἴππιας, πρεσβυτατος ων, εσχε την αρχην. Thucyd. L. 6. Sect. 54. p. 379. Ed. Huds. Oxon : but he agrees with Plato that the government of the Pisistratidæ was mild and popular, till the murder of Hipparchus. Hipparchus first brought the works of Homer to Athens; he was intimate with Simonides, and sent a galley to bring Anacreon to Athens, as I imagine, from Samos, after the death of Polycrates, which happened in the fourth year of Hippias's, (or according to Plato) of Hipparchus's reign.—The custom of the Rhapsodi successively repeating all Homer's poems during the Panathenæa.—Hermæ were erected by Hipparchus in the middle of Athens, and of every *Δημος* in Attica, with inscriptions in verse, containing some moral precept, written by himself.

229. Της αδελφης ατιμαν της κανηφοριας.] Perhaps, της ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΥΤ' αδελφης—της Κανηφορου, or εν τη κανηφορια, unless *χαριν* or *ενεκα* be understood.

and that nothing can properly be called gain which, when attained, is not a real good.

The time of the dialogue is no where marked.

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## NOTE.

P. 231. *Ἀντι δωδεκαστασιου.*] Gold was therefore to silver at that time, as twelve to one.

## PHILEBUS.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ 'ΗΔΟΝΗΣ.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 11.

THIS dialogue is too remarkable to be passed over slightly: we shall therefore annex the principal heads of it. The question is, *Τι των ανθρωπινων κτηματων αριστον*; "What is the supreme good of mankind?" and, "whether pleasure<sup>1</sup> or wisdom have the better pretension to it?"

The persons are, Protarchus, the son of Callias, who supports the cause of pleasure, and Socrates, who opposes it: Philebus, who had begun the dispute but was grown weary of it, and many others of the Athenian youth, are present at the conversation. The time of it is no where marked. The end of the dialogue is supposed to be lost.

P. 12. The name of pleasure, variously applied, to the joys of intemperance and folly, and to the satisfaction arising from wisdom, and from the command of our passions.

Though of unlike, and even of opposite natures, they agree so far, as they are all pleasures alike; as black and white, though contrary the one to the other, are comprehended under the general head of colours.

<sup>1</sup> V. de Republ. L. 6. p. 505.



Though included under one name, if some are contrary and of opposite natures to others, they cannot both be *good* alike.

P. 14. Vulgar enquiry, how it is possible for many<sup>1</sup> to be one, and one, many, laid aside by consent as childish.

Obscure question on our abstracted idea of unity. The vanity and disputatious humours of a young man, who has newly tasted of philosophy and has got hold of a puzzling question, are well described.

Every subject of our conversation has in it a mixture of the infinite and of the finite.

P. 16. The true logician will (as the ancients prescribed,) first discover some single and general idea, and then proceed to two or three subordinate to it, which he will again subdivide into their several classes, which will form, as it were, a medium beneath finite and infinite.

Example in the alphabet. The human voice is one idea, but susceptible of a variety of modulations, and to be diversified even to infinity: to know that it is *one*, and to know that it is infinite, are neither of them knowledge; but there can be no knowledge without them.

When we first attain to the *unity* of things, we must descend from number to infinity, if we would know any thing: and when we first perceive their infinity, we must ascend through number to unity. Thus the first inventor<sup>2</sup> of letters remarking the endless variety of

<sup>1</sup> V. Phædon. p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> V. Phædrum. p. 274. V. et Politicum. p. 285. Δεον, όταν την των πολλων τις προτερον αισθηται κοινωνιαν, μη προαφιστασθαι,

sounds discovered a certain number of vowels, distinguished others of a different power, called consonants, some of which were mutes, and others liquids, and to the whole combination of elements he gave the form and name of an alphabet.

P. 20. The good, which constitutes happiness, must be in itself sufficient and perfect, the aim and end of all human creatures.

A life of mere pleasure considered by itself, which, (if pleasure only be that good) must need no mixture nor addition.

If we had no memory nor reflection, we could have no enjoyment of past pleasure, nor hope of future, and scarcely any perception of the present, which would be much like the life of an oyster: on the other hand, a life of thought and reflection, without any sense of pleasure or of pain, seems no desirable state. Neither contemplation, therefore, nor pleasure, are the good we seek after, but probably a life composed of both.

P. 22. Whether the happiness of this mixed state is the result of pleasure, or rather of wisdom, and which contributes most to it?

P. 23. Division of all existence into the infinite, the limited,<sup>1</sup> the mixed, which is composed of the two former, and the supreme cause of all.

*πριν αν εν αυτητας διαφορας ειδη πασας οποσαι περ εν ειδεισι κεινται·  
τας δε αν παντοδαπας ανομοιοτητας, όταν εν πληθεισιν οφθωσι, μη  
δυνατον ειναι δυσωπουμενον πανεσθαι, πριν αν συμπαντα οικεια  
εντος μιας ομοιοτητος ερξας, γενοῦς τινος ουσια περιβαλη.*

<sup>1</sup> Or rather, that which limits and gives bounds (*το περας*) such as figure, which gives bounds to extension; as time, which limits duration, &c.

Example of the first ; all that admits of increase or decrease, greater or less, hotter or colder, &c. i.e. all undetermined quantity.

Of the second ; all that determines quantity, as equality, duplicity, and whatever relation number bears to number, and measure to measure.

Of the third, or mixed ; all created things, in which the infinity of matter is, by number and measure, reduced to proportion.

P. 27. Pleasure and pain, having no bounds<sup>1</sup> in themselves, are of the nature of the infinite.

P. 28. The supreme power and wisdom of the Deity asserted.

But a small portion of the several elements is visible in our frame. Our soul is a small portion of the spirit of the universe, or fourth kind mentioned above.

P. 31. Pain is a consequence of a<sup>2</sup> dissolution of that symmetry and harmony in our fabrick, which is the cause of health, strength, &c. as pleasure results

<sup>1</sup> Happiness and misery, says Mr. Locke, are the names of two extremes, the utmost bounds whereof we know not ; but of some degrees of them we have very lively ideas. (Chapt. of Power, l. 41.)

<sup>2</sup> This is an idea of Timæus, the Loerian : 'Ὀκοσαι μὲν ὧν (τῶν Κινᾶσεων) ἐξιστᾶντι τὰν φύσιν, ἀλγεῖναι ἐντι· ὀκοσαι δὲ ἀποκαθιστᾶντι ἐς αὐτὰν, ἄδοναι ὀρομῖνονται. And Mr. Locke makes much the same observation. Excess of cold (says he) as well as heat, pains us ; because it is equally destructive of that temper, which is necessary to the preservation, and the exercise of the several functions of the body, and which consists in a moderate degree of warmth, or, if you please, a motion of the insensible parts of our bodies confined within certain bounds. Essay on H. U. Ch. 7. §. 4.

from the return and restoration of the parts to their just proportions.

Thus hunger and thirst are uneasinesses proceeding from emptiness ; eating and drinking produce pleasure by restoring a proper degree of repletion. Excess of cold is attended with a sensation of pain, and warmth brings with it an equal pleasure.

Pleasures and pains of the soul alone arise from the<sup>1</sup> expectation of pleasure or pain of the body : these are hopes and fears, and depend upon the memory.

A state of indifference is without pleasure or pain, which is consistent with a life of thought and contemplation.

P. 33. Sensation is conveyed to the soul through the organs of the body ; the body<sup>2</sup> may receive many motions and alterations unperceived by the mind.

Memory is the preserver of our sensations.

Recollection, an act of the mind alone, restores to us ideas imprinted in the memory, after an intermission.

Desire, in the mind alone, by which it supplies the wants of the body : it depends on memory.

In the appetites, pleasure and pain go together, a

<sup>1</sup> “ Hope is that pleasure in the mind, which every one finds upon the thought of a profitable future enjoyment of a thing which is apt to delight him. Fear is an uneasiness upon the thought of future evil, likely to befall us.” Locke H.U. Ch. 20. Φοβος ἢ προ λυπῆς ἐλπίς· θαῦρος δὲ, ἢ προ τοῦ ἐναντιοῦ. L. 1. Legum. p. 644.

<sup>2</sup> This is also from Timæus. Κινᾶσιων δὲ τῶν ἀπο τῶν ἐκτὸς τὰς μὲν ἀναδιδομένας εἰς τὸν φρονεόντα τόπον, αἰσθησίας εἰμεν, τὰς δὲ ὑπ’ ἀντιλαψῆν μὴ πιπτοῖσας, ἀνεπαισθητῶς, ἢ τῶ τὰ πασχόντα σώματα γεωδεστέρα εἰμεν, ἢ τῶ τὰς κινᾶσιᾶς ἀμενηνοτέρας γίγνεσθαι. De Animâ Mundi. p. 100.

proportionable satisfaction succeeding as the uneasiness abates.

Memory<sup>1</sup> of a past pleasing sensation inspires hope of a future one, and thereby abates an uneasiness actually present ; as the absence of hope doubles a present pain.

Whether truth and falsehood belong to pleasures and pains ?

They do : as these are founded on our opinions<sup>2</sup> of things preconceived, which may, undoubtedly, be either true or false.

Our opinions are founded on our sensations, and the memory of them. Thus we see a figure at a distance beyond a certain rock, or under a certain tree, and we say to ourselves, it is a man ; but on advancing up to it, we find a rude image of wood carved by the shepherd.

The senses, the memory, and the passions, which attend on them, write on our souls, or rather delineate, a variety of conceptions and representations of which, when justly drawn, we form true opinions and propositions ; but when falsely, we form false ones.

On these our hopes and fears are built, and consequently are capable of truth and falsehood, as well as the opinions on which they are founded.

<sup>1</sup> What Plato calls by the name of *Μνημη*, and *Αναμνησις*, are by Locke distinguished under the names of contemplation and memory, L. 1. Ch. 10. being the different powers of retention. (See *De Legib.* L. 5. p. 732.)

<sup>2</sup> All this head is finely explained by Locke. (Ch. of Power, § 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, &c.) which is the best comment on this part of Plato.

P. 40. The good abound in just and true hopes, fears, and desires ; the bad in false and delusive ones.

P. 41. As pleasures<sup>1</sup> and pains are infinite, we can only measure them by comparison, one with the other.

Our hopes and fears are no less liable to be deceived by the prospect of distant objects, than our eyes. As we are always comparing those, which are far off, with others less remote or very near, it is no wonder that we are often mistaken ; especially as a pleasure, when set next a pain, does naturally appear greater than its true magnitude, and a pain less.

So much then of our pains and pleasures as exceeds or falls short of its archetype, is false.

A state of indolence, or of apathy, is supposed by the school of Heraclitus to be impossible, on account of the perpetual motion of all things.

Motions and alterations<sup>2</sup> proved to happen continually in our body, of which the soul has no perception.

P. 43. Therefore, (though we should allow the perpetual motion of things,) there are times when the soul feels neither pleasure nor pain ; so that this is a possible state.

Pleasure, and its contrary, are not the consequences of *any* changes in our constituent parts, but of *such* changes as are considerable and violent.

<sup>1</sup> "If we will rightly estimate what we call good and evil, we shall find it lies much in comparison." (Locke, C. of Power. § 42.)

<sup>2</sup> Whatever alterations are made in the body, if they reach not the mind,—whatever impressions are made on the outward parts, if they are not taken notice of within,—there is no perception. Locke, Ch. 9.

The sect of philosophers, who affirm<sup>1</sup> that there is no pleasure but the absence of pain, is in the wrong, but from a noble principle.<sup>2</sup>

To know the nature of pleasure, we should consider such as are strongest: bodily pleasures are such.

Pleasure is in proportion to our desires. The desires and longings of sick persons are the most violent: the mad and thoughtless feel the strongest<sup>3</sup> degree of pleasure and of pain; so that both the one and the other increase with the disorder and depravity of our body and mind.

Pleasures of lust have a mixture of pain, as the pain of the itch<sup>4</sup> has a mixture of pleasure, and both subsist at the same instant.

Anger, grief, love, envy, are pains of the soul, but with a mixture<sup>5</sup> of pleasure. Exemplified in the exercise of our compassion and terror at a<sup>6</sup> tragick spectacle, and of our envy at a comick one. The pleasure of ridicule arises from vanity and from the ignorance of ourselves. We laugh at the follies<sup>7</sup> of the weak, and hate those of the powerful.

<sup>1</sup> "Pleasure," says Mr. Selden, "is nothing but the intermission of pain, the enjoyment of something I am in great trouble for, till I have it."

<sup>2</sup> Δυσχερεία τινι φύσεως ουκ αγεννοῦς λιαν μεμσηκοτων την της ἡδονης δυναμιν, και νενομκοτων ουδεν ἰγίες.

<sup>3</sup> V. Plat. in Republ. L. 3. p. 403.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Gorgiam. p. 494.

<sup>5</sup> V. Aristot. Rhetor. L. 2. c. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Μη τοις δραμασι μονον, αλλα και τη του βιου ξυμπαση τραγωδια και κωμωδια, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Γελοῖα μεν, ὅποσα ασθηνη' μισητα δε, ὅποσα ἤ εῤῥώμενα.

Pure and unmixed pleasures<sup>1</sup> proved to exist : those of the senses resulting from regularity of figure, beautiful colours, melodious sounds, odours of fragrance, &c. and all whose absence is not necessarily<sup>2</sup> accompanied with any uneasiness. Again : satisfactions of the mind resulting from knowledge, the absence or loss of which is not naturally attended with any pain.

A small portion of pure and uncorrupted pleasure is preferable to a larger one of that which is mixed and impure.

The opinion of some philosophers, that pleasure is continually generating, but is never produced, i.e. it has no real existence, seems true with regard to mere bodily pleasures.

Enquiry into knowledge. The nature of the arts : such of them, as approach the nearest to real knowledge, are the most<sup>3</sup> considerable, being founded on number, weight, and<sup>4</sup> measure, and capable of demonstration.

Secondly, those attainable only by use and frequent trial, being founded on conjecture and experiment, such as musick, medicine, agriculture, natural philosophy, &c.

P. 60. Recapitulation.

P. 61. Happiness resides<sup>5</sup> in the just mixture of wisdom and pleasure ; particularly when we join the

<sup>1</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 9. p. 584.

<sup>2</sup> Ουτι φυσειγε, αλλ' εν τισι λογισμοις. p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 10. p. 602.

<sup>4</sup> And above all, logick, to which we owe all the evidence and certainty we find in the rest. 'Ωσπερ θριγκος, τοις μαθημασιν η Διαλεκτικη ημιν επανω κειται, &c. De Republ. L. 7. p. 534.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 9. p. 582. and de Leg. L. 5. p. 733.



purest pleasures with the clearer and more certain sciences.

P. 63. Prosopopœia of the pleasures and sciences, consulted on the proposal made for uniting them.

P. 64. No mixture is either useful or durable, without proportion. The supreme good of man consists in beauty, in symmetry, and in truth, which are the causes of all the happiness to be found in the above-mentioned union.

## MENO.

### II, ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ.

THE subject of the dialogue is this: That virtue is knowledge, and that true philosophy alone can give us that knowledge.

I see nothing in this dialogue to make one think that Plato intended to raise the character of Meno. He is introduced as a young man who seems to value

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 70.

P. 70. Εφ' ἰππικῆ τε καὶ πλουτῶ.] The breed of Thessalian horses was the most celebrated in Greece; and when the cities of Thessaly were united among themselves, they could raise a body of six thousand, equal to any cavalry in the world. (Xenophon Hellenic. L. 6. p. 339 Pausan. L. 10. p. 799. Plato in Hipp. Maj. p. 284.) They were of great service to Alexander in his expeditions. The country was very rich in pasture and in corn, and, as their government was generally remiss and ill-regulated, their wealth naturally introduced a corruption (Athenæus, L. 14. p. 663.) of manners, which made them first slaves themselves, and then the instruments of slavery to other people. It was they who invited the Persian (Herod. L. 7. and L. 9.) into Greece; and afterwards gave rise to the power of the Macedonians.

Isocrates (Orat. de Pace, p. 183.) produces them as an example of a strong and wealthy people, reduced by their own bad management to a low and distressed condition.

himself on his parts, and on the proficiency he has made under Gorgias the Leontine, (whose notions are here exposed) and the compliments Socrates makes him on his beauty, wealth, family, and other distinctions, are only little politenesses ordinarily used by that philosopher to put persons into good humour, and draw them into conversation with him.

The time of the dialogue seems to be not long before the expedition of the ten thousand into Asia, for Meno was even then a very young man, (*ετι ὥραιος, ἀγενεῖος*) as he is represented here; and the menaces of Anytus (p. 94) shew, that it was not long before the accusa-

## NOTES.

P. 70. *Ἀριστιππου του Λαρισσαίου.*] Aristippus of Larissa, one of the potent house of the Aleuadae, descendants of Hercules, from which the Thessalians had so often elected their *Ταγοί*, or captains-general. There had been a friendship kept up between them and the royal family of Persia, ever since the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, in which they were of great use to him. This Aristippus had particular connections with the younger Cyrus (*Xenoph. Anab. L. 1. p. 145. and 2. 173.*) who lent him a body of four thousand mercenaries, which he made use of to subdue the faction which opposed him in Thessaly, and seems to have established a sort of tyranny there. Meno (also of Larissa) son of Alexidemus, led a body of fifteen hundred men to the assistance of Cyrus in his expedition against his brother, Artaxerxes, *Ol. 94. 4*, and (after the death of Cyrus) betrayed the Greek commanders into the hands of the Persian, who cut off their heads. He himself survived not above a year, but was destroyed by the Persians. His character is admirably drawn by Xenophon, (*Anab. L. 2. p. 173.*) and many have looked on this as a mark of the enmity between Plato and Xenophon. See *Athenæus, L. 11. p. 505 and 506. Diog. Laert. L. 2. Sect. 57, and L. 3. s. 34, and Aul. Gellius, L. 14. s. 3.*

tion of Socrates: so that we may place it Ol. 94. 4, if Plato may be trusted in these small matters of chronology which, we know, he sometimes neglected. Gorgias was yet at Athens, Ol. 93. 4, and it is probable, that the approaching siege of that city might drive him thence into Thessaly, and he returned not till after Socrates's death.

Socrates here distinguishes (p. 75.) the true<sup>1</sup> method of disputation from the false, *Το Διαλεκτικον απο του Εριστικου και Αγωνιστικου.*

*Χαιρειν τε καλοισι και δυνασθαι:* (p. 77.) this is Meno's first definition of virtue, that it consists in desiring good, and in being able to attain it. Socrates proves that all men desire good, and consequently all men are so far equally virtuous (which is an absurdity); it must therefore consist in the ability to attain it; which is true in Socrates's sense of the word good,

<sup>1</sup> An art which Socrates allowed to none, but to the true philosopher, *τω καθαρω τε και δικαιω φιλοσοφούντι.* V. Sophist. p. 253.

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NOTES.

P. 76. Definition of figure, *Σχημα, στερεου περας*, the limit or outline of a solid: but this seems imperfect to me, except we read *Στερεου (η επιπεδου) περας.* Lucretius calls it *Filum*, or *Circumcæsura.*

*Ib. Απορροας, κατ' Εμπεδοκlea.]* See Lucretius, L. 2, v. 381. et sequent. and L. 4. v. 217.

*Ib.* definition of colour, in the manner of Gorgias, *Χροα απορροη σχηματων οψει συµμετρος και αισθητος* (perhaps we should read *σωµατων*); that efflux, or those effluvia, of figured bodies, which are proportioned to our sense of seeing. This is true, if understood of the particles of light reflected from bodies; and not otherwise. But Empedocles, and after him Epicurus,

(which makes him say, *ἴσως ἂν εὖ λεγοίς*): but it is necessary to know if men's ideas of it are the same. Upon enquiry, Meno's meaning appears to be health, honour, riches, power, &c.; but, being pressed by Socrates, he is forced to own, that the attainment of these is so far from virtue, that it is vice, unless accompanied with temperance, with justice, and with piety; as then the virtue of such an attainment consists in such adjuncts, and not in the thing attained; and as these are confessedly parts of virtue only, subordinate

## NOTES.

thought, that the immediate objects of vision were certain particles detached from the surface of the bodies which we behold: *Ὡστε ὄρᾶν ἡμᾶς, τυπῶν τινῶν ἐπεισιόντων ἡμῖν ἀπο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπο χρωρῶν τε καὶ ὁμοιομορφῶν, κατὰ τὸ ἐναρμοττον μέγεθος, εἰς τὴν οὖν ἢ τὴν διανοίαν, ὡκεὺς ταῖς φοραῖς χρωμένων.* Epicurus in *Epistolâ ad Herodotum ap. Diog. Laert. L. 10. s. 49.*

P. 76. *Συνες ὁ τι λεγῶ.*] From Pindar.

77. *Πολλὰ ποιῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἔνος, (ὅπερ φασὶ τοὺς συντριβόντας τι ἕκαστοτε οἱ σκωπτόντες.)* An allusion to some comick writer.

80. *Τῆ πλατεία νάρκη τῆ θαλαττία.*] The torpedo, called by the French on the coast of the Mediterranean, la torpille, is a fish of the scate or ray-kind; as all of that species have a wide mouth and prominent eyes, the face of Socrates, who had these two remarkable features, reminds Meno of this fish. Its figure and extraordinary property of benumbing any creature which touches it are described by Mr. Reaumur, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, pour l'Année 1714*, where there is a print of it.

81. A fragment of Pindar on the immortality of the soul: *Ὅσοι γὰρ ἂν Περσεφονα ποῖναν, &c.*

86. *Ἐρωτήσεις ἐπεγερθεῖσαι.*] Read, *Ἐρωτησεῖ.*

88. *Τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ πάντα.*] He affirms, that virtue is wisdom and right reason. On this subject see also Woollaston's *Religion of Nature, Sect. 1. p. 23.*

to some more general idea, they are no nearer discovering what virtue in the abstract is, than they were at first.

Though the doctrine of reminiscence, repeated by Plato in several places, be chimerical enough; yet this, which follows it, (p. 84.) is worth attending to, where Socrates shews how useful it is to be sensible of our own ignorance. While we know nothing, we doubt of nothing; this is a state of great confidence and security. From the first distrust we entertain of our own understanding springs an uneasiness and a curiosity, which will not be satisfied till it attains to knowledge.

## NOTES.

P. 89. *Εν Ακροπολει.*] Where the sacred treasure was kept. It consisted of one thousand talents never to be touched, unless the city were to be attacked by a naval force; in any other case it was made capital to propose it. *Χίλια ταλάντα απο των εν τη Ακροπολει χρηματων εδοξεν αυτοις, εξαιρετα ποιησαμενοις, χωρις θεσθαι, και μη αναλουν, αλλ' απο των αλλων πολεμειν' ην δε τις ειπη η επιψηφιση κινειν τα χρηματα ταυτα es αλλο τι, ην μη οι πολεμοι νηϊτη στρατω επιπλεωσι τη πολει, και δεη αμνησθαι, θανατον ζημιαν επεθεντο.* Thucyd. Hist. L. 2. Sect. 24. They called this treasure *Το Αβυσσον.* Aristophan. *Lysistrata*, v. 174. It was thus set apart the first year of the Peloponnesian war.

90. *Τη αυτου σοφια.*] Probably by the leather-trade, which Anytus also carried on, as the famous Cleon, and other principal Athenians, had done. See Aristophanes in the *Equites*. Ismenias, the Theban, had a principal hand in raising the Theban or Corinthian war, (as it was called) against the Lacedæmonians, being bribed by Timocrates the Rhodian, who was also bribed by the Persians, with money for that purpose; but as this happened five or six years after the death of Socrates, we can hardly suppose that Plato here alluded to it. Yet I think it very possible that he might have written this dialogue about

Whoever reads the dialogue (attributed to Æschines the Socratick) intituled *Περί Αρετης, ει διδακτον*; will see so great a resemblance to this of Plato, and at the same time find so great a difference in several respects, that he will believe both one and the other to be sketches of a real conversation, which passed between Socrates and some other person, noted down both by Æschines and by Plato at the time: the former left his notes in that unfinished condition, but the latter supplied them as he thought fit, and worked them up at his leisure into this dialogue.

## NOTES.

that time, when the name of Ismenias was in every one's mouth, Ol. 96. 2, or perhaps not till Ol. 99. 3, when his condemnation and death must doubtless have been the general subject of conversation: Plato was then just returned to Athens, after his first voyage to Sicily. I do not find what Polycrates is here meant. Xenoph. Hellenic. L. 3. p. 294, and L. 5. p. 325, 326.

90. Anytus, the son of Anthemio. See Xenoph. Apol. Socrat. sub fin.: and Diog. Laert. L. 2. s. 38, 39, 43.

91. *Αποθανειν εγγυς.*] Protagoras was cast away on his voyage to Sicily, Ol. 92. 3; he began therefore to teach, Ol. 82. 3, being then thirty years of age.

93. Cleophantus, the youngest of the three sons of Themistocles, by Archippe. See Plutarch in his life.

94. See the Laches, where Melesias and Lysimachus are introduced in the dialogue. For the character of this Thucydides, see Plutarch in Pericle, Aristophan. in Acharn. v. 703, and Schol. ad Vespas, v. 941: he underwent the sentence of ostracism, Ol. 83. 4.

95. Nine lines from the *Ἐλεγεια* of Theognis.

## GORGIAS.

### ON THE ABUSES OF ELOQUENCE.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 447.

#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 448. Κατα τεχνην — κατα τυχην — αλλοι αλλων αλλως.] Observe the jingle of words introduced by Gorgias, and affected by his imitators in rhetorick : see Isocrates Orat. ad Philippum, p. 87. Aristotle tells us, that Isocrates was a disciple of Gorgias (Quintil. L. 3. c. 1.); and he too in the former part of his life, dealt in these Παρισα, 'Ομοιοτελευτα, &c. which, as frivolous as they may seem, yet they often add to the beauty of a period, when managed by skilful hands ; that is, when they are “velut oblata, non captata ; atque innata videntur esse, non accersita.” Quintil. L. 9. c. 3. See also Aulus Gellius, L. 18. 8.

Ib. Ηροδικος.] The Leontine, a physician, and brother to Gorgias. There was another Herodicus about this time of Selymbria, a famous Παιδοτριβης and a sophist. See Protag. p. 316.—Aristophon and his brother, Polygnotus, were both painters, the sons of Aglaophon. Ion. p. 532.

P. 451. Σκολιον.] These Scolia were a kind of lyrick compositions, sung either in concert, or successively, by all the guests after a banquet : the subjects



of them were either the praises of some divinity, or moral precepts, or reflections on life, or gay exhortations to mirth, to wine, or to love. There were some *Scolia* of great antiquity; the most esteemed were those of *Alcæus*, of *Praxilla*, and of *Anacreon*.

P. 451. What Plato alludes to here runs in this manner: *Υγαινειν μιν αριστον ανδρι θνητω, δευτερον δε, καλοφυα γενεσθαι, το τριτον δε, πλουτειν αδολως, και το τεταρτον, συνηβαν μετα των φιλων.* On this subject, see *Athenæus*, L. 15. p. 694, where he alludes to this passage of Plato; *Aristophan. Vesp*: v. 1221, et *Nubes*, v. 1367, and *Burette* on *Plutarch, de Musicâ*: and *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* vol. 15. p. 315.

P. 453. The first definition of rhetorick by Gorgias: *Ότι Πειθοῦς δημιουργος εστι.*

P. 454. His second and fuller definition is, *Ότι δημιουργος εστι της πειθοῦς της εν τοις δικαστηριοις, και εν τοις αλλοις οχλοις, και περι τουτων α εστι δικαια τε και αδικα.*

P. 455. *Περι Ιατρων αιρεσεως.*] There were publick physicians elected in most of the Greek cities, who received a salary from the commonwealth, and seem to have taken no fees of particular people. Those physicians who exercised this office, were said *δημοσιειν.* See *Aristophan. in Avibus*, v. 585, and *Acharnens.* v. 1029. *Plutus*, v. 508; but this custom seems to have been laid aside before *Ol. 97. 4*, in Athens: *Aristophan. Plutus*, v. 407. *Gorgias*, p. 514, and the *Politicus*, p. 259.

Ib. The third definition of rhetorick, to which *Socrates* reduces *Gorgias*, is this; *Ότι πειθοῦς εστι δημιουργος πιστευτικης, αλλ' ου διδασκαλικης.*

P. 455. Περὶ του δια μεσου τειχους.] The Μακρα Τειχη, which joined Athens to the Piræus were begun on the motion of Pericles, Ol. 80. 3. (Vid. Thucyd. L. 1. s. 107.) Socrates at that time was about twelve years old. See Plutarch in the lives of Pericles and Cimon. Harpocration tells us, that of the two walls which extended from the city to the Piræus, the southern only, or the innermost, was called Το δια μεσου, as lying between the outermost, Το βορειον, and the Το Φαληρικον, which was a third wall, drawn from Athens to the port Phalerus; and he cites this very passage.

P. 563. Socrates's own ludicrous definitions of eloquence to mortify the professors of it, as an art, are these: Εμπειρια τις χαριτος και ἡδονης απεργασιας· επιτηδευμα τι, τεχνικον μεν ου, ψυχης δε στοχαστικης, και ανδρειας, και φυσει δεινης προσομιλειν τοις ανθρωποις. Πολιτικης μοριου ειδωλον, το κεφαλαιον δε αυτου, κολακεια· αντιστροφον οψοποιϊας εν ψυχη, ὡς εκεινο μεν εν σωματι. There is much good sense in this part of the dialogue; he distinguishes the arts, which form and improve the body, into the gymnastick, which regulates its motions and maintains its proper habit, and the medical, which corrects its ill habits and cures its distempers: those of the <sup>1</sup> soul, which answer to the former, are the legislative, which prescribes rules for its conduct

<sup>1</sup> Η Νομοθετικη, και ἡ Δικαστικη, for we should so read it, as Ficinus and H. Stephanus seem to have found it in some MSS. though Quintilian, and Aristides also, in Orat. 1. contra Platonem pro Rhetoricâ, p. 7. edit. Jebb. Vol. 2. doubtless followed the common reading, ἡ Δικαιοσυνη; the sense is the same, but the former reading seems more elegant. Plato comprehends both these arts under the general name, ἡ Πολιτικη.

and preserves its uprightness, and the judicative, which amends and redresses its deviation from those rules. Flattery, ever applying herself to the passions of men, without regarding any principle or proposing any rational end, has watched her opportunity, and assuming the form of these several arts, has introduced four counterfeits<sup>1</sup> in their room, viz. 1. Cookery, which, while it tickles the palate, pretends to maintain the body in health and vigour; 2. Cosmeticks, which conceal our defects and diseases under a borrowed beauty; 3. Sophistry, which, by the false lights it throws upon every thing, misleads our reason and palliates our vices; and 4. Rhetorick, which saves us from the chastisement we deserve and eludes the salutary rigour of justice.

As Quintilian has given the sense of this in Latin, and has also hit the true scope of the dialogue better than any one, I shall transcribe the whole passage, L. 2. § 15. “Plerique<sup>2</sup> autem, dum pauca ex Gorgiâ Platonis a prioribus imperitè excerpta legere contenti, neque hoc totum, neque alia ejus volumina evolvunt, in maximum errorem inciderunt; creduntque eum in hâc esse opinione, ut rhetoricen non artem, sed peritiam quandam gratiæ ac voluptatis, existimet, et alio loco,

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ Οὐλοποιητικὴ, ἡ Κομμωτικὴ, ἡ Σοφιστικὴ, καὶ ἡ Ῥητορικὴ: these deserve not the name of arts (τεχναι); for art (he says) εχει λογον τινα, ὡ προσφερει ἂ προσφερει, ὅποια αττα την φυσιν εστιν· ὡστε την αιτιαν ἕκαστου εχειν ειπειν: whereas these are only Εμπειριαι, τριβαι, επιτηδευσεις (i. e. knacks, practices, businesses) αὶ του ἡδεος στοχαζονται ανευ του βελτιστου. See Gorgias, p. 501.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero himself seems to fall under this censure, L. 1. de Oratore, where he mistakes the great end and aim of this dialogue.

civilitatis particulæ simulachrum, et quartam partem adulationis : quod duas partes civilitatis corpori assignet, medicinam, et quam interpretantur, exercitatricem ; duas animo, legalem atque justitiam. Adulationem autem medicinæ vocet coquorum artificium et exercitatricis mangonum, qui colorem fuco et verum robur inani saginâ mentiantur, legalis, cavillatricem, justitiæ, rhetorice. Quæ omnia sunt quidem scripta in hoc libro, dictaque a Socrate, cujus personâ videtur Plato significare, quid sentiat. Sed alii sunt ejus sermones, ad coarguendos qui contra disputant, compositi, quos *ελεγκτικούς* vocant ; alii ad præcipiendum qui *δογματικοί* appellantur. Socrates autem, seu Plato, eam quidem, quæ tum exercebatur, rhetorice talem putavit, nam et dicit his verbis, *τουτον τον τροπον ον ἡμεις πολιτευεσθε ;* non autem vera et honesta intelligit. Itaque disputationem illam contra Gorgiam ita claudit, *ουκουν αναγκη τον ῥητορικον δικαιον ειναι, τονδε δικαιον βουλευσθαι δικαια και πραττειν.* Ad quod ille quidem conticescit, sed sermonem suscipit Polus juvenili calore inconsideratior, contra quem illa de simulachro et adulatione dicuntur. Tum Callicles adhuc concitatior, qui tamen ad hanc ducitur clausulam, *τον μελλοντα ορθως ῥητορικον εσεσθαι δικαιον αρα δειν ειναι, και επιστημονα των δικαιων :* ut appareat Platoni non rhetorice videri malum, sed eam veram nisi justo et bono non contingere," &c.

P. 465. *Λειοτητι και αιωθησει.*] Read *Εσθητι*, as in Aristides, *Orat. 1. cont. Plat.* Ed. Jebb. Vol. 2. p. 8.

Ib. *Το του Αναξαγορου.*] An allusion to the first words of Anaxagoras's philosophy, *Παντα χρηματα ην*

ὄμον, εἶτα Νούς ελθὼν αὐτὰ διεκοσμήσε. Diog. Laert. L. 2. Sect. 6.

P. 467. Ω λῶστε Πῶλε, ἵνα προσειπῶ σε κατὰ σε.] A jingle of sounds, such as Polus had prescribed in his Art of Rhetorick. So in the Symposium: Πανσανίου δε παυσάμενου (διδασκούσι με γὰρ ἴσα λεγείν οἱ Σοφοί) p. 185. and in the Hipparchus, p. 225. Καὶ χωρὰ καὶ ὦρα, &c.

Ib. Οὐ τοῦτο βουλεταὶ ὁ πράττει, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο οὐ ἐνεκα πράττει.] He is here proving that fundamental<sup>1</sup> principle of his doctrine, namely, that the wicked man is doing he knows not what, and sins only through ignorance: and that the end of his actions, like that of all other men, is good, but he mistakes the nature of it, and uses wrong means to attain it.

P. 468. Το ἀγαθὸν ἀρα διωκόντες.] See Locke on Hum. Und. B. 2. Ch. 21. sect. 41, 42. on Power.

P. 470. Ἐχθες καὶ πρῶην.] As the time of this dialogue plainly appears (from that passage in p. 473. καὶ περὶσι βουλευῶν λαχῶν, &c. which is taken notice of by Athenæus, L. 5. p. 217.) to be Ol. 93. 4. the year after the sea-fight at Arginusæ, these words must be taken in a larger sense, as we say of a thing long since past, "It happened but the other day," when we would

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Protagoram, p. 357. et sequent. et Epist. ad Dionis Famil. p. 336. Meno, p. 77, 78. Philebus, p. 22. Sophist. p. 228. This was a real maxim of Socrates; Οὐδὲνα γὰρ ὑπελάμβανε πράττειν παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀγνοίαν. Aristot. Ethic. ad Nicom. L. 7. c. 2. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀν' ἑκῶν ἐθελοὶ πειθεσθαι πράττειν τοῦτο, ὅτω μὴ τὸ χαιρεῖν τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἐπέται· σκοτοδιαιῶν δὲ τὸ πορβῶθεν ὄρωμενον πᾶσι, ὡς ἐπος εἶπεν, παρεχει. Plato de Legibus. L. 2. p. 663.

compare it with more ancient times; for Archelaus had now reigned at least nine years, and continued on the throne about six years longer. So in p. 503, in those words, Περικλεα τουτονι τον νεωστι τετελευτηκοτα, we must understand Νεωστι in the same manner, for Pericles had been dead 23 years, but the time is there compared with that of Cymon, Themistocles, and Miltiades, who died many years before. Socrates indeed might have seen and remembered Cymon, the other two he could not. These particulars of Archelaus's history are curious and not to be met with elsewhere: viz. That he was the bastard son of Perdiccas by a female slave belonging to his brother Alcetas; that he caused his uncle and master Alcetas, together with Alexander his son, to be murdered after a banquet, to which he had invited them; that he caused his own brother, a child of seven years old (the true heir to the crown and the son of Perdiccas by his wife Cleopatra) to be drowned in a well. Athenæus (L. 11. p. 506.) is absurd enough to question the truth of these particulars, or, supposing them true, he says, that they are instances of Plato's ingratitude, who was much in favour with Archelaus. The passage, which he cites immediately after from Carystius of Pergamus, disproves all this, for it shews Plato's connexion to have been with Perdiccas, *the Third*, who began to reign thirty-five years after Archelaus's death, and was elder brother to the famous Philip of Macedon. We have an epistle of Plato to that prince still remaining. At the time of Archelaus's death, Plato was under thirty years of age.

P. 471. Ευδαιμων γενεσθαι.] This is the true read-

ing, and is meant of Archelaus. The other reading, which Ficinus followed, is very insipid, *Ευδαιμονα γενεσθαι*.

P. 472. *Νικίας*.] The famous Nicias. He is produced here as an example, on account of his great wealth, whence Socrates supposed him to have placed the chief happiness of man in affluence of fortune. The tripods, mentioned here as dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, must be the prizes which he and his family must have gained in their frequent *Χορηγίαι*. Nicias was remarkable for his piety and innocency of life. See Thucydides and Plutarch. The brother of Nicias was named Eucrates : he outlived his brother, and was this very year Trierarch at *Ægos-Potami* ; (*Lysias. Orat. contr. Poliuchum*, p. 320.) and soon after was put to death with Niceratus, his nephew, by order of the thirty tyrants, in the number of which he had refused to be.

Ib. *Αριστοκρατης ὁ Σκελλίου*.] A principal man in the oligarchy of Four hundred (*Ol. 92. 1.*) and of the same party with Theramenes. *Οὐ αὖ ἐστὶν ἐν Πυθίῳ τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν ἀνάθημα*. (See *Thucyd. L. 8. p. 516.* and *Lysias Orat. cont. Eratosthenem*, p. 215. Ed. *Taylori*. *Aristophan. in Avibus*, v. 125. et *Schol. D. Heraclides of Pontus*, speaking of the seditions at Miletus, says, *Οἱ πλοῦστοι κρατήσαντες ἀπαντας, ὡν κύριοι κατεστήσαν, μετὰ τῶν τέκνων κατεπιττώσαν*. (*Ap. Athenæum L. 12. p. 524.*)

P. 473. *Καταπιττωθη*.] Covered with pitch, and burned alive.

P. 480. *Τουναντίον γε αὖ μεταβαλοντα*.] This is a conclusion so extravagant, that it seems to be only a

way of triumphing over Polus, after his defeat, or perhaps in order to irritate Callicles, who heard with great impatience the concessions which Polus had been forced to make, and now breaks out with warmth, and enters into the dispute. Or, perhaps, this may be meant of that justice, which Socrates practised on himself and on all who conversed with him, (which made him many enemies) in exposing their ignorance and their vices, and in laying them open to their own correction: and from p. 509. *Τίνα αν βοηθειαν μη δυναμενος*, &c. I judge this to be the true sense of it. See also p. 521. *Κρινοῦμαι γαρ, ὡς εν παιδιοις ιατρος*, &c. See also *De Republica*, L. 9. p. 591.

P. 481. *Του τε Αθηναιων Δημου, και του Πυριλαμποῦς.*] The son of Pyrilampes was called Demus, and Plato here alludes to his name. It is possible too, that there may be a secret allusion to the Equites of Aristophanes, where the Athenian people is introduced as a person, under the name of Demus, an old man grown childish, over whom the demagogues try to gain an ascendant by paying their court to his ridiculous humours. The drama of the Equites was played about twenty years before the time of this dialogue. Demus was much in the friendship of Pericles, and remarkable for being the first man who brought peacocks to Athens, and bred them in his volaries. (Plutarch in Pericle and Athenæus, L. 9. p. 397.) Demus is mentioned as a Trierarch in the expedition to Cyprus (as I imagine) about Ol. 98. 1. under Chabrias. (Lysias de Bonis Aristophanis, p. 340.) He was, when a youth, famous for his beauty:



Καινη Δί', αν ιδῆ γε πον γεγραμμενον,  
 Τον Πυριλαμποῦς εν θυρᾷ Δημον καλον, &c.

Aristophan. in *Vespis*, v. 98, and *Scholia*. The play of the *Vespæ* was played eighteen years before the time of this dialogue.

P. 482. Ὁ Κλεινιεῖος.] Alcibiades had now left Athens, and taken refuge in Thrace, and the year after he was murdered.

P. 484. Νομος, ὁ παντων βασιλευς.] A fragment of Pindar.

Ib. Φιλοσοφια γαρ τοι.] Aulus Gellius, L. 10, c. 22, having transcribed this passage at large, ending at the words *και αλλα πολλα αγαθα*, (in p. 486.) makes several reflections upon it. "Plato veritatis homo amicissimus, ejusque omnibus exhibendæ promptissimus, quæ omnino dici possunt in desides istos ignavosque qui, obtento philosophiæ nomine, inutile otium et linguæ vitæque tenebras sequuntur, ex personâ quidem non gravi neque idoneâ, verè tamen ingenuèque, dixit. Nam etsi Callicles, quem dicere hæc facit, veræ philosophiæ ignarus inhonesta et indigna in philosophos confert; proinde tamen accipienda sunt quæ dicuntur, ut nos sensim moveri intelligamus, ne ipsi quoque culpationes hujusmodi mereamur, neve inertî atque inani desidiâ, cultum et studium philosophiæ mentiamur," &c. though Gellius is certainly mistaken in this, justly incurring the same censure, as those whom Quintilian mentions, L. 2. 16, yet thus far he is right in saying, that Plato often put much truth and good sense into the mouth of characters which he did not approve. The Protagoras is a remarkable instance

of this, where Socrates is introduced in the beginning, arguing against the very doctrine which naturally follows from those principles which he himself lays down in the end, and of which he obliges the sophist to confess the truth. Dacier, in his notes, has run into a thousand mistakes, by imagining all which is advanced by the characters opposed to Socrates in the disputation, to be absurd and ridiculous.

The character, which Callicles here pretends to expose, is doubtless such as Plato thought worthy of a true philosopher, *των κορυφαιων τινος, και ου φανλως διατριβοντος εν φιλοσοφια.* (Vid. Theætetum, p. 173.)

P. 484. *Το του Ευριπιδου.*] From that famous scene in the Antiope (a drama now lost) between Zethus and Amphion, Joshua Barnes reads,

*Εν τουτω γαρ  
Λαμπρος θ' ἕκαστος, κἀπι ταυτ' επειγεται.*

To this scene Horace alludes Lib. 1. Epist. 18. to Lollius "Gratia sic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque Zethi dissiluit," &c.

P. 485. *Και τας αγορας.*] What passage of Homer is here alluded to? or is it Hesiod in his Theogonia, v. 90. *Μετα δε πρεπει αγρομενοισι.*

Ib. *Προς τον αδελφον.*] Alluding to the fragment of Antiope: Eurip. Edit. Barnes. p. 453.

*Ψυχης ᾧδε γενναιαν φνσιν  
Γυναικομιμω διαπρεπεις μορφωματι  
Ουτ' εν δικης βουλαισιν ορθον αν ποτε  
Λογον προθει, η πιθανον ουτ' αλλων ὑπερ  
Νεανικον βουλευμα βουλευσαιο τι.*

P. 486. *Αποθανους αν.*] From this, and from many other strokes against the people of Athens, which seem to carry a strong air of indignation and concern in them, it looks as if this dialogue had been written not long after the death of Socrates, perhaps while Plato was at Megara.

Ib. *Επι κορρήs.*] The *Ατιμοι* might be struck by a citizen, without being able to call him to an account for it.

Ib. *Αλλ' ω 'γαθε.*] Another fragment of the *Αντιοπε* :

Αλλ' εμοι πιθου,  
 Πανσαι δ' αιδων, πραγματος δ' ευμοσιαν  
 Ασκει τοιαντ' αειδε, και δοξεις φρονειν.—  
 Αλλοις τα κομψα ταυτ' αφεις σοφισματα,  
 Εξ ων κενοῖσιν εγκατοικησεις δομοις.

Ib. The several kinds of *Ατιμια* are enumerated in the oration of Andocides *Περι Μιστηριων*, p. 10.

P. 487. Tisander of Aphidnæ; who seems to be the same mentioned by Socrates a year after this; (*Xenoph. Aponeimon. L. 2. sect. 7.*) Nausicydes of Cholargi, Andro, the son of Androtion.

P. 488. First proof against Callicles (who had advanced that by the law of nature the stronger had a right to govern the weaker) that the many are stronger than the few, and consequently ought to govern them: so that the positive law of the commonwealth is the result of the law of nature.

P. 492. *Τις δ' οιδεν, ει το ζην.*] Euripides in *Polyeido*, *Fragm. p. 490. edit. Barnesii.* The same sentiment is repeated again in other words in the *Phryxus*, *ibid. p. 503.*

P. 493. Ηκουσα των σοφων.] In Cratylo, p. 400.  
 Σημα τινες φασιν αυτο ειναι της ψυχης, &c.

Ib. Κομψος ανηρ, ισως Σικελος τις η Ιταλικος.]  
 This idea (whosoever it be) is imitated by Lucretius,  
 L. 3. v. 949 and 1022 :

Omnia, pertusum congesta quasi in vas,  
 Commoda perfluxere, atque ingrata interiére.

I take this to be meant of Empedocles.

P. 500. Τεχνικος.] The philosopher. Vid. Protagoram,  
 p. 357, and p. 509, 517, and 521 of this dialogue.

P. 501. Cinesias, the son of Meles, was a dithyram-  
 bick poet in some sort of vogue among the people at  
 this time. He was still a worse man than a writer,  
 and the depravity of his character made even his mis-  
 fortunes ridiculous ; so that his poverty, his deformities,  
 and his distempers, were not only produced on the  
 stage, but frequently alluded to by the orators, and  
 exposed to the scorn of the multitude. Vid. Aristo-  
 phan. in Avibus, v. 1374, et Schol. in locum ; et in  
 Lysistrata, in Ranis, v. 369. In Fragment. Gerytadis  
 ap. Athenæum, L. 12. p. 551.) The comick poet,  
 Strattis, who lived at this time, made Cinesias the  
 subject of an entire drama. See Lysias Απολογία  
 Δωροδοκίας, p. 381. Fragm. Orat. contra Phanium  
 ap. Athenæum ut supra, and in Taylor's edition, p. 640.  
 Harpocraton in voce *Cinesias*. Plutarch de gloria  
 Atheniens. Pherecrates apud Plutarchum de Musicâ.  
 See also the notes of Mr. Burette on that treatise, in  
 the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. 15. p. 340, and  
 Suidas in voce *Cinesias*.

P. 503. The bold attack, made in this place on some of the greatest characters of antiquity, has drawn much censure on Plato; but we are to consider that he is here proving his favourite point, (which seems to me the grand aim and intention of this dialogue) that philosophy alone is the parent of virtue, the discoverer of those fixed and unerring principles, on which the truly great and good man builds his whole scheme of life, and by which he directs all his actions; and that he, who practises this noblest art, and makes it his whole endeavour to inspire his fellow citizens with a love for true knowledge, (and this was the constant view and the employment of Socrates) has infinitely the superiority not only over the masters of those arts, which the publick most admires, as musick, poetry, and eloquence, but over the most celebrated names in history, as heroes and statesmen; as the first have generally applied their talents to flatter the ear, to humour the prejudices, and to inflame the passions of mankind; and the latter to soothe their vanity, to irritate their ambition, and to cheat them with an apparent, not a real, greatness.

P. 506. *Του Αμφιονος.*] Of which tragedy some few verses are still preserved to us; see Euripid. *Fragm.* ed. Barnesii, p. 454:

Εγω μεν ονν αδοιμι, και λεγοιμι τι  
 Σοφον, ταρασσων μηδεν, ων πολις νοσει, &c.

P. 508. *Τω αδικουντι και κακιον.*] This was not the principle only, but the practice, of Socrates. See *Diog. Laert.* L. 2. sect. 21.

P. 510. Ὅπου τυραννος εστιν αρχων αγριος.] A severe reflection on the Athenian people.

P. 511. The price of a pilot from Ægina to Attica was two oboli (about two-pence halfpenny); from Attica to Pontus or to Egypt two drachmæ (fifteen-pence halfpenny).

P. 514. Εν τω πιθω την κεραμειαν μανθανειν.] Proverb. To begin with a jar before we have made a gallipot. Hor. Art. Poet.

Amphora cœpit

Institui, currente rotâ cur urceus exit ?

P. 515. Eis μισθοφοραν.] The administration of Pericles was the ruin of the Athenian constitution. By abridging the power of the Areopagus, and by impairing their authority, who were the superintendents of education and the censors of publick manners, he sapped the foundations of virtue among them; by distributing the publick revenue among the courts of justice, he made them mercenary and avaricious, negligent of their private affairs, and ever meddling in those of their neighbours; by the frequency and magnificence of the publick spectacles, he inured them to luxury and to idleness; and by engaging them in the Peloponnesian war, he exposed them to be deserted by all their allies, and left to the mercy of the braver and more virtuous Lacedæmonians. Isocrates<sup>1</sup> looked upon the first of these alterations only, as the ruin of his country. (Orat. Areopagit. p. 147, &c.)

<sup>1</sup> Though he had no prejudice to the person of Pericles, and does justice to his disinterestedness and honesty in the management of the publick money. (See Isocrat. Orat. de Pace, p. 184.)

P. 515. *Εἰς μισθοφοραν.*] The *Μισθος Δικαστικος* here spoken of by Socrates was three oboli a day paid to 6000 citizens (for so many sat in the courts of justice), which was to the state a yearly expense of one hundred and fifty talents; i.e. reckoning ten months to the year, for two months were spent in holidays, when the courts did not meet. A *Μισθος* (appointed by Agyrrius about Ol. 96. 4, see Aristophan. *Ἐκκλησιαζουσαι*, v. 102, 185, 284, 292, 302, 380, and also his *Plutus*, v. 330, which last passage is wrongly interpreted by the Scholiast, by Spanheim, and by Kuster;) a *Μισθος* (I say) was given by every Athenian citizen who came to the *Ἐκκλησια*, or assembly of the people. The ill effect which this had upon their manners is painted by Aristophanes with much humour in several of his dramas, and particularly in the *Vespæ*.

Ib. *Ἦν τα ὦτα κατεαγοτων.*] From such as affected to imitate the manners of the Lacedæmonians, and constantly practised the roughest exercises of the *Palæstra*, particularly boxing, the bruises and scars of which were visible about their temples and ears: so in the *Protagoras*, p. 342. *Οἱ μὲν ὦτα τε καταγννται μιμουμενοι αὐτους (τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους) &c.*

P. 516. *Ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου.*] See Plutarch in *Pericles*, towards the end.

Ib. *Οἱ γὰρ δίκαιοι ἡμέρου.*] Hom. *Odys.* Ὅσοι χαλεποῖτε, καὶ ἀγριοὶ, οὐδὲ δίκαιοι. Θ. v. 575.

Ib. *Εἰς τὸ βαρᾶθρον.*] This is not related either by Herodotus, or by Cornelius Nepos, or by Justin.

P. 517. *Οὐτε τῆ ἀληθινή, οὐτε τῆ κολακική.*] This

shews that Plato meant only to distinguish between the use of eloquence and its abuse; nor is he in earnest when he says, *Ουδένα ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀνδρα ἀγαθὸν γεγενοτα τὰ πολιτικά*, (for he afterwards himself names Aristides, as a man of uncommon probity) but only to shew that he had puzzled Callicles, who could not produce one example of a statesman who had abilities, or art, sufficient to preserve him from the fury of the people.

P. 517. *Ουδ' ἐγὼ ψέγω.*] Hence it appears that he only means to shew how much superiour the character of a real philosopher is to that of a statesman.

P. 518. Thearion, a famous baker, mentioned by Aristophanes (ap. Athenæum L. 3. p. 112. see also Casaubon. in locum) in Gerytade et Æolosicone, and by Antiphanes, another comick poet, (who lived fifty or sixty years afterwards) in his Omphale. We should read here *Ἀρτοκοπος*, not *Ἀρτοποιος*. The *Οψαρτυτικά* of Mithæcus is a work often cited by Athenæus, L. 12.

p. 516. The Sicilian and the Italian Greeks were noted for the luxury of the table. See Plato Epist. 7. p. 326 and 336.

P. 519. *Σου δε ἴσως ἐπιληψονται.*] I do not find what became of Callicles; but Alcibiades had already fled from his country, for fear of falling into the hands of the people.

P. 521. *Εἰ σοὶ Μυσσόν.*] Perhaps, *Ουκ' εἰ σοὶ Μυσσόν ἡῖδιον καλεῖσθαι, ὡς εἰ μὴ*, &c. i.e. Not; if you would choose to fall into that helpless condition, (before described by Callicles, p. 486,) which you must do, unless you practise the art which I recommend. The Mysians were proverbial, as objects of contempt. *Μυσσῶν Λεῖα*



was said of any poor-spirited people, who tamely submitted to every injury. Aristot. Rhetor. L. 1.

P. 525. Προσηκει δε παντι.] See Aulus Gellius, L. 6. 14. on this passage.

P. 526. Εις δε και πανν.] Plutarch takes notice that Aristides<sup>1</sup> was a favourite character with Plato. Mr. Hardion,<sup>2</sup> who has written a life of Gorgias (collected with a good deal of industry from a variety of authors) and has given us a sketch of this dialogue of Plato, has yet been guilty of some mistakes, as where he fixes<sup>3</sup> the time of it to Ol. 95. 1, which is at least five years too late; and where he seems to say that Gorgias took Thessaly in his way to Olympia, which is a strange error in geography, &c. yet his performance, and particularly the analysis, is well worth reading.

<sup>1</sup> In Vitâ Aristid. towards the end.

<sup>2</sup> Dissertations sur l'origine et les progrès de la Rhétorique dans la Grèce: Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c. V. 15. p. 167, and 176.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 175.

## MINOS.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΟΥ.

THIS dialogue takes its name, (as also does the Hipparchus,) not from either of the persons introduced in it, but from the Cretan Minos, whose character and laws are mentioned pretty much at large. Socrates, and another Athenian nearly of the same age (who is not named), are considering the nature of laws in it;

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 313.

P. 315. Human sacrifice, and particularly of their children, to Saturn was in use among the Carthaginians: the sacrifices of the Lycians and of the descendants of Athamas, though people of Greek origin, were barbarous; the ancient Attick custom is mentioned of sacrificing victims near the bodies of dead persons, before they were carried out to burial, and hiring *Εγγυριστριαι*, (Schol. ad Arist. Vesp. v. 288.) and the still more ancient one of interring them in the houses where they died: both long since disused.

318. *Εκ Κρητης.*] V. Herodot. and Plut. in Lycurgo, and Strabo. L. 10. p. 477.

*Ιβ. Λυκουργου.*] The time of this dialogue is no where marked: but we see from p. 321 that Socrates was now advanced in years; supposing him then to be only sixty, it is three hundred and sixty-seven years from the first Olympiad of Coræbus; but most critics agree that Lycurgus lived one

and the intention of Plato is to shew, that there is a law of nature and of truth, common to all men, to which all truly legal institutions must be conformable, and which is the real foundation of them all.

Unfortunately the dialogue remains imperfect : it is indeed probable that it was never finished.

## NOTES.

hundred and eight years before that time, and Eratosthenes, with the most accurate chronologers, affirms, that he was still more ancient. Plato therefore places him half a century later than any one else has done. The computation of Thucydides, who reckons it something more than 400 years to the end of the Peloponnesian war, *αφ' ού Λακεδαιμονιοι τη αυτη πολιτεια χρωνται*, that is from the institution of Lycurgus's laws, comes nearest to that of Plato. The war ended Ol. 94. 1. so that, according to Thucydides, Lycurgus settled the constitution about 27 years before the first Olympiad of Coræbus.

P. 320. *Ἡσιοδος.*] Probably in his Heroick Genealogies, a work now lost.

## CHARMIDES.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΤΗΗΣ.

Ol. 87. 2 or 3.

### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 153.

THE subject of this dialogue is 'Η Σωφροσύνη: and what was Plato's real opinion of that virtue, may be seen, De Republ. L. 4. p. 430. and De Legibus, L. 3. p. 696.

The dramattick part of it is very elegant.

P. 153. Του της βασιλικης ιερου.] It seems to be the temple of Apollo in the Στοα βασιλειος. See Pausanias in Attic. p. 8.

Ib. Μανικος ων.] Of a warm eager temper; see the Symposium in the beginning of it.

Ib. Κριτιαν.] It is extraordinary that Plato from a partiality to his own family should so often introduce into his writings the character of Critias, his cousin, whose very name (one should imagine) must be held in detestation at Athens even to remotest times, he being a monster of injustice and cruelty. Plato seems to have been not a little proud of his family. Vid. De Republic: L. 2. p. 368.

Ib. Μαχη εγγονει.] I take the particular action

here mentioned to be the attack made on the city, soon after the arrival of Agno and Cleopompus with fresh troops. Thucyd. L. 2. p. 116. If we consider the purport of the narration, we shall find that these words, *Φορμιων δε και οι εξακοσιοι και χιλιοι ουκετι ησαν περι Χαλκιδεας*, mean, that Phormio and his troops (among which were Socrates and Alcibiades,) were returned from their expedition into Chalcidice (mentioned p. 36.) and had joined the army newly arrived from Potidea.

P. 154. *Λευκη σταθμη.*] The line used by carpenters and masons to mark out their dimensions with, after it had been tinged with minium, or with some other colour: it is used proverbially for a mind susceptible of any impression which may be given to it. So Philippus in Anthol. L. 6. cap. ult.

*Μιλτοφυρητε*

*Σχοινων, υπ' ακρονυχω ψαλλομενην κανονι.*

P. 155. *Δοκει αλλοις τε και εαυτω.*] Perhaps *εμαντω*, or *εμοι*, for Critias was an excellent poet. Athenæus has preserved several fine fragments of his writings.

Ib. *Σολωνος.*] Solon's poetry is well known. From the birth of Solon to that of Plato was 210 years, which takes in five generations of that family. Diogenes Laertius reckons six generations, making Glaucos (as it seems) the brother, and not the uncle of Critias. Proclus, in his comment on the Timæus, observes that Theon the Platonick had been guilty of the same mistake, and corrects it on the authority of this very dialogue.

P. 155. *Ενλαβεισθαι.*] This seems part of an hexameter, and an iambick.

Ib. *Την Επωδην.*] Horace alludes to these incantations, and perhaps to this very passage, Lib. 1. Epist. 1.

P. 156. *Απαθανατιζειν.*] Zamolxis, (Herodot. L. 4. c. 94.) (by some said to have been a slave of Pythagoras, but affirmed by Herodotus to have been of much greater antiquity) the king and prophet of the Getes, who were at first only a clan of the Thracians, but afterwards, having passed the Danube, became a great and powerful nation. It is very remarkable, that they had a succession of these high priests, (Strabo, L. 7. p. 297.) who lived sequestered from mankind in a grotto, and had communication only with the king, in whose power they had a great share from Zamolxis down to the time of Augustus, and possibly long after.

P. 157. The family of Dropides, celebrated by Anacreon.

P. 158. Pylilampes, the great-uncle of Plato, ambassador in Persia, and elsewhere, admired as the tallest and handsomest man of his time : he was a great friend of Pericles, and father to Demus, a youth remarkable for his beauty.

P. 173. *Δια κερατων.*] See Hom. Odyss. T. 565. The only reason of this fable, which has puzzled so many people, seems to be a similitude of sounds between *Ελεφας* and *ελεφαιρεσθαι* (to delude) and *Κερας* and *κραινειν* (to perform or accomplish), as one of the Scholiasts has observed.

P. 167. *Το τριτον τω Σωτηρι.*] A proverbial expression frequent with Plato, as in the Philebus, p, 66.

Ἰθι δε το τριτον τω Σωτηρι, &c. and in Epist. 7, speaking of his third voyage to Sicily, Ελθων δ' ουν το τριτον, &c. I imagine it alludes to the Athenian custom (see Athenæus from Philochorus, L. 2. p. 38.) which was to serve round after supper a little pure wine, with these words, *Αγαθῶ Δαιμονι*, and afterwards as much wine and water as every one called for, with the form of *Διῖ Σωτηρι*. See Erasmi Adag. Servatori, and Plato de Republ. L. 9. p. 583.

## CRATYLUS.

### ΠΕΡΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ ΟΡΘΟΤΗΤΟΣ.

THIS long dialogue on the origin of words was probably a performance of Plato when he was very young, and is the least considerable of all his works.

Cratylus,<sup>1</sup> a disciple of Heraclitus, is said to have

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. in Platone, and Aristot. Metaphys. L. 1. p. 338. *Ἐκ νεοῦ τε γὰρ συγγενομένος πρῶτον Κρατύλῳ, καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλείτειοις δοξαῖς, κτλ.*

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 383.

P. 398. Ancient Attick words, *δαημων, ειρειν* : and p. 401, *εσια* ; 410, *Οραι* ; 418, *Ἴμερα*, vel *Ἐμερα*. He remarks that the ancient Attick abounded in the *I* and *Δ*, which in his time had been often changed to the *H* or *E* and the *Z*, and that the women preserved much of the old language among them.

399. Accents used in Plato's time, as now, *Δι᾽ φιλος*, changed into *Δι φιλος*.

401. *Προ παντων Θεων τη Ἐστια.*] See Aristophan. *Aves*, v. 865, and *Vespæ*, v. 840.

405. The Thessalians in their dialect called Apollo, *Ἄπλος*.

407. *Οἷσι Ευθυφρονος ἰπποῖ.*] An allusion to Homer.

409. Much of the Greek language derived from the Barbarians : *Ἰδωρ, Πυρ, Κυων*, borrowed from the Phrygians.

425. The Barbarians acknowledged to be more ancient than the Greeks.



been the master of Plato after Socrates's death; but the latter part of the dialogue is plainly written against the opinions of that sect, and of Cratylus in particular.

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## NOTES.

P. 427. The powers of the several Greek letters, and the manner of their formation: viz. the P expressive of motion, being formed by a tremulous motion of the tongue; the I of smallness and tenuity; the Φ. Ψ. Σ. Ζ. of all noises made by the air; the Δ and Τ of a cessation of motion; the Λ of slipperiness and gliding, the same with a Γ prefixed, of the adherence and tenacity of fluids; the Ν of any thing internal; the Α of largeness; the Ο of roundness; and the Η expressive of length.

428. *Εν Λιταῖς.*] The ancients called the ninth book of the Iliad, *Λιταί*. See v. 640.

429. Cratylus seems to have been the son of Smicrio.

434. The Eretrians for *σκληροτης* used *σκληροτηρ*.

## SYMPOSIUM.

Platon. Op. Serrani. Vol. 3. p. 172.

As to the time of this dialogue, Athenæus (L. 5. p. 217.) tells us, that Agatho first gained the prize when Euphemus was Archon, which was Ol. 90. 4. What he adds, namely, that Plato was then only 14 years old, and consequently could not be at this entertainment, is very true, but nothing to the purpose; for it is not Plato who uses those words which he cites, but Apollodorus, who recounts the particulars of this banquet, as he had them from Aristodemus, who was present at it ten or twelve years before.

Among the ancients, Cicero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Hermogenes, Athenæus, Gellius, and Ausonius, and among the moderns, Jos. Scaliger, Petavius, Ger. Vossius, Fraguier, Freret, and La Mothe le Vayer, believed the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon to be a romance: on the other side, are Usher, Marsham, Le Clerc, Prideaux, Bossuet, Tournemine, Banier, Lenglet, Rollin, Guyon.

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 172. Ω Γλαυκων.] Glauco was younger brother to Plato. See Xenoph. Memorabil. L. 3. c. 6.

P. 172. Πολλων ἐτῶν Ἀγαθων.] He was in Macedonia at the court of Archelaus.

P. 173. Aristodemus, of Cydathenæ, called the Little, mentioned by Xenophon as inclined to atheism. (Memorabil. L. 1. c. 4.)

P. 175. The audience in the Athenian theatre consisted of above 30,000 persons.

P. 177. Ουκ ἐμος ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμης μητρος παρα.] Euripid. ap Dion. Halicarnass. Περὶ σχημάτων, L. 2.

Ib. Ἀλλοις μὲν τισι τῶν Θεῶν.] No hymns, nor temples, nor religious rites were offered to Love in Greece. (See Sympos. p. 189.)

Ib. Καταλογαδην.] The discourse by Prodicus in honour of Hercules, of which the beautiful fable in Xenophon's Memorabil. L. 2. c. 1. made a part.

Ib. Βιβλιῳ ἀνδρος σοφου.] Mentioned also by Isocrates in Encom. Helenæ, p. 210, Ἵων μὲν γὰρ τοὺς βομβυλίου, καὶ τοὺς ἄλας, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βουλευθέντων ἐπαινεῖν, &c. and to this, and such like discourses, he alludes in Panathenaic, p. 260. Ἐγκωμιαζοῦσι τὰ φαιλότατα τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τοὺς παρανομοῦτα τοὺς ὄντων.

P. 178. Στρατοπέδον ἐραστων.] It is plain, that Socrates, in Xenophon's Symposium, p. 898, is employed in refuting this very sentiment, which he attributes to Pausanias, the lover of Agatho, and not to Phædrus, in whose mouth it is here put: it seems to me a stroke of Xenophon's enmity to Plato, and a remarkable one, though it has not been taken notice of.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Athenæus, L. 5. p. 216., who conjectures that Xenophon might have seen some copy of Plato's Symposium, where these words were spoken by Pausanias. Casaubon tries to confute him, but with weak arguments.

Parmenides and Acusilaus quoted in the genealogy of the gods : and again in p. 195.

P. 180. So Hesiod describes the birth of Venus, daughter of Cœlus without a mother, v. 191. Τῆ δ' Ἐρος ὤμαρτησε, &c. but he mentions nothing of the second Venus, daughter of Jove and Dione, which is the Venus of Homer. See also Tully de Naturâ Deorum, L. 3.

P. 182. *Ἐν Ἡλίδι καὶ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς.*] This (which is really spoken by Pausanias) convinces me that Xenophon wrote his Symposium after that of Plato, and meant to throw some reflections on this part of it.

P. 187. *Τὸ γὰρ ἐν.*] An expression of Heraclitus cited and censured.

P. 190. *Κυβιστωσι.*] An action of the tumblers described in Xenophon's Sympos. p. 876.

P. 191. *Αἱ Ἐταιριστριαι.*] *Αἱ Τριβαδες.* See de Legib. L. 1. p. 636.

P. 193. *Καθαπερ Ἀρκαδες.*] See an instance of this Lacedæmonian policy on the taking of Mantinea, Ol. 98. 3, in Xenoph. Græc. Hist. L. 5. 552 and 553.

P. 194. *Ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ βουλομαι.*] As the comick invention and expression of Aristophanes are perfectly well supported throughout his discourse, and the character of the man well painted in several little peculiarities, which Plato (who had himself undoubtedly a genius for dramattick poetry) is never at a loss to choose ; so the speech of Agatho is a just copy<sup>1</sup> of his kind of eloquence, full of antitheses, concise, and musical even

<sup>1</sup> *Χλευαζει τε τα ἰσοκωλα του Αγαθωνος και αντιθετα.* Athenæus, L. 5. p. 187.

to affectation, in the manner of Gorgias, whose pupil he seems to have been.

P. 198. Γοργειου.] Alluding to Hom. Odyss. A. v. 634.

P. 199. Η γλωττα ουν.] An allusion to the Hippolytus of Euripides.

P. 201. Μαντικης.] It is plain from what follows, that this is as good a reading as Μαντινικης.

P. 202. Diotimia of Mantinea, a prophetess.

Ib. The middle nature of dæmons, which mediate between gods and men.

P. 203. Πορος.] The god, not of riches, but of expedients and of contrivances.

P. 207. The following verses are attributed to Plato, in the Anthologia, L. 1. c. 90 :

Αἰων παντα φερει· δολιχος χρονος οιδεν αμειβειν  
Ουνομα, και μορφην, και γενος, ηδε τυχην·

which sentiment is finely explained here.

P. 213. Ψυκτηρα.] See Athenæus, L. 11, p. 502, on this kind of vessel.

P. 215. The figures of the Sileni in the shops of the sculptors (εν τοις ἐρμογλυφειοις) made hollow, which opened and discovered within the statues of the gods.

Ib. 'Α γαρ Ολυμπος.] Such as were initiated became *possessed*, as soon as they heard these airs.

P. 216. Τα δ' Αθηναιων πραττω.] Alcibiades was now very powerful in the state, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

P. 219. Η σιδηρω ό Αιας.] It should rather seem to be Achilles.

Ib. Στρατεια.] They went thither with the supplies

under the command of Phormio, Ol. 87. 1. Alcibiades being then twenty years of age, and Socrates thirty-nine. (See Thucyd. L. 1. s. 64.) The folly of Athenæus, who would prove, against the authority of Plato and of Antisthenes, that Socrates was not in any of these actions, is justly exposed by Casaubon: Annot. ad Athenæum, L. 5. c. 15. We may add, that if the silence of Thucydides could prove anything with regard to Socrates, it would prove, at least as strongly, that Alcibiades was not at Potidæa neither; but the contrary is certain from that very oration of Isocrates, to which Athenæus refers, namely, that *Περὶ Ζευγῶδς*, p. 352, where he is said to have gained the *Ἀριστεία* (which were a crown and a complete suit of armour) before that city; and if the orator had not totally suppressed the name of Socrates, it would have been highly injudicious in a discourse pronounced by the son of Alcibiades, where he was to exalt the character of his father, and by no means to lessen the merit of any of his actions. He left that to his enemies, who (it is likely) did not forget the generosity of Socrates on this occasion. It is clear from the many oversights of Athenæus here, that he either trusted to his memory, or only quoted from his own excerpts, and not from the originals. Plato mentions no second *Ἀριστεία* gained at Delium, and only speaks of the coolness and presence of mind shewn by Socrates in his retreat; as he has done also in the *Laches*. Athenæus affirms, that Alcibiades was not in the battle of Delium, but he assigns no reasons. If he concludes it from the silence of Thucydides, as before, this is nothing, as

that historian mentions none but the commanders in chief on any of these occasions, and often only one or two of the principal of these: but probably Alcibiades and Laches might then only serve as private men.

P. 221. *Βρενθνομενος.*] Alluding to the *Nubes* of Aristophanes.

Ib. *Οι λογοι αυτου.*] Every one who would read the Socratic dialogues of Plato, Xenophon, &c. should first consider this passage: it is put below in a note.<sup>1</sup>

P. 222. *Ευθυδημος.*] Probably the same youth whom Xenophon calls *Ευθυδημος ο καλος* (*Memorabil. L. 4. c. 1.*), a different person from Euthydemus, the Chian.

This dialogue (particularly the end of it), the *Protagoras*, the *Gorgias*, the *Euthydemus*, &c. are strong instances of Plato's genius for dramatick poetry in the comick kind. *Κωμωδειν γαρ ηθελε Πλατων*, says Athenæus, *L. 5. p. 187.*, speaking of the character of Aristophanes in this place. See also Olympiodor. in *Vitâ Platonis*. The *Phædo* is an instance of Plato's power in the tragick kind.

<sup>1</sup> *Οι λογοι αυτου ομοιοτατοι εισι τοις Σειληνοις* (see note above on p. 215.) *τοις διογομενοις. Ει γαρ εθελει τις των Σωκρατους ακουειν λογων, φανεϊεν αν πανυ γελοιοι το πρωτον τοιαυτα και ονοματα και ρηματα εξωθεν περιαμπεχονται Σατυρου αν τινα ιβριστου δοραν. Ονουσ γαρ κανθηλιουσ λεγει, και χαλκεας τινας, και σκυτοτομουσ, και βυρσοδεψαs, και αιε δια των αυτων τα αυτα φαινεται λεγειν: ωστε απειροσ και ανοητοσ ανθρωποσ πᾶs αν των λογων καταγελασειε: διογομενουσ δε ιδων αν τισ, και εντοσ αυτων γιγνομενοσ, πρωτον μεν νοϋν εχοντασ ενδοσ μονουσ ευρησει των λογων, επειτα θειοτατουσ, και πλειστα αγαλματα αρετησ εν αυτοις εχοντασ, και επι πλειστον τεινοντασ, μαλλον δε επι πᾶν ὅσον προσηκει σκοπειν τω μελλοντι καλω κάγαθω γενεσθαι. Ταυτ' εστιν, ἃ εγω Σωκρατουσ επαινω. Sympos. p. 221.*

## EUTHYDEMUS.

About Ol. 89. 4.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 271.

THERE is a good deal of humour, and even of the vis comica, in this dialogue. Its end is to expose the vanity and weakness of two famous sophists, and to shew, by way of contrast, the art of Socrates in leading youth into the paths of virtue and of right reason.

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 271. *Ου πολυ τι την ἡλικιαν.*] See the Symposium of Xenophon; *Ουκ ὄρᾶς οτι τουτω παρα τα ωτα αρτιουλος καθερπει· Κλεινια δε προς το οπισθεν ηδη αναβαινει;* p. 515. From whence it appears, that the time of this dialogue cannot be long after Ol. 89. 4.

Ib. *Εντευθεν ποθεν εκ Χιου.*] The Chians being an Ionian colony from Athens.

P. 272. *Κοννω, τω Μητροβιου.*] Whether the same with the Tibicen mentioned in the Equites of Aristophanes, v. 531, called Connas, who lived at this time?

P. 273. *Κτησιππος.*] See the Lysis of Plato.

P. 275. Alcibiades, the elder, had two sons, Clinias and Axiochus: the first (who was slain at the battle of



Artemisium, Ol. 75. 1.) left behind him two sons, the famous Alcibiades, and Cleinias, his brother. The latter had a son, also called Cleinias, who is the youth here mentioned.

P. 277. Ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ.] The ceremony of seating in a chair, and dancing round, a person who is to be initiated in the mysteries of the Corybantes, called *Θρονωσις*.

P. 278. Ἀρα γὰρ πάντες ἀνθρώποι.] This example of a *Λογος προτρεπτικος*, or exhortation to philosophy, is as noble as the moral it would convey, a truth which Plato had always at heart. Ἐὼν μὲν ἀλλῶν οὐδὲν εἶναι οὐτὲ ἀγαθὸν οὐτὲ κακόν· τουτοῖν δὲ δύοιν ὄντοιν, ἡ μὲν Σοφία ἀγαθόν, ἡ δὲ Ἀμαθία κακόν.

P. 285. Εἰς ἀσκόν.] The skin of Marsyas was said to be preserved in the castle of Celænæ (in the greater Phrygia) even in Xenophon's time, Ol. 94. 4, (Cyrus Anab. L. 1. p. 146.) and hung there in a grotto, whence the rivulet Marsyas took its rise. It was said to put itself in motion at the sound of a flute.

Ib. Ὡς ὄντος τοῦ ἀντιλεγειν.] See Diog. Laert. L. 9. s. 53, de Protagora. We see here that this sophism was older than Protagoras.

P. 287. Ὅτως εἰ Κρονός.] Ἀρχαιοτροπος, simple and old-fashioned. It is scarcely possible to see with patience Plato seriously confuting<sup>1</sup> these childish subtleties, as low as any logical quibbles, used by our

<sup>1</sup> Plato himself shews, p. 278, that he perfectly understood the just value of them. Παιδίαν δὲ λέγω διὰ τὰτα, ὅτι εἰ καὶ πολλὰ τίς, ἡ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, μαθοί, τὰ μὲν πράγματα οὐδὲν ἂν μᾶλλον εἰδείη, πῆ εἰχει, προσπαιζειν δὲ ὁίος τ' ἂν εἴη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, διὰ τὴν ὀνοματῶν διαφορὰν ὑποσκελιζῶν καὶ ἀνατρεπῶν.

scholastick divines in the days of monkery and of deep ignorance. But he best knew the manners of his own age, and doubtless saw these things in a graver light than they of themselves deserve, by reflecting on the bad effects which they had on the understandings and on the morals of his countrymen, who not only spent their wit and their time in playing with words, when they might have employed them in inquiring into things; but, by rendering every principle doubtful and dark alike, must necessarily induce men to leave themselves to the guidance of chance and of the passions, unassisted by reason. Whereas if, in reality, there be no certain truth attainable by human knowledge, both the means and the end of disputation are absolutely taken away, and it becomes the most absurd and the most childish of all occupations.

P. 299. Eüthydemus appears to have had a colossal statue erected to him at Delphi.

P. 302. The Athenians, and their colonies, worshipped not Jupiter under the name of Πατρῶος in their houses (as all other Greeks did), but Apollo. To Jupiter they gave the name of Ἐρκειος and Φρατριος, and to Minerva of Φρατρια: and these three divinities were the household gods of every Ionian. How then could Dionysidorus, a Chian, be ignorant of this?

P. 305. Μεθορια φιλοσοφον.] This seems to be aimed at Lysias or at Antipho.

## HIPPIAS MAJOR.

WE learn from this dialogue in how poor a condition the art of reasoning on moral and abstracted subjects was, before the time of Socrates; for it is impossible that Plato should introduce<sup>1</sup> a sophist of the first reputation for eloquence and knowledge in several kinds, talking in a manner below the absurdity and weakness of a child; unless he had really drawn after the life. No less than twenty-four pages are here spent in vain, only to force it into the head of Hippias, that

<sup>1</sup> He always appeared at the Olympick games, and in the temple of Jupiter discoursed on all subjects, and answered all questions proposed to him. (V. Hipp. Min. p. 363.)

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Edit. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 281.

P. 281. Πιττακου τε και Βιατος.] This is very extraordinary, as Pittaens was continually busied in publick affairs, and both Bias and Thales occasionally.

Ib. It was acknowledged therefore, that the sculptors, painters, and architects of latter times, had far surpassed the ancients.

P. 286. Επειδη η Τροια.] The beginning of an oration, pronounced at Sparta, by Hippias, in the character of Nestor, addressed to the young Neoptolemus. It is remarkable, what is here said of the Lacedæmonians, that the generality of them did not even know common arithmetic.

there is such a thing as a general idea ; and that, before we can dispute on any subject, we should give a definition of it.

The time of the conversation seems to be after Ol. 89. 2, for the war had permitted no intercourse between Athens and Elis before that year, and we see in the Protagoras that Hippias was actually at Athens Ol. 90. 1, so that it seems to fall naturally between these two years.

## NOTES.

P. 289. Passages of Heraclitus : Πιθηκων ὁ καλλιστος αἰσχυρος ἀλλω γενεῖ συμβαλεῖν.—*Ἀνθρωπων ὁ σοφωτατος προς Θεον πιθηκος φανεται.* This latter passage is undoubtedly the original of that famous thought in Pope's *Essay on Man*, B. 2 ;

“And shewed a Newton, as we shew an ape,”

which some persons have imagined that he borrowed from one Palingenius,\* an obscure author, who wrote a poem called “*Zodiacus Vitæ.*”

290. *Της Ἀθηνᾶς.*] The colossal figure of Minerva in the Acropolis at Athens, described by Plutarch in his life of Pericles.

[\* Pope, who was versed in the modern Latin poets, might have taken it from Palingenius, and Palingenius from Plato.—MATHIAS.]

## HIPPIAS MINOR.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 363.

THE time of this dialogue is after the Hippias Major, with which it may be ranked.

P. 363. *Ευδικος*.] Mentioned in the Hippias Major, p. 256, as an admirer of this sophist.

P. 368. Hippias appeared at Olympia in a dress of his own weaving, buskins of his own cutting out and sewing, with a ring on his finger, and a seal engraved by himself, and a beautiful zone of his own embroidery. He brought with him epick poems, dithyrambicks, tragedies, and orations, all of his own composition.

Ib. *Την ζωνην*.] The Greeks therefore girt their under-garment (*Χιτωνισκος*) with a cincture.

## PROTAGORAS.

Η, ΣΟΦΙΣΤΑΙ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 309.

### OBSERVATIONS ON THE DATE OF THIS DIALOGUE.

PLATO, in this dialogue, one of the noblest he ever wrote, has fallen, through negligence, into some anachronisms, as Athenæus has remarked, (L. 5. p. 218.) though some things in reality are only mistakes of his own, and others he has omitted, which are real faults. Dacier undertakes wholly to justify Plato. We shall shew that neither of them are quite in the right.

There are two marks which fix the time of this conversation, as it is generally thought, and as Athenæus has shewn. The one, that Callias is mentioned in it, as then master of himself, and in possession of his father Hipponicus's estate:<sup>1</sup> now Hipponicus was slain in the battle of Deli, Ol. 89. 1, so that it must be after that year.

Secondly, the *Αγριοι*, a comedy of Pherecrates, is said to have been played the year before; but that play was brought upon the stage in the magistracy of

<sup>1</sup> *Εν οικηματι τινι, ὡς προτου μεν ὡς ταμειω εχρητο Ιππονικος, νυν, ὑπο του πληθοῦς των καταλυοντων, ὁ Καλλιας και τουτο εκκενωσας ξενοις καταλυσιν πεποιηκη.* Protag. p. 315.

Aristion, Ol. 89. 4, consequently this must happen Ol. 90. 1.

There is yet a third circumstance which may ascertain the time of the dialogue. Athenæus produces it as an instance of Plato's negligence, but has only discovered his own by it. Hippias the Elean (he says) and others of his countrymen are (Protag. p. 315.) introduced, as then present at Athens, whereas it is impossible they could be there during the Peloponnesian war, while the Eleans were confederates with Sparta against the Athenians; for though a truce was agreed upon for one year, under Isarchus, (Ol. 89. 1,) yet it was broken through presently, and no cessation of arms ensued. But in reality Hippias might be at<sup>1</sup> Athens any year after Isarchus's magistracy, since though the war broke out afresh afterwards with Sparta, yet the Allies of Sparta entered not into it, as at first, but either continued neuter, or joined the Athenians, and Elis particularly entered into a defensive league with them this very year, (see Thucyd. L. 5. sect. 47) so that when Athenæus says, *μη της εχεχειριας αυτης μενοισης*, it is plain that he did not know but that Sparta entered the war again with all the confederates which she had at first, and consequently had read<sup>2</sup> Thucy-

<sup>1</sup> Dacier, while he vindicates Plato on this head, has only considered Athens with regard to Sparta: but the question turns solely upon Elis, of which he takes no notice.

<sup>2</sup> What is no less strange, Casaubon neither attempts to justify Plato in this matter, nor did he know, that the *Επιαυσιαί Σπονδαί* under Isarchus were mentioned, very much at large, by Thucydides, L. 4. sect. 117. See Casaubon's Annotations ad Athenæum, L. 5. c. 18.

dides very negligently. This very thing then may fix it to Ol. 90. 1, at least it will prove that it could not be earlier than Ol. 89. 1.

Athenæus further remarks, that Eupolis in his *Κολακες*, which was played Ol. 89. 3, speaks of Protagoras as then present at Athens, and that Ameipsias in his *Κοινος*, acted two years before, has not introduced him into his chorus of *Φροντισται*, or philosophers; so that it is probable that he arrived at Athens in the interval between the representation of these two dramas, which is three or four years earlier than the dialogue, in which Plato nevertheless says that he had not been three days come; and that after many years' absence. Dacier attempts to answer this, but makes little of it; and indeed it was impossible to do better, since both the comedies are lost, and we do not know to what parts of them Athenæus alludes, as he cites nothing.

But in truth there are other circumstances inconsistent with the date of the dialogue, of which neither Athenæus nor Dacier have taken any notice. 1. Alcibiades is represented as just on the confines of youth and manhood, whereas in Ol. 90. 1, he was turned of thirty. 2dly. Criso of Himera, celebrated for gaining three victories successively in the course at Olympia (the first of which was<sup>1</sup> Ol. 83.) is here spoken of (p. 335.) as in the height of his vigour. Now it is scarcely possible, that one, who was a man grown at the time I have mentioned, should continue in full strength and agility twenty-nine years afterwards: but

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, L. 5. c. 23, and Diodorus.



this I do not much insist upon. 3dly. Pericles is spoken of<sup>1</sup> as yet living, though he died nine years before; and what is worse, his two sons Xanthippus and Paralus are both represented as present at this conversation, though they certainly died<sup>2</sup> during the plague sometime before their father.

## ANALYSIS OF THE DIALOGUE.

Socrates is wakened before day-break with a hasty knocking at his door: it is Hippocrates, a young man, who comes eagerly to acquaint him with the arrival of Protagoras, the celebrated sophist, at Athens, and to entreat him to go immediately and present him to that great man; for he is determined to spare no pains nor expense, so he may be but admitted to his conversation. Socrates moderates his impatience a little, and while they take a turn about the hall together, waiting for sun-rise, inquires into his notions of a sophist, and what he expected from him; and finding his ideas not very

<sup>1</sup> Protag. p. 320. 'Α δε αυτος σοφος εστι, ουτε αυτος παιδευει, ουτε τω αλλω παραδιδωσι' and again, p. 329, which Dacier tries, but in vain, to elude.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch in Vit. Periclis.—Athenæus has taken notice of this, L. 11. p. 505, and Macrobius, who seems to copy the other, Saturnal. L. 1. c. 1.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 309. II. Ω. v. 347.

Κουρω αισητηρι εοικως,

Πρωτον υπηνητη, τουπερ χαριεστατη ήβη.

Ib. Βοηθων εμοι.] Vid. infra, p. 336 and 347.

310. Του σκιμποδος.] A low bedstead, or couch, on which Socrates lay, for he was not yet risen.

clear upon that head, shews him the folly of putting his soul into the hands of he knew not whom, to do with it he knew not what. If his body had been indisposed, and he had needed a physician, he would certainly have taken the advice and recommendation of his family and friends; but here, where his mind, a thing of much greater importance, was concerned, he was on the point of trusting it, unadvisedly and at random, to the care of a person whom he had never seen, nor spoken to. That a sophist was a kind of merchant or rather a retailer of food for the soul, and, like other shopkeepers, would exert his eloquence to recommend his own goods. The misfortune was, we could not carry them off, like corporeal viands, set them by a while, and consider them at leisure, whether they were wholesome or not, before we tasted them; that in this case we have no vessel, but the soul, to receive them in, which will necessarily retain a tincture, and perhaps much to its prejudice, of all which is

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 NOTES.

P. 310. Εξ Οινουσι.] There were two *Δημοί* of Attica so called, the one near Marathon, the other near Eleutheræ on the confines of Bœotia, which I take to be here meant. See Meursius and Pausan. L. 1. c. 33 and c. 38.

Ib. Πρωτης.] An eager desire of a thing, proceeding from admiration.

Ib. Νεωτερος ειμι.] He was upwards of twenty-four years of age; for he was a child when Protagoras first came to Athens, which was Ol. 84. 1.

311. Τον Κωον.] Hippocrates, the Coan, was now about forty years old.

Ib. Φειδια.] Phidias was not now living. He died Ol. 87. 1. Polycleetus was younger, and might be still alive.

instilled into it. However, by way of trial only, they agree to wait upon Protagoras, and accordingly they go to the house of Callias, where both he and two other principal sophists, Prodicus and Hippias, with all their train of followers, were lodged and entertained.

The porter, an eunuch, wearied and pestered with the crowd of sophists who resorted to the house, mistaking them for such, gives them a short answer, and shuts the door in their face. At last they are admitted, and find Protagoras with Callias, and more company, walking in the porticos. The motions of Protagoras's followers are described with much humour; how at every turn they divided and cast off, as in a dance, still falling in, and moving in due subordination behind the principal performer. Hippias is sitting in a great chair,

## NOTES.

P. 312. *Ερυθρίας.*] For the bad morals of the professors, (see the Gorgias, p. 520, *Συ δε δι' αγνοίαν*, &c. and the Meno, p. 91, *Ηρακλείς, ευφημει*, &c.) had brought the name into general disrepute; though it was once an honourable appellation, and given afterwards to all such as called themselves *Φιλοσοφοί*. Solon was the person who first bore the name of *ὁ Σοφιστής*. (See Isocrat. *Περὶ Αντιδόσεως*, p. 344.) Socrates defines a sophist, such as the character was in his time, *Εμπορος τις, ἡ καπηλὸς τῶν ἀγωγίμων, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ τρέφεται*. Protag. p. 313.

314. *Ου σχολῆ αὐτῶ.*] i.e. "My Lord is not at leisure to be spoken with."

Ib. *Ἐν τῷ Προστώ.*] *Προστώων* (which is also written *Προστώος*) is rendered by the lexicographers *Vestibulum Porticūs*, that is, as I imagine, the *Cavædium* or open court, surrounded with a peristyle or portico, opening upon the rooms of entertainment; for all these rooms together composed the *Ἀνδρῶν*, as Vitruvius describes it.

on the opposite side of the court, discoursing on points of natural philosophy to a circle, who are seated on forms round him; while Prodicus, in a large inner apartment, in bed and wrapped up in abundance of warm clothes, lies discoursing with another company of admirers. Socrates approaches Protagoras, and presents the young Hippocrates to him. The sophist, having premised something to give an idea of his own profession, its use and dignity, the rest of the company, being summoned together from all quarters, seat themselves about him; and Socrates begins by entreating Protagoras to inform him, what was the tendency and usual effect of his lessons, that Hippocrates might know what he was to expect from him. His answers shew, that he professed to accomplish men for publick and private

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NOTES.

P. 314. *Ἀδελφος ὁμομητριος.*] The widow of Hipponicus, and mother to Callias, took to her second husband, Pericles, and brought him a son called Paralus: they afterwards parted by consent, and both married again. See Plutarch in his life of Pericles, who says that she brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus; but it seems to be a mistake, as he had Xanthippus by a former marriage. This lady was related to Pericles by blood.

Ib. *Ἀδειμαντω.*] Thé son of Cepis and of Leucolophides. This Adimantus was *Στρατηγος* with Alcibiades, against Andros, Ol. 93. 2. See Xenoph. Hist. Græc. L. 1.

315. *Χαρμυδης.*] Plato's uncle.—*Φιλιππιδης.*] Son of Philomelus.—*Ἀντιμοιρος.*] Of Mendæ.—*Ἐρνευμαχος.*] A physician.

Ib. *Ἀνδρων.*] The son of Androtion; probably the same person, who was afterwards one of the Four Hundred, and brought in the decree against Antipho, the Rhamnusian: (see Harpocration) he is mentioned in the Gorgias (p. 487) as a friend of Callicles, and a lover of eloquence rather than of true philosophy.

life, to make them good and useful members of the state, and of a family. Socrates admires the beauty of his art, if indeed there be such an art, which, he confesses, he has often doubted; for if virtue is a thing which may be taught, what can his countrymen the Athenians mean, who in their publick assemblies, if the question turn on repairing the publick edifices, consult the architect, and if on their fleet, the ship-builder, and laughed at such as on pretence of their wit, of their wealth, or of their nobility, should interfere in debates which concern a kind of knowledge, in which they have neither skill nor experience; but if the point to be considered relate to the laws, to the magistracy, to the administration of peace and war, and to such subjects, every merchant, every little tradesman and mechanic,

## NOTES.

P. 315. *Εφη 'Ομηρος.*] An allusion to the *Odyss.* of Homer, A. v. 600, as Dacier well observes.

Ib. *Πανσανίας.*] A lover of Agatho, the tragick poet, who was now (he says) very young; he gained his first prize on the stage Ol. 90. 4, four years after this. See Plato, *Sympos.* p. 193, and Athenæus, L. 5. p. 216.

316. *Ικκος.*] of Tarentum.—*Ηροδικος.*] Of Selymbria, a sophist and *Παιδοτριβης.* See the *Phædrus*, p. 227.

316. *Πυθοκλειδης.*] Of Ceos; he taught Pericles musick. See *Aleib.* 1. p. 118. and *Plutarch* in *Pericles.*

Ib. *Αγαθοκλης.*] The Athenian musician and sophist; he instructed the famous Damon. See *Laches*, p. 80.

317. *Πολλα γε ετη.*] He (*Pythoclides*, who taught musick) was now about sixty-one years of age, and had taught it near thirty-one years: but how he can call himself old enough to be father to any one in the company, I do not see; for Socrates was near fifty years of age.

the poor as well as the rich, the mean as well as the noble, deliver their opinion with confidence, and are heard with attention. Besides, those greatest statesmen, who have been esteemed the brightest examples of political virtue, though they have given their children every accomplishment of the body which education could bestow, do not at all appear to have improved their minds with those qualities for which they themselves were so eminent, and in which consequently they were best able to instruct them, if instruction could convey these virtues to the soul at all.

Protagoras answers by reciting a fable delivered in very beautiful language; the substance of it is this: Prometheus and Epimetheus, when the gods had formed all kinds of animals within the bowels of the earth, and the destined day approached for producing them into light, were commissioned to distribute among them the powers and qualifications which were allotted to them. The younger brother prevailed upon the elder to let

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NOTES.

P. 318. Ζευξιππος.] Of Heraclea. I do not find this painter mentioned any where else; perhaps it should be read, Zeuxis, who was of Heraclea, and now a young man.

Ib. Ορθαγορας.] The Theban, who taught Epaminondas on the flute. See Aristoxenus, ap. Athenæum, L. 4. p. 184.

319. ΟΙ Τοξοται—κελευοντων των Πρυτανειων.] See Aristophanes in Achærens. v. 239.

Ib. Αριφρωνος.] Ariphron was the brother of Pericles; they were both (by their mother Agariste) first cousins to Dinomache, the mother of Alcibiades, and Clinias, to whom they were guardians: Clinias was mad. (See Alcibiad. 1. p. 118.)—Prometheus and Epimetheus (Foresight and Aftersight) were the sons of Iapetus, the Titan, and Clymene.

him perform this work, and Prometheus consented to review afterwards and correct his disposition of things. Epimetheus then began, and directed his care to the preservation of the several species, that none might ever be totally lost. To some he gave extreme swiftness, but they were deficient in strength; and the strong he made not equally swift: the little found their security in the lightness of their bodies, in their airy wings, and in their subterraneous retreats; while those of vast magnitude had the superiority of their bulk for a defence. Such as were formed to prey on others, he made to produce but few young ones; while those, who were to serve as their prey, brought forth a numerous progeny. He armed them against the seasons with hoofs of horn and callous feet, with hides of proof and soft warm furs, their native bed and clothing all in one. But when Prometheus came to review his brother's work, he found that he had lavished all his art and all his materials upon the brute creation, while mankind, whose turn it

## NOTES.

P. 320. *Αφετοι.*] Every divinity had some such animals, which fed at liberty within the sacred enclosures and pastures. Such were the oxen of the Sun, (in Homer, *Od. M.*) the owls of Minerva in the Acropolis at Athens, (Aristophan. *Lysistrat.*) the peacocks of Juno at Samos, (Athenæus, *L. 14. p. 655. ex Antiphane et Menodoto Samio*) the tame serpents of Æsculapius, at Epidaurus, (Pausan. *L. 2. c. 28.* and at Athens, Aristoph. *Plut. v. 733.*) the fishes of the Syrian goddess, &c. (Xenoph. *Cyri Anab. L. 1. p. 254.*)

321. *Τυλοις.*] This seems to be a gloss only, as an explanation of *Δερμασι στερεοις και αναιμοις*, to which it is synonymous. Insert in the end of the sentence, *Ταρσους επεστερωσεν*, for a verb is wanting, equivalent to *εκοσμησε*.

was next to be produced to light, was left a naked helpless animal, exposed to the rigour of the seasons and to the violence of every other creature round him. In compassion therefore to his wants, Prometheus purloined the arts of Pallas and of Vulcan, and with them fire, (without which they were impracticable and useless) and bestowed them on this new race, to compensate their natural defects. Men then, as allied to the divinity and endowed with reason, were the only part of the creation which acknowledged the being and the providence of the gods. They began to erect altars and statues; they formed articulate sounds, and invented language; they built habitations, covered themselves

## NOTES.

P. 321. Ολιγονιαν.] This is remarked by Herodotus, and by Aristotle, and seems to be very true with regard to the larger size of animals; but it does not appear in the lesser part of the creation, as in spiders, and in other insects, which live on their kind, the smaller rapacious fishes, snakes, &c. probably because they themselves were to serve as food to larger creatures.

Ib. Ου πανν τοι σοφος.] Hesiod calls him, 'Αμαρτινοον τ' Επιμηθεα. Theogon. v. 511.

Ib. Ευπορια μεν του βιον.] See the Prometheus of Æschylus.

325. Something is understood or lost after the words, *έκων πειθηται*, as, *ευ εχει*, or *καλως*.

327. Ευρυβατω και Φρυνωνδα.] Phrynondas is mentioned by Isocrates, as a name grown proverbial for a villain. Παραγραφικος προς Καλλιμαχον, p. 382. And Æschines in Ctesiphont: Αλλ' ομαι ουτε Φρυνωνδας, ουτε Ευρυβατος, ουτ' αλλος πωποτε των παλαι πονηρων, τοσουτος μαγος και γοης εγενετο. p. 73. See also Aristophanes, Θεσμοφορ. Eurybatus was an Ephesian, who being trusted by Cræsus with a great sum to raise auxiliaries, betrayed him, and went into the service of Cyrus. See Ephorus ap. Harpocrat. and Diodorus, Excerpt. de Virt. et Vitiis, p. 240.



with clothing, and cultivated the ground. But still they were lonely creatures, scattered here and there, for Prometheus did not dare to enter the citadel of Jove, where Policy, the mother and queen of social life, was kept near the throne of the god himself; otherwise he would have bestowed her too on his favourite mankind. The arts, which they possessed, just supported them, but could not defend them against the multitude and fierceness of the wild beasts: they tried to assemble and live together, but soon found that they were more dangerous and mischievous to one another than the savage creatures had been. In pity then to their condition Jove, lest the whole race should perish, sent Mer-

## NOTES.

P. 328. *Της πράξεως του μισθου.*] It is remarkable in what general esteem and admiration Protagoras was held throughout all Greece. If any scholar of his thought the price he exacted was too high, he only obliged him to say upon his oath, what he thought the precepts he had given him were worth, and Protagoras was satisfied with that sum. Yet he got more wealth by his profession than Phidias the statuary, and any other ten the most celebrated artists of Greece, as Socrates (in Menone, p. 91, and in Hipp. Maj. p. 282) tells us. Euathlus (see Quintilian, L. 3. c. 1.) gave him 10,000 drachmæ (about £300. sterling), for his art of rhetoric in writing. He was the first sophist in Greece who professed himself a *Παιδευσεως και αρετης διδασκαλος*, and such an one as could make men better and better every time he conversed with them, p. 318 et infra, p. 349.

329. *Ει δε επανεραιτο, τινα.*] See the Phædrus, where he uses the same thought, p. 275. *Δεινον γαρ που, ω Φαιδρε, &c.*

333. *Παρατεταχθαι.*] To be set against it, that is, to have an aversion to it.

336. *Ουκ οτι παιζει.*] Perhaps we should read, *καιτοι παιζει.*

cury to earth, with Shame and Justice ; and when he doubted how he should bestow them, and whether they should be distributed, as the arts had been, this to one, and that to another, or equally divided among the whole kind ; Jove approved the latter, and commanded, that if any did not receive his share of that bounty, he should be extirpated from the face of the earth, as the pest and destruction of his fellow-creatures.

This then, continues Protagoras, is the cause why the Athenians, and other nations, in debates, which turn on the several arts, attend only to the advice of the skilful ; but give ear in matters of government, which are founded on ideas of common justice and probity, to every citizen indifferently among them : and that this is the common opinion of all men, may hence appear. If a person totally ignorant of musick should fancy himself an admirable performer, the world would either laugh or be angry, and his friends would reprimand or treat him as a madman : but if a man should have candour and plain-dealing enough to profess himself a villain and ignorant of common justice, what in the other case would have been counted modesty, the

## NOTES.

P. 339. Προς Σκοπαν.] The son of Creon and Echecratia, of Cranon in Thessaly, a citizen of great riches and power, and a principal patron of Simonides, who repaid him with immortality. See also Theocritus Idyll. 16. v. 36. Πολλοι δε Σκοπαδαισι, &c. Here is also a large fragment of one of the odes of Simonides to him.

340. Θεια τις ειναι παλαι.] Perhaps, Κεια τις.

341. Και ονδαμωσ Κειον.] Dacier corrects this to Ονδαμωσ Θειον.

simple confession of truth and of his own ignorance, would here be called impudence and madness. He that will not dissemble here, will be by all regarded as an idiot; for to own that one knows not what justice is, is to own that one ought not to live among mankind.

He proceeds to shew, that no one thought our idea of justice to be the gift of nature; but that it is acquired by instruction and by experience: for with the weak, the deformed, or the blind man, no one is angry; no reprimands, no punishments attend the unfortunate, nor are employed to correct our natural defects; but they are the proper consequences of our voluntary neglects or offences. Nor is the punishment, which follows even these, intended to redress an evil already past, (for that is impossible) but to prevent a future, or at least to deter others from like offences; which proves, that wickedness is by all regarded as a voluntary ignorance.

Next he shews, how this knowledge is acquired; it is by education. Every one is interested in teaching another the proper virtue of a man, on which alone all his other acquisitions must be founded, and without

## NOTES.

P. 341. *Λεσθίος.*] The Lesbians then spoke a corrupt dialect; yet that island produced Alcæus, Sappho, Theophrastus, &c.

342. This is a beautiful compliment to the Cretans and Lacedæmonians.

*Ιβ. Ωτα τε καταγιννται.*] The rougher exercises of boxing and of the *cæstus*. See Diog. Laertius in Menedemo, and the Gorgias, p. 515.

350. *Πελαστικοί.*] A light-armed militia, a Thracian invention, and borrowed from that nation by the Greek colonies on

which he cannot exist among his fellow-creatures. His parents, as soon as understanding begins to dawn in him, are employed in prescribing what he ought to do and what he ought not to do ; his masters, in filling his mind with the precepts, and forming it to the example, of the greatest men, or in fashioning his body to perform with ease and patience whatever his reason commands ; and lastly, the laws of the state lay down a rule, by which he is necessitated to direct his actions. If then the sons of the greatest men do not appear to be greater proficient in virtue than the ordinary sort, it must not be ascribed to the parent's neglect ; much less must it be concluded, that virtue is not to be acquired by instruction : it is the fault perhaps of genius and of nature. Let us suppose, that to perform on a certain instrument were a qualification required in every man, and necessary to the existence of a city, ought we to wonder, that the son of an admirable performer fell infinitely short of his father in skill ? Should we attribute this to want of care, or say, that musick were not attainable by any art ? or should we not rather ascribe it to defect of genius and to natural inability ? Yet every member of such a state would doubtless far surpass all persons rude and unpractised in musick.

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NOTES.

their coast, whence it was afterwards introduced in Athens, Sparta, and in the rest of Greece. They fought on foot armed with a crescent-like shield, bow and arrows, long javelins, and a sword. See Xenoph. ap. Pollucem. L. 1. c. 10. This species of shield was afterwards introduced by Iphicrates among the heavy-armed foot also. (Diodorus. L. 15. c. 44.)

In like manner, the most worthless member of a society, civilized by some sort of education and brought up under the influence of laws and of policy, will be an amiable man, if compared with a wild and uncultivated savage.

It is hard indeed to say, who is our particular instructor in the social virtues ; as, for the same reason, it is hard to say, who taught us our native tongue ; yet no one will therefore deny that we learned it. The publick is in these cases our master : and all the world has a share in our instruction. Suffice it (continues the sophist) to know, that some there are among us, elevated a little above the ordinary sort, in the art of leading mankind to honour and to virtue ; and among these I have the advantage to be distinguished.

Socrates continues astonished for a time and speechless, as though dazzled with the beauty of Protagoras's discourse. At last, recovering himself, he ventures to propound a little doubt which has arisen in his mind (though perfectly satisfied, he says, with the main question), whether temperance, fortitude, justice, and the rest, which Protagoras has so often mentioned, and

## NOTES.

P. 357. 'Οτι Αμαθια.] This is the true key and great moral of the dialogue, that knowledge alone is the source of virtue, and ignorance the source of vice : it was Plato's own principle, (see Plat. Epist. 7. p. 336. Αμαθια, εξ ἧς παντα κακα πᾶσι ερριζωται και βλαστανει, και ὑστερον αποτελει καρπον τοις γεννησασι πικροτατον. See also Sophist. p. 228 and 229. and Euthydemus. from p. 278 to 281. and De Legib. L. 3. p. 688.) and probably it was also the principle of Socrates : the consequence of it is, that virtue may be taught, and may be acquired ; and that philosophy alone can point us out the way to it.

seemed to comprehend under the general name of virtue, are different things, and can subsist separately in the same person; or whether they are all the same quality of mind, only exerted on different occasions. Protagoras readily agrees to the first of these; but is insensibly betrayed by Socrates into the toils of his logick, and makes such concessions, that he finds himself forced to conclude the direct contrary of what he had first advanced. He is sensible of his disgrace, and tries to evade this closer kind of reasoning by taking refuge in that more diffuse eloquence, which used to gain him such applause. But when he finds himself cut short by Socrates, who pleads the weakness of his own memory, unable to attend to long continued discourses, and who intreats him to bring down the greatness of his talents to the level of a mind so much inferiour, he is forced to pick a frivolous quarrel with Socrates, and break off the conversation in the middle. Here Callias interposes, and Alcibiades, in his insolent way, by supporting the request of Socrates and by piquing the vanity of Protagoras, obliges him to accommodate himself to the interrogatory method of disputation, and renews the dialogue.<sup>1</sup>

To save the dignity of Protagoras, and to put him in humour again, Socrates proposes that he shall conduct the debate, and state the questions, while he himself will only answer them; provided Protagoras will

<sup>1</sup> The episodical characters of Prodicus and Hippias, introduced as mediating a reconciliation, are great ornaments to the dialogue; the affectation of eloquence and of an accurate choice of words in the former, and the stately figurative diction of the latter, being undoubtedly drawn from the life.

in his turn afterwards condescend to do the same for him. The sophist begins by proposing a famous ode of Simonides, which seems to carry in it an absolute contradiction, which he desires Socrates to reconcile. Socrates appears at first puzzled, and after he has played awhile with Protagoras and with the other sophists, (that he may have time to recollect himself) he gives an explanation of that poem, and of its pretended inconsistency, in a manner so new and so just as to gain the applause of the whole company. He then brings back Protagoras (in spite of his reluctance) to his former subject, but without taking advantage of his former concessions, and desires again his opinion on the unity, or on the similitude, of the virtues. Protagoras now owns, that there is a near<sup>1</sup> affinity between them all, except valour, which he affirms that a man may possess, who is entirely destitute of all the rest. Socrates proves to him, that this virtue also, like the others, is founded on knowledge and is reducible to it; that it is but to know what is really to be feared, and what is not; that good and evil, or in other words, pleasure and pain,<sup>2</sup> being the great and the only movers

<sup>1</sup> See Gorgias, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> Plato reasons on the principles of the most rational Epicurean in this place, and indeed on the only principles which can be defended. (See Gorgias, p. 467 and 499. *Τελος ἀπασων των πραξεων το αγαθον.*) As our sense of pleasure and of pain is our earliest sentiment, and is the great instrument of self-preservation, some philosophers have called these affections, *Τα πρωτα κατα φυσιν*. See Aul. Gell. L. 12. c. 5. *Ουδεμα ηδονη καθ' εαυτην κακον, αλλα τα τινων ηδονων ποιητικα πολλαπλασιους επιφερει τας οχλησεις των ηδονων.* Epicurus in *Κυριαις Δοξαις*. apud Laert. L. 10. s. 141.

of the human mind, no one can reject pleasure, but where it seems productive of a superior degree of pain, or prefer pain, unless the consequence of it be a superior pleasure. That to balance these one against the other with accuracy, to judge rightly of them at a distance, to calculate the overplus<sup>1</sup> of each, is that science on which our happiness depends, and which is the basis of every virtue. That, if our whole life's welfare and the interests of it were as closely connected with the judgment, which we should make on the real magnitude of objects and on their true figure, (or with our not being deceived by the appearance which they exhibit at a distance,) who doubts but that geometry and opticks would then be the means of happiness to us, and would become the rule of virtue? That there is a kind of knowledge no less necessary to us in our present state, and no less a science; and that, when we pretend to be misled by our passions, we ought to blame our ignorance, which is the true source of all our follies and vices. And now (continues Socrates) who would not laugh at our inconsistency? You set out with affirming that virtue might be taught, yet in the course of our debate you have treated it as a thing entirely distinct<sup>2</sup> from knowledge, and not reducible to

<sup>1</sup> Plato de Legib. L. 1. p. 644. and L. 2. p. 663. and L. 5. p. 733.

<sup>2</sup> It was the opinion of Socrates, that all the virtues were only prudence (or wisdom) exerted on different occasions. *Πασας τας αρετας φρονησεις ειναι και Σωκρατης* (adds Aristotle) *τῇ μὲν ὀρθῶς ἐζητεῖ, τῇ δ' ἡμαρτανεν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ φρονησεις ὡστο ειναι πασας τας αρετας ἡμαρτανεν· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀνευ φρονησεως καλως ελεγε.* Ethic. ad Nichom. L. 6. c. 13. and Plato de Legib. L. 3. p. 688. calls prudence, *Συμπασης ἡγεμων αρετης, φρονησις μετ' ἐρωτος και επιθυμιας ταυτη ἐπομενης.*



it : I, who advanced the contrary position, have shewn that it is a science, and consequently that it may be learned.

Protagoras, who has had no other share in the dispute than to make (without perceiving the consequence) such concessions as absolutely destroy what he set out with affirming, tries to support the dignity of his own age and reputation, by making an arrogant compliment to Socrates, commending his parts (very considerable, he says, and very promising for so young a man,) and doing him the justice to say to all his acquaintance, that he knows no one more likely, some time or other, to make an extraordinary person ; and he adds that this is not a time to enter deeper into this subject, and on any other day he shall be at his service.

## IO.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ 'ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ.

#### ON THE IMPERFECTION OF POETRY AND OF CRITICISM WITHOUT PHILOSOPHY.

As Serranus, and (I think) every commentator after him, has read this dialogue with a grave countenance, and understood it in a literal sense, though it is throughout a very apparent and continued irony ; it is no wonder if such persons, as trust to their accounts of it, find it a very silly and frivolous thing. Yet under that irony, doubtless, there is concealed a serious meaning, which makes a part of Plato's great design, a

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 530.

P. 530. *Ἀσκληπεία.*] Pausanias, in his description of the temple of Æsculapius near Epidaurus, speaks of the adjoining stadium and theatre, where these games were celebrated during the festival of the deity. L. 2. p. 174.

Ib. *Ἄλλοις Ποιήταις.*] The Rhapsodi sung, in the theatres, not only the poems of Homer, but those also (V. de Legib. L. 2. p. 658.) of Hesiod, Archilochus, Minnermus, and Phocylides, the Iambicks of Simonides, &c. (see Athenæus, L. 14. p. 620.) and even the history of Herodotus.

design which runs through all his writings. He was persuaded that virtue<sup>1</sup> must be built on knowledge, not on that counterfeit<sup>2</sup> knowledge, which dwells only on the surface of things and is guided by the imagination rather than by the judgment, (for this was the peculiar foible of his countrymen, a light and desultory people, easily seduced by their fancy wherever it led them), but on the knowledge which is fixed and settled on certain great and general truths, and on principles as ancient and as unshaken as nature itself, or rather as the author of nature. To this knowledge, and con-

<sup>1</sup> See Plato's seventh Epistle to the friends of Dion; as well as his Protagoras, Meno, Laches, and Alcibiades.

<sup>2</sup> Δοξασοφία, δοξαστική επιστήμη. (Vid. Sophist. p. 233.)

NOTES.

P. 530. Μαλιστα εν 'Ομηρω.] These were distinguished by the name of Homeristæ, or Homeridæ. See Pindar Od. Nem. 2. and Plato de Republ. L. 10, p. 599.

Ib. Ει μη ξυνη.] They were remarkable for their ignorance. See Xenoph. Sympos. p. 513. Οισθα ουν εθνος τι ηλιθιωτερον Ραψωδων, &c. Metrodorus of Lampsacus here is not to be confounded with the friend of Epicurus, who was also of Lampsacus.

Ib. The *first* Metrodorus (mentioned in the preceding note) was a disciple of Anaxagoras, and seems to have written on the moral and natural philosophy of Homer. See Diog. Laert. L. 2, s. 11. Stesimbrotus of Thasus was contemporary with Socrates, but elder than he: he is often cited by Plutarch (in Themistocle, in Cimone, in Pericle) having, as it seems, given some account of these great men, with the two last of whom he had lived: (see Athenæus, L. 13, p. 589.) he was a sophist of reputation, and gave lessons to Niceratus the son of Nicias. See Xenoph. Sympos. p. 513.

sequently to virtue, he thought that philosophy was our only guide: and as to all those arts, which are usually made merely subservient to the passions of mankind, as politicks,<sup>1</sup> eloquence, and poetry, he thought that they were no otherwise to be esteemed than as they are grounded on philosophy, and are

<sup>1</sup> See the Gorgias, Meno, Phædrus, and this dialogue.

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NOTES.

P. 532. Polygnotus, son of Aglaophon, the painter.

533. Dædalus was the son of Palamaon, of that branch of the royal family, called Metionidæ, being sprung from Metion, the son of Erectheus: (See Pausan. L. 7. p. 531. and L. 1. p. 13.) there were statues of his workmanship still preserved in several cities of Greece, at Thebes, Lebadea, Delos, Olus, and Gnossus, even in the time of Pausanias, above six hundred years after this. See Pausan. L. 9, p. 793. and Plato Hippias Maj. p. 282. Epèus, the son of Panopeus, was the inventor of the Trojan horse; in the temple of the Lycian Apollo at Argos, was preserved a wooden figure of Mercury made by him. Theodorus, the Samian, son of Telecles, first discovered the method of casting iron, and of forming it into figures: he also (with his countryman Rhæcus the son of Philæus) was the first who cast statues in bronze; he worked likewise in gold, and graved precious stones.

Ib. *Ὀλυμπος*.] Olympus, the Phrygian, lived in the time of Midas before the Trojan war, yet his compositions, or *Νομοί*, as well the musick as the verses, were extant even in Plutarch's days; see Burette on the Treatise de Musicâ, Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. Vol. 10, note 30, V. 13, note 104, V. 15, note 228. and Aristotel. Politic. L. 8. c. 5. and Plato Sympos. p. 215. *Και ἐτι νυνι κηλει τους ανθρωπους, ὅς αν τα εκεινου αυλη̂.* (Marsyæ scilicet, qui Olympum edocuit) see also Plato in Minoc, p. 318. hence also it seems that they had the musick of Orpheus, of Thamyris, and of Phemius, then in being. (See Hom. Odyss. A. 325, and X. 330.)

directed to the ends of virtue. They, who had best succeeded in them before his time, owed (as he thought) their success rather to a lucky hit, to some gleam<sup>1</sup> of truth, as it were providentially, breaking in upon their minds, than to those fixed and unerring<sup>2</sup> principles which are not to be erased from a soul, which has once

<sup>1</sup> Such as Plato calls *Ορθη Δοξα*,—*Αληθης Δοξα*. (This is explained in the *Meno*, p. 97.) or in the language of irony, *Θεία Δυναμς*, *θεία μοιρα*, *κατακωχη*. (*Ibid.* p. 99.) and *De Legib.* L. 3. p. 682.

<sup>2</sup> To which he gives the name of *Φρονησις*, *Επιστημη*, *ου δραπετενουσα*, *αλλα δεδεμενη αιτιας λογισμω*· *διαφερει γαρ δεσμω επιστημη ορθης δοξης*· (*Meno*, ubi supra) and on this only he bestows the name of *Τεχνη*. (*Vid.* *Gorgiam*, and in *Sophista*, p. 253.) *Ἡ των ελευθερων επιστημη*, and p. 267. *Αρετης ιστορικη μμησις*, opposed to *ἡ Δοξομμητικη*. *Vid.* et *Symposium*, p. 202. *De Republ.* L. 5. p. 477. and L. 7. p. 534.

NOTES.

P. 533. The verses of Euripides are in his *Oeneus*, a drama now lost ;

*Τας βροτων*

*Γνωμας σκοπησας, ὡστε Μαγνητις λιθος,*

*Την δοξαν ἔλκει και μεθιστησιν παλιw*·

he gave it the name probably from the city of Magnesia ad Sipylum, where it was found. It is remarkable, that Mr. Chishull tells us, as they were ascending the castle-hill of this city, a compass, which they carried with them, pointed to different quarters, as it happened to be placed on different stones, and that at last it entirely lost its virtue ; which shews that hill to be a mine of loadstone. Its power of attracting iron and of communicating its virtue to that iron, we see, was a thing well-known at that time, yet they suspected nothing of its polar qualities.

534. *Αρυττονται*.] *Vid.* *Phædrum*, p. 253, and Euripides in *Bacchis*, v. 142. and 703.

been thoroughly convinced of them. Their conduct therefore in their actions, and in their productions, has been wavering between good and evil, and unable to reach perfection. The inferiour tribe have caught something of their fire, merely by imitation, and form their judgments, not from any real skill they have in these

## NOTES.

P. 534. *Οἱ Ποιηται.*] Such expressions are frequent in Pindar: he calls his own poetry, *Νεκταρ χυτον, Μοισᾶν δοσιν, γλυκυν καρπον φρενος*, and he says of himself, *Εξαιρετον Χαριτων νεμομαι κᾶπον*, (Olymp. Od. 9) and *Μελιτι ευανορα πολων βρεχω*. (Olymp. 10.) &c. &c.

Ib. *Ὁ δε εγκωμα.*] Of this kind are all the odes remaining to us of Pindar, as the expressions in Olymp. Od. 4, Od. 8, 10, and 13, and in many other places, clearly shew.

Ib. *Ἐπορχηματα.*] Pindar was famous for this kind of compositions, though we have lost them, as well as his dithyrambicks. Xenodemus also, Bacchylides, and Pratinas the Phliasian, excelled in them; Athenæus has preserved a fine fragment of this last poet. L. 14, p. 617. These compositions were full of description, and were sung by a chorus who danced at the same time, and represented the words by their movements and gestures. Tynnichus of Chalcis, whose pæan was famous, and indeed the only good thing he ever wrote.

535. *Ἐπι τον ουδον.*] See Hom. Odys. X. v. 2. *Ἄλτο δ' επι μεγαν ουδον, &c.*

Ib. *Ἀπο του βηματος.*] The Rhapsodi, we find, were mounted on a sort of suggestum, with a crown of gold (See p. 530. and 541. of this dialogue) on their heads, and dressed in robes of various colours, and after their performance was finished, a collection seems to have been made for them among the audience.

536. *Οἱ κορυβαντιῶνες.*] This was a peculiar phrenzy supposed to be inspired by some divinity, and attended with violent motions and efforts of the body, like those of the Corybantes attendant on Cybele: (Strabo, L. 10. p. 473.) they believed that they heard the sound of loud musick continually in their

arts, but merely from (what La Bruyere calls) a *gout de comparaison*. The general applause of men has pointed out to them what is finest; and to that, as to a principle, they refer their taste, without knowing or inquiring in what its excellence consists. Each Muse<sup>1</sup> (says Plato in this dialogue) inspires and holds sus-

<sup>1</sup> Ο δε θεος δια παντων τουτων ἔλκει την ψυχην, ὅποι αν βουληται, των ανθρωπων, ανακρεμαννυς εξ αλληλων την δυναμιν· και ὡσπερ εκ της λιθου (της Ηρακλείας) ὄρμαθος παμπολνς εξηρηται χορευτωντε, και διδασκαλων, και ἰποδιδασκαλων εκ πλαγιου εξηρητημενων, των της Μουσης εκκρεμαμενων δακτυλιων. p. 536.

## NOTES.

ears, and seem, from this passage, to have been peculiarly sensible to some certain airs, when really played, as it is reported of those who are bitten by the tarantula. As these airs were pieces of music usually in honour of some deities, the ancients judged thence by what deity these demoniacks were possessed, whether it were by Ceres, Bacchus, the Nymphs, or by Cybele, &c. who were looked upon as the causes of madness.

P. 541. 'Η γαρ ἡμετερα πολις.] The time therefore of this dialogue must be earlier than the revolt of the Ionian cities, which happened Ol. 91. 4, and it appears from what Ion says in the beginning, that it must be later than Ol. 89. 3, since before that year the communication between Epidaurus and Athens was cut off by the war. Apollodorus of Cyzicus, Phanosthenes of Andrus, and Heraclides of Clazomenæ were elected by the Athenians into the *Στρατηγαι*, and other magistracies, though they were not citizens. See Athenæus, L. 11. p. 506. It is plain that Athenæus saw the irony of this dialogue, for, if it be literally taken, there is nothing like abuse in it either on poets or on statesmen.

542. *Θειον ειναι και μη τεχνικον*.] Hence we see the meaning of Socrates, when he so frequently bestows the epithet of *Θειος* on the sophists and poets, &c. &c. See also Plato's *Meno*, p. 99, which is the best comment on the *Io* which can be read.

pended her favourite poet in immediate contact, as the magnet does a link of iron, and from him (through whom the attractive virtue passes and is continued to the rest) hangs a long chain of actors, and singers, and criticks, and interpeters<sup>1</sup> of interpreters.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐρμηνεων ἐρμηνεῖς*. p. 535.



## THEÆTETUS.

Ol. 95. 1.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 142.

TERPSION meeting Euclides at Megara, and inquiring where he has been, is informed that he has been accompanying Theætetus, who is lately come on shore from Corinth, in a weak and almost dying condition upon his return to Athens. This reminds them of the high opinion which Socrates had entertained of that young man, who was presented to him (not long before his death) by Theodorus<sup>1</sup> of Cyrene, the geometrician. The conversation, which then passed between them, was taken down in writing by Euclides who, at the request of Terpsion, orders his servant to read it to them.

The Abbé Sallier (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, V. 13, p. 317.) has given an elegant translation of the most shining part of this<sup>2</sup> dialogue; and also in vol. 16. p. 70. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* he

<sup>1</sup> Theodorus was celebrated also for his skill in arithmetick, astronomy, and musick. (p. 145.) He had been a friend of Protagoras, who was dead about ten years before the time of this dialogue, and had left his writings in the hands of Callias, the son of Hipponicus.

<sup>2</sup> P. 172 of this dialogue. See also Gorgias, p. 484.

has translated all that part of the dialogue in which Plato has explained the system of Protagoras, from p. 151. to 168. The description of a true<sup>1</sup> philosopher in this place, (though a little aggravated, and more in the character of Plato than of Socrates,) has yet an elevation in it which is admirable. The Abbé Sallier has also given a sketch of the dialogue, which is a very long one, and (as he rightly judges) would not be much approved in a translation. It is of that kind called Πειραστικός, in order to make trial of the capacity of Theætetus, while Socrates (as he says) only plays the midwife, and brings the conceptions of his mind to light. The question is; what is knowledge? and the purpose of the dialogue is rather to refute the false definitions of it, as established by<sup>2</sup> Protagoras in his writings, and resulting from the tenets of Heraclitus,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 172 of this dialogue. See also Gorgias, p. 484.

<sup>2</sup> His fundamental tenet was this; viz: Παντων χρηματων μετρον Ανθρωπων ειναι των μεν οντων, ως εστι των δε μη οντων ως ουκ εστι· that every man's own perceptions of things were (to him) the measure and the test of truth and of falsehood.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. That motion was the principle of being, and the only cause of all its qualities. Mr. Hardion has given us a short view of the arguments used by Protagoras in support of these doctrines in his seventh Dissertation on the Rise and Progress of Eloquence in Greece. See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c. V. 15. p. 152. This seems to be much the same with the doctrine of the new Academy; "Omnes omnino res, quæ sensus omnium movent *των προς τι* esse dicunt: id verbum significat nihil esse quicquam quod ex se constet, nec quod habeat vim propriam et naturam; sed omnia prorsum ad aliquid referri, taliaque videri esse, qualis sit eorum species, dum videntur, qualiaque apud sensus nostros, quo pervenerunt, creantur, non apud sese, unde profecta sunt." Aul. Gell. L. 11. c. 5. Vid. Platon. Cratylum, p. 385.

of Empedocles, and of other philosophers, than to produce a better definition of his own. Yet there are many fine and remarkable passages in it, such as the observations of Theodorus on the faults of temper, which usually attend on brighter parts, and on the defects of genius often found in minds of a more sedate and solid turn; Socrates's illustration of his own art by the whimsical comparison between that and midwifery; his opinion, that admiration<sup>1</sup> is the parent of philosophy; the active and passive powers<sup>2</sup> of matter, arising from the perpetual flux and motion of all things, (being the doctrine of Heraclitus and others,) explained; the reflections on philosophical leisure, and on a liberal turn of mind opposed to the little cunning and narrow thoughts of mere men of business; the description of Heraclitus's followers, then very numerous in Ionia, particularly at Ephesus; the account of the tenets of Parmenides and of<sup>3</sup> Melissus, directly

<sup>1</sup> Δια το θαυμαζειν οι ανθρωποι, και νυν και πρωτον, ηρξαντο φιλοσοφειν, &c. Aristot. Metaphys. L. 1. p. 335. Ed. Sylburg.

<sup>2</sup> There is a near affinity between this, and Mr. Locke's account in the beginning of his chapter on Power, L. 2. c. 21. and in his reflections on our ideas of secondary qualities. B. 2. c. 8. See also Cudworth's Intellectual System, B. 1. c. 1. sect. 7.

<sup>3</sup> They maintained, ως εν τα παντα εστι, και εστηκεν αυτο εν αυτω, ουκ εχον χωραν, εν ω κινειται.

Socrates speaks with respect of these two philosophers, particularly of Parmenides: Παρμενιδης δε μοι φαινεται (κατα το του 'Ομηρου) αιδοιος τε μοι ειναι αμα δεινος τε' συμπροσκειμενα γαρ τω ανδρι πανν νεος πανν πρεσβυτη, και μοι εφανη βαθος τι εχειν πανταπασι γενναιον. (p. 183.) and in the Sophist, p. 217. Οιον ποτε και Παρμενιδη χρωμενω, &c. and ib. p. 237. Παρμενιδης δε ο μεγας, &c.

contrary to those of the former ; the distinction between our senses, the instruments through which the mind perceives external objects, and the mind itself, which judges of their existence, their likeness and their difference, and founds<sup>1</sup> its knowledge on the ideas which it abstracts from them ; to which we may add, the comparison of ideas fixed in the memory<sup>2</sup> to impressions made in wax, and the dwelling on this similitude in order to shew the several imperfections of this faculty in different constitutions.

<sup>1</sup> P. 184, 5, and 6.] Compare this with Locke's Definition of Knowledge, B. 4. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> P. 191 to 194.] Here also see Locke on retention, B. 2. c. 10. and C. 29. § 3. on clear and obscure ideas.

# THE SOPHIST.

## II, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΝΤΟΣ.

ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PHILOSOPHY AND  
SOPHISTRY.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 216.

I AM convinced that this is a continuation of the Theætetus, which ends with these words, *Ἔωθεν δε, ω Θεοδωρε, δειρο παλιν απαντωμεν*, as this begins, *Κατα την χθες ομολογίαν, ω Σωκρατες, αυτοι τε κοσμιως ήκομεν, και τονδε τινα ξενον αγομεν*. The persons are the same, except the philosopher of the Eleatick school, who is here introduced, and who carries on the disputation

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 216. *Ἐτερον τε των αμφι Παρμενιδην και Ζηνωνα εταιρων.*] Read for *έτερον, εταιρον*.

Ib. *Οποσοι μετεχουσιν αιδοῦς.*] Hom. Odys. P. v. 485.

Ib. *Καθορωντες ύψοθεν.*] Lucretius, L. 2. v. 9.

217. *Δι' ερωτησεων.*] We see therefore that Parmenides practised the dialectick method of reasoning, which his scholar Zeno first reduced to an art, as Aristotle tells us, and also Laertius, L. 9. § 25.

218. *Σωκρατη.*] The younger Socrates about the same age with Plato and Theætetus. (Vid. Plato Epist. 11.)

226. *Οικετικων ονοματων.*] Vulgar and trivial terms. Vide Longinum, s. 43.

with Theætetus while both Theodorus and Socrates continue silent. The apparent subject of it is the character of a sophist, which is here at large displayed in opposition to that of a philosopher; but here too he occasionally attacks the opinions of Protagoras, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and others, on the incertitude of all existence and on the perpetual flux of matter.

This dialogue, in a translation, would suit the taste of the present age still less even than the Theætetus;

## NOTES.

P. 232. *Τα Πρωταγορεία.*] Laertius (L. 9. sect. 52.) tells us that the works of Protagoras were publicly burnt at Athens, yet he reckons up a number of them as still extant in his time: and we see, both here and in the Theætetus, that they were left by the author, at his departure from Athens, in the hands of Callias, and were known to every one there: *δεδημοσιωμενα που καταβεβληται.*

Ib. *Της Αντιλογικης.*] Protagoras had left a work in two books entitled *Αντιλογικαι*; whence Aristoxenus (Laert. L. 3. s. 37.) accuses Plato of borrowing a great part of his work *De Republica*.

234. *Ὡς εγγυτατω ανευ των παθηματων.*] This is undoubtedly the true reading; *ὡς εγγυτατω μαθηματων* is very poor and insipid.

235. *Ουκουν ὁσοι γε των μεγαλων.*] Hence the Abbé Sallier collects (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, Vol. 8. p. 97.) that the Ancients were no strangers to perspective, both lineal and aerial. See Plato *de Republ.* L. 10. p. 606. on poetical imitation, and Vitruvius, L. 7. c. 5. The words seem only to relate to colossal figures, where the upper parts must be made larger, as they are farther removed from the eye.

Ib. *Της παιδειας μετεχοντων.*] Read, *της παιδιας.*

Ib. *Ουδε αλλο γενοσ ουδεν.*] Plato seems to triumph here in his own method of division and distinction.

particularly that part which is intended to explain the nature of existence, and of non-existence, which to me is obscure beyond all comprehension, partly perhaps from our ignorance of the opinions of those philosophers, which are here refuted; and partly from the abstracted nature of the subject, and not a little, I doubt, from Plato's manner of treating it.

The most remarkable things in this dialogue appear to be, his description of that disorder and want of symmetry in the soul, produced by ignorance, which puts

## NOTES.

P. 237. Παρμενίδης δε ὁ μέγας.] A fragment of Parmenides's Poem. See at large in Sextus Empiricus.

Ib. Αυτον τε καταχρησασθαι, used for χρησασθαι simply.

242. Ὡς τρια τα οντα.] Perhaps Anaxagoras, who thought the formation of animals was ἐξ ὑγρου, και θερμου, και νεωδοῦς. Diog. Laert. L. 2. s. 9. See also Plutarch de Iside et Osiride. Παντων εκ μαχης και αντιπαθειας την γενεσιν εχοντων.

Ib. Δυω δε ετερος ειπων.] See Themistius in Physica Aristotelis, and D. Laert. L. 9. 22 and 29.

Ib. Απο Ξενοφανοῦς και ετι προσθεν.] Xenophanes the Colophonian, was master to Parmenides. We see there was an Eleatic school, even before Xenophanes's time.

Ib. Ερος οντος των παντων.] This was a tenet of Parmenides, though far more ancient than he. See the Theætetus, p. 180. Ὅιον ακινητον τελεθει, &c. : these Plato calls οἱ του Ὄλου στασιωται, and the opposite sect he calls οἱ ρεοντες, the followers of Heraclitus. (Theætetus, p. 181.) This tenet was continued from him to his scholars, Zeno and Melissus. D. Laert. L. 9. s. 29.

Ib. Ιαδες.] Which he calls α' σιντωνωτεραι των Μουσων. I imagine that he speaks of Heraclitus : Σικελικαι αι μαλακωτεραι. he means Empedocles ; Αλλοτε μεν φιλοτητι, &c. ap. Plutarch.

244. Fragment of Parmenides : Παντοθεν ευκυκλου, &c. read the last verse thus : Ουτε βεβαιωτερον πελειω χρωων εστι τη η τη.

it off its bias on its way to happiness, the great end of human actions: the distinction he makes between *Αγνοια* and *Αμαθια*; the first of which, *Αγνοια*, is simply our ignorance of a thing, the latter, *Αμαθια*, an ignorance which mistakes itself for knowledge, and which (as long as this sentiment attends it) is without hope of remedy: the explanation of the Socratic mode of instruction (adapted to this peculiar kind of ignorance) by drawing a person's errors gradually from his own mouth, ranging them together, and exposing to his own eyes their inconsistency and weakness: the comparison of that representation of things given us by the sophists, and pieces of painting, which placed at a

## NOTES.

P. 246. *Γιγαντομαχια*.] Between those whom he calls *οι γηγε-νεις*, the materialists, and the spiritualists, among which was Plato himself.

Ib. *Πετρας και δρυς*.] An allusion to the Giants' manner of fighting, armed with mountains and rocks; and also to that proverb, *Απο δρυος ηδ' απο πετρης*.

249. See the opinions of Heraclitus apud Sext. Empiricum, and in Plato's *Theætetus*.

251. *Τοις οψιμαθεσι*.] Either the sophists themselves, or such as admired their contests.

252. *Εντος υποφθεγγομενον, ως τον αποπον Ευρυκλεα*.] Eurycles was an *Εγγαστριμυθος*, who could fetch a voice from the belly or the stomach, and set up for a prophet. Those who had the same faculty were called after him Euryclitæ. See Aristophanes *Vespæ*, v. 1014. et Scholia. For such as are possessed of this faculty can manage their voice in so wonderful a manner, that it shall seem to come from what part they please, not of themselves only, but of any other person in the company, or even from the bottom of a well, down a chimney, from below stairs, &c. of which I myself have been witness.



certain distance, deceive the young and inexperienced into an opinion of their reality: and the total change of ideas in young men when they come into the world, and begin to be acquainted with it by their own sensations, and not by description. All these passages are extremely good.

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## NOTES.

P. 265. We see here that it was the common opinion, that the creation of things was the work of blind unintelligent nature, *Την Φύσιν πάντα γεννᾶν ἀπο τινος αἰτίας αὐτοματῆς, καὶ ἀνευ διανοίας φουοῦσης*: whereas the contrary was the result of philosophical reflection and disquisition, believed by a few people only.

268. *Ταύτης τῆς γενέας.*] See Hom. *Il.* Z et passim

## POLITICUS.

### Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ.

THIS dialogue is a continuation of the Sophist, as the Sophist is a continuation of the Theætetus; and they are accordingly ranged together by Thrasyllus in that order (Diog. Laert. in Platon. s. 58.); though Serranus in his edition has separated them. The persons are the same, only that here the younger Socrates is introduced, instead of Theætetus, carrying on the conversation with the stranger from Elea. The principal heads of it are the following :

P. 258. The division of the sciences into speculative and practical.

P. 259. The master, the œconomist, the politician, the king; which are taken as different names for men of the same profession.

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani. Vol. 2. p. 257.

P. 257. *Τον Αμμωνα.*] Theodorus was of Cyrene.

264. *Ταῖς ἐν τῷ Νείῳ τιθασσεῖαις.*] Probably in or near those cities of Egypt where the Lepidotus, Oxyrinchus, and other fish of the Nile were worshipped; those fish, by being unmolested and constantly fed, might be grown tame, as in the river Chalus in Syria, mentioned by Xenophon (Cyri Anab. L. 1. p. 254. ed. Leunclav.), where all fish were held sacred.

The private man, who can give lessons of government to such as publicly exercise this art, deserves the name of royal no less than they.

No difference between a great family and a small commonwealth.

The politician must command on his own judgment, and not by the suggestion of others. (*αυτεπιτακτος*.)<sup>1</sup>

P. 262. The absurdity of the Greeks, who divided all mankind into Greeks and barbarians. The folly of all distinction and division without a difference.

P. 269. The fable of the contrary revolutions in the universe at periodical times, with the alternate destruction and reproduction of all creatures.

P. 273. The disorder and the evil in the natural world, accounted for from the nature of <sup>2</sup> matter, while it was yet a chaos.

The former revolution, in which the Divinity himself immediately conducted every thing, is called the

<sup>1</sup> P. 261. *Καν διαφυλαξης το μη σπουδαζειν επι τοις ονομασι, πλουσιωτερος εις το γηρας αναφανηση φρονησεως.*

<sup>2</sup> Plato, with the Pythagoreans, looked upon matter as co-eternal with the Deity, but receiving its order and design entirely from him. (See *Timæus*, the *Loerian*, *de Animâ Mundi*.)

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NOTES.

P. 266. *των προς γελωτα.*] An allusion perhaps to the *Aves* of Aristophanes, or to some other comick writer, for Plato (as well as Socrates) had often been the subject of their ridicule.

*Ib.* *εν τη περι τον σοφιστην.*] V. *Sophistam*, p. 227.

268. *Περι την Ατρεως.*] See Euripid. *Orest.* v. 1001. and *Electra* v. 720.

269. *Μητ' αυ δυω τινε θεω.*] Alluding to the Persian doctrine of a good and of an evil principle.

Saturnian age ; the present revolution, when the world goes the contrary way, being left to its own<sup>1</sup> conduct. Mankind are now guided by their own free-will, and are preserved by their own inventions.

P. 275. The nature of the monarch in this age is no other than that of the people which he commands.

P. 276. His government must be with the consent of the people.

Clear and certain knowledge is rare and in few instances ; we are forced to supply this defect by comparison and by analogy. Necessity of tracing things up to their first principles. Examples of logical division.

Greater, or less, with respect to our actions, are not to be considered as mere relations only depending on one another, but are to be referred to a certain middle term, which forms<sup>2</sup> the standard of morality.

P. 284. All the arts consist in measurement, and are divided into two classes : 1st. those arts which compare dimensions, numbers, or motions, each with its contrary, as greater with smaller, more with less,

<sup>1</sup> He here too, with Timæus, considers the universe as one vast, animated, and intelligent body. Ζων ον, και φρονησιν ειληχος εκ του συναρμοσαντος αυτο κατ' αρχας. p. 269. Τελειον, εμπυχον τε και λογικον, και σφαιροειδες σωμα. Timæus, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> This is the fundamental principle of Aristotle's ethicks, L. 2. c. 7. et passim.

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NOTE.

P. 272. Μυθους.] He seems to allude to the Æsopick (See Aristot. Rhetor. L. 2. Sect. 21.) Libyan, and Sybaritick fables. See Aristophan. Aves v. 471. 652. and 808. and Vespæ v. 1418.

swifter with slower; and 2dly, those, which compare them by their distances from some middle point, seated between two extremes, in which consists what is right, fit, and becoming.

The design of these distinctions, and of the manner used before in tracing out the idea of a sophist and a politician, is to form the mind to a habit of logical division.

The necessity of illustrating our contemplations,<sup>1</sup> on abstract and spiritual subjects, by sensible and material images is stated.

P. 286. An apology<sup>2</sup> for his prolixity.

Principal, and concurrent,<sup>3</sup> or instrumental causes, are named; the division of the latter, with their several productions, is into *seven* classes of arts which are necessary to society: viz.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 286. Thus Mr. Locke, speaking of the institution of language, observes, that "men to give names which might make known to others any operations they felt in themselves, or any other idea which came not under their senses, were fain to borrow words from ordinary known ideas of sensation, by that means to make others the more easily to conceive those operations which they experimented in themselves, which made no outward sensible appearances."

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus has preserved a large fragment of Epierates, a comic poet, in which Plato's divisions are made the subject of his ridicule. L. 2. p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Αιτιον και συναιτιον. Terms also used by the Pythagoreans. Vid. Timæum Locrum in principio.

## NOTE.

P. 283. Μακροτερα του δεουτος.] It is plain, that the length of Plato's digressions had been censured and ridiculed by some of his contemporaries (particularly his dialogue called "the Sophist"), and that he here makes his own apology.

1. Το πρωτογενες ειδος. That class which furnishes materials for all the rest ; it includes the arts of mining, hewing, felling, &c.

2. Οργανον. The instruments employed in all manufactures, with the arts which make them.

3. Αγγειον. The vessels to contain and preserve our nutriment, and other moveables furnished by the potter, joiner, brazier, &c.

4. Οχημα. Carriages, seats, vehicles for the land and water, &c. by the coach-maker, ship and boat-builder, &c.

5. Προβλημα. Shelter, covering, and defence, as houses, clothing, tents, arms, &c. by the architect, weaver, armourer, &c.

6. Παιγιον. Pleasure and amusement, as painting, musick, sculpture, &c.

7. Θρεμμα. Nourishment, supplied by agriculture, hunting, cookery, &c. and regulated by the gymnastick and medical arts.

## NOTES.

P. 284. Το μη ον.] V. Sophist, p. 237.

290. The Egyptian kings were all of them priests, and if any of another class usurped the throne, they too were obliged to admit themselves of that order.

291. Παμφυλον τι γενος.] Vid. mox, p. 303.

299. Μετεωρολογος.] Alluding to the fate of Socrates, and to the Nubes of Aristophanes, as he frequently does. This is a remarkable passage.

302. The corruption of the best form of government is the worst and the most intolerable of all.

Ib. Γην που και λιθους.] See the ancient manner of refining gold, in Diodorus L. 2. or in the Excerpta of Agatharchides de Mari Erythraeo.

303. Αδαμας.] Found in the gold-mines mixed with the ore.

P. 289. None of these arts have any pretence to, or competition with, the art<sup>1</sup> of governing; no more than the *ἱππηρετικὸν καὶ διακονικὸν γένος*, which voluntarily exercise the employment of slaves, such as merchants, bankers, and tradesmen: the priesthood too are included under this head, as interpreters between the gods and men, not from their own judgment, but either by inspiration, or by a certain prescribed ceremonial.

P. 291. There are three kinds of government, monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy: the two first are distinguished into four, royalty, tyranny, aristocracy, and oligarchy-proper.

P. 294. The imperfection of all laws arises from the impossibility of adapting them to the continual change of circumstances, and to particular cases.

P. 296. Force may be employed by the wise and just legislator to good ends.

P. 299. The supposition of a set of rules in physick, in agriculture, or in navigation, drawn up by a majority of the citizens, and not to be transgressed under pain of death; applied to the case of laws made by the people.

P. 307. Some nations are destroyed by an excess of spirit; others by their own inoffensiveness and love of quiet.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle in the same manner calls this great art, *Κυριωτατη καὶ μαλιστα αρχιτεκτονικη των επιστημων καὶ δυναμεων*: τινας γαρ ειναι χρεων εν ταις πολεσι καὶ ποιᾶς ἑκαστους μανθανειν, καὶ μεχρι τινος, αυτη διατασσει. Ὅρωμεν δε τας εντιμοτατας των δυναμεων ὑπο ταυτην ουσας οἶον στρατηγικην, οικονομικην, ῥητορικην, &c. Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. l. 1. c. 2. See also p. 304. of this dialogue.

P. 308. The office of true policy is to temper courage with moderation, and moderation with courage. Policy presides over education.

This dialogue seems to be a very natural introduction to the books *De Republicâ*, and was doubtless so intended. See particularly L. 3. p. 410. &c. and L. 4. p. 442.



## DE REPUBLICA.

ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ,

II

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 327.

THE scene of this dialogue lies at the house of Cephalus, a rich old Syracusan, father to Lysias the orator, then residing in the Piræus, on the day of the Bendidea, a festival, then first celebrated there with processions, races, and illuminations in honour of the Thracian<sup>1</sup> Diana. The persons engaged in the conversation, or present at it, are Cephalus himself, Polemarchus, Lysias and Euthydemus, his three sons; Glauco and Adimantus, sons of Aristo and brothers to Plato; Niceratus, son of Nicias; Thrasymachus the sophist of Chalcedon; Clitophon,<sup>2</sup> son of Aristonymus, and Charmantides of Pæania, and Socrates.

As to the time of these dialogues, it is sure that

<sup>1</sup> She had a temple in the Piræus, called the Bendideum, (Xenoph. Gr. Hist. L. 2. p. 472.) founded perhaps on this occasion. See the Republ. p. 354. "Εἰστιασθῶ ἐν τοῖς Βενδιδαίοις:" the festival was celebrated in the heat of summer, (see Strab. L. 10. p. 471. *Τῶν Βενδιδίων Πλατῶν μνηστῆται.*) on the 19th day of Thargelion, as Proclus tells us, Comment. 1. ad Timæum.

<sup>2</sup> An admirer and scholar of Thrasymachus, (See Clitophon. p. 406.) and friend of Lysias.

Cephalus died about Ol. 84. 1, and that his son Lysias was born fifteen years before Ol. 80. 2, consequently they must fall between these two years, and probably not long before Cephalus's death, when he was seventy years old or more; and Lysias was a boy of ten or twelve and upwards. Therefore I should place it in the 83d Ol. (Vid. *Fastos Atticos* Edit. Corsini, V. 2. Dissert. 13. p. 312.) but I must observe that this is not easily reconcileable with the age of Adimantus and Glauco, who are here introduced, as men grown up, and consequently must be at least thirty-six years older than their brother Plato. If this can be allowed, the action at Megara there mentioned must be that which happened Ol. 83. 2. under Pericles; and the institution of the Bendidea must have been Ol. 83. 3 or 4. It is observable also that Theages is mentioned in L. 6. p. 496 of this dialogue, as advanced in the study of philosophy. He was very young, when his father Demodocus put him under the care of Socrates, which was in Ol. 92. 3. and consequently thirty-five years after the time which Corsini would assign to this conversation.

# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK I.

### HEADS OF THE FIRST DIALOGUE.

The pleasures of old age and the advantages of wealth.

P. 335. The just man hurts no one, not even his enemies.

P. 338. The sophist's definition of justice; namely, that it is the advantage of our superiours,<sup>1</sup> to which the laws of every government oblige the subjects to conform. Refuted.

P. 341. The proof, that the proper office of every art is to act for the good of its inferiors.

P. 343. The sophist's attempt to shew, that justice (*πανν γενναια ειηθεια* p. 348.) is not the good of those who possess it, but of those who do not: and that injustice is only blamed in such as have not the art to carry it to its perfection. Refuted.

P. 347. In a state composed all of good men, no one would be ambitious of governing.

<sup>1</sup> Το του κρειττονος συμφερον—Τιθεται γε τους νομους εκαστη η αρχη προς το αυτη συμφερον' δημοκρατια μεν δημοκρατικους, τυραννις δε τυραννικους, και αλλαι οντω' θεμεναι δε απεφηναν τουτο—δικαιον τοις αρχομενοις ειναι το σφισι συμφερον. Vid. Plat. de Legib. I. 4. p. 714.

P. 349. The perfection of the arts consists in attaining a certain rule of proportion. The musician does not attempt to excel his fellows by straining or stopping his chords higher or lower than they; for that would produce dissonance and not harmony: the physician does not try to exceed his fellows by prescribing a larger or less quantity of nourishment, or of medicines, than conduces to health; and so of the rest. The unjust man therefore, who would surpass all the rest of his fellow-creatures in the quantity of his pleasures and powers, acts like one ignorant in the art of life, in which only the just are skilled.

NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 327. *Κατεβην χθες.*] Vid. Dionys. Halicarnass. de Colloc. Verborum.—Quintil. L. 8. c. ult. A remarkable instance of Plato's nice and scrupulous attention to the sound and numbers of his prose. "Nec aliud potest sermonem facere numerosum, quam opportuna ordinis mutatio; neque alio in ceris Platonis inventa sunt *quatuor illa verba*, (*Κατεβην χθες ες Ηειραία*) quibus in ILLO PULCHERRIMO OPERUM in Piræeum se descendisse significat, plurimis modis scripta, quam quod eum quoque maxime facere experiretur.

Ib. *Τη Θεω.*] To Diana, and not to Minerva, as Serranus imagined. See De Republ. p. 354.

328. *Ὡσπερ τινα ὁδον.*] V. Cicer. de Senect. c. 2. who here and elsewhere has closely imitated these admirable dialogues.

331. *Γηροτροφος.*] A fine fragment of Pindar, and another of Simonides. Tully (Epist. ad Attic. L. 4. E. 16.) has observed the propriety of Cephalus leaving the company, as it was not decent for a man of great age and character to enter into dispute with boys and sophists on such a subject, nor to have continued silent without any share in the conversation. Tully himself had imitated the conduct of Plato, in his books de Republicâ: the interlocutors were Scipio Æmilianus, Lælius, Scævola, Philus,

P. 351. The greatest and most signal injustices, which one state and society can commit against another, cannot be perpetrated without a strict adherence to justice, among the particular members of such a state and society: so that there is no force nor strength without a degree of justice.

P. 352. Injustice even in one single mind must set it at perpetual variance with itself, (*De Republ. L. 8. p. 554.*) as well as with all others.

P. 353. Virtue is the proper office, the wisdom, the strength, and the happiness of the human soul.

## NOTES.

Manilius, and others. Philus there supported the cause of injustice, as Thrasymachus does here; and the whole concluded with a discourse on the Soul's immortality, and the Dream of Scipio, as this does with the Vision of Er, the Pamphylian. Vid. *Cicer. de Amicitia*, C. 5 and 7. and *Macrob. in Somn. Scip. L. 1. c. 1.*

P. 336. *Περδικκον.*] The second of the name, often mentioned by Thucydides.

*Ib. Ισμηγιου.*] This must probably be some ancestor of that Ismenias, who betrayed Thebes to the Spartans about eighteen years after the death of Socrates.

338. Polydamas a celebrated pancratiast, whose statue at Olympia was looked upon as miraculous in after-ages, and was believed to cure fevers. (*Lucian. in Concil. Deor. Vol. 2. p. 714.*)

# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK II.

### HEADS OF THE SECOND DIALOGUE.

P. 357. Good is of three kinds: the *First* we embrace for<sup>1</sup> itself, without regard to its consequences; such are all innocent delights and amusements.

The *Second*, both for itself and for its consequences, as health, strength, sense, &c.

The *Third*, for its consequences only, as labour, medicine, &c. The second of these is the most perfect: the justice of this class. Objection: To consider it

<sup>1</sup> De Legib. L. 2. p. 667.

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### NOTES.

P. 358. 'Ωσπερ οφεις.] An allusion to the manner of charming serpents, both by the power of certain plants and stones, and by incantations, still practised, and pretended to be valid, in the east, and described by many travellers.

360. Επανωιεν αν αυτων.] See Locke on the Human Understanding, C. 3. s. 6.

362. Ανασχινδιλευθησεται.] Hesychius explains it, ανασκολοπισθησαι, ανασταυρωθησαι.

363. Ακρας μεν τε φερειν.] Hesiod Εργ. και Ημερ. v. 233.

Ib. Παιδας γαρ παιδων.] The Oracle given to Glancus. Vid. Herodot. Erato, c. 86. see also the description of the Elysian fields: καλλιστος αρετης μισθος, μεθη αιωνιος. Musæus was of

rightly we must separate it from honour and from reward, and view it simply as it is in itself, viz :

P. 358. Injustice is a real good to its possessor, and justice is an evil : but as men feel more pain in suffering than inflicting injury, and as the greater part are more exposed to suffer it than capable of inflicting it, they have by compact agreed neither to do nor to suffer injustice ; which is a medium calculated for the general benefit, between that which is best of all, namely, to do injustice without fear of punishment, and that which is worst, to suffer it without a possibility of revenge. This is the origin of what we call justice.

Such as practise the rules of justice do it from their inability to do otherwise, and consequently against their will. Story of <sup>1</sup> Gyges's ring, by which he could

<sup>1</sup> V. Cic. de Offic. L. 3. c. 9. where he attributes to Gyges himself what Plato relates of one of his ancestors.

## NOTES.

Eleusis, and scholar to Orpheus ; he addressed a poem which bore the title of *Ἔποθῆκαι*, to his son Eumolpus : they were of Thracian origin :

*Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετας θ' ἡμῶν κατεδειξε, φωνῶν τ' ἀπεχεσθαι·  
Μουσαῖος, δ' ἐξακεσεῖς τε νοσῶν, καὶ χρῆσμονς.* Aristophan.  
Ranæ. v. 1064 ;

where the Scholiast adds, speaking of Musæus ; *Παιδα Σελήνης καὶ Εὐμολποῦ Φιλοχορὸς φησὶν· παραλυσεῖς, καὶ τελετας καὶ καθαρμῶν συντεθεικέν.* Suidas makes him the son of Antiphemus καὶ Ἐλενης (read Σελήνης) γυναικός. But it is apparent, that in Plato's time he was understood to be the son, not of a woman, but of the moon ; and so the inscription on his tomb at Phalerus represents him, which is cited by the Scholiast before-mentioned, and in the Anthologia.

make himself invisible at pleasure. No person, who possessed such a ring, but would do wrong.

P. 360. Life of the perfectly unjust man, who conceals his true character from the world, and that of the perfectly just man who seems the contrary in the eye of the world, are compared: the happiness of the former is contrasted with the misery of the latter.

P. 362. The advantages of probity are not therefore (according to this representation) in itself, but in things exterior to it, in honours and rewards, and they attend not on being, but on seeming, honest.

P. 363. Accordingly the praises bestowed on justice, and the reproaches on injustice, by our parents and governours, are employed not on the thing itself, but on its consequences. The Elysian fields and the punishments of Tartarus are painted in the strongest colours by the poets; while they represent the practice of virtue as difficult and laborious, and that of vice, as easy and delightful. They add, that the gods often

## NOTES.

P. 363. *Eis πηλον.*] See the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes.

*Ib.* *Επαγωγαι και καταδεσμοι των Θεων.*] Incantations and magical rites, to hurt one's enemies, were practised in Greece and taught by vagabond priests and prophets: a number of books ascribed to Musæus and Orpheus were carried about by such people, prescribing various expiatory ceremonies and mysterious rites: so the chorus of Satyrs in the *Cyclops* of Euripides;

Αλλ' οιδ' επωδην Ορφειως αγαθην πανν,  
 'Ως αυτοματον τον δαλον εις το κρανιον  
 Στειχονθ' υφαπτειν τον μονωπα παιδα γης.

V. 642. *Cycl.* Eurip.



bestow misery on the former, and prosperity and success on the latter; and, at the same time, they teach us how to expiate our crimes, and even how to hurt our enemies, by prayers, by sacrifices, and by incantations.

P. 366. The consequence is, (by this mode of argument) that to dissemble well with the world is the way to happiness in *this* life; and for what is to come, we may buy the favour of the gods at a trifling expense.

P. 369. The nature of political justice. The image of a society in its first formation: it is founded on our natural imbecility, and on the mutual occasion we have for each other's assistance. Our first and most pressing necessity, is that of food; the second, of habitation; the third, of clothing. The first and most necessary society must therefore consist of a ploughman, a builder, a shoemaker, and a weaver: but, as they will want instruments, a carpenter and a smith will be requisite; and as cattle will be wanted, as well for their skins and wool, as for tillage and carriage, they must

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NOTES.

P. 364. Fragment of Pindar; *Ποτερον δικας τειχος ὑψιον*, &c. and of Archilochus, *Αλωπεκα ἐλκτεον*, &c. All the ideas which the Greeks had of the gods, were borrowed from the poets.

366. *Οἱ λυσοι θεοι.*] These divinities were probably enumerated in the *Παραλυσεις* of Musæus: there were mysterious rites celebrated to Bacchus under the name of *Λυσοι τελεται*. See Suidas.

368. *Την Μεγαροῦ μαχην.*] This must, as I imagine, be the action particularly described by Thucydides, L. 4. p. 255. which happened Ol. 89. 1, and if so, both Glauco and Adimantus must have been many years older than their brother Plato, who was then but five years old.

take in shepherds and the herdsmen. As one country produces not everything, they will have occasion for some imported commodities, which cannot be procured without exportations in return, so that a commerce must be carried on by merchants; and if it be performed by sea, there will be an occasion for mariners and pilots. Further; as the employment of the shepherds, agricultors, mechanics, merchants, and such persons will not permit them to attend the markets, there must be retailers and tradesmen, and money to purchase with; and there must be servants to assist all these, that is, persons who let out their strength for hire. Such an establishment will not be long without a degree of luxury, which will increase the city with a vast variety of artificers, and require a greater extent of territory to support them: they will then encroach on their neighbours. Hence the origin of war. A militia will be required: but as this is an art, which will engross the whole man, and

## NOTES.

P. 368. Ω παιδες εκεινου του ανδρος.] So Socrates in the Philo-  
bus, speaking of Callias.

372. Ερεβινθων και κναμων.] This was a common dessert  
among the Greeks, both eaten raw, when green and tender, or  
when dry, parched in the fire. See Athenæus, L. 2. p. 54. So  
Xenophanes of Colophon in Parodis:

Χειμωνος εν ωρη

Πινοντα γλυκυν οινον, υποτρωνοντ' ερεβινθους.

And Theocritus, in describing a rustick entertainment,

Οινον απο κρατηρος αφυξω

Παρ πυρι κεκλιμενος κναμον δε τις εν πυρι φρυξει,

Χα στιβας εσσειται πεπυκασμενα εστ' επι παχυν.

Κνυσα τ', ασφοδελω τε, πολυγαμπυτε σελινω.

Theocr. Idyll. 7. v. 65.

take up all his time, to acquire and exercise it, a distinct body will be formed of chosen men for the defence of the state.

P. 374. The nature of a soldier : he must have quickness of sense, agility, and strength, invincible spirit tempered with gentleness and goodness of heart, and an understanding apprehensive and desirous of knowledge.

P. 376. The education of such a person. Errors and dangerous prejudices are instilled into young minds by the Greek poets. The scandalous fables of Homer and of Hesiod, who attribute injustice, enmity, anger and deceit to the gods, are reprobated : and the immutable goodness, truth, justice, mercy, and other attributes of the Divinity are nobly asserted.

## NOTES.

P. 372. ὕων πολιν.] So Crobylus (ap. Athenæum p. 54.) calls this kind of eatables, Πιθηκον τραγηματα, the monkey's dessert.

373. Συβωται.] So he calls the οψοποιοι και μαγειροι, alluding to what Glauco had said before of the ὕων πολις : or perhaps, because the flesh of hogs was more generally eaten and esteemed than any other in Greece, he mentions them principally.

# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK III.

### HEADS OF THE THIRD DIALOGUE.

P. 386. Wrong notions of a future state are instilled into youth by the poets, whence arises an unmanly fear of death.

P. 388. Excessive sorrow and excessive<sup>1</sup> laughter are equally unbecoming a man of worth.

P. 389. Falsehood and<sup>2</sup> fiction are not permitted, but where they are for the good of mankind; and con-

<sup>1</sup> V. Plato. de Legib. L. 5. p. 732.

<sup>2</sup> Plato himself has given the example of such inventions in his Phædo, in his Phædrus, in the De Republ. L. 10: and in the Gorgias he follows the opinion of Timæus and of the Pythagoreans. Vid. de Animâ Mundi, p. 104. Vid. et de Legib. L. 2. p. 663. *Νομοθετης δε ου τι και σμικρον οφελος, &c.*

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#### NOTES.

P. 378. *Ου χοιρον.*] The usual sacrifice before the Eleusinian mysteries. See Aristoph. in Pace,

*Ες χοιριδιον μοι νυν δανεισον τρεις δραχμας,  
Δει γαρ μνηθηναι με. v. 373.*

381. *Περιερχονται νυκτωρ.*] The heroes were supposed to walk in the night, (see Lucian de morte Peregrini, p. 579. Ed. Grævii.) and to strike with blindness, or with some other mischief, any who met them: they who passed by their fanes

sequently they are not to be trusted but in skilful hands.

P. 390. Examples of impiety and of bad morality in the poets,<sup>1</sup> and in other ancient writers.

P. 392. Poetick eloquence is divided into narration (in the writer's own person), and imitation (in some assumed character). Dithyrambicks usually consist wholly of the former, dramattick poesy of the latter, the epick, &c. of both mixed.

P. 395. Early imitation becomes a second nature. The soldier is not permitted to imitate any thing misbecoming his own character, and consequently he is neither permitted to write, nor to play, any part which he himself would not act in life.

P. 396. Imitative expression in oratory, or in gesture, is restrained by the same principle.

Musick must be regulated. The Lydian, Syntonydian, and Ionian harmonies are banished, as accommodated to the soft enervate passions; but the Dorian and the Phrygian harmonies are permitted, as manly,

<sup>1</sup> See also de Republ. L. 8. p. 568.

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NOTES.

always kept a profound silence: see the Aves of Aristophan. v. 1485.

Εἰ γὰρ ἐντυχοὶ τις ἠρωΐ

Ἐν βροτῶν νυκτῶν—κτλ. and the Schol. on the passage.

P. 387. *Αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἀνταρκῆς.*] V. Cicer. de Amicitia, c. 2, who has imitated this passage.

389. *Ἐν οἱ δημοεργοὶ εἴσω.*] Hom. Odys. P. v. 383.

393. *Μιμεισθαί.*] Tully says of himself: "Ipse mea legens, sic interdum afficior, ut Catonem, non me, loqui existimem." (De Amicit. c. 1.)

decent, and persuasive. All instruments of great compass and of luxuriant harmony, the lyra, the cythara, and the fistula, are allowed; and the various rhythms or movements are in like manner restrained.

## NOTES.

P. 398. *Μιξολυδιστι.*] The Dorian harmony is thus described by Heraclides Ponticus ap. Athenæum, L. 14. p. 624. *Ἡ μὲν οὖν Δωριος ἄρμονια το ἀνδρωδὲς ἐμφαίνει καὶ το μεγαλοπρεπες, καὶ οὐ διακεχυμενον οὐδ' ἴλαρον, ἀλλὰ σκυθρωπον καὶ σφοδρον, οὐτε δε ποικιλον, οὐτε πολυτροπον.* The Syntono-Lyidian and Ionian are mentioned by Pratinas; (Athenæus ib.)

*Μη συντονον διωκε, μητ' ἀνειμενην*

*Ἰαστι οὐσαν.* Athenæus ut sup. (Platon. Lachet. p. 188.) The Ionian was frequently used in the tragick chorus, as being accommodated to sorrow, as was also the Mixo-Lyidian, invented by Sappho. See Burette on Plutarch de Musicâ, note 102. 103. Vol. 10. and 13. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres.*

399. *Τριγωνων.*] The *Τριγωνος* was a triangular lyre of many strings, of Phrygian invention, used (as the *Πηκτις*) to accompany a chorus of voices. The latter is said to have been first used by Sappho:

*Πολυς δὲ Φρυξ τριγωνος, ἀτισπαστα γὰρ  
Ἀυδης ἐφυμῶει πηκτιδος συγχορδια.*

Sophocles in Mysis, ap. Athenæum, L. 14. p. 635, where perhaps we should read *Ἀυδης* for *Ἀυδης*; for Pindar, cited in the same place, calls the *Πηκτις* a Lydian instrument, and Aristoxenus makes it the same as the *Μαγαδης*, which Anacreon tells us had twenty strings; afterwards, according to Apollodorus, it was called *Ψαλτηριον*.

400. *Τρια εἶδη, ἐξ ὧν αἱ βάσεις πλεκονται.*] *Τέτταρα, ὅθεν αἱ πασαι ἄρμονιαί.*

*Ib. Eis Δαμωνα.*] (V. Lachetem, p. 180.) These opinions of Plato on the efficacy of harmony and rhythm seem borrowed from Damon: *Οὐ κακῶς λεγοῦσι ὅτι περὶ Δαμωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ὅτι τὰς ὠδὰς καὶ τὰς ὀρχησεις ἀναγκη γινεσθαι κινουμένης πῶς τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐλευθεροὶ καὶ καλοὶ ποιοῦσι τοιαύτας· αἱ δ' ἐναντῖαι τὰς ἐναντίας.* Athenæus, L. 14. p. 628.

P. 401. The same<sup>1</sup> principle is extended to painting, sculpture, architecture, and to the other arts.

P. 403. Love is permitted, but abstracted from bodily enjoyment. Diet and exercises, plain and simple meats, are prescribed.

P. 405. Many judges and physicians are a sure sign of a society ill-regulated both in mind and in body. Ancient physicians knew no medicines but for wounds, fractures, epidemical distempers, and other acute complaints. The diætetick and gymnastick method of

<sup>1</sup> Ἴνα μὴ ἐν κακίας εἰκοσι τρεφομενοὶ ἡμῖν οἱ φυλάκες, ὡσπερ ἐν κακῇ βοτάνῃ, πολλὰ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας κατὰ σμικρὸν ἀπο πολλῶν δρεπομενοὶ τε καὶ νεμομενοὶ, ἐν τῇ ξινιστάντες λαμβάνωσι κακὸν μέγα ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ψυχῇ. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοὺς ζήτητεον τοὺς δημιουργοὺς, τοὺς εὐφύως δυνάμενοὺς ἰχνεύειν τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ εὐσχημοῦ φύσιν· ἰν', ὡσπερ ἐν υγιεινῷ τοπῷ οἰκοντες, οἱ νεοὶ ὠφελῶνται ἀπο παντός, ὅποθεν ἀν αὐτοῖς ἀπο τῶν καλῶν ἐργῶν ἢ πρὸς οἶψιν ἢ πρὸς ἀκοῇν τι προσβαλῆ, ὡσπερ αὐρα φεροῦσα ἀπο χρηστῶν τοπῶν ἰγυειαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν λαμβάνῃ εἰς ὁμοιοτητα τε καὶ φιλιαν καὶ συμφωνίαν τῷ καλῷ λόγῳ ἀγούσα. Πολυ καλλίστα οὕτω τραφεῖεν. De Republ. 3. p. 400.

## NOTES.

P. 404. Ἐπνωδῆς αὐτῇ.] Euripides describes them as great eaters; Ἰναθου τε δούλος νηδυος θ' ἠσσημενος. Fragment. Autolyçi (Dramatis Satyrici) ap. Athenæum, L. 10. p. 413, where Athenæus gives many instances of extreme voracity in the most famous athleteæ, and adds, πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀθληταὶ μετὰ τῶν γυμνασμάτων καὶ ἐσθίειν πολλὰ διδασκονται.

1b. Συρακουσιῶν τραπεζᾶν.] Vid. Plat. Epist. 7. p. 326. 327. and 336.

405. Φειγῶν καὶ διωκῶν.] The image of the talents and turn of the Athenians at that time.

437. Πιλιδία.] Sick people went abroad in a cap, or little hat.

cure, or rather of protracting diseases, was not known before Herodicus introduced it.

P. 409. The temper and disposition of an old man of probity, fit to judge of the crimes of others, is described.

P. 410. The temper<sup>1</sup> of men, practised in the exercises of the body, but unacquainted with musick and with letters, is apt to run into an obstinate and brutal fierceness; and that of the contrary sort, into indolence and effeminacy. The gradual neglect of this, in both cases, is here finely painted.

P. 412. Choice of such of the soldiery, as are to rise to the magistracy; namely, of those, who through their life, have been proof to pleasure and to pain.

P. 414. An example of a beneficial fiction. It is difficult to fix in the minds of men a belief in fables, originally; but it is very easy to deliver it down to posterity, when once established.

P. 416. The habitation of the soldiery: all luxury in building to be absolutely forbidden them: they are to have no patrimony, nor possessions, but to be supported and furnished with necessaries from year to year by the citizens; they are to live and eat in common, and to use no plate, nor jewels, nor money.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Platon. Politicum, p. 307 and 308.

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NOTES.

P. 409. Ουκουν και ιατρικην.] See the Gorgias, p. 587 and 588.

414. Φοινικικον τι.] He alludes to the Theban fable of the earth-born race, which sprang from the dragon's teeth, and which, in another place, he calls Το του Σιδωνιου μυθολογημα, meaning Cadmus. See de Legibus, L. 2. p. 663.



# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK IV.

### HEADS OF THE FOURTH DIALOGUE.

P. 419. Objection : that the *Φυλακες* (or soldiery), in whose hands the government is placed, will have less happiness and enjoyment of life than any of the meanest citizens.<sup>1</sup>

Answer : that it is not the intention of the legislature to bestow superiour happiness on any one class of men in the state ; but that each shall enjoy such a measure of it, as is consistent with the preservation of the whole.

P. 421. Opulence and poverty are equally destructive of a state ;<sup>2</sup> the one producing luxury, indolence, and

<sup>1</sup> See De. Republ. L. 5. p. 466. and L. 7. p. 519.

<sup>2</sup> See De Legib. L. 5. p. 729 and 743.

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 420. *Ανδριαντας γραφοντας.*] *Ανδριας* seems used here for a painting, and not for a statue.

Ib. *Ξυστιδας.*] *Ξυστις* was a long variegated mantle, which swept the ground, worn by the principal characters in tragedy, and on great solemnities by the Greek women :

*Βυσσοιο καλον συροισα χιτωνα,*

*Καμψιστελαμενα ταν ξυστιδα ταν Κλεαριστας.*

Theocrit. Id. 2. v. 73.

a spirit of innovation ; the other producing meanness, cunning, and a like spirit of innovation.

The task of the magistracy is to keep both the one and the other out of the republick.

P. 422. Can such a state, without a superfluity of treasure, defend itself, when attacked by a rich and powerful neighbour ?

As easily as a champion, exercised for the olympick games, could defeat one or more rich fat men unused to fatigue, who should fall upon him in a hot day.

The advantage of such a state, which neither needs riches nor desires them, in forming alliances.

Every republick formed on another plan, though it bear the name of a state, is in reality several states included under one name ; the rich making one<sup>1</sup> state, the poor another, and so on ; always at war among themselves.

P. 423. A body of a thousand men bred to war, and united by such an education and government as this, is superiour even in number to any thing that almost any state in Greece could produce.

P. 424. No innovation is to be ever admitted in the original plan of education. A change of<sup>2</sup> musick in a country betokens a change in their morals.

<sup>1</sup> See De Republ. L. 8. p. 551.

<sup>2</sup> This was an opinion of the famous Damon. See De Legib. L. 2. p. 657. and L. 3. p. 700.

NOTES.

P. 420. *Οστρειω.*] The colour of the purple-fish used in painting, and not only in dying ; so in Plato's Cratylus : *Ενιοτε μεν οστρεον, ενιοτε δε οτιουν αλλο φαρμακον επηρεγκαν.*

427. *Εξηγητης.*] See Plato's Euthyphro.

P. 425. Fine satire on the Athenians, and on their demagogues.

P. 428. The political wisdom of the new-formed state is seated in the magistracy.

P. 429. Its bravery is seated in the soldiery: in what it consists.

P. 430. The nature of temperance: the expression<sup>1</sup> of *subduing one's self*, is explained; when reason, the superiour part of the mind, preserves its empire over the inferiour, that is, over our passions and desires. The temperance of the new republick, whose wisdom and valour (in the hands of the soldiery) exercise a just power over the inferiour people by their own consent, is described.

P. 433. Political justice distributes to every one his proper province of action, and prevents each from encroaching on the other.

P. 435. Justice in a private man: its similitude to the former is stated. The three distinct<sup>2</sup> faculties of

<sup>1</sup> See De Legib. L. 1. p. 626.    <sup>2</sup> De Republ. L. 9. p. 580.

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NOTES.

P. 427. Του Ομφαλου.] See Pausan. Phocic.

429. 'Αλουργα.] Cloths dyed purple would bear washing with soap (μετα ρυμματων), without losing their bloom, το ανθος  
430. Ετι καλλιον δι'μεν.] As he has done in the Laches.

433. Και ταυτη αρα ποιητου οικειου τε και εαυτου.] Perhaps we should read, του ποιειν το οικειον τε και το εαυτου, &c. i.e. η οικειοπραγια, as he afterwards calls it.

435. The Scythians, the Thracians, and other northern nations (οι κατα τον ανω τοπον, and, as Virgil says, "Mundus ut ad *Scythiam* Riphæasque arduus arces *Assurgit*, &c.) were distinguished by their ferocity, the Greeks by their curiosity and

the soul, namely, appetite, or desire, reason, and indignation; or the concupiscible, the rational, and the irascible, are described.

P. 441. The first made to obey the second, and the third to assist and to strengthen it. Fortitude is the proper virtue of the irascible, wisdom of the rational, and temperance of the concupiscible, preserving a sort of harmony and consent between the three.

P. 443. Justice is the result of this union, maintaining each faculty in its proper office.

P. 444. The description<sup>1</sup> of injustice.

P. 445. The uniformity of virtue, and the infinite variety of vice. Four more distinguished kinds of it are enumerated, whence arise four<sup>2</sup> different kinds of bad government.

<sup>1</sup> V. Plat. Sophist. p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Plat. Politicum, p. 291.

#### NOTES.

love of knowledge, and the Phœnicians and Egyptians by their desire of gain. (See de Legibus, L. 5. p. 747.) Plato marks the threefold distinction of men in these words; *Εισω ανθρωπων τριττα γενη φιλοσοφον, φιλονεικος, φιλοκερδες*. p. 581.

439. The story of Leontius the son of Aglaïon.

Ib. Δημειω.] The place in which the bodies of malefactors were exposed, so called.

Ib. Το Βορειον.] See the Gorgias, p. 453.

# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK V.\*

### HEADS OF THE FIFTH DIALOGUE.

P. 451. On the education of the women. There is no natural difference between the sexes, but in point of strength; their exercises, therefore, both of body and mind, are to be alike, as are their employments in the state.

\* It is probable that this (the 5th) book of the *Πολιτειαί* and perhaps the 3rd. were written when Plato was about thirty-five years old, for he says in his 7th Epistle, (speaking of himself before his first voyage into Sicily) *Λεγειν τε ηγακασθην, επαινων την ορθην φιλοσοφιαν*, &c. p. 326; and Aulus Gellius says, "Quod Xenophon inclito illi operi Platonis, quod de optimo statu reipublicæ civitatisque administrandæ scriptum est, lectis ex eo duobus fere libris, qui primi in vulgus exierant, opposuit contra, scripsitque diversum regiæ administrationis genus, quod *Παιδειας Κυρον* inscriptum est, &c. L. 14. c. 3. I know not how ancient the division of this work into ten books may be; but there is no reason at all for it, the whole being one continued conversation.

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 450. *Χρυσοχορησοντας οει.*] A proverbial expression used of such as are idly employed, or sent (as we say) on a fool's errand. See Erasmii Adagia, Aurifex.

P. 452. Custom is forced in time to submit to reason. The sight of men exercising<sup>1</sup> naked, was once held indecent in Greece, till the Cretans first, and then the Lacedæmonians, introduced it : it is still held scandalous by the Persians, and by other barbarians.

P. 454. When the entire sexes are compared with each other, the female is doubtless the inferior : but, in individuals, the woman has often the advantage of the man.

P. 456. Choice of the female soldiery. (*αἱ Φυλακειαί.*)

P. 457. Wives in common to all men of the same class. Their times of meeting to be regulated on solemn days accompanied with solemn ceremonies and sacrifices, by the magistracy, who are to contrive by lots

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐγυμνωθησαν τε πρωτοι οἱ Λακεδαιμονιοι, και ες το φανερον αποδυντες, λιπα μετα του γυμναζεσθαι ηλειψαντο' το δε παλαι εν τω Ολυμπιακω αγωνι διαζωματα εχοντες περι τα αιδοια οἱ αθληται ηγωνιζοντο, και ου πολλα ετη επειδη κεπανται, &c.* See Thucyd. L. 1. c. 6. This change is said to have been made about the 32d Olymp. See also Etymolog. in *Γυμνασiai* and Schol. ad Hom. Il. Ψ.

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NOTES.

P. 452. *Ἐων χαριεντων σκωμματα.*] Vid. Platon. Politicum. p. 266.

454. The difficulty of avoiding disputes merely about words. *Ἡ γενναια δυναμις της αντιλογικης τεχνης.* Δοκουσι γαρ μοι εις αυτην και ακοντες εμπιπτειν, και οισθαι ουκ εριζειν, αλλα διαλεγεσθαι, δια το μη δυνασθαι κατ' ειδη διαιρουμενοι το λεγομενον επισκοπειν, αλλα, κατ' αυτο το ονομα, διωκειν του λεχθεντος την εναντιωσιν, εριδι ου διαλεκτω προς αλληλους χρωμενοι.

457. *Ατελη του γελοιου.*] An allusion to some passage of a poet ; and also to some comick writer, perhaps Aristophanes or Epierates, who had ridiculed this institution.

(the secret management of which is known to them alone) that the best and bravest of the men may be paired with women of like qualities, and that those, who are less fit to breed, may come together very seldom.

P. 460. Neither fathers nor mothers are to know their own children, which, when born, are to be conveyed to a separate part of the city, and there (so many of them as the magistrate shall choose) to be brought up by nurses appointed for that purpose.

The time of propagation to be limited, in the men from thirty years of age to fifty-five, in the women from twenty to forty. No children born of parents

## NOTES.

P. 458. The following is so just a description of the usual contemplations of indolent persons, especially if they have some imagination, that I cannot but transcribe it. *Εασον με έορτασαι, ώσπερ οι αργοι την διανοιαν ειωθασιν έστιασθαι ύφ' έαντων, οταν μονοι πορευωνται· και γαρ οι τοιοιτοι που, πριν εξευρειν τινα τροπον εσται τι ών επιθυμοϋσι, τουτο παρεντες, ίνα μη καμνωσι βουλευομενοι περι του δυνατου, και μη, θεντες ώς ύπαρχον δ βουλονται, ηδη τα λοιπα διαταττουσι, και χαιρουσι διεξιοντες οια δρασουσι γενομενου, αργον και αλλως ψυχην ετι αργοτεραν ποιουντες.*

460. This was actually the practice of Sparta, (See Plutarch in Lycurgo) where the old men of each tribe sate in judgment on the new-born infants, and, if they were weakly or deformed, ordered them to be cast into a deep cavern, near mount Taygetus!!! Thence also are borrowed the prohibition of gold and silver, the *ξυσσιτια*, or custom of eating together in publick, the naked exercises of the women, the community of goods, the general authority of the old men over the young, the simplicity of musick and of diet, the exemption of the soldiery from all other business, and most of the fundamental institutions in Plato's republick, as Plutarch observes in his Lycurgus.

under or above this term to be brought up, but exposed, and the parents severely censured; as are all who meet without the usual solemnities, and without the license of the magistrate.

P. 461. All children, born within seven or ten months from the time any person was permitted to propagate, are to be considered as their own children: all that are born within the time, in which their parents are suffered to breed, are to regard each other as brethren. Marriage is to be prohibited between persons in these circumstances.

P. 462. Partiality and dissension among the soldiery are prevented by these appointments. A fellow-feeling of pleasures and of pains is the strongest band of union which can connect mankind.

P. 466. Children are to be carried out to war very

## NOTES.

P. 473. *Ῥιψαντας τα ιματια.*] It was the custom of the Greeks, when they prepared themselves for sudden action, to throw off their pallium: so the chorus in Aristophanes's *Irene*, v. 728. *Acharn.* v. 626. *Lysistrat.* 663 and 687, and *Thesmophor.* v. 663, lay by their upper garment to dance the *Parabasis*.

474. *Ερωτικῶ.*] Vid. p. 402 and 368. L. 3 and 2.

Ib. *Ὁ μὲν ὅτι σίμος.*] This is imitated by Ovid. *de Arte Amandi* L. 2. v. 657.

Nominibus mollire licet mala; fusca vocetur,

Nigrior Illyricâ cui pice sanguis erit, &c.

and by *Lucretius*, L. 4. v. 1150. "*Nigra, μελιχροος, est &c.*" Whence H. *Stephanus* would correct this passage, and read for *μελαγχλωρους, μελιχροου*, but the true reading is *μελιχλωρου*. So *Theocritus Idyll.* 10. v. 26.

*Συραν καλεοντι τυ παντες,*

*Ἰσχυραν, ἀλιοκαυστον' εγω δε μονος μελιχλωρον.*



early, to see and to learn their intended profession, and wait on their parents in the field.

P. 468. A soldier, who deserts his rank, or throws away his arms, is to be reduced to the rank of a mechanick: he, who is taken prisoner alive, is never to be ransomed.—The reward of the bravest.

P. 469. It is not permitted to reduce a Greek to captivity, nor to strip the dead of any thing but of their arms, which are forbidden to be dedicated in the temples; it is not permitted to ravage the country farther than to destroy the year's crop, or to burn the buildings.

P. 472. The reason, why a state, thus instituted,

## NOTES.

P. 474. Περθεουσι τοις Διονυσιοις.] The Dionysia were celebrated three times \* a year at Athens, the *Ανθεστηρια* in the month which took its name from them, and answers nearly to our February; the *Αθηναια* immediately afterwards in the same month, anciently called *Αθηναίων*; and the *Διονυσια εν Αστει*, (particularly so named) between the eighth and eighteenth of Elaphebolion (or March), and once in the Piræus. All these were accompanied with tragedies, comedies, and other musical entertainments. There were also *Τα κατ' αγρου* solemnized in the country in Posideon, or December. The Scholiast on Aristophanes, and some other authors, confound these with the Lenæa, which were undoubtedly held in the city.

Ib. *των κατα Κωμης*.] We see therefore that chorusses were performed in the *villages* on these festivals, as well as in the city. Isocrates indeed tells us, that the city was divided into *Κωμαι*, and the country into *Δημοι*. (Areopagit.)

\* See the *Fasti Attici* Edw. Corsini V. 2. Diss. 13. and Spanheim. ad *Ranas Aristophan.* in procinio, who imagines those in the Piræus to be the same with the *Anthesteria*.

seems an impossibility. No people will ever be rightly governed, till kings shall be philosophers, or philosophers be kings.

P. 474. The description of a genius truly philosophick.

P. 476. The distinction of knowledge and opinion.

# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK VI.

### HEADS OF THE SIXTH DIALOGUE.

PLATO is no where more admirable than in this book : the thoughts are as just as they are new, and the elocution is as beautiful as it is expressive ; it can never be read too often : but towards the end it is excessively obscure.

P. 485. The love of truth is the natural consequence of a genius truly inclined to philosophy. Such a mind will be little inclined to sensual pleasures, and consequently will be temperate, and a stranger to avarice and to illiberality.

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 485. Της ουσιας της αι ουσης, και μη πλανωμενης ὑπο γενεσεως και φθορᾶς.] Our general abstracted ideas, as they exist in the mind independent of matter which is subject to continual changes, were regarded by Plato as the sole foundations of knowledge, and emanations, as it were, from the divinity himself.

Ib. Of ideas independent of matter. Το τω σκοτω κεκραμενον, το γιγνομενον τε και απολλυμενον, ορ το αισθητον, are put in opposition to the το νοητον, το οντως ον, ή ουσια. Thus he calls pure speculative geometry, ή του αι οντος γνωσις. See Mr. Locke on the reality of our knowledge with regard to mathematical truths. L. 4. c. 4. s. 6. See also De Republ. L. 9. p. 585.

P. 486. Such a mind, being accustomed to the most extensive views of things and to the sublimest contemplations, will contract an habitual greatness, and look down, as it were, with disregard on human life and on death, the end of it; and consequently will possess the truest fortitude. Justice is the result of these virtues.

Apprehension and memory are two fundamental qualities of a philosophick mind.

P. 487. Such a genius is made by nature to govern mankind.

Objection from experience: *that*, such as have devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, and have made it the employment of their maturer age, have turned out either very bad men, or entirely useless to society.

P. 488. Their inutility, with regard to government, is allowed and accounted for. The comparison of a bad government to a ship, where the mariners have agreed to let their pilot have no hand in the steerage, but to take that task upon themselves.

## NOTES.

P. 488. Μεγεθει μεν και βωμη.] Aristotle (Rhetor. L. 3. 121.) speaking of similes, mentions this of Plato; ἡ εἰς τον δημον, ὁμοιος ναυκληρω, ισχυρω μεν, ὑποκωφω δε. The image seems borrowed from the Equites of Aristophanes.

Ib. 'Οι γραφεις τραγελαφους.] The figures of mixed animals, such as are seen in the grotesque ornaments of the ancients, and imitated by the modern painters, &c.

Ib. Μητε εχοντα αποδειξαι.] Vid. Menonem, et Protagoram, p. 357.

Ib. Μετεωροσκοπον.] Vid. Politicum, p. 299, and Xenoph. Economic. p. 494. 496.

P. 491. Those very endowments, before described as necessary to the philosophick mind, are often the ruin of it, especially when joined to the external advantages of strength, beauty, nobility, and wealth, when they light in a bad soil, and do not meet with their proper nurture, which an excellent education only can bestow.

Extraordinary virtues and extraordinary vices are equally the produce of a vigorous mind: little souls are alike incapable of one or of the other.

The corruption of young minds is falsely attributed to the sophists, who style themselves philosophers: it is the publick example which depraves them; the assemblies of the people, the courts of justice, the camp, and the theatres, inspire them with false opinions, elevate them with false applause, and fright them with false infamy. The sophists do no more than confirm the opinions of the publick, and teach how to humour its passions and to flatter its vanities.

P. 495. As few great geniuses have strength to resist the general contagion, but leave philosophy abandoned and forlorn, though it is their own peculiar pro-

## NOTES.

P. 489. *Ὁ τουτο κομψευσαμενος.*] i.e. Simonides: who, when his wife asked him, *Ποτερον γενεσθαι κρειττον, πλουσιον, η σοφον*; answered, *Πλουσιον* *τους γαρ σοφους ὄραν επι ταις των πλουσιων θυραις διατριβοντας.* Aristot. Rhetor. L. 2. p. 92.

490. *Ἀγγοι ωδίνος.*] Vid. Sympos. p. 206.

493. *Ἡ Διομηδεαι.*] Vid. Erasmi Adagia.

494. *Εαν τις ηρεμα.*] The two conversations with Alcibiades are an example of this.

495. *Εκ των τεχνων.*] This seems to be aimed at Protagoras, who was an ordinary countryman and a woodcutter.

vince, the sophists step into their vacant place, assume their name and air, and cheat the people into an opinion of them. They are compared to a little old slave (worth money) dressed out like a bridegroom to marry the beautiful, but poor, orphan daughter of his deceased lord.

P. 495. A description of the few of true genius who escape depravation, and devote themselves really to philosophy; which happens commonly either from some ill fortune, or from weakness of constitution. The reason why they must necessarily be excluded from publick affairs, unless in this imaginary republick.

P. 500. The application of these arguments to the proof of his former proposition, namely, that until princes shall be philosophers or philosophers shall be princes, no state can be completely happy.

P. 503. The *Φυλακες*, therefore, are to be real philo-

## NOTES.

P. 496. *Ὑπο φυγῆς.*] This was the case with Pythagoras, and other great men, particularly with Dion, Plato's favourite scholar; though I rather imagine, that this part of the dialogue was written before Dion's banishment.

Ib. *Θεαγει.*] Theages died before Socrates, a very young man.

497. *Ὅταν και ἀπτομενοι.*] This is a remarkable passage, as it shews the manner in which the Athenians usually studied philosophy, and Plato's judgment about it, which was directly opposite to the common practice.

Ib. *Αποσβεννυνται πολυ μαλλον του Ἡρακλειτειου ἡλιου, ὅσον αυθις ουκ εξαπτονται.*] P. 498. *Eis ekeiwon ton βιον.* Does he speak of some future state?

499. *Ὅταν αυτη ἡ Μουσα.*] So in the *Philebus*; *των εν Μουση φιλοσοφω μεμαντευμενων ἐκαστοτε λογων.* p. 67.

sophers. The great difficulty is to find the requisite qualifications of mind united in one person. Quickness of apprehension and a retentive memory, vivacity and application, gentleness and magnanimity, rarely go together.

P. 505. The idea of the supreme good is the foundation of philosophy, without which all acquisitions are useless. The cause of knowledge and of truth is compared to light; truth, to the power which bodies have of reflecting light, or of becoming visible; and the sovereign good itself is compared to the<sup>1</sup> sun, the lord and father of light.

P. 509. The author of being is superiour to all being.

P. 510. There are different degrees of certainty in the objects of our understanding.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Πατηρ και Κυριος. Vid. Plat. Epist. 6. et Epist. 2. p. 312. et Macrob. L. 1. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Aristot. Metaphys. on these opinions of Plato, L. 1. p. 338. and L. 6. p. 365.

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NOTES.

P. 499. *Εν βασιλειαίς οντων ύιέσω, η αυτοίς.*] I do not doubt, but that this was meant as a compliment and incitement to the younger Dionysius (See Plato Epist. 7. p. 327), of whom both Dion and Plato had once entertained great hopes; and I understand what follows, p. 502, *Αλλα μεν εις ικανος γενομενος*, &c. in the same manner. Hence it seems that this part of the dialogue was written after his first voyage to Sicily, and probably not long before his second, about Ol. 103, 1, when the elder Dionysius was just dead.

504. *Τριττα ειδη ψυχης.*] See Lib. 4. Πολιτ. p. 439. et sequent.

505. *Ουκ εχουσι δεξαι τις φρονησις.*] Vid. Platonis Philebum, passim.

## DE REPUBLICA.

### BOOK VII.

#### HEADS OF THE SEVENTH DIALOGUE.

P. 514. The state of mankind is compared to that of persons confined in a vast cavern from their birth, with their legs fettered, and with their heads so placed in a machine that they cannot turn them to the light, which shines full in at the entrance of the cave, nor can they see such bodies as are continually in motion, passing and repassing behind them, but only the shadows of them, as they fall on the sides of the grotto directly before their eyes.

If any one should set them free from this confinement, oblige them to walk, and drag them from their cavern into open day, they would hang back or move

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 514. *Εν δεσμοῖς.*] The machine called *Κυφῶν* or *Κλοῖον*, and the *Πεντεσυριγγῶν ξύλον*, which served at once as a pillory and a pair of stocks, confining at the same time the head, arms, and legs of the prisoner, was commonly used in Greece. See Aristophan. *Equites*. v. 1046.

Ib. *Τα παραφραγματα.*] A screen or fence of three or four feet in height, still in use round the stages of mountebanks and jugglers.



with unwillingness or pain ; their eyes would be dazzled with the brightness of each new object, and comprehend nothing distinctly ; they would long for their shadows and darkness again, till, being more habituated to light, they would first be brought to gaze on the images of things reflected in the water, or elsewhere ; then on the bodies themselves ; then on the skies, on the stars and the moon, and gradually on the sun himself, whom they would learn to be the source and the author of all these beautiful appearances.

If any thing should induce one of these persons to descend again into his native cavern, his eyes would not for a long time be reconciled to darkness, his old fellow-prisoners would treat him as stupid and blind, would say that he had spoiled his eyes in those upper regions, and grow angry with him, if he proposed to set them at liberty.

P. 519. An early good education is the only thing which can turn the eyes of our mind from the darkness and uncertainty of popular opinion to the clear light of truth. It is the interest of the publick neither to suffer unlettered and unphilosophick minds to meddle with government, nor to allow men of knowledge to give themselves up for their whole life to contemplation, as the first will have no principle to act upon, and the others no practice nor inclination to business.

P. 522. The use of the mathematicks,<sup>1</sup> in education, is principally to abstract the mind from sensible and

<sup>1</sup> Arithmetick and geometry, to which studies astronomy, and the mathematical musick, and lastly logick to crown the whole, are to succeed. See also Phileb. p. 58 and 61.

material objects, and to turn it to contemplate certain general and immutable truths whence it may aspire to the knowledge of the supreme good, who is immutable, and is the object only of the understanding.

The great improvement of a mind versed in these sciences which quicken and enlarge the apprehension, and inure us to intense application, and what are their practical uses, particularly in military knowledge, is eloquently described.

P. 537. The *Φυλακες* are to be initiated in mathematical knowledge and studies before seventeen, and for three years more are to be confined to their continual and necessary<sup>1</sup> exercises of the body, that is, till about twenty years of age; they are not to enter upon logick till after thirty, in which they are to continue five years.

Knowledge is not to be implanted in a free-born mind by force and violence, but by gentleness accompanied with art and by every kind of<sup>2</sup> invitation.

The dangerous situation of the mind, when it is quitting the first prejudices of education and has not

<sup>1</sup> When they are to be presented with a general view of the sciences, of which they have hitherto tasted separately, and are to compare them all together.

<sup>2</sup> Among which honour is the most prevailing. See p. 551.

NOTES.

P. 531. *Αλαζονειας χορδων.*] Terms of art used by the professed musicians.

Ib. *Του προοιμου.*] A musical prelude to introduce a more regular composition, called *ὁ Νομος*. "*Ομη cantus est, et citharædi pauca illa, quæ, antequam legitimum carmen inchoent, emerendi favoris gratiâ canunt, præcæmium vocaverunt.*" Quintil. L. 4.

yet discovered the true principles of action, is here admirably described. It is compared to a youth brought up in affluence (and surrounded by flatterers) by persons who have passed hitherto for his parents, but are not really so; when he has found out the imposition, he will neglect those whom he has hitherto obeyed and honoured, and will naturally incline to the advice of his flatterers, till he can discover those persons to whom he owes his duty and his birth.

The levity, the heat, and the vanity of our *first* youth make it an improper time to be trusted with reasoning and disputation, which is only fit for a mind grown cooler and more settled by years; as old age on the other hand weakens the apprehension, and renders us incapable of application.

From thirty-five to fifty years of age the *Φυλακες* are to be obliged to administer the publick affairs, and to act in the inferiour offices of the magistracy; after fifty they are to be admitted into the highest philosophy, the doctrine of the supreme good, and are in their turn to submit to bear the superiour offices of the state.

## NOTES.

c. 7. Vid. et de Legibus, L. 3. p. 700. Νομους δε (αυτο τουτο τ' οιννομα) εκαλουν, ωδην ως τινα ετεραν\* επελεγον δε και κιθαρωδικους. And in L. 4. p. 722. Και δη που κιθαρωδικης ωδης λεγομενων Νομων, και πασης μουσης, προοιμα θαναμαστως εσπουδασμενα προκειται.

P. 540. Δεκετων.] This is undoubtedly a false reading for *ἐξηκονταετων* or *ἐβδομηκονταετων*; so that, till some MSS. inform us better, we must remain in the dark as to the age, when Plato would permit his statesmen to retire wholly from the world.

# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK VIII.

### HEADS OF THE EIGHTH DIALOGUE.

PLATO here resumes the subject which he had dropped at the end of the fourth book. (p. 445.)

P. 544. Four distinct kinds of government are enumerated, which deviate from the true form, and gradually grow worse and worse: namely, 1. the timocracy, (so he calls the Lacedæmonian or Cretan constitution,) 2. the oligarchy, 3. the democracy, and 4. tyranny: they are produced by as many different corruptions of the mind and manners of the inhabitants.

P. 545. The change from the true aristocracy (or constitution of Plato's republick) to a timocracy is described. Every thing, which has had a beginning,

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 544. [Ἡ Κρητικῆ.] Lycurgus borrowed his constitution from that of the Cretans, as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, and other writers, allow; and it is plain, that Plato thought it the best form of government that any where existed, which seems indeed to have been the general opinion of the greatest men in Greece: ἡ ὑπο πολλῶν ἐπαινουμένη.

546. Χαλεπὸν μὲν κινήθηναι.] He here assumes a more concise and figured diction, and lays aside the familiar air of conversation.

is subject to corruption. The introduction of property, and the division of land among the *Φυλακες*. The encroachment on the liberty of the inferiour part of the commonwealth. Secret avarice and love of pleasure are the consequence of private property. The neglect of musick and of letters. The preference given to the exercises of the body. The prevalence of the irascible over the rational part of the soul.

The character of a citizen in such a state and the origin of such a character are described.

P. 550. The mutation of a timocracy into an oligarchy, where none are admitted to the honours and offices of the commonwealth, who do not possess a certain proportion of property. The progress of avarice

## NOTES.

P. 547. *Χρυσούν*.] Vid. L. 3. p. 414. et Hesiod. Oper. et Dies. v. 109.

Ib. *Περιοικοι και οικετας*.] The Lacedæmonians gave the name of *Περιοικοι* to their subjects, the inhabitants of Laconia, who were not Spartans. As they were used, I imagine, hardly enough by their superiours, and had no share in the government, many authors do not distinguish them from the Heilotæ, who were absolutely slaves; yet, in reality, they seem to have been on a distinct footing, being reckoned free men, and employed by the Spartan government to command such troops as they often sent abroad, consisting of Heilotæ, to whom they had given their liberty. The *Περιοικοι* likewise seem to have had the property of lands, for when Lycurgus divided the country into thirty thousand portions, and gave nine thousand of them to the Spartans, to whom did the other twenty-one thousand portions belong, unless to the *Περιοικοι*? who else should people the hundred cities, besides villages, which were once in Laconia? It is plain, also, that the *Περιοικοι* served in war, as *ὄπλαται*, or heavy-armed foot, which the Heilotæ never did: see Thucy-

is the cause of this alteration. Such a state is always divided into two (always at enmity among themselves) the rich and the poor, which is the cause of its weakness. The alienation of property, which is freely permitted by the wealthy for their own interest, will still increase the disproportion of fortune among the citizens. The ill consequences of prodigality, and of its attendant extreme poverty, in a state. The poor are compared to drones in a bee-hive, some with stings and some without.

P. 552. The gradual transition of the mind from the love of honour to the love of money.

When a young man has seen the misfortunes which ambition has brought upon his own family, as fines, banishment, confiscation, and even death itself, adversity and fear will break his spirit and humble his parts, which he will now apply to raise a fortune by securer

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NOTES.

dides, L. 4. p. 238. and in the battle of Plataeæ, Herodotus says, there were ten thousand Lacedæmonians, of which five thousand were Spartans; it follows, that the other five thousand were *Περαιοκοι*, for he mentions the Heilotæ by themselves, as light-armed troops in number thirty-five thousand, that is, seven to each Spartan, (L. 9. c. 29); and Xenophon plainly distinguishes the *Ἵπομεινες* (who were Spartans, but excluded from the magistracy), the *Νεοδαμωδεις* (who were Heilotæ made free), the Heilotæ, and the *Περαιοκοι*. (Xenoph. De Lacedæmon. Republ. 289. and Græc. Hist. L. 1. p. 256.) See also Isocrates in Panegyrr. and in Panathenaic. p. 270. The Cretans called their slaves, who cultivated the lands, *Περαιοκοι*. See Plutarch. in Lycurg. and Aristot. in Polit. L. 2. c. 10.

P. 548. *Γλαυκωνος τουτου.*] Something of Glauco's spirit and ambition may be seen in Xenophon's Memorabil. L. 3. c. 6.

methods, by the slow and secret arts of gain : his rational faculties and nobler passions will be subjected to his desire of acquisition, and he will admire and emulate others only in proportion as they possess the great object of his wishes : his passion for wealth will keep down and suppress in him the love of pleasure and of extravagance, which yet, for want of philosophy and of a right education, will continue alive in his heart and exert itself, when he can find an opportunity to satisfy it by some secret injustice at the expense of others.

P. 555. The source of a democracy : namely, when the meaner sort, increasing with a number of men of spirit and abilities, reduced to poverty by extravagance and by the love of pleasure, begin to feel their own strength, and compare themselves to the few wealthy persons who compose the government, whose body and

## NOTES.

P. 553. Χαμαι ενθεν.] An allusion to those statues or bas-reliefs, where some king, or conqueror, is represented with captive nations in chains sitting at his feet ; as in that erected to the honour of Justinian in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. See Antholog. L. 4. Tit. 4. Epigr. 2.

Ib. Τιαρας τε.] The usual dress of the king and nobility of Persia. So Cyrus (in Xenoph. Anab. p. 147.) presents to Syennesis king of Cilicia, *ιππον χρυσοχαλιον, και στρεπτον χρυσοῦν, και ψελλια, και ακινακην χρυσοῦν, και στολην Περσικην, δωρα ἀ νομιζεται παρα βασιλευσι τιμα.* The tiara was a cap, like the Phrygian bonnet (Herodot. Polymn. c. 61.) common to all the Medes and Persians ; the royal family (Xenoph. Cyropæd. L. 8. p. 127.) alone wore a sash or diadem wreathed round it, which formed a sort of turband ; the king himself was distinguished by the top or point of his tiara which was upright, whereas all others had it bending down.

mind are weakened by their application to nothing but to the sordid arts of lucre. The change of the constitution. The way to the magistracy laid open to all, and decided by balloting. A lively picture of the Athenian commonwealth.

P. 558. The distinction between our necessary and unnecessary desires, is stated ; when the latter prevail over the former by indulgence, and by keeping bad company, they form a democrattick mind. The description of such a soul, when years have somewhat allayed the tumult and violence of its passions ; it is the sport of humour and of caprice, inconstant in any pursuit, and incapable of any resolution.

P. 562. When liberty degenerates into extreme license and anarchy, the democracy begins to tend towards tyranny. The picture of the Athenian government and manners is continued with great force and severity : where youth assumes the authority and decisiveness of age, and age mimicks the gaiety and pleasures of youth ; where women and slaves are upon the same footing with their husbands and masters ; and where even the dogs and horses march directly onwards, and refuse to give way to a citizen. The common mutation of things from one extreme to another.

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NOTES.

P. 563. *Οι εωνημενοι.*] *Των δουλων δ' αυ και των μετοικων πλειστη εστιν Αθηνησιν ακολασια, και ουτε παταξαι εξεστιν αυτοθι, ουτε υπεκστησεται σοι ο δουλος.* (Xenoph. Athen. Respubl. p. 403.)

565. *Ως αληθως ολιγαρχικοι.*] *Εστι δε παση γη το βελτιστον εναντιον τη δημοκρατια.* Xenoph. ut supra.

Ib. *Διος του Λυκαιου.*] Pausanias speaks of this mysterious solemnity performed on the most ancient altar in Greece.



P. 564. The division of those who bear sway in a democracy into three kinds: 1. the busy, bold, and active poor, who are ready to undertake and execute any thing; 2. the idle and insignificant poor, who follow the former, and serve to make a number and a noise in the popular assemblies; and 3. the middling sort who earn their bread by their labour, and have naturally little inclination to publick affairs, nor are easily brought together, but when allured by the hopes of some gain, yet, when collected, are the strongest party of all. The conversion of a demagogue into a tyrant, from necessity and from fear, the steps which he takes to attain the supreme power, the policy of tyrants, and the misery of their condition, are excellently described.

P. 568. The accusation of the tragick poets, as inspiring a love of tyranny, and patronized by tyrants; they are encouraged also in democracies, and are little esteemed in better governments.

## NOTES.

P. 566. Τον Κροισω.] See Herodotus, L. 1. c. 55.

567. Εως αν μητε φιλων.] Compare this description with the Hiero of Xenophon; it is, in almost every step, a picture of the politicks and way of life of the elder Dionysius.

568. Ουκ ετος η τε Τραγωδια.] This is spoken ironically.

1b. Σοφοι τυραννοι.] A line from the Antigone of Euripides.

569. Μεγας μεγαλωστι.] Alluding to Homer, Odys. Ω. v. 40. speaking of Achilles:

Συ δε στροφαλιγγι κονιης

Κείσο μεγας μεγαλωστι, λελασμενος ιπποσυναων.

# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK IX.

### HEADS OF THE NINTH DIALOGUE.

P. 571. The worst and most lawless of our unnecessary desires are described, which are particularly active in sleep, when we go to our repose after drinking freely, or eating a full meal.

P. 572. The transition of the mind from a democratick to a tyrannical constitution. Debauchery and (what is called) love are the great instruments of this change. Lust and drunkenness, names for two different sorts of madness, between them produce a tyrant.

P. 573. Our desires from indulgence grow stronger and more numerous. Extravagance naturally leads to want, which will be supplied either by fraud or by violence.

P. 575. In states, in which there are but a few persons of this turn, and the body of the people are uncorrupted,

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 571. Τηλειως τις εχη.] Cicero cites and translates this whole passage, De Divinatione, L. 1. c. 30. these notions seem borrowed from the Pythagoreans.

575. Μητρης.] A Cretan expression, meaning the country of one's mother.

they usually leave their own country, and enter into the guards of some foreign prince, or serve him in his wars: or, if they have not this opportunity, they stay at home and turn informers, false evidences, highway-men, and housebreakers, cut-purses, and such characters; but, if they are numerous and strong, they form a party against the laws and liberties of the people, set at their head commonly the worst among them, and erect a despotick government.

The behaviour of a tyrannical nature in private life; unacquainted with friendship, always domineering over, or servilely flattering, his companions.

P. 577. The comparison between a state enslaved, and the mind of a tyrant. The servitude, the poverty, the fears, and the anguish of such a mind are described; and it is proved to be the most miserable of human creatures.

P. 579. The condition of any private man of fortune, who has fifty or more slaves. Such a man with his effects, wife and family, supposed to be separated from the state and his fellow-citizens (in which his security consists), and placed in a desert country at

## NOTES.

P. 577. 'Ὅς ἀν δυνῆται τῇ διανοίᾳ.] Plato himself is doubtless the person; and qualified for the office by his intimate acquaintance with the younger Dionysius.

578. 'Ὅς ἀν τυραννικός ὢν.] Have a care of inserting any negative particle here, as H. Stephanus would do, which would totally destroy the sense. Plato's meaning is, that a tyrannical mind, when it has attained to the height of power, must make its possessor worse, and consequently more miserable, than while he remained in a private condition.

some distance, surrounded with a people, who look upon it as a crime to enslave one's fellow-creatures, and are ready to favour any conspiracy of his servants against him : how anxious and how intolerable would be his condition ! Such, and still worse, is that of a tyrant.

P. 581. The pleasures of knowledge and of philosophy are proved to be superiour to those which result from honour or from gain, and from the satisfaction of our appetites. The wise man, the ambitious man, the man of wealth and pleasure, will each of them give the preference to his favourite pursuit, and will undervalue that of the others ; but experience is the only proper judge which can decide the question, and the wise man alone possesses that experience ; the necessity of his nature must have acquainted him with the pleasure which arises from satisfying our appetites. Honour and the publick esteem will be the consequence of his life and studies, as well as of the opulent or of the

## NOTES.

P. 578. *Ανδραποδα πεντηκοντα.*] The more wealthy Greeks had very large families of slaves. In Athens the number of slaves was to that of citizens as 20 to 1 : the latter being about 21,000, the former, 400,000. Mnaso of Phocis, a friend of Aristotle, had 1000 slaves, or more, as had likewise Nicias, the famous Athenian. In Corinth, there were reckoned 460,000 slaves : at Ægina, above 470,000 : and many a Roman had in his own service above 20,000 : this was a computation made Ol. 110. by Demetrius Phalereus. See Athenæus from the Chronicle of Ctesicles, L. 6. p. 272. and Xenophon *περι Προσοδων.* p. 540.

579. *Αιχνη.*] Implies curiosity, and an eager love of novel-ties ; and is the same with regard to the eye, that liquorishness is to the taste.

ambitious man; so that he is equally qualified with them to judge of their pleasures, but not they of his, which they have never experienced.

P. 584. Most of our sensual joys are only a cessation from uneasiness and pain, as are the eager hopes and expectations which attend them. A fine image is drawn of the ordinary life of mankind, of their sordid pursuits, and of their contemptible passions.

P. 588. The recapitulation, and conclusion, that the height of injustice and of wickedness is the height of misery.

P. 590. The intention of all education and laws is to subject the brutal part of our nature to the rational. A scheme of life, worthy of a philosophick mind, is laid down.

## NOTES.

P. 583. [*Ἰδὼν τις εσκιαγραφημένη.*] An expression borrowed perhaps from Heraclitus or Parmenides.

592. [*Ἐν οὐρανῷ.*] That is, in the idea of the divinity: see the beginning of the following (the 10th) book. Diogenes Laertius alludes to this passage in his epitaph on Plato:

*Πολὺν ἠλυθεν, ἦν ποθ' ἑαυτῷ  
Ἐκτίσε, καὶ δαπέδῳ Ζηνὸς ἐνιδρύσατο.*

# DE REPUBLICA.

## BOOK X.

### HEADS OF THE TENTH DIALOGUE.

P. 595. Plato's apology for himself. His reasons for banishing all imitative<sup>1</sup> poetry from his republic: 1. because it represents things not as they really are, but as they appear; 2. the wisdom of the poets is not equal to their reputation; 3. there is no example of a state having been better regulated, or of a war better conducted, or of an art improved, by any poet's instructions; and 4. there is no plan of education laid down, no sect, nor school founded, even by Homer and the most considerable of the poets, as by the philosophers.

<sup>1</sup> V. L. 3. p. 392.

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 595. Plato professes a great admiration, even from a child, for Homer, but yet is forced to exclude him from his commonwealth, *ου γαρ προ γε της αληθειας τιμητεος ανηρ*. The Greeks had carried their admiration for Homer to a high pitch of enthusiasm in Plato's time: it was he (they said) who first had formed Greece to knowledge and humanity; (*πεπαιδευκε την 'Ελλαδα*, p. 606.) and that in him were contained all the arts, all morality, politicks, and divinity. p. 578.

599. *Χαρωνδαν μεν*.] Charondas was of Catania in Sicily, and gave his laws to that city, and to others of Chalcidick foundation in the island, and also to Rhegium in Italy; (see Bentley on Phalaris, p. 364, &c.) these laws were calculated for an aristocracy.

P. 602. Their art concurs with the senses to deceive us and to draw off the mind from right reason, it excites and increases the empire of the passions, enervates our resolution, and seduces us by the power of ill example.

P. 604. The passions and vices are easy to imitate by reason of their variety; but the cool, uniform, and simple character of virtue is very difficult to draw, so

## NOTES.

P. 600. *Εἰς τεχνὰς.*] Thales is said to have discovered the annual course of the sun in the ecliptick, and to have made several improvements in astronomy and geometry. To Anacharsis is ascribed the invention of anchors, and of the potter's wheel. See Diog. Laertius.

Ib. *Πυθαγορειον.*] The Pythagorean sect was in high repute in Plato's time, while Archytas, Philolaus, Lysis, Echeocrates, and others, supported it; but it seems to have declined soon after, for Aristoxenus mentions these latter, whom he remembered, as the last of any note. Vid. Diog. Laert. L. 8. sect. 46.—Aristoxenus flourished about thirty years after Plato's death.

Ib. *Του ονοματος.*] The name signifies a lover of flesh-meat: but Callimachus (Epig. 6.) and Strabo (L. 14.) and Eustathius (ad Hom. Il. B. p. 250.) write it Creophylus. He was a Samian, who entertained Homer at his house; and wrote a poem, called *Οιχαλιας ἀλωσις*, which some attributed to Homer himself.

607. *Ἡ λακερνὴ, &c.*] Fragments of poets against philosophy.

608. *Εμβλεψας μοι καὶ θανμασας εἶπε, Μα Δι' οὐκ ἐγώγε.*] Is it possible that the immortality of the soul should be a doctrine so unusual, and so little known at Athens, as to cause this surprise in Glauco?—In the Phædo too, Cebes treats this point in the same manner: *Τὰ δε περι της ψυχης πολλην ἀπιστιαν παρεχει τοις ἀνθρωποις, μη, επειδαν ἀπαλλαγῃ του σωματος, οὐδαμου ἐτι ἦ' &c. Οὐκ ολιγης παραμυθιας δεῖται καὶ πιστεως, ὡς ἐστι ψυχη ἀποθανοντος του ἀνθρωπου, καὶ τινα δυναμιν ἐχει καὶ φρονησιν.* p. 70.

as to touch or delight a theatre, or any other mixed assembly of men.

P. 607. The power of numbers and of expression over the soul is great, which renders poetry more particularly dangerous.

P. 608. Having shewn that virtue is most eligible on its own account, even when destitute of all external rewards, he now comes to explain the happiness which

## NOTES.

P. 611. [*Ὡςπερ οἱ τον θαλαττιον Γλαυκον ὀρωντες.*] He speaks as if this divinity were sometimes actually visible to seafaring men, all covered with sea-weed and shells.

Ib. [*Παντι μαλλον θηριω.*] And so he is described by Ovid, who says of Scylla,

Tuta loco, monstrumne, deusne,  
Ille sit, ignorans, admiraturque colorem,  
Cæsariemque humeros subjectaque terga tegentem,  
Ultimaque excipiat quod tortilis inguina piscis.

Metam. L. 13. v. 913.

And he tells her ;

Non ego prodigium, non sum fera bellua, Virgo,  
Sum Deus, inquit, aquæ.

613. [*Απο των κατω.*] From the place of starting at the lower end of the stadium : *τα ανω*, the upper end, whence they ran back again.

Ib. [*Τα ωτα επι των ωμων.*] A metaphor, taken from horses, and other animals, which let their ears drop, when they are tired, and over-driven.

614. The story of Er, the Pamphylian, who, when he had lain twelve days dead in appearance on the field of battle, and was placed on the funeral pile, came to life again, and related all he had seen in the other world. The judgment of souls, their progress of a thousand years through the regions of bliss or of misery, the eternal punishment of tyrants, and of others guilty of enormous crimes, in Tartarus, the spindle of Necessity, which turns the eight spheres, and the employment of her



waits upon it in another life, as well as in the present. The immortality of the soul and a state of future rewards and of future punishments are asserted.

## NOTES.

three daughters, the Fates, are all described, with the allotment and choice of lives (either in human bodies, or in those of brute animals) permitted to those spirits, who are again to appear on earth; as of Orpheus who chooses that of a swan, Ajax of a lion, Thersites of a monkey, Ulysses that of an obscure private man, &c. their passage over the river Lethe is also mentioned. The whole fable is finely written.

Milton alludes to the spindle of Necessity in his entertainment called the *Arcades*. Virgil has also imitated many parts of the fable in his sixth *Æneid*, and Tully in the *Somnium Scipionis*. See Macro. L. 1. c. 1.

P. 614. Του Αρμενιου.] It appears from Plutarch that the right reading is *Αρμονιου*, the son of Harmonius. Plut. Sympos. L. 9. Probl. 7.

616. Ηλακατην τε και το αγκιστρον.] Vid. P. Bellonium Lat. Reddit. a C. Clusio, L. 1. c. 46. where he describes the Greek manner of spinning, which seems to be the same exactly that it was of old. "Attractilis herba (quæ ex usu nomen habet) fusi vicem illis præbet; ejus enim caulis rectus est et lævis, tanquam arte expolitus esset. In ejus penuriâ bacillo minimi digiti crassitiem non æquante, æqualis ubique crassitudinis, utuntur, cui ferrum hamuli piscatorii modo efformatum infigunt, ut filum comprehendat, e quo fusus dependeat. Verticillum (*σφονδυλος*) solummodo excogitatum est, ad fila cominodius ducenda, atque ut fuso pondus addat; dimidiato pyro in binas partes per medium secto simile est, per medium perforatum est: hoc superiori fusi parti infigunt, inferiore fusi parte deorsum propendente."

621. Περιαιγειρομενοι.] Read, *Περιοιγομενοι*.

## DE LEGIBUS.

### ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 624.

THE persons of the dialogue are Clinias, a Cretan of Gnossus, and two strangers, who are his guests, the one a Lacedæmonian, called Megillus, the other an Athenian, who is not named, but who appears by the character and sentiments, to be Plato himself. (See Diog. Laert. L. 3. sect. 52.)<sup>1</sup>

They are, all three, men far advanced in years, and as they walk<sup>1</sup> or repose themselves in the fields under the shade of ancient cypress trees, which grew to a

<sup>1</sup> As Cicero had taken Plato for his model in his books de Republicâ, so he had also in those De Legibus. “Visne igitur, ut ille Crete cum Cliniâ et cum Lacedæmonio Megillo æstivo, quemadmodum describit, die in cupressetis Cnossiorum et spatiis sylvestribus crebrò insistens, interdum acquiescens, de institutis rerum publicarum et de optumis Legibus disputat: sic nos inter has procerissimas populos in viridi opacâque ripâ inambulantes, tum autem residentes, quæramus iisdem de rebus aliquid uberius quam forensis usus desiderat.” L. 1. c. 5. (N. B. The Gnosians put the cypress tree, which was a principal ornament of their country, on the reverse of their silver coins. See Fulv. Ursinus.) Tully also confines his discourse to the length of a summer’s day, in imitation of Plato. See De Legib. L. 2. c. 27. V. Platon. de Legib. L. 3. p. 653. and L. 4. p. 722.

great bulk and beauty in the way, that led from the city of Gnossus to the temple and grotto of Jupiter, (where Minos was believed to have received his laws from the god himself) they enter into conversation on the policy and constitution of the Cretans.

There is no proœmium nor introduction to the dialogue, as there is to most of Plato's writings. I speak of that kind of proœmium usual with Plato, which informs us often of the occasion and of the time of the dialogue, and of the characters of the persons introduced in it. In reality the entire four first books of "the Laws" are but introductory to the main subject, as he tells us himself in the end of the fourth book. p. 722.

# DE LEGIBUS.

## BOOK I.

### HEADS OF THE FIRST DIALOGUE.

P. 625. The institutions of Minos were principally directed to form the citizens to war. The great advantages of a people superiour in military skill over the rest of mankind are stated.<sup>1</sup> Every people is naturally in a state of war with its neighbours<sup>2</sup>; even

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon makes the following observation: *Ελευθερίας ὄργανα καὶ εὐδαιμονίας τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ μελέτην δι' Θεοῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπέδειξαν*.—*τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐγγυτάτω τῶν ὀπλῶν οὖσι, τοῦτοις καὶ οἰκειοτάτα ἐστὶν ἅ ἂν βουλῶνται.* Cyropæd. L. 7. p. 549. See also Ephorus ap. Strab. L. 10. p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> *Πασαὶς πρὸς πασὰς τὰς πόλεις πόλεμος ἀκηρυκτὸς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ.* These are the original expressions in this place.

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 625. *Τα ξυσσιτία.*] These assemblies were styled by the Cretans *Ἀνδρεία* (or rather *Ἀνδρία*, see Aristot. in Polit. L. 2. c. 10.) as they were also by the Lacedæmonians, who changed the name to *Φιδίτια*. (Strabo L. 10. p. 488). The manner of conducting them may be seen at large from Dosiadas's history of that country in Athenæus, L. 4. p. 143.

Ib. *Ἀπολλῶνα.*] See Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

Ib. *Δι' ἐννατου ἐτοῦς.*] See the Minos of Plato, and Strabo. L. 10. p. 476. et L. 16. p. 762.

particular cities, nay private families are in a like situation within themselves, where the better and more rational part are always contending for that superiority, which is their due, over the lower and the less reasonable. An internal war is maintained in the breast of each particular man who labours to subdue himself by establishing the empire of reason over his passions and his desires.

P. 628. A legislator, who makes it the great end of his constitution to form the nation to war, is shewn to be inferiour to him who reconciles the members of it among themselves, and prevents intestine tumults and divisions.

P. 631. The view of the true lawgiver is to train

## NOTES.

P. 625. *Ἡ τῶν Θετταλῶν.*] Vid. Menonem, p. 70. et Herodotum. L. 7. p. 268.

Ib. *Ἡδὲ γὰρ ἀνωμαλός.*] “Quoniam adeo frequentes in Cretâ sunt montes, rara sunt istic campestria.” P. Bellonius, L. 1. c. 5. “Quoique la Candie soit un riche païs—les deux tiers de ce royaume ne sont que des montagnes seches, pelées, desagréables, escarpées, taillées a plomb, et plus propres pour des chèvres que pour des hommes.” Tournefort, Lett. 2. p. 109. vol. 1.

Ib. *Τῶν δὲ τοξῶν.*] Vid. Ephorum ap. Strabonem fusè. L. 10. p. 480. “Cretenses etiam hodie (circ. A.D. 1550.) veterem consuetudinem sequentes naturæ impulsu, Scythico arcu se exercere solent. Quin et ipsi pueri in incunabilis si irascantur et ejulent, ostenso illis arcu aut sagittâ in manus datâ, placentur; propterea ipsos etiam Turcas arcus jaculatione superant.” Bellonius, L. 1. c. 5. Which is confirmed by Tournefort, who was there one hundred and fifty years after Belon. See Lett. 2. p. 100. V. 1.

626. *Ω θεῖε.*] Vid. Menonem, p. 99. et Aristot. Eth. Nichom. L. 7. c. 1.

the mind and manners of his people to the virtues in their order, that is, to wisdom, to temperance, and to justice, and, in the fourth place, to valour. The

## NOTES.

P. 629. *Προς τον πολεμον μαλιστα.*] Yet this was Plato's real judgment concerning the constitutions of Minos and of Lycurgus, as may be seen by his description of a timocracy, in the eighth book *De Republ.* p. 548.

Ib. *Διαβαντες δε ευ.*] The Spartans, when they passed the frontier of their own state to enter into the territory of an enemy, always performed sacrifice, which was called *τα διαβατηρια θυειν*: and if the victims proved inauspicious, they retired, and gave over their enterprise. This sense of the word *διαβηται* seems peculiar to that people.

Ib. *των μισθοφορων.*] In Plato's time (about Ol. 106,) and soon after, the intestine tumults in the Greek cities, joined to a sort of fashion, which prevailed, of going to seek their fortune in a foreign service, had so depopulated Greece, that Isocrates tells Philip of Macedon, that he might form a better and stronger army out of these mercenaries, than he could out of the citizens themselves, who continued in their own country. The strength of the Persian king's armies was entirely composed of these Greeks, as was that of his enemies also the kings of Egypt, and of Cyprus, and the revolted vice-roys in Asia Minor. They were also employed by Athens, and by other states of Greece, to save their own troops; so that the Athenian heavy-armed infantry now consisted of mercenaries, though the citizens themselves served as rowers on board the fleet; just contrary to what had been the ancient practice, when the ships were manned by the *Ξενοι*, and slaves, and the Athenians themselves composed the *Ὀπλίται*.

Ib. A fragment of Tyrtaeus, *Ουτ' αν μνησαιμην*, &c.

630. A fragment of Theognis, *Πιστος ανηρ χρυσου*, &c.

631. *Ουκ εισι ματην.*] Vid. *Plat. de Republ.* p. 544.

Ib. *Επικοινωνουμενους.*] There seems something defective in the syntax in several parts of this period.

method he ought to lay down in the disposition of his laws is stated.

P. 634. The fault of the Cretan and of the Lacedæmonian laws is, that they do not fortify the soul as well against pleasure as against pain. Youth is not permitted to examine into the rectitude of those laws by which they are governed, nor to dispute about them ; this is the privilege of age, and only to be practised in private.

P. 635. The division of the citizens into companies, (called *Ξυσσιτια*) which daily assembled to eat together in publick, was apt to create seditions and conspiracies.

## NOTES.

P. 633. *Τριτον η τεταρτον.*] Does Plato here allude to the order in which he has ranged the virtues, (which, however, is not very clear, except that he ranges valour in the fourth place)? or does he allude to the heads which he has laid down for a legislator to proceed with method? in which the laws that are to fortify the mind against pleasure and pain, and the passions which they produce, come under the third and fourth head.

Ib. *Κρυπτεια τις.*] Vid. Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

Ib. *Γυμνοπαιδαις.*] Plutarch, *ibid.* Propert. L. 3. Eleg. 13. These exercises were performed during a solemn festival held in honour of Apollo, at which strangers were permitted to be present in Sparta.

635. *Φυξεισθαι τους.*] The translation is very deficient here : the sense is this ; "They will fly before such as have been fortified by exercise and habit against labour, pain, and terror, and will become their slaves:" and afterwards, *Δουλευσουσι δε τροπον ετερον*, &c. "They will become slaves in a different, but a more ignominious, manner both to those who have the power of resisting pleasure, and to those who possess all the arts of pleasing, who are often the worst of men."

The regular naked exercises of the youth were often the cause of an unnatural passion among them. Crete and Lacedæmon are blamed particularly on this account.

P. 636. Pleasure and pain are the two great sources

NOTES.

P. 636. *Δηλοῦσι δὲ Μιλησίων.*] The confusions at Miletus were frequent, after that state had fallen into luxury and dissoluteness of manners: Heraclides Ponticus says of it; *Ἡ Μιλησίων πόλις περιπεπτωκεν ατυχίαις διὰ τρυφῆν βίου καὶ πολιτικὰς ἐχθρὰς ὅτι το ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ ρίζων ἀνείλον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς*: and he gives a remarkable instance of the implacable cruelty which these parties shewed to each other. (Athenæus. L. 12. p. 524.)

*Ib. Καὶ δὴ καὶ παλαιοί.*] *Ἐπιτηδεύμα* in this place seems to me to be the nominative, and *Νομμοί* the accusative: thus, *Τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτηδεύμα (τὰ γυμνασία) δοκεῖ μοι διεφθαρκεῖν τὸ παλαιοὺ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν νομμοί, τὰς περὶ, &c.* i. e. "This practice (of exercising constantly naked) appears to me to have weakened greatly that ancient and natural law, by which the pleasures of love, not only among human creatures, but even in the brute creation, mutually belong to the two sexes." This is a remarkable passage: and Tully judges in the same manner of these exercises. How far the Cretans indulged their passions in the way here mentioned, may be seen in Ephorus, (ap. Strabonem L. 10.) The purity of manners at Sparta is strongly asserted by Xenophon, (*De Lacedæmon. Republ.* p. 395.) and by Plutarch in his life of Lycurgus; but here is a testimony on the other side at least of equal authority.

*Ib. Δηλοῦσι δὲ Μιλησίων.*] We learn from Polybius that the *Ξυσσιτία* were in use among the Bœotians (though under no such regulations, probably, as those of Crete and Lacedæmon), for speaking of that nation after the great victory at Leuctra, Ol. 102. 2. he says, *Κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνεπέσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ ὀρμησαντες ἐπ' εὐωχίας καὶ μέθας, διεθνέτο καὶ κοινωνεῖα τοῖς φίλοις· πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων γενεὰς ἀπεμερίζον τοῖς Ξυσσιτίοις τὸ πλεον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, ὥστε πολλοὺς εἶναι Βοιωτῶν, οἷς ὑπήρχε δειλίνα τοῦ μῆνος πλεῖω τῶν εἰς τὸν μῆνα διατεταγμένων ἡμερῶν.*



of all human actions : the skill of a legislator consists in managing and opposing one of them to the other.

P. 639. The use of wine, when under a proper direction, in the education of youth.

## NOTES.

(Ap. Athenæum, L. 10. p. 418. et Casaub. Annotat. in locum.) Many instances more may be observed in history of the intestine divisions in the cities of Bœotia, (see Xenoph. Græc. Hist. L. 5. p. 325.) and among the Thurians. (Thucyd. L. 7. c. 33. and Aristot. Politic. L. 5. c. 7.)

P. 637. No assemblies for the sake of drinking were ever seen in Lacedæmon, nor intemperate revels, nor frolics, the consequences of such entertainments.

Ib. *Ὡσπερ ἐν ἀμαξιαῖς.*] A sort of drunken farces performed in the villages of Attica, during the Dionysia, which seem to be the origin of the ancient comedy and tragedy. Hence the proverb, *Ἐξ ἀμαξῆς λεγέειν*, and hence, too, Aristophanes gives the name of *Τραγωδία* to comedy. Acharnenses, v. 498, 499, and 627. They seem to have still continued in use in the country.

Ib. *Ἐν Ταραντί.*] Vid. Plutarch. in Pyrrho, and Strabo, L. 6. p. 230. We see here the beginnings of those vices, which some years afterwards were the ruin of Tarentum ; though as yet the Pythagorean sect flourished there, and Archytas was probably at the head of their affairs.

Ib. *Γυναικῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνεσιν.*] Aristotle finds the same fault in this part of the Lacedæmonian constitution ; he says of their women, *Ζῶσι μὲν ἀκολαστῶς πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀκολασίαν, καὶ τρυφερώς* and he gives an instance of it in their behaviour, when the Thebans invaded Laconia. *Χρησιμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἑτέροις πόλεσι· θορυβὸν δὲ παρείχον πλεῖω τῶν πολεμῶν.* (Polit. L. 2. c. 9.)

Ib. *Ὡσπερ Σκυθαί.*] Herodot. L. 6. c. 84.—*Περσαι.*] Xenoph. Cyropæd. L. 8. p. 142.—*Χαρχηδοῖοι.*] Were the Carthaginians remarkable for drinking?—*Κελτοί.*] See Posidonius ap. Athenæum, L. 4. p. 152.

P. 642. An apology for his own garrulity and diffuseness, which is the characteristick of an Athenian.

P. 643. The nature and intent of education.

P. 644. Mankind are compared to puppets: but whether they are formed by the gods for their diversion, or for some more serious purpose (he says) is uncertain. Their pleasures and pains, their hopes and fears, are

NOTES.

P. 637. *Θρᾶκες.*] Xenophon, describing an entertainment given by Seuthes, a Thracian king, at which he himself was present, says, *Αναστας ὁ Σευθης συνεξεπια, και συγκατεσκεδασε το μετ' αυτου το κερας.*

638. *Λοκροι.*] The Locri Epizephyrii were governed by the laws of Zaleneus, and were an aristocracy, till the elder Dionysius marrying Doris, a Locrian lady, her relations grew powerful enough to bring that state into subjection to the Syracusans.

*Ib.* *Πολλαι γαρ δη φυγαι.*] This may possibly allude to the unexpected defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra.

*Ib.* *Χιος.*] The wisdom of the Chian government appears from what Thucydides says of them. *Χιοι μονοι μετα Λακεδαιμονιους, ὡν εγω ησθομην, ευδαιμονησαντες ἀμα και εσωφρονησαν, και ὁσω επεδιδου ἡ πολις αυτοις επι το μειζον, τωσω και εκοσμουντο εχυρωτερον.* L. 8. c. 24. But I doubt if *Κειους* be not the true reading, for Chios revolted from the Athenians, Ol. 91. 4. when Plato was but seventeen years old, and Plato's *Νομοι* were written in the latter end of his life.

641. The character of Athens, *ὡς φιλολογος εστι και πολυλογος*, that of Lacedæmon and Crete, *ὡς ἡ μιν βραχυλογος, ἡ δε πολυβοιαν μαλλον η πολυλογιαν ασκουσα.*

642. *Ἡ ἑστια της πολews ουσα ὑμων προξενος.*] As each private family had its Vesta, to whom the hearth was particularly sacred, so that of the publick was seated in the Prytanèum, (Pindar. Nem. Od. 11.) where in most cities a perpetual lamp was kept burning in honour of this goddess: and as every private family of rank had their *Προξενοι* in several cities of Greece, with whom they were connected by the ties of hospi-

the springs which move them, and often draw contrary ways at once. Reason is the master-spring which ought to determine their motions; but as this draws gently and never uses violence, some of the passions must be called to its aid, which may give it strength to resist the force of the others.

P. 645. The effects of wine upon the soul: it

## NOTES.

tality, and in whose houses they were lodged and entertained, so cities themselves had a like connection with each other; and there were publick *Προξενοι* nominated to receive and to defray the expenses of such as came on business from other cities in alliance with them. The character of the Athenians is thus drawn: *Το ὑπο πολλων λεγομενον, ὡς ὅσοι Αθηναιων εισιν αγαθοι, διαφεροντως εισι τοιουτοι—μονοι γαρ ανευ αναγκης, αυτοφωως, θεια μοιρα, αληθως και οντι πλαστως εισιν αγαθοι.*

P. 642. *Προ των Περσικων.*] Epimenides, therefore, came to Athens, Ol. 70. 1. ten years before the battle of Marathon. This is not reconcilable with Plutarch (in Solone), Diogenes Laertius, or any other author, who mentions Epimenides. It is sure that he arrived at Athens ninety-six years earlier, and was then extremely old. Plato must therefore mean some other person of the same name, country, and family, perhaps descended from the old Epimenides, and practising, like him, the art of divination.

644. *Θαυμα μεν.*] It is plain, that by *θαυμα* he means a puppet, *νευροσπαστον*, and I suppose, that the *θαυματοποιοι*, or jugglers, used to carry such figures about to draw the crowd together, as the mountebanks do at Venice. To this he alludes also, L. 7. *Πολιτειων· Παρ' ἣν ιδε τειχιον παρωκοδομημενον, ὡσπερ τοις θαυματοποιοις των ανθρωπων προκειται τα παραφραγματα, ἱπερ ὧν τα θαυματα δεικνῦσι, &c.* Puppet-shews were in such request among the Greeks, that Pothinus, a famous man in that way, performed before the whole Athenian people in the same theatre (says Athenæus, L. 1. p. 19.), in which Euripides had represented his tragedies.

heightens all our passions and diminishes our understanding, that is, in reality, it reduces us again to childhood. As physicians, for the sake of our body, give us certain potions, which for a time create sickness and pain in us, and put our whole frame into disorder; so possibly might the legislator (by a singular experiment) make wine subservient to a good purpose in education, and, without either pain or danger, put the prudence, the modesty, and the temper of youth to the trial, and see how far they could resist the disorder of the mind which is naturally produced by this liquor.

P. 646. The fear of dishonour is opposed to the fear of pain: the first is a great instrument in the hands of a wise legislator to suppress and to conquer the latter.

P. 647. If there were any drug or composition known that would inspire us with fear and with dejection of spirits, for the time its influence lasted, what need would there be of fatiguing our youth with long laborious exercises, or of exposing them in battle to real danger, in order to fortify the soul against the attacks of fear and of pain? This draught alone, properly applied, would be a sufficient trial of our valour under the eye of the magistrate, who might confer honour and disgrace on a youth, according to his

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NOTE.

P. 647. Καλῶν αἰδῶ.] This is what we call honour, that is, the fear of shame; and which is left to supply (as well as it can) the place of all the virtues among us. Plato calls this sentiment in another place (p. 674. Lib. 2.) Θεῖος φόβος. Montesquieu makes it the grand principle of monarchical governments, (L'Esprit des Loix, L. 1. c. 6.) and in France its effects are most conspicuous.

behaviour during the operation. Unluckily, there is no such drug discovered; but there is a potion which exalts our spirits, and kindles in the mind insolence, and imprudence, and lust, and every fiercer passion, while it lays open to view our ignorance, our avarice, and our cowardice. Why should we wait till these vices exert themselves into real action, and produce their several mischiefs in society; when, by a well-regulated use of this liquor, we might, without danger, discover them lurking in the disposition of youth, and suppress them even in their infancy?

## DE LEGIBUS.

### BOOK II.

#### HEADS OF THE SECOND DIALOGUE.

P. 653. The great purpose of a right education is to fix in the mind an early habit of associating its ideas of pleasure and of desire with its ideas of virtue, and those of pain and aversion with that of vice: so that reason, when it comes to maturity, (and happy are they with whom, even in their old age, it does come to maturity!) may look back with satisfaction, and may approve the useful prejudices instilled into the soul in its infancy.

The early inclination of children to noise and motion is noticed, which, when reduced to order and symmetry, produce harmony and grace, which are two pleasures known only to human kind. The origin of musick and of the dance.

P. 655. In what kind of imitation their true beauty

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 655. 'Ωσπερ *οι χοροδιδασκαλοι.*] I take the word *ευχρους*, applied to harmony, to be an affected term of art, then used by the musicians and connoisseurs, like those in the fifth book de Republ. p. 531. namely, *Εξαρνησις, κατηγορια, αλαζονεια χορδων.*

consists. Every sound, or movement, or attitude, which naturally accompanies and expresses any virtue, or any laudable endowment of mind and of body, is beautiful, as the contrary is deformed and unpleasing. The error of such as make pleasure the sole end of these arts.

Reasons for the diversity of men's taste and judgment in them are assigned. Some from having been early depraved, and little accustomed to what is lovely, come to approve and take delight in deformity: others applaud what is noble and graceful, but feel no pleasure from it, either because their mind has a natural depravity in it, though their education has been good, or because their principles are right, but their habits and practice have not been conformable to them. The danger of this last defect is stated, when men delight in what their judgment disapproves.

P. 657. The restraint, which ought to be laid on poets in all well-disciplined states, is named. Musicians in Egypt<sup>1</sup> were confined by law, even from the remotest antiquity, to certain simple species of melody, and the painters and sculptors to some peculiar stand-

<sup>1</sup> Σκοπων δ' ἐυρησεις αυτοθι τα μυριστον ετος γεγραμμενα η τετυπωμενα, (ουκ, ὡς επος ειπειν, μυριστον ετος, αλλ' οντως) των νυν δεδημουρηγημενων ουτε καλλιωνα, ουτε αισχιω, την αυτην δε τεχνην απειργασμενα. This will account for the little improvement the Egyptians ever made in the fine arts, though they were perhaps the inventors of them: for undoubtedly the advancement and perfection of these things, as well as their corruption, are entirely owing to liberty and innovation.

## NOTE.

P. 655. Τα μεν αρετης εχομενα.] Vid. de Republ. L. 3. The opinion of Damon the musician.

ards for their measures and attitudes, from which they were not to deviate.

P. 658. A reflection on the usual wrong determinations of the persons appointed to judge of their musical and poetical entertainments at Athens, who (though they took an oath to decide impartially) were biassed, either through fear or from the affectation of popularity, by the opinion of the crowd; whereas they ought to have considered themselves as masters and directors of the publick taste. From this weakness arose the corruption of their theatrical entertainments. In Italy and in Sicily the victory was adjudged by the whole audience to that poet, who had the greatest number of hands held up for him.

P. 659. The manners, exhibited in a drama to the people, ought always to be better than their own.

P. 661. The morality inculcated by the poets, even in Sparta and in Crete, where all innovations were by law forbidden, was defective enough. What sentiments

## NOTES.

P. 658. It is here said, that puppet-shews and jugglers' tricks are best accommodated to the taste of young children; as comedy is to that of bigger boys, tragedy to that of the young men, and of the women of the better sort, and of the bulk of the people in general, and the rhapsodi to that of the older and wiser sort.

Ib. *Κινυρα τε.*] The verses of Tyrtaeus, here alluded to, are these:

*Οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοιο φωνή χαριστέρος εἶη,  
Πλουτοῖη τε Μίδεω καὶ Κινυραο πλεον.*

See also Phædrum, p. 269.

661. *Ἐγυαίνειν.*] An allusion to an ancient song. See Gorgias, p. 451.



they ought to inspire. Plato's<sup>1</sup> great principles are explained, namely, that happiness is inseparable from virtue and misery from wickedness, and that the latter is rather an error of the judgment than of the will.

P. 663. If these opinions were actually false, (as they are immutably founded on truth) yet a wise law-giver would think himself obliged to inculcate them, as true, by every method possible.

It is easy to persuade men, even of the most absurd fiction; how much more of an undoubted truth?

P. 664. The institution of the three chorusses, which are to repeat in verse (accompanied with musick and with dances) these great principles of society, and to fix them in the belief of the publick: the first chorus is composed of boys under eighteen, and sacred to the Muses; the second, from that age to thirty, and sacred to Apollo; the third, to Bacchus, consisting of all from thirty to sixty years of age.

P. 666. The use of wine is forbidden to boys; it is

<sup>1</sup> V. Alcibiad. 2. p. 144. Aristotle looked upon this as the distinguishing part of his master Plato's doctrine, as we see from a fragment of his elegy to Eudemus, preserved in Olympiodorus's commentary on the Gorgias. See also de Legib. L. 5. p. 733 and 742.

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NOTES.

P. 663. Το του Σιδωνιου.] This fable of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth was firmly believed at Thebes: the principal families were supposed to be descended from the five persons who survived the fight: and bore on their bodies (as it was reported) the mark of a lance, as a proof of their origin. They were called Σπαρτοι, και Γηγευεις. (See Eurip. Hercules Furens, v. 794. and Barnes ad locum.)

allowed, but very moderately, to men under thirty ; after that age, with less restraint : the good effects of it in old age are mentioned.

P. 667. The principles and qualifications which are required in such as are fit to judge of poetry, and of the other imitative arts.

P. 669. Instrumental musick by itself (which serves not to accompany the voice) is condemned, as uncertain and indefinite in its expression. The three arts of poetry, of musick, and of the dance (or action), were not made to be separated.

P. 671. The regulation of entertainments, with the manner of presiding at them is enforced ; without which the drinking of wine ought not to be permitted at all, or in a very small degree.

## NOTES.

P. 665. Πεφωνασκηκοτες.] The singers in these chorusses were subjected to a course of abstinence and of physick, for a considerable time before they put their voices to the trial. (Vid. Antiphont. Orat. de cæde Choreutæ.)

669. An expression of Orpheus : Λαχειν ὦραν τερψιος.

672. Ὅταν αποκτενη τις αυτο, ορ, ακταινωση εαυτο—a false reading ; perhaps, ὅταν ανακινη τις, ορ ανακινη τι αυτο.

# DE LEGIBUS.

## BOOK III.

### HEADS OF THE THIRD DIALOGUE.

P. 676. The immense antiquity of the earth, and the innumerable changes it has undergone in the course of ages. Mankind are generally believed to have been often destroyed (a very small remnant excepted) by inundation and by pestilence.

The supposition of a handful of men, probably shepherds, who were feeding their cattle on the mountains, and were there preserved with their families from

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 677. [Ὁ, τι μὲν γὰρ μυριακίς.] Perhaps we should read *οὐτι μὲν γὰρ*. I imagine he means to say, as follows; "For (taking the great antiquity of the earth for granted) without supposing some such destruction as this, how can we account for all the useful arts among mankind, invented as it were but yesterday, or at farthest, not above two thousand years old? It is impossible that men in those times should have been utterly ignorant of all which had passed so many thousand ages, unless all records, and monuments, and remains of their improvements and discoveries, had perished."

“ Quo tot facta virūm toties cecidere? nec usquam  
Æternis famæ monumentis insita florent?”

Lucret. L. 5. v. 329.

a general deluge, which had overwhelmed all the cities and inhabitants of the country below.

P. 677. The destruction of arts and sciences, with their slow and gradual revival among this infant society, is nobly described.

P. 680. The beginnings of government: the paternal way first in use, which he calls the justest of all monarchies. Assemblies of different families agree to descend from the mountain tops, and to settle in the hill-country (*εν ταις ὑπωρειαις*) below them; and as each of them has a head or a prince of its own, and customs in which it has been brought up, it will be

## NOTES.

P. 677. *Χιλια δ' ἀφ' οὐ γεγονεν, η δις.*] From Ol. 108. 1. the year of Plato's death, to the age of Marsyas (a contemporary of Midas) is usually computed about thirteen hundred years, to that of Amphion, eleven hundred, to that of Dædalus and Orpheus, not quite one thousand, and to that of Palamedes, who lived about the siege of Troy, nine hundred and sixty.

Ib. *Τα δε περι Μουσικην.*] Perhaps we should add, *Αυλητικην.*

Ib. *χθες τε και πρωην.*] See Gorgias, p. 471.

Ib. *'Ο λογω μεν 'Ησιοδος.*] I know not what lines in Hesiod are here alluded to, unless it be these:

*Οὔτος μεν παναριστος, ὃς αυτος παντα νοησει,  
Φρασσαμενος τα κ' επειτα και es τελος εσσει' αμεινω.*

Oper. et Dies. v. 293.

nor do I clearly see, whether this is said seriously, or by way of irony on Epimenides and on the art of divination.

680. *Τοις ξενικοις ποιημασι.*] Homer was but little known or read in Crete, even in Plato's time. The Cretans, as they closely adhered to their ancient customs, did so likewise to the compositions of their own countrymen.

necessary to describe certain laws in common, and to settle a kind of senate, or of aristocracy.

P. 683. The causes of the increase and declension of states, are exemplified in the history of Sparta, Messene, and Argos. The original league between the three kingdoms founded by the Heraclidæ, and the mutual engagements entered into by the several kings and by their people, are stated.

P. 684. The easiness of establishing an equality of property in a new conquest, which is so difficult for a

## NOTES.

P. 681. Τριτον τοινυν ειπωμεν.] See what Strabo (L. 13. p. 592. 3.) says on this subject: whence I should suspect that there was something deficient here in the text of Plato concerning the third migration of mankind, at which time Ilus is supposed to have founded Ilium in the plain.

682. Την εις Λακεδαιμονα κατοικησιν.] This happened eighty years after the taking of Troy. See the history in Pausanias. Corinthiac. L. 2. p. 151. and Messeniæ. p. 285.

683. Η εκ θερινων.] The time of the dialogue was one of the longest days in the year, soon after the summer-solstice.

684. Την τε αναμφισβητητως.] The equal distribution of lands is, however, by all attributed to Lycurgus, who lived at least two hundred and thirty years after the return of the Heraclidæ, nay Plato himself (in the Minos, p. 318.) brings him near four hundred years lower still. Erastosthenes and Apollodorus (ap. Plutarch. in Lycurgo) place Lycurgus a little earlier. Xenophon alone makes him a contemporary with the Heraclidæ, who first settled in Peloponnesus: (Respubl. Lacedæm. p. 399.) at least so Plutarch interprets the passage.

1b. Βασιλειαι τρεις—ωμοσαν.] This was performed at Sparta every month. 'Ο δε ὄρκος εστι τω μεν βασιλεί, κατα τους της πολεως κειμενους νομους βασιλευσειν, τη δε πολει εμπεδορκουντος εκεινου αστυφελικτον την βασιλειαν παρεξειν. (Xenoph. Lacedæm. Respubl. p. 402.)

legislator to accomplish, who would give a better form to a government already established.

P. 688. States are destroyed, not so much for the want of valour and of conduct, as for the want of virtue, which only is true wisdom. The greatest and the most pernicious of all ignorance is, when we do not love what we approve.

P. 691. *Absolute power, unaccountable to any and uncontrolled, is not to be supported by any mortal man.*

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NOTES.

P. 685. *Της αρχης γαρ εκεινης ην μοριον.*] This is a singular passage. The kingdom of Troy (he says) was a part of the great Assyrian empire, *ην γαρ ετι της αρχης εκεινης σχημα το σωζομενον ου μικρον.* According to Herodotus, the empire of Assyria had continued five hundred and twenty years in Upper Asia, when the Medes revolted from it; but this happened near five hundred years after the fall of Troy, so that Troy was taken about the twentieth year of the Assyrian dominion, and, if so, the words of Plato, *τῇ περὶ Νίνου γενομένη,* might be taken literally, as though Ninus were then on the throne. But, in truth, Plato (from the words cited above, *Ην γαρ ετι, &c.*) appears to have given the Assyrian power a much longer duration, as Ctesias has done, who makes it seven hundred and eighty-six years older than Herodotus. Diodorus, who follows the authority of Ctesias in these matters, says, that Troy depended on the Assyrians, and that Teutamius, or Tautanes, who then reigned over them, sent ten thousand men and two hundred chariots to the assistance of Priam, under the command of Memnon son to the governor of Susiana.

Ib. *Το δευτερον.*] Troy had been taken by Hercules and Telamon about a hundred years before its final destruction: but perhaps *το δευτερον* may signify, afterwards, in process of time, that is, in the reigns of Darius and of Xerxes.

689. Proverb, *μητε γραμματα, μητε νεῖν, επισταθαι,* for a person completely ignorant.

The aiming at this was the destruction of the Argive and Messenian monarchs. That which probably preserved the Lacedæmonian state, was the originally lodging the regal power in the hands of two; then the institution of the senate by Lycurgus, and lastly, that of the Ephori by Theopompus. Had the three kingdoms been united and governed in the Spartan manner, the Persian king would never have dared to invade Greece: his repulse was entirely due to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and not to the common efforts of the Greeks.

## NOTES.

P. 690. *Και κατα φυσιν, ως ο Θηβαιος.*] See the passage of Pindar at length, cited in the Gorgias, p. 484.

691. *Την κατα γηρας.*] The institution of the *Γεροντες*, or senate of twenty-eight, by Lycurgus.

Ib. *Ισοψηφον.*] The two kings sat in the senate, and had each a single vote, like the other citizens: they had only this privilege, that they could give their vote by proxy, when absent.

Ib. *Διδυμον.*] Euristhenes and Procles were twins. (Herod. L. 6. c. 52.)

Ib. *Μισθουμενοι.*] Vid. L. 1. p. 630.

692. *Ο τριτος σωτηρ.*] i.e. Theopompus, who, as it is generally agreed, instituted the Ephori. I look upon this passage as one proof, that the eighth epistle of Plato is supposititious, for in that epistle this institution is expressly attributed to Lycurgus. Many sentiments in that letter seem borrowed from this book of the Laws.

Ib. *Πολεμουσα αυτη.*] I do not know any war in which the Spartans were engaged with the Messenians at the time of the battle of Marathon (see also p. 698.); but this doubtless is a better reason than that given by Herodotus (L. 6. c. 106.), namely, that it was not agreeable to their customs to take the field, before the moon was at the full.

P. 693. The two great forms of government, from which all the rest are derived, are monarchy and democracy : Persia is an example of the first carried to its height, and Athens an example of the latter. The best constitution is formed out of both.

P. 694. The reason of the variations observable in the Persian power is given ; the different administra-

## NOTES.

P. 692. [*Ἡ περὶ το Ἀργος.*] Their pretence for refusing was a point of honour : they insisted upon dividing the confederate army with Sparta ; but it was believed, that they had secretly promised the Persian to observe a neutrality. As to the rest of Greece, the Thessalians had called in Xerxes, the Bœotians readily received him, the Cretans pretended an oracle which obliged them to continue quiet, and the Corcyreans waited to see the event of the first battle. After the action at Thermopylæ, a great part of Peloponnesus had determined to fortify the Isthmus, and to give up all the countries which lie north of it ; and what is worse, even after the great victory at Salamis, they went on, Lacedæmonians and all, with the work, and gave up Attica a second time to the barbarians. It was with great difficulty that Themistocles could keep the fleet together at Salamis, or prevent the several squadrons which composed it from returning home ; and, in the battle of Plataæ, no one scarcely had any share, except the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and the Tegeætæ ; and particularly, the Mantineans and the Eleans did not arrive till after the fight.

694. [*Παιδείας δὲ ορθῆς.*] This passage has been generally looked upon as reflecting on the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, and taken for a mark of ill-will in Plato : but I do not see how the words themselves carry in them any such reflection. They are plainly meant, not of the education which Cyrus himself received, but, of the little care he took (busied as he was in great affairs all his life long) of that of his two sons. There is nothing in this at all contradictory to Xenophon who scarcely mentions these princes any farther than to say, that they were



tion of different princes, who succeeded one another, and the cause of it is accounted for from their education. The care of Cyrus's children, while he was abroad in the field, was trusted entirely to the women, who bred them up in high notions of that grandeur to which they were to succeed, and in the effeminate and luxurious manners of the Medes. Darius, who suc-

## NOTES.

present and heard the excellent counsels which Cyrus gave them on his death-bed, and which they forgot immediately. *Επει μεντοι Κυρος ετελευτησεν, ευθυσ μεν αυτου οι παιδες εστασιαζον.*—*παντα δ' επι το χειρον ετρεπετο.* The great abilities and virtues of Cyrus himself are represented alike in Plato and in Xenophon.

P. 695. *Διειλετο επτα μερη.*] I know not whether any historian tells us, that Darius divided the empire into seven parts, or great provinces, over which we are to suppose that he placed the great men who had entered into the conspiracy with him, and made these vice-royalties hereditary in their families. It is natural to imagine, that such an appointment could not continue many years under a succession of kings so absolute as those of Persia; but yet Plato says, that some faint shadow of this division was still left even in his days.

*Ib. Του Κυρου δασμον.*] We see here, that the division of the empire into twenty satrapiaë or governments, and the imposition of a regular tax or tribute, were originally designed by Cyrus, though they were never executed till Darius came to the throne. The Persians, according to Herodotus, attributed it to the avarice of Darius: *Δια δε ταυτην την επιταξιν του φορου και παραπλησια ταυτη αλλα, λεγουσιν, ως Δαρειος μεν ην καπηλος· Καμβυσης δε δεσποτης· Κυρος δε πατηρ. 'Ο μεν γαρ, οτε εκαπηλενε παντα τα πρηγματα· ο δε, οτι χαλεπος τε ην και ολιγωρος· ο δε, οτι ηπιος ην και αγαθα σφι παντα εμηχανησατο.*

*Ib. Ποιμενες.*] Herodotus says, that four of the Persian tribes, the Dai, Mardi, Tropici, and Sagartii, were *Νομαδες*, L. 1. p. 54. c. 125.

ceeded them, had been bred as a private soldier, and he restored the declining empire to its former greatness. Xerxes, his son, brought up as great princes usually are, by his folly weakened it again, and ever since it has been growing worse and worse.

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P. 695. *Τραχειας χωρας.*] See Herodotus, L. 1. c. 71. and L. 9. c. ult.

Ib. *Του λεγομενου το τε Ευνουχου.*] The account of this fact, which Plato had received, seems different from that given us by Herodotus, or by Ctesias. The counterfeit Smerdis and the Magus, his brother, were Medes, but neither of them eunuchs. He may possibly mean the eunuch Bagapates, who (according to Ctesias) was the favourite both of Cyrus and Cambyses, was privy to the secret murder of Tanyoxarces, and contrived after the death of Cambyses to place the Magus, or Mede, upon the throne, and afterwards betrayed him to the conspirators.

Ib. *Των ἑπτα.*] Ctesias calls them, Onophas, Idernes, Norondabates, Mardonius, Barisses, Artaphernes, and Darius.

Ib. *Βασιλεως ουκ ην υιος.*] Hystaspes, the father of Darius, was of the same family with Cyrus, and, at the time of his son's coming to the empire, was governor of Persia properly so called. Darius was brought up in that country, he served in Egypt among the guards of Cambyses, *λογου ουδενος κω μεγαλου*, says Herodotus, and came to the throne at about twenty-eight years of age.

Ib. *Διειλετο ἑπτα μερη.*] Herodotus tells us, that Otanes (who first laid the plan of the conspiracy) gave up all pretensions to the crown, on condition that he and his family might enjoy a perfect liberty; and even now (adds he) the descendants of Otanes are the only family in Persia which can be called free, obeying the orders of the court no farther than they please, and under no other restraint than that of the laws. The other six agreed among themselves, that to whichever among them fortune should give the empire, he should engage to marry out of no other family than theirs, and should never refuse them access to his person, except he were in the apartment of the women.

P. 696. Honour is the proper reward of virtue only ; in what manner it ought to be distributed in a well-regulated state.

P. 697. The impossibility is stated of any government's subsisting long, where the people are enemies to the administration, which, where despotism in its full extent prevails, must always be the case.

P. 698. A picture of the reverse of this, a complete democracy, as at Athens. The constitution of that

## NOTES.

P. 698. Πολιτεια παλαια.] See the admirable Areopagitick oration of Isocrates, p. 147. and 150. for an account of the ancient Athenian manners and education ; and the oration de Pace, p. 176. and Panathenaic. p. 260.

Ib. Εκ τμηματων τετταρων.] See this division instituted by Solon in Plutarch's life of him. Aristides, after the victory at Plateæ, proposed a law, whereby every citizen of Athens, without regard to rank or fortune, might be a competitor for the archonship, or principal magistracy, which afterwards gave a right to a seat in the senate of Areopagus.

Ib. Δαρις.] This is all agreeable to Herodotus, L. 6. c. 98. See also Plato's Menexenus, p. 240.

699. 'Ην αιδω.] Vid. L. 1. p. 647.

700. Η Μουσικη.] Vid. L. 2. p. 657 and 658. and de Republ. L. 4. p. 424. The state of the Athenian musick before the Persian invasion. Certain kinds of harmony and of movement were appropriated to distinct species of poetry : prayers and invocations to the gods formed one kind, called 'Τμνοι ; lamentations for the dead formed a second, called Θρηνοι ; the Ηαιανες were a third sort ; the Διθυραμβοι (the subject of which was the birth of Bacchus) a fourth ; and the Νομοι Κιθαρωδικοι, a fifth, with other kinds : these were afterwards confused and injudiciously mingled all together by the ignorance and by the bad taste of the poets and of their audience.

Ib. Ου συριγξ ην.] The Athenians used this instrument, as in modern theatres whistles and cat-calls.

state was different before the Persian invasion. The reasons for their distinguished bravery on that occasion. An account of the change introduced in their musick, and the progress of liberty, or rather of license, among them.

P. 701. The great aim of a legislator is to inspire liberty, wisdom, and concord. Clinias, being appointed with nine other citizens to superintend and to form a body of laws for a new colony they are going to settle, asks advice of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian strangers on that head.

## DE LEGIBUS.

### BOOK IV.

#### HEADS OF THE FOURTH DIALOGUE.

P. 704. The advantages and disadvantages arising from the situation of a city, and the great difficulty of preserving the constitution and the morals of a maritime and trading state, are described.

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#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 704. He is speaking of the difficulty of preserving the constitution and morals of a maritime and trading state. *Εμπορίας γαρ και χρηματισμον δια καπηλειας εμπιπλῶσα ἑαυτην, ηθη παλιμβολα και απιστα ταις ψυχαις εντικτουσα, αυτην τε προς αυτην την πολιν απιστον και αφιλον ποιει, και προς τους αλλους ανθρωπους ωσαντως.* The great advantage of a maritime power with respect to its influence, its commerce and riches, its politeness of manners and language, and the enjoyment of every pleasure and convenience of life, are admirably explained by Xenophon (in Athen. Republ. p. 204.), who considers it in every light, in which Montesquieu and the best modern political writers would do. But Plato extended his views farther: he says, *Ου το σωζεσθαι τε και ειναι, μονον ανθρωποις τιμωτατον ηγουμενοι, καθαπερ οι πολλοι, το δε ως βελτιστους γιγνεσθαι τε και ειναι, τοςουτον χρονον ὁσον αν ωσιν.* (707. see also p. 714. and L. 5. p. 743.) Plato never regards policy as the art of preserving mankind in a certain form of society, or of securing their property or their pleasures, or of enlarging their power, unless so far as all these

P. 706. The manner of carrying on a war by sea is unworthy of a brave and free people ; it impairs their valour, depends too much on the lower and more mechanick arts, and is hardly ever decisive. The battles of Artemisium and of Salamis could not have preserved Greece (as it has been commonly thought), from the Persians, had they not been defeated in the action at Plataeæ.

P. 709. The difficulties, which attend new colonies, if sent out by a single city, are stated : they will more hardly submit to a new discipline, and to laws different from those of their native country : but then they concur more readily in one design, and act with more strength and uniformity among themselves. If they are collected from various states, they are weak and disjointed, but more apt to receive such forms and impressions as a legislator would give them.

The constitution of states and of their laws is owing more to nature, or to chance, or to the concurrence of

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are consistent with the preservation of their virtue and of that happiness, which is the natural result of it. He had, undoubtedly, in what he says here, a view to his own country.

Isocrates (in his oration Panathenaic. p. 256.) is constrained to own, that when Athens became a great naval power, she was forced to sacrifice her good order and morals to her ambition, though he justifies her for doing so from necessity : but (in the orat. de Pace, p. 174.) he speaks his mind more freely, and he shows at large that the dominion of the sea was every way the ruin of the Athenians, and afterwards of the Lacedæmonians.

P. 704. Ελαττη.] We see here that the principal ship-timber of the Greeks was fir, and pine and cypress for the outside work, as the picea and plane-tree were for the inside.

various accidents, than to human foresight: yet the wise lawgiver will not therefore despair, but will accommodate his art to the various circumstances and opportunities of things. The mariner cannot command the winds and the waves, yet he can watch his advantages, and make the best use possible of both, for the expedition and security of his voyage.

P. 710. The greatest advantage which a lawgiver can ever meet with is, when he is supported by an arbitrary prince, young, sober, and of good understanding, generous and brave; the second lucky opportunity is, when he can find a limited monarch of like disposition to concur in his designs; the third is, when he can unite himself to the leading men in some popular government; and the fourth and most difficult is, in an oligarchy.

## NOTES.

P. 706. Την χωραν πληρη.] The Athenians brought their timber chiefly from Macedonia, for Attica afforded but little for these uses. (Xenoph. Hellenic. L. 6. p. 340.)

707. Αλλοθεν των Έλληνων.] According to Herodotus (L. 7. c. 170.) the ill-success of the expedition of Minos against the Sicilians, and the settlement of those troops which accompanied him in Italy after his death, had left Crete in a manner destitute of inhabitants; for he mentions only Præsus and Polichme, as cities of the Eteocrétes (or original Cretans) remaining. This happened about one hundred years before the Trojan war, and accordingly Homer speaks of this island as peopled by various nations, and most of them of Greek origin:

Αλλη δ' άλλων γλωσσα μεμιγμενη' εν μεν Αχαιοι,  
 Εν δ' Ετεοκρητες μεγαλητορες, εν δε Κυδωνες,  
 Δωριεις τε τριχαικες, δίοι τε Πελασγοι.

Odyss. T. v. 175.

P. 711. The character and manners of a whole people, in a despotick government, are easily changed by the encouragement and by the example of their prince.

P. 712. The best governments are of a mixed kind, and are not reducible to any of the common forms. Thus those of Crete and of Sparta were neither tyrannical, nor monarchical, nor aristocratical, nor democratical, but had something of all these.

P. 713. The fable of the Saturnian age is introduced, when the gods or dæmons in person reigned over mankind. No mortal nature is fit to be trusted with an *absolute* power of commanding its fellow-creatures: and therefore the law, that is, pure reason, divested of all

## NOTES.

P. 710. This great opportunity was Plato's inducement to go twice into Sicily, and (when he found that nothing could be made of the younger Dionýsius) to support Dion in his expedition against him. Dion was of the royal family, possessed of every qualification here required, and ready to concur with Plato in all his designs, but he was cut off in the midst of them by a base assassin, whom he had taken into his bosom and counsels.

712. This is also the opinion of Polybius (Excerpt. ex Lib. 6. p. 452. ed. Casaub.) who produces the Spartan and Roman commonwealths as instances of it.

712. Isocrates calls the Lacedæmonian constitution a democracy. *Λακεδαιμονιοι δια ταυτα καλλιστα πολιτευονται, οτι μαλιστα δημοκρατουμενοι τυγχανουσι.* (Areopag. p. 152.) and in another place he calls it a democracy mixed with an aristocracy. (Panathen. p. 265.) His reason for naming it a democracy was, doubtless, because the senate was elected by the people, as were also the Ephori, in whose hands the supreme power was lodged, which Aristotle calls *λιαν μεγαλη, και ισουταρνος*, and



human passions and appetites, the part of man which most resembles the divinity, ought alone to be implicitly obeyed in a well-governed state.

P. 715. The first address to the citizens of the new colony, is to inculcate the belief of providence and of divine justice, humility, moderation, obedience to the laws, and piety to the gods and to parents : this should be by way of proœmium to the laws ; for free men are not to be treated like slaves ; they are to be taught and to be persuaded, before they are threatened and punished.

P. 721. The laws of marriage, and the reasons and inducements to observe them, are stated.

P. 722. The necessity and the nature of general and of particular introductions are stated.

## NOTES.

adds, that by these means, *Δημοκρατία ἐξ Ἀριστοκρατίας συνεβίβαιε*. (Politic. L. 2. c. 9.)

P. 714. *Το συμφερον ἑαυτω.*] See de Republ. L. 1. p. 338. This was the doctrine of Thrasymachus, and it is in appearance that of Montesquien in his *Esprit des Loix* ; but this great man did not dare to speak his mind, in a country almost despotically governed, without disguise. Let any one see the amiable picture which Montesquieu draws of freer governments, and, in contrast to it, his idea of a court, and they will not be at a loss to know his real sentiments. That constitution and policy which is founded (as he says himself) on every virtue, must be the only one worthy of human nature.

716. *Ὡς φασιν ἀνθρωπος.*] He alludes to a principle of Protagoras (V. Theæt. p. 152.)

720. The method of practising physick in these times is observable.

## DE LEGIBUS.

### BOOK V.

#### HEADS OF THE FIFTH DIALOGUE.

P. 726. After he has shewed the reason of that duty which men owe to the gods and to their parents, he comes to that duty which we owe to ourselves; and first, of the reverence due to our own<sup>1</sup> soul; that it consists not in flattering its vanity, nor indulging its pleasures, nor in soothing its indolence, nor in satisfying its avarice.

P. 728. The second honours are due to our body, whose perfection is not placed in excess of strength, of bulk, of swiftness, of beauty, nor even of health, but in a mediocrity of all these qualities; for a redundancy,<sup>2</sup> or a deficiency, in any one of them is always prejudicial to the mind.

The same holds with regard to fortune.<sup>3</sup> The folly

<sup>1</sup> Παντων των αυτου κτηματων μετα Θεους ψυχη θειοτατον, οικειοτατον ον. p. 728.

<sup>2</sup> Τα μεν γαρ χανουσι τας ψυχας και θρασειας ποιει, τα δε ταπειναστε και ανελευθερους. p. 728.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ μεν γαρ νεων ακολακευτος ουσια, των δε αναγκαιων μη ενδεης, αυτη πασων μουσικωτατη τε και αριστη· συμφωνουσα γαρ ἡμιν και ξυναρμοττουσα εις ἅπαντα αλυπον τον βιον απεργαζεται. p. 729.

of heaping up riches for our children is exposed, as the only valuable inheritance which we can leave them is a respect for virtue. The reverence due to youth is inculcated. True education consists not in precept, but in example.

The duty to relations and to friends : strict justice, hospitality, and compassion, are due to strangers and foreigners, but above all to suppliants.

What is that habit of the mind which best becomes a man of honour and a good citizen. Veracity is the prime virtue. Justice consists in this : not only to do no injury, but to prevent others from doing any, and to assist the magistrate in punishing those who commit them. Temperance and wisdom : the persons who possess these or any other virtues, deserve our praise ; those, who impart them to others, and multiply their influence, are worthy of double honours. The use of emulation in a state : the hatefulness of envy and detraction.

P. 731. Spirit and indignation are virtues, when employed against crimes and vices, which admit of no other cure than extreme severity :<sup>1</sup> yet they are not inconsistent with lenity and tender compassion, when we consider that<sup>2</sup> no man is voluntarily wicked ; and that the fault is in his understanding, and not in his intention. The blindness of what is called self-love. Excessive joy and sorrow are equally condemned.

<sup>1</sup> Χαλεπα, και δυσιατα, η και το παραπαν ανιατα, αδικηματα. (See the Gorgias.)

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Protagoram, p. 357.—Η γαρ δι' αμαθιαν, η δι' ακρατειαν, η δι' αμφοτερα του σωφρονειν ενδεης ων, ζη ο πας ανθρωπιнос οχλος. p. 734.

P. 732. A life of virtue is preferable<sup>1</sup> to any other, even with respect to its pleasures. (This passage is admirable.)

P. 736. The method of purgation requisite in forming a society, in order to clear it of its noxious parts, either by punishments, or by sending out colonies.

P. 737. The number of citizens limited. Equal division of lands among them. The institution of temples and sacred rites, in which nothing of novelty is to be permitted, nor the slightest alteration<sup>2</sup> made; but ancient opinions and traditions are to be religiously followed. Festivals and general assemblies serve to familiarise the citizens to one another, and to bring the whole people acquainted with the temper and character of each particular man.

P. 739. The recommendation of his first scheme of government laid down in the book de Republicâ, in which all things are in common; and the whole state, their possessions, their families, their passions,<sup>3</sup> are so united as that they may all act together, like the faculties of a single person. The present scheme comes next to it in perfection.

The number of the shares allotted to the citizens is never to be diminished nor increased. Each man is to choose one among his sons who is to succeed to his portion; the rest to be given in adoption to those who have none of their own. The supreme magistrate is to

<sup>1</sup> Vid. de Republica, p. 581. L. 9. Philebum, p. 61. et Protagoram.

<sup>2</sup> Τουτων Νομοθετη το σμικροτατον απαντων ουδεν κινησεων.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 5. p. 462.

preside over this equality, and to preserve it. If the number of children exceed the number of shares, he may send out a colony; if it fall short, he may (in cases of great necessity) introduce the sons of foreigners. No alienation of lands to be permitted.

P. 741. The increase of fortune by commerce is to be prohibited, and the use of gold or silver small money, of a species not valued, nor in request with other people, only permitted for the ordinary uses of life. The common coin of Greece is to be in the hands of the publick, or employed only on occasion of an embassy, or of an expedition into foreign states. No private person may go abroad without leave of the government; and if he bring back with him any foreign money, he must deposit it in the hands of the magistrate, or he, and all who are privy to the concealment, shall forfeit twice the value, and incur disgrace.

P. 742. No securities shall be given among citizens in any case: no fortune paid on a marriage; no money lent on interest.

The folly of a legislator who thinks of making a great, a flourishing, a rich, and a happy state, without regard to the virtue<sup>1</sup> of the inhabitants.

P. 743. The inconsistency of great wealth<sup>2</sup> and of great virtue. The good men will never acquire any thing by unjust means, nor ever refuse to be at any expense on decent and honest occasions. He, therefore, who scruples<sup>3</sup> not to acquire by fair and by unfair

<sup>1</sup> Vid. L. 4. p. 707.

<sup>2</sup> V. de Republ. L. 4. p. 421. and L. 8. p. 552.

<sup>3</sup> 'Η εκ δικαίου και αδικου κτησις πλεον η διπλασια εστι της εκ του δικαίου μονον' τα τε αναλωματα μητε καλως μητε αισχρως

means, and will be at no expense on any occasion, must naturally be thrice as rich as the former. A good man will not lavish all he has in idle pleasures and prodigality; he will not therefore be very poor. Business and <sup>1</sup> acquisition ought to employ no more of our time, than may be spared from the improvement of our mind and of our body.

P. 744. A colony cannot be formed of men perfectly equal in point of fortune; it will be therefore necessary to divide the citizens into classes according to their circumstances, that they may pay impositions to the publick service in proportion to them. The wealthier members are also, *cæteris paribus*, to be preferred before others to offices and dignities of expense; which will bring every one's fortune gradually to a level.

Four such classes to be instituted: the first worth the value of his land, the fourth, four times as much. Above or below this proportion no one is to go, on pain of forfeiture and disgrace: therefore, the substance of every man is to be publickly enrolled, under the inspection of a magistracy.

P. 745. The division of the country. Every man's lot is to consist of two half-shares, the one near the city, the other near the frontier: every one also is to have two houses, likewise within the city, the one near the midst of it, the other near the walls. The country is to be divided into twelve tribes, and the city into as

*εθελοντα αναλiskeσθαι των καλων, και εις καλα εθελοντων δαπανασθαι διπλασιως ελαττονα.—Ουκ εισιν οι παμπλουσιοι αγαθοι, ει δε μη αγαθοι, ουδε ευδαιμονες.*

<sup>1</sup> *Οποσα μη χρηματιζομενον αναγκασειεν αμελειν, ων ενεκα πεφυκε τα χρηματα· ταυτα δ' εστι ψυχη και σωμα.*

many regions ; and each of them to be dedicated to its several divinity.

P. 746. An apology for this scheme, which to some will seem impracticable.

P. 747. The great difference of climates and of situations, and the sensible effects which they produce not on the bodies alone, but on the souls of men, are stated.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

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*It is matter of just but unavailing regret, that Mr. Gray proceeded no further in his analysis and annotations on the books of Plato De Legibus.—[MATHIAS.]*

## THE EPISTLES.

Ed. Serrani, H. Steph. 1578. Vol. 3. p. 309, &c.

·**DIOGENES LAERTIUS**, who lived probably about the time of **Septimius Severus**, in the catalogue he gives us of **Plato's** works, counts thirteen epistles, and enumerates their titles, by which they appear to be the same as those which we now have. Yet we are not thence to conclude them to be all genuine alike. Fictions of this kind are far more ancient than that author's time; and his judgment and accuracy were not sufficient to distinguish the true from the false, as plainly appears from those palpable forgeries, the letters of the seven sages, which yet easily passed upon him as genuine.

### EPISTLE I. To **DIONYSIUS**. Ol. 103. 2.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 309.

This letter is not from **Plato**, but from his favourite scholar, the famous **Dion**; nor is it possible that the philosopher himself could have any hand in it, he being with **Dionysius** at **Syracuse** (as he tells us himself) when **Dion** was forced away, and continuing there some time after. It is sent by **Baccheus**, who



had conducted Dion on his way, together with a sum of money which Dionysius had ordered to be given to him for his expenses, which he returns to the tyrant with much contempt. The spirit of it and the sentiments are not amiss ; and yet it is not very consistent with the indignation which Dion must have felt, and with the suddenness of the occasion, to end his letter with three scraps of poetry, though never so well applied. To say the truth, I much doubt of this epistle, and the more so, as it contradicts a fact in Plutarch, who assures us, that at the same time when Dion was hurried away, his friends were permitted to load two ships with his wealth and furniture, and to transport them to him in Peloponnesus, besides which <sup>1</sup> his revenues were regularly remitted to him, till Plato went into Sicily for the last time, which was at least six years after.

EPISTLE II. TO DIONYSIUS. Ol. 105. 1.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 310.

This epistle appears to have been written soon after Plato's return <sup>2</sup> from his third voyage to Syracuse, and the interview which he had with Dion at the olympick games, which he himself mentions, Epist. 7. p. 350. and in this place also. Archedemus, who brought the letter from Dionysius, and returned with this answer,

<sup>1</sup> Ου πολυν χρονον διαλιπων, &c. Plato, Ep. 7. p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> The reasons for placing the voyages of Plato so early, and Dion's banishment so different from the chronology of Diodorus, will appear in the observations on Plato's seventh epistle.

was a friend and follower of Archytas, the Pythagorean of Tarentum (Epist. 7. p. 339.), but was himself probably a Syracusan; at least he had a house in that city where Plato was lodged, after he had been turned out of the citadel. (Ibid. p. 349.) He was sent on board a ship of war (with Dionysius's letters of invitation to Plato, wherein he pressed him to come the third time into Sicily), as a person well known and much esteemed by the philosopher, and he is mentioned as present in the gardens of the palace at an interview which Plato had with Dionysius, about three weeks before he returned home again. (Ep. 3. sub fin.)

NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 311. Δοξαν εχων πολυ των εν φιλοσοφια διαφερειν.] It may be observed that Plato's reputation was at the height before he went to the court of the younger Dionysius, that is, before he was sixty-two years of age.

P. 312. Αλλα δε εσπουδακας.] In the intervals between Plato's two last voyages, Dionysius had been philosophizing with Archytas and others, and perhaps with Aristippus. See Ep. 7. 338.

Ib. Φραστεον δη σοι δι' αιγιμων.] We<sup>1</sup> see here that Plato, as well as the Pythagoreans whom he imitated in many respects, made a mystery of his art: for none but adepts were to understand him. It was by conversation only that he cared to communicate himself on these subjects.<sup>2</sup> In the seventh epistle he

<sup>1</sup> See Theodoret, Serm. 1. ad. Græcos.

<sup>2</sup> And in the end of this very epistle, p. 314. Ουδ' εστι συγγραμμα Πλατωνος ουδεν, ουδ' εσται τα δε νυν λεγομενα Σωκρατους

professes never to have written any thing on philosophy; and all that has been published in his name he attributes to Socrates. As I am not initiated, it is no wonder if this passage is still a riddle to me, as it was designed to be. Thus much one may divine indeed; namely, that it is a description of the Supreme Being, who is the cause and end of all things, which is an answer to Dionysius's first question; the second seems to be concerning the origin of evil, which Plato does not explain, but refers to a conversation which they had had before.

P. 314. Φιλιστιωνι.] Philistio was a Syracusan,<sup>1</sup> famous for his knowledge in physick: Eudoxus of Gnidus, a person accomplished in various kinds of learning, was his scholar in this art. Diog. Laert. L. 8. c. 86.

Ib. Σπεισιππω.] Speusippus had accompanied his uncle Plato into Sicily, and continued there after him; where (as Plutarch<sup>2</sup> says) he thoroughly acquainted himself with the temper and inclinations of the city, and was a principal promoter of Dion's expedition.

Ib. Τον εκ τῶν Λατομιῶν.] This was some prisoner of state, as it seems, who was confined in those horrid

*εστι, καλου και νεου γεγονοτος*: which is a remarkable passage. This is alluded to by Theodoret, Serm. 1. Vol. 4. ed. Simondi. See Epist. 7. p. 341. *Ουκουν εμον γε περι αυτων εστι συγγραμμα ουδε μηποτε γενηται, &c.* See also Athenæus, L. 15. p. 702.

<sup>1</sup> Athenæus, who cites him L. 3. p. 115. calls him a Locrian, as does Plutarch, Sympos. L. 7. Quæst. 1. *Μαρτυρων τω Πλατωνι, προσκαλοῦμαι Φιλιστιωνα τον Λοκρον, ευ μαλα παλαιον ανδρα, και λαμπρον απο της τεχνης ἰμων γενομενον.* See also Rufus Ephesius, p. 31. so that this seems the more probable.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch in Dione.

caverns, the *Latomia*, which was the publick dungeon of the Syracusans, being a vast quarry in that part of the city, called the *Epipolæ*. Thucydides L. 7. and various other<sup>1</sup> authors speak of this place. Tully particularly describes it in the fifth oration against Verres. See Cluverii *Sicilia Antiqua*. L. 1. p. 149.

EPISTLE III. TO DIONYSIUS. Ol. 105. 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 315.

This epistle, like those to the friends of Dion afterwards, was apparently written to be made publick; and is a justification of Plato's conduct, as well as an invective against the cruelty and falsehood of Dionysius. The beginning of the letter is a reproach, the more keen for being somewhat disguised; and in the rest of it, he observes no longer any measures with the tyrant: whence I conclude, that it was written after that Dion's expedition against him was professedly begun, and perhaps after his entry into Syracuse, particularly from that expression, p. 315. *Νῦν δε Διωνα διδασκοιμι δρᾶν αυτα ταυτα, και τοις διανοημασι τοις σοις την σην αρχην αφαιρουμεθα σε, κτλ.*

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 315. *Εν πραττειν.*] This address of letters was first used by Plato instead of *Χαιρειν*, the common form of salutation.

Ib. *Τας δε Ελληνιδας πολεις οικιζειν.*] The Greek

<sup>1</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. L. 12. c. 44.

cities, which had been either totally destroyed, or dismantled, and miserably oppressed by the Carthaginians and by the elder Dionysius, were Himera, Agrigentum, Gela, Camerina, Messana, Naxus, Catana, and Leontini.

P. 315. *Ὑπο Φιλιστιδου.*] I doubt not but it should be read *Φιλιστου*. Philistus, who had married a natural daughter of Leptines, the king's uncle, and commanded his fleet, was an inveterate enemy of Plato. He had been recalled from his banishment in Italy, on purpose to oppose Dion and his friends. (Plutarch in Dione.)

Ib. *Χαιρε και ἠδομενον.*] The addresses to the Delphick Apollo, as well as his answers, were often in verse. This of Dionysius seems to have been sent on account of Dion's first successes in Sicily.

P. 316. *Νομων προοιμια.*] Syracuse had been governed ever since Ol. 91. 4. by the laws of Diocles, whose history and character Diodorus gives us. (L. 13. c. 33. and 35.) Plato began to form a new body of them, but his quarrel with Dionysius, and afterwards the murder of Dion, and the tumults which followed, hindered his system from being brought to any degree of perfection. Timoleon was happier in his great attempt; he restored Syracuse to its liberty, and, with the advice of Cephalus the Corinthian, supplied and amended the laws of Diocles: and afterwards, in the reign of Hiero, they were again revised or corrected by Polylarus. Yet these were only looked on as *Εξηγηται των Νομων*; Diocles alone bore the title of *Νομοθετης*, and had publick honours paid to him as to a hero. His laws were adopted by several other cities in the island, and continued in use down to the times

of Julius Cæsar (which is about three hundred and sixty-eight years) when the Sicilians received the Jus Latii.

P. 316. *Εν ἡλικίᾳ δε οντος μεση και καθεστηκυια.*] Cornelius Nepos tells us that Dion was fifty-five years old at his death, so that he must have been about forty-one when Plato came the second time into Sicily. See also Epist. 7. p. 328. *Ἡλικίας τε ἡδὴ μετριῶς εχον.*

Ib. *Σφοδρα νεον.*] Dionysius was, I suppose, at least twenty years younger than Dion.

Ib. *Πλευσαι μεν οικαδε εμε.*] I defer examining into the time of Plato's voyages into Sicily, and his stay there, that I may do it all at once when I come to the seventh epistle.

P. 317. *Την θ' ἡλικιαν.*] Plato was then about sixty-seven years old.

P. 318. *Ξυνεχης.*] Read, *ξυνεχη τω νυν γενομενω*; this is his apology to the first accusation; he has said in the beginning, *προς δυω δη μοι διττας αναγκαιον ποιησασθαι απολογιας.*

P. 319. *Ουκουν παιδευθεντα (εφησθα) γεωμετρειν; η πως;*] I do not understand the meaning of this insult at all: it relates, however, to the advice which Plato had ventured to give him, that he should lighten the load of the Syracusans, and voluntarily limit his own power.

## EPISTLE IV. TO DION. Ol. 105. 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 320.

This was written probably the same year with the former, or the beginning of the next, on account of those differences which Dion had with Heraclides and his uncle Theodotes, who at last drove him out of Syracuse: their history may be seen in the seventh epistle, and in Plutarch.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 320. Την εμην προθυμιαν.] Plato, after all his ill usage from Dionysius, expressed some backwardness to join in the expedition against him, as appears Ep. 7. p. 350. where he expresses some little tenderness which he retained for him, when he reflected on their former familiarity; and that the king amidst all his anger and suspicions, had attempted on his life: however, when he saw Dion engaged, he joined in the cause with great zeal, and assisted him with all his power.

Ib. Αναιρεθεντος.] This seems to fix the time to Ol. 106. 1. for when Dionysius had sailed away to Locri, and his son Apollocrates had surrendered the citadel, it was natural to imagine that his empire was at an end.

P. 320. Ενδεεστερως του προσηκοντος θεραπευτικος.] Plutarch cites this passage in Dion's life; and another in the same epistle.

Ib. Το δε νυν υπαρχον περι σε, &c. as above.

## EPISTLE V. TO PERDICCAS. Ol. 103. 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 321.

Perdiccas, the second son of Amyntas, succeeded to the crown of Macedon, after the death of his brother in law, Ptolemy of Alorus, Ol. 103. 4. There seem to have been ancient ties of hospitality and of friendship between the royal family of Macedon, from Archelaus's time, and the principal literati of Athens. Plato here recommends his friend and scholar, Euphræus, a native of Oreus in Eubœa, to be of Perdiccas's council, and his secretary. He grew into the highest favour with Perdiccas, and was trusted with the entire management of all his affairs. He used his power arbitrarily enough. Caristius,<sup>1</sup> of Pergamus, gives the following instance of it; that, he would not suffer any one to sit at the king's table, who was ignorant of geometry or of philosophy. And yet to Plato and to Euphræus did the great Philip of Macedon owe his succession to the kingdom, (as <sup>2</sup>Speusippus writes in a letter to Philip reproaching him with his ingratitude,) for by them was his brother Perdiccas persuaded to bestow on him some districts as an *appanage*, where, after his death, Philip was enabled to raise troops, and to recover the kingdom. Euphræus, upon the death of his master, having rendered himself hateful to the principal Macedonians, was obliged, as it seems, to retire into his own country; where, soon

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Athenæum, L. 11. sub fin. p. 506. and 508.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Athenæum, ut supra.



after Philip was settled on the throne, Parmenio was ordered to murder him.

Ficinus and H. Stephanus, finding in the margin of some manuscripts this fifth epistle ascribed to Dion, and not to Plato, seem inclined to admit that correction, but without reason. Plato has in his other undoubted epistles spoken of himself, as he has done in this, in the third person. He is here apologising for his recommendation of a man, who was to have a share in the administration of a kingdom. Some may object (says he), "How should Plato be a competent judge, he who has never meddled in the government of his own country, nor thought himself fit to advise his own citizens?" He answers this by shewing his reasons for such a conduct; but the last sentence, *Ταυτον δη οιμαι δρασαι, &c.* is not at all clear. The thought is the very same with that in the famous seventh epistle to Dion's friends, (*Εγω τον συμβουλευοντα ανδρι καμνοντι, &c.* p. 330.) but some principal word seems to be omitted; perhaps after *δρασαι αν* should be inserted *ιατρικον ανδρα, ογ ιατρον αγαθον.*

EPISTLE VI. TO HERMEIAS, ERASTUS, AND CORISCUS.

The date not settled.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 322.

This letter, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. L. 5.) and by Origen (contra Celsum, L. 6.), Menage<sup>1</sup> tells us is no longer extant among the epistles of Plato,

<sup>1</sup> Ad. Diog. Laertium, L. 3. c. 57. See also Card. Quirini Decas Epistolarum Romæ 1743. 4to. p. 23.

and is supposed to be a fiction of the Christians. Bentley<sup>1</sup> had reason to wonder at the negligence of that critick, who did not know that the epistle was still preserved: and he adds, that there is no cause to believe the letter not to be genuine, as there are passages in the Dialogues themselves as favourable to the Christian opinions, as any thing in this epistle. The passage, which those Fathers cite, is at the end of the letter, and has indeed much the air of a forgery. I do not know any passages in the Dialogues<sup>2</sup> equally suspicious; nor do I see why it might not be tacked to the end of an undoubtedly original letter: there is nothing else here but what seems genuine.

Erastus and Coriscus were followers of Plato, and born at Scepsis,<sup>3</sup> a city of Troas, seated on mount Ida, not far from the sources of the Scamander and of the Æsepus: they seem to have attained a principal autho-

<sup>1</sup> Bentley in Phileleuthero Lipsiensis.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 6. p. 506. *Εκγονος τε του Αγαθου, και ομοιοτατος εκεινω . . . ο τοκος.* By which he means the idea of Himself, which the Sovereign Good has bestowed on us, and which is the cause of knowledge and of truth. The Supreme Good itself he calls 'Ο Πατηρ, and compares him to the sun, *ο Κυριος του φωτος.* Vid. et ibid. L. 7. p. 516.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Strabonem, L. 13. p. 602. and 607. The Coriscus here mentioned had a son called Neleus, a follower of Aristotle and a particular friend of Theophrastus, who left his library (in which was contained all that Aristotle had ever written, in the original manuscript) to him, when he died. It continued in the possession of his family at Scepsis, about one hundred and fifty years, when Apellicon of Teos purchased and transferred it to Athens, whence, soon after, Sylla carried it to Rome. (Strabo, L. 13. p. 602. and 607; Plutarch in Sylla, and Diog. Laert. in Theophrasto.)

rity in their little state, and Plato recommends to them here to cultivate the friendship of Hermias their neighbour, and sovereign of Assus and Atarneus, two strong towns on the coast of the Sinus Adramyttenus near the foot of Ida. Coriscus had also been scholar to Plato,<sup>1</sup> though an eunuch, and slave to Eubulus, a Bythynian and a banker. His master having found means to erect a little principality in the places before mentioned, made Hermias his heir. He gave his niece Pythias in marriage to Aristotle, who lived with him near three years, till Ol. 107. 4. about which time Memnon<sup>2</sup> the Rhodian, general to the Persian king, by a base treachery<sup>3</sup> got him into his hands, and sending him to court he was there hanged. (Strabo, L. 13. p. 610. and Suidas.) Aristotle wrote his epitaph,<sup>4</sup> and a beautiful ode<sup>5</sup> or hymn in honour to his memory, which are still<sup>6</sup> extant.

<sup>1</sup> So Strabo tells us; but Plato himself says, that he had never conversed with him. 'Όσα μηπω ξυγγεγονοσι, &c. infra.

<sup>2</sup> Or Mentor, his brother, according to Diodorus, L. 16. c. 52. which is right. See Aristot. Economic. ap. Leon. Aretinum, L. 2. c. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Probably he had taken part in the grand rebellion of the Satrapæ against the Persian king (which caused their indignation), and had shaken off his dependency.

<sup>4</sup> See Antholog. Gr. p. 526. Ed. H. Stephani. It was inscribed on a cenotaph erected to him and Eubulus jointly by Aristotle; for which piece of gratitude Theocritus of Chios has abused him in a satirical epigram: Antholog. ib. p. 523.

'Ερμείου εννουχου ηδ' Ευβουλου άμα δουλου

Σημα κενον κενοφρων τευξεν Αριστοτελης.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Athenæum, L. 15. p. 696. and Diog. Laert. L. 5. in Aristotele.

<sup>6</sup> After the words, *μαλιστα μεν αθροους' ει δε μη*, insert *κατα δυο κοινη*, from the Vatican MSS. (See Montfaucon Bibl. Bibliothecarum, p. 2.)

## NOTE ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 323. 'Ο εστι δικαιον.] There I take the true epistle to end; as what follows is very extraordinary as to the sense and the expression: Του τε ἡγεμονος και αιτιου Πατερα Κυριον, ὄν—εισομεθα σαφως, εις δυναμιν ανθρωπων ευδαιμονων.

## EPISTLE VII. TO THE FRIENDS AND RELATIONS OF DION.

Ol. 105. 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 323.

Callippus, after the treacherous murder of Dion, was attacked in Syracuse by the friends of that great man, but they were worsted by him and his party; and, being driven out, they fled to the Leontini, and he maintained his power in the city for thirteen months, (Diodor. Sic. L. 16. c. 36.) till <sup>1</sup> Hipparinus, nephew to Dion, and half-brother to Dionysius, found means to assemble troops; and while Callippus was engaged in the siege of Catana, he, at the head of Dion's party, re-entered Syracuse, and kept possession of it for two years. At the end of which time Hipparinus, in a drunken debauch, was assassinated, but by whom I do not find; and his younger brother, Nysæus, succeeded to his power, and made the most arbitrary use of it for

<sup>1</sup> See Theopompus ap. Athenæum, L. 10. p. 435. and 436. where we should correct the mistake of Athenæus, and of Ælian, who call Apollocrates son to the elder Dionysius; for he was (as Plutarch often repeats) the eldest son of the younger Dionysius.

near five years ; when Dionysius, returning from Locri, (see Plutarch in the life of Timoleon,) became once more master of Syracuse, and, as it seems, put Nysæus to death.

Who were the friends of Dion to whom Plato writes, is hard to enumerate: the principal were his son<sup>1</sup> Hipparinus, and his sister's son, likewise called Hipparinus, and his brother, Megacles, if living, though I rather imagine he had been killed in the course of the war before the death of Dion ; and Hicetas, who afterwards was tyrant of the Leontines.

Plato was about forty years of age, when first he came to Syracuse. His fortieth year was Ol. 97. 4.

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 323. Σχεδον ετη τετταρακοντα γεγονως.] Plato was about forty years of age, when he first came to Syracuse: his fortieth year was Olymp. 97. 4. Archonte Antipatro. Diodorus mentions the same fact three years later, but does not expressly say when it happened ; and Dion was then in his twentieth year: consequently Hipparinus was now about twenty. But whether the son of Dion, or his nephew, be here meant, is hard to distinguish ; if it could be proved to be the former, Plutarch would be convicted of a mistake. (See the next Epistle.) We must read here, συμφωνον ποιησειε, as Serranus observes.

<sup>1</sup> I call him by the name of Hipparinus, because Timonides the Leucadian, a principal friend of Dion, assures us of it (ap. Plutarch.), and his testimony must doubtless be preferred to that of Timæus, who gives this youth the name of Aretæus. See Plato's eighth Epistle.

P. 324. *Μεταβολη γιγνεται.*] This great change in the Athenian constitution took place, when Plato was in his twenty-fifth year.

Ib. *Ἐνδεκα μὲν ἐν Ἀστει, δεκα δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ.*] The *Ἐνδεκα* were a magistracy, to whom persons condemned to death were consigned, and who presided over the prisons and executions. Those who bore this office under the Thirty were their creatures, and at the head of them was Satyrus, whom Xenophon calls, *ὁ θρασυτατος αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιδεστατος.* (See Xen. Hist. Græc. L. 2. p. 470. Ed. Leunclavii. 1625.) He seems upon some vacancy (possibly on the death of Theramenes) to have been afterwards elected one of the Thirty. (See Lysias in Nichomachum, p. 476. Ed. Tylori, and Palmerius ad locum.) The Ten, who commanded in the Piræus, were appointed by the authority of the Thirty, and were probably the accomplices of their guilt, (Xenoph. Hist. Græc. L. 2. p. 474 and 478.) being with them and the Eleven, were excepted out of the general amnesty.

Ib. *Οικειοὶ καὶ γνωριμοί.*] Critias, a man as remarkable for the brightness of his parts as for the depravity of his manners and for the hardness of his heart, was Plato's second cousin by the mother's side; and Charmides, the son of Glauco, was his uncle, brother to his mother, Perictione. The first was one of the Thirty, the latter one of the Ten, and both were slain in the same action. Plato's family were deeply engaged in the oligarchy; for Callæschrus, (See Lysias in Eratosthenem, p. 215.) his great-uncle, had been a principal man in the Council of Four hundred. (Ol.

92. 1.) It is a strong proof of Plato's honesty and resolution, that his nearest relations could not seduce him to share in their power, or in their crimes at that age. (Xenoph. Apomnem. L. 3. c. 6 and 7, and in Symposio.) His uncle, though a great friend of Socrates and of a very amiable character, had not the same strength of mind.

P. 324. *Επι τινα των πολιτων.*] The Thirty, during the short time of their magistracy, which was less than a year, put fifteen hundred persons to death, (Isocr. Orat. Areopagitic. Ed. A. Steph. 1593, p. 153.) most of whom were innocent, and they obliged about five thousand more to fly. The prisoner here meant was Leo, the Salaminian. (See Apolog. p. 32.)

P. 326. *Λεγειν τε ηναγκασθην.*] These are the sentiments which he has explained at large in his *Πολιτειαι*, (L. 5. p. 472, &c.) and one would thence imagine that he had written, and perhaps published that celebrated work before his first voyage to Sicily, and consequently before he was forty years old. It is certain, that there are some scenes in the *Εκκλησιαζουσαι* of Aristophanes, (ver. 568 &c. Ed. Kusteri.) which seem intended to ridicule the system of Plato, and the Scholia affirm that it was written with that view. If so, he must have finished it, when he was thirty-five years of age, or earlier, for that comedy was played Ol. 96. 4.

P. 327. *Εις Συρακουσας οτι ταχιστα ελθειν εμε.*] Hence, and from Plutarch, it is certain that Plato was invited into Sicily immediately after the death of the elder Dionysius, which happened Ol. 103. 1. so that

we must necessarily place his second voyage to Syracuse that very year, or the next at farthest; and it is as sure, that, four months after his arrival, happened the quarrel between Dionysius and Dion, and the banishment of the latter. I cannot but observe the inaccuracy of Diodorus, who says that this last event happened Ol. 105. 3. which is a mistake of at least ten years. See also Aulus Gellius, L. 17. c. 21. who is likewise mistaken in placing this voyage of Plato after the year 400 of Rome, and after the birth of Alexander.—Hence we see the folly of trusting to compilers where we might recur to original authors.

P. 328. Ουκ ἢ τινες εδοξάζον.] Plato had been most severely reflected upon for passing his time at the court of Dionysius. Athenæus (a very contemptible writer, though his book is highly valuable for the numberless fragments of excellent authors, now lost, of which it is composed) has taken care to preserve abundance of scandal on this head. L. 11. p. 507. and see Laertius in his life. This and the third Epistle are his justification of himself, and are written with a design to clear his character.

Ib. Ελθοι παρ' ἡμᾶς φευγῶν.] Read παρ' ἡμᾶς.

P. 330. Μετα δε τουτο απεδημησα.] We are not informed how long Plato staid, after Dion was sent away, but probably many months; the preceding account of Dionysius's treatment of him implies as much.

P. 331. Πατερα δε ουκ ὄσιον.] Cicero alludes to this sentiment, and to that of the same in the 5th Epistle, in his Letter to Lentulus, L. 1. ad Familiares, Ep. 1. "Id enim jubet idem ille Plato, quem ego



vehementer auctorem sequor," &c., where he expresses the thought, but not the words.

P. 331. Πολιτειας μεταβολης.] Insert *περι*, or *ένεκα*.

P. 332. Αδελφων, όνς εθρεψε.] Leptines and Thearides.

Ib. Του Μηδου και Ευνουχου.] He follows some history, in this transaction, 'seemingly different from Herodotus and Ctesias. The Mede is Smerdis, one of the Magi, which was an order of men instituted in Media; and to carry on so strange a cheat as that usurpation, it is sure that the concurrence of the eunuchs of the palace must have been necessary; but what particular eunuch he means is hard to say. Ctesias says, that the counterfeit Tanyoxarces was betrayed to the conspirators by his eunuchs.

P. 333. Ο πατηρ αυτον φορον εταξατο φερειν τοις βαρβαροις.] The elder Dionysius being defeated by the Carthaginians at Cronium, in a great battle, Ol. 99. 2. was forced to make peace on their terms, and engaged to pay them one thousand talents. Fifteen years afterwards he engaged with them in another war, and lost one hundred and thirty of his best ships, which they surprised, and took or destroyed in the bay of Eryx or Drepanum: he died the same year, and left his son with this war upon his hands. Thus far Diodorus, L. 15, c. 17 and 73. Whether the Carthaginians had offered peace on condition of a new tribute, or had never been paid the old one, we can only guess from this expression of Plato; yet I am inclined to think, both from the third Epistle and from this, that Dionysius the father had agreed to a peace before his death, and

consented to pay a tribute to Carthage; and that his son entered not again into the war till two or three years afterwards, which lasted probably not three years. We must not wonder if we find little account of this in Diodorus, as he has said nothing at all of the eight first years of Dionysius the younger; only in the ninth year (which is Ol. 105. 2.) he tells us that he made peace with Carthage and the Lucanians: but it does not, by the narration, appear to be a transaction of that year, but rather makes part of a summary account of what had passed since his father's death. That peace was certainly made about four years earlier than Diodorus seems to have placed it.

P. 333. *Απεδωκεν αυτος δις την πολιν.*] Have a care of correcting this passage, as Serranus has done, who reads instead of *δις*, *Διων*. It is again repeated in the next, or eighth Epistle, p. 355. *Εγω δε απο τυραννων νυν δις*. He twice preserved Syracuse, first by driving out Dionysius, and afterwards by beating Nypsius, the Neapolitan. See Plutarch.

Ib. *Αδελφω δυω.*] They were Callippus and Philocrates, or (as some MSS. of Cornelius Nepos have it) Philostratus.

P. 336. *Αυτη παντα το δευτερον.*] *Αυτη* seems to agree with *αμαθια*. Either a word is lost, or the sentence is an example of that *ανακολουθια*, which is not uncommon with Attick writers.

P. 338. *Οτι γερων τε ειην.*] Plato was then about sixty-six years old.

P. 339. *Τα νομιμα.*] The usual salutations and compliments at the beginning of a letter.

P. 340. *Τοις των Παρακοσµατων µεστοις.*] This word (*Παρακοσµα*) means a transitory application to any science, sufficient to give a superficial tincture of knowledge, but neither deep, nor lasting. Such proficients Plato calls, *δοξαις επικεχρωσµενοι*.

P. 342. I know not what to say to this very uncommon opinion of Plato, that no philosopher should put either his system, or the method of attaining to a knowledge of it, into writing. The arguments he brings in support of it are obscure beyond my comprehension. All I conceive is, that he means to shew, how inadequate words are to express our ideas, and how poor a representation even our ideas are of the essence of things. What he says, on the bad effects which a half-strained and superficial knowledge produces in ordinary minds, is certainly very just and very fine. See the *Phædrus*, p. 274 to p. 276, where he compares all written arts to the gardens of Adonis, which look gay and verdant, but, having no depth of earth, soon wither away. Lord Bacon expresses himself strongly on this head. “*Homines per sermones sociantur ; at verba ex captu vulgi imponuntur : itaque mala et inepta verborum impositio miris modis intellectum obsidet. Neque definitiones aut explicationes, quibus homines docti se munire et vindicare in nonnullis consueverunt, rem ullo modo restituunt, sed verba planè vim faciunt intellectui, et omnia turbant, et homines ad inanes et innumeras controversias deducunt.*” (*Nov. Organ. L. 1. aphorism 43 and 59.*)

P. 342. *Ονοµα.*] Is the name of a thing ; *Λογος* is the definition, or verbal description of its properties ;

Εἰδωλον, its representation by a figure to our senses ; Επιστημη, the mental comprehension, or the complete and just idea of it : what the *το πεμπτον* is, I do not know, except it be the perfect notion of things, such as it exists in the mind of the Divinity.

P. 343. I put a comma after *και ταῦτα εἰς αμετακινητον*, and read, *ὁ τε δη πασχει &c.*

P. 344. We here learn that Dionysius had written a treatise on philosophy.

P. 345. *Αδελφιδου αυτου.*] Arete, Dion's wife, was half-sister to Dionysius, consequently, Hipparinus, her son, was his nephew.

P. 345. *Ιττω Ζευς, φησιν ὁ Θηβαιος.*] That is Pindar, as I imagine ; though I find not the expression in any of his odes extant. It was a common phrase with the Bœotians, *Ιττω Ἡρακλης, ιττω Ζευς.* See Aristophan. Acharn. v. 911. the French use "Dieu sçait," and we say, "God knows," in the same manner.

P. 346. *Καρπουσθω δε Διων.*] Let him receive the rents, or interest, but let him not touch the principal.

Ib. *Εἰς δε ὥρας.*] The next summer, when the season returns for sailing.

P. 348. Theodotes was uncle to Heraclides, as Plutarch says : and I imagine that Euribius was his brother. See the life of Dion.

P. 349. *Εἰς την Καρχηδονιων επικρατειαν.*] Sicily was then divided between the Carthaginians and the Syracusans.

P. 350. *Των ὑπηρεσιων.*] Athenians that served on board the fleet of Dionysius for hire.

Ib. *Πεμπουσι τριακοντορον.*] The Tarentine de-

puties were Lamiscus and Photidas. The original letter in the Dorick dialect is preserved by Diogenes Laertius in his life of Plato.

Ib. *Εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Δίωνα καταλαβὼν θεωροῦντα.*] Hence we may settle pretty exactly the time of Plato's third voyage. It is plain that he landed (on his return) in Peloponnesus, and immediately went to Olympia, where the games were then celebrating, to acquaint Dion with what so nearly concerned him. This must be Ol. 105. 1. It could not be earlier, because there is not time from the death of Dionysius the elder for all that happened, according to Plato's own account, in his two voyages and in the interval between them. He went not to Syracuse at soonest before Ol. 103. 1. and probably not till the year following: he staid there at least a year, and came back because of the war which broke out in Sicily. When that was over (and it could not well be determined in less than one campaign) Dionysius invited him back again. He hesitated a full year, and then went; and he spent a year and upwards at Syracuse, before he returned: all which must be, on the least computation, above five years. Besides the improbability that Dion, after he lost his revenues, and was deprived of his wife, should be near seven years before he attempted to right himself. As I have placed it, he was near three years in preparing for his design, which he executed Ol. 105. 4. as Diodorus tells us, and which Plutarch confirms, reckoning forty-eight years from the establishment of Dionysius the elder's tyranny to Dion's entry into Syracuse. He began to reign Ol. 93. 4. from which

to Ol. 105. 4. is just forty-eight years. See Xenoph. Græc. Hist. L. 2. p. 460. and Dodwell's Annals. It was in the beginning of the year, for Plutarch tells us that it was the midst of summer, the Etesian winds then blowing; and the olympick year began after the summer solstice. If then Plato came to Olympia, Ol. 105. 1. he must have gone to Syracuse towards the end of Ol. 104. 3. for, from his own account, he must have passed a year or more there.

EPISTLE VIII. TO THE FRIENDS OF DION. Ol. 106. 4.

From a passage in this epistle (p. 354. *των των Εφορων δασμων.*) it appears that Plato, as well as Herodotus, makes Lycurgus the author of the institution of the *Ephori*, and not Theopompus, as late writers do. See Aristot. Politic. L. 5. c. 11.

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 352. Πλην ειτις αυτων ανοσιουργος γεγνε.] He means those engaged in the murder of Dion, Callippus and his brother, and their party.

P. 353. Κινδυνος εγενετο εσχατος.] When they had sacked the rich and powerful city of Agrigentum, and demolished it. (Diodorus, L. 13.)

Ib. Οπικων.] The ancient inhabitants of Campania, particularly that country which lies round the Bay of Naples. (Aristot. Politic. L. 8. c. 10.) In a passage cited from Aristotle by Dionysius Halicarnassensis (L. 1. p. 57. ed. Huds. Oxon. 1704.), he seems to extend

the name to all the inhabitants of that coast to the south of the Tuscans. Aristotle mentions the Opici as the same people with the Ausones; but Polybius judged them to be a distinct people. (See Strabo, L. 5. p. 242.) The Siculi probably might speak the same tongue, having been driven out of Italy (Thucyd. L. 6. p. 349.) by these Opici some years after the Trojan war, and settling in a part of this Island. This name grew into a term of reproach, which the more polished Greeks bestowed upon the Romans, as Cato the censor complains in Pliny, L. 29. c. 1. "Nos quoque dictant barbaros, et spurcius nos quam alios *Opicos* appellatione *fædant*;" and in time it became a Latin word to signify barbarous and illiterate. (See Tullius Tyro ap. Aul. Gell. L. 13. c. 9. "Ita ut nostri *Opici* putaverunt, &c.)

P. 354. *Τους δέκα στρατηγους κατελευσαν.*] This fact is contrary to Diodorus, who only tells us, that the generals were deposed; (L. 13. c. 92.) and that afterwards, Daphnæus, the chief of them, and Demarchus (who were both enemies to Dionysius) were put to death (Ib. c. 96.); neither does he inform us of what we are here told, that Hipparinus, the father of Dion, was joined in commission with Dionysius, both being elected *Στρατηγοι αυτοκρατορες*, and both called *Τυραννοι*. (See Aristot. Politic. L. 5. c. 6.)

P. 355. *Τον εμον υιον.*] This directly contradicts both Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos, who particularly describe the tragical end of Hipparinus, Dion's son, when just arrived at man's estate. All that story, and the apparition which preceded it, must be false, if this

epistle be genuine, which I see no reason, but this, for doubting. The only way to reconcile the matter is, by supposing that Plato might here mean the infant son of Dion, who was born after his father's death; and who was not yet destroyed by Hicetas, for Plutarch intimates, that he continued to treat both the child and its mother well for a considerable time after the expulsion of Callippus. What makes against this supposition is, that in the end of this letter, p. 357. he speaks of Dion's son, as of a person fit to judge of, and to approve, the scheme of government which he has proposed to all parties.

P. 356. Ἐκων την πολιν ελευθεροί.] Here we see that Hipparinus, the son of Dionysius the elder by Aristomache, had put himself at the head of Dion's party, and supported the war against his brother.

#### EPISTLE IX. TO ARCHYTAS.

The date not settled.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 317.

#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 357. Ου δυνασαι της περι τα κοινα ασχολιας απολυθηναι.] Archytas was seven times elected Στρατηγος of Tarentum, which was then a democracy.

Ib. Κακεινο δει σε ενθυμεισθαι, οτι εκαστος ημων ουκ αυτω μονον γεγονεν, αλλα της γενεσεως ημων το μεν τι η πατρις μεριζεται, το δε τι, οι γεννησαντες το δε, οι λοιποι φιλοι· πολλα δε τοις καιροις διδοται τοις τον βιον



ἡμῶν καταλαμβανούσι. κτλ.] This fine sentiment is quoted by Cicero De Officiis, L. 1. c. 7. and again, De Finibus, L. 2. so that the seventh, the fourth, and this epistle, are of an authority not to be called in question.

P. 357. Προς τὴν πόλιν.] They were to negotiate something with the Athenians.

Ib. Εχεκρατοῦς.] Echecrates, the son of Phrynio, now a youth, was born at Phlius, and instructed in the Pythagorean principles by Archytas. Aristoxenus, a disciple of Aristotle (see Diog. Laert. L. 8. c. 46.), speaks of him as of a person whom he could remember, and one of the last of that sect who were considerable. Iamblichus also mentions him, c. 35. et ultim. de Vitâ Pythagoræ; and Plato introduces him as desiring to hear the manner of Socrates's death from Phædo.

EPISTLE X. TO ARISTODORUS,  
or, as Laertius writes, TO ARISTODEMUS.

The date not settled.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 358.

AND

EPISTLE XI. TO LAODAMAS.

The date not settled.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 358.

Laodamas of Thasus was a great geometrician and scholar to Plato, who first taught him the method of analytick investigation. (See Laertius, L. 3. c. 24. and Proclus in Euclidem, L. 3. Prob. 1. and L. 2. P. 19.)

He seems from this letter to have been principally concerned in founding some colony.

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 358. Η Σωκρατη.] This cannot possibly be the great Socrates, for he died when Plato was in his twenty-ninth year; and we see that in this passage he excuses himself from travelling on account of his age: it must, therefore, be the younger Socrates whom Plato introduces in his Πολιτικός (and in the Theætetus, p. 147. and in Sophista, p. 218. and 268.) and who is mentioned by Aristotle in his Metaphysics. (L. 6. p. 370. edit. Sylburgii.)

P. 358. Παντα κινδυνων.] The most considerable settlements which happened in Plato's time, were those at Messenia and at Megalopolis, Ol. 102. and we are told that he was actually applied to by this last city to form for them a body of laws; but he excused himself. Whether Laodamas had any share in that foundation, I cannot tell; if he had, it is no wonder that Plato should object the danger of his journey into the Peloponnesus that year, when every thing was in the utmost confusion.

EPISTLE XII. TO ARCHYTAS.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 359.

This fragment (for such it is) is preserved by Laertius, together with the letter from Archytas, to which it is an answer.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 359. Ὑπομνηματα.] He alludes to the commentaries of Ocellus, the Lucanian, which Archytas had procured from the descendants of that philosopher. The subjects of them were Περὶ Νομῶ, καὶ βασιλείας, καὶ ὀσίοτατος, καὶ τᾶς τῶ παντός γενεσίος; the last of which is still in being.

Ib. Μυριοι.] Read Μυραῖσι, of Myra, a city in Lycia. Homer speaks of another Lycia between mount Ida and the Æsepus, subject to Troy: the Lycians, on the south coast of Asia Minor, were probably a colony from thence. (Strabo, L. 12. p. 565. and L. 14. p. 665.) The family of Ocellus might be originally of Myra; but the Lucanians in general were of Italian origin, being sprung from the Samnites, who were a colony of the Sabines.

P. 359. Τῆς Φυλακῆς.] The work of Plato was undoubtedly his Πολιτεία, of which he sent a copy to Archytas, who, he says, was of his own opinion as to the institution of the Φυλακες: what they were see in the Πολιτεία itself. None of the commentators on Laertius have understood this passage.

This epistle is marked in the first editions of Plato as spurious: (Ἀντιλεγεται ὡς οὐ Πλατωνος. MSS. Vatican. cod. 1460. and Serranus sees mysteries here, where there are none; the same is said also of the thirteenth epistle :) but there seems no reason for it.

## EPISTLE XIII. To DIONYSIUS. Ol. 103. 3 or 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 360.

IN the order of time this is the second epistle in the collection. It is marked in the MSS. as spurious, and, I must own, it does little honour to Plato's memory; yet it is sure that Plutarch esteemed it genuine. He cites (in Vit. Dion.) a passage from it relating to Arete, the wife of Dion; and in his discourse *περι Δυσωπίας*, he mentions the character of Helico the Cyzicenean, which is to be found here. I know not what to determine; unless we suppose some parts of it to be inserted afterwards by some idle sophist who was an enemy to Plato's character. It is observable, that Plutarch in the place last mentioned says, *εἰτα προσεγραψε τη Επιστολη τελευτωση, Γραφω δε σοι ταυτα περι ανθρωπου*, &c. whereas the words are here not far from the beginning. Possibly some fragments of the true epistle might remain, which were patched together and supplied by some trifler.

Helico, the astronomer, is mentioned by Plutarch as in the court of Dionysius, when Plato was there for the last time; (and this letter was written four years before, soon after Plato's return from his first voyage to Syracuse) but we do not find elsewhere that he had been a disciple of Eudoxus and of Polyxenus.

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 NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 360. *Εἰπερ ηκει παρα σε Αρχυτης.*] Plato in his first voyage made a league of amity between Archytas

and Dionysius ; and after his return to Athens, Archytas came to Syracuse, as Plato himself tells us in his seventh epistle.

P. 360. Πολυξένω, των Βριστωνος τινι ἑταίρων.] Polyxenus, the sophist, is mentioned by Laertius in the life of Aristippus, sect. 76. Bryso, his master, had also the famous Theban cynick, Crates, for his scholar, as Laertius says L. 6. s. 85. who calls him Bryso, the Achæan. But Theopompus (ap. Athenæum, L. 11. p. 509.) informs us that he was of Heraclea, and accuses Plato of borrowing many things of him, which he inserted in his dialogues. There is an elegant fragment from a comedy of Ephippus, where he reflects alike on the scholars of Plato and of this Bryso (to whom he gives the epithet of ὁ θρασυμαχειοληψικερματων), for their sordid desire of gain, and for the studied neatness of their dress and person.

Ib. Ελαφρος και ενηθης.] Words here used in their best sense,<sup>1</sup> “easy and well-natured.” Plutarch interprets them *επιεικης και μετριος*.

P. 361. Τοτε ὅτ' οὐτ' εγω εστεφανοῦμην.] What is meant by this date, I cannot divine. His brother's, or sister's, daughters died at the time when Dionysius ordered him to be crowned, though he was not. However, we learn that Plato had four great nieces, the eldest then marriageable, the second, eight years old, the third, above three, and the fourth, not one year old ; and that he intended to marry the eldest to

<sup>1</sup> Plato in Republicâ. L. 3. p. 400. Ενηθεια, ουκ ἦν ανοιαν οὔσαν ἰποκοριζομενοι καλοῦμεν ὡς ενηθειαν, αλλα την ὡς αληθῶς εὔτε και καλῶς το ηθος κατεσκευασμενην διανοιαν.

his nephew, Speusippus; but how she could be the daughter of that Speusippus's sister, I do not comprehend; so that I take it, we must either read *Αδελφου* here, or *αποθανοντων* before.

P. 362. *Πεμφας Εραστον.*] Hence we see that Erastus was still with Plato, and consequently the sixth epistle was written after this time.

P. 362. *Κρατινω.*] Here we find that Timotheus had a brother called Cratinus. This cannot, I think, be the great Timotheus, for his father, Conon, in his will (the substance of which is preserved in Lysias's oration in *de Bonis Aristophanis*, p. 345.) makes no mention of any other son he had, but this one.

P. 362. *Των πολυτελων των Αμοργινων.*] The fine linen of Amorgos, of which they made tunicks for women, was transparent. See the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, v. 46. and 150. and 736. where the Scholia call the plant, of which the thread was made *ἡ λινοκαλαμη*, and say, that it was in fineness *ὑπερ την βυσσον, η την καρπασον*: they were dyed of a bright red colour.

## APPENDIX.

WHEN the fourth of these volumes was passing through the press, I was enabled, by the courtesy of Mr. John Morris, of 13 Park Street, Grosvenor Square, to examine the very curious and valuable collection of Graiana now in his possession. Of this collection, which has never been described, I will here give a brief account. It consists of five folio volumes, based upon a copy of Mathias's quarto edition of the *Works*, printed in 1814. This copy was presented by Mathias to Dawson Turner, who divided, enlarged, and rebound it. It was further again enlarged by Mr. John Dillon, from whom it passed, in its present condition, into the hands of Mr. J. Morris.

It is not necessary to describe all the portraits, illustrations, letters from persons interested in Gray, or other curious additions which have swelled this remarkable collection to its present bulk. I will here mention only what is of original interest. In the first place, certain memoranda of Gray's family, mostly in his own handwriting, including the draft, in pencil, which is almost obliterated, of the epitaph of his mother, which runs thus :—

in the same pious confidence  
beside her sister and faithful friend  
sleep the remains of  
DOROTHY GRAY  
Widow, the careful tender Mother  
of many children, of whom one  
only had the misfortune to  
survive her  
She died March 11, 1753, aged 67.

It may be observed that this reading differs in several respects from that hitherto repeated.

Horace Walpole's copy of the *Six Poems* of 1753 has been let into the volumes. It contains notes in his handwriting, but none of any importance.

There are thirty-four autograph letters of Gray, but all of these have been published already, and are found in their proper places in the present edition. They consist mainly of the letters to Norton Nicholls. I have collated them all, and find no variations worthy of record.

The original of the *Essay to Walpole on his Lives of the Painters* appears here in Gray's handwriting. It is correctly printed in this edition (vol. i. pp. 303-321) in all but the most inconsiderable particulars.

The sheets yet unprinted are copious, but rather dry and impersonal notes of the journey in France in 1739, up to the point where the journal printed here (vol. i. pp. 235-246) begins. Of more general interest is an account, in Gray's handwriting, of his stay at Naples with Walpole in 1740, and of the excursions they took in various directions. Had this reached me before the completion of my work, I should have thought it my duty to print these notes, although they have little personal importance. As a specimen of their character I transcribe the following passage:—

“ We made a *little journey* also on the other side of the *Bay of Naples to Portici*, where the King has a Villa about 4 Miles out of town, the way thither is thro' a number of small towns, and seats of the nobility close by the Sea, for Mount Vesuvius has not ever been able to deter people from inhabiting this lovely coast, and as soon as ever an eruption is well over, tho' perhaps it has damaged or destroy'd the whole country for leagues round



it, in some months every thing resumes its former face, and goes on in the old channel. That mountain lies a little distance from Portici towards the left, divided into 2 Summits, that farthest from the Sea is rather the largest, & highest, called Monte di Somma. This has hitherto been very innocent; the lesser one, which is properly Vesuvius, is that so terrible for it's fires; it is better than 3 Miles to ascend, and those extremely laborious. 'Twas extremely quiet at the time I saw it; some days one could not perceive it smoke at all, others one saw it rising like a white Columu from it, but in no great quantity. About a mile beyond Portici we saw the Stream of combustible Matter, which run from it in the last eruption; within  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a mile, or less, from the Sea is a small church of Our Lady, belonging to a certain Zoccolanti, into this church it enter'd thro' one of the side-doors without otherwise damageing the fabrick, run cross it, and was stop'd, I suppose, by the opposite Wall. The Fryars have dug away that part of it, and left it whole rising in a great rough mass at the door where it enter'd, as if the miraculous power of Our Lady had forbid it to advance further: this is well-contrived, and carries some appearance with it. That part of the Stream which comes along thro' the fields at a distance resembles plough'd Land, but rougher, and in huge Clods; they are hard and heavy, like the dross of some metals; the people pile the pieces up, and make an enclosure to their fields with them. This place is call'd Torre del Greco; it is about 4 Years since the Eruption happen'd. I imagine the river of fire, or Lava, as they call it, may be 20 Yards, or more, in breadth. It is not above a year since they discover'd under a part of the town of Portici a little way from the Shore an ancient and terrible example of what this mountain is capable of;

as they were digging to lay the foundations of a house for the Prince d'Elbœuf, they found a statue or two with some other ancient remains which coming to the King's knowledge he order'd them to work on at his expence, and continuing to do so they came to what one may call a whole city under ground ; it is supposed, and with great probability to be the Greek settlement call'd Herculaneum, which in that furious Eruption, that happen'd under Titus (the same in which the elder Pliny perish'd) was utterly overwhelmed, and lost with several other on the same coast. Statius, who wrote as it were on the spot, and soon after the accident had happen'd, makes a very poetical explanation on the subject, which this discovery sets in its full light :—

'Haec ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcella, sonabam,' etc.

The work is unhappily under the direction of Spaniards, people of no taste or erudition, so that the workmen dig, as chance directs them, wherever they find the ground easiest to work without any certain view."

From the biographical point of view the most interesting addition to our knowledge of Gray, presented by Mr. John Morris's collections, is a short paper of notes on a journey in Scotland, of which no previous biographer or editor of Gray has given any account. It has not hitherto been known how the poet occupied his leisure between his recovery from the severe surgical operation of July 1764, and what he called his "Lilliputian Travels" in the south of England in October of the same year. It now appears, from Mr. Morris's MS., that in August 1764 he went to Netherby, on the Scotch border, to visit the Rev. Mr. Graham, the horticulturist, and from his house set out in a tour in Scotland. His route took him by

Annan and Dumfries to the Falls of Clyde and Lanark. At Glasgow he called on Foulis, the publisher, from whom he afterwards received many courtesies. He admired Foulis' academy of painting and sculpture, and lamented that the Cathedral of Glasgow was so miserably out of repair. He passed on to Loch Lomond, sailed on the loch, and returned to Glasgow by Dumbarton. At Stirling he enjoyed the view from the castle, and went on by Falkirk and the coast to Edinburgh. He took excursions to Hawthornden and Roslin, and then to Melrose. He was next at Kelso, Tweedmouth, and Norham Castle. He made an excursion at low tide to Holy Island, and the itinerary closes at Bamborough Castle, from which place he went, no doubt, to his customary haunt, Dr. Wharton's house at Old Park, in the county of Durham. This was Gray's first visit to Scotland.

Mr. John Morris also possesses the original MS. of Norton Nicholls's *Recollections of Gray*, and many other papers of a minor interest. For his kindness in placing the whole of this beautiful and valuable collection in my hands I owe him my most sincere thanks. There is now but a very small portion of Gray's writings remaining of which I have not been able to examine the original manuscript.—[ED.]



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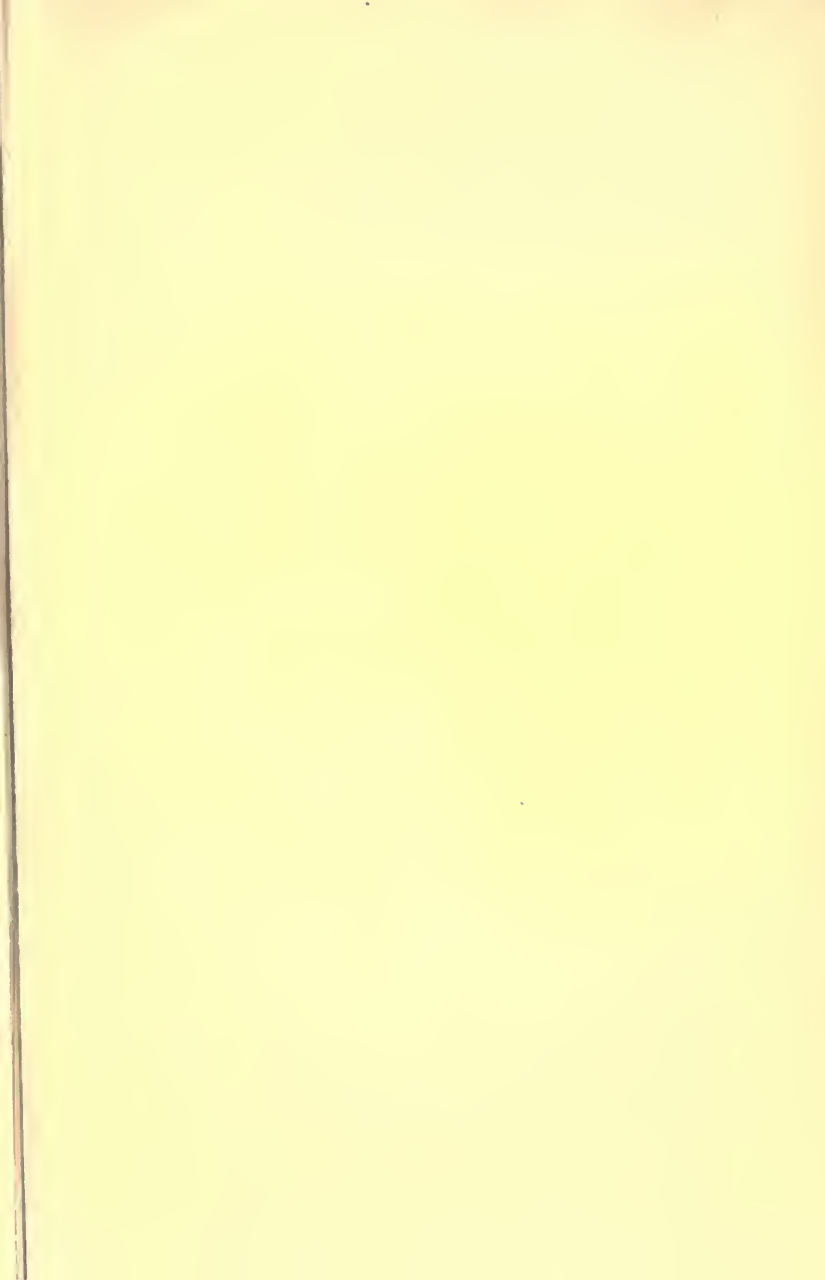
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