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**XENOPHON'S**

**MINOR WORKS.**



**XENOPHON'S**  
**MINOR WORKS,**

COMPRISING THE

AGESILAUS, HIERO, ŒCONOMICUS, BANQUET, APOLOGY OF SOCRATES,  
THE TREATISES ON THE LACEDÆMONIAN AND ATHENIAN GOVERN-  
MENTS, ON REVENUES OF ATHENS, ON HORSEMANSHIP, ON  
THE DUTIES OF A CAVALRY OFFICER, AND ON HUNTING.

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,  
WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY THE

REV. J. S. WATSON, M.A., M.R.S.L.

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## PREFACE.

THIS volume completes the "Classical Library" Translation of Xenophon's Works.

Most of the pieces contained in it have already been presented to the public in an English dress; but, excepting the version of the "Hiero" by Graves, and of the "Treatise on Horsemanship" given by Berenger in his history of that art, none of them can be said to adhere closely to the original. The "Treatise on the Revenues of Athens," translated by Walter Moyle, though generally correct, is extravagantly verbose.

To each piece are prefixed a few critical or illustrative remarks; and notes are appended to all passages where obscurity, or the conflicting opinions of commentators, appeared to render them necessary.

J. S. W.



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# THE ŒCONOMICUS.

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## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

OF the philosophy of Socrates, as transmitted to us by Xenophon, it is not the object to investigate the causes, or ascertain the origins, of divine and human things, but, by teaching what is good and honourable, to fit men, individually, for attaining happiness in life, and to instruct communities how to secure prosperity. There are, accordingly, two principal parts of the Socratic philosophy: the *ethic*, which shows what course of conduct every person must pursue in order to gain a character for virtue and honour; and the *political*, which teaches by what means individuals may advance a community to the highest state of excellence. But as the master of a family and his household constitute, as it were, a smaller community in the midst of a greater, and as the prosperity of the whole state depends on the proper management of each particular family, a third part, the *œconomic*, is added.

The first author that wrote of ethics, politics, and œconomics, in distinct and separate treatises, was Aristotle. As for Plato, who says that we cannot conceive of virtue or merit in a man or master of a family, unless as subject to the laws of his community, he has included all those three parts of moral philosophy in one book, which he has entitled his "Republic." But it was Xenophon that laid the foundation of this triple division; for in his "Memorabilia" he makes it his object to show the whole scope of the *moral* teaching of Socrates (though in that work

there is much that relates rather to political or œconomical science); in the "Cyropædia" he illustrates a part of *political* science; and in the present treatise he discusses *œconomy* or domestic management.

The dialogue in this book, unlike those in the "Memorabilia," is written in a certain regular method, and consists of parts carefully put together. We see that the whole work is purposely divided into two parts. The first, which contains a conversation of Socrates with Critobulus, is in place of an introduction, and prepares the reader for what is to follow; the other, which is a dialogue between Ischomachus and Socrates, sets forth the precepts intended to be given concerning the management of a family.

The simple and graceful facility in discussing a subject which we know to have been peculiar, not to the Socrates represented in Plato, but to the Socrates that really lived, is exhibited as clearly in the "Œconomicus" as in any of Xenophon's other writings. Cicero thought it worthy of being translated into Latin. *Breitenbach.*

A few other remarks on the "Œconomicus" may be seen in the "Biographical Notice of Xenophon," prefixed to the preceding volume.

THE ŒCONOMICUS;  
OR,  
A TREATISE  
ON THE  
MANAGEMENT OF A FARM AND HOUSEHOLD.

---

CHAPTER I.

Socrates teaches Critobulus that œconomy is an art which is shown in the management of households and estates, whether our own or those of others; that goods are whatever a person may use in such a way as to gain advantage from them; and that if some meet with loss instead of profit from the use of them, the fault lies in their own misconduct.

1. I ONCE heard Socrates<sup>1</sup> also discoursing on the management of a household, after the following manner: "Tell me," said he, "Critobulus,<sup>2</sup> is domestic management the name of an art, as that of healing, or of working in brass, or of building?" "It appears so to me," said Critobulus. 2. "And as we can specify concerning these arts, what is the business of each, can we also specify concerning domestic management, what is its business?" "It appears, at least," said Critobulus, "that it is the business of a good householder to regulate his

<sup>1</sup> *Ἦκουσα δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ.* Xenophon commences thus in allusion to what he had previously written concerning Socrates. He begins all his works thus abruptly, and without preface, except the *Cyropædia* and the treatise *de Re Equestri*.

<sup>2</sup> Critobulus the son of Crito, a very rich man, was one of the familiar associates of Socrates, as appears not only from this book, especially c. 3, sect. 7, but from *Mem. Soc.* ii. 6; i. 3. 8, and from the *Symposium*, especially c. 4, sect. 27. *Breitenbach.*

house well." 3. "And as to another man's house," said Socrates, "if the owner should intrust it to him, might he not be able, if he pleased, to regulate it as well as his own? He who is skilled in building can do for another equally well what he can do for himself; and surely he who is skilled in domestic management may act similarly." "It appears so to me, Socrates." 4. "Is it possible then," said, Socrates, "for one who knows this art, and happens to have no property of his own, to earn money by managing the house of another, as an architect earns money by building a house?" "Yes, doubtless," said Critobulus, "he might earn a large sum of money, if, taking a house under his charge, he can fulfil the duties which it requires, and augment the value of it by adding largely to its resources."

5. "But what is it that the term house gives us to understand? Is it the same as the mere building, or is whatever a man possesses, besides the mere building, included under the term house?" "It seems to me," replied Critobulus, "that everything a person has, even though it be not in the same country with the possessor, is comprehended under the term house,<sup>1</sup> or personal property." 6. "Have not, then, some persons enemies?" "Certainly; some have very many." "Shall we, therefore, say that enemies are the property of those persons?" "It would be ridiculous," answered Critobulus, "if a person who increases the enemies of another, should receive pay for increasing them." "I asked the question," said Socrates, "because it seemed settled between us that a man's house, or estate, is whatever he has." "Assuredly," returned Critobulus, "whatever good a man has is his property, or a portion of his goods; but, by Jupiter, if he has anything hurtful, I do not reckon it among his goods."

7. "You seem, then," said Socrates, "to mean by goods something serviceable to the owner." "Most certainly," rejoined Critobulus; "for what does him injury I regard as a nuisance, rather than a part of his goods." 8. "If, then, a man buy a horse,<sup>2</sup> and does not know how to manage him, but falls off him, and receives some injury, is the horse not a part of his goods?" "Not if goods are something service-

<sup>1</sup> Οἶκος, in the sense of estate, or personal property.

<sup>2</sup> See Mem. Soc. ii. 3. 7.

able." "Neither, then, is land part of a man's goods, if he cultivates it in such a manner as to suffer by its cultivation." "Land certainly cannot be called part of a man's goods, if, instead of supporting him, it brings him nothing but hunger."

9. "So, then, with regard to sheep, if a man, from not knowing how to manage sheep, suffers loss by keeping them, the sheep would not be a portion of his goods." "It seems to me that they would not." "You, then, as it appears, consider goods as what is profitable; but what is hurtful you do not consider as goods." "Exactly so."

10. "The same things, then," continued Socrates, "are goods to him who knows how to make use of them, but not goods to him who does not know; thus flutes will be goods to him who knows how to play properly upon them, but to him who does not know they will no more be goods than worthless pebbles are goods; unless indeed he sells them." 11. "So it

appears to me," rejoined Critobulus, "that flutes will be goods to those who are ignorant of their use, if they sell them, but not while they merely possess them; and thus our reasoning proceeds consistently, since it was laid down that goods are what is serviceable; for to such persons as those to whom we alluded, flutes are not goods (since they are of no service), but, when sold, become goods." 12. To this Socrates rejoined, "If indeed the owner knows how to sell them; but if he sells them to another person who does not know how to use them, they will not be goods even when they are sold, according to your reasoning." "You appear to intimate, that not even

money itself is to be reckoned among a person's goods, unless he knows how to use it." 13. "And you appear to agree with me, when you say that goods are things by which a person may be profited. If, for example, a man should make use of his money to get a mistress, and should, by her means, bring himself into a worse condition, bodily, mentally, and in his household affairs, how could it be said that his money was at all profitable to him?" "By no means; unless indeed we say that hyoscyamus, as it is called, is a profitable article to possess, a herb of which those who eat are driven mad."

"Money, then, if its possessor does not know how to use it, may be thus excluded, Critobulus, from being numbered among goods.

14. "But as to friends," continued Socrates, "if a person

knows how to use them, so as to receive profit from them, what shall we say that they are?" "Goods, by Jupiter," said Critobulus, "and much more so than oxen, if at least they are more serviceable than oxen." 15. "Enemies also, then, according to your argument, are goods to him who is able to extract profit from enemies." "It appears so to me." "It is the part of a good manager of property, then, to know how to deal with his enemies in such a way as to derive profit from them." "Most certainly." "True; for you see, my dear Critobulus, how many families, as well of private individuals as of princes, have been improved in condition by war."

16. "This point seems to me to be very well settled, Socrates," said Critobulus; "but what can we think when we see persons who have knowledge and resources by which they might with exertion improve their property, but perceive that they are unwilling to do so, and that their qualifications are in consequence of no profit to them? Can we say anything else than that their qualifications are not goods to them, not even possessions of the least value?" 17. "Do you mean to speak of slaves, my dear Critobulus?" said Socrates. "Not I indeed, by Jove," replied he; "but there are some among those who are esteemed noble, of whom I see that part are acquainted with the arts of war, and part with those of peace, which arts, however, they will not exercise, because, as I suppose, they are without masters to compel them." 18. "How can they be without masters," said Socrates, "when, desiring to prosper, and wishing to do something from which they may derive profit, they are still hindered from doing so by those who rule them?" "And who are they that rule them," asked Critobulus, "for they are nowhere to be seen?" 19. "By Jove," replied Socrates, "they are so far from being nowhere to be seen, that they may be seen everywhere; and that they are most pernicious rulers, is well known to yourself, if you believe idleness, and effeminacy of mind, and carelessness, to be vices. 20. There are also certain deceitful mistresses that sway them, pretending to be goddesses of pleasure, such as gaming and frivolous social gratifications, which, in process of time, make it evident even to the victims of their deceptions that they are but pains disguised in the garb of pleasures; and these, through their influence over their votaries, prevent them from applying to useful occupations." 21. "Yet

others, Socrates," said Critobulus, "are not hindered by such tyrants from exerting themselves, but apply with the utmost vigour to work, and to contrive means of increasing their incomes; and nevertheless they waste their property, and become involved in difficulties." 22. "So it is," said Socrates, "for these also are slaves, and slaves of extremely troublesome mistresses, some being devoted to the luxuries of the table, some to licentiousness, some to intoxication, some to foolish and expensive objects of ambition, which exercise such cruel sway over those whom they get under their power, that, as long as they see them in vigour and able to work, they compel them to bring whatever they gain to expend upon their desires; but when they find them unable to work, through old age, they leave them to spend their declining days in misery, and endeavour to make slaves of others. 23. But we ought to fight for our liberty against such tyrants, Critobulus, not less strenuously than against those who endeavour to enslave us by arms. Enemies in war, who are honourable and generous, have obliged many nations, after they have subdued them, to improve in character under the influence of gentle correction, and have led them to pass the rest of their lives in greater comfort; but tyrannical passions never cease to harass the bodies and minds and estates of men, as long as<sup>1</sup> they exercise any influence over them."

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## CHAPTER II.

Critobulus requesting to be taught by what means he may increase his property, which fortune had granted him in sufficient abundance, Socrates jocosely replies that he himself was rich, and Critobulus very poor, an assertion which he proceeds to prove. Being again asked to give some instruction on the management of an estate, he says that he is inexperienced in such matters, but offers to refer Critobulus to certain persons who are skilled in them.

1. AFTER these observations of Socrates, Critobulus spoke to the following effect: "On such points I think that what I

<sup>1</sup> "Εστ' ἄν.] It signifies not only *donec, usque dum*, but also *quamdiu*. See Kühner ad Mem. Soc. iii. 5, 6. See also Mem. Soc. i. 1. 18; Anab. iii. 1. 19; Cyrop. v. 4. 8; Rep. Lac. c. 5, sect. 3; de Re Equest. c. 11, sect. 9. Breitenbach.

have heard from you is extremely satisfactory ; but when I examine myself, I seem to feel convinced that I am sufficiently master over such inclinations ; so that if you would advise me by what course of conduct I may improve my domestic resources, I do not think that I should be impeded by the seductions of those tyrannical mistresses, as you call them. Impart to me confidently, therefore, whatever good admonitions you have to give. Or do you accuse us,<sup>1</sup> my dear Socrates, of being wealthy enough ? and do we appear to you to have no need of additional riches ? ”

2. “ If you speak of me as well as yourself, then,” said Socrates, “ I consider that I require no addition to my means, but am rich enough already ; you, however, Critobulus, appear to me to be extremely poor, and, by Jupiter, I sometimes feel very great pity for you.” 3. “ And how much,” rejoined Critobulus with a laugh, “ how much, in the name of the gods, my dear Socrates, do you think that your property would fetch if it were sold, and how much mine ? ” “ I think,” replied Socrates, “ that if I found a good purchaser, my whole property, with my house, would very readily bring me five minæ ;<sup>2</sup> yours, I am very certain, would fetch a hundred times as much.” 4. “ Then, when you know this, do you think that you have no need of more money, and pity me as being poor ? ” “ Yes,” said he, “ for what I have is sufficient to supply me with all that I need ; but for the splendour with which you are surrounded, and to keep up your dignity, not even if thrice as much as what you have were bestowed upon you, would you appear to me to have enough.” “ How so ? ” asked Critobulus. 5. “ Because, in the first place,” said Socrates, in explanation, “ I see that a necessity is imposed on you of offering many great sacrifices, or, I suppose, neither gods nor men would be satisfied with you ; in the next place, you must entertain many strangers, and entertain them magnificently ; and in addition, you have to give feasts, and make presents to your fellow-servants, or find yourself destitute of friends. 6. I observe also that the state requires of you to be at great ex-

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ κατέγνωκας ἡμῶν.] Critobulus is speaking of himself only ; and the dignity which he seems to assume by using the plural *we* affords occasion to Socrates to lay hold of the question as applied to himself also, and to pursue the humorous discussion that follows. *Breitenbach*.

<sup>2</sup> About fifteen pounds of our money.

penses in keeping horses,<sup>1</sup> in exhibiting theatrical entertainments,<sup>2</sup> in presiding over the gymnasia,<sup>3</sup> in discharging the duties of a patron; and if a war should arise, I am quite sure that they will lay upon you, in your office of trierarch,<sup>4</sup> so much to pay for men to serve, and other contributions, that you will not easily meet the requirements; and should you be thought to discharge any of your duties inefficiently, I am quite certain that the Athenians will punish you not less severely than if they found you robbing their treasury. 7. In addition to this, I see that you fancy yourself rich, and are but little disposed to use means for getting money; and that you devote your attention to matters of amusement,<sup>5</sup> as having a right to do so. For these reasons I feel compassion for you, fearing that you may fall into some irremediable misfortunes, and be reduced to great poverty. 8. As for myself, even if I were in want, you are aware, I am sure, that there are persons who would assist me; so far that, even if each contributed but very little, they would drown my humble means in a flood of abundance; but your friends, even though they have ampler means for supporting their condition than you have for supporting yours, nevertheless look to you as if to receive benefits from you."

9. "Against these observations, my dear Socrates," said Critobulus, "I have nothing to say; but it is now time for you to act the patron towards me, and prevent me from becoming pitiable in reality." Socrates, on hearing this, said,

<sup>1</sup> It was customary at Athens for the richer sort of citizens to keep horses for chariot-races or for sacred processions. See Xen. Hipp. c. 1, sect. 11. The old man in the Clouds of Aristophanes laments that his property had been wasted in keeping horses. *Bochius*.

<sup>2</sup> These were also duties incumbent on the wealthier Athenians.

<sup>3</sup> *Προσρατῆας*.] The metæcs, or sojourners, at Athens, were obliged to put themselves under the protection of some eminent man as a patron. See Pollux, viii. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Those were called trierarchs who were obliged to furnish galleys, equipped for service.

<sup>5</sup> We must understand chiefly *res amatoriæ*. Critobulus is described as *puerorum amans* (Mem. Soc. ii. 6. 29), and is introduced in the Symposium, c. 4, sect. 12, as captivated, though but recently married, with the attractions of Clinias. As the Symposium of Callias took place probably about Olymp. xciii. 3, we may suppose that this dialogue between Socrates and Critobulus was held not very long after that date, though it may be inferred from c. 3, sect. 13, that he had lived some years in the matrimonial state. *Breitenbach*.

“Do you not think, Critobulus, that you are acting very strangely, since, when I said a little while ago that I was rich, you laughed at me, as if I did not know what riches were, and did not cease till you had convinced me, and obliged me to acknowledge that I have not the hundredth part of what you have ; and now you desire me to be your patron, and take care that you may not be reduced to utter and undeniable poverty.” 10. “It is because I see that you, Socrates, know one thing relating to riches, namely, how to keep a surplus ; and I expect, accordingly, that he who has something over out of a little will easily produce a large superabundance out of much.” 11. “Do you not remember, then, that just now,<sup>1</sup> in the course of our conversation, when you would not allow me the liberty even of putting in a syllable, you said that horses were not goods to him who did not know how to use horses, nor land, nor cattle, nor money, nor anything else, that a person did not know how to use ? Profit, indeed, is derived from such possessions ; but how do you think that I can know how to use any of those things of which I never owned even a single one ?” 12. “Yet it seemed to me that even if a person had no money, there might nevertheless be in him some knowledge of household management ; and what then hinders you from having such knowledge ?” “The very same thing, assuredly, that would hinder a man from knowing how to play on the flute, if he has never been in possession of any flutes of his own, and no other person has allowed him to learn by playing upon his. 13. Such is the case with me in respect to the management of household property ; for I have never been myself in possession of any property of my own, as a means of learning, nor has any other person ever offered me his to manage, except that you now express a desire to intrust me with yours. But consider that those who are learning to play on the harp spoil their harps at first ; and in like manner I, if I were to attempt to learn the management of property by making experiments on yours, might perhaps bring all your possessions to nothing.”

14. To this Critobulus replied, “You are strenuously endeavouring to escape, Socrates, from giving me any assistance to sustain my necessary business with greater ease.” “No, by Jupiter,” rejoined Socrates, “not I ; for I will most willingly

<sup>1</sup> C. 1, sect. 8.

communicate to you whatever I can. 15. But I think, at the same time, that if you had come to me for fire, and if, having none myself, I had directed you to a place where you would get it, you would not have blamed me. Or, if you asked water of me when I had none, and I directed you whither to go for it, I know that you would not have found fault with me for doing so. Or if you wished to learn music from me, and I mentioned to you persons who were far more skilful in music than myself, and would be thankful to you for taking lessons from them, what objection would you make to my acting in such a manner?" "I should be able to make no reasonable objection," my dear Socrates. 16. "I shall therefore point out to you, Critobulus, other persons much better skilled than myself in the matters which you are solicitous to learn from me; for I admit that it has been an object with me to discover which of the people in the city are the most skilful in their several pursuits; 17. since, observing that of those who were engaged in the same occupations, some were in the greatest poverty, and others extremely rich, I wondered, and thought it an inquiry worthy of consideration to discover what the cause was. 18. Examining into matters, accordingly, I found that affairs took a perfectly natural course; for I saw that those who did their business heedlessly suffered for their misconduct, while I learned that those who applied to their duties with steadiness and judgment,<sup>1</sup> despatched them with greater expedition, and ease, and profit. By learning, therefore, if you think proper, from such persons, I consider that, if the gods are not unfavourable to you, you may become a very able man of business."

<sup>1</sup> Γνωμῇ συνεταμένῃ.] *Intento animo.* Some copies have συνεταμένῃ.

## CHAPTER III.

Critobulus still urges Socrates to give him instructions how to improve his property; and Socrates recommends him to study the conduct of those who have managed their business with judgment and to advantage. He reminds him how many have prospered, or come to poverty, by different courses of proceeding. He offers to introduce him to skilful professors of other arts besides that of agriculture.

1. CRITOBULUS, on hearing these observations, said, "Now, my dear Socrates, I will never let you go until you have made known to me what you have promised me in the presence of our friends here."<sup>1</sup> "What if I should show you, then, Critobulus, first of all," said Socrates, "that some people build useless houses at very great expense, and that others, at much less expense, construct houses having every convenience, shall I not be thought to have shown you one of the great concerns of household management?" "Certainly," replied Critobulus.

2. "And what if I should show you, after this, that which is naturally consequent upon it, that some people who possess abundance of household necessaries of all kinds have it not in their power to use them, nor even know whether they are in safety, and on this account suffer great annoyance themselves, and cause great annoyance to their servants, while others, who have not more furniture, but even far less, have whatever they want always ready for use." 3. "Is anything else, then, the cause of this, Socrates, than that with the one class of persons everything is thrown down as chance may direct, while with the others everything is kept arranged in its place?" "Such is the case assuredly," said Socrates, "and their things are arranged, not in a place chosen at hazard, but where propriety suggests." "You seem to speak of this also," said Critobulus, "as an element in the knowledge of household management." 4. "What, again, if I should show you," continued Socrates, "that in some places all the slaves are tied up, so to speak, and yet frequently run away, while in other places

<sup>1</sup> Socrates was constantly attended by some of his friends, who wished to gather instruction from his discourse; and we must not be surprised that they took no part in many of the dialogues at which they were present. Thus Xenophon, at the beginning of this book, and in several passages of the *Memorabilia*, signifies that he was present at conversations of Socrates, but records no observations of his own. *Weiske*.

they are left at liberty, and are willing alike to work and to stay with their masters, should I not be thought, in mentioning this, to bring to your notice something worthy of regard in household management?" "Yes, by Jupiter," replied Critobulus, "something extremely worthy of regard." 5. "And what if I show you that of those who cultivate similar land, some complain that they are utterly ruined and starved by their farming, while others have everything that they want in abundance and excellence?" "Such is indeed the case," said Critobulus; "for perhaps the first sort of agriculturists spend their money not merely on objects that are necessary, but on such as bring destruction alike on the master and on his estate." 6. "Perchance there are some such," said Socrates; "but I do not now speak of them, but of persons who, professing to practise agriculture, cannot command resources even for their necessary expenditure." "And what is the cause of this, Socrates?" said Critobulus. "I will bring you among them," answered Socrates, "and you shall understand by seeing for yourself." "Very well," replied Critobulus, "if, at least, I can."

7. "It is therefore very proper," proceeded Socrates, "that you should examine yourself, to ascertain whether you will be able to understand. I have known you<sup>1</sup> rise very early in the morning, and go a very long way, to see actors in comedy, and I have heard you press me very strongly to go with you to the exhibition; but you never invited me to such a sight as that of which I am speaking." "Doubtless therefore, my dear Socrates, I appear ridiculous to you." 8. "But to yourself, by Jupiter, you ought to appear far more ridiculous. Supposing I show that some men, by keeping horses, have been reduced to the want even of necessaries, while others, by the same means, become very wealthy, and exult in their gains?" "I see such persons myself, and know men of both sorts, yet I am not at all the more in the number of those who get gain?" 9. "No; for you look at them as you look at actors in tragedy and comedy, not, as I think, that you may become a poet, but that you may find pleasure from seeing and hearing. Perhaps this, indeed, is reasonable enough (for you have no

<sup>1</sup> Σοι σύννοδα.] The verb *σύννοδα* indicates that a person knows a thing for certain, and as an eye-witness. See Wolf ad Dem. Lept. c. 12. *Breitenbach*.

desire to be a poet); but since you are obliged to use horses, do you not think that you act foolishly, if you do not study not to be quite ignorant of that occupation, especially when horses are both good to use and profitable to sell?" 10. "Do you wish me to become a colt-breaker, my dear Socrates?" "By no means, any more than to bring up farm-labourers by buying them when children. But there are certain ages, as well of horses as of men, which are immediately profitable, and advance in improvement. I can also show that some men have so managed their wives, as to find in them fellow-helpers in improving their fortunes, whilst others have dealt with them in such a way that they have in a great degree ruined them." 11. "But in these cases, my dear Socrates, ought we to blame the husband or the wife?" "If a sheep," replied Socrates, "is in ill condition, we generally blame the shepherd; if a horse is mischievous, we impute the fault to the groom; and as to a wife, if, after being taught what is right, she conducts herself badly, perhaps she ought justly to bear the blame; but if her husband does not teach her what is right and proper, but exacts service from her while she is ignorant of what she ought to do, would he not justly be visited with condemnation?" 12. But by all means tell us the truth, Critobulus (for we are all friends who are here), is there any one to whom you intrust a greater number of important affairs than to your wife?" "There is no one," replied Critobulus. "And is there any one with whom you hold fewer discussions than with your wife?" "If there is any one, there are certainly not many."<sup>1</sup> 13. "Did you marry her when she was quite young, or, at least, when she had seen and heard as little of things as was well possible?" "Certainly I did." "It would then be much more surprising, if she knew anything of what she ought to say or do, than if she fell into mistakes." 14. "But as to those who, you say, have had good wives, my dear Socrates, did they themselves instruct them?" "There is nothing like looking at examples;<sup>2</sup> and I will make you friends with Aspasia,<sup>3</sup> who will give you in-

<sup>1</sup> Because his wife was already instructed in what she had to do; so that there was no need of discussing points with her.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι.] *Exempla considerare.* Socrates says this as preparatory to the introduction of Ischomachus. *Breitenbach.*

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be no particular reason for mentioning Aspasia here, as no further allusion is made to her. Bornemann, Weiske, and Reisig

formation on this point more knowingly than I. 15. But I consider that a wife, who is a good partner in household management, has equal influence with her husband for their common prosperity. Resources come into the house for the most part by the exertions of the husband, but the larger portion of them is expended under the management of the wife, and, if affairs be well ordered, the estate is improved; but if they are conducted badly, the property is diminished. 16. I think that I could also point out to you, if you think it requisite, persons skilled in other arts, who practise each of them with reputation."

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#### CHAPTER IV.

Critobulus declines to learn more pursuits than one; and Socrates approves of his resolution. Sedentary and indoor occupations debilitate the mind and body. Military or agricultural pursuits seem to be the only ones suited for Critobulus; Socrates supports them by the example of the king of Persia. An anecdote of Cyrus the Younger and Lysander.

1. "BUT what occasion is there for you, my dear Socrates," asked Critobulus, "to call my attention to all kinds of arts?" for neither is it easy to procure persons who practise all sorts of arts competently, nor is it possible for any single individual to become skilled in all; but in regard to those which are thought most honourable, and which would be most becoming to me if I practised them, give me some information concerning them and the persons who are engaged in them; and while you instruct me, assist me yourself, as far as you can, to understand." 2. "You say well, Critobulus," replied Socrates; "for those arts which are called handicrafts are objectionable,<sup>1</sup> and are indeed justly held in little repute in communities; for they weaken the bodies of those who work at them or attend to them, by compelling them to sit and to live indoors; some of them, too, to pass whole days by the fire; and when the body becomes effeminate, the mind loses its strength.

think that she is mentioned as an instructress ironically. See Weiske's note on Mem. Soc. ii. 6. 36. *Συστήσω σοι Ἀσπασίαν*, says Breitenbach, is *Aspasiam tibi conciliabo*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐπιβήηροι*.] Spoken against; objected to; regarded with little favour.

3. Such mechanical occupations also, as they are termed, leave those who practise them no leisure to attend to the interests of their friends or the commonwealth; so that men of that class seem unsuited alike to be of advantage to their connexions, and to be defenders of their country. In some states, indeed, and especially in such as seem excellent in war, no citizen is allowed to engage in these handicraft employments."

4. "In what sort of employments then, Socrates, would you recommend me to engage?" asked Critobulus. "Ought we to be ashamed," replied Socrates, "to imitate the king of the Persians? For they say that he considers the art of agriculture, and that of war, to be among the most honourable and necessary occupations, and pays the greatest attention to both of them." 5. Critobulus, on hearing this, said, "Do you then, my dear Socrates, believe that the king of the Persians unites the pursuit of husbandry with the other objects of his care?" "If we consider the matter, Critobulus, in the following manner, we may perhaps satisfy ourselves whether he gives it any portion of his attention. We are all aware that he attends diligently to military affairs, because, from whatever nations he receives tribute, he has appointed to the governors of them respectively for how many horsemen, and bowmen, and slingers, and targeteers each must furnish maintenance, a number that may be sufficient to keep the people under his command in awe, and serve as defenders to the country if enemies invade it. 6. In addition to these troops, the king maintains garrisons in the several fortresses; and the governor, to whom the commission is given, furnishes pay for these garrisons; while the king holds a review every year of the mercenaries and other forces that are required to appear in arms, collecting them all together, except the troops in garrison, in the place where they are ordered to assemble, when he himself inspects those that are near his own residence, and sends trustworthy officers to view such as are at a distance. 7. And whatever commanders of garrisons, captains of thousands, and satraps,<sup>1</sup> are found to have the required complement of troops, and exhibit them equipped with proper horses and arms, he distinguishes such governors with honours, and enriches them

<sup>1</sup> The difference between these three kind of officers may be understood by a reference to *Cyrop.* viii. 6. 1 and 3. *Schneider*. The commanders of garrisons and captains of thousands were subject to the satraps.

with valuable presents; but such of the governors as he finds either neglecting the garrisons, or guilty of peculation, he punishes with great severity, degrading them from their posts, and putting other officers in their places. To military affairs, therefore, as he pursues such a course of conduct, we must unquestionably allow that he pays great attention. 8. But, besides, whatever part of his dominions he rides through and surveys in person, he observes the condition of it; and whatever part he does not inspect in person, he ascertains the state of it by sending thither trustworthy commissioners; and to such of the satraps as he finds exhibit their provinces well inhabited, with the soil well cultivated, and stocked with trees and fruits such as the ground is fitted to produce, he gives additional territory, graces them with presents, and distinguishes them with seats of honour; but such as he finds to have their provinces ill cultivated, or thinly inhabited, whether through their harsh treatment of the people, or through tyranny or neglect, he punishes and deprives of their commands, and appoints others in their room. 9. Acting thus, does he seem to have less care that his land may be well cultivated by the inhabitants, than that it may be well defended by his garrisons? There are indeed officers appointed by him for both purposes; but not the same; for some overlook the inhabitants and tillers of the ground, and collect tribute from them, and others have charge of the armed forces. 10. And if the overseer of the forces does not sufficiently protect the provinces, the overseer of the inhabitants and tillers of the ground brings an accusation against him, representing that the people cannot cultivate the land for want of proper protection; but if, while the overseer of the forces secures peace to the cultivators, the other overseer occasions the provinces to be thin of people and ill cultivated, the overseer of the forces, on his part, lays an accusation against him. 11. For those who cultivate the ground inefficiently will neither maintain the garrisons, nor be able to pay their tribute. But when a satrap is appointed, he attends to both these objects.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To the payment of troops in the garrisons and the payment of tribute to the king. “Wesee,” says Breitenbach, “that the satrap, as described here, differs somewhat from the satrap whose duties are specified, Cyrop. viii. 6. 1; and that there was in every province an ἀρχων or governor-general, but not in every province a satrap.”

12. "If the king, then," rejoined Critobulus, "acts in this manner, Socrates, he appears to me to pay no less attention to agricultural than to warlike pursuits." 13. "But in addition to all this," continued Socrates, "in whatever provinces he resides, and wheresoever he travels, he takes care that there may be gardens, such as are called *paradeisoi*,<sup>1</sup> stocked with everything good and valuable that the soil will produce; and in these gardens he himself spends the greatest part of his time, whenever the season of the year does not prevent him." 14. "Assuredly, then, Socrates," observed Critobulus, "the people must of necessity take care that, where the king himself resides, the gardens be excellently stored with trees and all other choice productions that the earth affords." 15. "Some relate, too, Critobulus," added Socrates, "that when the king distributes rewards, he calls forward first those who have distinguished themselves in war, (because it would be of no use to till a great quantity of ground, unless there were soldiers to defend it,) and afterwards those who have kept their lands in the best order, and rendered them most productive, observing that even brave men would not be able to live, unless there were tillers of the ground. 16. It is said also that Cyrus,<sup>2</sup> who was a most illustrious prince, remarked on one occasion to those who were called to receive rewards, that he himself might justly receive both sorts of presents; for he excelled, he said, both in regulating his province, and in defending it when it was regulated." 17. "Cyrus, therefore, Socrates," said Critobulus, "if he made this observation, prided himself not less on rendering his province fertile, and in keeping it in order, than on his ability in war." 18. "It seems likely indeed," said Socrates, "that if Cyrus had lived, he would have proved a very excellent king; and of this probability the following indication, as well as many others, has been afforded, that when he set out to contend with his brother for the kingdom, not a single soldier, as is said, deserted from Cyrus to the king, while many myriads deserted from the

<sup>1</sup> The young student may be told that *παράδεισος* is not a Greek word, as Suidas supposes, who derives it from the verb *δέειν*, but is of Persian origin, as is rightly intimated by Pollux, ix. 13. Concerning the nature of these *παράδεισοι*, or parks, the reader may consult A. Gell. ii. 20; Plin. H. N. viii. 25; Q. Curt. viii. 1—11. *Reisig*.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrus the Younger. He is called *βασιλεὺς* in the text, as being, says Weiske, the son of a king, and enjoying royal honours in his province.

king to Cyrus. 19. I regard it indeed as a great proof of merit in a general when men follow him willingly, and are ready to stand by him in danger ; and around Cyrus, as long as he was alive, his friends continued to fight, and were all killed with him when he died, contending over his body, except Ariæus, who happened to be posted in the left wing. 20. It is this Cyrus that is said to have paid Lysander, when he came with presents to him from the allies, many marks of civility (as Lysander himself once stated in conversation with a friend of his at Megara), and to have shown him (as Lysander related) his park at Sardis. 21. When Lysander expressed his admiration of it, observing how fine the trees were, how regularly they were planted, how straight the rows of them were, and how elegantly all the rows formed angles with one another, while many sweet odours attended on Lysander and Cyrus as they walked about ;—admiring all this, he said, ‘I look with astonishment on all these trees on account of their beauty, but am still more astonished at the art of him who measured out the ground, and arranged them all for you.’ 22. Cyrus, on hearing this, was delighted, and said, ‘It was I, let me say, Lysander, that measured the ground and arranged all the trees myself; and there are some of them,’ he added, ‘that I planted with my own hand.’ 23. Lysander, as he told us, looked at Cyrus, and contemplating the beauty of the robes which he had on, and perceiving the perfume that issued from them, and the splendour of the necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments which he wore, said, ‘What is it that you tell me, Cyrus? Did you, with your own hands, plant any of these trees?’ 24. ‘Do you wonder at this, Lysander?’ replied Cyrus; ‘I swear to you by Mithras, that, whenever I am in health, I never dine till I have put myself into a perspiration by pursuing some military or agricultural occupation, or by contending for superiority in some exercise of a similar nature.’<sup>1</sup> I, indeed, added Lysander, when I heard him say this, took him by the hand, and said, ‘You appear to me, Cyrus, to be deservedly fortunate; for you have your good fortune from being a man of merit.’

<sup>1</sup> I read *τοιούτων γέ τι*, with Breitenbach. Dindorf's text, and most others, have *ἀσι οὐν γέ τι*.

## CHAPTER V.

Socrates continues to discourse of agriculture, and shows that the wealthiest and noblest of men have given their attention to it, as it strengthens the mind and body, improves the estate, and conduces to a virtuous course of life. Critobulus makes some observations on the casualties to which agricultural occupations are exposed; Socrates recommends, in reply, that the gods should be carefully worshipped and propitiated.

1. "THIS anecdote I relate to you, Critobulus," continued Socrates, "to show that not even men of the most exalted fortune are contented to abstain from agriculture; for the pursuit of it seems to be at once a means of enjoyment and of increasing their resources; and it is also an exercise for the body, such as to strengthen it for discharging the duties that become a man of honourable birth. 2. In the first place, the earth yields the food on which men live to those who cultivate it, and produces in addition things from which they receive gratification. 3. Besides these, it supplies the flowers which decorate altars and statues, and with which men adorn themselves, accompanied with the most pleasing odours and appearances; sauces and animal food,<sup>1</sup> too, it partly produces and partly nourishes, in great abundance (for the art of managing cattle is connected with farming); so that men have enough to propitiate the gods by sacrificing, and to use themselves. 4. Yet, though it offers blessings in the greatest plenty, it does not permit us to take them in idleness, but requires us to accustom ourselves to endure the colds of winter and the heats of summer; to those whom it exercises in manual labour, it gives an increase of strength; and in such as only oversee the cultivation of it,<sup>2</sup> it produces a manly vigour, by requiring them to rise early in the morning, and forcing them to move about with activity; for in the country, as well as in the city, the most important matters are always done at a stated sea-

<sup>1</sup> ὄψα.] Under this term was included whatever was eaten with bread, whether flesh, fish, or herbs.

<sup>2</sup> Τοὺς δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ γεωργοῦντας.] By these words we are to understand those who superintend their work as done by slaves or other labourers, in opposition to *αὐτοῦργοί*, "workers with their own hands." *Weiske*,

son.<sup>1</sup> 5. Again, if a man wishes to serve his country<sup>2</sup> as a horse-soldier, farming offers the greatest convenience for keeping a horse, or if as a foot-soldier, it keeps the body robust; and it also affords some incitement to exertion in hunting over the land,<sup>3</sup> supplying facilities for the keeping of dogs, and supporting beasts of game. 6. The horses and dogs, moreover, which are kept by farming, benefit the farm in return; the horse, by carrying his master early in the morning to the scene of his labours, and furnishing him the means of returning late; the dogs, by preventing the wild beasts from destroying the fruits of the earth and the cattle, and by affording security even in the most solitary places.

7. "The possession of land also stimulates agriculturists, in some degree, to defend their country in arms, as the ground produces its fruits exposed to all,<sup>4</sup> for the strongest to take possession of them. 8. What occupation, too, renders men more fit for running, and throwing, and leaping, than agriculture? What employment offers men greater gratification for their labour? What art welcomes the student of it with greater pleasure, offering him that approaches, indeed, the means of gaining whatever he desires? What occupation receives strangers with richer hospitality? 9. Where is there greater facility for passing the winter amid plenty of fires, and warm baths, than on the farm? Or where can we spend the summer more agreeably, by streams, amid breezes, and under shade, than in the fields? 10. What other occupation offers more pleasing first-fruits to the gods, or richer banquets on festival days? What pursuit is more comfortable for a man's servants, more delightful to his wife, more attractive to his children, or more gratifying to his friends? 11. I should

<sup>1</sup> [Ἐπικαιριώταται πράξεις.] Weiske understands *res maximè opportune* or *utiles*; Schneider, *res præcipue*. These are to be done ἐν ᾧρα, *statò, certo, opportunissimo tempore*.

<sup>2</sup> [Ἀρήγειν τῇ πόλει.] As was the duty of the Athenian citizen, whether he chose to enrol himself in the cavalry or the infantry. Schneider.

<sup>3</sup> Breitenbach reads, with Schneider and Weiske, *θήραις τε ἐπιφιλοπονείσθαι συνεπαίρει τι ἢ γῆ*, "the land affords some incitement for exertion in hunting." Dindorf, whom I follow, has *φιλοπονείσθαι—τῇ γῆ, γεωργία* being the nom. case to *συνεπαίρει*.

<sup>4</sup> [Ἐν μέσῳ.] *In medio*, i. e. lying open and exposed to invaders. Compare Aristotle, *Pol.* c. 2: *Μόνων γὰρ τούτων τὰ κτήματα ἔξω τῶν ἱερμάτων ἐστίν.* Breitenbach.

be surprised, for my own part, if any man of liberal feelings has met with any possession more pleasing than a farm, or discovered any pursuit more attractive, or more conducive to the means of life, than agriculture.

12. "The earth also kindly teaches men justice, at least such as are able to learn; for it is those who treat her best that she recompenses with the most numerous benefits.

13. "If on any occasion, moreover, those who are employed in agriculture are forced to quit their occupations by a multitude of invading enemies, yet, as they have been bred to vigorous and manly exertion, and are well exercised in mind and body, they may, if the gods are not unfavourable, make incursions into the lands of those who impede their occupations, and carry off booty on which they may support themselves. Frequently, indeed, in war, it is safer to seek a livelihood with hostile weapons than with instruments of agriculture.

14. "The cultivation of the ground, too, instructs men to assist one another; for as we must make attacks on enemies with the aid of men, so it is with aid of men that agriculture must be conducted. 15. He, therefore, that would till his ground properly must provide himself with labourers both ready to work and willing to obey him; and he that leads an army against an enemy must take similar precautions, rewarding those who act as good soldiers ought to act, and punishing those who are neglectful of discipline. 16. A husbandman must encourage his workmen as frequently as a general exhorts his soldiers; and slaves require favourable prospects to be held out to them not less than free-men, and indeed even more, that they may be willing to stay with their masters. 17. He also said well, who pronounced agriculture to be the mother and nurse of other arts; for when agriculture flourishes, all other pursuits are in full vigour; but when the ground is forced to lie barren, other occupations are almost stopped, as well by land as by sea."

18. When Critobulus had heard these remarks to an end, he said, "You seem to me, my dear Socrates, to say all this with great reason; but you have not observed that there are connected with agriculture many things which it is impossible for man to foresee; for sometimes hail, frost, drought, violent rains, mildew, and often indeed other causes, deprive us of the fruit of what has been excellently contrived and arranged;

and sometimes disease comes to carry off, in the most pitiable manner, cattle that have been bred with the utmost care." 19. Socrates, listening to this, said, "I thought that you were aware, Critobulus, that the gods are disposers of affairs in agriculture not less than of those in war; and you see, I suppose, that those who are engaged in the field of battle propitiate the gods before they come to an engagement, and consult them, with the aid of sacrifices and auguries, to learn what they ought or ought not to do. 20. And do you think that there is less necessity to seek the favour of the gods with regard to the proceedings of agriculture? For be assured," added he, "that wise men worship the gods with a view to the preservation of their fruits, as well succulent as dry,<sup>1</sup> and of their oxen, horses, sheep, and all their other possessions."

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## CHAPTER VI.

Critobulus admits that the gods ought to be propitiated. Socrates recapitulates what he had said of the excellences of agriculture. Critobulus inquires how it is that some persons are enriched, and others ruined, by agricultural occupations; Socrates replies, that the best way to satisfy him on this point will be to introduce him to Ischomachus, an excellent husbandman, and a man of strict integrity and honour.

1. "THIS also you appear to say with great reason, my dear Socrates," said Critobulus, "desiring us to commence every work with the gods in our favour, as the gods are the directors of affairs of peace, no less than of those of war. In such a way, accordingly, we will make it our care to act. But do you, returning to the point at which you ceased to speak of the management of a house, proceed to bring to a conclusion that which follows upon what you said; as I seem to myself, since I heard your observations on the subject, to see somewhat better than before what I must do to increase my means of living." 2. "What if we should first go back, then," said Socrates, "to those particulars on which we agreed as we went over them, that we may proceed also, if we find it at all possible, to go through the remaining points so as to agree upon them?" 3. "Very well," said Critobulus; "for

<sup>1</sup> Grapes and olives; wheat and other grain.

as it is gratifying to persons who have pecuniary accounts between them to reach the conclusion of them without disagreement, so it will be pleasant for us, who are pursuing a chain of reasoning between us, to go through the various points on which we speak with unanimity."

4. "The management of a house or estate, then," proceeded Socrates, "was decided between us to be the name of an art or science. This art or science was defined to be that by which men may increase their houses or estates; and a man's house or estate was defined to be the same as his whole possessions or goods. A man's goods we agreed to be whatever is profitable for his well-being; and profitable things were defined to be all things that a person knows how to use. 5. We agreed that it was impossible to learn all arts, and determined to exclude from our favour, in common with communities in general, those employments which are termed handicrafts, as they appear to diminish bodily strength, and cramp the powers of the mind. 6. We considered that the plainest proof of this would be, if, when enemies invade a country, we should divide the husbandmen and artisans into two bodies, and ask each of them separately whether they would be inclined to guard the open country, or to retreat from the fields to defend the fortresses. 7. For under such circumstances we thought that those who were employed about the land would give their voice for defending it, while the artisans would vote for not fighting, but for sitting still, as they had been brought up without either working hard or running into danger. 8. We were of opinion, too, that agriculture, for an honourable and high-minded man, is the best of all the occupations and arts by which men procure the means of living. 9. For it is a pursuit that appeared to us most easy to learn, and most pleasant to practise; it seemed to us to put the bodies of men in the fairest and most vigorous condition, and to be far from giving such constant occupation to their minds as to prevent them from attending to the interests of their friends or their country. 10. Agriculture also was thought by us to afford some incitement to those who pursue it to become courageous, as it produces and sustains what is necessary for human life without the walls of fortresses.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note on c. 5, sect. 7

For these reasons, moreover, this mode of life appeared to us to be the most honourable in the estimation of governments in general, as well as because it seems to render the citizens most virtuous and best affected towards the commonwealth."

11. "That it is extremely honourable, and becoming, and pleasant, indeed, Socrates," said Critobulus, "to derive the means of life from agriculture, I think that I am quite sufficiently convinced; but as to what you said a while ago, that you understood the reasons why some men manage their land in such a way as to have abundance of whatever they need from the culture of it, and why others labour on it in so different a manner that the cultivation of it is profitless to them, I should like to hear from you the causes of both results, that I may pursue what is beneficial, and avoid what is detrimental."

12. "What then if I should relate to you at length,<sup>1</sup> Critobulus," said Socrates, "a conversation which I formerly held with a man who appeared to me to be really one of those to whom the epithets of *fair* and *good*<sup>2</sup> are justly applied?"  
 "I should be extremely pleased," said Critobulus, "to hear that conversation, as I myself desire also to become deserving of those epithets." 13. "I will tell you, then," said Socrates, "how I came to visit the man; <sup>3</sup> for a very short time was amply sufficient for me to go round among good carpenters, good workers in brass, good painters and statuaries, and other persons of that kind, and to view such works of theirs as were esteemed beautiful. 14. But in order to learn the characters of those who love the honourable distinction of being *fair and good*, and to ascertain by what course of conduct they deserved to be called so, I felt an extraordinary desire to converse with one of them. 15. And, in the first place, as the epithet *fair* was added to that of *good*, I accosted whomsoever I observed to be of a handsome person, and endeavoured to satisfy myself whether I could anywhere find goodness added to beauty. 16. But such was not always the case; for I felt myself convinced that some of those who were beautiful in form were altogether depraved in mind. I determined there-

<sup>1</sup> Ἐξαρχῆς, from the beginning.

<sup>2</sup> Καλός τε κάγαθός.

<sup>3</sup> Εἰς τὴν σείψιν αὐτοῦ.] *Ad invisendum hominem illum.* Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> Breitenbach reads, *ικανός ικανῶς περιελθεῖν τε καὶ*, &c., from a happy conjecture of Rost. The old reading was *ικανῶς* (without *ικανός*), which Schneider altered into *ικανός*.

fore on giving up all regard to mere beauty of person, and visiting one of those who were called both *fair* and *good*. 17. As I heard, accordingly, that Ischomachus was called *fair* and *good* by everybody, both men and women, foreigners and natives of the country, I resolved to make it my business to have some conversation with him.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Socrates relates how he first met with Ischomachus; how he asked him why he was called the *fair* and *good*; and how he learned from him the nature of his occupations and mode of life, and the character of his wife. Dialogue of Ischomachus with his wife, in which all the domestic duties of husband and wife are specified. Honours attendant on a wife who discharges her duties with efficiency and conscientiousness.

1. "OBSERVING him therefore sitting one day in the portico of the temple of Jupiter Eleutherius, I went towards him, and as he seemed to me to be at leisure, sat down near him, and said, 'Why are you, Ischomachus, who are not accustomed to be idle, sitting thus? for in general I see you either doing something, or certainly not altogether wasting your time, in the market-place.' 2. 'Nor would you now see me quite unoccupied, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'if I had not made an appointment to wait here for some strangers.' 'But when you have no such engagements,' said I, 'where, in the name of heaven, do you spend your time, and how do you employ yourself? for I have the strongest desire to learn from you what it is you do that you are called *fair* and *good*; since you certainly do not pass your life indoors, nor does your complexion look like that of a man who does so.' 3. Ischomachus, smiling at my inquiry, *what do you do to be called fair and good*, and being pleased at it, as it seemed to me, replied, 'Whether people, when they talk together about me, give me that appellation, I do not know; but certainly when they call upon me as to the *antidosis*<sup>1</sup> of the duties of a trierarch or

<sup>1</sup> There was a law at Athens that if any person were called on to take the duty of trierarch, or any other public office, and could point out any person richer than himself, who ought to have been called upon instead

choragus, no one summons me by the name of *fair and good*, but they designate me plainly as Ischomachus, distinguishing me by the name of my father; and as to what you asked me besides, Socrates, I assuredly do not spend my life indoors; for,' added he, 'my wife is quite capable herself of managing what is to be done in my house.' 4. 'But,' said I, 'Ischomachus, 'I would very gladly be permitted to ask you whether you instructed your wife yourself, so that she might be qualified as she ought to be, or whether, when you received her from her father and mother, she was possessed of sufficient knowledge to manage what belongs to her.' 5. 'And how, my dear Socrates,' said he, 'could she have had sufficient knowledge when I took her, since she came to my house when she was not fifteen years old,<sup>1</sup> and had spent the preceding part of her life under the strictest restraint, in order that she might see as little, hear as little, and ask as few questions as possible?' 6. Does it not appear to you to be quite sufficient, if she did but know, when she came, how to take wool and make a garment, and had seen how to apportion the tasks of spinning among the maid-servants? for as to what concerns the appetite,<sup>3</sup> Socrates,' added he, 'which seems to me a most important part of instruction both for a man and for a woman, she came to me extremely well instructed.' 7. 'But as to other things, Ischomachus,' said I, 'did you yourself instruct your wife, so that she should be qualified to attend to the affairs belonging to her?' 'Not, indeed,' replied Ischomachus, 'until I had offered sacrifice, and prayed that it might be my fortune to teach, and hers to learn, what would be best for both of us.' 8. 'Did your wife, then,' said I, 'join with you in offering sacrifice, and in praying for these blessings?' 'Certainly,' answered Ischomachus, 'and she made many

of him, he might summon that citizen either to take the office or to exchange properties with himself. This was called *ἀντιδοσὺς*. See Demosth. c. Mid. c. 17. Wolff, Proleg. ad Lept. p. 123.

<sup>1</sup> Such seems to have been the custom at Athens, though Aristotle, Polit. vii. 16, says that girls could not properly marry before they were eighteen. *Schneider*. See Becker's Charicles, vol. ii. p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the way in which the Athenian girls passed their time before marriage, see Becker's Charicles, vol. ii. p. 422, 475. *Breitenbach*. Also Xen. Rep. Lac. c. 1, sect. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Τὰ ἀμφὶ γαστέρα*.] These words significantly express the chief virtue of a wife. *Breitenbach*. "La sobriété." *Gail*. Temperance in eating and drinking. Comp. sect. 14. *Weiske*.

vows to the gods that she would be such as she ought to be, and showed plainly that she was not likely to disregard what was taught her.' 9. 'In the name of the gods, Ischomachus, tell me,' said I, 'what you began to teach her first; for I shall have more pleasure in hearing you give this account, than if you were to give me a description of the finest gymnastic or equestrian games.' 10. 'Well, then, Socrates,' returned Ischomachus, 'when she grew familiarised and domesticated with me, so that we conversed freely together, I began to question her in some such way as this: "Tell me, my dear wife, have you ever considered with what view I married you, and with what object your parents gave you to me?" 11. For that there was no want of other persons with whom we might have shared our respective beds<sup>1</sup> must, I am sure, be evident to you as well as to me. But when I considered for myself, and your parents for you, whom we might select as the best partner for a house and children, I preferred you, and your parents, as it appears, preferred me, out of those who were possible objects of choice. 12. If, then, the gods should ever grant children to be born to us, we shall then consult together, with regard to them, how we may bring them up as well as possible; for it will be a common advantage to both of us to find them of the utmost service as supporters and maintainers of our old age. 13. At present, however, this is our common household; for I deposit all that I have as in common between us, and you put everything that you have brought into our common stock. Nor is it necessary to consider which of the two has contributed the greater share; but we ought to feel assured that whichever of us is the better manager of our common fortune will give the more valuable service." 14. To these remarks, Socrates, my wife replied, "In what respect could I cooperate with you? What power have I? Everything lies with you. My duty, my mother told me, was to conduct myself discreetly." 15. "Yes, by Jupiter, my dear wife," replied I, "and my father told me the same. But it is the part of discreet people, as well husbands as wives, to act in such a manner that their

<sup>1</sup> 'Ἐκαθεύδομεν ἄν.] We must consider the verb, says Breitenbach, to refer, not to Ischomachus merely, as speaking of himself in the plural, but to both him and his wife; and they were brought together, Ischomachus intimates, for mutual aid.

property may be in the best possible condition, and that as large additions as possible may be made to it by honourable and just means." 16. "And, what do you see," said my wife, "that I can do to assist in increasing our property?" "Endeavour by all means," answered I, "to do in the best possible manner those duties which the gods have qualified you to do, and which custom<sup>1</sup> approves." 17. "And what are they?" asked she. "I consider," replied I, "that they are duties of no small importance, unless indeed the queen bee in a hive is appointed for purposes of small importance. 18. For to me," continued he, "the gods, my dear wife," said I, "seem certainly to have united that pair of beings, which is called male and female, with the greatest judgment, that they may be in the highest degree serviceable to each other in their connexion. 19. In the first place, the pair are brought together to produce offspring, that the races of animals may not become extinct; and to human beings, at least, it is granted to have supporters for their old age from this union. 20. For human beings, also, their mode of life is not, like that of cattle, in the open air; but they have need, we see, of houses. It is accordingly necessary for those who would have something to bring into their houses to have people to perform the requisite employments in the open air; for tilling, and sowing, and planting, and pasturage are all employments for the open air; and from these employments the necessaries of life are procured. 21. But when these necessaries have been brought into the house, there is need of some one to take care of them, and to do whatever duties require to be done under shelter. The rearing of young children also demands shelter, as well as the preparation of food from the fruits of the earth, and the making of clothes from wool. 22. And as both these sorts of employments, alike those without doors and those within, require labour and care, the gods, as it seems to me," said I, "have plainly adapted the nature of the woman for works and duties within doors, and that of the man for works and duties without doors. 23. For the divinity has fitted the body and mind of the man to be better able to bear cold, and heat, and travelling, and military exercises, so that he has imposed

<sup>1</sup> *Nóμος*.] *Lex.* Dindorf. But Sturz, in his *Lexicon*, vol. iii. p. 209 gives it the sense of *mos, consuetudo*, which seems to be more suitable to the passage. See sect. 30.

upon him the work without doors ; and by having formed the body of the woman to be less able to bear such exertions, he appears to me to have laid upon her," said I, "the duties within doors. 24. But knowing that he had given the woman by nature, and laid upon her, the office of rearing young children, he has also bestowed upon her a greater portion of love for her newly-born offspring than on the man. 25. Since, too, the divinity has laid upon the woman the duty of guarding what is brought into the house, he, knowing that the mind, by being timid, is not less adapted for guarding, has given a larger share of timidity to the woman than to the man ; and knowing also that if any one injures him who is engaged in the occupations without, he must defend himself, he has on that account given a greater portion of boldness to the man.<sup>1</sup> 26. But as it is necessary for both alike to give and to receive, he has bestowed memory and the power of attention upon both impartially, so that you cannot distinguish whether the female or the male has the larger portion of them. 27. The power of being temperate<sup>2</sup> also in what is necessary he has conferred in equal measure upon both, and has allowed that whichever of the two is superior in this virtue, whether the man or the woman, shall receive a greater portion of the benefit arising from it. 28. But as the nature of both is not fully adapted for all these requirements, they in consequence stand in greater need of aid from one another, and the pair are of greater service to each other, when the one is able to do those things in which the other is deficient. 29. As we know, then, my dear wife," continued I, "what is appointed to each of us by Providence, it is incumbent on us to discharge as well as we can that which each of us has to do.

30. "The law,<sup>3</sup> too," I told her, 'he proceeded, "gives its approbation to these arrangements, by uniting the man and the woman ; and as the divinity has made them partners, as it were, in their offspring, so the law ordains them to be sharers in household affairs. The law also shows that those things

<sup>1</sup> Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχυρότερον, τὸ δ' ἀσθενέστερον ἐποίησεν, ἵνα τὸ μὲν φυλακτικώτερον ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον, κ. τ. λ. Aristot. Œcon. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Temperance in eating and drinking I consider to be chiefly meant. *Weiske.*

<sup>3</sup> Νόμος.] Whether this should be rendered "law" or "custom" is not very clear. Gail renders it "loi." Comp. sect. 16.

are more becoming to each which the divinity has qualified each to do with greater facility; for it is more becoming for the woman to stay within doors than to roam abroad, but to the man it is less creditable to remain at home than to attend to things out of doors. 31. And if any one acts contrary to what the divinity has fitted him to do, he will, while he violates the order of things, possibly not escape the notice of the gods, and will pay the penalty whether of neglecting his own duties or of interfering with those of his wife. 32. The queen of the bees," I added, "appears to me to discharge such duties as are appointed her by the divinity." "And what duties," inquired my wife, "has the queen bee to perform, that she should be made an example for the business which I have to do?" 33. "She, remaining within the hive," answered I, "does not allow the bees to be idle, but sends out to their duty those who ought to work abroad; and whatever each of them brings in, she takes cognizance of it and receives it, and watches over the store until there is occasion to use it; and when the time for using it is come, she dispenses to each bee its just due. 34. She also presides over the construction of the cells within, that they may be formed beautifully and expeditiously. She attends, too, to the rising progeny, that they may be properly reared; and when the young bees are grown up, and are fit for work, she sends out a colony of them under some leader taken from among the younger bees."<sup>1</sup> 35. "Will it then be necessary for me," said my wife, "to do such things?" "It will certainly be necessary for you," said I, "to remain at home, and to send out such of the labourers as have to work abroad, to their duties; and over such as have business to do in the house you must exercise a watchful superintendence. 36. Whatever is brought into the house, you must take charge of it; whatever portion of it is required for use you must give out; and whatever should be laid by, you must take account of it and keep it safe, so that the provision stored up for a year, for example, may not be expended in a month. Whenever wool is brought home to you, you must take care that garments be made for those who want them. You must also be careful that the dried provisions

<sup>1</sup> Σὺν τῶν ἐπιγόνων τινὶ ἡγεμόνι.] Breitenbach reads, with some of the old editions, σὺν τῶν ἐπομένων, κ. τ. λ., i. e. he says, "under some leader chosen from among those immediately attendant upon her."

may be in a proper condition for eating. 37. One of your duties, however," I added, "will perhaps appear somewhat disagreeable, namely, that whoever of all the servants may fall sick, you must take charge of him, that he may be recovered." 38. "Nay, assuredly," returned my wife, "that will be a most agreeable office,<sup>1</sup> if such as receive good treatment are likely to make a grateful return, and to become more attached to me than before." Delighted with her answer,' continued Ischomachus, 'I said to her, "Are not the bees, my dear wife, in consequence of some such care on the part of the queen of the hive, so affected toward her, that, when she quits the hive, no one of them thinks of deserting her, but all follow in her train?" 39. "I should wonder, however," answered my wife, "if the duties of leader do not rather belong to you than to me; for my guardianship of what is in the house, and distribution of it, would appear rather ridiculous, I think, if you did not take care that something might be brought in from out of doors." 40. "And on the other hand," returned I, "my bringing in would appear ridiculous, unless there were somebody to take care of what is brought in. Do you not see," said I, "how those who are said to draw water in a bucket full of holes are pitied, as they evidently labour in vain?"<sup>2</sup> "Certainly," replied my wife, "for they are indeed wretched, if they are thus employed."

41. "Some other of your occupations, my dear wife," continued I, "will be pleasing to you. For instance, when you take a young woman who does not know how to spin, and make her skilful at it, and she thus becomes of twice as much value to you. Or when you take one who is ignorant of the duties of a housekeeper or servant, and, having made her accomplished, trustworthy, and handy, render her of the highest value. Or when it is in your power to do services to such of your attendants as are steady and useful, while, if any one is found transgressing, you can inflict punishment. 42. But you will experience the greatest of pleasures, if you show yourself superior to me, and render me your servant, and have no cause to fear that, as life advances, you may become less respected

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπιχαριώτατον μὲν οὖν.] Μὲν οὖν, in reply to a question to which a negative answer was expected, signifies, *immo vero*, *quoniam immo* Breitenbach.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the fable of the Belides.

in your household, but may trust that, while you grow older, the better consort you prove to me, and the more faithful guardian of your house for your children, so much the more will you be esteemed by your family. 43. For what is good and honourable," I added, "gains increase of respect, not from beauty of person, but from merits directed to the benefit of human life." Such were the subjects, Socrates, on which, as far as I remember, I first conversed seriously with my wife.'

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Attentiveness of Ischomachus's wife to his admonitions. His instructions to her as to order in a family and in the arrangement of domestic utensils. Examples of the necessity and beauty of order in an army, a galley, and in companies of dancers.*

1. "Did you then observe, Ischomachus,' said I, 'that your wife was at all the more incited to carefulness by your remarks?' 'Indeed I did,' replied Ischomachus, 'and I saw her on one occasion greatly concerned and put to the blush, because, when I asked for something that had been brought into the house, she was unable to give it me. 2. Perceiving that she was in great trouble, however, I said, "Do not be cast down, my dear wife, because you cannot give me what I am asking you for. It is indeed pure poverty not to have a thing to use when you need it;<sup>1</sup> but our present want—not to be able to find a thing when you seek it—is of a less serious nature than not to seek it at all, knowing that it is not in your possession. However," added I, "you are not in fault on the present occasion, but I, as I did not direct you, when I gave you the articles, where each of them ought to be deposited, so that you might know how you ought to arrange them and whence to take them. 3. There is indeed nothing, my dear wife, more useful or more creditable to people than order.

<sup>1</sup> It is an old proverb, that it is evident poverty not to be able, when you want a thing, to use it, because you do not know where it has been thrown; and hence negligence in household affairs is more laborious than diligence. Columella, xii. 2, 3.

A chorus of singers and dancers, for instance, consists of a number of persons; but when they do whatever each of them happens to fancy, all appears confusion, and disagreeable to behold; but when they act and speak in concert, the same persons prove themselves worthy of being seen and heard. 4. An army, too, my dear wife," I continued, "is, when undisciplined, a mass of confusion, easy to be overcome by the enemy, unpleasing to the eyes of its friends, and of no possible use, asses, heavy-armed troops, baggage-carriers, light-armed men, horse-soldiers, carriages, being mingled together; for how could the men march, when, being in such a condition, they obstruct one another, he that is marching slow impeding him that is marching quick, he that is marching quick running against him that is halting, while the carriage is in the way of the trooper, the ass in that of the carriage, and the baggage-bearer in that of the foot-soldier? 5. Or if they had to fight, how could they do so in such confusion? for such of them as might have to retreat before the enemy's charge, might possibly, in their retreat, trample down others standing under arms. 6. But an army in good order is a most pleasing sight to its friends, and a most formidable object to the enemy. For what friend would not contemplate with pleasure a body of infantry marching in order? Or who would not admire cavalry riding with perfect regularity? Or what enemy would not be moved with fear, when he sees heavy-armed infantry, cavalry, targeteers, archers, and slingers distinctly arranged, and following their officers in good order? 7. Even though there be many myriads, yet, as long as they proceed in order, they all move at ease like one man; for those who come up from the rear fill up constantly whatever space is left vacant. 8. From what other cause is a galley, too, which is crowded with men, formidable to an enemy, or a pleasant sight to its friends, than on account of its speedy passage over the water? But for what other reason are those who sail in it no obstruction to one another, than because they sit in order, lean forward over their oars and draw back in order, and preserve order in embarking and disembarking? 9. But as to disorder, it seems to me something like as if a husbandman should throw into his granary<sup>1</sup> barley and wheat and peas together, and then, when he wants barley bread, or wheat-

<sup>1</sup> 'Εμβάλοι.] *In horreum condiderit.* Breitenbach.

on bread, or peas soup, should have to abstract them grain by grain, instead of having them separately laid up for his use. 10. If you, therefore, my dear wife, do not wish to be involved in such confusion, but desire to understand how to arrange our property, to take with ease any portion of what you have, and to use it for the purpose for which you require it, and also to oblige me by handing me whatever I may ask of you, let us select a place for everything separately, suitable for keeping it, and having deposited it there, let us give notice to the housekeeper whence to take it, and to put it there again; and thus we shall know what is in reserve, and what has been used; for the place itself will indicate the absence of what is gone; while a glance will show what needs attention, and the knowledge where any particular thing is, will at once put it into our hands, so that we may be at no loss when we have to use it."

11. "I once saw, I think, the most beautiful and accurate arrangement of implements possible, Socrates, when I went on board that large Phœnician vessel<sup>1</sup> to look over it; for I beheld a vast number of articles severally arranged in an extremely small space. 12. For the ship,' continued he, 'is brought into harbour and taken out again by means of various instruments of wood and tow; it pursues its voyage with the aid of much that is called suspended tackle; it is equipped with many machines to oppose hostile vessels; it carries about in it many weapons for the men; it conveys all the utensils, such as people use in a house, for each company that take their meals together; and, in addition to all this, it is freighted with merchandise, which the owner of the ship transports in it for the purpose of profit. 13. And all the things of which I am speaking,' continued he, 'were stowed in a space not much larger than is contained in a room that holds half a score dinner-couches.<sup>2</sup> Yet I observed that they were severally arranged in such a manner that they were not in the way of one another, nor required anybody to seek for them, nor were unprepared for use, nor difficult to remove from their

<sup>1</sup> He speaks of some well-known large Phœnician vessel, which, perhaps, brought corn or other merchandise to Athens every year. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks were accustomed to designate the capacity of a building or apartment by the number of couches which it would contain. Thus we have *ὀκτὸς ἐπτάκλινος*, *Symp.* ii. 18. *Breitenbach*.

places, so as to cause any delay when it was necessary to employ them suddenly. 14. The pilot's officer, too, who is called the man of the prow, I found so well acquainted with the location of them all that he could tell, even when out of sight of them, where each severally lay, and how many there were, not less readily than a man who knows his letters can tell how many there are in the name Socrates, and where each of them stands. 15. I saw,' pursued Ischomachus, 'this very man inspecting, at his leisure, all the implements that it is necessary to use in a ship, and, wondering at his minute examination, I asked him what he was doing. "I am examining, stranger," said he, "in case anything should happen, in what state everything in the vessel is, and whether anything is wanting, or is placed so as to be inconvenient for use. 16. For," said he, "there is no time, when heaven sends a storm over the sea, either to seek for what may be wanting, or to hand out what may be difficult to use; for the gods threaten and punish the negligent; and if they but forbear from destroying those who do nothing wrong, we must be very well content; while, if they preserve even those that attend to everything quite properly, much gratitude is due to them." 17. I, therefore, having observed the accuracy of this arrangement, said to my wife, that it would be extremely stupid in us, if people in ships, which are comparatively small places, find room for their things, and, though they are violently tossed about, nevertheless keep them in order, and, even in the greatest alarm, still find out how to get what they want; and if we, who have large separate repositories in our house for everything, and our house firmly planted on the ground, should not discover excellent and easily-found places for our several articles;—how could this, I say, be anything but extreme stupidity in us?

18. "How excellent a thing a regular arrangement of articles is, and how easy it is to find, in a house, a place such as is suitable to put everything, I have sufficiently shown. 19. But how beautiful an appearance it has, too, when shoes, for instance, of whatever kind they are, are arranged in order; how beautiful it is to see garments, of whatever kind, deposited in their several places; how beautiful it is to see bed-clothes, and brazen vessels, and table furniture, so arranged; and (what, most of all, a person might laugh at, not

indeed a grave person, but a jester), I say,<sup>1</sup> that pots have a graceful appearance when they are placed in regular order. 20. Other articles somehow appear, too, when regularly arranged, more beautiful in consequence;<sup>2</sup> for the several sorts of vessels seem like so many choral bands; and the space that is between them pleases the eye, when every sort of vessel is set clear of it; just as a body of singers and dancers, moving in a circle,<sup>3</sup> is not only in itself a beautiful sight, but the space in the middle of it, being open and clear, is agreeable to the eye. 21. Whether what I say is true, my dear wife," said I, "we may make trial, without suffering any loss, or taking any extraordinary trouble. Nor ought we at all to labour under the apprehension that it will be difficult to find a person who will learn the places for every article, and remember how to keep each of them separate; 22. for we know very well that the whole city contains ten thousand times as much as our house, and yet, whichever of the servants you order to buy anything and bring it to you from the market-place, not one of them will be in perplexity, but every one will show that he knows whither he must go to fetch any article. For this," added I, "there is no other reason than that each article is deposited in its appointed place. 23. But if you should seek for a person, and sometimes even for one who is on his part seeking you, you would often give up the search in despair before you find him; and for this there is no other cause, than that it is not appointed where the particular person is to await you." Such was the conversation that I had with my wife, as far as I remember, concerning the arrangement and distinction<sup>4</sup> of articles.'

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf and Breitenbach very properly read *φημι* here; the old editions have *φησι*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Απὸ τούτου.] *Eá rs, scilicet ordine.* Breitenbach.

<sup>3</sup> Κύκλιος χορός.] *Chorus orbicularis*, such a band as used to sing songs in a circle round an altar. *Breitenbach.*

<sup>4</sup> Ἐπι—χωρίτως.] I take this reading from Tauchnitz's pocket edition. All other editions that I have seen have *χρήσεως*. To whom the honour of so admirable a correction is due I know not.

## CHAPTER IX.

Ischomachus points out the use and object of the various apartments in his house. He and his wife make choice of a housekeeper. Attention of servants to their work must be secured by the careful superintendence of the mistress.

1. "AND what was the result," said I, "my dear Ischomachus? Did your wife appear to attend to any of the matters which you took so much pains to impress upon her?" "What else did she do but promise that she would attend to what I said, and manifest the greatest pleasure, as if she had found relief from perplexity? and she requested me to arrange the various articles, as soon as I could, in the manner which I had proposed." 2. "And how, Ischomachus," said I, "did you arrange them for her?" "What else could I do but determine upon showing her, in the first place, the capacity of the house? For it is not adorned with decorations, but the apartments in it are constructed with such a view that they may be as convenient receptacles as possible for the things that are to be placed in them; so that they themselves invite whatever is adapted for them respectively."<sup>1</sup> 3. Thus the inner chamber, being in a secure part of the house, calls for the most valuable couch-coverings and vessels; the dry parts of the building for the corn; the cool places for the wine; and the well-lighted portions for such articles of workmanship, and vases, as require a clear light. 4. I pointed out to her, too, that the apartments for people to live in,<sup>2</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Τὰ πρόποντα ἐνι ἐκάστῳ.] This is Dindorf's reading, from conjecture. The old texts have τὰ πρόποντα εἶναι ἐκάστῳ, which Breitenbach retains, though he gives the preference to Dindorf's conjecture. Schneider proposed to insert ἐν after εἶναι.

<sup>2</sup> The order of the words in the text being somewhat involved, Breitenbach observes that the construction is, *δαιτητήρια δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεκαλλωπισμένα ἐπεδείκνυον αὐτῇ, κ. τ. λ.* "Nor must we be surprised," says he, "that the *δαιτητήρια*, i. e. *conclavia quotidiano usui destinata*, are here called *κεκαλλωπισμένα*, when it is said a little above that the house was not adorned *ποικίλμασι*, for we are simply to understand that these apartments, in which people lived, were provided with necessary furniture, and thus distinguished from the other apartments, which, being mere repositories for different articles, were left unfurnished and undecorated. See Mem. Soc. iii. 8. 8."

are well ornamented, are cool in the summer and exposed to the sun in winter; and I made her notice as to the whole house how it lies open to the south, so that it is plain it has plenty of sun in winter, and plenty of shade in summer.<sup>1</sup> 5. I pointed out to her also the situation of the apartment for the females, separated from that of the men by a door fastened with a bolt,<sup>2</sup> that nothing improper may be taken out, and that the servants may not have children without our knowledge; for good slaves, when they have children, generally become still better disposed; but bad ones, when they form connexions, increase their power to do mischief. 6. When we had gone through these places,' he continued, 'we then proceeded to classify our goods. We began by collecting, first of all, whatever we use for offering sacrifices; after this, we arranged the dresses for women, such as are suited for festival days; and then the equipments for men, as well for festivities as for warfare; and next the bed-coverings in the women's apartments, the bed-coverings in the men's apartments, the shoes for the women and the shoes for the men. 7. Of utensils there were distinct collections, one of instruments for spinning, another of those for preparing corn, another of those for cooking, another of those for the bath, another of those for kneading bread, another of those for the table. These in general we divided into two sorts, such as we have to use constantly, and such as are required only at festal entertainments. 8. We also made one assortment of what would be used in a month, and another of what was computed to last for a year; for in this way it is less likely to escape our knowledge how particular things are expended. When we had thus distinguished all our goods into classes, we conveyed them severally to the places best suited for them. 9. Afterwards, whatever utensils the servants require daily, such as those for preparing corn, for cooking, for spinning, and any others of that sort, we pointed out to those who use them the places where they were to put them, and then committed them to

<sup>1</sup> Apparently from the effect of the portico. See note on Mem. Soc. iii. 8. 8. But the meaning is uncertain alike in both passages.

<sup>2</sup> I read *θύρα βαλανῶτι*, with Breitenbach. Other texts have *θύραν βαλανείῳ*, from which no satisfactory sense could be extracted. The *βάλανος* was a sort of peg or bolt thrust through the bar of a door after the bar was pushed into a hole in the door-post. So that the full signification of *βαλανῶτος* is, *fastened with a bar and bolt*.

their keeping, charging them to keep them safely; 10. but such as we use only for festival days, for entertaining guests, or only occasionally at long intervals, we committed, after pointing out the places for them, and numbering and making lists of them, to the housekeeper, and told her to give out any of them to whatever servant needed them, to bear in mind to which of them she gave any one, and, after receiving them back, to deposit them respectively in the places from which she took them.

11. "Of the housekeeper we made choice after considering which of the female servants appeared to have most self-restraint in eating, and wine, and sleep, and converse with the male sex; and, in addition to this, which seemed to have the best memory, and which appeared to have forethought, that she might not incur punishment from us for neglect, and to consider how, by gratifying us, she might gain some mark of approbation in return. 12. We formed her to entertain feelings of affection towards us, giving her a share in our pleasure when we had an occasion of rejoicing, and consulting her, if anything troublesome occurred, with reference to it. We also led her to become desirous of increasing our property, by stimulating her to take accounts of it, and making her in some degree partaker of our prosperity. 13. We also excited in her a love of honesty, by paying more respect to the well-principled than to the unprincipled, and showing her that they lived in greater plenty and in better style. We then installed her in her appointment.<sup>1</sup> 14. But in addition to all this, Socrates,' said he, 'I told my wife that there would be no profit in all these arrangements, unless she herself took care that the appointed order for everything should be preserved. I also instructed her that in the best-regulated political communities it is not thought sufficient by the citizens merely to make good laws, but that they also appoint guardians of the laws, who, overlooking the state, commend him who acts in conformity with the laws, and, if any one transgresses the laws, punish him. 15. I accordingly desired my wife,' continued he, 'to consider herself the guardian of the laws established in the house, and to inspect the household

<sup>1</sup> The common texts have *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρα*: Breitenbach's, *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ*, which I have followed. *Χώρα* occurs in a similar sense, he observes, Anab. v. 6. 13: *ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρᾳ*.

furniture, whenever she thought proper, as the commander of a garrison inspects his sentinels; to signify her approbation if everything was in good condition, as the senate<sup>1</sup> signifies its approval of the horses and horse-soldiers; to praise and honour the deserving like a queen, according to her means, and to rebuke and disgrace any one that required such treatment. 16. But I moreover admonished her,' added he, 'that she would have no reason to be displeased, if I imposed on her more trouble with regard to our property than I laid on the servants; remarking to her, that servants have only so far a concern with their master's property as to carry it, or keep it in order, or take care of it; but that no servant has any power of using it unless his master puts it into his hands, while it belongs all to the master himself, so that he may use any portion of it for whatever purpose he pleases. 17. To him therefore that receives the greatest benefit from its preservation, and suffers the greatest loss by its destruction, I showed her that the greatest interest in its safety must belong.'

18. " 'Well then, Ischomachus,' said I, 'how did your wife, on hearing these instructions, show herself disposed to comply with your wishes?' 'She assured me, Socrates,' replied he, 'that I did not judge rightly of her, if I thought that I was imposing on her what was disagreeable, in telling her that she must take care of the property; for she remarked,' said he, 'that it would have been more disagreeable to her if I had charged her to neglect her property, than if she were required to take care of the household goods. 19. For it seems to be a provision of nature,' concluded he, 'that as it is easier for a well-disposed woman to take care of her children than to neglect them, so it is more pleasing (as he thought, he said), for a right-minded woman to attend to her property, which, as being her own, affords her gratification, than to be neglectful of it.'

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Hipparch. c. 1, 8, 13.

## CHAPTER X.

Socrates admires the excellent character and willing submission of Ischomachus's wife. Ischomachus relates how he dissuaded his wife from ostentation in dress, and made her feel that she would more effectually secure his attachment, and that of others, by a faithful discharge of her duties than by showiness in apparel or assumed dignity of manner.

1. "ON hearing that his wife had made him such a reply," proceeded Socrates, "I said, 'By Juno, Ischomachus, you show us that your wife is possessed of a manly understanding.' 'And accordingly,' returned Ischomachus, 'I wish to give you other instances of her extreme nobleness of mind, in matters in which she complied with my wishes after hearing them only once.' 'Of what nature were they?' said I; 'pray tell us; for it is a far greater pleasure to hear of the merit of a living woman, than if Zeuxis were to exhibit to me the most beautiful representation of a woman in a painting.' 2. Ischomachus then proceeded to say, 'Seeing her one day, Socrates, painted over with a great deal of white lead, that she might appear still fairer than she really was, and with a great deal of vermilion, that her complexion might seem more rosy than its natural hue, and having on high-heeled shoes, that she might seem tall beyond her real stature, 3. 'Tell me,' said I, 'my dear wife, whether you would consider me, as a sharer of my fortunes with you, more worthy of your love, if I should show you what I really possessed, and should neither boast that I have more than really belongs to me, nor conceal any portion of what I have; or if, on the contrary, I should endeavour to deceive you by saying that I have more than is really mine, and by showing you counterfeit money, and necklaces of gilt wood, and purple garments of a fading colour, pretending that they are of the true quality?' 4. She instantly replying, said, 'Hush! may you never act in such a way; for if you were to do so, I could never love you from my heart.' 'Then,' said I, 'my dear wife, were we not united that we might have personal intimacy with one another?' 5. 'People say so at least,' replied she. 'Whether, then,' said I, 'should I seem, as an intimate associate, more worthy of your love, if, in presenting my person

to you, I should take care, by paying due attention to it, that it be healthy and strong, and should by that means appear to you, as would really be the case, of a good complexion, or if, on the contrary, I should, paint myself with vermilion, tinge my eye-lids with purple, and then present myself before you, and associate with you, deceiving you all the time, and offering you vermilion to see and touch instead of my own natural skin?" 6. "Certainly," replied she, "I should not touch vermilion with greater pleasure than I should touch yourself, nor should I look upon purple dye with greater pleasure than on your own colour, nor should I see your eyes painted with greater pleasure than in their natural condition." 7. "Consider accordingly that I also, my dear wife," Ischomachus said that he told her, "am not better pleased with the colour of white lead and red dye than with your own; but as the gods have made horses the most beautiful objects of contemplation to horses, oxen to oxen, and sheep to sheep, so men think that the human body in its natural state is the most agreeable object of contemplation to men. 8. Such deceits may indeed impose, to a certain extent, on comparative strangers, without being discovered; but if those who live together in intimacy attempt to deceive one another, they must certainly be found out; for they will either expose themselves when they rise from their beds, before they make their toilet, or they will be detected by perspiration, or will be unmasked by tears, or will, assuredly, be betrayed in bathing." 9. 'And what in the name of the gods,' said I, 'did she answer to these remarks?' 'Her only answer was,' said he, 'that she never afterwards practised any such art, but took care to appear in a natural and becoming manner. She even asked me if I could recommend her any course by which she might render herself really good looking, and not merely make herself be thought so. 10. I then, my dear Socrates,' continued he, 'advised her not to sit continually like a slave, but to take upon herself, with the help of the gods, to preside at the loom like a mistress, and to teach others what she knew better than they, and to learn what she did not know so well; I recommended her also to overlook the bread-maker, to attend to the housekeeper as she was measuring out her articles, and to go about and examine whether everything was in the place in which it ought to be; for such occupations, it appeared to

me, would be at once a discharge of her duties and a means of exercise. 11. I told her, too, that it would be good exercise to wet and knead the bread, and to shake out and put up the clothes and bed-coverings. I assured her that if she thus exercised herself she would take her food with a better appetite, would enjoy better health, and would assume a more truly excellent complexion. 12. A wife's look, indeed, when it seems, compared with that of a servant, more pure and healthy, and when she is dressed more becomingly, is something attractive to a husband, especially when a desire of pleasing him, instead of serving him from compulsion, is manifested. 13. But women who are always seated to keep up their dignity, cause themselves to be numbered among such as are decked out merely for show, and appear under false colours. And now, Socrates,' added he, 'my wife regulates her conduct, be assured, as I taught her, and as I now tell you.'

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## CHAPTER XI.

Socrates, having heard sufficient respecting the character of Ischomachus's wife, requests Ischomachus to tell him how he employed his time. Ischomachus gives an account of his various occupations, and the objects of them.

1. "I THEN said, 'I think that I have heard sufficient, Ischomachus, for a commencement, respecting the conduct of your wife, which is indeed extremely honourable to both of you. But tell me now,' I added, 'something of your own management, so that you may have pleasure in speaking of that from which you have gained credit, and that I, having heard a full account of the proceedings of an honourable and good man, and having, if possible, learned something from them, may feel myself much indebted to you.' 2. 'I will indeed give you with great pleasure, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'an account of what I am constantly doing, in order that you may correct me, if I seem to you to do anything injudiciously.' 3. 'But how can I,' I asked, 'with any show of justice, correct

a man whose conduct is marked by all that is noble and good, especially when I am myself a person who am thought to indulge in idle talk, and to measure the air,<sup>1</sup> and, what appears to be the most foolish of all calumnies, am accused of being poor. 4. I should indeed be in great dejection at this charge, had I not this morning, on meeting the horse of Nicias the foreigner,<sup>2</sup> seen numbers of spectators following him, and heard persons holding much conversation about him; and let me tell you, I went up to the groom and asked him whether the horse was possessed of much wealth. 5. But he, looking at me as if I had proved myself out of my senses by the question, said, "How can a horse be possessed of wealth?" So I recovered my spirits on hearing that it is possible for even a poor horse to be a good one, if he has a good disposition from nature. 6. On the supposition, therefore, that it is possible for me also to be a good man, give me a full account of your conduct, that I may begin to-morrow to imitate you in whatever good I may learn while I listen; for to-morrow is a good day,' said I, 'to enter upon a course of virtue.'<sup>3</sup> 7. 'You are jesting, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'but I will nevertheless tell you what I endeavour to pass my life, as far as I can, in studying; 8. for as I think I have learned that the gods have made it impossible for men to prosper without knowing what they ought to do, and taking care that their duties be performed, and that of those who are prudent and diligent the gods grant prosperity to some, and not to others; I therefore begin by offering adoration to the gods, and I endeavour to act in such a manner while I pray to them, that it may be possible for me to enjoy health and strength of body, the respect of my fellow-citizens, the goodwill of my friends, honourable safety in time of war, and wealth honestly in-

<sup>1</sup> ἄερομετρεῖν.] That is, to indulge in idle and empty speculations, *μετῶρα*, above human knowledge or comprehension. Comp. Aristoph. Nub. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Νικίου τοῦ ἐπηλύτου.] Gail supposes that Nicias the son of Niceratus is here meant, and that he is called ἐπηλύτης as having just returned from an embassy to Lacedæmon. But if Xenophon had intended to indicate this, he would have used some other word than ἐπηλύτης. Sturz, in his Lexicon, very properly states that some other Nicias is signified. Camerarius supposes that ἐπηλύτου should be written with a capital, as the name of Nicias's father.

<sup>3</sup> A proverbial saying, not to be understood of any particular day; for every day is good for commencing the pursuit of virtue. *Weiske*.

creased.' 9. I, hearing this, said, 'Is it then an object with you, Ischomachus, that you may be rich, and that, having a large fortune, you may have also the trouble of taking care of it?' 'Certainly,' replied Ischomachus, 'I have a desire for that wealth about which you ask; for it appears a great pleasure to me to pay rich offerings to the gods, to assist my friends, if they have need of aid, and to take care that the city may not be unadorned for want of money, as far as I am concerned.'

10. 'Assuredly, Ischomachus,' said I, 'the objects which you mention are honourable, and suitable to a man in a highly influential position; for how can it be otherwise? since there are many who cannot live without looking to the assistance of others, and many must be content if they can procure what is barely sufficient to sustain them. But as for those who are able not only to manage their own households, but to secure a superfluity, so as to adorn the city, and to relieve their friends, must we not regard them as men of great substance and influence?' 11. Many of us, indeed,' continued I, 'are able to extol such men; but do you tell me, my dear Ischomachus, commencing with what you mentioned first, how you take care of your health; how you keep up your bodily strength; how it is possible for you to preserve yourself honourably in time of war; and, after you have spoken on these points, it will be satisfactory to hear what you say respecting the means of increasing your fortune.'

12. 'All these things, my good Socrates,' rejoined Ischomachus, 'are, as it appears to me, naturally connected with one another; for after a man has taken sufficient to eat, health seems to be a surer attendant on him when he works it off by proper exercise, and his strength seems to increase as he exerts himself; if he practises military exercises, he is likely to secure his safety with greater honour; and, if he pays due attention to his affairs, and does not relax into idleness, there will be the greater probability that his substance will be increased.'

13. 'So far I follow you, Ischomachus,' said I, 'when you say that a man who is industrious and careful, and takes exercise, secures certain advantages; but what sort of labour you adopt to keep up your constitution and strength, how you exercise yourself for war, and what methods you pursue to secure a superabundance of income, so that you may assist your friends, and add to the resources of the commonwealth,

are points,' said I, 'which I would gladly learn from you.' 14. 'I accustom myself, then, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'to rise from my bed at an hour when I am likely to find any one whom I may want to see still at home. If I have to do any business in the city, I have the advantage of a walk while I am going upon it. 15. Or if I have no business of consequence in the city, my servant takes my horse into the fields, and I, by the walk along the road into the country, perhaps get more benefit than I should get if I were to walk under a covered colonnade.<sup>1</sup> 16. When I reach the open fields, I then, whether my workmen happen to be planting trees, or turning up the soil, or sowing, or gathering in the produce, observe how everything is going on, and suggest alterations if I think of anything better than what is being done. 17. After this, I generally mount my horse, and go through equestrian exercises as similar as possible to those necessarily practised in war, avoiding neither cross roads,<sup>2</sup> nor acclivities, nor ditches, nor streams of water; but I take care, as far as is in my power, not to lame my horse while he is engaged in these exercises. 18. When this is over, the servant lets the horse roll himself about, and then takes him home, carrying with him whatever we want from the fields into the town; whilst I return home, sometimes at a walking pace, and sometimes running, and then clear off the perspiration with the strigil.<sup>3</sup> I next take my morning meal, Socrates, eating just so much as neither to pass the day empty nor over full.' 4 19. 'By Jupiter, my dear Ischomachus,' said I, 'you do all this in such a way as to have my approbation at least; for to occupy yourself, at the same time, in arrangements for the improvement of your health and strength, in exercises suited to war, and in cares for the advancement of your fortune, seems to me in the highest degree admirable. 20. You give us

<sup>1</sup> The Athenians were accustomed to walk, for health or pleasure, in the porticoes of the gymnasia, which were called *ξυστοί, δρόμοι, ξυστοί δρόμοι, κατάστεγοι δρόμοι*, very seldom under the open sky, or without the city. Compare Plato, *Phædr.* p. 227. Becker's *Charicles*, vol. i. p. 343 (p. 308, Eng. Transl. Parker, 1854). *Breitenbach*.

<sup>2</sup> *Οὔτε πλαγίου—ἀπεχόμενος.*] *Neque transversa—vito.* Philelphus.

<sup>3</sup> An instrument used for cleansing the skin, chiefly in the bath; but sometimes used without bathing. See Schneider's note.

<sup>4</sup> *Pransus non avidè, quantum interpellet inani*

*Ventre diem durare.*

Hor. Sat. i. 6, 127.

assuredly, sufficient proofs that you attend to each of these particulars effectually; for we see you in general, under favour of the gods, in the enjoyment of health and strength, and we know that you are reckoned among the best qualified of our horsemen and the richest of our citizens.'

21. " 'While I pursue this course of conduct, then, Socrates,' continued he, 'I am by many persons very greatly calumniated;—you perhaps thought that I was going to say that I am, by many, called an honourable and excellent man.' 22. 'Yes; but I was going to ask you this, too, Ischomachus,' said I, 'whether you make it at all your care that you may be able to give an account of your actions, and to require from others an account of theirs, if it be necessary to require such account from any one.' 'Do I not appear to you, Socrates,' replied he, 'to be constantly meditating on this very subject, to be able to justify myself by showing that I injure no man, and that I do good to many, as far as I can? and do I not appear to you to make it my study how to accuse people, when I see many doing wrong to individuals, and some to the state, and not one doing good?' 23. 'If you also meditate interpreting what you say, Ischomachus,' said I, 'tell me, in addition, what it is you mean.' 'I never cease, then, Socrates,' continued he, 'to exercise myself in speaking; for I either listen to one of my servants accusing another, or defending himself, and try to refute what is not true; or I complain of some person, or commend him, to his friends; or I seek to reconcile some of my acquaintances, by endeavouring to convince them how much better it is for them to be friends rather than enemies.' 24. Or, when we<sup>1</sup> are in company with any commander, we bring a charge against some one of his men, or offer a defence on behalf of some one, if he lies under an unjust accusation; or we bring charges against one another, if any of us receives honour undeservedly. Frequently, too, we engage in deliberations, praise whatever we desire to do, and find fault with whatever we are unwilling to do. 25. But now, Socrates,' added he, 'I am often brought to judgment myself individually,<sup>2</sup> that it may be settled what penalty I have to suffer or to pay.' 'By whom,

<sup>1</sup> By "we" is meant "I and any of my friends."

<sup>2</sup> Διειλημμένως is the reading of Dindorf, which is interpreted by *seorsum* in the Latin version. Weiske and Breitenbach read διειλημμένως, to which Breitenbach, with Camerarius, gives the sense of *distinctè*.

Ischomachus?' asked I; 'for this was quite unknown to me.' 'By my wife,' said he. 'And how,' said I, 'do you plead your cause?' 'Very fairly,' replied he, 'when it is to my interest to say what is true; but when it is to my profit to say what is false, I cannot, by Jupiter, my dear Socrates, succeed in making the worse argument appear the better.'<sup>1</sup> 'Without doubt, Ischomachus,' said I, 'you cannot make that true which is false.'

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## CHAPTER XII.

Socrates expresses his fear that he was detaining Ischomachus from his business; Ischomachus replies that he had left his affairs under the superintendence of a bailiff, and proceeds to give an account of the office and duties of a bailiff or overseer, and the qualities necessary to the formation of a good one. But the master's personal superintendence must never be long withheld.

1. " 'BUT,' said I, 'let me not detain you, my dear Ischomachus, if you now wish to go away.' 'You are not detaining me, I assure you, Socrates,' said he, 'since I should not go away until the business of the market is altogether at an end.'

2. 'Undoubtedly,' replied I, 'for you are extremely cautious that you may not lose your title, that of an upright and honourable man; and thus, though perhaps many things require your attention, yet, as you made an agreement with the strangers, you still wait for them, that you may not disappoint them.'<sup>2</sup> 'Those many things, however, to which you allude, my dear Socrates, are not neglected,' replied Ischomachus, 'for I have bailiffs in my fields.' 3. 'And whether,' said I, 'Ischomachus, when you want a bailiff, do you, after having ascertained if there is anywhere a man fit for a bailiff, proceed to hire him (as, when you want a carpenter, you recollect if you have anywhere seen a man qualified as a carpenter, and try, I know very well, to secure his services), or do you form

<sup>1</sup> As Socrates was often accused of doing. See Aul. Gell. v. 3; Quintil. ii. 16; Aristoph. Nub. 114. "His tongue could make the worse appear the better reason." Par. Lost, ii. 112.

<sup>2</sup> See c. 7, sect. 2.

your bailiffs by instructing them yourself?' 4. 'I myself assuredly, my dear Socrates,' he replied, 'endeavour to instruct them; for what else ought he who is to be qualified to attend to my business in my stead, whenever I am absent, to know, but what I myself know? and if I myself am fit to have charge of the business, I may certainly teach another what I myself understand.' 5. 'Then, in the first place,' said I, 'it will be proper for him to entertain good feelings towards you and yours, if he is to supply your place properly when he attends to your business instead of yourself; for without a good disposition, what profit would there be from any knowledge in a bailiff whatsoever?' 'None, certainly,' replied Ischomachus; 'but I endeavour, first of all, to teach them to feel well disposed towards me, and what concerns me.' 6. 'And how, in the name of the gods,' said I, 'do you teach whomsoever you please, to feel well disposed to you and what concerns you?' 'By doing them some good,' replied Ischomachus, 'whenever the gods give me an abundant supply of anything that is good.' 7. 'You say this, then,' said I, 'that those who profit by your good fortune become attached to you, and wish to do you some good.' 'I see, indeed, Socrates, that this is the best means of securing attachment.' 8. 'But if a person becomes well affected towards you, Ischomachus,' said I, 'will he on that account be sufficiently qualified to act as a bailiff for you? Do you not see that though all men, so to speak, are well affected towards themselves, there are yet many of them who are not willing to take the requisite care that the good things which they desire may fall to their lot?' 9. 'But, I assure you,' said Ischomachus, 'when I wish to make such persons bailiffs, I also teach them to be careful.' 10. 'How, in the name of the gods?' said I; 'for I thought that to make a man careful did not fall under the province of teaching.' 'Nor is it indeed possible, Socrates,' said he, 'to teach all men, without exception,<sup>1</sup> to be careful.' 11. 'What sort of men, then,' said I, 'is it possible to teach? Point them out to me clearly, by all means.' 'In the first place, Socrates,' replied he, 'you would not be able to make such as are intemperate in wine careful, for intoxication induces forgetfulness of everything that is necessary for them to do.'

<sup>1</sup> Ἐφεξῆς—πάντας.] "All one after another, i. e. all without any exception." *Breitenbach.*

12. 'Are then those only,' said I, 'who are intemperate in this particular, incapable of becoming careful, or are there any others besides?' 'Yes, indeed,' replied Ischomachus, 'those who indulge immoderately in sleep; for he who is sunk in drowsiness can neither do what he ought himself, nor render others able to do it.' 13. 'What, then,' said I again, 'will these only be incapable of being taught this carefulness, or will there be others in addition to these?' 'Those, too,' said Ischomachus, 'who are immoderately given to sensuality, appear to be incapable of being taught to care for anything else more than for it.' 14. For neither is it easy to find any subject of contemplation or solicitude more agreeable than that of love; nor, when attention to business is necessary, is it easy to find a severer punishment for them than detention from the beloved object. Whomsoever, therefore, I observe to be of such a character, I abstain from even attempting to render careful.' 15. 'And as to those,' said I, 'who are greedy of gain, are they incapable of being instructed to pay attention to business in the fields?' 'No, by Jupiter,' replied Ischomachus, 'by no means; for they are very easy to be brought to give attention to such matters; since nothing else is necessary for the purpose but merely to show them that the employment is profitable.' 16. 'And as to others, moreover,' said I, 'if they are temperate in what you require, and are but moderately desirous of gain, how do you teach them to be careful in that in which you wish them to be so?' 'By a very simple method, Socrates,' replied he; 'for when I see them attentive to their business, I commend them, and endeavour to bestow some distinction on them; but when I observe them negligent, I study to say or do something that may hurt their feelings.' 17. 'Well, then, Ischomachus,' added I, 'to divert our discourse a little from those who are taught to attend to business, tell me, with regard to the teaching itself, whether it is possible that he who is himself careless should render others careful.' 18. 'No, certainly,' replied Ischomachus, 'no more than it is possible for one who is ignorant of music to render others skilful in music; for it is hard, when a teacher shows a thing imperfectly, to learn from him to do it well; and if a master gives an example of negligence, it is not to be expected that the servant will be careful.' 19. To speak briefly, I do not think that I have ever observed the servants of a bad master

conduct themselves well ; I have, however, seen the servants of a good master conduct themselves ill, but not without detriment to him. But whoever wishes to make his servants capable of attending to his work must be careful to overlook and inspect what they do, and to be ready to bestow some reward upon any one that is the cause of things being well done, as well as not to shrink from inflicting a proper penalty on any one that is negligent. 20. The reply attributed to the barbarian,' added Ischomachus, 'appears to me to be exceedingly to the purpose; for when the king of Persia, having met with a fine horse, and wishing to have it fattened as soon as possible, asked one of those who were considered knowing about horses, what would fatten a horse soonest, it is said that he answered, "the master's eye."<sup>1</sup> So, Socrates,' concluded he, 'the master's eye seems to me to have the most effect in rendering other things right and prosperous.'

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### CHAPTER XIII.

Bailiffs or overseers must be instructed how their several duties are to be regulated and performed. They must also be taught how to direct and govern those who are under them.

1. "BUT when you have impressed upon any person,' said I, 'and impressed with great earnestness, that he must attend to that to which you desire him to attend, will he be at once qualified to take the office of bailiff, or is there anything else that he must learn, if he means to be an able bailiff?' 2. 'Yes, indeed,' replied Ischomachus, 'there is something else ; for it remains for him to know what he must do, and when, and how ; for if he does not learn this, what profit would there be from a bailiff without such knowledge, any more than from a physician who should attend upon a sick person, visiting him morning and evening, but should be ignorant what to do for the benefit of his patient.' 3. 'And if he has learned how his various works are to be done, will there be need of anything

<sup>1</sup> The same anecdote is mentioned by Aristotle, Œcon. c. 6. So Cate used to say, that the face of a master was of much more use than his back. Plin. H. N. xviii. 5. Comp. Æsch. Pers. 165.

further,' said I, 'or will he then be a thoroughly accomplished bailiff for you?' 'I think,' he replied, 'that he must at least learn how to direct the workmen.' 4. 'Do you then instruct your balliffs,' said I, 'that they may be qualified for directing others?' 'I try to do so at least,' said Ischomachus. 'And how, in the name of the gods,' I asked, 'do you teach them to be able to direct men? In a very poor way, indeed, Socrates,' replied he, 'so that you may perhaps laugh at it when you hear it.' 5. 'Such a matter,' returned I, 'does not deserve to be laughed at, my dear Ischomachus; for whoever is able to render persons qualified to direct men, is evidently able to teach them how to govern men; and whoever can teach them to govern, can also qualify them to become kings; so that he who can do this appears to me deserving, not of derision, but of great praise.' 6. 'Other animals, then, Socrates,' continued he, 'learn to obey under the influence of two things; from being punished when they attempt to be disobedient, and from being treated with kindness when they obey cheerfully. 7. Colts, for instance, learn to obey those who break them in, by finding something pleasant happen to them when they are obedient, and when they are disobedient, by experiencing some trouble, until they submit to the will of the breaker. 8. Puppies, too, which are far inferior to man in understanding as well as tongue, are nevertheless taught to run in a circle, to dive in the water,<sup>1</sup> and to do many other things, in the very same manner; for when they obey, they receive something for which they have a desire; and when they are careless, they are punished. 9. As for men, it is possible to render them more obedient by argument, showing them that it is for their advantage to obey. With respect to slaves, that mode of instruction which is similar to that of brutes is of the greatest effect in teaching them to be obedient; for if you provide for their bellies, so as to gratify their appetites, you may succeed in getting much from them. But ambitious natures are excited by praise; for some dispositions thirst for praise no less than others for meat and drink. 10. While I teach, therefore, those whom I wish to make bailiffs, the rules which I observe myself in the expectation of finding people more obedient to me, I second their efforts also in the

<sup>1</sup> *Κυβιστᾶν.*] So Zeune interprets the word; but it may mean, "to turn heels over head."

following ways: I take care that the clothes and the shoes, which I have to furnish for the workmen, may not be all alike, but some worse and some better, that there may be opportunity for distinguishing the better labourer with the better garments, while I give those of inferior value to the less deserving. 11. For extreme despondency, Socrates,' continued he, 'appears to be produced in the meritorious, when they see that the work is done by themselves, and that they obtain only a like recompense with those who are neither willing to work nor to submit to any risk when necessity calls upon them. I myself, therefore, never by any means consider the better workmen as deserving only of equal recompense with the worse, and I commend my overseers whenever I see them distributing the best articles among the most praiseworthy labourers; but if I observe any one distinguished in consequence of flatteries or any other profitless service, I do not overlook the abuse, but reprimand the bailiff, and endeavour to teach him, Socrates, that he is not doing what is for his own interest.'

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## CHAPTER XIV.

How bailiffs and others should be induced to observe honesty.

1. " 'BUT when your overseer, Ischomachus,' proceeded I, 'has become qualified to manage others, so as to render them tractable, do you consider that he is then become a thoroughly qualified officer; or does he, who has the accomplishments which you have mentioned, need any additional good qualities?' 2. 'Indeed he does,' replied Ischomachus; 'for instance, to abstain from taking liberties with his master's property, and from thieving; for if he who has the management of the crops should dare to make away with them clandestinely, so as not to leave as much as will be a recompense for the labour, what profit would it be to cultivate the land under his superintendence?' 3. 'Do you, then,' said I, 'undertake to teach the observance of honesty?' 'Certainly,' replied Ischomachus, 'but I do not find all listen promptly to such teaching. 4. Taking some things, however, from the

laws of Draco, and some from those of Solon, I endeavour to bring my servants to honesty; for these lawgivers,' added he, 'appear to me to have made many of their laws for the purpose of inculcating such integrity, 5. since it is written in them that persons are to be punished for thefts, and that those who attempt them, if they be caught in the fact, are to be put in prison, or put to death. It is plain, therefore, that they wrote such laws with a view to render dishonest gains profitless to knaves. 6. Adopting some things, accordingly, from these laws,' continued he, 'and borrowing others from the laws of the king of Persia,<sup>1</sup> I strive to render my servants honest in regard to what they have under their management; 7. for the laws of Draco and Solon only prescribe penalties for those who do wrong, but the laws of the king of Persia not only punish those who do amiss, but reward those who do right; so that many, even though they are very greedy of gain, yet, as they see that the honest become richer than the dishonest, adhere very carefully to abstinence from dishonesty. 8. But those whom I observe,' added he, 'attempting, notwithstanding they are well treated, to practise dishonesty, I set aside entirely from all trust,<sup>2</sup> as being incorrigible knaves. 9. Those, on the contrary, whom I perceive not only priding themselves on having more than others through their honesty, but manifesting a desire to receive praise from me, I treat at once as freedmen; not only enriching them, but honouring them as good and upright persons; 10. for it is in this, Socrates,' he concluded, 'that a man desirous of honours differs from a man fond of gain, in being willing, namely, to labour, or to meet danger, when it is necessary, for the sake of praise and distinction, and to abstain from disgraceful means of lucre.'

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν Βασιλικῶν νόμων.] As the king of Persia is called King, κατ' ἔξοχήν, so anything belonging to him or concerning him is called Βασιλικός. Breitenbach.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀπὸ τῆς χρήσεως.] I abstain from making use of them as trustworthy persons. Schneider's text has χειρίσεως, a conjecture of Coray. Reisig proposes κτήσεως.

## CHAPTER XV.

Ischomachus now proceeds, at the request of Socrates, to give instructions on the various departments of agriculture. He shows that it is easy to be learned; and that those who are employed in it are very ready to communicate their knowledge of it, differing greatly in this respect from persons employed in handicraft trades. Socrates expresses his pleasure at what Ischomachus has said, and desires to hear more.

1. "WELL, then," said I, "when you have implanted in a person the desire that prosperity may attend you, when you have inspired him also with an anxiety that profit may be secured for you, when, in addition to this, you have furnished him with knowledge how every kind of work may be done, so as to be rendered more lucrative, when you have rendered him, moreover, able to direct others, and when, last of all, you have made him produce the fruits of the earth for you in as great abundance as you would produce them for yourself, I will no longer ask, concerning such a man, whether he still requires any additional good quality; for an overseer who is thus accomplished appears to me to be of the very highest value. Do not, however, omit this point, Ischomachus," said I, "which has been very lightly passed over in our discourse." "What is it?" said Ischomachus. 2. "You said," replied I, "that it was a most important matter to learn how it is necessary to do every kind of work; else, if a person did not know what he ought to do, and how he ought to do it, you observed that there would be no profit even in diligence. 3. The other observations of yours, Ischomachus," said I, "I think I understand well enough; I mean what you said as to the mode in which it is proper to instruct the overseer; for I seem to comprehend how, as you said, you render him well disposed towards you, and careful, and fit to direct others, and honest. 4. But as to that which you said besides, that it is necessary for him who would attend to agriculture properly to learn what he must do, and how he must do it, and at what season he must do each particular thing, we seem to have passed it over in our conversation somewhat too lightly. 5. It was as if you should say that he who would be able to write down anything dictated to him must know letters, and

be able to read anything written ; for, after having heard this from you, I should have heard that such a person must know letters ; but though I should have learned this, I should not, on that account, I believe, know anything more of letters myself.

6. So now, also, I am very well convinced, that he who would conduct agriculture properly must understand it ; yet, though I know this, I do not know at all the more how I must conduct agriculture. 7. If I should proceed at once, therefore, to manage a farm, I should think myself like a quack, who should go about and visit patients without knowing what would do them good. That I may not, then, act in such a manner,' added I, 'pray instruct me in the duties of agriculture.'

8. "Ischomachus then said, 'Do you wish me, Socrates, to teach you at once the very art of agriculture itself?' 'Assuredly,' said I ; 'for it is an art that renders those who understand it rich, and leaves those who do not understand it, however much they labour in it, to live in poverty.' 9. 'You shall now hear, then, Socrates,' said he, 'how friendly the character of this art is to mankind ; for, inasmuch as it is most useful, most pleasant to pursue, most becoming, and most agreeable to gods and men, and as it is also most easy to learn, how can it be otherwise than of a noble character ? For among animals, I may observe, we call such as are beautiful, and large, and serviceable, and gentle to the hand of man, noble. 10. Nor is agriculture, Socrates,' continued he, 'so difficult to learn as other arts, the students of which must almost wear themselves out before they can do enough in them to gain support ; but, partly by seeing others at work, partly by hearing from them, you may soon learn enough even to teach another, if you wish. I think, too,' he added, 'that you understand a good deal of it, without being aware ; 11. for those who practise other arts conceal, in some degree, the most important particulars which each knows in his particular art ; but, among husbandmen, he who plants trees best will be best pleased if another person looks on while he is planting, and he who sows best will have the same feeling ; and whatever you ask him about anything that is well done, he will have no concealments from you as to the way in which he did it. 12. So that agriculture is of a nature to render those who are occupied with it extremely generous as to their

dispositions.' 13. 'The preface,' said I, 'is excellent, and not of a character to deter him who hears it from questioning the speaker; and do you, as it is easy to learn the art, explain it, for that reason, the more fully to me; for it is not unbecoming to you to teach what is easy, but it would be highly unbecoming in me not to understand it, especially as it is of service.'

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Ischomachus makes remarks on the nature of various soils; the art of distinguishing them; and the modes and seasons of cleansing and cultivating land.

1. "In the first place, then, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'I wish to let you know, that that point in agriculture which those who descant on it very nicely in words, but have no practical experience, represent as a matter of great skill, is not at all difficult to understand; for they say that he who would practise husbandry successfully ought first to know the nature of the soil.' 2. 'Yet, surely,' said I, 'they assert this not without reason; for he who does not know what the soil can produce, would not know, I suppose, either what he ought to sow or what to plant.' 3. 'However,' said Ischomachus, 'it is possible to ascertain, from looking at one's neighbour's ground, what it can bear and what it cannot, if we only observe the corn and the trees upon it; and when a person has learned this, there is no further use in fighting against nature, for he would not obtain a greater supply of provisions by sowing or planting what he himself might require, than by sowing or planting what the earth would of its own accord produce and nourish. 4. But if the land cannot show its qualities, through the negligence of those who possess it, it is often possible to gain a juster notion of it from an adjoining piece of ground, than to attempt to learn it from a neighbour. 5. Even if it be uncultivated, it will still show its nature; for that which produces weeds of average growth will, if it is properly tilled, produce also plants of average growth. Thus those who are not particularly skilled in agriculture may nevertheless discover the nature of ground.'

6. 'In this respect, then; Ischomachus,' said I, 'I think that I may have sufficient confidence in myself, so that I need not abstain from agriculture through fear of not knowing the quality of the soil. 7. For I remember, indeed,' added I, 'what the fishermen do, who, though engaged on the sea, and not stopping to view the shore, or even slackening their course, but running along by the fields at full sail, yet, when they see crops on the ground, do not hesitate to give an opinion on it, and to pronounce which part is good and which is bad, depreciating one and extolling another; accordingly, I see them express themselves in general respecting the goodness of land in the same manner as those who are experienced in agriculture.'

8. "'Where, then, would you wish me, Socrates,' said he, 'to begin to bring to your recollection matters concerning agriculture? for I am sure that I shall tell you a vast number of things, as to the manner in which we must cultivate land, when you already know them.' 9. 'I think, Ischomachus,' said I, 'that I would gladly learn first of all (for this is what most concerns a philosopher), how, by cultivating the earth, if I should wish to do so, I may obtain the greatest quantities of barley and wheat.' 10. 'Do you know this, then, that we must prepare fallow ground<sup>1</sup> for sowing?' 'I do know it,' said I. 11. 'Suppose we should begin, then,' said he, 'to plough the ground in the winter?' 'It would at that time be nothing else but mud,' said I. 'Does it seem proper to you to begin in summer, then?' 'The soil will be very hard at that season,' answered I, 'for the oxen.' 12. 'So it appears that we must begin that work in the spring.' 'It is likely,' rejoined I, 'that the soil, if moved at that time, will be most easily spread.' 'And it is then that the weeds, Socrates,' said he, 'being turned up, furnish manure for the ground, while they have not yet scattered their seeds, so as to produce any fresh weeds. 13. For this also, I think, it must be easy for you to understand, that, if ground is to lie fallow to good purpose, it ought to be free from weeds, and warmed as much as possible by the sun.' 'Certainly,' said I, 'I think that such must be the case.' 14. 'And do you think

<sup>1</sup> Νέον.] Land on which nothing is sown, and which is to be turned up and prepared for being sown. Νεῖος τριπλοῦς, "a thrice-ploughed fallow." Il. xviii. 541.

that these effects can be better produced by any other means than by turning up the land as often as possible during the summer?' 'I, indeed, am fully aware,' said I, 'that weeds cannot be by any means more effectually kept from taking root, or dried up by the heat, and that the soil cannot be more effectually warmed by the sun, than by turning it up with oxen in the middle of summer and in the middle of the day.' 15. 'Or if men were to make the ground fallow by turning it up with the spade,' said he, 'is it not evident that they ought to keep the soil and the weeds distinct?'<sup>1</sup> 'And to throw the weeds,' added I, 'upon the surface, that they may be withered, while they turn up the soil, that the crude part of it may be benefited by the warmth.'

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## CHAPTER XVII.

Of sowing, and the proper times for it. Different soils require different quantities of seed. Of hoeing and weeding.

1 "CONCERNING the fallowing of the ground, therefore, Socrates,' continued Ischomachus, 'you see that the same notions are entertained by both of us.' 'They are, certainly,' said I. 'About the time of sowing, however, my dear Socrates,' continued he, 'have you any other opinion than that that is the time for sowing, which men of former days who have tried it, and men of the present day who are still trying it, have judged to be the best? 2. For when the autumn is come, all men, in a manner, look to the gods, to see when they will moisten the earth, and allow them to sow.' 'All men, indeed, Ischomachus,' said I, 'are determined upon not sowing, at least willingly, when the ground is dry; inasmuch as people who had sowed before they were directed by the gods, have had to struggle with many disadvantages.' 3. 'On these points, then,' said Ischomachus, 'all men are agreed.' 'Yes,' said I; 'for as to what the gods teach, it is constantly the case that men are of one mind; for instance, it is thought

<sup>1</sup> Δίχα δὲ ποιεῖν.] To keep the weeds out of the soil; not to let them take root in it again.

by everybody alike that it is better to wear thick clothing in the winter, if they can get it ; and it is thought by everybody better to burn fire in the winter, if they have wood.' 4. 'With regard to the time of sowing, however, my dear Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'many are divided in opinion as to whether the earliest, or the middle, or the latest, is the best.' 'But the gods,' said I, 'do not order the years with exact uniformity, so that one year may be best for very early sowing, another for middle, another for very late.' 5. 'As for yourself, then, Socrates,' said he, 'whether do you think it better for a man to fix on one of these times and keep to it, whether he has much or little seed to sow,<sup>1</sup> or to begin at the earliest period and prolong his sowing throughout the season, until the very end of it?' 6. 'To me, indeed, Ischomachus,' replied I, 'it appears best to sow a portion at each period ; 2 for I consider it far better to have a sufficient crop of corn every year,<sup>3</sup> than a great deal one year, and not enough another.' 'In this, therefore, Socrates,' said he, 'you agree with me, the learner with the teacher, and you even give your opinion before I have given mine.'

7. "But," said I, 'as to spreading the seed over the ground, is there any artful way of doing that?' 'Certainly there is, Socrates,' replied he. 'Let us give some consideration to this point. That the seed must be thrown from the hand, I suppose that you are pretty well aware.' 'Yes, for I have seen it thrown,' said I. 'But some men can spread it evenly,' said he, 'and others cannot.' 'In this respect, then,' said I, 'the hand requires exercise, like that of players on the harp, that it may obey the mind.' 8. 'Undoubtedly,' said he ; 'but what if some sorts of land be lighter, and others heavier?' 'What is this that you say?' returned I ; 'do you call that lighter which is poorer, and that heavier which is richer?' 'That is what I mean,' replied he ; 'and I ask

<sup>1</sup> For if a farmer has much seed to sow, he has the greater need to take care lest, by trusting to one time for sowing, the favourableness or unfavourableness of which the future must show, he should lose his seed and his labour. *Breitenbach.*

<sup>2</sup> Πάντος μετέχειν τοῦ σπόρου.] "Some, thinking it safer, do not sow all their seed early, but make second, third, and even fourth sowings in succession, to guard against the uncertainty of the future." *Geopon. ii. 14. 8. Zeune.*

<sup>3</sup> 'Aci.] *Unoquoque anno.* *Breitenbach.*

you whether you would allow an equal quantity of seed to each sort of land, or, if not, to which you would allow the greater quantity?' 9. 'I think it proper,'<sup>1</sup> replied I, 'to pour the greater quantity of water into the stronger wine, and if there be any burdens to carry, to lay the heavier load on the stronger man; and if I had to maintain a body of men in any country, I should require such of the inhabitants as had the greater wealth to support the greater number. But whether poor land be rendered more productive by putting more corn into it, as an ox is, pray inform me.' 10. Ischomachus laughed and said, 'You are jesting, Socrates. Be assured of this, however,' he proceeded, 'that if, after you have cast seed into the ground, and after the land has received much nourishment from the sky, and the green corn has grown up from the seed, you then turn up the soil again, the crop becomes food to the ground, and vigour is produced in it as from the effect of manure; but if you allow the land to bear its crop to maturity, so as to have corn from it,<sup>2</sup> you will see that it is difficult for weak land to bring much corn to maturity; just as it is difficult for a weak sow to rear a great number of large pigs.' 11. 'You mean, then, Ischomachus,' said I, 'that we must throw the smaller quantity of seed on the poorer land.' 'Yes, by Jupiter, Socrates,' replied he, 'and you agree with me, as you say that you think it proper to lay lighter burdens on whatever animals are weaker.'

12. 'And as to hoers,' said I, 'Ischomachus, for what purpose do you send them into the corn?' 'You are aware, doubtless,' said he, 'that a great deal of rain falls in the winter.' 'Certainly,' said I. 'Let us suppose, then, that some portion of the corn is covered by the action of the rain, by mud being thrown up on it, and that some of the roots are laid bare by the streaming down of the water; and weeds, we may imagine, often spring up under the influence of the rain, together with the corn, and choke it.' 'It is quite natural,' said I, 'that all such things should happen.' 13. 'Does it then appear to you,' said he, 'that the corn requires any aid under such circumstances?' 'Undoubtedly,' I replied. 'By what means, then, do you think that people can assist that which is covered with mud?' 'By relieving it of its load of

<sup>1</sup> Νομιζω.] *Fas duo; rectum esse puto.* Breitenbach. Comp. sect. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Εἰς καρπὸν.] *I. e. ὥστε καρπὸν γίνεσθαι.* Breitenbach.

earth,' said I. 'And by what means can they assist that which has its roots exposed?' 'By throwing up the earth on them again,' said I. 14. 'And what if weeds should spring up with the corn and choke it, and rob it of its proper nutriment, as the drones, which are useless beings, rob the bees of that which they have prepared and laid up as food for themselves?' 'It would be proper,' said I; 'by Jupiter, to root up the weeds, as it is proper to expel the drones from the hives.' 15. 'May we not be thought, then, with good reason, to send hoers<sup>1</sup> into the corn?' 'Undoubtedly,' I replied; 'but I am thinking how effective it is to introduce similes in our discourse; for, by mentioning drones, you have excited my anger against weeds far more strongly than when you spoke of weeds only.'

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

Of reaping, threshing, and winnowing. Socrates acknowledges that agriculture is easy to be learned.

1. " 'AFTER this, however,' said I, 'the next thing in course is reaping. Give me some instruction therefore, if you can, with reference to this.' 'Unless you appear,' rejoined he, 'to know as much about it as myself. You are aware, at least, that we must cut the corn.' 'How can I but be aware?' said I. 'When you cut it then,' said he, 'whether do you stand on the side from which the wind blows, or opposite to the wind?' 'Not opposite, certainly,' said I; 'for it would be annoying both to the eyes and to the hands to reap in the face of the stalks and ears.'<sup>2</sup> 2. 'And would you cut the ears off at the top,' said he, 'or cut close to the ground?' 'If the stalk of the corn were short,' said I, 'I should cut low, that the straw might be more serviceable; but if it were tall, I think I should do right to cut it in the middle, in order that

<sup>1</sup> Σκαλίαν.] This word σκαλεῦς means both the instrument and the person that uses it. Breitenbach seems inclined to take it in the sense of persons in this passage; and this acceptation seems to suit better with sect. 13.

<sup>2</sup> That is, with the stalks and ears blowing in your face.

the threshers may not have any superfluous trouble, or the winnowers anything that they do not want. As to what is left on the ground, I think that if it is burned it may improve the soil, or, if it is thrown in among the manure, will increase the quantity of manure.' 3. 'You see then, my dear Socrates,' said he, 'how you are caught in the very fact, and convicted of knowing as much about reaping as I myself know.' 'I seem to do so, at least,' said I, 'and I would wish you to examine me whether I also know anything of threshing.' 'You know, doubtless, that people thresh their corn by means of working beasts.' 4. 'How can I but know?' said I; 'and I know that oxen, mules, and horses are all called working beasts alike.' 'Do you think, then, that these beasts know anything more than how to tread the corn when they are driven round?' 'What else,' said I, 'can beasts know?' 5. 'But that they may tread out just what is necessary, and that the treading may be everywhere equal, to whom, Socrates,' said he, 'do you give that in charge?' 'Unquestionably,' replied I, 'to the managers of the threshing; for they, by turning the corn about, and bringing under the feet of the beasts, from time to time, that part which is not yet trodden, would thus most effectually, doubtless, keep the threshing-floor<sup>1</sup> level, and execute the threshing with the greatest speed.' 'As to these points, then,' said he, 'you are not behind myself in knowledge.'

6. "'Then,' said I, 'Ischomachus, we will now proceed to clean the corn by winnowing it.' 'And tell me, Socrates,' said Ischomachus, 'do you know that if you begin on the windy side of the threshing-floor, your chaff will be carried over the whole floor?' 'Such must necessarily be the case,' said I. 7. 'It is consequently probable that it will fall upon the corn,' said he. 'It would indeed be hard,'<sup>2</sup> returned I, 'for chaff to be carried over the corn into the vacant part of the threshing-floor.' 'But if,' said he, 'a person should begin to winnow at the part opposite to the wind?' 'It is plain,' said I, 'that the chaff will at once fall into the recep-

<sup>1</sup> I read τὸν δῖνον, a happy emendation of Breitenbach's, who says that δῖνος means a circular threshing-floor, round which the oxen walked as they trod out the corn, referring to Ælian, Hist. An. ii. 25, iv. 25; Hesiod, Op. et Di. 595; Herod. ii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Πολὸν γὰρ ἴσθιν.] *Magni laboris est.* Sturz. Lex.

table for it.'<sup>1</sup> 8. 'But when you have cleaned the corn as far as the middle of the floor,<sup>2</sup> whether will you winnow away the rest of the chaff<sup>3</sup> while the corn is still spread out, or after you have collected the cleaned portion of the corn to the margin of the floor,<sup>4</sup> into as narrow a space as possible?' 'After having collected the cleaned corn, certainly,' said I, 'so that the chaff may be carried over into the empty part of the floor, and that I may not have to winnow out the same chaff twice.' 9. 'Why, then, Socrates,' said he, 'you might even teach another person how corn may be soonest winnowed.' 'These things, therefore,' said I, 'I have known, even for a long time, without being aware of my knowledge; and I am considering whether I may not be unconsciously possessed of a knowledge of refining gold, of playing on the flute, and of painting; for nobody ever taught me these, any more than agriculture; but I see men practising other arts, as I also see them practising that of agriculture.'<sup>5</sup> 'Accordingly I told you, some time ago,' said Ischomachus, 'that the art of agriculture was one of the noblest of arts, inasmuch as it is extremely easy to learn.' 'Well,' said I, 'Ischomachus, I find that it is so; since I had gained indeed a knowledge of managing grain<sup>6</sup> without being aware that I was possessed of that knowledge.'

<sup>1</sup> This receptacle seems to have been some part of the threshing-floor between the corn to be winnowed and that which had been winnowed; a part perhaps hollowed out, or in some way parted off. *Breitenbach*.

<sup>2</sup> *Breitenbach* supposes that the corn to be cleaned was extended in a line across the floor, along which line the winnower proceeded.

<sup>3</sup> Τὰ ἀχυρα τὰ λοιπά.] By ἀχυρα, in this passage, *Breitenbach* understands the unwinnowed portion of the corn, or the chaff and corn mixed; for he says that the word has three significations, straw, corn and chaff mixed, and pure chaff.

<sup>4</sup> Ἡρὸς τὸν πῶλον.] The commentators have not been able to satisfy their readers as to the exact signification of πῶλος in this passage. *Schneider* thought that it signified the circular part in the middle of the floor, round which the oxen were driven; *Breitenbach* and *Portus* suppose that it means the circumference or extreme edge of the floor. The latter interpretation I have followed.

<sup>5</sup> If I have learned agriculture by seeing it practised, why should I not have learned other arts by seeing them practised?

<sup>6</sup> Σπόρον.] This word here signifies, not only sowing, but the whole treatment and management of seed or grain. *Breitenbach*.

## CHAPTER XIX.

On the mode of planting trees, especially vines, figs, and olives. Nature teaches us, in many things, how we ought to act, if we will but notice what is to be seen around us.

1. " 'Is planting of trees, too,' said I, 'a part of the art of agriculture?' 'Assuredly it is,' replied Ischomachus. 'How is it then,' said I, 'that I had a knowledge of what relates to grain, and have no knowledge of what concerns planting of trees?' 2. 'Have you then no knowledge of it?' inquired Ischomachus. 'How can I have any,' rejoined I, 'when I neither know in what sort of soil I ought to plant, nor how deep to dig for the tree,<sup>1</sup> nor how wide, nor how deep to put the tree in the ground, nor how a tree should be placed in the earth so as to grow best.' 3. 'Come then,' said Ischomachus, 'and learn what you do not know. You have seen, I presume,' continued he, 'that people dig trenches in the ground for trees.' 'I have indeed often seen it,' said I. 'Have you ever seen any one of them deeper than three feet?' 'No, by Jupiter,' replied I, 'nor deeper than two feet and a half.' 'And have you ever seen any one more than three feet in breadth?' 'No indeed,' said I, 'nor more than two feet.' 4. 'Well then,' said he, 'answer me this too; have you ever seen one less than a foot in depth?' 'No, certainly,' said I, 'nor less than a foot and a half; for the young trees would be uprooted in digging about them, if the roots were put so small a distance below the surface.' 5. 'You know this well enough, then, Socrates,' said he, 'that men do not dig for planting deeper than two feet and a half, nor less deep than one foot and a half.' 'This, indeed,' said I, 'must have fallen under my eyes, being so manifest.' 6. " 'Well, then,' continued he, 'do you know the drier and moister sorts of ground when you see them?' 'The ground about Lycabettus,<sup>2</sup> and such as is similar to it, appears to me, at least,' said I, 'to be dry ground; and that which is in the

<sup>1</sup> Breitenbach is undoubtedly right in reading  $\tau\acute{\omega}\ \phi\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  in this passage, instead of the common reading  $\tau\delta\ \phi\upsilon\rho\delta\upsilon\nu$ . The correction is supported by  $\tau\omega\iota\varsigma\ \phi\upsilon\rho\omega\iota\varsigma$  immediately following, and by sect. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A hill near Athens.

Phalerian marsh<sup>1</sup> and such as resembles it, to be dry.' 7. 'Whether, then,' said he, 'would you dig a deep pit for a tree in a dry soil or in a moist one?' 'In a dry soil, assuredly,' answered I; 'for if you dig deep in a wet soil, you will come to water, and you will then be unable to plant your trees in the water.' 'You seem to me to answer well,' said he; 'but when your pits are dug, have you ever observed when you must plant the several kinds of trees?'<sup>2</sup> 8. 'Certainly,' said I.<sup>3</sup> 'When you wish them to grow up, then, as quick as possible, whether do you think that the sprout from the cutting of a vine, for instance, if you put it under well-dug earth, would shoot up sooner through such soft ground, or through undug earth against hard ground?' 'It is evident,' replied I, 'that it would shoot up through dug sooner than through undug ground.' 9. 'A layer of earth should then be put under the plant?'<sup>4</sup> 'How can it be otherwise?' said I. 'But whether do you think that if you place the cutting quite upright, pointing towards the heaven, it would thus take root better, or if you place it a little obliquely<sup>5</sup> in the earth thrown in beneath the surface, so that it may lie like a gamma turned up?'<sup>6</sup> 10. 'In the latter way, certainly; for so there would be more buds under the earth; and as it is from buds that I see shoots spring above the ground, I suppose that the buds which are below the ground produce also shoots in like manner? And when many shoots take root in the ground, I conclude that the plant will spring up quickly and with great vigour.' 11. 'Concern-

<sup>1</sup> A marsh in the δῆμος called Phaleros or Phalereus, which was in the tribe Æantis.

<sup>2</sup> These words appear to Breitenbach to be corrupt, as it was not likely that Ischomachus, after what he had said, would ask Socrates *when* he should plant different kinds of trees, but rather *in what sort of soil* he would plant them. He therefore proposes to read ὁπότερα δεῖ τυθέναι ἐν ἑκατέρῃ [γῆ] τὰ φυτά.

<sup>3</sup> All the commentators consider that something is wanting here; and it is probable that Socrates added something to the word μάλιστα. *Breitenbach*.

<sup>4</sup> Οὐκοῦν ὑποβλητρία ἀν εἰη τῷ φυτῷ γῆ.] "Faut-il mettre sous la plante une couche de bonne terre?" *Gail*.

<sup>5</sup> A position which is sanctioned alike by nature and by the agreement of writers on the subject. *Schneider*.

<sup>6</sup> That is, standing on its point at the angle, like the upper part of a Y.

<sup>7</sup> Breitenbach very justly reads, πολλῶν δὲ φυομένων, instead of πολλῶν γὰρ φυομένων, which is in all preceding texts.

ing these points, then,' said he, 'you entertain the same notions with myself.' 'But would you merely heap up the earth around the plant, or tread it down hard?' 'I would tread it down,' said I, 'assuredly; for if it were not trodden down, I am well aware that the untrodden earth, if wetted by rain, would be turned into mud, and, if scorched by the sun, would become dry to the very bottom; so that there would be danger lest the roots of the plant, under a prevalence of wet weather, should be rotted by damp, or should be scorched up in hot weather, from the roots being heated through the dryness or porousness of the earth.'

12. "About the planting of vines, then, Socrates,' continued he, 'you think in every respect exactly as I do.' 'And is it proper,' said I, 'to plant the fig-tree in the same way?' 'I think so,' said Ischomachus, 'and all other sorts of fruit-trees;<sup>1</sup> for of that which is right with regard to the planting of vines, why should you consider any part as inapplicable to the planting of other trees?' 13. 'But with respect to the olive, Ischomachus,' said I, 'how shall we plant it?' 'You are trying me as to this matter also,' replied he, 'when you know extremely well; for you observe, undoubtedly, that a deeper trench is dug for the olive, as it is dug chiefly by the way-sides; you observe that there are stumps<sup>2</sup> to each of the plants; and you see that moist earth<sup>3</sup> is laid at the tops of all the roots, and that that part of the stem which is at the surface of the ground is covered.' 14. 'All this I see,' said I. 'And as you see it,' said he, 'what part of it do you not understand? As to the shell,<sup>4</sup> for instance, my dear Socrates, do you not know how to place it on the moist earth?' 'Indeed,' said I, 'Ischomachus, I am ignorant of none of the things which you have mentioned; but I am thinking again<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀκρόδρυα πάντα.*] *Arbores frugiferas omnes.* Leunclavius. The word properly meant trees that bore hard-shelled fruits, as nuts, chest-nuts, acorns.

<sup>2</sup> *Πρέμνα πᾶσι τοῖς φυτευτηρίοις.*] The *φυτευτήριον* was a sucker or quickset; the *πρέμνον* was the lower part of the stem.

<sup>3</sup> Columella, xii. 2. 42, observes that dung mixed with ashes should be put round the stem, over the roots, and covered with moss, to prevent the sun from parching it.

<sup>4</sup> *Τὸ ὄστρακον.*] "It means whatever was put over the soft matter at the root of the plant, whether shells or any other substance." *Sturz. Lex. Xen*

<sup>5</sup> Alluding to c. 19. sect. 1.

how it was that when you asked me briefly, a little while ago,<sup>1</sup> whether I understood the planting of trees, I said I did not understand it. I did not think, however, that I should be able to say anything as to the method of planting trees. But when you proceed to question me as to each particular point, I answer you as you say, agreeably to what you, who are called a skilful agriculturist, think. 15. Is interrogation, then, Ischomachus,' added I, 'a mode of teaching? for I am now learning,' said I, 'the several particulars about which you question me; since, leading me through what I know, and pointing out something similar to it, which I did not think that I knew, you persuade me, I imagine, that I know that also.' 16. 'Then,' said Ischomachus, 'if I were to ask you also about a piece of money, whether it is good or not, might I not persuade you that you know how to distinguish good from counterfeit money? Or might I not persuade you, by asking you about flute-players, that you know how to play on the flute? Or, by asking you about painters, that you know how to paint? and similarly with regard to other things.' 'Perhaps you might,' said I, 'since you have persuaded me that I am skilful in agriculture, although I am well aware that nobody has taught me that art.' 17. 'The case is quite different from what you suppose, Socrates,' said he, 'but it is as I told you some time ago; agriculture is an art so kind and gentle towards mankind, that she readily makes those who can see and hear skilful in her pursuits. 18. She herself,' continued he, 'gives us many instructions how to attend on her with most success. The vine, for example, running up trees, wherever it has any tree near it, teaches us how to support it; by spreading out its leaves, while its bunches are yet tender, instructs us to cover whatever is at that season exposed to the sun; 19. by shedding its leaves when it is time for the grapes to become sweet by the sun's influence, shows us how to strip it, and promote the ripening of the fruit; and by exhibiting, through its great productiveness, some bunches at maturity and others still in a crude state, admonishes us to gather the fruit from it, as people pluck figs from the fig-trees, taking them off in succession as they swell into full growth.'

<sup>1</sup> C. 19, sect. 1, 2.

## CHAPTER XX.

Socrates expresses his surprise that agriculture, which is so easy to be learned, is pursued with so little success by many of those who engage in it. Ischomachus shows that the cause of their failure is not in general want of knowledge, but want of diligence and care. How the father of Ischomachus used to act in farming lands.

1. "UPON this I observed, 'How is it, then, Ischomachus, that if matters concerning agriculture are so easy to be learned, and all men can alike understand what they ought to do in it, all do not pursue it with like success, but some live in abundance and have more than they want, while others cannot procure even the necessaries of life, but run into debt?' 2. 'I will tell you,' replied Ischomachus; 'for it is not knowledge, or want of knowledge, in husbandmen, that causes some to be rich and others to be poor; 3. nor will you ever hear a report spread that a farm has been ruined because the sower cast his seed unequally, or because the planter did not plant his rows of trees straight, or because, being ignorant what soil would rear vines, he planted them in a soil unsuitable for them, or because the farmer did not know that it is proper to prepare ground for sowing by letting it lie fallow, or because he did not know that it was good to mix manure with the soil. 4. But it is much more common to hear it said, "The man gets no subsistence from his ground, for he takes no care that seed be sown in it, or that manure be put on it." Or, "The man has no wine, for he takes no care to plant vines, or that those which are planted may bear him fruit." Or, "The man has no olives or figs; for he takes no care, nor uses any effort, to have them." 5. Such are the qualities, Socrates,' continued he, 'in which husbandmen differ from one another and consequently experience different fortune, much more than they differ in seeming to have found out some wise or unwise contrivance for doing their work. 6. So some commanders are more or less successful than others in certain military operations, not from difference in understanding, but evidently from difference in circumspection; for those things which all commanders, and most people who are not commanders, know, some will take

care to put in practice, and others will neglect them. 7. For instance, all know this, that it is better for men marching through an enemy's country to proceed in good order, so that they may come to battle, if it should be necessary, with advantage; but though they are all aware of this, some pay attention to it, and some do not. 8. All know that it is best to set a watch before the camp day and night; but some take care that this may be done, and others neglect it. 9. It would be hard to find a commander who does not know that, when his troops are to march through narrow passes, it is better to secure commanding positions beforehand, than not to do so; but some take the precaution to do this, and others disregard it. 10. So all agriculturists say of manure, for example, that it is an excellent thing for improving the soil, and see that it produces itself spontaneously; yet, though they know exactly how it is got, and that it is easy to collect abundance of it, some take care that it may be collected, and others take none. 11. The gods above send us rain, and all the hollow places become pools; the earth produces all manner of weeds, and he that would sow must clear his land from them; and if he throws those which he removes out of his way into the water, time itself would form them into that material in which the ground delights; for what sort of weeds, and what sort of earth indeed, will not become manure in stagnant water? 12. And in what respects ground requires improvement, whether it be too moist for sowing, or too much impregnated with salt for planting, everybody knows, as well as how water is drained off by trenches, and how the saltness of soil is corrected by mixing with it substances free from salt, whether moist or dry; but some attend to these matters, and some do not. 13. Or even if a person be utterly ignorant what the ground can produce, and has had no opportunity of seeing either fruits or plants from it, or even of hearing from any one a true description of it, is it not much more easy for any one to make trial of the earth than of a horse or of a man? for it exhibits nothing for the purpose of deceit, but sets forth plainly and truly, with the utmost simplicity, what it can do and what it cannot. 14. The earth seems to me to distinguish very effectively the idle and the diligent among mankind, by rendering everything easy to be known and learned; for it is not possible in regard to agriculture, as it is in regard to other

arts, for those who do not practise it to excuse themselves by saying that they do not know it; for all know respecting the earth, that when it is well treated it makes a good return. 15. But idleness in regard to agriculture<sup>1</sup> is a sure proof of a base mind; for no one can persuade himself that a man can live without food, and he that neither knows any other lucrative art, nor is willing to cultivate the ground, gives evident proof that he meditates to live by stealing, or plundering, or begging, or that he is altogether out of his senses.' 16. He observed, too, that it made a great difference as to agriculture being profitable or unprofitable, when, where several workmen are employed, one farmer takes care that his workmen may be the full time at their work, and another is neglectful of this point; 'for one workman,' said he, 'easily makes a difference in the labour of ten, by working his full time, and another makes a difference in it by leaving his work before the end of his time. 17. And to allow men to loiter over their work through the whole day may plainly make a difference of half in the whole complement of work. 18. Just as in travelling along a road, two men have sometimes made a difference between them of a hundred stadia in two hundred, through difference in speed, though both were young and in good health, as the one persevered in proceeding on the object for which he had started, and the other was irresolute in mind, and rested himself by fountains and in the shade, losing himself in contemplation, and courting gentle breezes. 19. So in regard to work, those labourers who apply to that to which they are appointed, and those who do not, but who find pretexts for not exerting themselves, and allow themselves to trifle away their time, exhibit a great difference in the execution of it. 20. To perform work well, or to attend to it insufficiently, makes as much difference as to be wholly industrious or wholly idle. When men are digging the ground, for instance,<sup>2</sup> in order that vines may be cleared of

<sup>1</sup> 'Αλλ' ἢ ἐν γεωργίᾳ ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ.] Sc. *τίχνη*. This is the common reading; but it has never satisfied the critics in general. Various emendations have been proposed. Breitenbach omits the ἢ. Zeune and Schäfer would read 'Αλλ' ἢ γεωργία, to which Schneider does not object. But Jacobs very happily conjectures ἢ ἐν γεωργίᾳ ἀργία, which Kerst approves, and which I have followed.

<sup>2</sup> "Ὅταν σκαπτόντων.] Breitenbach thinks that we should read *οἷον ὅταν*. *Σκαπτόντων* is the genitive absolute. Comp. Cynop. iii. 3. 54.

weeds, and dig' in such a manner that the weeds spring up in greater numbers and vigour than before, how can you say that such work is anything but idleness? <sup>1</sup> 21. Such are the causes, then, that ruin households, much more than extreme want of knowledge; for when outgoings proceed constantly from the family resources, and work is not done with such profit as to balance the demands, we must no longer wonder if such a state of things produces want instead of abundance.

22. "For those who are able to attend to their affairs, however, and who will apply themselves to agriculture earnestly, my father both practised himself, and taught me, a most successful method of making profit; <sup>2</sup> for he would never allow me to buy ground already cultivated, but exhorted me to purchase such as, from want of care or want of means in those who had possessed it, was left untilled and unplanted; 23. as he used to say that well-cultivated land cost a great sum of money, and admitted of no improvement, and he considered that land which was unsusceptible of improvement did not give the same pleasure to the owner as other land; but he thought that whatever a person had or brought up, that was continually growing better, afforded him the highest gratification. But nothing exhibits greater improvement than ground, when it is brought from a state of neglect into one of complete fertility. 24. For be assured, my dear Socrates,' continued he, 'that I myself have already made several pieces of ground worth many times their former value; and while this mode of proceeding is of such importance, it is also so easy to learn, that, now you have once heard it, you will go away as skilful in it as myself, and will communicate it, if you think proper, to some other person. 25. My father, indeed, neither learned it from anybody himself, nor was at great pains in finding it out; but he used to say that from his love of agriculture, and devotion to labour, he was fond of having land of that nature, in order that he might have something to do, and find pleasure and profit at the same time; for my father, Socrates,' added he, 'was naturally, as I consider, the most devoted to agriculture of all the inhabit-

<sup>1</sup> Πῶς οὕτως οὐκ ἀργὸν ἂν φήσαις εἶναι;] With ἀργὸν Weiske understands τοῦτο τὸ ἐρ, ἀξιοῦσθαι, and observes that the expression is an oxymoron. Breitenbach understands οὕτω σκάπτειν.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀνυτικωράτην χρημάτων.] *Quantum qui maximè juvat.* Breitenbach.

ants of Athens.' 26. Hearing him say this, I then put this question to him: 'Whether did your father, Ischomachus, keep possession of all the farms that he thus improved, or did he sell them, if he could get a good price for them?' 'He sold them, I must tell you,' replied Ischomachus; 'but he immediately bought other land instead of them, and uncultivated too, on account of his fondness for labour.' 27. 'You say, then, Ischomachus,' returned I, 'that your father was by nature really not less fond of cultivating the ground than corn-merchants are of getting corn; for these traders, from their strong desire of obtaining grain, sail in quest of it wherever they hear that it is most abundant, crossing over the Ægean, Euxine, and Sicilian Seas; and when they have got as much as they can, they bring it away over the water, stowing it in the vessel in which they themselves sail. 28. And when they are in want of money, they do not dispose of their freight at hazard, or wherever they may happen to be; but wherever they hear that corn will fetch the highest price, and that men set the greatest store by it, they carry it thither and offer it them for sale. In a similar way your father seems to have been eminently fond of agriculture.' To this Ischomachus replied, 'You are jesting, Socrates; but I, nevertheless, consider those to be fond of architecture who build houses and sell them, and then build others.' 'I indeed swear to you by Jupiter,' replied I, 'that I believe you, and think<sup>1</sup> that all men naturally love those things from which they suppose that they will get profit.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Ἡ μὴν πιστεύειν σοὶ φύσει νομίζειν, κ. τ. λ.] Before φύσει we must understand ὥστε. In conformity with this acceptance of the passage, Steger proposes to read νομίζων. Leunclavius and some others have thought that σὲ should be supplied before νομίζειν. But this seems inconsistent with what precedes. Socrates previously intimated that he thought Ischomachus's father was fond of agriculture as a corn-merchant is fond of corn, namely, because he gets profit by it; and he now concludes by vowing that he thinks all men like that from which they get profit.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Socrates expresses his satisfaction at the information which Ischomachus had given him. Ischomachus observes that the art of ruling and directing others, which is of the utmost importance in agriculture, as well as in other great undertakings, is difficult of attainment. It cannot be wholly learned from others, or attained thoroughly, unless there be great natural ability, power of self-control, and something of divine magnanimity.

1. "‘I AM thinking, Ischomachus,’ continued I, ‘how admirably you have adapted your whole train of argument to support your proposition; for you laid it down as a fact that the art of agriculture was the most easy to be learned of all arts; and I am now convinced, from everything that you have said, that such is indisputably the case.’ 2. ‘Very well,’ said Ischomachus, ‘but as to that which is common to all pursuits, whether agricultural, or political, or domestic, or military, namely, that he who would excel in them must be capable of directing others, I entirely agree with you, Socrates,<sup>1</sup> that some persons greatly excel others in judgment; 3. as we see in a galley,’ continued he, ‘when the crew are out at sea, and have to accomplish a certain distance in the course of the day, some of the *celeustæ*<sup>2</sup> can act and speak in such a manner as to excite the spirits of the men to voluntary exertion, while others are so dull that the rowers take more than double the time in performing the same course. The one party, as well the *celeustes* as those who are directed by him, go on shore covered with perspiration, and praising one another, while the other party arrive indeed unfatigued, but detesting their officer, and detested by him. 4. So among generals,’ added he, ‘one differs from another in the same way; for some bring out troops that are unwilling to expose themselves either to toil or to danger, thinking it of no importance, and testifying no readiness, to obey their commander, except so far as is absolutely necessary, or even

<sup>1</sup> See c. 13, sect. 4.

<sup>2</sup> We have no English word for the *κελευστής* in an ancient galley. He was the man who, by voice or signal, or both, gave time to the rowers. Virgil calls him *hortator*, *Æn.* iii. 128; and he was sometimes termed *portisculus* and *pausarius*. He was somewhat similar to the modern coxswain.

taking a pride in opposing his wishes; and such generals produce soldiers that, whatever disgrace happens to them, are incapable of feeling the least shame at it. 5. But noble, excellent, and skilful commanders will render these very same troops, and often others which they unite with them, ashamed to do anything dishonourable, and convinced that it is better to obey orders; taking delight individually in showing obedience, and exerting themselves collectively, without the least reluctance, whenever exertion is requisite. 6. As there appears in certain private individuals, indeed, a liking for labour, so there is produced in a whole army, by the influence of good officers, a love of exertion, and an ambition of being seen by their commander while they are executing any honourable achievement. 7. And commanders, towards whom those who follow them are thus affected, become eminently powerful; and these, assuredly, are not such as keep their own bodies in better condition than those of their men, or hurl javelins or use the bow best, or have the best horses, or even offer themselves to danger before others as the best horsemen or targeteers, but such as can inspire their troops with the conviction that they must follow them even through fire or any peril whatever. 8. Such commanders, whom numbers follow with such sentiments, we may justly call men of powerful minds; the general may be truly said to march with a strong arm, whose will so many arms are willing to obey; and he is in reality a great man who is able to execute great things rather by strength of mind than by strength of body. 9. So in private occupations, whether it be a bailiff or a foreman<sup>1</sup> that gives directions, he that can render those under him zealous, energetic, and diligent at their work, is the man that directs their efforts to advantage, and produces abundance of profit. 10. And if, when the master, who has the power to punish the idle and to reward the industrious among his workmen in the highest degree, shows himself in the field, the men exhibit no extraordinary exertion, I should certainly feel little esteem for him; but one at whose appearance they put themselves in motion, and by whom an increase

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπίτροπος—ἐπιστάτης.] Ἐπίτροπος, says Sturz in his Lexicon, appears to have been a chief slave or freedman, who overlooked agricultural labourers; ἐπιστάτης, a freeborn citizen, who had the charge of any work whatever. Breitenbach adopts this interpretation.

of spirit is produced in each of his servants, with an emulation of one another, and an ambition which has the best effect on every one, I should regard as having something of a kingly character. 11. Such influence is of the greatest importance, as it seems to me, in every pursuit, when anything is to be effected by means of a number of men, and in agriculture as well as in any other occupation. Yet I do not say, assuredly, that it is possible to acquire such a talent by once seeing it exercised, or by hearing of it once; but I affirm that he who would be able to do such duties efficiently has need of instruction, and should be of a happy natural disposition,<sup>1</sup> and, what is of the most importance, should have something of the divine nature. 12. For this art of ruling over willing subjects, appears to me by no means human merely, but to have in it a portion of the divinity; and it is evidently accorded only to those who are truly accomplished in the duties of wisdom. But to tyrannize over rebellious subjects, the gods assign, as it seems to me, to those whom they think deserving to live as Tantalus is said to live in Tartarus, perpetually in dread lest he should die a second time.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Δεῖν—φύσεως ἀγαθῆς ὑπάρξει.] The genitive, observes Breitenbach, is governed by δεῖν, and the infinitive is attached as in Eurip. Med. 1399: χρήζω στόματος παιδῶν προσπύξασθαι. The exact sense therefore is, “there is need of a good disposition to be,” to be in the individual.

<sup>2</sup> By being crushed by the fall of the stone suspended over his head.

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